Cemetery Preservation Plan for the Dunwoody Cemetery

McIntosh County, Georgia

Project No. CSNHS-0007-00(421)
P.I. No. 0007421
Task Order 25

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Report prepared for:

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Report submitted to:

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Dunwoody Cemetery is an African American burial ground located on the bluffs overlooking lowlands associated with Cathead Creek in McIntosh County, Georgia. It is positioned on the northwestern side of the I-95 interchange with Georgia Highway 251 (River Road). The cemetery is currently estimated to be no less than 1.6 acres in size. The vast majority of graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery are either unmarked or poorly marked. Development of Magnolia Bluff Way has divided the facility into western (Section A) and eastern (Section B) parts. Important basic facts about the cemetery and its status are provided in the enclosed Cemetery Information Sheet.

The cemetery probably has it origins in the late 18th or early 19th century, where it served as the burial facility for the Sidon Plantation. Its name is likely from the Dunwoody families, who owned or operated the plantation until the Civil War. The African American community continued using the facility after Emancipation and graves were placed in it until at least the mid-20th century. Survey and relocation work on the cemetery has provided evidence that the burial community followed practices associated with other lowland African American and Southern folk burial traditions.

The Dunwoody Cemetery has received little to no management oversight. The enclosed preservation plan is provided to help guide the Ceylon Cemetery Trust into determining the appropriate course of action needed to help preserve, protect, and promote the Dunwoody Cemetery as an important component of community heritage. An important first step is for the Ceylon Cemetery Trust to develop a master plan outlining how they intend to manage the cemetery and outline what preservation objectives they feel are necessary. The known history and organization of the cemetery is provided in this preservation plan, and it provides recommendations for its management and preservation.

DUNWOODY CEMETERY INFORMATION SHEET

Formal Name: Dunwoody Cemetery

Other Names: Dunwoody Cemetery (Cook 1993)
Dunwoody Landing Cemetery (Willie Cook, McIntosh County Informant)
Eastern and Western Dunwoody (Cook 1993)
Property 2 (Pomfret 2008a)
9MC437 (Georgia Archaeological Site Designation)
9Mc(DOT)8 (GDOT Field Site Number)
Resource 29 (Gladstone 2000a; Gladstone 2000b)

Street Address: Magnolia Bluff Way
Darien, Georgia 31305

Property Owner:
Parcel No. 0040 0015002 Darien El Cheapo, LLC (Friendly Express Store)
Parcel No. 0040 0015003 Lewis and Raulerson, Inc.

Historic Registry Listing:
Local Listing: Resource 29 (See Gladstone 2000b)
Archaeological Site Designation: 9MC437 (See Appendix B)
National Register of Historic Places Designation:
Cemetery Alone: Surface Representation – Not Eligible for Inclusion
Subsurface/Archaeological Representation - Eligible under Criterion D
(Ability to yield important information to history or prehistory)
As Part of 9MC372 – Eligible under Criterion A (Associated with events significantly contributing to the broad pattern of American history)
As Part of Cathead Creek Historical District – Eligible under Criterion A
(Associated with events significantly contributing to the broad pattern of American history)

Type of Cemetery:
Plantation – Cemetery is believed to be the burial site for slaves associated with the Sidon Plantation.
Community – Cemetery contains post-Emancipation era graves for the African American community living and working around the former Sidon Plantation.

Current Use Statement:
The cemetery has not seen any recorded interments added since at least 1960. In 1994, Precontact Native American interments were added to the cemetery and 26 graves were repositioned within it. The re-interment was officiated by a local pastor. The addition of human remains with a funerary ritual to the cemetery within the last 50 years emphasizes that it is still used for burial purposes; it cannot be considered an abandoned cemetery. Since it has been almost 20 years since the last interment occurred, the Dunwoody Cemetery's status is best classified as inactive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

We are extremely indebted to Mr. Fred Cook who graciously loaned us his reports and field notes on the cemetery. Mr. Cook was consulted numerous times throughout the project and his insight into McIntosh County's archaeology and funeral traditions were an invaluable resource. Siska Williams at the Georgia Department of Transportation (GDOT) provided unpublished Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) data. McIntosh County historians, Buddy Sullivan and Mattie Gladstone, were also a wealth of information. Their knowledge of local history provided us with details not readily available to most researchers. We are also greatly indebted to all the McIntosh County residents who took the time to be interviewed. A wealth of information not recorded in any other venue was gained from their insights.

The project was funded as part of a multi-component investigation focusing on the Ceylon archaeological site (9MC372) and Cathead Creek Historical District. GDOT through Atkins Global Engineering administered the project. GDOT records maintained by James Pomfret and Siska Williams were made available to New South Associates, Inc. Ms. Williams also served as the GDOT project manager and oversaw the administration of the project. Her efforts are greatly appreciated.

Development of the cemetery preservation plan came about through the efforts of a number of people. Dr. Greg Smith conducted ethnographic interviews in the Cathead Creek Community that contributed information on the cemetery. Dr. Hugh Matternes researched the cemetery's history and the previous archaeological and historic surveys and served as the lead author of this plan. The plan was edited by Jennifer Wilson and assembled by Rebecca Brown. David Diener constructed graphics. Dr. J.W. Joseph was the project's Principal Investigator. Yulounda Ralls served as the chief administrator and managed the project's accounts. Peer reviews by Valerie Davis and Greg Smith have added substantially to the document's clarity.

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I. INTRODUCTION

What is a historic cemetery preservation plan, and why do we need it? Community members who are seeking help with a historic cemetery frequently ask these questions. With the loss of community caretakers and sources for continued upkeep, historic cemeteries, defined here as those burial grounds whose primary period of use was over 50 years ago, are falling into disrepair and abandonment. As these cemeteries become overgrown, monuments crumble, graves are vandalized, and the grounds become sites for illegal dumping, drug use, and other unsavory activities. Particularly within the African American community, these activities are viewed as signs of disrespect. Concerned community members seek guidance and resources to help preserve these cultural landmarks, but in the state of Georgia, there are very few people with professional expertise in historic cemetery preservation and management. The care of these properties inevitably falls back upon the community. The presented document is designed to aid community members devoted to the preservation of the Dunwoody Cemetery by providing the basic information needed to organize and manage their efforts.

The Dunwoody Cemetery preservation plan is designed to serve as the primary document to turn to for advice, planning, and information on the Dunwoody Cemetery. It is written so that the cemetery's stakeholders have a reference outlining the existing issues and concerns about the cemetery. It will provide some direction about the types of restoration that are possible, a record of what has been accomplished at the cemetery in the past, and how the cemetery fits into historical and cultural contexts. The plan serves as a foundation for guiding the future use of the cemetery.

The structure of this document follows the preservation plan standards outlined in a State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) publication entitled, *Historic Cemetery Preservation Plan Guidelines.* These guidelines are available as a PDF on the SHPO's website (http://georgiashpo.org/historic/cemeteries). Development of a cemetery preservation plan for Dunwoody Cemetery came about based on recommendations to minimize and mitigate harm done to the Sidon archaeological site (9MC372) and Cathead Creek Historical District (Pomfret 2008a; Pomfret 2008b). Proposed road improvements associated with the I-95 interchange with Georgia Highway 251 (River Road), which currently cuts through the Cathead Creek Historical District, Ceylon, and Sidon plantations, would have a negative impact on these three cultural resources. It should be emphasized that these construction activities will have no direct effect on the Dunwoody Cemetery. The Dunwoody Cemetery preservation plan will help improve the

visibility of the cemetery, the Ceylon and Sidon plantations, and Cathead Creek Historical District in the local landscape. Implementation of the suggestions provided in this document will help promote community awareness, participation, and pride in local history. It will also serve as a foundation for continued preservation of the Dunwoody Cemetery and its associated cultural heritage.

The Dunwoody Cemetery preservation plan is divided into 13 chapters, each designed to address a specific aspect of the cemetery's preservation. Chapter I introduces the cemetery preservation plan. Chapter II reviews the cemetery's geographic location and places it in the current cultural landscape. Chapter III focuses on the history of the cemetery, and Chapter IV outlines the methodology used in the cultural background. Chapter V examines folk and African American mortuary traditions. Chapter VI outlines the development of a master plan and the need for clear objectives. Chapter VII emphasizes a need to understand the cemetery's organization, boundaries, and improved visibility. Chapter VIII addresses the need for an inventory and conditions assessment. Chapter IX focuses on the development of a management plan. Chapter X discusses a routine maintenance plan. Chapter XI emphasizes emergency preparedness, while Chapter XII provides a foundation for future research into the cemetery's burial community. Chapter XIII outlines the cemetery's current preservation needs.

Appendix A outlines terminologies relevant to the examination of Dunwoody and other cemeteries. Appendix B reviews federal and local statutes that would have bearing on the Dunwoody Cemetery's preservation. Appendix C contains a copy of the latest archaeological site form for the Dunwoody Cemetery. Appendix D contains an introductory inventory of the cemetery's holdings. Appendix E provides a copy of the Georgia SHPO Individual Grave Marker Survey Form, and Appendix F contains a copy of the National Park Service (NPS) Rapid Cemetery Assessment Form. Appendix G has an inventory of potential members of the burial community, and Appendix H is a list of useful contacts. Transcripts from the 12 informants that were interviewed for this project are located in Appendix I.

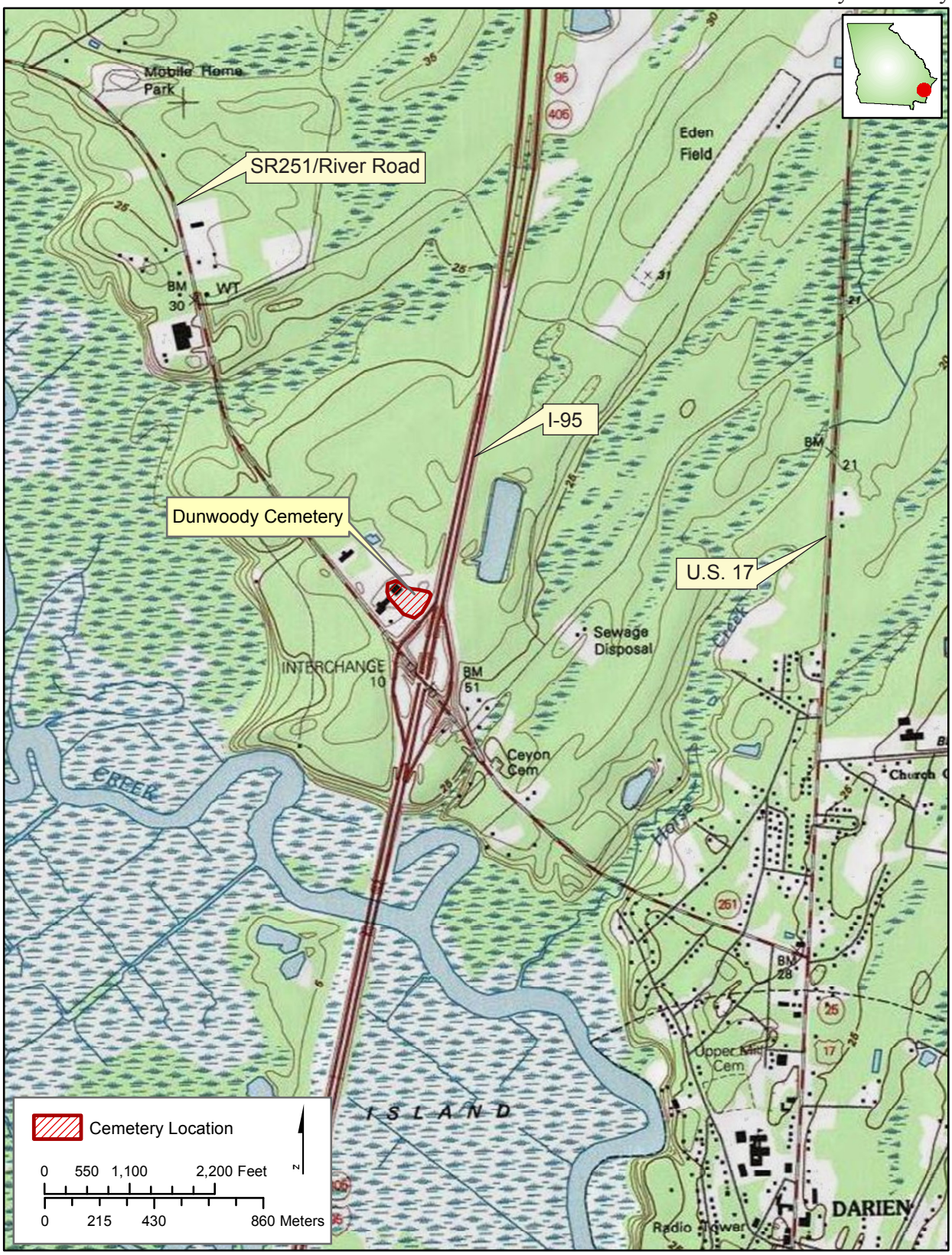
II. GEOGRAPHIC CONTEXT

The Dunwoody Cemetery is located approximately two miles north-northwest of the town of Darien in McIntosh County, Georgia (Figure 1). It is in an open parcel behind commercial frontage associated with Magnolia Bluff Way and Georgia Highway 251 (River Road/I-95 Business Route). The cemetery is positioned on relatively flat acreage overlooking the marshes associated with Cathead Creek. It is estimated to be approximately 10.7 meters (35 ft.) above mean sea level. Based on the site boundaries defined by Pomfret (2008c), the cemetery is estimated to cover approximately 1.6 acres. Pomfret established Universal Transverse Mercator Coordinates (UTMs) for the Dunwoody Cemetery as in Zone 17 and at E457269.1, N3473745.7 (NAD 1927). An aerial map generated by GDOT places the Dunwoody Cemetery immediately west of the I-95 southbound off-ramp to Georgia Highway 251 (Figure 2) (Pomfret 2008b:62). The Dunwoody Cemetery is recognized as within the boundaries of the Sidon archaeological site (9MC372) and is a landscape component of Cathead Creek Historic District (Figure 3).

Prior to preparation of this plan, no comprehensive map recording the location of all known and potential graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery existed. Previous investigations of the cemetery, which are more thoroughly addressed in Chapter III, have mapped portions of the cemetery's boundaries and contents but never addressed it in its entirety. Drawing from these works, Figure 4 represents a composite sketch of known and suspected burial locations in the Dunwoody Cemetery. The Figure 4 map recognizes the cemetery as a single mortuary facility with the vast majority of its contents represented as unmarked graves. It is emphasized that Figure 4 should be treated as a conservative estimate of the cemetery's contents. Since the placement of individual interments has been estimated from a variety of existing maps that frequently do not correspond, their locations can be treated only as approximations. The true locations of nearly all gravesites should be verified. Figure 4 is provided as a foundation for planning purposes until more accurate versions are made available.

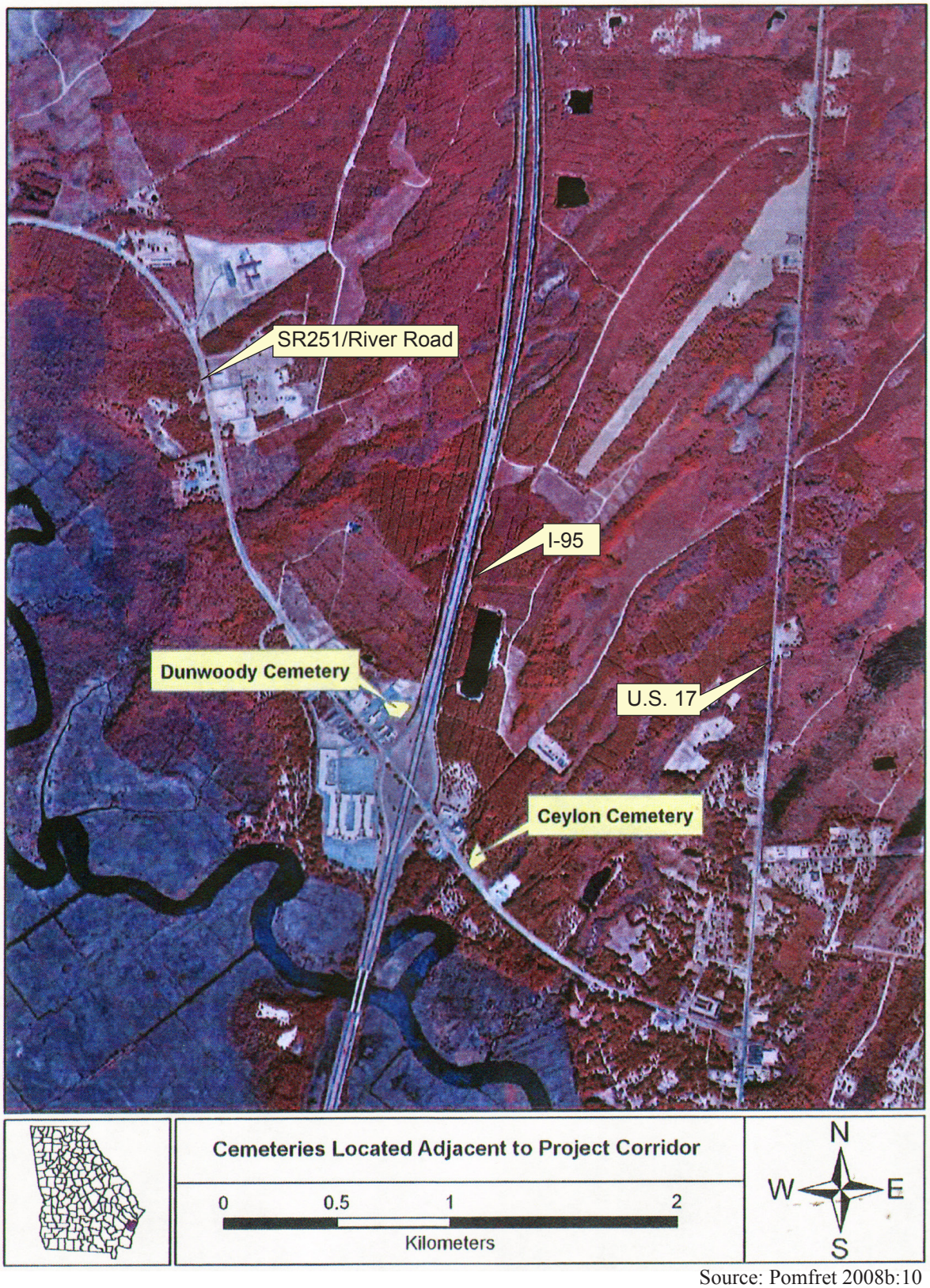
Following the layout defined by Fred Cook (1993), the cemetery has traditionally been viewed as two components. Section A, or the Western Dunwoody Cemetery, is in a grassy island within a paved parking lot that forms part of a 'U' in Magnolia Bluff Way. All of the grounds immediately surrounding Section A are paved and used as a turn-about/parking area for commercial transport vehicles. The traffic island containing Section A is open on all sides (Figure 5a). The cemetery's presence is indicated by a single head and footstone, which are

Figure 1.
Location of the Dunwoody Cemetery



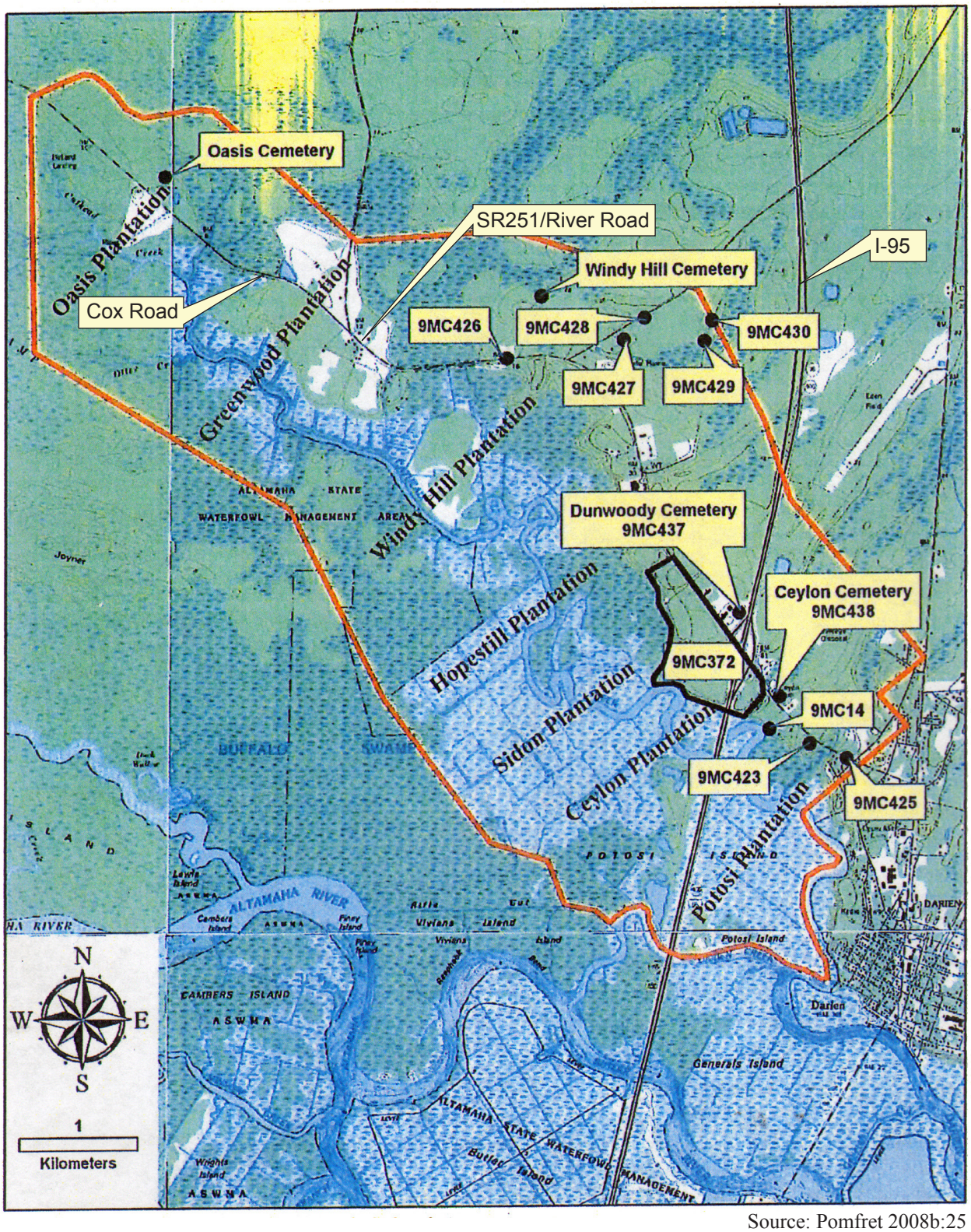
Source: USGS Ridgeville, Georgia Quadrangle

Figure 2.
Aerial Photograph Showing the Location of Dunwoody Cemetery (9MC437)



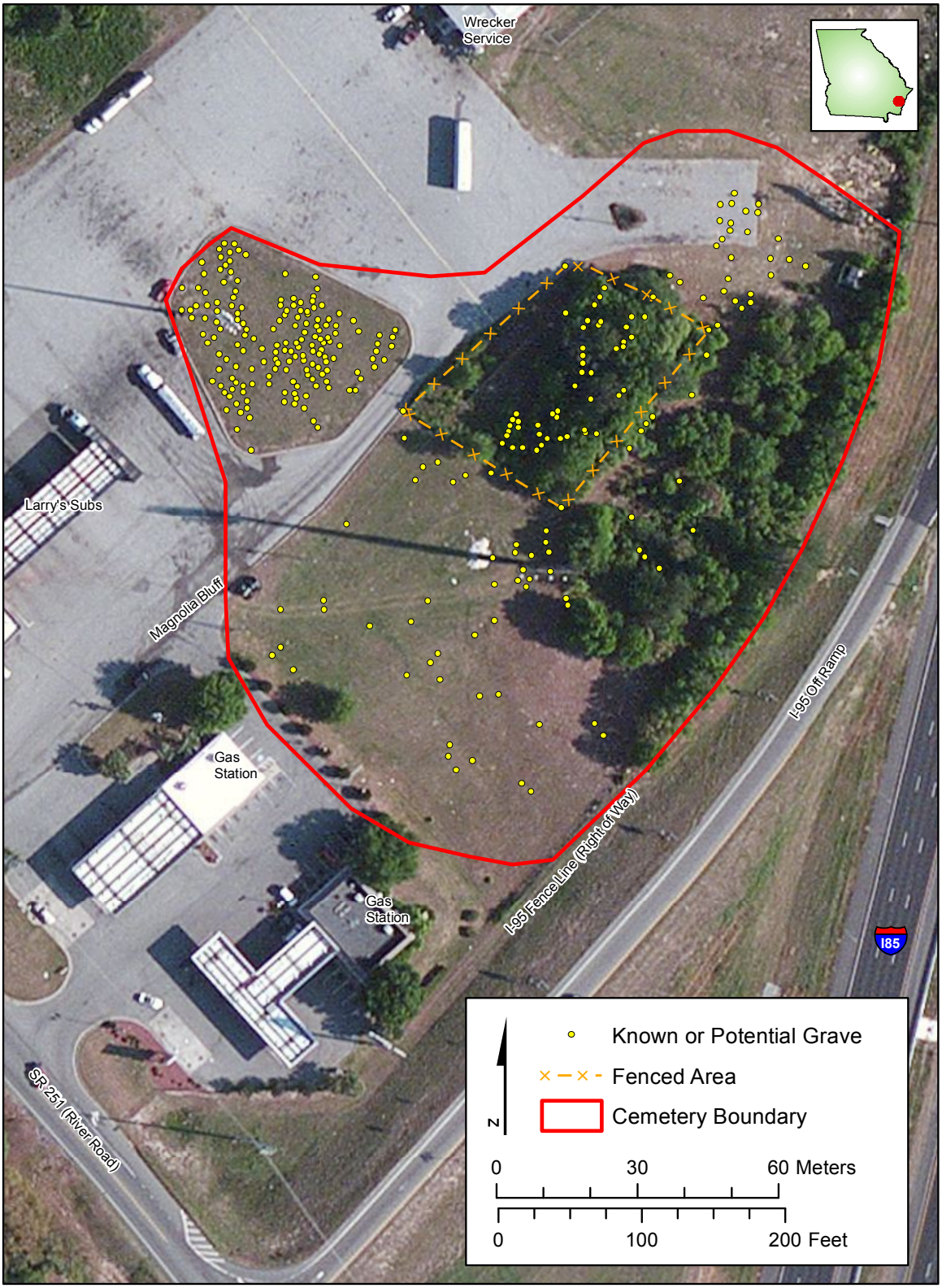
Source: Pomfret 2008b:10

Figure 3.
Dunwoody Cemetery and the Cathead Creek Historic District



Source: Pomfret 2008b:25

Figure 4.
Composite Sketch Map of Known and Potential Graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery



Source: Bing Maps (2012)

Figure 5.
Dunwoody Cemetery

a. Section A Looking East

b. Section B Looking Northeast

dedicated to Rebecca West. Rebecca West's monument represents the most prominent grave in this portion of the cemetery. In the 1990s, six wooden crosses were posted along the section's southeastern side to indicate the location of graves adjacent to the roadway. The grounds are covered in a grass that receives periodic grounds maintenance.

Section B is visible on the surface as a fenced area and surrounding grounds on the east side of the parking area and Magnolia Bluff Way (Figure 5b). Unpaved portions surrounding the fence were cleared in the past and some of these receive an occasional mowing. There are several stands of young pine and deciduous trees along the east side of Section B particularly where it borders the I-95 right-of-way fence line. Pioneer plants including prickly pear cactus, poison ivy, dallis and signal grasses, dog fennel, trumpet vine, and a variety of briars were observed in areas around the cemetery.

Portions of Section B are surrounded by a wooden picket fence. The fence is rectangular, measuring roughly 157 feet (48 m) along its long side (NE by SW) and about 125 feet (38 m) in a northwest by southeast plane; it encloses an area estimated at about 19,625 square feet (1,824 sq. m) or about 0.45 acre. The fence appears to have been painted white in the past, however most of the paint has weathered away. A gate allowing access to the enclosed grounds is located on the northern side. The eastern or undisturbed portion of the fenced area is defined by a stand of young mature trees. Beneath these trees, grave markers and linear depressions provide surface indications of grave locations. Along the southern side, concrete-filled PVC pipes mark the locations of graves relocated by Fred Cook in 1994. Saw palmettos dominate the understory. The western side of the fenced interior was disturbed during recovery and construction work in the 1990s (see Chapter III). The surface is devoid of markers or other signs of underlying interments. The western side lacks any mature trees and the grounds are covered in meadow grasses and pioneer plants. Grounds within the fence have received occasional care in the past but most portions within the fenced area have become overgrown.

Soils in the vicinity of the Dunwoody Cemetery were not specifically explored, but some general observations were made. USDA soil surveys revealed that the soils are composed of Galestown Fine Sands (Soil Survey Staff 2012). Thin veneers of organic surface soils were also present. These 1-2-centimeter (0.4-0.8-in.) thick layers consisted primarily of recently decayed plant matter, tending towards fine-grained dark brown loams. These soils tend to drain extremely efficiently. While some minor surface erosion was noted in exposed areas, no gullies or washed areas were observed in or around the cemetery.

III. HISTORICAL CONTEXT

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CEMETERIES

Death is not just a physical phenomenon; it is also a social one. Death permanently removes humans from both social and physical environments. It is an agent of social disintegration, preventing the departed from contributing their labor, wisdom, experience, capital, and genes to the community's overall well being (Matternes 2000). Over time, death removes all members of a community; therefore, communities cannot ignore death's effects. When people die, their loss impacts the world on at least two distinct levels. First, their death leaves the survivors with physical remains that need to be addressed before becoming a potential biohazard. However, since humans attach meaning to a person's mortal remains, the corpse must be removed from the world of the living in a culturally acceptable manner. Second, death creates a social void, where duties and responsibilities associated with the decedent are no longer addressed. Survivors are left less connected to the world around them by the loss of social links through the decedent. Mortuary rituals are cultural acts designed to relieve some of the chaos brought on by death. They are intended to secure the decedent's mortal remains and reestablish social links between the survivors and the rest of the community.

Removing the dead from the world of the living is a delicate social undertaking. Dying represents an important rite of passage, where the dynamic social identities of the living are transformed into permanent social classifications of the dead (Saxe 1970). Each culture develops mortuary rituals that are designed to reaffirm the dead and living's new place in the social network. Mortuary rituals therefore are performances acted out by members of the surviving community. Individuals assume culturally prescribed social roles, that is, they limit their behaviors to fit within the boundaries of a pre-determined social classification and act out a display designed to influence how the viewing audience thinks and feels about death and the death event. The ritual, therefore, is an interpretation of the death event seen in a manner that is supportive of both the dead and the community (O'Shea 1984). Accomplishing this focuses on grounding these rituals in the community's larger structure of beliefs and material symbolism (McGuire 1988). In this regard, the mortuary ritual is a means of reaffirming and shaping social values (Geertz 1973).

The importance of the mortuary ritual can be traced into human prehistory. While the origins of mortuary ritual are hotly debated among academic circles, it has been generally recognized that intentional positioning of the dead and subsequent burial can be attributed to Neanderthal people

(Parker-Pearson 1999). Practices spread worldwide and by the emergence of modern *Homo sapiens,* evidence for mortuary ritual, usually in the form of elaborate graves, intentional body treatments, or manipulation of the corpse, can be found in every human culture. Funerary acts remain one of the earlier undisputed forms of cultural symbolism attributed to humans. By the time the North America was colonized, the funeral ritual had evolved into a cultural right afforded to nearly all members of a community; this included both the free and the enslaved.

During the Frontier period, burial rituals were frequently abbreviated (Santone and Irish 1997). The Frontier period can generally be considered a time before communities and centralized authorities were established among European Americans. Along the Georgia coast, but varying by location, the Frontier period would include parts of the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. Western populations were widely dispersed, reducing the number of people available to contribute to a funeral ritual. While burial was the dominant practice, elaboration was constrained by manpower. Rituals tended to be relatively simple. Isolation in the frontier environment resulted in a limited access to resources needed to complete the burial act. Resources including coffins, gravestones, and culturally appropriate burial dress were substituted with whatever material was available. Alternative forms of symbolism may have developed during this period to address ideas not expressible in the available media. The time available to bury the dead was also often abbreviated by decomposition of the corpse and the need to address more important issues, such as safety or weather. These factors would have acted to shorten the burial ritual to its minimum requirements.

During the Colonial period, the establishment of communities resulted in a formalization of burial areas within the community landscape. Along the Georgia coasts, this varied by location, but occurred generally between the 16th and 19th centuries. Grounds associated with churches or set aside within the community were common features. These grounds were often exclusive. The earliest confirmed Colonial period cemetery in the region was associated with the 15th-century Spanish Mission Santa Catalina de Guale on St. Catherine's Island (Larson et al. 1990). In Savannah, lands were specifically designated for the burial of Whites, Blacks, Jews, and Catholics (Gamble 1901:207; Levy 1982; Johnson 1996; Gus 2004). Lands were specially set aside for interment purposes and rituals tended to reflect those of the more mainstream Euro-American culture. The demand for mortuary specific products, such as gravestones and coffins, and desire for specialized services, principally those of clergymen, provided full and part-time work for a variety of community members (Matternes and Gillett 2007). In the outlying, rural areas, families frequently established private burial grounds on their own properties. These grounds tended to take place in non-agriculturally valuable lands, near culturally significant landforms, such as hill or ridge tops, or near bodies of water, and in places that were easily accessible to the survivors (Jeane 1992). Following the directives set down by their holders,

slaves were interred on the periphery of the family burial ground or in separate cemeteries that tended to follow these same general guidelines. The rural cemetery reflected patterns that developed during the earlier frontier period. Services tended to be brief and emphasized the use of material and social resources that were available locally. These aspects of the Colonial period rural cemetery were likely the foundations for the later Southern Folk Cemetery. The Old City Cemetery and portions of the Upper Mill Cemetery, both located in McIntosh County, are examples of Colonial cemeteries.

Colonial cemeteries, particularly those in urban centers, lacked strong managerial control and quickly became overused. The resulting grounds were viewed as unattractive necessities, reflecting considerations of cemetery space as little more than a place to bury and memorialize the individual (or individual family) (French 1974). The lack of consideration that the cemetery may be a place of harmony and that its architecture may be integrated with the landscape jarred many 19th-century citizens' sense of natural order and decency. Beginning in the 1830s, landscape designers began following the Rural Cemetery Movement, a planning concept where cemeteries were "designed not only to be a decent place of interment, but to serve as a cultural institution as well" (French 1974:38). Cemeteries were viewed as places not to be shunned because of their unpleasant associations with death, but as the integration of the natural and human landscapes, emphasized by memorials to those who were moral and cultural examples to the rest of humanity. Burial grounds were designed as parks, where one could stroll, admire the grounds, and be reminded of a community's role models. In Georgia, excellent examples of Rural Cemetery Movement facilities are found at Macon's Rose Hill, designed by Simri Rose, and Savannah's Bonaventure cemeteries, the latter was designed by the Evergreen Cemetery Company (Evergreen Cemetery Company of Bonaventure 1873; Earnheart 1989). The original design of Savannah's Laurel Grove Cemetery reflected many aspects of a Rural Cemetery Movement burial ground. It is unclear exactly how far the Rural Cemetery Movement spread beyond urban centers; however, the possibility that individual families considered its landscaping concepts when developing private facilities cannot be dismissed. Some outlying mid-late 19th-century mausoleums and family vaults reflect a greater integration of natural landscape with architecture than more previously seen before. Clear examples of Rural Cemetery Movement burial grounds are not present in the Darien-McIntosh County area.

The semi-isolated nature of many southern rural communities served to perpetuate the belief in more traditional ideas and hesitant to consider more mainstream cultural concepts without a considerable amount of skepticism. Lack of exposure to mainstream American culture also tended to encourage cultural evolution into unique, distinct forms. These social phenomena included views on death and mortuary tradition. Jeane (1989; 1992) championed the concept of the Upland South Cemetery as southern burial grounds emphasizing their tendency towards high

ground locations; that they tend to be relatively small; that they use vegetation and vernacular materials as forms of symbolism; and use maintenance to remember and honor the dead. Jeane's original concepts about the Upland South Cemetery tradition were that it was distinct from non-European American traditions and from urban cemetery architecture. There was an emphasis on the use of non-commercial or non-mortuary specific materials on the grave and as part of the ritual. Funerary symbolism is often unique to the community and may not be fully understood by non-community members. These features are most distinctive in the funeral traditions observed in Appalachia, where they have been perhaps researched most thoroughly, but they are far from unique to the region (Crissman 1994; Jabbour and Jabbour 2010). Since its inception, researchers have identified many of these same characteristics in areas outside of the Upland South and linked aspects of its features to a wide variety of folk traditions, including those of non-Euro-American descent (Jordan 1980; Milbauer 1989; Clauser, Jr. 1994; Hildebrand 2006; Matternes et al. 2010; Matternes and Richey 2014). Recognizing the limitations implied by Jeane's original concepts, researchers tend to refer to features associated with the southern rural funeral rituals as part of the Southern Folk Cemetery tradition. Many modern, active rural cemeteries in the American South may still be considered Southern Folk facilities. There are dozens, if not hundreds, of small rural cemeteries in McIntosh County, most reflecting community-specific traditions and symbolism. As will be emphasized in Chapter V, the Dunwoody Cemetery is an example of a Southern Folk Cemetery.

While many communities and municipal authorities still manage active burial grounds as civic responsibilities, there has been a greater emphasis since World War II towards commercial cemetery development. Farrell (1980) referred to these ventures as Lawn-Park Cemeteries. While maintaining a park-like atmosphere, the lawn-park cemetery emphasizes an open, lawn-like appearance where individual monuments are frequently deemphasized (or segregated to specific sections of the grounds) in favor of horizontal markers that do not intrude or compete with the landscape (Farrell 1980). Form and duration of decoration is often highly regulated and emphasis is placed on maintenance, efficiency, and presentation of the cemetery as a whole, not just the individual monument (Farrell 1980). Many lawn-park cemeteries are owned and operated by funeral homes. Examples of the commercial cemetery in McIntosh County include Evergreen Memorial Park and Chapel Park Cemeteries.

HISTORY OF DUNWOODY CEMETERY

PROPERTY OWNERSHIP

An examination of records on file at the McIntosh County Clerk of Superior Court and the McIntosh County Tax Assessor's Office was made to trace the property's history and determine if there were any mentions of the Dunwoody Cemetery. The book *A History and Genealogy of*

the Families of Bayard, Houstoun of Georgia, and the Descent of the Bolton Family from Assheton, Byron and Hulton of Hulton Park (Bulloch 1919) was also examined, but the information was focused on the English side of the family, rather than the American side. A summary of the deed records is included in Table 1.

Table 1. Deeds Issued for Sidon Plantation Tracts that are Relevant to the Dunwoody Cemetery

Tract	Date	Grantor (Seller)	Grantee (Buyer)	Reference
1 and 2	1757	English Crown	Patrick Houston/Houstoun	Georgia State Archives Land Grant Book 1757:A:466
1 and 2	1762	Patrick Houston/Houstoun (Estate)	Priscilla Houston/Houstoun	Colonial Will Books 1762:A:83–84
1 and 2	1772(?)	Priscilla Houston/Houstoun	Patrick Houston/Houstoun	No Deed or Will Located
1 and 2	1783	Patrick Houston/Houstoun	William Houston/Houstoun	No Deed Located, See Gladstone 1995:1, 2000:111
1 and 2	1798	William Houston/Houstoun	James Smith	No Deed Located, See Gladstone 1995:1, 2000:111
1 and 2	December 1, 1857	Estate of James Smith	Mary E. Dunwoody	McIntosh County, Clerk of Superior Court [MCC] Deed Book 1857:C:180
1 and 2	July 28, 1863	Mary E. Dunwoody	Barrington King	MCC Deed Book 1863:B:465
1 and 2	June 2, 1880	Charles B. King Barrington King Estate	James H. Johnson	MCC Deed Book 1880:C:388; MCC Mortgage Book 1880:A:243
1 and 2	February 3, 1885	McIntosh County Seized from James H. Johnson	Joseph Mansfield	MCC Deed Book 1885:C:388
1 and 2	February 18, 1885	Joseph Mansfield	E. C. Baker By Trustees, W.C. Baker, and Harris M. King	MCC Deed Book 1885:C:392
1 and 2	September 10, 1885	E. C. Baker By Trustees, W.C. Baker, and Harris M. King	David S. Sinclair and William W. Sinclair	MCC Deed Book 1885:C:449, 451
1 and 2	September 12, 1885	David S. Sinclair and William W. Sinclair	Thomas McLean Thomson	MCC Mortgage Book 1885:B:228
1 and 2	1 June 1902	Annie June Thomson, Thomas Charkson Thomson, Kate Sinclair Thomson T. M. Thomson Estate	Joseph William Spencer	MCC Mortgage Book 1902:E:404
1 and 2	April 18, 1911	Joseph William Spencer	Elizabeth F. Sinclair and Susie F. Sinclair	MCC Deed Book 1911:J:408

(Continues)

(Continued)

Tract	Date	Grantor (Seller)	Grantee (Buyer)	Reference
1 and 2	April 11, 1911	Elizabeth F. Sinclair and Susie F. Sinclair	E. T. Morris	MCC Deed Book 1911:J:388
1 and 2	November 20, 1925	E. T. Morris	Susie F. Sinclair Walker and E.T. Morris	MCC Deed Book 1925:W:181 Plat by Poppell [August 1925] not on file
1 and 2	November 20, 1925	Susie F. Sinclair Walker and E. T. Morris	J. S. N. Davis and G. W. Brandon	MCC Deed Book 1925:W:173
1 and 2	March 29, 1926	Darien Naval Stores Company J. S. N. Davis and G. W. Brandon	H.S. Willingham for Susie F. Sinclair Walker and E.T. Morris	MCC Deed Book 1926:X:150
1 and 2	January 4, 1928	H.S. Willingham	G.W. Brandon	MCC Deed Book 1928:1:226
1 and 2	May 5, 1932	R. D. Meader H.S. Willingham Estate	Mrs. Bernice C. Dyal	MCC Deed Book 1932:5:263
1 and 2	June 15, 1937	Mrs. Bernice C. Dyal	Union Bag and Timber Company of Georgia Union Camp Corporation	MCC Deed Book 1937:8:82
1 and 2	September 23, 1972	Union Camp Corporation	Transtates Properties, Inc.	MCC Deed Book 1972:61:644; MCC Plat Book 1972:2:198
1	October 31, 1994	Transtates Properties, Inc.	The Braniger Organization, Inc.	MCC Deed Book 1994:190:217
1	December 22, 2000	The Braniger Organization, Inc.	Lewis and Raulerson, Inc.	MCC Deed Book 2000:284:289
2	December 28, 1995	Transtates Properties, Inc.	Sommers Brothers Partnership	MCC Deed Book 1995:205:86; MCC Plat Book 1995:1:20D
2	December 28, 1995	Transtates Properties, Inc.	Sommers Brothers Partnership	MCC Deed Book 1995:213:72; MCC Plat Book 1995:1:20D
2	March 4, 2010	Sommers Brothers Partnership	Darien El Cheapo, LLC	MCC Deed Book 2010:531:296

Dunwoody Cemetery is situated on lands that would eventually become the Sidon plantation that were part of land grants that the English crown awarded to Sir Patrick Houston (Houstoun), Fifth Baronet in 1757 (Bryant 1972). This land was part of lands that were obtained when the Creek Indians ceded the islands of St. Catherines, Ossabaw, and Sapelo, as well as their Savannah reserve in Treaty of Savannah signed in November 1757 (Sainsbury 1880; Candler et al. 1916:462; Juricek 1979). According to the *Great Britain, Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers* (Juricek 1979), Sir Patrick Houston was present at the signing of the treaty.

Houston, the son of a landed baronet from Glasgow, was drawn to Georgia by the Georgia Trustee's ill-conceived hope of developing a silk industry from mulberry trees (Johnston 1950). Houston was awarded a 500-acre land grant at the confluence of the Vernon and Little Ogeechee rivers (in modern day Chatham County), a tract he subsequently developed into the Rosedue Plantation (Table 2) (Johnston 1950). In 1754, Sir Patrick was appointed as Register of Grants and Receiver of Quit Rents for the Colony of Georgia, a position he used the acquire other landholdings (Johnston 1950). By 1759, he had received over 3,100 acres in granted land including properties in Christ Church, St. David, and St. Andrews parishes as well as town lots in Savannah and Hardwick (Johnston 1950).

Table 2. Land Grants Issued to Sir Patrick Houston by the English Crown

Parish	Award Date	Grant Book	Acreage
Christ Church	November 7, 1755	A:15	500
Christ Church	May 15, 1756	A:224	Half Town Lot, Anson Ward, Savannah
Christ Church	October 2, 1759	B:273	200
Christ Church	October 2, 1759	B:274	481
Total			1,181
St. Andrews	June 7, 1757	A:466	1000
St. Andrews	August 2, 1774	H:121	50
St. Andrews	May 5, 1772	I:590	150
St. Andrews	May 5, 1772	I:591	100
St. Andrews	June 7, 1794	I:1018	350
St. Andrews	July 5, 1774	M:47	150
St. Andrews	September 6, 1774	M:221	400
Total			2,200

While tracts and landscape features mentioned on Houston's land grants are difficult to relocate, one 1757 reference mentions Cathead Creek being located on the southern property boundary (Georgia State Archives Land Grant Book 1757:A:466). The 1757 reference corresponded with Sidon's location and this land grant was likely the core of Houston's Cathead Creek Plantation. Sir Patrick died in February 1762, leaving his estate to his wife, Priscilla (Colonial Will Books 1762:A:83–84). Their sons, Patrick, William, and John, became men of merit in colonial aristocracy. The younger Patrick remained a planter in Georgia. William went into law and became an early delegate to the Continental Congress. John made politics a profession, serving in the Continental Congress and as a two-term Governor of Georgia. Details are not clear, but it is likely that when Priscilla died in 1772, Patrick, being the oldest son, inherited the property (Colonial Will Books 1762:A:83–84).

Within days of Sir Patrick's death, Seventh Georgia Colonial Governor James Wright appointed the younger Patrick to his father's old post as Register of Grants and Receiver of Quit Rents (Johnston 1950). As the oldest son, Patrick also inherited the title, making him the Sixth Baron of Houston. The governor also appointed the new Baronet to the Royal Council for Georgia. The young Sir Patrick's Loyalist activities did not win favor with the new colonial government and in 1783, soon after its acquisition, the newly formed Commissioners of Confiscated Estates ordered the property sold at public auction (Gladstone 1995:1; 2000a:11). Prior to the auction, however, his brother, William purchased the grounds, thereby keeping it in the Houston family until William's death in 1796. A search of articles in the *Columbian Museum* and *Savannah Advertiser* (1796a; 1796b) did not yield any more information on the property or slaves associated with the property. In 1798, James Smith acquired the property after William's death. The volumes of the *Columbian Museum* and *Savannah Advertiser* did not include 1798, so no information could be found. The deeds recording these transactions did not survive to the present day, but Smith's involvement is mentioned in documents showing the sale of the Sidon Plantation in 1857 (McIntosh County, Clerk of Superior Court [MCC] Deed Book 1857:C:180). The Sidon Plantation was probably initially developed as an agricultural venture during the Houstons' ownership.

James F. Smith was a successful planter who owned several other rice and cotton plantations, besides Sidon, in McIntosh and Liberty counties along the Lower Altamaha River drainage (Clarke 2005). Smith also owned the Hopestill Plantation, which shared a common boundary along the northwestern side of the Sidon Plantation. Under Smith's ownership, both Sidon and Hopestill focused on rice plantation. His other properties in McIntosh County included the Brighton Plantation, which was nestled among a concentration of sea cotton ventures several miles northeast of Darien (Sullivan 1992). Following a pattern established by other Southern Planters, James Smith spent his winters in the warmer lands of McIntosh County and summered in the less miasmic hills around Marietta, Georgia. Smith permanently moved to north Georgia in 1837, leaving the operations of his plantations in the care of his daughter Elizabeth Dunwoody, and his son-in-law James Dunwoody (Gladstone 1995:1; Weidlich 1996:29). While some historical documents may list the last name as spelled 'Dunwody,' this document will refer to the modern spelling of 'Dunwoody.'

The Dunwoodys maintained households at both the Brighton and Sidon plantations (Sullivan 1992). Payment of $250.00 annual salary to an overseer in 1854 was recorded in incomplete plantation book for Sidon, that was dated 1855 but had numerous other entries from the early 1850s (Smith 1855). This entry emphasized that Smith and Dunwoody delegated daily field operations to an on-site manager. In a letter, dated June 13, 1833, Smith mentioned a millhouse he constructed, presumably to help process rice (Smith 1833). The location of the millhouse was unclear, but from the description provided, it would likely have been positioned on the southwestern side of either the Sidon or Hopestill plantations near the bluffs overlooking

Cathead Creek. The millhouse was probably used by both ventures. Smith was likely using water to generate the power needed to run the mill. The previously mentioned Sidon plantation book noted that a pile driver and ferry were present on the property (Smith 1855). An 1852 entry for lumber to build or repair a corn mill cogwheel may be evidence that crops other than rice and possibly cotton were grown on the plantation (Smith 1855). Livestock on the property included mules, oxen, steers and horses (Smith 1855).

The Sidon Plantation remained in Smith's hands until his death in 1856. Smith's will, which was presented in Cobb (1856), indicated that he held strong objections to dividing the families of his slaves. He clearly called for his estate to be held together in perpetuity to prevent the splitting of slave families. He also called for a manumission of every 10th slave child born on his property on their 18th birthday and the freedperson bound over to the Colonization Society of the USA for transport to Liberia, once again in perpetuity. Unfortunately, the 'in perpetuity' provisions and terms of manumission in the will were untenable under 19th-century Georgia law, and the Supreme Court of Georgia annulled these terms of his will (Cobb 1856). The Sidon Plantation was sold at public auction.

The auction was held at the Darien courthouse in 1857 with the winning bid going to Mary Dunwoody (MCC Deed Book 1857:C:180). Dunwoody's purchase was significant as it indicated an attempt to meet the goals of Smith's will. Mary Dunwoody was James Smith's granddaughter and she, along with Smith's daughter Elizabeth's (the abovementioned wife of James Dunwoody) other grandchildren, were named as custodians of Smith's properties. No heir was capable of purchasing all of Smith's holdings, but with the division of the properties among them, a cooperative arrangement seems to have been worked out to at least keep Smith's properties in the family's hands. Mary Dunwoody's purchase of Sidon kept the plantation as part of the Smith-Dunwoody venture and, ultimately, prevented the slaves from being sold. Of the heirs to Smith's estate, Elizabeth's son Dean Monro Dunwoody appeared to have had a flair for plantation management as control over these ventures ultimately became his (Gladstone 1995:1; Weidlich 1996:29). While technically, Mary owned Sidon, it was probably Dean who ran it.

At the time that Mary purchased it, Sidon was described as a 2,300-acre tract consisting of 300 acres of rice tidal land and 2,000 acres of pineland. The sale not only included the lands but also a "dwelling house", "negro houses", a variety of outbuildings, and a "steam engine". However, there is no mention of the cemetery in the deed. There is no mention of the slaves in the real estate transactions, but some evidence can be gleaned from census and tax records. Census and tax records did not record where people were living when counted, so it was unclear exactly where communities were located without some reference to known established historic residences. Given that the Smiths and Dunwoodys owned several plantations in McIntosh County, the slave counts provided reflected the totals from all plantation holdings, not counts at

each specific property. It was therefore impossible to examine the Smith and Dunwoody slaves by individual plantation community until the slaves passed into different family member hands. The slave counts also did not include their holdings in Liberty and Cobb counties, which were listed separately by county. James Smith's slave holdings in McIntosh County were recorded as 60 slaves (42 males and 18 females) in the 1820 census (U.S. Census Bureau 1820). Property tax records for the 271 Georgia Militia District indicated that he owned 64 slaves (Georgia Tax Digests 2011). By the time of the 1830 federal census, he had increased this number to 78 slaves (41 males and 34 females), which increased to 132 slaves by 1840 (80 males and 42 females) (U.S. Census Bureau 1830; 1840). Smith, his wife, daughter, grandchildren, other potential in-laws, overseers and property managers) were recorded as residing on his properties in McIntosh or Liberty counties.

In an incomplete plantation book for Sidon, dated 1855, but containing a page entitled "Memorandum or Account of All Slaves on Sidon Plantation to Date", Smith provided an inventory of 108 individuals as of 5 January 1853 (Smith 1855). This inventory, presented in Table 3 also listed the names of each individual slave. This inventory also corresponded to data in the 1850 slave schedule, where James Smith was listed with only 108 slaves (57 males and 51 females) (U.S. Census Bureau 1850a). The apparent decrease in the number of slaves between 1840 and 1850 is probably misleading. Immediately preceding Smith's entry in the federal slave schedule was a listing for his grandson, William J. Dunwoody. William Dunwoody was recorded as having 99 slaves (51 males and 48 females). While attrition may have accounted from some difference in Smith's holdings between 1840 and 1850, a more likely explanation is that some of Smith's former slaves were transferred to William Dunwoody's ownership. In reality, the Smith-Dunwoody ventures saw a 44 percent increase in their slave population. A further complication was that not all slaves assigned to a given property were employed there. Smith's plantation book included several entries indicating that funds ranging between $40.00 and $60.00 were received annually for slaves hired out (Smith 1855). Smith's 1853 inventory of slaves (Table 3) indicated that 30 individuals counted as Sidon's slaves were not physically on the plantation (Smith 1855). It was unclear if slaves, who were likely not living on the plantation, were enumerated in the census records. The sale of eight slaves to an unknown buyer in 1852 was also recorded in the Sidon plantation book; this sale emphasized that the true number of new incoming slaves to the plantation was likely greater than inferred from the census data (Smith 1855). The 1850 census also emphasized a change in residence within the Smith-Dunwoody clan (U.S. Census Bureau 1850b). James and his wife were still living in McIntosh County, likely at the Brighton Estate; however, his daughter Elizabeth, and grandchildren, William, John F., and Mary, were listed under a separate residence in the census. The other residence was likely either Sidon and/or Hopestill, and it would place William's slaves at the Sidon and/or Hopestill plantations.

Table 3. "Memorandum or Account of All Slaves on Sidon Plantation to Date" [5 January 1853] (Smith 1855)

[Males]	[Females]	[Children]	Not On Sido[n]
Prince (Driver)	Sarah	Anna	Jacob
O[ld] Will	Mary	Ellen	Liddie
Neiro	Old Mary	Hactor	Mary
Augustus	Nelly	Hanna	Mack
Jupiter	Mily	Die	Will
Ishmael	Binah	Nancy	Sandy
Isaac	Leah	Limas	Joe
Billy	Hager	William	Israel
Anthony	Affy	William	O[ld] John
Norris	Hester	Walter	Sue
Tyke	Pender	Garison	Hector
Kit	Violet	Charles	Dianna
Doctr	Diannah	Albert	Lissa
John	B[ig] Betty	Will	Luck
Jessie	Nancy	Joe	Amy
Monday	Mary Ann	Richard	Betty
O[ld] David	Bella	Sally	Harriet
David	Julia		Peter
B[ig] Adam	Clarisa (Cassy)		Pompey
L[ittle] Adam	Margaret		Dap[hne]
Biaf	Betsey		Jose[phene]
Aleck	Jane		F uc[…]
William (Engineer)	Old Mariah		Nea??[…]
Richard (Carpenter)	Daphney		Phil[ip]
Abraham (Carpenter)	Young Maria		Sam[pson]
Joseph (Carpenter)	Nancy		Bay[…]
Lawrence	Lucy Ann		Ame[lia]
Frederic (Mm D)	Nan		Fran[k]
Edward			Susa[n]
Sam			John
Neiro			
Simon			

Red=Letters Approximated; ( ) =Supplemental Information Listed in Inventory; […] Information is Missing; [ ]= Information Reconstructed from Undated Draft Located in Plantation Book.

The annulment of James Smith's will ultimately entailed a division of his holdings, but it appeared that the family attempted to continue to hold on to what they could. The 1860 census listed Dean Munro, and Mary and William Dunwoody as living in three separate residences in McIntosh County; these were likely Brighton, Sidon, and possibly at Hopestill (U.S. Census

Bureau 1860a). John F. Dunwoody was living in Camden County. Each Dunwoody also had a separate listing in the slave schedule. Dean was noted to have 44 slaves (18 males and 26 females), William possessed 35 slaves (18 males and 17 females), John held 36 slaves (18 males and 18 females), and Mary owned 33 slaves (17 males and 16 females) (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b). There was a difference of 59 slaves between the 1850 and 1860 schedules for the Smith-Dunwoody ventures in McIntosh County. While attrition and sale may have accounted for portions of these numbers, it was also possible that the slave redistribution occurred among a more extended family.

As a side note, the number of slave houses on a property were also listed in the 1860 slave schedule (U.S. Census Bureau 1860b). Mary Dunwoody, who owned Sidon, was listed as having five slave houses. These were likely some of the remains addressed by Weidlich (1996) in her examination of slave quarters on the south side of River Road from the Dunwoody Cemetery. Dean Munro was listed as having 10 slave houses, and William Dunwoody as having six houses. These slave houses were likely present at the Hopestill and Brighton plantations.

Mary Dunwoody retained the property during much of the Civil War. The cemetery name likely was derived from the property's ownership by the Dunwoodys; although, it was unclear if this was James and Elizabeth Dunwoody, Mary Dunwoody, or the Dunwoody family as a whole.

In June of 1863, the city of Darien was raided and burned by Union troops stationed on St. Simon Island (Cox 2014). Roughly six weeks after the raid, Mary Dunwoody sold Sidon Plantation (MCC Deed Book 1863:B:465) and moved to Spaulding County, Georgia where she and her mother lived with her cousin, Jane Jones (U.S. Census Bureau 1870). Between the razing of Darien and the sale of Sidon Plantation, the Battle of Gettysburg took place in Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. The Union's victory at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863 was the turning point in the war, with the Confederate Army unable to regain the military strength they had going into the battle (The Gettysburg Foundation 2014).

Barrington King was the purchaser of Sidon Plantation (MCC Deed Book 1863:B:465). King and his wife, Catherine M. Nephew King, both came from families who were members of McIntosh County's planter society (Clarke 2005). In addition to Sidon, the Kings owned the Barrington Hall plantation in Liberty County, a flour mill, and the Roswell Manufacturing Company, an early textile mill in north-central Georgia (Clarke 2005). A review of census records indicated what while both Barrington and Catherine's parents were large slaveholders, the couple never owned a slave (U.S. Census Bureau 1850a; 1850b). No information could be ascertained as to whether this was a choice based on personal or generational views or whether it was based on other reasons.

On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee surrendered the Confederate Army, at the Appomattox Courthouse in Virginia (National Park Service 2014). With Lee's surrender, the remaining field armies in the south also surrendered, and the Civil War ended. With Barrington King's death in 1866, his son, Charles B. King, inherited and eventually sold the property.

The property was mortgaged in 1880 by James H. Johnson (MCC Deed Book 1880:B:520; MCC Mortgage Book 1880:A:243). Prior to this point, all sales of the property appear to have been cash transactions. In 1885, a writ of fieri ficias was issued against Johnson by King's estate, and the property was seized by McIntosh County sheriff, J.B. Blount (MCC Deed Book 1885:C:388). Other resources, such as the Edith Duncan Johnston (1950) papers were checked to see if more information on this matter existed, but there were no documents or photographs to be found. The property was sold to Joseph Mansfield in February of that year and almost immediately sold to E. C. Baker, Harris M. King, and W. E. Baker, the latter of whom had been the administrator of Barrington King's estate (MCC Deed Book 1885:C:392).

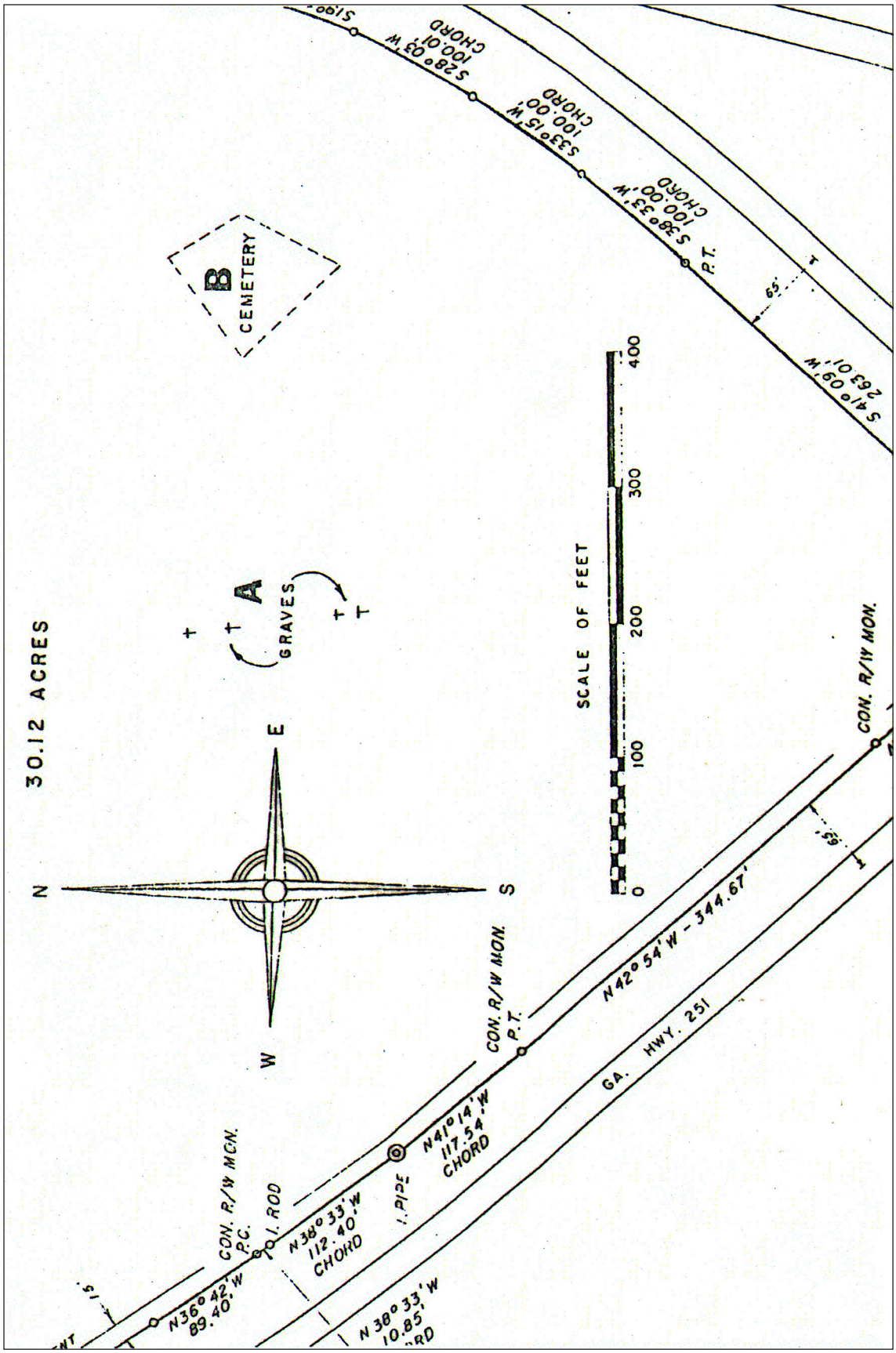
On September 10, 1885, the Bakers and King sold the plantation to David S. and William W. Sinclair (Weidlich 1996) David Sinclair was a timber inspector for the City of Darien (Sullivan 2012). Two days after the plantation was sold, the Sinclair brothers accepted a mortgage sale of the property to Mr. Thomas McLene Thomson (MCC Mortgage Book 1885:B:228). The Sinclairs must have continued to exercise some rights over the property because in 1893, David Sinclair was noted to have lost a turpentine distillery erected on the property to fire (Sullivan 2012). Sinclair was also noted to have been a major rice planter in the late 19th century (Sullivan 2012). Thomson's death prompted his heirs, Annie June Thomson, Thomas Clarkson Thomson, and Kate Sinclair Thomson, to sell the property; it was eventually purchased in 1902 by Joseph William Spencer, a geologist from Washington D.C. (MCC Mortgage Book 1902:E:404). In 1911, ownership was transferred from Spencer to Elizabeth F and Susie F. Sinclair, heirs of David S. Sinclair (MCC Deed Book 1911:J:408). Almost immediately, the Sinclair sisters sold it to E. T. Morris and in 1925, the property was transferred from E. T. Morris and Company to Susie F. Sinclair Morris and E. T. Morris (MCC Deed Book 1925:J:388; W:181). The latter transaction is of special note as it initiated a plat map that local surveyor, Richard Poppell created. Unfortunately, Poppell's map was never entered into the public record, but it appears to have been the first rendering of the Sidon Plantation tract.

Morris' transfer of the property from company to private holdings was probably an attempt to pay taxes and debts. The same day Morris transferred ownership to himself and his wife, they sold the property to S. N. Davis and G. W. Brandon, owners of the Darien Naval Stores Company (MCC Deed Book 1925:W:173). The following year, Davis and Brandon sold Sidon to H. S. Willingham, who in turn sold it back to G. W. Brandon in 1928 (MCC Deed Book

1928:1:237). The potential sale to Brandon was for the land only; a deed granting wood and turpentine rights for a period of four years was issued separately (MCC Deed Book 1928:1:237). Willingham's sale to Brandon, however, was "made junior" to a potential sale of Sidon to Mrs. Bernice Dyal; a Deed to Secure Debt was issued between Willingham and Dyal in 1928 (MCC Deed Book 1928:1:221). Willingham died before these transactions were completed and Sidon was sold to pay off his debt (MCC Deed Book 1928:5:236). On May 5, 1932, R. D. Meader, attorney for Willingham's estate, held a public auction in front of the Darien Courthouse, where Dyal was able to purchase the plantation outright for $5,000.00. In 1937, Dyal sold Sidon to the Union Camp Bag and Timber Company of Georgia (now Union Camp Corporation) (MCC Deed Book 1937:8:82). Prior to purchase by Brandon, Sidon was consistently identified as approximately 2,300 acres in size. It appears to have also been included in the sales of adjoining properties (part of a 5,000-acre tract) that were already part of E. T. Morris' holdings. Brandon, Davis, Willingham, and then Dyal deeds exhibit a property jump from 2,300-2,410 acres. It is presumed that this additional 110 acres came from properties that were formerly part of Morris' holdings, but the true origin has not been established. Given the cemetery's location in the central portion of the Sidon plantation tract, it is highly unlikely that the burial grounds were included in the newly annexed property.

The Union Camp Corporation maintained Sidon as part of its timber holdings for over 35 years. Prior to this time, there were no mentions of the Dunwoody Cemetery in any deeds, and maps identifying the cemetery are lacking. In 1970, registered land surveyor, Robert Cubbedge, surveyed a 30.12-acre tract on the northwest corner of I-95 and Georgia Highway 251 (Figure 6) (MCC Plat Book 1970:2:198). The survey clearly records the location of graves currently recognized as part of the Dunwoody Cemetery. In 1972, this tract, referred to as Parcel 3, was sold to Transtates Properties, Incorporated (MCC Deed Book 1972:61:644). While Cubbedge's map was referenced in the deed, there was no mention of the cemetery.

In 1989, Transtates Properties, Incorporated commissioned Michael Gardner to survey Parcel 3. The frontage along Georgia Highway 251 was divided into three tracts, encompassing 16.59 acres; the remaining property, representing frontage along I-95 (13.53 acres) remained in Transtates Properties, Incorporated's possession. Gardner's map clearly defined the cemetery as well as ingress and egress easements through it as part of Tract 2 (MCC Plat Book 1989:PC1:20D). Tract 2 transferred from Transtates Properties, Incorporated to the Sommers Brothers Partnership in December of 1995 (MCC Plat Book 1989:205:86; 213;72). The 1995 deed provided Transtates Properties, Incorporated the right to relocate graves within the specified easements; the first mention of the cemetery in any recorded property deed. The most recent change in property ownership occurred in March 2010, when the Sommers Brothers



Source: Cook 1993:8

Figure 6.
R.L. Cubbedge's (1970) Map of West (A) and East (B) Dunwoody Cemetery

Partnership sold the property to Darien El Cheapo, LLC (MCC Deed Book 2010:531:296). There is no mention the Dunwoody Cemetery relative to the 2.32-acre parcel known as Tract 1. In 1994, Transtates Properties, Incorporated sold the parcel to Lewis and Raulerson, Incorporated (MCC Deed Book 1994:190:217). It remains in their possession to this day.

THE PRE-EMANCIPATION PERIOD

Unlike other parts of the state, slavery did not come with colonization of McIntosh County; it was a later addition. Darien's initial British colonists were Scotsmen, part of an English military plan to place forces between Savannah and the Spanish to the south (Kelso 1967). Living conditions in the undeveloped Georgia coast were so inhospitable that it quickly became apparent that a cheap, replaceable source of labor was needed for any agricultural venture to return a profit (Gunn 1975). When Darien's Scottish colonists learned that plantation owners around Savannah were petitioning the Trustees of Georgia (a board of trustees that governed the colony prior to the American Revolution) to allow slavery, they signed a counter-petition objecting (Dunbar 1738). The Trustees initially rejected the request to allow slavery, but the ban was overturned in 1749 (Parker 1997). Slavery enabled the development of Georgia's commercial agriculture industry.

Sidon's commercial focus during the 18th and early/mid-19th centuries was rice agriculture. Prior to Emancipation, enslaved African Americans constituted the main component of the plantation's work force. In 1859, Sidon and its adjoining plantation, Hopestill, were noted to have a combined total of 200 slaves living on them (Sullivan 1992). Conditions, particularly in the rice fields, were inhospitable. During the hot, humid summers, mosquitoes and water-borne diseases were rampant (Sullivan 2008:3–4). A visit to the Altamaha rice plantations in 1828, prompted Captain Basil Hall in Bell, Jr. (1987:127) to note:

> [Rice agriculture was] the most unhealthy work in which the slaves were employed and that in spite of every care, they sank under in great numbers. The causes of this dreadful mortality are the constant moisture and heat of the atmosphere, together with the alternating flooding and drying of the fields on which the Negroes are perpetually at work, often ankle deep in mud, with their bare heads exposed to the fierce rays of the sun.

Slave mortality from disease exacerbated by excessive labor and inadequate nutrition in these conditions was greater than among the non-slave, non-laboring Anglo community. Tending rice farms required acclimation and was especially hazardous to the new slave. Charles Ball (1999), enslaved between the 1780s and 1820s, noted:

> No stranger can work a week in a rice swamp at this season of the year [spring], without becoming sick; and all the new hands, three in number besides myself, were taken ill within the first five days after we had entered the field.

To counter these conditions, plantation owners sometimes constructed their own medical facilities for slaves. Weidlich (1996) suggested that some of the tabby ruins found at Sidon, which were demolished during 1995 construction of the Magnolia Bluffs Factory Outlet Mall shopping center, may have originally been part of the plantation's hospital. An incomplete plantation book for Sidon dated 1855, but containing numerous other entries from the early 1850s, includes several entries indicating that Dr. James 'Dr. Bullie' Holmes received an annual stipend of $45.00 from Sidon Plantation for medical services (Smith 1855). Holmes (1876) recalled one incident:

> I remember one morning when on a professional visit to Sidon, Mr. James Smith's place, four little Negroes were terribly scalded by the upsetting of a large pot of boiling water near the hospital door. I send to the house for rags and covered all the scalded or burnt surfaces with an ointment made of soot scraped from the kitchen chimney, a spoonful or two of lard, and the whites of a few eggs rubbing it all together to the consistence of honey, reapplying it as it flaked off. There was little or no inhalation of steam and the recovery of the little sufferers was very rapid.

For those who did not survive, Sidon would have required a burial facility of some size to inter its enslaved decedents. While the date the cemetery started to be used is unknown, Dunwoody Cemetery has traditionally been perceived as the burial grounds for Sidon's enslaved community. It is possible that some graves may date back to the plantation's origins under Sir Patrick Houston. Fred Cook (1993) reported that tabby ruins of the old Sidon Plantation slave quarters were located approximately 275 meters (900 ft.) southwest of the burial ground. Sidon's slave quarters were the subject of Weidlich's (1996) thesis; these ruins have since been destroyed by development. The cemetery was positioned on high ground, above most floodwaters, out of agriculturally desirable land, and along the periphery of the slave community's domestic area.

While many planters may have indiscriminately viewed the slave as simply a worker from Africa, others were savvy enough to recognize that people from the varying parts of Africa were equipped with a range of marketable skills. Wood (1996), for example, recognized that Africans from the Gambia River region were favored by inland South Carolina slaveholders because of their ability to herd cattle. The large, robust physique of the Angolian was considered ideal for field labor (Holloway 1990). The Mandes, who were largely city dwellers from the West African Sudanese Empire were targeted for domestic and house service. The Mandes knowledge of watercraft on the Senegal and Gambia Rivers also earned them positions as boatmen

(Holloway 1990). In the coastal regions, the Senegalese and Gambian people were especially desired because they already possessed knowledge of rice agriculture (Creel 1988; Holloway 1990:12; Ferguson 1992). These skills were not lost on planters along the lower Altamaha. Bell, Jr. (1987:130) noted that "Rice Coast" Africans were specially purchased by the Butlers Island Plantation to help train field managers about rice agriculture. Slaves appear to have been obtained often with specific tasks in mind. Bell, Jr. (1987:131) continued:

> At Hampton and Butlers Island there was a great mixture of people from many parts of Africa. The allegedly placid agrarian strain from the Congo was there, with sensitive and often despondent Ibos. Gambian Moslems were thrust among the varied Africans, including the favored Coromantees from the Gold Coast. These several cultures when mixed with the occasional native-born Africans purchased on shipboard or in the Savannah slave markets to meet specific needs, produced an entirely new environment for the Negroes.

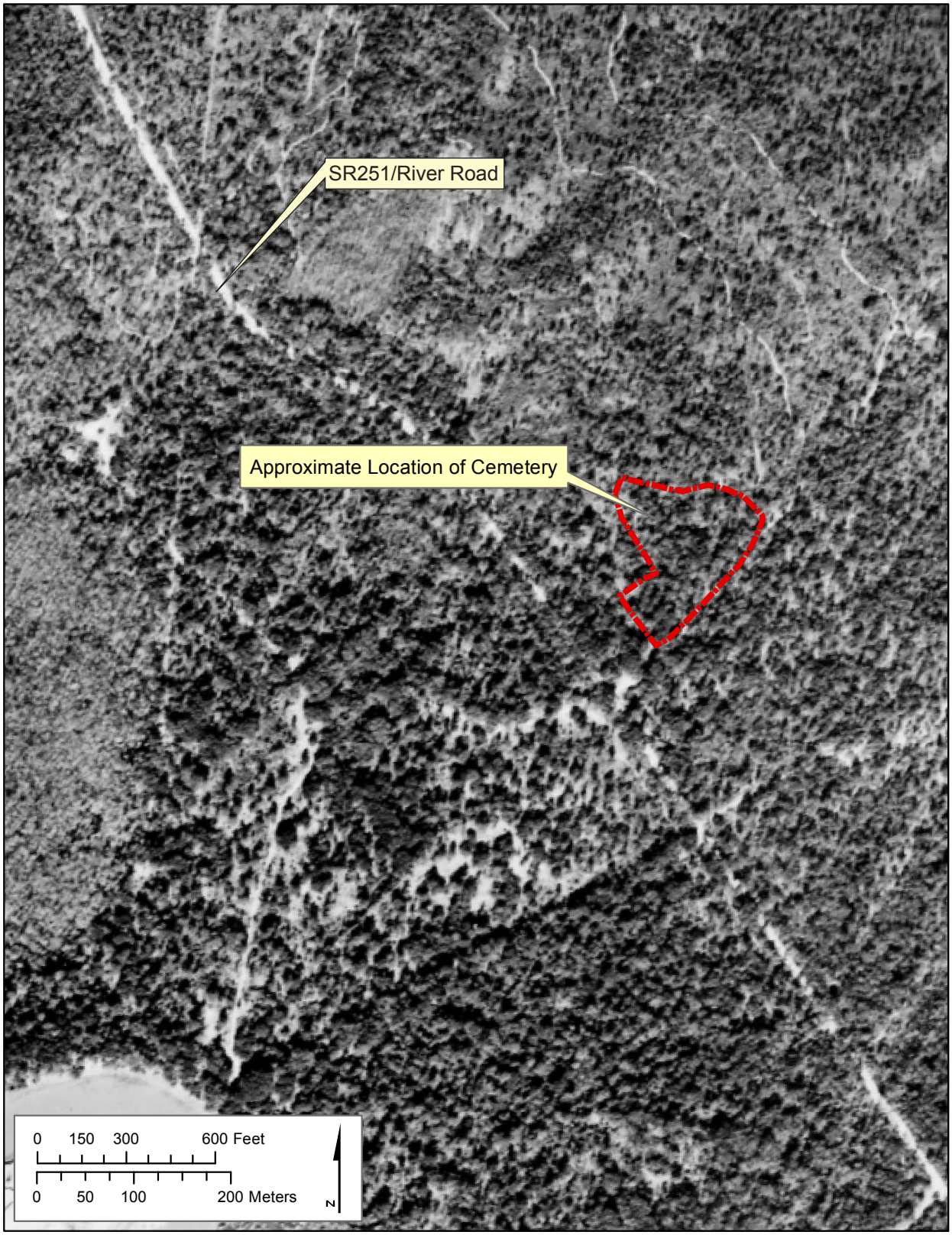
Along with this mixture of people came a mixture of ideas. From the 16th through 19th century, Africans did not follow a universal religion. Along with those who practiced traditional African religions were many who practiced or had been exposed to non-African religions, principally Islam or Christianity (Orser 1994:35). They brought with them concepts of death and funeral traditions. These syncretically merged within the semi-isolated environment of the lower Altamaha drainage slave communities to form burial rites strongly flavored by West African concepts. On Sapelo Island, Bailey (2000) observed that Muslim traditions became integrated with Christian practices in the local African American churches.

THE POST-EMANCIPATION PERIOD

After the Civil War, freed African American laborers staffed Sidon's agricultural ventures. Gladstone (2000b:111) noted that rice agriculture continued until about 1900 and that corn was grown on upland portions of the tract. Turpentine and timber harvesting, which appear to have started in the 19th century, continued until the late 20th century.

The grounds directly around the cemetery appear to be wooded according to the mid-to-late 20th-century aerial maps on file at the University of Georgia. A 1953 map shows the area around the Dunwoody Cemetery as largely wooded and undeveloped (Figure 7). In 1970, the grounds around the cemetery were still forested (Figure 8). By 1976, while nearly all of the forests around the cemetery had been cleared, a triangular patch of woods approximating the cemetery's location had been avoided during clearing (Figure 9). The western portion of what becomes Magnolia Bluff Way is also visible in this image. Between 1976 and 1988, the forest was allowed to regrow. In an aerial map from 1988, it should be noted that the western portion

Figure 7.
1953 Aerial Image of Dunwoody Cemetery Area

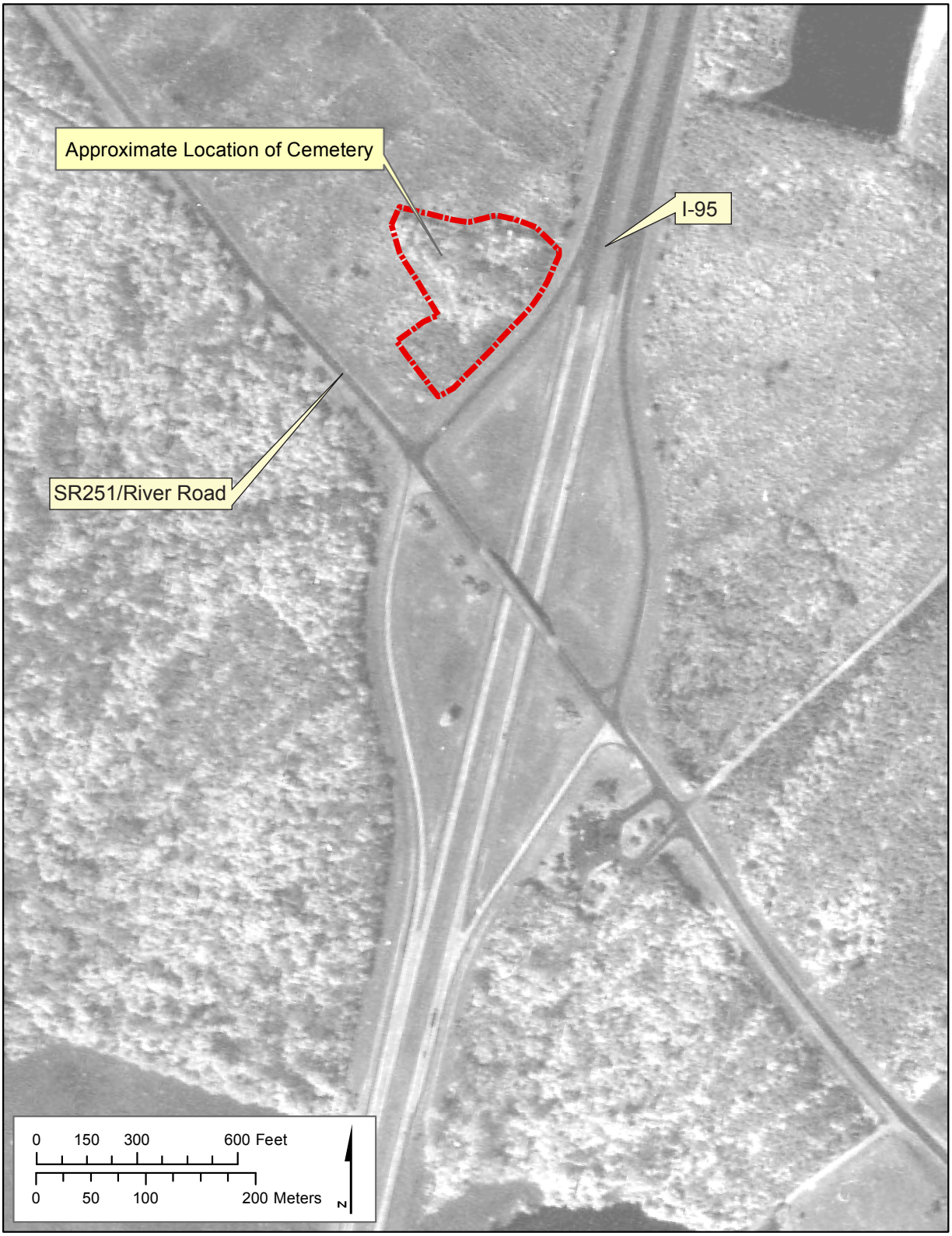


Source: 1953 Aerial Photograph

Figure 8.
1970 Aerial Image of Dunwoody Cemetery Area

Source: 1970 Aerial Photograph

Figure 9.
1976 Aerial Image of Dunwoody Cemetery Area



Source: 1976 Aerial Photograph

of the wooded triangle avoided in 1976 (Section A) contrasted the surrounding forest and that areas including Section B had largely been cleared (Figure 10). The eastern portion of what becomes Magnolia Bluff Way ran along the tree line.

It is unclear whether Dunwoody Cemetery was used exclusively by the descendents of Sidon's slave population or if other local African Americans also buried their dead there. Family histories, particularly those of the Butler and Williams families, clearly indicate that Dunwoody Cemetery continued to be used well after Emancipation. In an interview conducted by archaeologist Fred Cook, local community member Albertha Shaw Williams noted, "My father, his wife, and some sons are buried in Dunwoody Cemetery. My cousin, Mary Butler Singleton, and Morris Butler are buried on the left side of the road [Section A]" (Cook 1993). It is unclear from Williams' interview whether these were her sons or her parent's sons. McIntosh County informant Joseph Butler recalled, "My parents and other family members are buried in the old part on the left [Section A], and toward the back" (Cook 1993). Bulter's statement reflects the belief held by some community members that Section A is older than Section B. The latest interments in the cemetery appear to have occurred in 1958 and 1960, and both are located in Section B (Gladstone 2000b:112–113). In addition, the presence of metal markers in Section B may also indicate that the area was used more recently. While Section B has the most recent burials, it is not known whether thie section contains older graves associated with the beginning of the cemetery. Thus, Section B could be an original section of the cemetery or it could have been an area annexed later when more space was needed.

By the mid-late 20th century, Dunwoody Cemetery was in a state of decline. Cornell Hawkins, McIntosh County informant and resident of the African American community, noted that during the construction of I-95, the grounds were used as an equipment parking and dumping area. Yentsch (1995) described the cemetery as having been "desecrated," while Fred Cook (1993) noted that "fragments of grave ware scattered on the surface 150 feet north of the grave of Rebecca West may have been pushed there during clearing operations." Cook (1993) estimated that 38-46 centimeters (15-18 in.) of soil were removed from the cemetery's surface by clearing. These statements indicate that the cemetery grounds likely were originally decorated following African American folk burial traditions. However, the cemetery's current property holders are not adequately addressing the cemetery's welfare.

The cemetery was bisected by an unnamed dirt road running in a general northwest direction from River Road (Georgia Highway 251) (Cook 1993). The date that the road was built is not known; however, in the early 1990s, mechanical stripping of the roadbed revealed the presence of unmarked graves underneath it. These graves (subsequently relocated within Section B, see below) suggest that the road was established after the Dunwoody Cemetery had been in use. In the early 1990s, gravel was added to the road to allow tractor-trailer trucks to use it as a turnabout. The road partially survives today as the eastern portion of Magnolia Bluff Way.

Figure 10.
1988 Aerial Image of Dunwoody Cemetery Area

Source: 1988 Google Aerial Photograph

Twentieth-century deposits in the Dunwoody Cemetery appear to have been largely from the African American community, but this ethnic affiliation is not exclusive. Precontact Native American remains were discovered across the street at the Magnolia Bluffs Factory Shops construction site (Cook 1995a; 1995b; Gladstone 1995). After coordination with representatives from the Native American community, the remains were subsequently reinterred in the southeastern quadrant of Section B's fenced area (Gladstone 2000a:111,113). Details involving how and when the fence was established were not recorded.

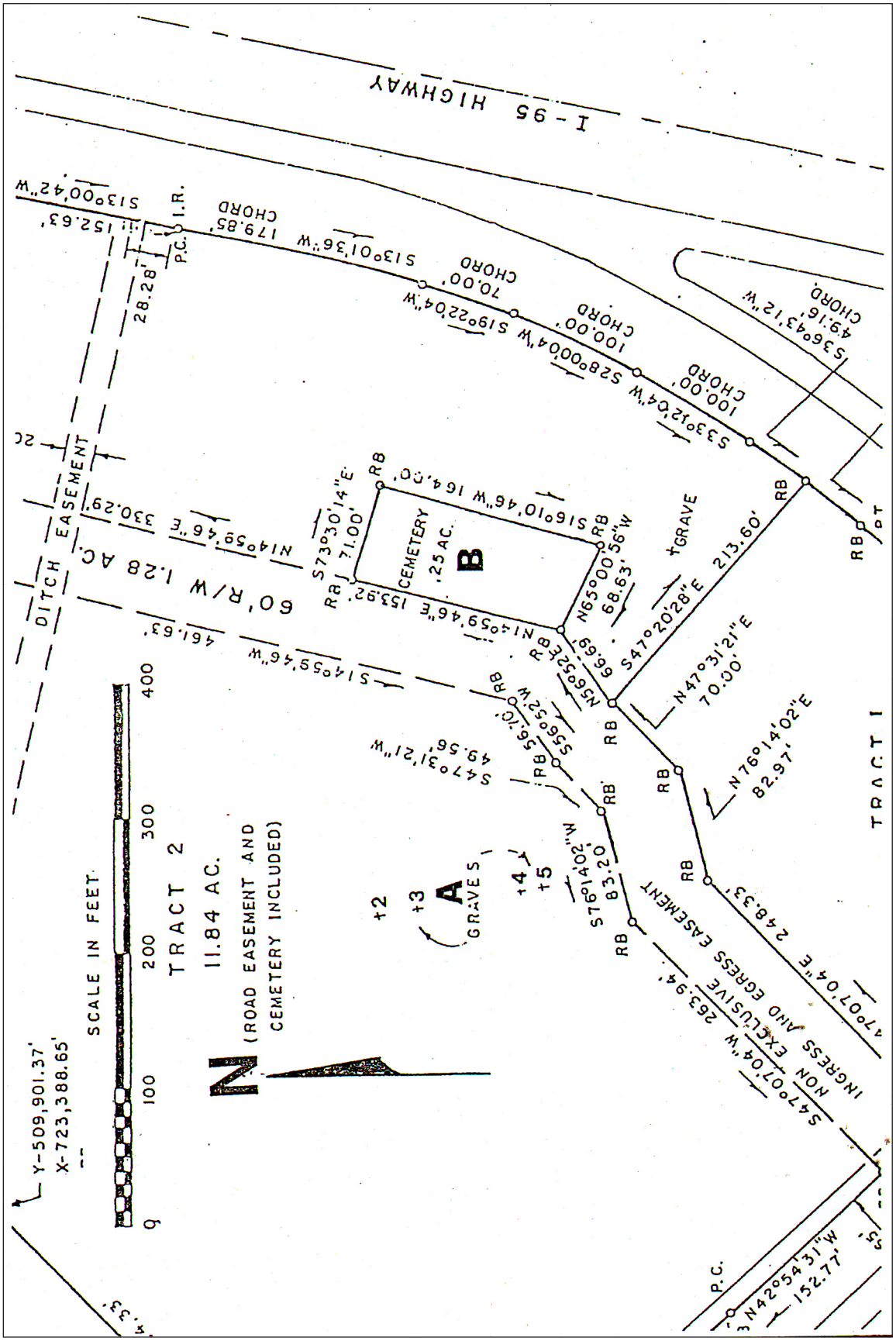
PREVIOUS INVESTIGATIONS OF THE DUNWOODY CEMETERY

Prior to the construction of I-95 in the 1960s, the Dunwoody Cemetery does not appear to have received much attention as a landscape feature. Maps of the cemetery's contents have not been found and it is likely that grave placement was recorded as part of the local community's oral tradition.

While the earliest known map of the Sidon tract was produced in 1925 by Richard Poppell for E. T. Morris, there are no copies available in the public record (MCC Deed Book 1925:W:181). Therefore, the cemetery's location on it cannot be confirmed. The details of the cemetery and its location may have been initially recorded in 1970 on a map produced by land surveyor, R. L. Cubbedge for the Union Camp Corporation (Figure 6). Cubbedge's map limited the cemetery to a single irregularly-shaped area in Section B or Eastern Dunwoody Cemetery. Two additional clusters containing at least four graves were positioned approximately 45 meters (150 ft.) west of Section B (Section A). It is unclear how the graves located in Section A were marked. Fred Cook (1993) noted that the lack of angle or distance annotations for graves in Section A may indicate approximate rather than specific locations. Section B's irregular shape implied that no fence was present. Unfortunately, Cubbedge's map provides no details of Section B's contents.

A subsequent surveyor's map by Michael J. Gardner was generated in 1989 for Transtates Properties, Incorporated (Cook 1993). Gardner's map further emphasizes the cemetery's location relative to development around the burial ground (Figure 11). Section B is portrayed as more rectangular and recorded as encompassing 0.25 acres. It is likely that this rectangle followed a fence line. One grave is marked to the south well outside of the designated burial ground. Gardner's map also recorded the road separating the two aspects of Dunwoody Cemetery.

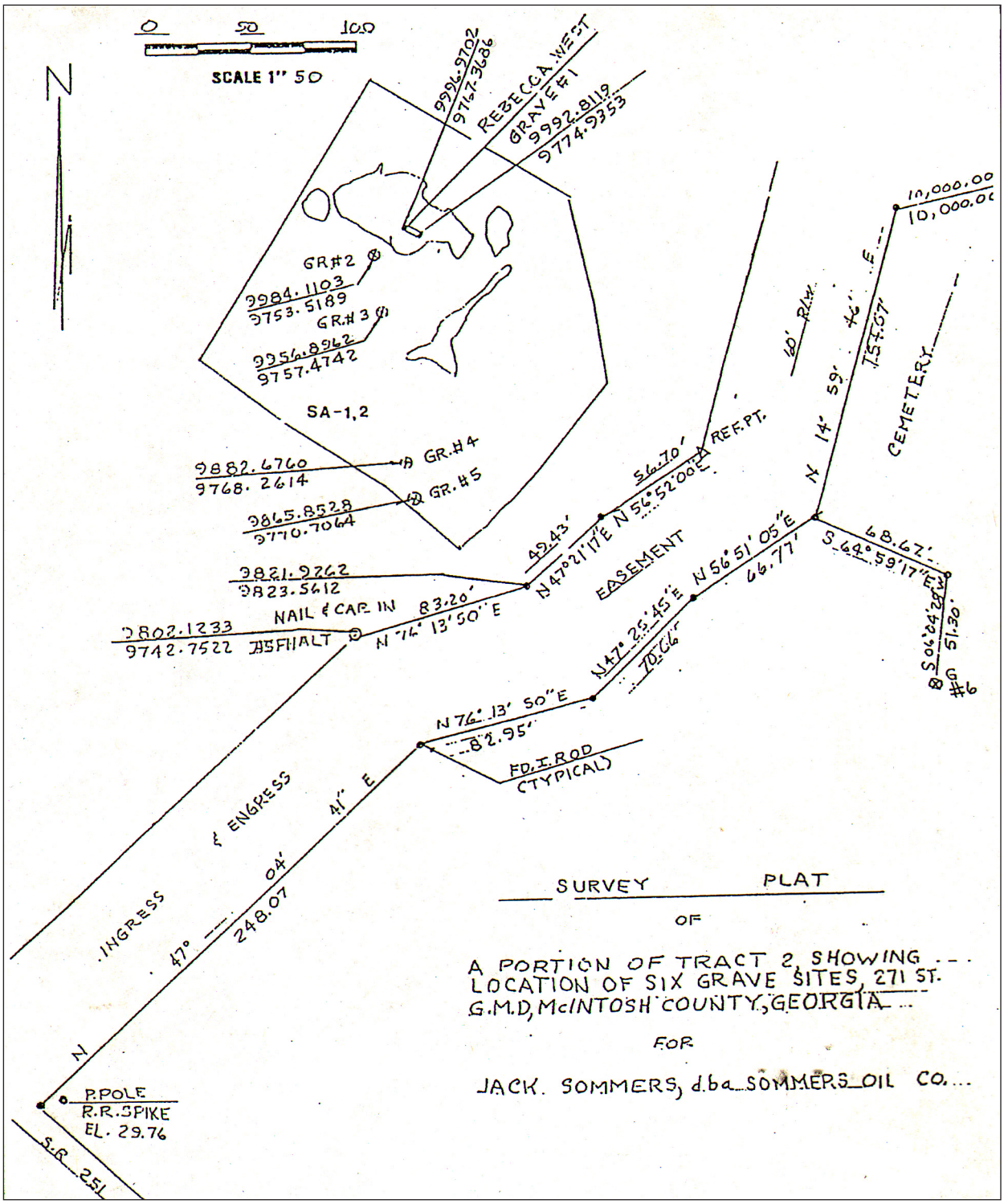
Another land surveyor's map, one produced for Sommers Oil Company by Quillie Kinard in 1993, recognized the clusters in Section A as parts of a single landscape feature (Figure 12). The gravestone for Rebecca West, which does not correspond to marked graves in earlier maps, was emphasized in this survey plat.



Source: Cook 1993:10

Figure 11.
Michael J. Gardner (1989) Map of West (A) and East (B) Dunwoody Cemetery

Figure 12.
Quillie Kinard's (1993) Map of Western Dunwoody Cemetery with an Emphasis on Subsurface Anomalies Detected by a Probe



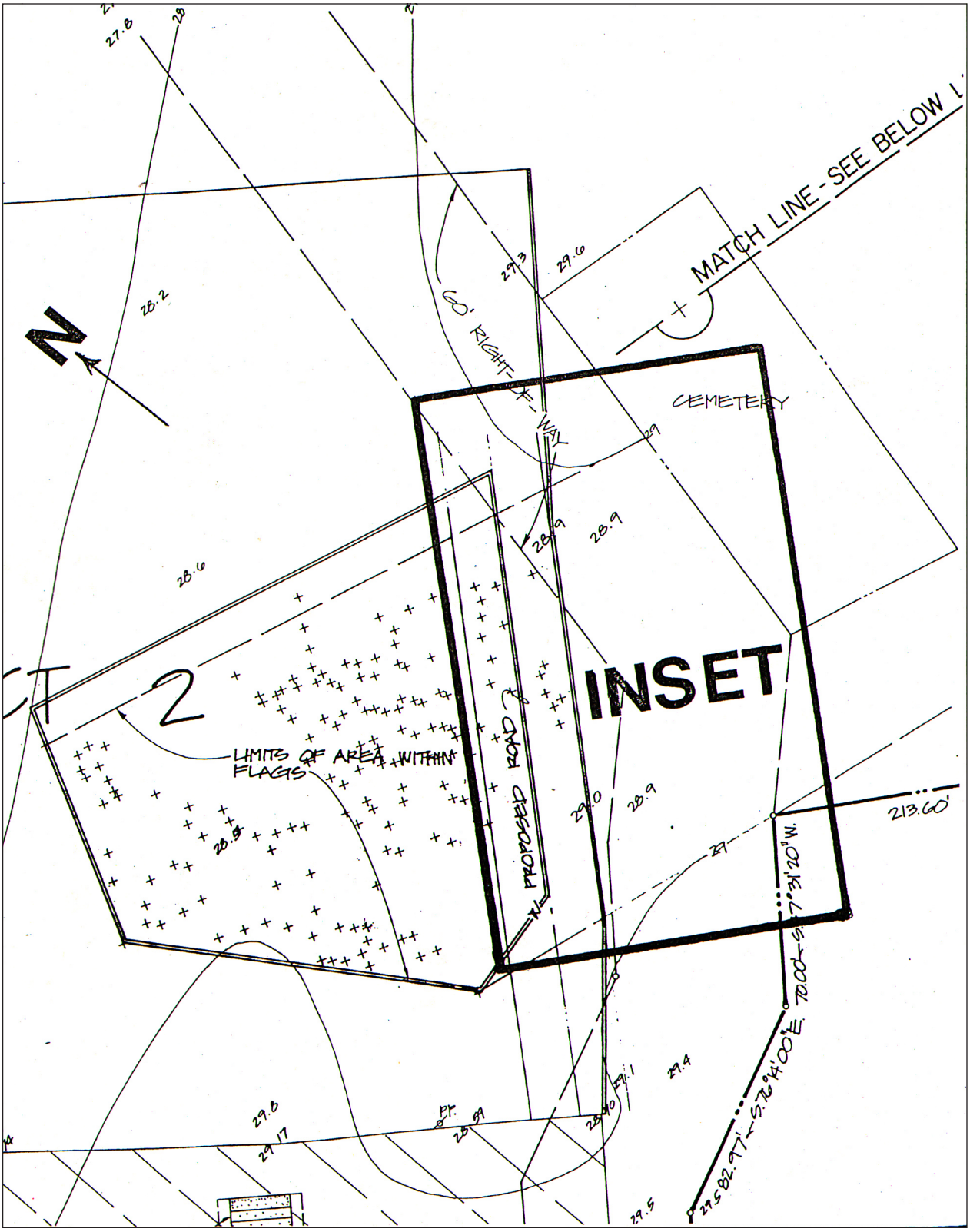
Source: Cook 1993:15

In 1993, Fred Cook of Fred Cook Archaeological Services (FCAS) was contracted by Sommers Oil Company to conduct a survey of Dunwoody Cemetery, with particular emphasis on the "Western Dunwoody" (Section A) portion (Cook 1993). Given the loss of surface features to land clearing operations, Fred Cook focused on soil density/compaction analysis by using a steel probe to detect soft spots in the soil. These soft spots would likely have resulted from subsurface disturbance – a result of digging and backfilling a grave shaft. Owing largely to the sandy soil's inability to retain density or compaction differences between disturbed and undisturbed soils, Fred Cook was unable to define specific gravesite locations. He was, however, able to define four large general areas that he felt were evidence that unmarked gravesites were likely present. Fred Cook sketched these as irregular shapes as illustrated in Figure 12. Cook (1993) estimated that 10-15 interments were in these four general areas. Areas between Sections A and B were not probed because gravel and heavy vehicle traffic had compacted the soil to a point where probes could not be inserted into the ground.

In 1993 and 1994, Sommers Oil Company requested permission from the McIntosh County Board of Commissioners to install a paved parking lot and turnabout along the parts of the old dirt road that separated Dunwoody's Sections A and B. In response to a decision by the McIntosh County Board of Commissioners, approximately two acres between the two sections were mechanically stripped and examined by Fred Cook for evidence of unmarked grave shafts (*Darien News* 1995a). Fred Cook's (1994) map of the project area (Figure 13) indicates that approximately 154 graves were identified. Sommers Oil Company's original plans were modified to minimize disturbance of the cemetery. These included development of a traffic island in the center of the parking lot and movement of Magnolia Bluff Way westward away from Section B. The project still required the disinterment of 26 graves, of which 20 can be identified on Fred Cook's plan view map (Figure 13); the contents of these graves, including all artifacts and human remains were subsequently reinterred in the southeast portion of the Section B enclosure. Unexcavated graves were reburied under approximately two feet of fill (Fred Cook, 2012, pers. comm.).

During the 1994 relocation, Fred Cook was able to perform a cursory examination of the graves and their contents. These shed some light into the burial traditions used by the Dunwoody Cemetery burial community. Graves were oriented along a general east-west axis but there was considerable variation between individual interments (*Darien News* 1995b:5). Decedents were placed in both coffins and caskets. The hardware on some of these burial cases was recognized as late 19th-century installations. Pre-Emancipation era coins were found with a few decedents; these would have been included to hold eyes closed, as fare for the boatman, or as charms. Other personal possessions included ear ornaments, a mid-19th-century Kaolin pipe, and buttons. One individual was interred with a creamware plate in the base or underneath the coffin, presumably as either a salt plate or to collect funeral expense funds. Salt plates were used to hold salt, which

Figure 13.
Plan View Map of Graves Exposed During Cook's 1994 Investigation



Source: Cook 1994

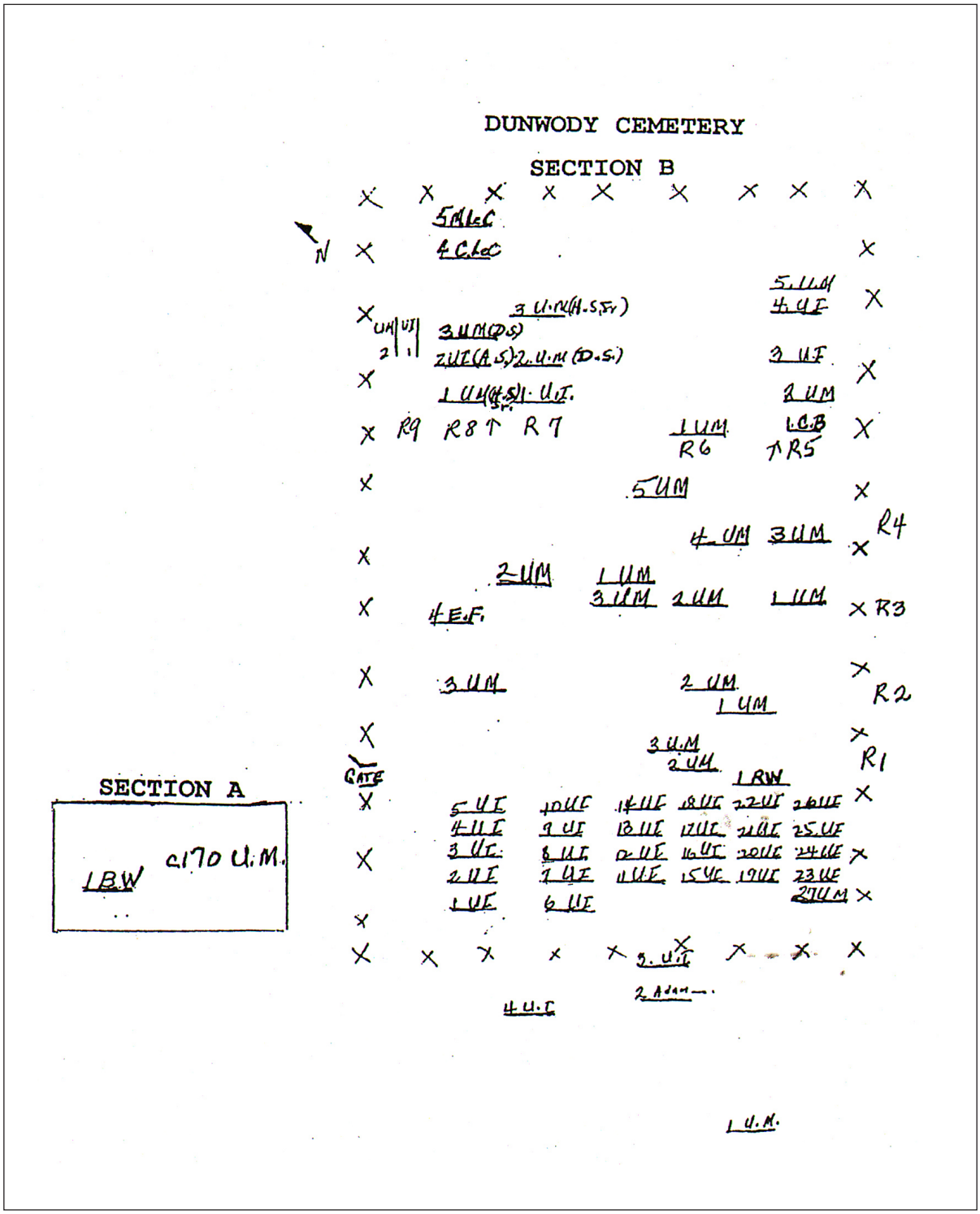
when placed by (or on) the decedent captured decomposition's moisture and smell and acted as a means of spiritual appeasement (Matternes et al. 2010). Fred Cook's sample confirmed that graves were probably interred at the Dunwoody Cemetery throughout the 19th century.

The disinterred graves were removed from the area that forms the eastern portion of Magnolia Bluff Way, which currently separates Section A from Section B. A rectangular picket fence was installed to encompass the burial area. The fence enclosed a 0.5-acre area, doubling the size of the area identified by Gardner (*Darien News* 1995b:5). Gladstone (2000a) noted that an estimated 170 remaining unmarked graves were positioned in Section A, indicating that some of the gravesites on Fred Cook's map may mark the presence of more than one interment. Six wooden crosses were erected along the eastern margin of the Section A traffic island to indicate the presence of unexcavated graves in close proximity to its curbing (Cook 1994).

In 1994, Native American human remains were discovered in the Magnolia Bluff shopping mall construction site area across SR 251 (south) from the Dunwoody Cemetery (*Darien News* 1995a). Salvage archaeologists with the Golden Isles Archaeological Society found Burial 1 in association with a Middle Woodland (Swift Creek phase) pit house (Cook 1995a). A Mississippian period (Savannah phase) sherd was also found in close proximity to the burial; the remains were tentatively defined as either Middle Woodland (Swift Creek phase) or a Mississippian period (Savannah phase) intrusion. In April of that year, workmen discovered an oval stain (Burial 2) containing secondary interments (Cook 1995b). A concentration of disarticulated and cremated remains was found on top of a sand layer, and there was a second assemblage of disarticulated remains in the bottom of the pit. Middle Woodland (Swift Creek phase) sherds and a flat shell bead were also found in the pit. Radiocarbon dating confirmed Burial 2 to be a late Swift Creek phase feature. Following a public hearing and consultation with Native American representatives the remains were removed and reinterred in the Dunwoody Cemetery (*Darien News* 1995b).

Prior to the late 20th century, Evelyn White (1958) conducted the only reported county-wide cemetery survey. The survey only reported on 31 burial grounds. None of them were African American plantation era facilities. A more comprehensive consideration was initiated in the 1970s and 1980s. As part of their survey of cemeteries in McIntosh County, the Lower Altamaha Historical Society addressed the Dunwoody Cemetery. Drawing from physical evidence, which would have included markers and depressions at the cemetery and from community oral traditions, grave markers and plot locations particularly within Section B were recorded (Gladstone 2000b). The Lower Altamaha Historical Society provided the only known inventory of decedents known or suspected to be buried in the Dunwoody Cemetery (Table 4). Their research identified no less than 32 primary interments placed in 13 east-west oriented rows, 26 historic reinterments, and one precontact reinterment inside the fence line (Figure 14). The Native American component consisted of remains from two burial sites found in the Magnolia Bluffs Mall construction site.

Figure 14.
Sketch Map of Grave Sites within the Section B Fenced Area



Source: Gladstone 2000b:113

Table 4. Decedents in the Dunwoody Cemetery (from Gladstone 2000b:111-113)

Surname	First Name/Maiden Name	Birth Date	Death Date	Section
West	Becca	1843	1912	A
Butler	Dave			B
Butler	Israel	1866		B
Butler	Laura			B
Butler	Levi			B
Butler	Little Carl		1958	B
Butler	Louis	1887	1912	B
Butler	Maria	1869		B
Butler	Morris	c. 1845		B
Butler	Phoebe	c. 1848		B
Frazier	Emily		1953	B
Howard	Ruth Lee Carter		1953	B
LeCount	Christopher			B
LeCount	Crawford			B
LeCount	Isaac			B
Shaw	Annie			B
Shaw	Donnie			B
Shaw	Douglas (Jimbo)		1960	B
Shaw	Henry, Jr.			B
Shaw	Henry, Sr.			B
Singleton	Mary Butler			B
Waldburg	Elizabeth	1874		B
Waldburg	Singleton	1867		B
West	Mack			B
Wilson	Rena P. [Renar?]	1869	1934	B

The possibility of unmarked graves outside the fence line was further addressed by Proulx (2002). Two survey grids, one placed south of the Section B fenced area and another addressing a parcel outside the fence's southeast margin, were examined using ground penetrating radar (GPR) for evidence of grave-like subsurface anomalies. Proulx (2002:6) identified 15 anomalies, five believed to have "high potential" for being graves and an additional 10 anomalies described as "medium potential" in his project area (Figure 15). All high potential GPR anomalies were noted south of the existing Section B fence line. Proulx's results further emphasized that the fenced parcel in Section B probably does not contain all of this area's interments.

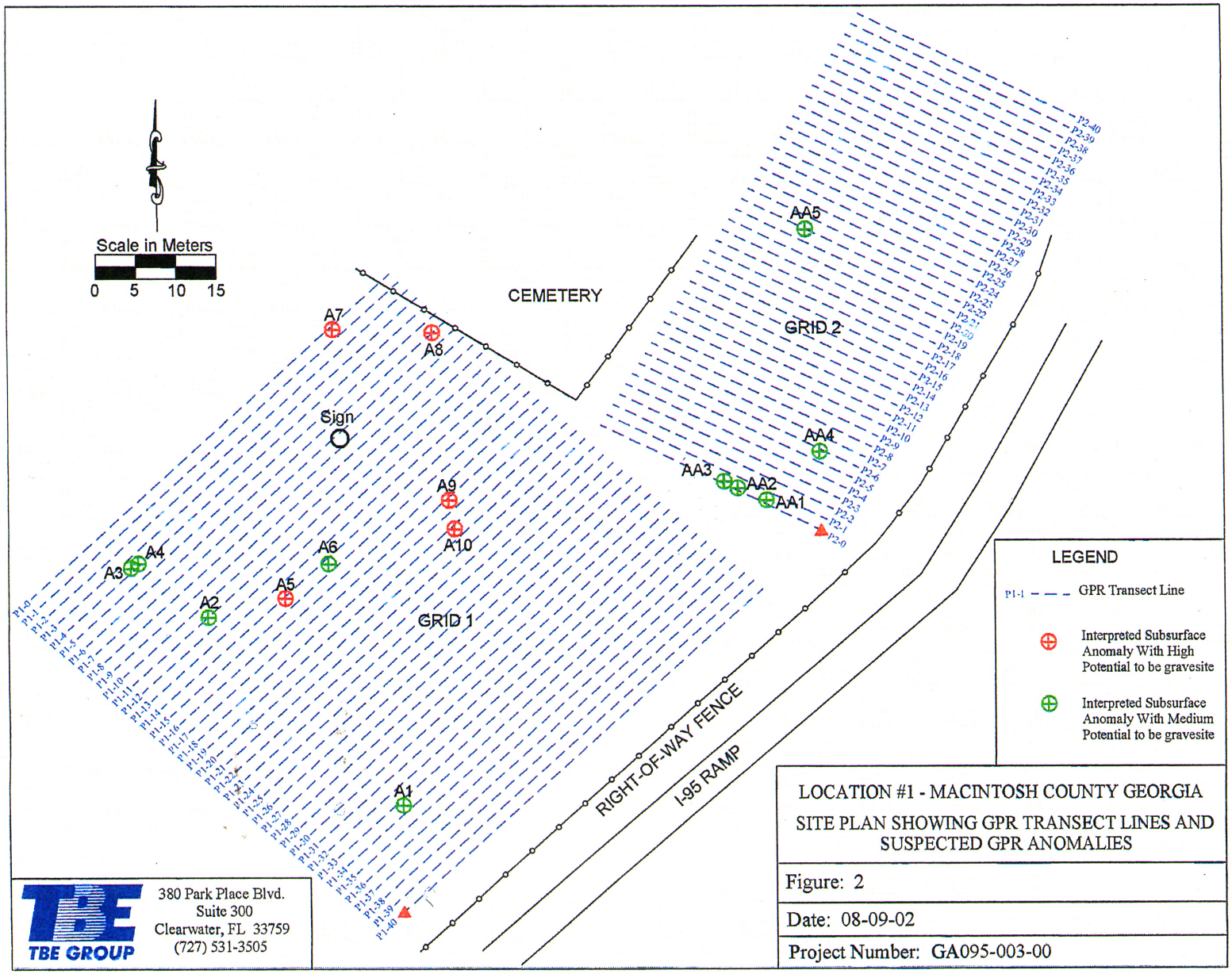


Figure 15.
GPR Anomalies Detected by Proulx in 2000

Source: Proulx 2000

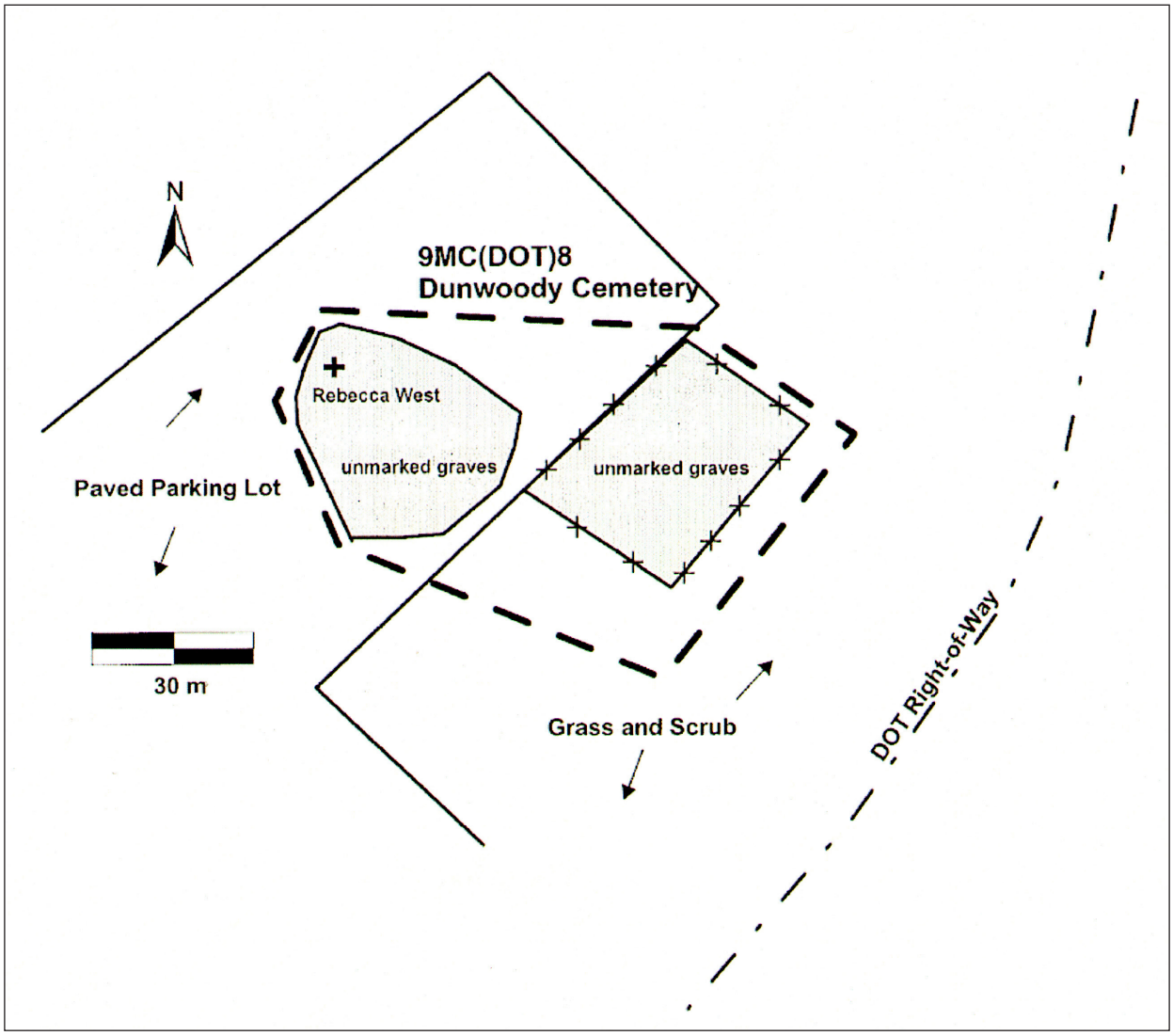
As part of the proposed I-95 and SR 251 interchange improvements project (GDOT Project No. CSNHS-007-00(421)), GDOT investigated cultural resources within the viewshed of the interchange. Dunwoody Cemetery was determined to be outside the required right of way for construction purposes and not in peril of physical impact from construction activities (Pomfret 2008b:26). Dunwoody Cemetery was identified as a cultural resource during a historic properties survey and assigned the archaeological site designation 9MC437 (Pomfret 2008c). An important component to these investigations was the cemetery's eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP). By itself, the cemetery lacks surface architecture that is distinctive enough to make it eligible for inclusion on the NRHP. Technically, the underlying deposits have not been evaluated for NRHP eligibility, so its archaeological significance currently remains unknown. Pomfret (2008b:12), however, has argued that the cemetery is very likely to "contain important scientific information regarding the material culture, burial practices, and health of African-American slaves." Pomfret's assessment makes the cemetery eligible under Criterion D for NRHP nomination. The cemetery is also located within the boundaries of 9MC372 and considered part of the Sidon and Ceylon Plantation landscapes (Pomfret 2008b:12). As a surviving component of these plantations, it contributes to the NRHP eligibility of 9MC372 and to the Cathead Creek Historic District under Criterion A. The cemetery can be associated with events significantly contributing to the broad pattern of American history. The Dunwoody Cemetery was considered eligible for inclusion on the NRHP on its own and as part of 9MC372 and Cathead Creek Historic District eligibilities (Pomfret 2008b).

Perhaps more importantly, the interchange improvements project provided an opportunity to review what was known about the cemetery. A reinterpretation of the Dunwoody Cemetery was accomplished by James Pomfret for the GDOT (Pomfret 2008b). A review of historical, surface, and subsurface data led Pomfret to reject the notion that two burial grounds were present. In contrast, Pomfret viewed Sections A and B as parts of a single mortuary facility and portrayed the Dunwoody Cemetery as a single, largely unmarked, burial ground (Figure 16).

GDOT also initiated a GPR survey of the grounds surrounding Section B. Eight GPR grids were placed along the northern, eastern, and southern outer perimeters of Section B's fenced area (Figure 17). The resulting data identified 74 anomalies as potential graves (Williams 2011). These data confirmed that the distribution of graves extended beyond the fenced area to the south and to the east. More importantly, it also indicated that at least 28 grave-like anomalies were present north of the fenced burial area.

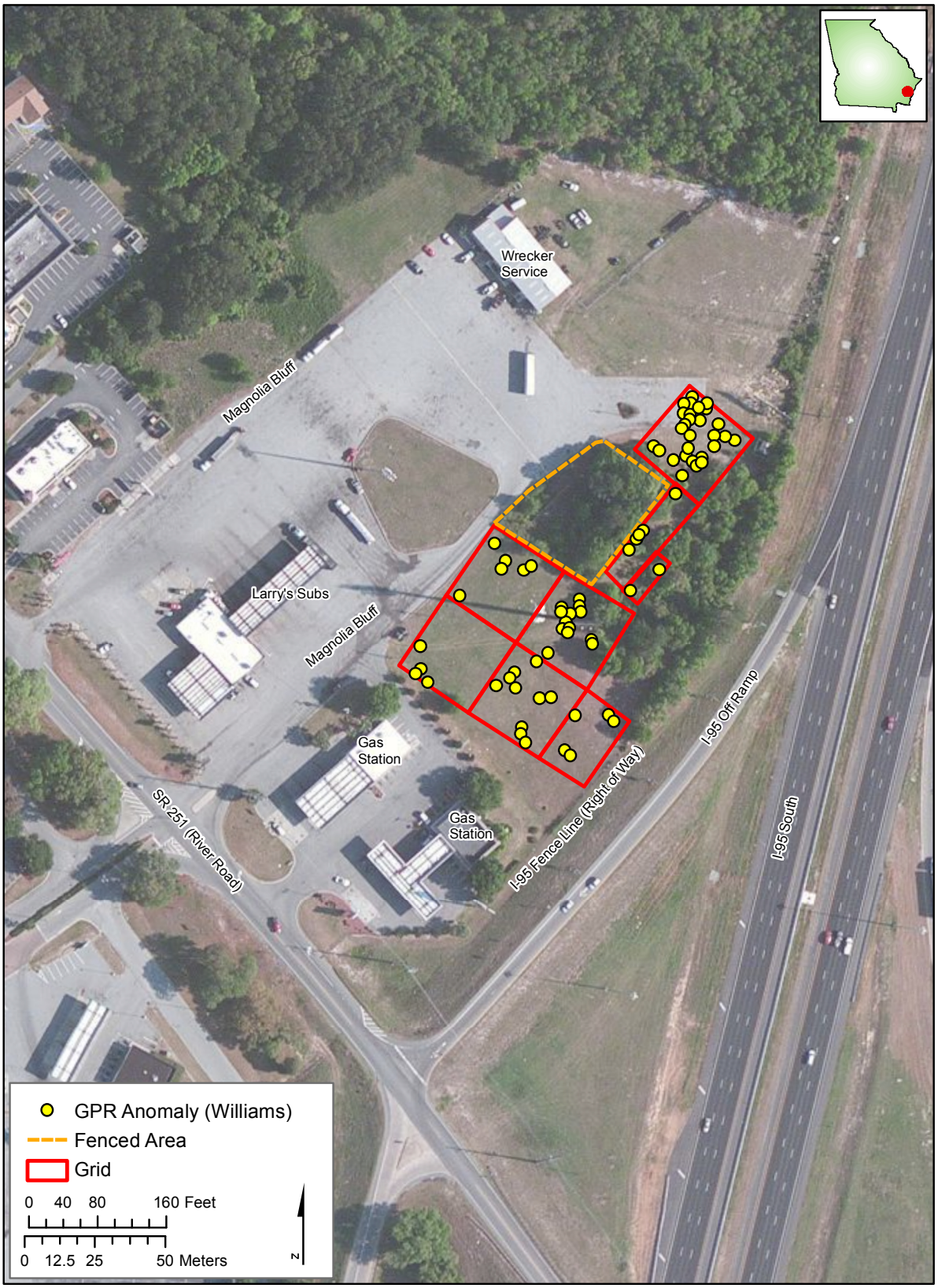
These investigations demonstrate that awareness of the size and distribution of graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery have changed dramatically over the last 40 years. The burial ground is no longer viewed as two small, separate facilities; rather, it appears to be a large single burial

Figure 16.
James Pomfret's 2008 Map of the Dunwoody Cemetery



Source: Pomfret 2008a:21

Figure 17.
GPR Anomalies Detected by Williams in 2011



Source: ESRI Resource Data, Williams 2011

ground containing several hundred interments. While yet to be fully demonstrated, the cemetery is suspected to contain a large assemblage of 18th- and 19th-century pre- and post-Emancipation period African Americans. The identities of some of the people buried there, formerly recorded in family records and oral traditions, have been documented as part of the written historical record. Over the intervening decades, the fate of Dunwoody Cemetery has moved from being solely in the hands of the property owner to protections offered by State and Federal legislations (Appendix B).

IV. CULTURAL BACKGROUND METHODOLOGY

Prior to the late 20th century, there were only few documents that addressed the Dunwoody Cemetery as an archaeological or landscape feature. There were practically no works that approached it as a cultural entity. To understand the cemetery from a context of culture, behavior, and tradition, a foundation had to be developed to fill a void where very little research on the cemetery or county's mortuary traditions had been documented. Information used to define the Dunwoody Cemetery burial community's suite of mortuary practices and symbolism was drawn largely from two sources – historical literature and interviews obtained from members of the McIntosh County community. Chapter IV will provide an overview of how the data was collected and what resources were considered (both successful and unsuccessful).

LITERATURE REVIEW

A wide variety of previously documented sources were considered. A comprehensive review of mortuary-related historical and ethnographic literature has been an ongoing goal for New South Associates and portions of this project's cultural background study was generated by Matternes' research previously reported in *Shimmering Glimpses of the Spirit World: Archaeological Recovery and Relocation of Two Historic Cemeteries (9CH875 and 9CH1168) at Hunter Army Airfield* (Matternes et al. 2010) and *Hold Your Light on Canaan's Shore: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Avondale Burial Place (*9BI164) (Matternes et al. 2011). Portions of these documents have been used as the foundation for this literature review. An extensive review of ethnographic, historical, archaeological, folklore, and records generated by other disciplines emphasized that despite isolation, African American communities, particularly those in the coastal lowlands and sand hills of Georgia, the Carolinas, and Florida, exhibited many common traditions. These were most seemingly based on common sets of ideas, many of which were likely artifacts of pre-Middle Passage African concepts. While an emphasis has been placed on information reflecting mortuary traditions used in the Georgia coastal regions, when relevant and appropriate, information has been drawn from a wider perspective.

While a considerable number of books, articles, and other professional writings were considered, materials from the John C. Hodges Library (University of Tennessee), the University of Georgia Library, Georgia State University Library, the Lane Library (Armstrong State University Library), the George Smathers (University of Florida) Library, the Bull Street (Live Oak) Public

Library (Savannah, Georgia), and Ida Hilton Public Library (Darien, Georgia) were primary sources of information. Specialized reference collections archived in the Kaye Kole Genealogy and Local History Room (Live Oak Public Library), the Hargrett Rare Book and Manuscript Library (University of Georgia), University of Florida's Special and Area Collections Room, and the Victor Shreck Property Records (microfilm collection at the Chatham County Clerk of Superior Court Records, Savannah, Georgia) were also considered. Documents pertaining to the Cathead Creek Historic District, on file at the GDOT's Office of Environment/Location, were consulted.

Archives maintained at the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah, Georgia), the Georgia State Archives (Morrow, Georgia), and the Georgia Archaeological Site Files (University of Georgia) were also used. Specific collections examined at the Georgia Historical Society included but were not limited to the Hilton Family papers, Charles Barrington King papers, the Houstoun Family papers, the John Houstoun and Patrick Houstoun letters, the Reuben King Journal, and the Edith Duncan Johnson papers. Records on file at the McIntosh County Tax Assessor's Office, the McIntosh County Office of Probate Court, and the McIntosh County Clerk of Superior Court (Darien, Georgia) were extensively researched. The 18th- and 19th-century files in these offices were limited to documents that managed to survive fires in 1863, 1873, and 1931 (Sullivan 2012). The Lower Altamaha Historic Society Library was visited at the Fort King George Historic Site, but no more relevant information was found during the research process. Information formerly stored at the Darien Visitor's Center and Darien Historic Society had been transferred to other facilities, including the Georgia Historical Society and Ida Hilton Public Library and, when possible, were examined at these new locations.

Historic cartographic information from the Georgia Historical Society (Savannah, Georgia) map collection, the Georgia State Archives (Morrow, Georgia) map library, and the University of Georgia map library were examined. Online collections at the Library of Congress, National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Office of Coast Survey Historical Maps and Charts Collection, and Google Earth Historic Images Collection were also consulted.

Additional online references were also used. A variety of websites sponsored by the National Park Service, the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, the Georgia SHPO, the Georgia Department of Transportation, Lexisnexis.com (for information pertaining to the Georgia Code), the Vanishing Georgia Photographic Collection (Georgia State Archives), Library of Congress, Ancestry.com (for federal census and related records), and the Making of America Library (Cornell University) provided critical information. Web addresses for these references, where relevant, were provided in Appendices B and G.

Professionals in the field were also approached for advice. Dr. Kathleen Deagan (University of Florida), Dr. Jane Landers (Vanderbilt University), Mr. Buddy Sullivan and Mrs. Mattie Gladstone (Lower Altamaha Historical Society), Mr. Fred Cook (Fred Cook Archaeological Services), Dr. Anne Yentsch (formerly Armstrong State College), Mr. Judson Kratzer (formerly Armstrong State College), and Ms. Rachel Black (Deputy State Archaeologist, Georgia SHPO) were consulted. Ms. Sandra Weidlich (formerly Armstrong State College), whose thesis focused on excavations at the Sidon Plantation, was contacted but declined to relate her experiences. Mr. Faris Cadle (Faris Cadle Inc.) was approached only to learn that he did not have relevant property records on the Cathead Creek plantations.

LOCAL INFORMANT INFORMATION

New South Associates also reached out to the local community for assistance in learning about the region's mortuary traditions and regional history. The principal interviewer (Dr. Greg Smith) began by approaching institutions and persons with some knowledge of the area to establish local contacts and systematically traced these to obtain the names and contact information of individuals who were likely candidates for interviewing. Individuals, including Dr. Nicholas Honerkamp (University of Tennessee), Dr. Kathleen Deagan (University of Florida), Dr. Jane Landers (Vanderbilt University), Mr. Chad Braley (Southeastern Archaeological Services), Ms. Cornelia Bailey (Geechee Tours), Mr. John Lytle (McIntosh Sustainable Environment and Economic Development [SEED]), Ms. Jackie Edwards of the Hofwyl Plantation, Mr. Steve Smith (Fort King George State Historic Site), Mr. Buddy Sullivan (Sapelo Island National Estuarine Research Reserve and Lower Altamaha Historical Society), Mr. Fred Hay (GDNR Island Manager for Sapelo Island and Darien Tourist Information Center/Chamber of Commerce), Laurie Coley (Old Jail Museum), and staff members at the Sapelo Island Visitor's Center were asked for help finding local contacts in the community.

Local landmarks within Darien's African American community were also visited. Ms. Priscilla Jones and customers at Jake's Place, a traditionally African American community restaurant, were consulted. Christine Warren and the First African Baptist Church (Darien, Georgia); Father Ted Clarkson and Mr. Carl Brown of Saint Cyprian Episcopal Church; and the Grant Chapel Presbyterian Church were asked for their assistance. During the New Harmonies of Darien and Coastal Georgia Heritage Program, sponsored by the Georgia Humanities Council, Dr. Smith announced the project and made himself available for consultation with an audience composed largely of Darien's African American community members. Supplemental sources including the *Darien Gazette*, Darien City Hall, McIntosh County Court House, the Darien Old City Jail Art Center, and the Coastal Georgia Historical Society were approached. Community members encountered in grocery stores, parking lots, motels, and eating establishments were also approached to answer questions. While well over a hundred people were contacted in the

McIntosh County community, 49 potential contacts were established within the community and asked to participate in interviews. Smith's contact list is included in project documents to be submitted to the University of Georgia Antonio Waring Archaeological Laboratory curation facility.

A total of 12 persons, representing about 25 percent of the final contact pool, agreed to be interviewed and shared their knowledge of the local culture (Table 5). Transcripts of the interviews are located in Appendix I. The remaining 37 individuals declined interviews. All informants represented current or former long-term residents of McIntosh County. All had grown up in McIntosh County. The informant sample consisted of four females and eight males ranging between 59 and 86 years old. With the exception of one individual, Buddy Sullivan, all informants were African American and had been a part of the local African American community for quite some time. Mr. Sullivan, a European American, was a noted authority on the history of Tidewater Georgia and was interviewed to ascertain what he knew about the Cathead Creek communities.

Table 5. McIntosh County Informants

Informant	Interview Date	Sex	Age	Year of Birth	Interview Location
Bailey, Cornelia	June 27, 2012	Female	68	1945	Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia
Baker, Clarence	August 9, 2012	Male	79	1934	Crescent, McIntosh County, Georgia
Cook, Willie	June 25, 2012	Male	85	1928	Ardoch, McIntosh County, Georgia
Grovner, Nathaniel	August 21, 2012	Male	71	1942	Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Hawkins, Cornell	August 9, 2012	Male	73	1940	Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Lotson, Griffin	July 24, 2012	Male	59	1954	Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia
Lotson, Josephine	July 24, 2012	Female	86	1927	Crescent, McIntosh County, Georgia
Moore, Eunice	July 24, 2012	Female	74	1939	Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Moran, Mary	July 26, 2012	Female	85	1928	Harris Neck, McIntosh County, Georgia
Moran, Wilson	July 26, 2012	Male	71	1942	Harris Neck, McIntosh County, Georgia
Pinkney, Sammie	July 26, 2012	Male	71	1942	Brunswick, Glynn County, Georgia
Sullivan, Buddy	July 10, 2012	Male	67	1946	Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia

Members of the local African American community were interviewed with two primary objectives. First, interviews were designed to reveal how early burial practices among the McIntosh County African American community coincided with those of the lowland mortuary tradition and second to record what aspects of funerary behavior were unique or distinct within these communities.

Interviews were conducted where informants were most comfortable. Some interviews were conducted at the informants' home, while others preferred public facilities including restaurants or visitors centers. Rather than follow a strict formal interview structure with a predetermined set of questions and set schedule, a more relaxed approach was used. The interviewer tended to guide informants towards their memories of mortuary customs but allowed the informant to discuss ideas along their own distinctive trains of thought. Interviews tended to last from 30 to 60 minutes. All interviews were recorded and were subsequently transcribed. Copies of these transcripts will be included in project documents submitted to the University of West Georgia Antonio J. Waring Archaeological Laboratory curation facility. These transcripts were extensively referenced in the following chapter to help ground regional cemetery traditions to McIntosh County.

In the past, Cathead Creek supported a sizeable population; however, in general, the district's population dwindled as agricultural land use gave way to larger scale silviculture. While emphasis was placed on recording information that pertained to Dunwoody Cemetery and the Cathead Creek area, what these informants were most able to provide was information relating to various African American communities distributed across McIntosh County. Despite an exhaustive search through community channels including the cited church, municipal, academic, family and friendship networks as well as restaurant and on the street solicitations, no African American informants could be found who could trace their ancestry back to mid or late 19th-century people living in or around the Cathead Creek plantations. As seen in Sidon's land history, plantations tended not to be divided into parcel. Rather, Buddy Sullivan, local historian, noted in his interview that they appeared to have been sold as large multi-acre units with an increasingly greater tendency towards purchase by timber interests. Communities where African Americans became property owners, including those at Cox, Townsend, Crescent, Ardoch, and around Darien developed on the outskirts of the Cathead Creek District (Sullivan 1992). While some rental and squatter's quarters were likely present, most African American residences appeared to have shifted elsewhere in the county.

During the interviews and while researching the census data, it also became evident that a considerable amount of population movement occurred within the African American community. The latter half of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th centuries saw a mass exodus as African Americans left their former plantation lands to take advantage of opportunities elsewhere in the South and other parts of the United States (Wilkerson 2010). The Great Migration, as this movement has been called, drained populations from places where work was scarce and moved them to areas where labor was in demand. The gradual shift from agriculture to silviculture in the Cathead Creek District created this type of environment and African American families undoubtedly responded accordingly. In 1902, McIntosh County rice planter, John G. Legare

lamented, "The weather has faired off and I am doing all can to save the [rice] crop, but the negroes…are not as plentiful as I would wish" (Sullivan 2012:70). Difficulties in finding modern descendants of people with ties to the district was probably a historic artifact of the Great Migration, reflecting the movement of African Americans to other locales to take advantage of opportunities that were no longer present in the Cathead Creek District.

It is highly unlikely that all mortuary traditions followed in McIntosh County's African American communities have been recorded, but the following chapter provides a model outlining the range of behaviors that were likely in use during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Families using the Dunwoody Cemetery would have included at least some of these burial practices among their funerary repertoire.

V. BURIAL PRACTICES AND SYMBOLISM

Prior to the development of extensive transportation systems in South Georgia during the 20th century, much of McIntosh County remained a semi-isolated rural environment. Rail, road, and sea transport were available to Darien and a few other communities, but most rural and African American families were limited to what they could transport by wagon, barge, or bateau. These limitations included ideas as well as goods. It was only after African American economics enabled families to possess their own automobile that many community members were able to overcome their rural isolation and participate in wider networks of goods, services, and ideas. Breaking down the barriers of isolation in the American South was one of the principal social achievements of the 20th century, and with it came change – change that included the way African Americans viewed death, responded to it, and memorialized those who fell victim to it.

A wide variety of previously documented sources were considered. A comprehensive review of mortuary-related historical and ethnographic literature has been an ongoing goal for New South Associates. Portions of this chapter's information was generated by research previously reported in *Shimmering Glimpses of the Spirit World: Archaeological Recovery and Relocation of Two Historic Cemeteries (9CH875 and 9CH1168) at Hunter Army Airfield* (Matternes et al. 2010) and *Hold Your Light on Canaan's Shore: A Historical and Archaeological Investigation of Avondale Burial Place (9BI164)* (Matternes et al. 2011). The emphasis of this chapter is placed on burial practices and mortuary customs in use during McIntosh County's period of semi-isolation, spanning the 19th through early-mid 20th century. It coincided roughly with the time before the introduction and acceptance of the funeral services industry as the primary means of death care management. For some families, enlightenment from rural isolation may have occurred as late as the 1960s. To coincide with active use of the Dunwoody Cemetery, pre-Emancipation, post-Emancipation, and 20th-century practices have been considered.

Unfortunately, there has only been a limited amount of information recorded on McIntosh County's African American customs. Limiting knowledge about burial customs was partly a survival strategy. African Americans who follow the Gullah cultural traditions have been reluctant to share their belief systems to a largely Anglo-American world to prevent their ideas from coming under social scrutiny (Clarke 2010). Information on those mortuary traditions made available to researchers emphasized the degree of colorful variation and depth that exists in

lowland traditions. Semi-isolation undoubtedly allowed social evolution to occur in McIntosh County and elsewhere. Wilson Moran, a McIntosh County informant and resident from the Cathead Creek African American community, described the local setting:

> And you've got to realize every community did things maybe just a little different…even though we were a part of the bigger McIntosh County or the bigger Gullah/Geechee region we all did things just a little differently. We built our boats maybe a little different, we made our oars just a little—maybe even our tradition in planting…. And if you notice, if you listen at our songs we sing it basically the same but there's always a little difference in the sound of it.

It is highly unlikely that all mortuary traditions followed in McIntosh County's African American communities have been recorded, but this chapter provides a model outlining the range of behaviors that were likely in use during the 19th and early 20th centuries. Families that used the Dunwoody Cemetery would have included at least some of these burial practices among their funerary repertoire.

THE FOLK CEMETERY

The American South is blessed with a unique suite of burial grounds generally classified as folk or vernacular cemeteries. Typically found in non-urban locations, the folk cemetery can be characterized by form, architecture, and content that deviate from those found in contemporary, more mainstream American cultural practices. Prior to the expansion of transportation systems in the South, rural communities were challenged by social and economic isolation; a general lack of expendable capital; and a reliance on time-tested non-mainstream cultural beliefs and superstitions (Matternes and Richey 2009). The response to these pressures was a high level of self-sufficiency and independence from the outside world. The rural community frequently did not rely heavily on the market to fulfill their needs; they were proficient at using the resources available in their immediate environment. The rural community's 'make-do' approach had important implications for the funeral ritual. Researchers recognize that these communities tended to function independent of mainstream American mortuary customs; they blended practices from European American, Native American, and African American traditions to rectify social instabilities set in motion by death (Jordan 1982; Clauser, Jr. 1994; Richey et al. 2008).

Folk cemeteries are the product of folk funerals. While the elements observed in the cemetery are the most durable and visible, the entire ritual is frequently laced with aspects that stray from American norms. Folk cemeteries (and funerals) tend to rely on materials not intended for use in a mortuary context; these objects usually convey messages that are not adequately addressed by more prevalent cultural practices or not addressed in a means that the local culture could fully

comprehend (Matternes and Richey 2014). In the past, these cemeteries were typically composed of non-elite community members. These burial practices tend to express ideas that relate to their own culture's history and traditions.

Both 19th- and 20th-century observers have noted that African Americans in rural coastal environments of the southeastern seaboard developed lifestyles that blended unique elements from their West African heritage with the southern European American-dominated culture (Georgia Writers' Project 1972). Among these were distinctive mortuary traditions. The basic elements of these funeral traditions (to be discussed) can be observed throughout most of the American South and their spread across the United States largely follows the movement of southern African Americans before and especially after the Civil War.

African American folk burial traditions used in the low country cannot be characterized by a single or even a few diagnostic behaviors. They consist of suites of practices with a strong emphasis on the use of vernacular objects drafted for use in a mortuary setting and a belief system that is at least partly grounded on traditional African cosmologies (Matternes et al. 2010). Since there have been over 250 years of contact and interaction between African American, European American, Native American, and other communities, the material and behavioral components of these rituals are very similar. Close examination within the community context frequently reveals that creolization, or the blending of African and other traditions, and syncretism, the merger of different beliefs in the use of a given practice, have occurred between interacting communities.

The Dunwoody Cemetery is positioned on the Georgia coastal plain in a rural area where African Americans have typically comprised a significant part of the local populace. Burial traditions among these communities share numerous characteristics with other rural lowland and coastal African American folk traditions. Accounts from the 19th and 20th centuries gathered largely from the coastal communities of Georgia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, have served as primary sources for understanding and modeling African American funeral practices. These, combined with more modern observations and archaeological investigations, serve as the primary sources documenting these burial traditions.

THEOLOGY

CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Christian cosmology was a dominant component of lowland folk patterns. 19th- and early 20th-century Christianity tended to view human existence as a linear sequence of events. With conception, the body becomes infused with a soul and during the course of a lifetime, the choices made by the descendant determined their fate after death (Hopfe and Woodward 2009). In

general, Christianity recognized the existence of an afterlife, so physical death was not viewed as an end of existence; rather, it was a passage to another world. Most Christians recognized the existence of at least two spiritual planes where the soul would ultimately and permanently reside. The return of Jesus Christ (who would rise in the east) marked the decline or end of human existence on earth and the ascension of all souls to the spiritual planes. Reincarnation was generally not considered possible in Christian cosmology.

Outside of celestial intervention, the worlds of the living and the dead were recognized as independent. While the living could petition entities in the afterworld for celestial intervention, these appeals were not made to the dead; rather, they were made directly to God (or one of God's associates) (Hopfe and Woodward 2009). Likewise, the dead were generally considered unable to intercede in the affairs of mortals.

The cross became an important mortuary symbol emphasizing the hope for resurrection after death. Observations that plants died back in the winter provided a seasonal allusion with death (Richey et al. 2008). Flora such as cedars, yucca, vinca, juniper, and other evergreens that kept their foliage over winter were symbols of eternal life, while plants including bulbs and other perennials that reemerged in the spring symbolized life after death.

While more elite Southerners tended to accept a division between the worlds of the living and the dead, the opinion was not shared by the more numerous and poorer European and African Americans. Many practitioners of southern folk culture recognized that the spirit world could influence the world of the living (Russell 1997:437). These pre-Christian concepts of the supernatural world permeated the Christian (largely European American) non-elite epistemologies and became parts of American folk belief systems (Stilgoe 1978; Milbauer 1989).

Circumstances of the victim's death played an important part in 17th- through 19th-century community responses. Deaths were viewed as either 'unnatural' and generally caused by violent, unjust, valiant, or untimely circumstances, or they were 'natural' and the result of aging, disease, or unremarkable causes (Hijiya 1983:343). While unnatural deaths were given cause for special funerary elaboration, many early Christian Americans viewed natural death as an ordinary part of the human life cycle. Death was no different than any other event that happened in a person's life. With no social compass to point out the significance of a person's death, the need for elaborate, permanent memorialization was not deemed necessary. Concern was more for the soul than the dispensation of the mortal remains. Periods of public mourning were abbreviated, grave furniture was sparse, and funerals were relatively minimized. As stated above, unnatural deaths were given cause for special funerary elaboration. The absence of elaborate ornamentation, inscription, and even use of permanent gravestones among natural deaths reflected a continuation of these traditional attitudes in many Southern communities.

The 18th-century's preoccupation with the fate of the soul evolved into trepidations over having not lived a meaningful life and died un-mourned by the world around them. During the 19th century, Christian views on death shifted to less spiritual and more secular concerns. Mourners were expected to openly display their love and devotion to the dead by public gestures of grief and affection to the dead and an unwillingness to let go of the dead. Dress and actions of those most closely related to the dead were altered to demonstrate affection and grief. Photographs of the dead became commonplace to capture their image, use of embalming to prolong time before burial increased, hair and other personal belongings were viewed as means of keeping the dead's memory in the world of the living. In turn, these actions demonstrated that the mourners were of 'good character' and were socially respectable (Loughridge and Campbell, Jr. 1985:8). While elements of these attitudes may be seen in African American funeral rituals, they were not the dominant themes that tended to permeate more rural African American practices.

WEST AFRICAN THEOLOGY

Most 19th- and early 20th-century African Americans accepted Christianity. Their burial practices in turn reflected many Christian-based traditions. Some non-Christian West African traditions, however, managed to survive but their original meanings became lost or hidden in Christian dogma. What survived were ideas and practices used by a broad spectrum of African societies and concepts that could easily be adapted to fulfill more than one meaning. These ideas and practices included, but were not limited to, belief in parallel worlds, organization of the cosmology, use of charms and magical talismans, and dispensation of personal objects used by the decedent. The funeral ritual became a mechanism of social cohesion during the pre-Emancipation period. Scholars have pointed to the ring shout and the second funeral as examples of pan-African rituals that helped unite African slaves from diverse origins into cohesive communities (Stuckey 1987:12; Hildebrand 2006:144). These rituals combined elements of different tribal cultures into a new settings that Africans living in coastal Georgia could share, and helped form a Creole culture that blended both African and European customs into a separate cultural system, the Gullah/Geechee.

While slaves were drawn from nearly all parts of Africa, the Bakongo, a large civilization in the Kongo were among the most heavily impacted (Thompson and Cornett 1981). While some beliefs were unique to these people (and to subgroups within them), their recorded traditions exhibit commonalities among many fundamental beliefs throughout much of West and Central Africa, including those from the rice growing regions. Using Bakongo traditions as a reference model, West Africans generally believed that there were two worlds – that of the living and that of the dead (Thompson and Cornett 1981; Thompson 1983; Morrow 2002). These worlds shared a common plane or ground surface with the living existing on one surface and the dead inhabiting the opposing side. The plane that separated these two worlds was referred to as the

Kalunga line. Since many of the deepest soil deposits in West Africa contained white kaolinite clay (and therefore were closer to the opposing realm), the world of the dead was likewise considered to be white (Thompson and Cornett 1981).

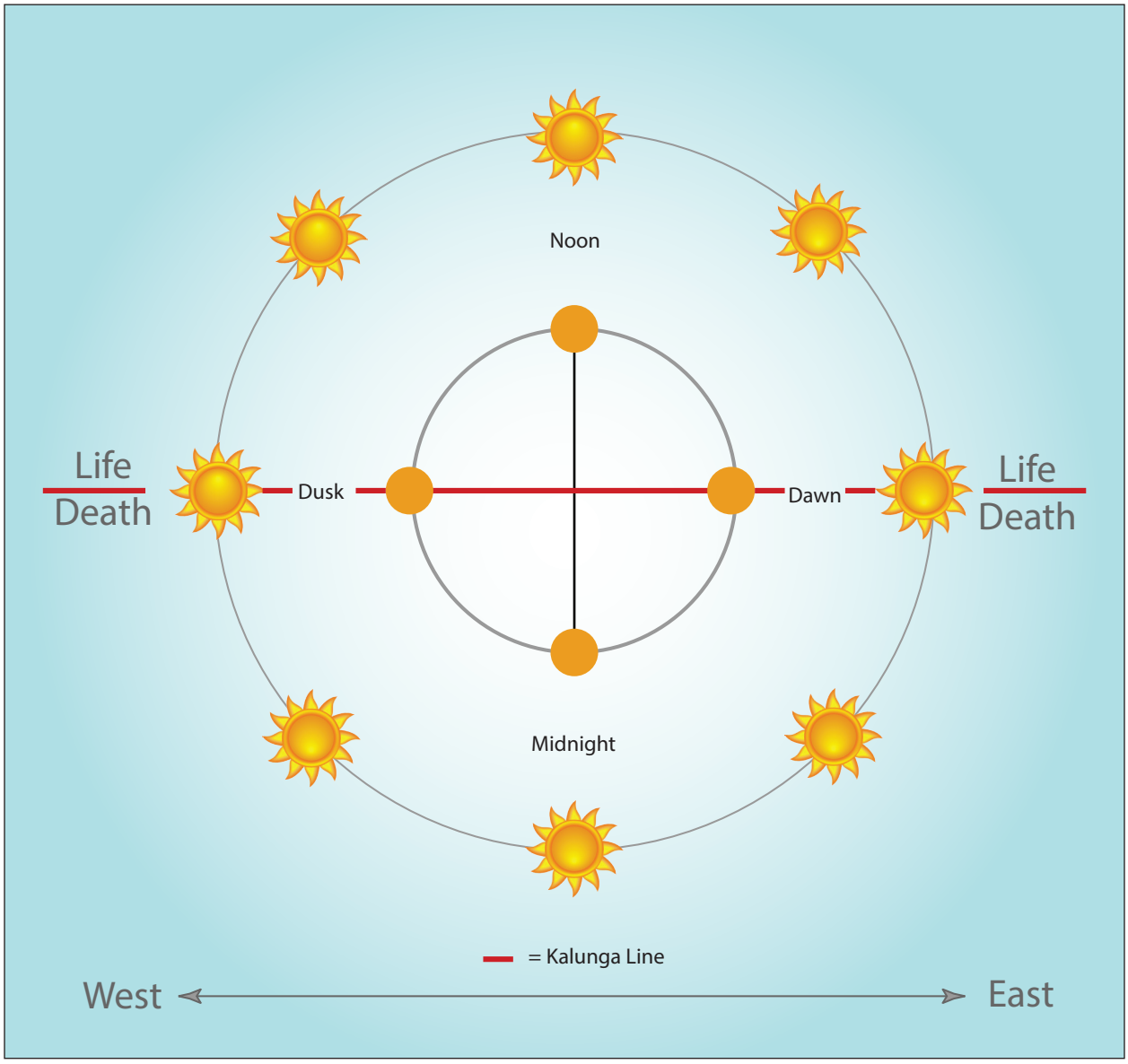
Above both worlds, the sun traveled in a circle creating a perpetual cycle of day, night, mid-day, midnight, sunset, and sunrise. The cycle and its significant points reflected the same cycle seen in human life (Matternes and Richey 2014). The rising of the sun signified a person's birth; mid-day reflected the middle of the individual's life; sunset symbolized their death and midnight was a point leading towards the person's rebirth. As the sun passed from one to the other side of the Kalunga line, so did life. Life, therefore, was not viewed as a finite state; rather, it was one of many transitions in a continuing cycle between both worlds.

Great bodies of water (oceans, rivers, or lakes) were thought to separate the worlds of the living and the dead. It was necessary for the spirit to cross these to reach the next world. As the sun rose or set and its light shimmered on the water, visions of the world of the dead could be seen (Fenn 1985:43). Water, therefore, became an important symbol for the transition between life and death. The flash or shimmer of sunlight became a means of viewing the spirits of one's ancestors and a conduit for supernatural control (Fenn 1985:46). Silver utensils, coins, foil, ceramic glazes, and glass could also produce flashes. These reflections served a dual purpose by trapping or dazzling spirits, preventing them from leaving an area, and providing a pathway into the spirit world (Puckett 1926; Evans et al. 1969; Capozzoli 1997).

Many African American mortuary symbols had their roots in African cosmological structures. The cyclic movement of the sun across the sky was linked to the spirals of a snail shell and the never-ending border of a circle. The opposing points of the sun's movement across the sky formed a cross and when combined, the cross and circle cosmogram neatly outlined the shape of the world, the movement of heavens, and the cycle of life and death (Figure 18). Circles, shells, water, crosses, white, and silver were important mortuary symbols in 19th- and 20th-century African American communities.

Traditionally, the grave was viewed as a place where the worlds of the living and dead were able to interact with one another (Morrow 2002:107). Unlike more Christian-based theologies, traditional West African belief systems recognized that the dead could manipulate the living and the material world. Because death was viewed as a transitional state and not an instantaneous phenomenon, the spirits of the dead, particularly the recently dead, were found near their burial sites (Jones 1925:173). Among some African American communities, the decedent's essence was divided into two supernatural forms, a soul that left the body and the spirit which remained with it (Bailey 2000:31).

Figure 18.
West African Cosmogram



Drawn from concepts outlined in Morrow 2002; Thompson 1983; Thompson and Cornett 1981

The funeral rituals developed in West Africa and in the Americas were designed to allow the living to appease the departed's spirit. Viewing death as little more than a transition between states of existence meant that the dead were still considered part of the family and community support network with rights and obligations that the living could be relied on to fulfill. In general, there were two means of fulfilling these obligations. Paramount was adequate preparation of the dead for journey to the next world. The living were expected to provide the materials and metaphysical protection needed for the spirit to reach the world of the dead. Second, the dead had to be reassured that the support network was still in place. The oft-cited elaborate African American mortuary displays validated that the community believed that the decedent had lived a meaningful and worthwhile life (Davidson 2007:198). Once interred, the living ensured that the grave was regularly visited and properly maintained. These were tangible acts designed to show the dead that they were still loved and respected.

Fulfilling the spirit's needs were in turn means of manipulating the spirit world. In return for their efforts, spirits offered medicinal powers, warnings (through dreams), and supernatural protection to the family or community (Evans et al. 1969; Fenn 1985:43; Russell 1997:424; Clarke 2010:143). Failure to meet these obligations not only rescinded the dead's help, but the angered spirit would return to haunt and harm the living.

THE CEMETERY AND THE GRAVE

In general, rural cemeteries in Georgia assumed four forms. These include communal, family, church, and slave cemeteries. Perhaps the least common forms were communal or municipal cemeteries. Communal cemeteries were found close to a town center and were generally overseen by a municipal authority or private organization (such as a burial association or funeral home). Grave plots were purchased, donated, or arranged through consultation. Communal cemeteries tended to be placed in visible portions of the cultural landscape and were perhaps the closest analog to urban cemeteries found in rural environments. Jabbour and Jabbour (2010:56) noted that communal cemeteries run by municipal authorities exhibit the greatest diversity of size and headstone style among rural cemeteries. Other cemeteries were built on church grounds. While frequently the cemetery was a large component of the church's land use, they were usually placed behind or beside the church and rarely competed with the church structure as the focal point in the landscape. The most commonly encountered rural burial grounds were family cemeteries. Family cemeteries were private grounds reserved for family members. Their audience was rarely the public at large, so monuments and decorations tended towards simplicity. Family cemeteries were frequently separated from the surrounding grounds and living area by fences or enclosures. Former slave cemeteries represent burial areas whose origins predate Emancipation and whose location was originally chosen or approved by slaveholders. Former slave cemeteries saw continued use after Emancipation by descendants or

laborers living or working on the former plantation. They frequently exhibit grave clusters representing sets of inter-related family clusters. Former slave cemeteries are most commonly associated with African American communities. Dunwoody Cemetery is best classified as an African American folk cemetery and a former slave cemetery.

Rural cemeteries can also be divided in terms of how the property was managed. Burial grounds that were regulated by an overseeing institution that controls who can be buried, where graves may be placed in the cemetery, and the range of symbolic expression allowable on a grave are referred to as formal cemeteries (Matternes and Richey 2014). Groups, including churches, burial associations, municipal authorities, and commercial enterprises, recognized that cemeteries conveyed important messages about the burial community and sought to restrict these messages to those deemed to be positive and appropriate statements. The range of expression associated with these cemeteries is more restrictive than found in informal cemeteries. Informal cemeteries lack a singular institutional authority. They are composed of numerous smaller groups, usually representing individual families, whose control is limited to their particular burial area. Informal cemeteries convey few cohesive messages about the cemetery population as a whole; focus is more directed towards messages communicated by family plots and individual graves. Churchill Cemetery near Crescent is an example of an informal cemetery in McIntosh County. While clear property ownership may be a sign of a formal cemetery, if owners choose not to exercise control over the cemetery, the developing facility can also be a informal cemetery. An example of this is the Sterling Community Cemetery in nearby Glynn County. The grounds are owned by the Salem-St. John Baptist Church, but the church recognizes it as a community facility and exercises no control over interment (Wayne and Dickinson 2003:9). Most communal and church cemeteries were formal cemeteries. Family, former slave, and some communal cemeteries, such as the Old School Cemetery (Washington, Georgia), Area 2 Cemetery (Savannah, Georgia), and Avondale Burial Place (Bibb County, Georgia), were informal burial grounds. In McIntosh County area, cemeteries including the Upper Mill Cemetery would be considered formal cemeteries, while the Dunwoody Cemetery was very likely an informal burial ground for most of its active period.

CEMETERY AND GRAVE LOCATION

Southern cemeteries, particularly those in upland areas were usually located on hilltops, ridgelines or on their adjacent slopes (Jeane 1978:896). These locations were chosen because they drained well and they made use of land that was difficult to develop for agricultural purposes. During an interview with Willie Cook, a McIntosh County informant, local craftsman, and member of the African American community, he stated that high water tables in the low country contributed to placing graves in grounds that were more resistant to flooding. Christian

theology recognized that the desirable spheres of the afterworld were “in the sky” or at least above the living world (Knight 1973; Cottle 1997:17). Placement of the cemetery on high ground placed the dead closer to the spiritual world; the cemetery became a metaphor for heaven or paradise on earth. In The coastal Gullah/Geechee communities expressed a similar metaphor where cemeteries were erected as close as possible to water, according to an interview with Mary Moran, McIntosh County informant and resident of the African American community. In a more Afrocentric cosmology, the dead were placed by those great bodies of water believed to separate the worlds of the living and the dead.

Many rural landholders felt strong bonds between themselves and their land, particularly land that had been in the family's possession for numerous generations. The cemetery provided a tangible means of legitimating a family's claim to membership in a community and ultimately to property ownership (Botwick 1997). Burial on family property or on church grounds where the family had traditionally been members were means of reaffirming a family's place in the community's social structure.

When choice was provided, rural African American communities invariably chose private locations for burial areas. Nineteenth and early 20th-century lowland cemeteries were not viewed by its users as a means of social display, rather, the messages conveyed were more directed toward the family and local community. Lowland African American cemeteries tend to be tucked away in locations that are not visible to the casual passerby. The unobtrusive cemetery site may have also been followed to provide the spirits a place that was isolated from the living (Jones-Jackson 1987:73). Slaves were buried on unusable bits of land, near field corners, close to fresh water (swamps, creeks, ponds or rivers), adjacent to European American cemeteries, or as part of a slave quarters complex. Tines Kendrick, a former slave from Crawford County, Georgia recalled that the slave cemetery on her plantation was located in an isolated location away from the main complex, a location not that dissimilar to what was observed at the Sidon Plantation and Dunwoody Cemetery (Yetman 2002:83). Roedinger (1981:170) noted that some Southern communities or churches provided communal grounds where local slaves could be buried. When possible, African American burial in the post-Emancipation era would have been with one's formerly enslaved kinsmen or tended to reflect locations with these same geographic features. In McIntosh County, cemeteries were traditionally segregated by race and ethnicity. The development of non-segregated cemeteries is a relatively recent phenomenon and still not widely practiced.

The organizational structure within most lowland cemeteries centered on the nuclear family. Burial grounds frequently were divided into sub-parcels with spaces within each plot generally reserved for family members. Different nuclear family groups frequently defined their own space within the cemetery, forming a large network of inter-related extended families that mirrored the social networks that evolved in rural southern communities (Jeane 1992:113).

A paramount priority for many African Americans was assurance that they would be interred in the family cemetery (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:95; Combes 1974:56). Sammie Pinkney, a local informant and resident from the African American community in McIntosh County, was interviewed as well. He observed that the spirit was believed to return to one's homeland, that is the place where they were born and where their family roots were buried. In a related belief, a child's afterbirth was buried and recognized as the first part of a person that was returned to the earth (Bailey 2000:77). The tradition of afterbirth burial established a metaphysical bond between the child and their place of birth; one's birthplace would always be viewed as one's true home. All McIntosh County informants recognized that whenever financially feasible, the dead were returned home. Great lengths were made to ensure that one's mortal remains were returned to the family burial ground. Individuals who died away from the family burial grounds were shipped back using the most efficient means possible. Putrefaction of the un-embalmed became such an issue that in 1862 the Central, Macon, and Western, as well as the Southwestern Railroad banned rail shipment of all coffins that were not encased in a charcoal filled box (Adams et al. 1862:2). Since dead family members were part of the support network that protected the living from supernatural maladies, it was imperative that the deceased were buried with the spirits of other kinsmen. The penalty for not being interred with the family spirits was to wander with no final resting place (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:62–63,77). Likewise the fear of contaminating the cemetery, a family's most powerful magical charm, meant that strangers and non-family members were buried elsewhere. In some parts of Georgia, 'Stranger's lots' or 'Stranger's Cemeteries' were erected beside more family or community-oriented cemeteries to inter nonfamily and non-community members. Some of the most visible stranger's lots in Georgia are found on the periphery of Laurel Grove North in Savannah. Matternes et al. (2010:334–335) have argued that a spatially segregated cluster of graves on the periphery of the African American cemetery defined as Area 2 Cemetery in Savannah, Georgia was likely also a stranger's lot.

Fear that stillborn and premature infants were victims of sorcery and thus a potential source for metaphysical contamination of the family plot has its roots in West African culture (Parrington et al. 1989:120). The burials of these infants frequently were treated differently than those of other children, and were often placed away from the burial community. Infant segregation has been associated with malevolent magic in a few African American cemeteries, indicating that this cultural perception probably survived into the late 19th century in some communities (Crist et al. 2000:96; Matternes et al. 2010:333).

Segregation of the nonmember was not a uniquely Afro-centric feature; Christian communities had long-standing traditions governing cemetery membership. European-Christian communities tended to use grounds that were specially blessed by the church and set aside for burial purposes. The sanctity of these grounds was maintained by excluding the unworthy from burial. Those

who had sinned and thus condemned their souls to hell (or purgatory) were buried in remote, unmarked locations. The excommunicated, murderers, felons, suicides, and similar social outcasts were buried at cross roads, sometimes at night so that their wandering souls would forever be unable to haunt their former communities (Stilgoe 1978:24). While lunatics were perceived as innocent victims possessed by demons, they were denied burial to prevent contamination of the holy ground. Unbaptized children (who lacked the grace of God and thus were unable to go to heaven) could likewise not be interred in a Christian burial ground.

Cosmology dictated how graves were positioned. The traditional Christian burial form placed the body in an extended position in an east-west alignment. While probably adapted from pre-Christian pagan burial traditions, Christians grounded this burial posture on the second coming (or judgment day), which envisioned Christ arriving in the east. Graves were oriented with the head to the west in order to allow the dead to face Jesus on his arrival. Orientation was then symbolically tied to the concept of rebirth and hope of a life after death (Milbauer 1989:177). Muslim tradition on Sapelo Island held that one prayed towards Mecca in the east, providing a further justification for burial facing east (Bailey 2000:158). From an African perspective, burial in this same east-west positioning meant that the dead were synchronized with the structure of the universe (Genovese 1976:98; Pollitzer 1999:142). Placing the head to the west meant that the dead could observe the sun as it rose and trekked across the sky. Islamic roots in the African American community were also reflected in grave orientation. Following Muslim tradition, graves were oriented so that the decedent faced Mecca (Imam 2011). In McIntosh County this translated into a more north-northeast to south-southwest grave orientation, as reflected in some local graves including that for Faye "Ameedah" Moran in the Belleville Cemetery.

Whenever possible, graves were placed with the decedent's spouse and/or kinsmen. Children tended to be buried in close proximity to their parents. European and Christian traditions dictated that wives were interred to the south (or left hand side) of their husbands (Miller et al. 2004:363). As generations passed, the rules involving placement became more complicated. Cornelia Bailey, historian and member of the Geechee culture whose family has lived on Sapelo Island since 1803, gave important insight into the Geechee culture. In an interview with Greg Smith, she perhaps best described how placement worked:

> Some people go in the cemetery and they'd say, "Well how come this husband's over here and his wife is over there?"…tradition to that was…in life you belong to each other. If you and I were married, we belong to each other in life, and when we die we go back to our parents. So you die you were buried with your mom and dad…you were buried with your kinfolks and when I die I'm buried with mine. So that's the reason why they didn't understand that and some people still carrying that old tradition. So in life you're a couple but in death you're separate, you go back to your family.

Graves placed out of an east-west orientation generally reflected a desire to deny the decedent spiritual grace. Grave alignment reflected conditions associated with the individual's character or cause of death. Violent or unnatural deaths, which would have included animal attacks, disfiguring disease, violent injury, and the death of murderers, suicides, or those with socially malignant personalities, were traditionally denied a proper burial in West African cultures (Hildebrand 2006:137). Elements of this practice survived into the New World. Victims of drowning in particular were oriented north-south to appease water spirits while those deemed as sinners were placed with their heads to the east (Cohen 1958:96; Burn 1991:21; Mills et al. 2008:197). In an interview with Cornelia Bailey, she stated that an eastern orientation had them face Satan, who's throne was believed to be in the West. Individuals of low moral character may be buried face down to symbolize that their fate lay in hell (Gregorie 1954:315). In the Caribbean, this positioning was reserved for those who possessed supernatural powers (Gregorie 1954:315). Alternatively, murder victims were buried face down to help identify the killer (Gregorie 1954:315). Finally, among Gullah-Geechee sea island communities, children were buried face down to prevent the child from returning for its siblings (Herskovitz 1941:189). During informant interviews for the Old School Cemetery in Washington, Georgia (Richey et al. 2008), Charles Harris, a resident of the local African American community, recalled one particularly disliked member of the community who was buried extremely deep to ensure that he remained in his grave (Harris 2007). The Washington, Georgia community member's grave probably related to a wider belief that a deep grave prevented a spirit from returning to haunt the living (Puckett 1926:107–108). In the uplands, north-south oriented graves and those buried with their heads to the east were reserved for those who had fallen from Christian favor; on the day of judgment, these persons were doomed to rise facing the wrong direction or with their backs to Jesus (Jordan 1980:246).

GRAVE DECORATION

Markers

The 19th- and early 20th-century American concept of an appropriately decorated grave usually included stone memorials marking its head and foot ends. Stone markers served two purposes. First, they provided durable points in the landscape that identified exactly where a given decedent was interred, thus ensuring that descendants knew where their loved one was buried and prevented future deposits from unintentionally disturbing the grave. Stone markers also provided a permanent medium where information about the decedent and the community's perception of death could be conveyed to all future viewers. Gravestone form and prose have not remained static, rather they have both undergone considerable change over time to reflect important shifts in mainstream American cultural ideas (Hijiya 1983). In Georgia, stone markers can be found in many lowland cemeteries.

Uninscribed grave markers were common in rural environments where they were valued as permanent grave locaters. Where available, the most ubiquitously found monuments were fieldstone markers. They were a common feature wherever naturally occurring rock could be extracted from the local environment. When possible, tabular stones approximating the dimensions of commercially produced head and footstones were chosen (Figure 19a). Jordan (1982:45) observed that the tops of fieldstones were occasionally pecked into square, rounded, and gable shapes. Fieldstones occasionally had the decedent's name or initials crudely carved into their surfaces. In Washington County, African American graves were occasionally marked with chunks of white quartzite (Richey et al. 2008:35). LeeDecker et al. (2009:91) have noted that use of the fieldstone marker continued well into the 20th century. Fieldstone markers can be found on a variety of rural cemeteries, but in the absence of outcrops of durable rock, fieldstone markers are relatively uncommon in McIntosh County. Ballast stones, used to help balance an empty sailing ship, have been reported as markers in McIntosh County's Oasis Cemetery (Gladstone 2000b).

Rural African American grave markers in particular often diversified away from the traditional stone forms found in mainstream urban cemeteries. Use of alternative materials including cement, tabby, bricks, roofing tile, iron, architectural stone, cinderblock, edging, and other construction materials have been used either directly as markers or to fashion memorials. These can still be commonly observed in cemeteries throughout Georgia. Brick and steel fashioned into crosses were a commonly used marker form in McIntosh County, according to Sammie Pinkney's interview. Wilson Moran stated that in the Harris Neck community of McIntosh County, local craftsmen poured tabby to form markers. Closer to the Dunwoody Cemetery, tabby markers can be observed on Africa American graves in the Butler Cemetery. Concrete was a common 20th-century marker medium. Local craftsmen, including local informant, Willie Cook, created wire letter stencils to engrave names and dates into wet concrete and iron bars to inscribe decorations. Sammie Pinkney also stated that concrete markers were considerably cheaper than their stone counterparts, enabling some McIntosh County families to mark poorly marked graves with more durable memorials.

African American markers frequently explored artistic concepts outside the traditional American marker style often to convey Afro-centric ideas (Figure 20a). Concrete markers shaped like a capital "T" have been recognized as the portions of the West African cosmogram that are below the Kalunga line (Figure 19b) (Morrow 2002:108–109). Concrete was also used to explore more abstract monument forms (Figure 20b). While Christian iconography dominated handmade African American markers, these monuments also depicted suns, moons, and encircled crosses (Figure 19c).

Figure 19.
African American Folk Grave Markers

a. Granite Fieldstone Marker (Stone Mountain Cemetery, African American Section, DeKalb County, Georgia)

b. Handmade Concrete "T" Marker (School Street Cemetery, McIntosh County, Georgia)

c. Handmade Concrete Marker for George Lee Walker with Encircled Crosses (Old Smyrna Methodist Church Cemetery, Harris County, Georgia)

d. Cedar Plank Grave Marker (Butler Cemetery, McIntosh County, Georgia)

Figure 20.
Anthropomorphic and Abstract African American Folk Grave Markers

a. Concrete Anthropomorphic Figure (16 Gate Cemetery, Beaufort, South Carolina)

b. Handmade Abstract Concrete Marker for Garfield Carswell (Butler Cemetery, McIntosh County, Georgia)

c. Iron Anthropomorphic Figures (School Street Cemetery, Wilkes County, Georgia)

d. Oddfellows Chain (Stone Mountain Cemetery, African American Section, DeKalb County, Georgia)

In environments where fieldstone was not available, wood was probably the dominant marker type. On Sapelo Island, wooden markers were a common pre-World War II fixture (Bailey 2000:237). Among the less wealthy members of society, planks and posts made from durable live oak and cedar approximated the forms of more formal gravestones (Figure 19d), which was confirmed by both Cornelia Bailey and Clarence Baker during their interviews. Mr. Baker is a local informant and long-term resident of McIntosh County. In interviews with Mary Moran and Willie Cook, they indicated that posts marking the head were generally set higher than those indicating the grave's foot. Wooden shingles and boards were sometimes used to mark slave graves (Genovese 1976:200; Vlach 1991:47). In coastal regions, wooden markers were sometimes carved into anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, or abstract forms. Work by Sunbury's Cyrus Bowen can be directly tied to grave art decorating graves in Northern Angola (Genovese 1976:200; Vlach 1991:47). Wrought iron was occasionally worked to fashion chains, probably identifying loyalty to the Independent Order of Oddfellows and to make anthropomorphic figures (Figures 20c and 20d) (Richey et al. 2008:41).

Nineteenth- and early 20th-century graves marked with inscribed memorials tended to be less common in rural southern cemeteries than in more urban settings. Lack of inscription can be attributed to a reliance in many southern burial communities on non-written media to record who was buried in a cemetery. Matternes and Richey (2014) have argued that one of the primary differences between urban and rural southern cemeteries was audience focus. While many urban cemeteries were designed to inform the visitor, who was frequently literate and more often times not local, the primary audiences for many rural cemeteries were local community members. Many people in the rural south were poorly educated and would have been unable to read a gravestone inscription.

Grave markers also tended to be made from nondurable materials, which over time left many graves unmarked. To overcome these obstacles, the names of those interred in a cemetery were recorded as part of the community's oral tradition (Jeane 1989:163). Mnemonic cues, including use of distinctive grave decorations and grave placement relative to other geographic features, helped document a grave's identity. To illustrate this, former resident of Taylors Creek (Liberty County), Edelle Osgood (Meader 2002:Appendix) explained how she knew where her unmarked kinfolk in Liberty County were buried:

> I know the spot where my granddaddy and my aunt were buried. I couldn't just go out there, but I know about where because I'm going by the fence that was there, because I remember leaning up on the fence when they was buried, my granddaddy and my aunt.

On Sapelo Island, Cornelia Bailey (2000:238) recalled that grave decorations were important geographic tools:

> You put a favorite object of the person on the grave to mark where the gravesite was, and that way you could always say, "Yeah, I can go find Mama's grave 'cause I put her favorite plate on her grave." Cups and plates and things like that were used and sometimes clocks.

Bottles and other vernacular objects were noted by McIntosh County informants Josephine Lotson, Eunice Moore, and Sammie Pinkney as a means of distinguishing family member graves in McIntosh County. A wooden mallet used as a marker in the Sterling Community Cemetery and a metal mailbox observed in Savannah's Laurel Grove South Cemetery not only provided distinctive vernacular monuments, but probably conveyed additional information about the decedents (Wayne and Dickinson 2003:16).

Plants were not just added for decorative and symbolic purposes, they too were mnemonic mediums in McIntosh County. Distinctive trees or flowering bushes, particularly those with some connection to the decedent were sometimes used to identify the location of a grave. Gardenias, oleanders, roses, juniper, and cedars were among the flora specifically planted to define a specific family member's resting place (Wayne and Dickinson 2003:12). Local informants, Corneila Bailey and Cornell Hawkins, also confirmed in their interviews the types of flora used. Cornell Hawkins and Sammie Pinkney described that hedges, oak and cedar trees were sometimes planted at the head and foot of the grave to serve as its monument.

Grave Offerings

Markers are not the only means by which a grave's location is identified. Accessory materials, collectively referred to as grave offerings or grave wares, were frequently in direct association with a grave and were used to delineate its position on the landscape (Jeane 1978). Grave offerings were typically placed on, beside, or directed towards an interment. They may have helped retard unwanted plant growth and control surface erosion, but their primary purpose was communication. They conveyed specific, often highly personal information about the decedent to an audience. In African American cemeteries, this audience was primarily (but not exclusively) family, local, and non-local community members (Matternes and Richey 2014). The primary audience in lowland African American cemeteries frequently included the spirit of the departed.

Late 19th- and early 20th-century lowland African Americans possessed a rich tradition of grave offerings. While commercially produced mortuary decorations were occasionally used, household objects were charged with social meaning and commonly pressed into service (Richey et al. 2008). Some of the more ubiquitously used forms were complete and fragmentary vessels. Complete vessels fulfilled both functional and symbolic needs. Glass and ceramic hollowware objects served as planters, vases, grave markers, edgings, decorative covers, and offering containers.

Placing bottles on and around graves were long-standing Southern and African American mortuary traditions (Jeane 1978:898; Milbauer 1989:179). Fenn (1985:43) and members of the Georgia Writer's Project (1972:127,130) noted the use of bottles as grave offerings on both African American and West African graves as a means of appeasing the dead. Bottles were common decorations on lowland graves.

The placement of personal items also served as a form of spiritual appeasement. To prevent the dead from wandering back to the world of the living, West Africans and African Americans provided the dead with the necessities they once had in life (Fenn 1985:43; Vlach 1991:45). Possessions, including toiletries, glasses, tools, false teeth, and medicines were commonly left on the grave's surface for the dead's use (Thompson and Cornett 1981:96; Fenn 1985:44; Parrington and Wideman 1986:61; Burn 1991:345) (Figure 21). Toys, including dolls and doll parts were commonly placed on the grave of a child (Roedinger 1981:175; Thompson and Cornett 1981:210; Matternes et al. 2010:267). Regarding what materials were left on a grave, Sarah Washington of Eulonia, Georgia observed, "I don't guess you be bothered much by the spirits if you give 'em a good funeral and put the things what belong to 'em on top of the grave" (Vlach 1990:139–140). Inclusion of these materials on the grave was a means of supporting the dead and prevented the spirit's return to look for them.

In McIntosh County, grave objects were specifically placed within the boundary of the grave, according to an interview with Eunice Moore, local informant and member of the African American community. Meanings varied by how the vessel was positioned. Inversion on the grave's surface was viewed by some African American communities as an 'inversion' of life and a symbol of the spirit world (Thompson 1983:142). Objects placed upright were designed to be seen or used by both the living and the dead. Alkaline and other glazed stoneware vessels placed at the head of the grave were used as grave markers (Burrison 1983:27; Richey et al. 2008:47). On the graves of those who died at night, lamps and lamp fragments were placed within the confines of the grave's perimeter to help lead the dead to the spirit world (Thompson and Cornett 1981:199; Fenn 1985:67). More personal wares made of glass, including bottles (particularly medicine bottles), tumblers, and dishwares were intentionally positioned on top of the grave (Milbauer 1989:179). Frequently these objects were among the last touched by the deceased. Some believed that they were still charged with spiritual emanations from the deceased (Blassingame 1979:37; Vlach 1990:140; Capozzoli 1997:330). Placement of grave offerings was not just a protective move; it was a gesture to persuade the spirit to use their powers for the benefit of their descendants (Thompson and Cornett 1981:181). While grave offerings were directed toward the spirit, they also communicated important qualities and features of the dead's social personality to the living audience.

Figure 21.
African American Grave on Sapelo Island (1919) with Unknown Man,
Vanishing Georgia Image SAP-136

Source: Vanishing Georgia 2011

Sometimes, the focus of the grave offering was not the object proper but what was inside it. On St. Mary's Island, for example, food offerings were left on the grave to provide the spirit with sustenance (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:194). Some offered vessels frequently contained little more than water. Water symbolized the transition between the worlds of the dead and the living (Fenn 1985:45; Capozzoli 1997:331). Glass water pitchers, canning jars, vases, and metal cans, which could all also be used to hold flowers, are common finds on gravesites. Probably because bathrooms involved water, the association with water was also a reason to include bathroom tile on the surface of a grave (Fenn 1985:45; Matternes et al. 2010:265).

On some African American graves, objects were intentionally broken or 'killed'. The symbolic gesture was designed to release the object's spirit from its material form and was a metaphor that life had ended (Nichols 1990:14; Vlach 1991:45; Wayne and Dickinson 2003:11). Others believed that shattering an object broke the chains of death and prevented other family members from following a departed loved one into the spirit world (Morrow 2002:106). The scattering of glass fragments and other sparkling objects on grave surfaces allowed the living to see the dead in the resulting shimmer (Fenn 1985:46). Vlach's (1990:138) observation that pressed glass was often among the sherds may be explained by the ability of the glass's uneven surfaces to capture and reflect light. Puckett (1926:106) observed that Georgia's African Americans viewed broken glass placed specifically on the grave as a means of keeping the spirit within the grave. Genovese (1976:200) felt that the use of broken pottery on grave surfaces had ties to the West African use of potsherds to symbolize the destruction of body by death. Evans et al. (1969:82) viewed these sherds as offerings left to appease the spirits. Glass sherds scattered on the surface of the grave, therefore, served as a medium allowing the living to manipulate the world of the dead. From a less symbolic perspective, McIntosh County informant, Mary Moran, noted that breaking dishes kept people from stealing them.

While placement of vernacular decorations on the surface of a grave was a tradition recognized by every subject interviewed, no one did it themselves; and in general, they recognized it as a practice that was disappearing. In an interview with Clarence Baker, he surmised that while theft is recognized as one reason that objects sometimes disappeared, changes in attitude towards a tidier cemetery appearance meant that many former grave decorations were thrown away. Modern surface decorations tend to be commercially-made products and are guided not by tradition but by the rules of the given cemetery.

Color was also an important component of glass and stoneware decoration. African Americans followed West African traditions that associated white with the afterworld (Nichols 1990:13; Vlach 1991:45). The placement of bleached seashells, white, satin or milk glass, minimally decorated or undecorated whiteware, ironstone, porcelaneous ironstone or porcelain, and bristol

slipped or salt glazed stonewares on a grave would have added mortuary connotation to any message conveyed by the object's form. The high glazed surfaces of these potteries also had the ability to shimmer when light bounced off their surfaces and was particularly evident if the object's surface was textured, embossed, or incised. The use of glazed pottery as a grave offering may also have been a means of manipulating the supernatural.

Grave edgings and covers, which included fences, vegetative borders, and concrete ledger stones, were an important component of the rural surface decoration. They provided a surface to allow communication of relevant concepts. Wavy lines on the surface of ledger stones are universally seen as water symbols. Tool and fish impressions molded into the surface ledger stones at Eugenia Cemetery in Savannah told audiences about the decedent's occupation or interests. In lowland and coastal African American cemeteries, edgings and covers acted as charms. Marking the margins of a grave defined space that belonged to the spirit. Edging provided a supernatural barrier capable of keeping the spirit from wandering and at the same time protecting the spirit from harmful magic. Thompson and Cornett (1981:185) recognized that African American grave edgings corresponded with West African 'luumbus'. Luumbus were sacred enclosures placed around West African graves designed to act as supernatural barriers to protect both the living and the dead from malevolent forces. Edgings around upland graves served more as a means of surface identification rather than as a spiritual barrier (Clauser, Jr. 1994:6). The use of seashells to line or cover a grave is a relatively common low country tradition, but it does not appear to have been routinely used in McIntosh County. Cornelia Bailey and Mary Moran generally noted in their interviews that shell decorations were limited to the occasional conch shell, sometimes used as a marker or placed as a personal memento. In his interview, McIntosh County informant Sammie Pinkney observed that oyster shells were occasionally piled on a grave. These may have been deposited to add the color white to the grave or to help form a grave mound. Wayne and Dickinson (2003:B1) documented that oyster shells were occasionally pressed into the surface of concrete ledger stones.

THE FUNERAL RITUALS

CARE AT DEATH

The concept of 'folk' is most commonly associated with the cemetery, but the reliance on non-mainstream American ritual is found throughout the entire funerary tradition. A review of funeral events beginning with the moment that the death event is imminent will best illustrate this concept.

Late 19th- and early 20th-century rural communities were not comfortable with the concept of the unattended death. Most communities felt that they had a responsibility to care for its members. In the rural south, medical care was frequently scarce and residents had to rely on

home remedies to aid the afflicted (Matternes et al. 2011). Many deleterious health conditions were beyond the scope of help that could be provided, even by the available medical community; death was a frequent and constant concern whenever a person's health was jeopardized. Recurrent exposure meant that the signs of impending death could be recognized. Family and friends engaged in a 'death watch'. During this vigil, the victim was constantly attended to provide aid and prayers until their condition either improved or death occurred.

In 19th- and 20th-century African American communities, family members were assisted by church and mutual aid group members who watched and cared for the sick and dying (Parsons 1923:16:215; Torain 1943:351; Sisk 1959:169–170; Vernon 1995:54–56; Bailey 2000:207; Holloway 2002:34). Caregivers were expected to comfort and support the dying. One coastal South Carolina native summed up the responsibility as "we got tuh help him cross de ribber," recognizing that the living were there to ease the victim through the death event (Pollitzer 1999:142).

When death was imminent, the victim's mouth was closed and the eyes pressed shut to prevent the spirit from going to a ‘bad place’ (Puckett 1926:85). On Sapelo Island, caregivers checked to ensure that the victim was dead by feeling for a pulse and placing a mirror over the victims mouth to see if it fogged (Bailey 2000:14–15). Once death occurred, caregivers would shriek not only in bereavement and to let others know that the victim had died, but also to scare off any lurking malevolent spirits (Pollitzer 1999:142). The spirits of those who 'died well' were less expected to return to the world of the living.

Allowing a 'bad' or unattended death to occur was a condemnation of an individual's worth within a community. One of the penalties for anti-social behavior was to die unattended. Gregorie (1954:315) related that in 1871 a church member in Sumter County, South Carolina "…'backslided' into sin; when she became ill, none of her friends came to her aid and she died, probably of neglect." A bad death doomed the spirit to an eternity of roaming the earth (Pollitzer 1999:142).

Death brought on the need for a ‘presentation team’ to begin preparing for funeral events. Presentations teams were people involved in preparing the decedent, their environments and materials for a funeral. These people were also responsible for carrying out the funeral ritual. Initially the presentation team consisted of those present at the death, but usually expanded to include other members of the community. One of the most important preparatory functions of the presentation team was to inform the community that a death had occurred. In an age before electronic communication and noise pollution, drums and bells served as efficient means of mass communication to a community that was widely dispersed over the landscape. In some lowland African American communities, the church bell was the primary means of gaining a

community's attention. In McIntosh County, bells could be rung at certain pitches and rhythms that communicated such messages as a death, an impending disaster, or a church meeting (Bailey 2000:13). Mary Moran and Sammie Pinkney also confirmed in their interviews that the church bells would be rung differently for certain messages. Brooks Moody (Meader 2002:Appendix), a former resident of Taylors Creek and living in Hinesville, Georgia recalled:

> I can remember we used to have a bell on top of the church and any time anyone died in our community and we was having a funeral, we had a certain man who would ring the bell and everybody in the community would know that somebody was dead or they was having a funeral.

While couriers were sometimes dispatched to carry the news, the funeral drum was also a common medium of communication in lowland African American communities. Funeral drums had their origins in West African funeral ceremonies, where they announced each step of the funeral ritual (Thompson and Cornett 1981:177). Drums were initially beat on the day of the death to alert the community and thereafter to apprise them of the funeral's progress (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:76). Universally recognized drum beat rhythms communicated a death announcement and each community was expected to pass the message on to even more outlying settlements (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:122,140,143,155). In some communities a plow was rung (referred to as 'knocking the sweep'); one beat was struck for each year of the deceased's age (Sisk 1959:169).

The home of the deceased was prepared not only for visitors but to prevent or discourage the spirit from lingering. The dead were often moved to a bed positioned with the head towards the west, placing the victim in alignment with the rest of the world, providing the spirit guidance about which way to travel (Holloway 2002:123). Willie Cook stated in his interview that children were restrained from touching or playing with the dead for fear that the dead would make them sick. Once the decedent was removed, the house was thoroughly swept and cleaned to remove all physical reminders of the death event (Parsons 1923:213). Clocks were stopped at the time of death in fear that they would cease to function properly (Burn 1991:21–22). Mirrors, pictures, and glass panels were covered or turned backward, as it was considered bad luck for the spirit to see itself (Parsons 1923:214; Sisk 1959:169; Blakeley and Harrington 1997:169). Alternatively this was also done to prevent the spirit from being captured in the glass (Holloway 2002:123). Tobacco smoking was banned from the house and fires were not started in the hearths for these same reasons (Thompson and Cornett 1981:194). Pillows were removed from the home to make it less comfortable for the spirit (Holloway 2002:123). Wreathes were sometimes hung on the front door to inform passers-by that a death occurred (Holloway 2002:19). Willie Cook also observed that a wreath of flowers, a black bow, or a strap was placed where the decedent typically sat in their church.

Material resources were relatively scarce and their removal deprived the African American family of their benefit. Most of a decedent's possessions were kept for re-use among the family. However, Sammie Pinkney did state in his interview that some objects were kept as reminders of the a loved one. There were notable exceptions. Personal objects like clothing, combs, and brushes that were not saved for use on the grave were either thrown away or burned (Perdue et al. 1976:289; Waters 2000:98). Willie Cook recalled in his interview that people avoided retaining some personal objects (such as a hat) to avoid enabling the spirit to return.

PREPARING THE DECEDENT

Much of the presentation team's immediate attention was also turned towards preparing the body for final dispensation. By the time of the Reconstruction, the mainstream American mortuary ritual had developed into an important service industry. Prior to and during the early Reconstruction period, coastal Georgia's commercial funeral industry was run by, and largely catered to, the European American community. In the 1870s, however, the Bynes-Royal Funeral home opened in Savannah and specifically targeted the African American community's funeral needs (Wright and Hughes 1996:112). Other funeral parlors, including the Johnson and Fields and the Monroe Funeral Homes, owned by and operating within the community, soon followed (Wright and Hughes 1996:113,117). Market demands among McIntosh County's African American communities were not substantial enough to allow for professional services catering specifically to the African American community to proliferate until the 20th century. In the interviews with local informants Clarence Baker and Rev. Nathaniel Grovner, it was not until the early 1950s that Herbert Cooper formed the Darien Funeral Home, McIntosh County's first African American mortuary establishment. Community members either relied on local European American establishments to handle their needs, sought the services of outside providers in Savannah or Brunswick, or more commonly, provided for themselves. Willie Cook remembered in his interview that the Collins Funeral Home and Brown Funeral Home was one of the early funeral providers in Brunswick.

While embalming saw widespread use in the mid- to late 19th century, it was generally only available in more metropolitan areas. The process was costly and beyond the scope of most African American budgets (Wilson 1983:52). The procedure's quasi-medical nature may also have raised suspicions in communities already sensitized by body snatching and other medical depredations. Embalming did not appear to have been widely used in southern African American communities until the mid-20th century (Blassingame 1977:650; Dolan 1994). In an interview with Eunice Moore, she knew that when embalming was used, the procedure was generally done as the decedent's home.

Timing of the physical interment has traditionally been a sensitive issue with African American communities. Providing the dead with a proper burial in the slave community was a paramount concern, and there were few slaveholders who were foolish enough to forbid or dramatically interfere with the ritual. Funerals did take time away from other duties and some control over when and how a long a funeral could take place was enforced. In Georgia, informants such as Rachel Adams noted that, "If a nigger died that mornin' they sure didn't waste no time a-puttin him right on down in the ground that same day" (Killion and Waller 1973:120). At the other end of the spectrum, Robert Shepherd reminisced (Killion and Waller 1973:93):

> If a slave died on our place, nobody went to the fields 'til after the buryin'. Marster never let nobody be buried 'til they had been dead 24-hours, and if they had people from some other place he waited 'til they could get there. He said it wasn't right to hurry 'em off into the ground too quick after they died. He never seemed to care if us went – 'fact was, he said we ought to go

Lack of embalming meant that the bodies had to be buried relatively quickly. Among some communities and during the summer, burial occurred within the first 24-48 hours after death (Waring 1894:318; Burn 1991; Courlander 1996:82; Bailey 2000:14). In other communities (and other seasons), burial might wait several days. There were several preparations that could be made to retard exposure to the unpleasantries of decomposition. Recognizing that heat advanced decay, bodies were kept in cool, dry locations inside the house or underneath shade trees and away from insects and scavengers. In McIntosh County, ice was used to keep the body below room or outside temperatures (Bailey 2000:231). Sometimes, body cavities were sealed with garlic, coffee grounds or cotton infused with salt and turpentine to retard odor and fluid seepage (Burn 1991:45; Bailey 2000:15; Waters 2000:98). Plates or saucers filled with salt were placed on the belly to release and then absorb gasses that were trapped inside the abdomen (Hurdle 1953:75). In the interview with Mary Moran, she stated that salt provided a means of "keeping a body fresh" overnight. Sammie Pinkney also recalled that locally derived ointments were also applied to the decedent to help retard decomposition.

When undertakers were not used, the presentation teams were responsible for arranging the body for its final presentation to the audience. Initially, members of the presentation team would lay the decedent out on a cooling board, an ironing board, sawbucks or chairs with a plank stretched between them where it was thoroughly bathed (Parsons 1923:16:213; Hurdle 1953:75; Burn 1991:45). Corneila Bailey and Mary Moran both recalled the bathing of the deceased in their interviews as well. Bathing the body was a necessary step to remove the unpleasentries often associated with the death event and to ensure that the body was presentable to funeral audiences. In rural communities, this responsibility usually fell on the family or their immediate friends.

Among many West African cultures, a thorough bathing of the decedent, usually by a select group of women, was an important part of the funeral ritual (Roedinger 1981:174; Smith 2010:22). In some communities, this tradition survived into the pre-Emancipation African American culture and through at least the 19th century (Stuckey 1987:29). In other communities, men prepared male decedents and women handled the females (Bailey 2000:231). Josephine Lotson, local informant, confirmed in her interview that residents in McIntosh County also practiced this. Fraternal organizations frequently took over the role of preparing their members for burial (Bailey 2000:229). On Sapelo Island, women who attended the body frequently wore white as a symbol of purity (Bailey 2000:229). Preparing the decedent to look their best was an obligation the dead could expect from the living.

Cooling boards helped to set the limbs in a position that would accommodate placement in a coffin. Hands and arms were arranged across the chest or abdomen (Dickens and Blakely 1979:312). The men were usually shaved (Burn 1991:31). To remove the troubling stare from the dead's unblinking eyes, coins were placed on the lids to hold them shut (Hurdle 1953:75). Mary Moran and Sammie Pinkney also confirmed that the practice of placing coins on the eyelids was done in McIntosh County. In Crissman (1994:31), Evans and Travis (1980) observed:

> Rather than have the eyes partly open, they'd push the eyelids down and lay a piece of money-–usually a penny—on the eyelid to keep it from being partly open at the funeral. They'd make sure that they had the eye pulled down to shut, then they put that penny, or it could be a nickel, on there. When the eye got set properly, they dropped (knocked it off the face) that penny off into the casket and [buried] it with them.

Traditionally, mouths would have been tied shut and in a few cases, putty may have been applied to help hold the lower jaw in place (Nichols 1990:17; Matternes et al. 2010:309). Sheets were sometimes draped over the decedent to keep flies off them until they were placed in their coffin (Hurdle 1953:75). In their interviews, Willie Cook, Eunice Moore, and Sammie Pinkney also recalled sheets being used in this way.

Family members were often aware of how the victim wished to be buried and every effort was made to ensure that these wishes were carried out. For fear of haunting, the desired burial place and burial attire were acquired for the dead (Moore 1980:476). Hillerman (1979:92) observed that the dead were frequently clothed in specially made or conserved attire, designed to enhance the decedent's appearance and define their role in the funeral ritual. Males in the African American community were frequently buried in either suits or street clothes (Davidson 2010). Women were interred in dresses and children were typically buried in simple dresses, shifts, and

nightgowns. Bailey (2000:14) recalled that young girls were buried in non-homemade Sunday dresses. Enslaved pre-Emancipation women were frequently wrapped in winding sheets (Killion and Waller 1973:46,93). Male slaves were buried in whatever clothing the decedent owned at the time of death (Perdue et al. 1976:289). Robert Collins of Macon, Georgia recommended that the yearly allotment of clothing for a slave should include two cotton suits for the summer, two woolen ones for the winter, shoes, hats, socks and underclothes (Collins 1853:8). Relative to the season, these would have been the clothes anticipated for the interment of a pre-Emancipation field worker.

By and large, jewelry was considered too valuable a commodity to bury, and thereby permanently removing this resource from the world of the living, without a good reason. Certain exceptions were noted. Wedding bands, indicating the marital status of the decedent, were kept with the decedent in order to symbolize that one's commitment to their spouse continued after death. A moon-shaped brooch and mourning jewelry recovered at the Avondale Burial Place emphasized both American and African views of death (Matternes et al. 2011:333). Charms, which would have included pierced silver coins and colored beads, were worn during life around the neck, waist, or ankles; the dead to ward off malevolent supernatural powers retained these. Locally, wearing pierced silver dimes around an ankle as a good luck charm was a common sea island tradition (Bailey 2000:150). In general, these charms seem to be more common in Georgia cemeteries with children than among adults.

In her interview, Josephine Lotson said that if the deceased did not provide for or own suitable burial clothing, existing garments were modified or new ones were obtained. Funeral directors and burial associations also had access to commercial burial wear. A wide array of specially made attire, referred to by the funeral industry as 'burial robes,' was available from funeral suppliers (e.g. Crane, Breed, and Company 1877; St. Louis Coffin Company 1903). Surviving examples of commercially produced burial clothing exhibited pleats and openings designed to accommodate for bloating. Existing clothing was commonly slit down the back and shoes were rarely placed on the decedent for similar purposes (Owsley et al. 2006:96).

The Burial Receptacle

Sometimes the decedent had the foresight to acquire a coffin, but more frequently, one had to be obtained. Coffins and caskets were either made locally by a family or community member or obtained from a commercial outlet.

Pre-emancipation African American coffins were frequently simple, relatively crude receptacles consisting of little more than an unadorned rectangular box large enough to enclose the deceased (Roedinger 1981; Davidson 2004:112–116). There were important notable exceptions to this, particularly where the enslaved were beloved members of the household. These decedents were

provided with professionally constructed and decorated receptacles (Howson and Bianchi 2006:253). Even in these cases, coffin makers tended to select inferior grade materials for construction (Rauschenberg 1990:36). While large-scale slaveholders were able to hire an African American or European American carpenter to build these containers, small-scale slaveholders or the slaves themselves were sometimes responsible for building coffins (Genovese 1976:195).

The tradition of nonprofessionally made coffins continued after the Civil War, where local carpenters would be called to make a pine box coffin at little to no charge for a family who simply did not have the means to afford one (Burn 1991). Sammie Pinkney stated in his interview that these simple containers were sometimes referred locally as 'rough boxes'. In their interviews, Cornelia Bailey, Willie Cook, and Mary Moran remembered Shorty Fleming, Fred Wilson, and the brothers, Leonard and Eddie Thorpe, were noted coffin makers who served McIntosh County's African American community. On Sapelo Island, where access to community specialists was limited by the island's distance from the mainland, Bailey (2000:14) noted that family members sometimes constructed burial receptacles.

The alternative was to purchase a coffin. Burial cases could be obtained from funeral homes in Savannah or Brunswick. In Clarence Baker's interview, burial cases could be obtained locally at the Frank Williams Grocery Store in Meridian. In her interview, McIntosh County informant Josephine Lotson recalled coffins at Williams' store:

> So you can go there and you can get a casket for little or nothing like fifty dollars, seventy-five, anything under a hundred dollars. And if you get a hundred-dollar casket people think that you really are wealthy….And they has a small little post office there now but that was a large store. It was a store downstairs. The post office was in one corner and where they keep the casket and the coffin upstairs…So you will go up there and you will pick out. That was the only place around here that sell casket as far as I knows of. You would go there and buy your casket.

Acquiring a commercially produced coffin would have required a variable outlay of capital. Burn (1991) notes that in general, low country African American undertakers kept a constant supply of $100.00 adult coffins on hand. More expensive coffins were probably available on short notice or could be custom made. Coffin costs from around the turn of the century have been reported by Trinkley and Hacker-Norton (2007). For coffins where less than $20.00 was charged, about 67 percent of them were for stillborns or young children. Fifteen percent of the remaining coffins were for adults, implying that in some cases, only a minimum amount of capital could be, or was, expended. Males tended to have more spent on their coffins than females.

The type of timber used to construct coffins varied widely; however, locally available woods were generally employed. In the Southern uplands, pine, oak, poplar, chestnut, cherry, walnut, cedar, maple, and locust, as found in the immediate environment, were put to use (Crissman 1994:49). Traditionally, coffins from coastal South Carolina were made from cedar, southern pine, or bald cyprus (Zierden 1986:4–36; Rauschenberg 1990:34).

A variety of finishes were sometimes applied to the exterior surfaces of these receptacles including paint, stains, wax, cloth, and possibly varnishes or shellacs. Painted coffins frequently exhibited a reddish undercoat, which helped to seal the coffin and emphasize the topcoat's color. In Columbia, South Carolina, black finished coffins were more common among males, while white and pink were common female colors (Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 2007). Silver was used equally among males and females. Courlander (1996:226) noted that white paint was a preferred finish for the coffins of children. White painted coffins were encountered in the 9CH875 and 9CH1168 cemeteries in Chatham County (Matternes et al. 2010:214). McIntosh County informant, Josephine Lotson, affirmed in her interview that white painted burial cases were used in McIntosh County. Locally, wooden coffins and caskets were also finished in cloth or leather. Black cloth was tacked on to the outer surface for males and purple or lavender fabric was applied to receptacles for women, according to local informant Mary Moran. Josephine Lotson also recalled seeing gray suede-like covers on some burial cases. Hardware as appropriate would then be attached.

The wooden interiors of coffins commonly remained unfinished. The bases frequently contained a layer of sawdust, wood shavings, charcoal, or similar absorbent (and fragrant) materials that were then draped or sealed by a cloth cover (Wilson 1983:55; Lang 1984:20–22). There are many surviving 19th-century coffins that exhibit coarse unbleached cotton fabric that was tacked and draped down the sides of the coffin. Similar linings were used on caskets prepared on Sapelo Island (Arnett 2000:14). Pillows, blankets, and cotton batting were also added to prop or cover the body in appealing manners. In some southern communities, the living made quilts specifically for use as a liner upon their death (Crissman 1994:58). Commercially produced coffins and caskets could be obtained 'pre-upholstered' with decorative (and sometimes stuffed) liners, pillows, and cloth drapery installed.

Very little has been reported about African American coffins from the Georgia coast. Two graves, interpreted as early 19th-century slave interments were found in Mound D of the Cunningham Mound Complex in Liberty County, Georgia (Thomas et al. 1977:404–408). These receptacles exhibited hexagonal shapes; the presence of whiting and possibly caulk or white paint was viewed as evidence that these receptacles had been carefully constructed. Hexagonal coffins were reported in 19th-century graves from the Bethany Cemetery of Effingham County (Elliott and Elliott 1989). Elliott and Harrington (1992) examined a mid-19th century coffin

from Hutchinson Island in Chatham County. The vertical-sided hexagonal receptacle was made of pine and was devoid of any decorative hardware. Hexagonal coffins dominated the assemblages recovered from 9CG875 and 9CH1168 (Matternes et al. 2010:212–216). Rectangular, octagonal, and taper-to-foot caskets were present in relatively minor quantities. Some burial receptacles retained white paint and at least one coffin exhibited thin blue lined painted around its margins, possibly to protect the dead from supernatural forces. The interior of one coffin appeared to have been lined with seaweed or a similar vegetative substance (Matternes et al. 2010:223).

The measures needed to obtain a suitable burial case were set in motion as soon after the death event as possible; however, the presentation team had other tasks, including notification and gathering of family and friends, preparation of the gravesite, and arranging for the burial service, to be accomplished. Once a coffin or casket arrived, the dead would be moved into it, where it would either remain at the victim's home or it was moved to a local church. If weather allowed, it would be kept open in a cool spot (usually the front porch) where it was constantly guarded against cats and other scavengers (Parsons 1923:213; Genovese 1976:198; Burn 1991:45).

SETTIN' UPS

Humans are frequently not equipped to witness the death of a family or community members without some forms of social and psychological adjustment. An emotional response and reconciliation of death is an important component of this. In rural southern communities, an informal social gathering designed to honor the dead and provide support to the bereaved occurred in the period between death and burial. These gatherings have deep roots in most Old World cultures and cannot easily be attributed to a single origin.

Fear of premature burial was prevalent in American society. Establishing a waiting period before the decedent was physically interred provided an opportunity to ensure that their state had not been misdiagnosed. The night(s) after the body was prepared, a gathering of friends and family members would accompany it. These gatherings frequently occurred at the decedent's home, although some may have also been held at a church or funeral home. Location was dependent on where the decedent's remains were kept prior to interment. 'Settin' Ups' were rituals of respect for the dead. While similar to the European American funeral wake, the African American settin' up can be traced to pre-Emancipation traditions and probably has West African origins (Genovese 1976:198; Stuckey 1987:39; Pollitzer 1999:146). The settin' up was designed to keep the spirit company, lasting up to three days before the body was transferred to the grave (Sisk 1959:169–170; Georgia Writers' Project 1972:113; Bailey 2000:232).

Attending a settin' up was also a means of showing care, respect, and support for a member of the community. Visitors did not attempt to cheer up the bereaved; they spoke of God, faith, and provided a gift or bit of money to help cover the funeral expenses (Dolan 1994). One local tradition included the placement of a bowl or plate on the coffin or on the decedent's legs or belly where mourners could deposits cash to help cover funeral expenses (Fred Cook 2012, pers. comm.). While possibly also representing a food offering, a potential coin bowl was encountered on top of a coffin recovered from 9CH1168 in Chatham County, Georgia (Matternes et al. 2010:315). Lights or candles were sometimes placed at the head of the casket to help guide the spirit to the other side.

Food and drink were provided by visitors to those gathered, while prayers and chants were offered and hymns were sung, according to interviews with Cornelia Bailey, Josephine Lotson, Mary Moran, and Sammie Pinkney. Sometimes chickens, particularly white chickens, were sacrificed in front of the deceased's home to keep spirits away; the birds were frequently then eaten by the mourners (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:136,147,167; Pollitzer 1999:146; Bailey 2000:232). If hogs were available, they may also be butchered and served (Holloway 2002:168). Food and drink offerings were purposefully set aside on a table or discreet corner to ensure that "the spirit has plenty at the last" (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:143,160,192,194). Leaving a plate for the spirit was sometimes also part of the funeral repass.

Tobacco consumption was frequently a part of the settin' up ritual. Among the Dahomey of West Africa, the decedent's pipe was filled with tobacco and then shared for their enjoyment by the men and women charged with watching the body (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:237). The finished pipe was then interred with its owner. Archaeological analogues to this have been reported from a number of African American contexts (Handler 1997:106–109,113; Armstrong and Fleishmann 2003:47; Matternes et al. 2010:299; 2011:366). Smoking pipes were occasionally left on the surface of African American graves where the smoke was believed to provide a material form to a spiritual presence (Gundaker 1998:10).

Settin' ups provided each mourner the opportunity for a private moment with the dead. Prior to the closure of the coffin it was expected that those present would "put hands on the corpse" as a gesture of farewell (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:106,113,130,143). Objects were sometimes placed with the individual for interment. Objects, which often expressed an important bond between the mourner and the decedent, were sometimes placed with the individual for interment. When interviewed, many residents of McIntosh County, including Cornelia Bailey, Clarence Baker, Josephine Lotson, and Sammie Pinkney, mentioned that their loved ones were buried with personal items such as glasses and false teeth, or with favored possessions such as jewelry.

Young children were frequently passed over (or under) the coffin of a parent or grandparent to prevent the spirit from returning for the children (Parsons 1923:213; Moore 1980:476; Jones-Jackson 1987:73; Bailey 2000:238; Burn 1991:345). In his interview, Willie Cook recalled that people would pass the youngest child across the casket. The tradition of passing the child has also been viewed as an additional farewell to the dead and a means of alleviating a child's fear of death (Roedinger 1981:170; Nichols 1990:17). Passing the child over the casket is a practice still in use among some southern communities (Moore 1980:476; Jones-Jackson 1987:73; Bailey 2000:238). Sammie Pinkney and Cornelia Bailey confirmed in their interviews that they knew of some families in McIntosh County that still practiced this tradition.

Settin' ups provided an opportunity for objects to be placed within the coffin. In Christian theology, the spirit of the departed has little to no ability to manipulate material objects. As a result, objects placed with the dead are of little value to them. While grave goods and surface objects for the dead tend to be relatively rare, Christian doctrine does not prohibit their inclusion (Kiefer-Olson 1997:187). The concept differs from that of the traditional West African. Similar to the personal objects left on the grave's surface (see Grave Offerings, this chapter), food, personal possessions, medicines and religious objects commonly accompanied the dead for use in the next world (Chandler 1936; Genovese 1976:198; Van der Zee et al. 1978:70). Archaeological examinations of African American cemeteries have confirmed the inclusion of these types of objects among coastal and more interior communities (Braley and Moffat 1995; Matternes et al. 2010; Matternes et al. 2011).

Low country funeral director Herbert Fielding noted that sticks were sometimes placed in the hands of the deceased to provide them with a weapon for protection or retribution in their journey (Fielding 1990:58). Particularly, but not exclusively among upland communities, coins or tokens were placed with the dead. The practice probably has pre-Christian origins; the coin was provided so that the decedent would have fare to pay Charon (or St. Peter) for crossing into paradise or the world of the dead (Parrington et al. 1989:61; Hartland 1927:430). Coins used to secure the eyes may well have fulfilled this function as well. Finding coins in the orbits, particularly among children is an uncommon but predictable occurrence in coastal and upland African American cemeteries (Braley and Moffat 1995; Matternes et al. 2010:302–305; Matternes et al. 2011:374–375) . Matternes et al. (2010:300) suggested that coins found in coin purses included with some African American interments were present to pay fare to the world of the dead. Coffins were typically sealed at the end of the settin' up and prior to transport to the burial site. Sealing can be viewed as the division between the settin' up and the burial portions of the funeral ritual. With the rise of the commercial funeral home industry, sittin' ups were transferred from the church or victim's residence to the funeral home (Holloway 2002:168; Smith 2010:84).

Preparation of the Grave

Digging the grave was generally considered a male contribution to the ritual, a possible survival of Islamic tradition (Tartt 1939; Nichols 1990:21; Imam 2011). Traditionally, in the South, this has been the domain of the immediate friends and family members; however, churches, mutual aid groups, professional morticians, and other community members pitched in to help. Prior to Emancipation, field hands were frequently tasked with grave excavation (Killion and Waller 1973:93). As noted earlier, one's gravesite was frequently prearranged. Cornelia Bailey said in her interview that the soon-to-be gravesite was stripped of vegetation. Fred Cook (2012, pers. comm.) noted that these sites were often burned off prior to excavation. At the 9CH875 cemetery in Chatham County, Georgia, a considerable amount of carbon was noted in the upper soil layers; some of this could be interpreted as the result of burned trees and vegetation in preparation for a burial (Matternes et al. 2010:352).

Open grave shafts constituted physical and potentially metaphysical dangers and tended not to be excavated and left open overnight. Whenever possible, local traditions held that the dead were buried the same day or by sundown the day following death (Shepard and Jackson 1967:249; Courlander 1996:82). Gravediggers frequently had to be motivated to ensure that the grave was prepared in time for the interment.

Excavations at the Area 1 and Area 2 Cemeteries on the outskirts of Savannah, Georgia identified four distinct styles of grave shaft construction employed by African American communities (Matternes et al. 2010:201–203). Simple grave shafts, being little more than a rectangular flat-floored shaft, were by far the most common. Rarer forms, including the pedestalled shaft, where the coffin was laid on an elevated earthen platform in the base of the grave, and the stepped grave shaft, which included an excavated 'shelf' of the side of the shaft, may have represented idiosyncratic modifications to the simple shaft form. The fourth form were two-chamber or 'vaulted' grave shafts, where a flat floored shaft was leveled about 1.2 meters below ground surface (four ft.) and a form-fitting chamber then dug into the floor to house the coffin. Davidson (2012) has noted that this form was likely a West African survival. These 'vaults' were sometimes lined with wood and wooden planking was frequently laid over the top of the burial chamber, creating a hollow chamber for the coffin. While ubiquitously distributed throughout the Southern uplands, this grave form saw little use in the coastal lowlands. Matternes et al. (2010:201) suggested that the propensity for the sandy soil walls to collapse during construction may have led to the use of the less complex simple grave shaft. Fred Cook (1993:19) observed that gravediggers in McIntosh County frequently used wooden boards to shore grave shafts also as a means of preventing wall collapse. The stepped grave shaft may well also represent a modification to ease exiting a grave without damaging the walls.

Owing to high water tables, unstable sand walls, and difficulties in exiting from a completed excavation, grave shafts were probably closer to four feet below ground surface than the traditional six feet depth.

Another reason complex grave shafts may not have been used was because other vault forms were installed. Corneila Bailey and Willie Cook also remembered local coffin makers usually delivered a wooden rectangular box along with the burial case. Referred to locally as a 'rough box' and bearing similar structural components to receptacles made for poor community members, the rough box was made out of unfinished boards to form a shell or crate for the coffin. Rough boxes served as wooden vaults that separated the burial case from grave soil. Josephine Lotson and Rev. Nathaniel Grovner described in their interviews that the coffin or casket was placed in the rough box, a wooden cover was applied, and soil was then deposited on top of the box. Rough boxes have not been widely recognized in African American cemeteries. Potential wooden liners were detected in Bibb County's 9BI164, where it was speculated that coffin shipping crates or boxes may have been installed as *ad hoc* wooden vaults (Matternes et al. 2011:281–284).

Josephine Lotson noted in her interview, however, that rough boxes have now been replaced by the modern commercial vault. Some of these vaults were made locally from concrete. Community members, including Joe Frazier, would build concrete vaults and after the casket was installed. The vaults were then sealed them with a concrete vault lid, according to the interview with Rev. Nathaniel Grovner. Vaults would sometimes extend to the ground surface, providing an opportunity for the decedent's name and birth and death dates to be inscribed on it.

THE BURYIN'

Many rural southerners viewed the funeral as a final testament of their life and, particularly among African Americans, the funeral was a critical summary of their worth as a human being. Prior to the 19th century, the funeral evolved into a social mechanism where family and community could openly show care and respect for the departed. Rural funerals were divided into two separate ceremonies. 'Buryin's' referred to relatively short ceremonies that coincided with physical interment of the dead in a grave. In African American communities, it was one of the last opportunities to provide the spirit with the things it needed to proceed to the next world. These were sometimes followed up with a more elaborate ceremony called a 'Second Funeral' that occurred at a later date.

Buryin's usually began at the church or decedent's home. Prior to Emancipation, European American preachers or slaveholders were allowed (or tolerated) to speak at the funeral (Genovese 1976:199; Perdue et al. 1976:26; Harris 1985:50–51; Sullivan 1992; Waters 2000:46).

Many European Americans did not take the time to understand the African perspective of death. In 1839, Anna Matilda Page King, wife of prominent St. Simons Island planter, Thomas Butler King, bemoaned,

> The negroes are having a funeral today for poor Affy – I wish they could be persuaded to give up the ridiculous practice – I am sure these negroes from the neighboring plantations look as cheerful as tho' they were attending a wedding more than a funeral…(Pavich-Lindsay 2002:157)

More commonly (and after Emancipation), a member of the slave community or clergy from the church officiated, blessing the dead with appropriate Christian sentiments. Funeral liturgies were frequently spoken at the home or church, before the dead was transported to the gravesite. Attending the buryin' was considered a sign of respect and in many communities; it was probably a formal social obligation. After Emancipation, buryins' were attended by both African and European American community members (McCune 1938; Pavich-Lindsay 2002). All McIntosh County informants recognized that mixed race funeral attendance was more prevalent today in McIntosh County than in the past. With the acceptance of embalming as a part of the funerary preparation, the buryin' evolved into a more modern-style funeral, held at either the church or the funeral home.

Song was used in nearly every component of the funeral ritual but was an especially important part of the buryin'. They were used to express sympathy, hope in a life after death, reuniting with family and God, and redemption of the soul. The use of funeral song in low country funerals has its origins in West Africa. Funeral songs originating in Sierra Leone survived the Middle Passage and were still part of 20th century Gullah oral tradition (Toepke and Serrano 1998). In Wilson Moran's interview, he spoke about his mother's family and how their ancestor originated from Sierra Leone and passed down a traditional funeral song. Adaptations of Christian tunes, traditional African rhythms and melodies, and African American compositions have resulted in a rich repertoire of songs available for use during the ritual. They compose the core of modern and folk African American musical traditions (Rosenbaum 1998). According to Eunice Moore, mourners were frequently aware of the decedent's favored songs and made efforts to include them as part of the funeral ceremony. Songs including "Go Down Moses", "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen", "What a Friend We Have in Jesus", "Jesus Keep Me Near the Cross", "May the Life I Live Speak for Me", "Step by Step I'm Growing Nearer", "Precious Lord Take My Hand", "Everyday That We Are Living We're Getting Closer to the End", "Amazing Grace", "Some Glad Morning", "I'll Fly Away", "When the Saints Go Marching In", "Nearer My God to Thee", and "Soon, Very Soon" were commonly sung at funerals in McIntosh County, according to informant interviews.

During the post-Emancipation era and whenever their financial means allowed it, mourners dressed in formal or 'Sunday best' clothing; both as a sign of respect and to provide the appropriate image of themselves to the attending community. Attending a funeral, however, was more important than what one wore. In Sammie Pinkney's interview, he remembered mourners wore what they had available. Black and dark colors were preferred in most rural communities. In Savannah, men wore a band of crepe or black cloth on their left sleeve to emphasize that they were in mourning (Waring 1936:170). Mutual aid society members frequently wore uniforms, badges, sashes, or like clothing. There was little question that some freedmen widows dressed in black mourning wear, but the mourning status of the slave and more impoverished is not well understood. Loughridge and Campbell, Jr. (1985:20) documented slave mourning clothing in Richmond's (Virginia) Valentine Museum collections, but these may well be clothing designed to grieve loss in the slave holder's household and not the death of the slave's more immediate family members. In southern society, men donned mourning wear for three months, while women were expected to observe it for a minimum of two and a half years (Loughridge and Campbell, Jr. 1985:8,12). Among Savannah's genteel society, women in mourning underwent a complex series of clothing transitions from plain black at the funeral to purple or lilac when the mourning period was ending (Waring 1936:170). With the exception of the county's elite, these customs were probably beyond the means of most McIntosh County residents. While marriage and dating proscriptions probably applied for these time periods in rural communities, it is unlikely that mourning wear was donned except in social settings.

Funeral processions started at the home (or place where the body had been kept) and ran in accordance to the burial site. The dead were typically transported to the gravesite at the head of the procession in the back of a wagon pulled by oxen or horses (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:184; Burn 1991:45). Clarence Baker, Mary Moran, and Sammie Pinkney also rememmbered wagons being pulled by oxen. McIntosh County informant, Josephine Lotson, recognized Mr. Jeff Baker as a local community member frequently charged with transporting the dead. In Willie Cook's interview, he noted Mr. Shorty Fleming as a local community member frequently charged with transporting the dead. Funeral processions that were directed by mutual aid groups were sometimes brilliant pageants. Society members often wore colorful uniforms while other members of the procession wore membership badges (Smith 1895:2; Parsons 1923:215). In Mary Moran's interview, she said that each community in McIntosh County supported at least one fraternal lodge. In McIntosh County, groups including the Masons, Elks, Order of the Eastern Star, Golden Circle, Cyrene Crusaders, Heroines of Jericho, and Daughters of Isis were among those who participated in African American funerals. Clarence Baker, Josephine Lotson, and Eunice Moore recalled some of these groups participating. Mourners frequently traveled by foot when the distance to the burial site was short. As automobiles became more available, McIntosh County funeral processions became vehicular caravans, according to Josephine Lotson during her interview.

African American processions were anything but somber. They exclaimed the joy of a community member proceeding to the next stage of the life cycle. Procession members walked to the sound of drums or a band (provided by a church or mutual aid society), singing, clapping, and chanting (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:127,180; Courlander 1996:302–303). Sammie Pinkney mentioned in his interview that people in McIntosh County also conducted processions this way. Thompson and Cornett (1981:203) noted that along the Georgia coast, procession drums were beaten following rhythms that had West African origins.

Night funerals were social artifacts from the pre-Emancipation period (and possibly from West Africa) when funerals were conducted at night to prevent disruption of the day's workload (Frazier 1930:217; Georgia Writers' Project 1972:143; Harris 1985:51; Hermence 1989:40). The dead were brought to the gravesite by lantern or torchlight and mourners marched and sang around the grave (Georgia Writers Project 1940:143; Harris 1985:51; Hermence 1989:40). Among some coastal Georgia communities, attendees would toss the lighted torches behind them (Cate 1930:156). These spent torches were never retrieved for fear of supernatural repercussions. At the 9CH875 cemetery in Chatham County, Georgia, a considerable amount of carbon was noted in the upper soil layers and some could be interpreted as burned trees, while others could not. Matternes et al. (2010:352) have speculated that some wood carbon found in the upper soil lenses at the Area 2 Cemetery might have resulted from night funerals, although admittedly no definitive evidence of the practice was recovered.

Community members recognized that entering a cemetery meant crossing into space reserved for the spirit world. In lowland communities, before the funeral procession crossed the cemetery's threshold, it would stop and permission was asked of the family's spirits to allow the procession entry (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:160,165; Bailey 2000:237). Josephine Lotson stated in her interview that at the gravesite, procession members would gather for a few final words, a prayer, and a hymn. The coffin would be placed on top of poles or boards extending across the gravesite. Traditionally, pallbearers would stand on either side of the coffin grasping poles or ropes and lower the burial case into the grave (Bailey 2000:238). Sammie Pinkney also recalled in his interview the method of lowering the coffin into the burial case. To retrieve the ropes, coffins were slightly tipped to allow the rope to pass underneath them. Bricks placed under the coffin and pedestalled bases observed in the Chatham County cemeteries probably facilitated rope removal (Matternes et al. 2010:315). Mourners were encouraged to throw a handful of soil or green leaves into the grave as a symbolic farewell gesture (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:87). While this gesture has been adopted by many other communities, its origins probably lie in societies inhabiting Africa's west coast (Genovese 1976:200; Pollitzer 1999:147).

The lowland and coastal African American burial processions were sometimes known to march and chant in a ring (referred to as a 'Ring Shout') around the grave to the rhythm of the drum (sometimes referred to as the 'Dead March') (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:62,127,155,184; Genovese 1976:199). The ring shout was one of the most clearly recognized survivals from West African mortuary rituals (Thompson and Cornett 1981:54; Stuckey 1987:10–11). Nichols (1990:15) felt these actions were designed to focus God's attention and power on a specific spot (the grave). The power would then be focused on driving any malicious spirits away from the naïve decedent's soul (Wilson 1923:57). Among some lowland communities in Georgia, mourners would then fall to the ground as the coffin was placed into the grave (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:67). Officiating clergymen would be encouraged to say a few final words over the coffin before it was deposited. While not specifically mentioned by any McIntosh County informants, the ring shout has strong roots in McIntosh County's African American communities (Rosenbaum 1998; Bailey 2000:178–181).

Once the coffin was installed, mourners would continue to sing and chant until the burial was completed (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:125,180). On Sapelo Island, backfilling the grave is done by the family's men (Bailey 2000:239). Sand was sometimes dumped on or about the coffin as a means of magical protection. The practice stemmed from the belief that any lingering spirit would have to count each grain before being able to move beyond the sand layer (Evans et al. 1969:81). Shoes or boots were sometimes buried on top of the coffin, a practice that had roots in the belief that malevolent spirits, attracted by a newly dug grave mistook the shoe for the decedent and became trapped in it, thus deflecting any malicious intent (Puckett 1926:555; Davidson 2012). Excess soil, left over from the creation of a subsurface chamber, was piled on top of the grave to form a neat mound, more or less conforming to the size of the original grave pit. Monuments and grave offerings were deposited at the close of the buryin' or at a slightly later date. Sammie Pinkney noted in his interview that the family generally did not leave until the grave's construction was completely finished.

While many outsiders tended to view the African American grave as a cluttered jumble of debris, they were in fact carefully maintained. Gravesites were regularly weeded, trash removed, depressions in-filled, and carefully re-mounded (Morrow 2002:106). Sometimes, food offerings were left at the gravesite (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:194). Some communities chose to scrape or sweep grave surfaces; the bare earth appearance elicited a sense of order and tidiness common in West African cemeteries and African American yards (Jordan 1980; Westmacott 1992). During the interview with Willie Cook, sweeping a grave clean was referred to as 'muddying your gumbo'. A well-maintained grave conveyed that the dead were still remembered while a sunken, overgrown grave reflected a person who had been abandoned or forgotten (Gundaker 1998:234).

THE SECOND FUNERAL

The necessity of getting an un-embalmed body in the ground quickly left little time for elaborate preparation. While the physical burial usually occurred within a few days of the death, a memorial ceremony (sometimes referred to as a 'Funeralizing' or 'Second Funeral') occurred at a later date after there was an opportunity for preparations to be made.

Since graveside funeral services tended to be relatively brief, more extended versions, referred to in the African American communities as 'second funerals' were sometimes practiced at a later time. Various forms of the second funeral can be found in societies throughout most of west and central Africa (Hildebrand 2006:144; Smith 2010:23). In both the pre- and post-Emancipation worlds, work requirements and the time needed to organize and gather participants for a more elaborate memorialization meant that second funerals could be delayed for up to a year or more after the decedent had been interred. They were sometimes set on Sundays or other non-work days to allow maximum participation. Second funerals were major social events, frequently turning into all day pageants.

These memorial ceremonies were highly interactive gatherings of the community where public participation included singing, preaching, witnessing, and testimonials. The preacher overseeing the service had to be a man of considerable charisma. As noted by Franklin Frazier (1930:216):

> There was much staked on the fame of the officiating brother. He must be one of their own color and a man of reputation. They must have a man to plow up their emotional depths and they must have freedom to indulge in the extravagancies of their sorrow. These demonstrations were their tribute to their dead and were expected to be fully adequate to do honor to the family.

A long, well-preached service with numerous testimonials, hymns, and prayers was considered a testament to the deceased's place in the community (Holloway 2002:172,178).

Second funerals were often highly charged, emotional events. They frequently involved an active interplay between officiates and the audience. Public displays of grief were common (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:87). Morrow (2002:108) suggested that this boisterous interactive structure has its origins in Bakongo traditions where the voices of the community called to God to help direct the spirit. Spiritually, the second funeral aimed at correcting any omissions between the spirit and living worlds. It reaffirmed that the dead were still a part of the community's structure and provided a much-needed catharsis among the living, which may not have been able to fully grieve during the initial burial event. Pye's (2009) examination of northern Florida African-American funeral rituals illustrated that many parts of modern rituals had their origins in this memorial ceremony.

In South Georgia, the second funeral evolved into ritualized annual events, where community members would gather to memorialize all who had died during the previous year (Georgia Writers' Project 1972:87,131,147). As communities dispersed as part of the Great Migration, second funerals became a form of social bonding. Particularly when practiced as an annual event (called a 'homecoming' or 'camp meeting'), they provided a mechanism where widely separated family and community members could come together and bond over common heritages (Meader 2002). In these regards, the homecoming served not only to remember the recently departed but also to honor all of one's ancestors.

None of the subjects who were interviewed indicated that second funerals were part of the local funeral traditions. McIntosh County informant, Willie Cook, noted in his interview that sometimes the graveside service might be delayed for a day or two when the weather was inclement, but these services were usually brief. When interviewed, Clarence Baker remembered that in the Jones community of McIntosh County, burials would take place during the week and a funeral service would be held on the following Saturday or Sunday. Brief memorial services were occasionally held for local benefit if the decedent's remains were shipped back from another place, according to Sammie Pinkney. While these services are similar to the second funeral, most interviewees were familiar with the practice but did not feel that these rituals represented second funerals.

Mr. Sammie Pinkney, a former funeral director, observed in his interview that that many features of the second funeral are integral parts of modern McIntosh County funerals. European American funerals were usually brief, lasting under an hour, while the African American counterpart could last for several hours. In an interview with Eunice Moore, she stated that many community members would use the funeral as an opportunity to speak of the dead, as they may not have been able to during the decedent's life. 20th-century funerals frequently concluded with a repass or funeral banquet (Smith 2010:83). Particularly when family or friends come in from out of town, social bonds are renewed over the course of a meal before departing back to their original lives. The Gullah version of this ceremony, referred to as a 'saraka', frequently included setting a portion aside for the departed soul (Opala n.d.). Wilie Cook noted in his interview that the repass is a tradition that appears to be fading from use in McIntosh County. The long, single funerals provided to McIntosh County's recently departed probably provide the venues for expression that were otherwise addressed in the second funeral.

GRAVE CARE

Many African American communities recognized that the dead maintained a place in the living community's world and that the condition of a grave was a reflection of the relationship between the living and the dead (Richey et al. 2008:49). Family, friends, or church members typically

cleaned graves. While public appearance of the grave during Memorial Day, Fathers Day, and Mothers Day provided venues that clearly made social statements, grave maintenance was expected to occur on a more regular basis, according to both Cornelia Bailey and Willie Cook. Poorly maintained graves indicated that social ties between the living and the dead were lost or that dead's social identity was too repellent to be worthy of memory (Gundaker 1998:234). It was expected that graves were weeded, grave mounds maintained, surfaces leveled and/or scraped, debris removed, and flowers or decorations provided. Cornell Hawkins recalled that once a year, the McIntosh County Sheriff's Department drafted prison labor to help keep the cemeteries in good order. More recently, cemetery care has become a task addressed by the community's elderly or by cemetery association maintenance covenants. In lowland Georgia, community maintenance and upkeep for cemeteries occurred well after the community had left the area (Meader 2002).

The Dunwoody Cemetery's burial community was never visited by an anthropologist interested in mortuary rituals, nor did any accounts of how the community responded to death survive to the preset day. Lacking primary evidence from community informants in McIntosh County, understanding of the cemetery and how the burial community felt about death and contended with it was considered from multi-regional and several sub-cultural perspectives. The review presented in this document provided a cultural framework for interpreting how the cemetery's dead would likely have been addressed. Every time the ritual was practiced, it would have been unique and it is likely that many of the components outlined in this chapter were not used in every ceremony, if at all. What is revealed, however, is that the community utilizing the Dunwoody Cemetery had a wide array of ideas, interpretations, and belief systems available for consideration. The ceremony followed a general sequence of events, involved a common set of actors, and attempted to address issues that were critical to the community. These issues, which included importance of the family, support from the community, belief in an existence of an after life, and recognition that obligations to family/community members continued after death, were common among rural communities during the time that the cemetery was in use. Addressing these would have been core elements to the Dunwoody Cemetery community's responses to death.

The goal of a funeral is to mend the social void created by death and utilize the death event as a means of rebonding family and community members. The means in which these issues were addressed stemmed from their own heritage, from those of neighboring communities, and others that may have evolved in the socio-cultural climate of the American South and coastal Georgia. Material vestiges of these traditions found in the Dunwoody Cemetery can be identified as components of many of these rituals; it is likely that the funeral and burial rituals practiced at the Dunwoody Cemetery were similar to those used in the communities and regions surrounding the site.

VI. DUNWOODY CEMETERY'S MASTER PLAN AND PRESERVATION OBJECTIVES

The Dunwoody Cemetery has suffered considerably in the past because there has been a general lack of direction applied to its care, preservation, and maintenance. While community members have maintained individual graves and plots, there has been no organized management of the facility as a whole. Acceptance of responsibility by the Ceylon Cemetery Trust is an enormous step towards the restoration of this community landmark.

Preservation of a cemetery must be accomplished in an orderly and organized manner. The Georgia State Historic Preservation Division recommends that this should be accomplished by following a preservation plan. The main objective of the preservation plan is to help guide the restoration and maintenance of the Dunwoody Cemetery for years to come. Development of unified goals and clear objectives will provide direction and help to prevent conflict or confusion. They will prioritize existing preservation challenges and give the committee a foundation to address new issues as they arise. While the recommendations outlined in this document will greatly improve efforts to maintain and restore the cemetery, it is ultimately the Ceylon Cemetery Trust's responsibility to establish their own objectives and determine how best to implement them. It is recommended that these objectives should be generated as part of a master plan.

MASTER PLAN

The Dunwoody Cemetery's master plan is an outline of how the cemetery will be managed. It should include the cemetery preservation agendas as well as legal, property ownership, liability, financial, and administrative considerations. Many elements of the master plan are addressed in this document particularly those that relate to the cemetery's preservation. The cemetery management committee is encouraged to independently develop a master plan that addresses these concerns and to update that plan periodically.

Cemetery restoration requires certain guidelines in order to ensure that the facility retains its historic integrity. Care must be taken to avoid the removal or alteration of features and spaces that characterize the cemetery, to preserve its distinctive features, to focus on repairing materials rather than replacing them, to use the gentlest cleaning methods possible, and to avoid disturbing existing and potential gravesites (McGahee and Edmonds 1997; van Voorhies 2003). To achieve these goals, five major preservation objectives have been identified. These are briefly outlined but will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters.

1. Boundary and Feature Identification: Currently the Dunwoody Cemetery lacks the information needed to definitively determine its true boundaries. Likewise the majority of the graves within it have either not been identified or are only approximately located. Greater spatial control over the cemetery's contents is needed.

2. Inventory and Conditions Assessment: An inventory of the cemetery's cultural resources was generated, based on previous research and surface observations. An assessment of the condition of each inventoried resource is desireable prior to determining what maintenance and repairs are needed.

3. A Cemetery Management Plan: An outline of how the cemetery will be managed is needed to ensure that all committee members are aware of their responsibilities and what general steps need to be taken to ensure smooth administration of the cemetery.

4. Routine Maintenance Plan: A Routine Maintenance Plan plan will outline what actions need to be taken to provide a clean, inviting, safe, and stable burial ground. It should generally address how maintenance should be conducted to ensure that cemetery's resources are not damaged.

5. Emergency Preparedness Plan: A course of action needs to be developed to ensure that the cemetery and the general public remain safe during an emergency.

VII. CEMETERY STRUCTURE, BOUNDARIES, AND VISIBILITY

The Dunwoody Cemetery's most pressing administrative and preservation issues center on poor understandings of its size and content. Currently, there are no definitive boundary definitions that truly describe the burial ground. A review of previous subsurface surveys revealed that each examination did not fully address the full size and contents of the cemetery. No comprehensive survey of the entire cemetery has been accomplished. Without knowing the full size and contents of the cemetery, the Ceylon Cemetery Trust is limited in its ability to adequately address the limits of its responsibility. It also limits the landowners' abilities to develop the property without potentially violating the law by disturbing unmarked graves.

DUNWOODY CEMETERY'S INTERNAL STRUCTURE

A common problem associated with rural folk cemeteries is a lack of knowledge about their internal arrangement. Prior to this investigation, there has been no comprehensive map that accurately identified all the graves placed in the Dunwoody Cemetery. The composite map provided in Figure 4 was drawn from previous investigations and surface surveys of the cemetery. It identifies the approximate location of all known and potential graves in the cemetery. Based on Fred Cook's observations during the 1994 reinterment project and grave depressions observed within the Section B fenced area, the orientation of most graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery can be modeled as on or near an east-west axis. The orientation can help reconstruct the cemetery, but it should be emphasized that the long axis plane for graves has not been verified for most of the cemetery's contents.

There are a number of challenges facing the mapping of Dunwoody Cemetery. The Dunwoody Cemetery's original living community followed burial traditions that tended to not leave permanent records of a cemetery's contents. Burials do not appear to have been placed following a master plan, records were not maintained, and the grave markers employed did not always survive in the South Georgia environment. Abandonment of individual graves and large-scale disturbances of surface deposits have reduced the cemetery's visibility on the landscape. Only a few graves have retained their original surface architecture and only three, those of Rebecca West (F-1), Annie Shaw (F-10), and Renar Wilson (F-11 and F-12), can be positively identified by surface features.

Unfortunately, past searches for unmarked graves have also proven to be problematic. Probing has not been demonstrated to be effective for differentiating individual interments. Most analysts, when consulted about their experience at Dunwoody Cemetery, have expressed concern that GPR results have not comprehensively identified all remains. The most effective means of identifying the location of graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery has been to remove the topsoil and examine the exposed subsurface for grave shaft stains. Tragically, during previous subsurface surveys, the location of unmarked graves was not recorded on the surface and only approximated on report maps.

In contrast to these other areas, the eastern side of the fenced area in Section B appears to have retained at least some of its original surface. A survey of the grounds determined that there were numerous east-west oriented linear depressions marking the location of unmarked graves. No evidence has been found that these features have been recorded. A systematic surface survey of this area to record and inventory these and other potential surface features was conducted to enhance an understanding of the cemetery's holdings.

Likewise, it should be noted that there are gaps in the existing documentation. Some areas have received little to no examination and due to the inabilities of remote sensing methods to detect all graves, it is unlikely that every grave in parcels subjected only to remote sensing has been detected. Without adequate control over the cemetery's internal structure, the Ceylon Cemetery Trust cannot fully address the preservation needs of each and every grave. They can only partially aid family members in identifying where ancestors are buried. The committee cannot fully identify areas where development can occur without potentially disturbing existing graves.

Verification of the location of all graves within the cemetery should be recognized as an important, long-term goal. The Ceylon Cemetery Trust should ultimately strive to identify all unmarked graves in the cemetery. While the most reliable means would entail an examination of the subsoil's surface, this approach's destructive, time consuming, and cost-prohibitive features make it an unrealistic choice for the Dunwoody Cemetery. Where surface surveys are not possible, areas not previously investigated should be examined by GPR or an analogous remote sensing technique, such as probing or magnetometry, to provide a conservative estimate of the size and location of the cemetery's holdings. The resulting data should be added to existing maps to produce a more comprehensive view of the cemetery. It is recommended that all identified grave locations be recorded on the ground surface using subsurface tags and surface markers.

DUNWOODY CEMETERY'S BOUNDARIES

The boundary of a cemetery is defined as the point where graves are no longer present. Determining that point requires establishing a grave-free area around the cemetery. Rural cemetery boundaries were rarely based on legal definitions and the space originally assigned to them was frequently only approximated by the burying communities. The presence of unmarked graves, particularly on a burial ground's periphery, complicates determining a cemetery's physical boundaries. Southern cemeteries and particularly those involving African American communities, commonly contain travelers, the very young, social outcasts, and other decedents who were not considered part of the community. Their social position in the community structure was illustrated by the space placed between them and other interments. These individuals were usually buried as outliers on the periphery of the formal burial ground and tend to be more ephemerally marked. Since lands dedicated to these individuals define part of a cemetery's burial area, determining a cemetery's margin can be challenging.

Based on mechanical surface, and subsurface examinations of analogous African American burial grounds, New South Associates, Inc. has observed that outliers are typically placed within 30 feet (9 m) of other graves. Georgia currently lacks a statute that governs the width of grave-free area needed to demonstrate the margins of an unmarked/poorly marked cemetery. However individual counties tend to recognize that a 30-50-foot (9-15-meter) wide buffer around the cemetery is needed to ensure that all outlying graves have been identified. A check with Darien City Hall determined that no standard distance for a grave-free margin exists for McIntosh County. It is recommended that boundaries around the Dunwoody Cemetery include a minimum 30-foot (9-m) wide grave-free buffer.

Boundary definition for historic cemeteries is typically accomplished by a combination of historic map research and surface and subsurface examinations. Historic maps or written descriptions of cemetery boundaries are correlated with existing surface features, including markers, grave depressions, walls, fences, and major changes in vegetation and soil structure, to determine the approximate location of the boundaries. These margins are then verified by remote sensing methods, such as soil compaction (probing), ground penetrating radar (GPR), magnetometry, or by removal of the surface and examination of the underlying subsoil for grave shaft stains. Due to the lack of existing maps and a paucity of surface features, modern determinations of Dunwoody Cemetery's boundaries have had to focus on subsurface features. Figure 4 identifies where a 30-foot wide grave-free margin can be established around the known or proposed outermost graves.

IMPROVING THE CEMETERY'S VISIBILITY

One of the problems that has worked against Dunwoody Cemetery's preservation in the past has been its lack of visibility on the landscape. As a result, the cemetery's location and size were not widely known. Depredations, including use as a road and a turnabout, as a place to dump trash, and heavy equipment land clearing, have occurred in the past. These have served to further limit its visibility. Most visitors are not aware of the cemetery's true size. As much of the cemetery is either wooded or beneath a lawn, the burial grounds are not visible and the magnitude of its holdings cannot be visually appreciated. Dunwoody Cemetery could be more prominently delineated as a cultural landmark. Its margins need to be clearly marked in a manner that makes modern visitors and property owners aware of the size and location. The following section provides several suggestions that would greatly improve its visibility.

MARK THE CEMETERY'S BOUNDARIES

The cemetery's legal boundaries could be permanently marked to clearly define the limits of landowner responsibilities. To improve recognition of the grounds as a unified and reserved space, some indication of the cemetery's boundaries could be installed. These markings may include actively defined margins, such as fences, plantings, and edgings, or more passively defined boundaries, defined by changes in ground cover or distinctly mowed and maintained spaces.

One means of defining grounds as having a common function is to apply a common landscape. The Dunwoody Cemetery currently contains areas in lawn, forest, and meadow. The lack of a common landscape distracts from the recognition that the grounds are united as a cemetery. It is suggested that the Ceylon Cemetery Trust consider whether grass, trees, paths, and other landscape features should be applied to the entire cemetery to make it visually appear as a single facility.

APPLY SIGNAGE

While the above measures will improve the cemetery's visibility, they may not specifically identify the ground's purpose. At the very least, signage could be added identifying the grounds as the Dunwoody Cemetery. Additional signage explaining the cemetery's history and distinctive features will help educate the visitor and promote a deeper appreciation of it. Finally, signage identifying the cemetery's rules and regulations will help emphasize that the grounds are not abandoned, rather that the Dunwoody Cemetery is a managed property (see Chapter IX - Cemetery Regulations). Development of signage is an element of the current project's scope of work.

CONTROL VEHICLE ACTIVITY

Placement of Magnolia Bluff Way through the cemetery has greatly reduced damage caused by motor vehicles, but it has not completely eliminated it. Since this road's construction a vehicle trail has developed in Section B. The trail is positioned between Section B's fenced area and the I-95 right-of-way fence (Figure 22a). It passes over areas that likely contain unmarked graves. Vehicle traffic ruts the ground surface, kills vegetation, and destroys surface features; it also compacts subsurface features. These lead to a collapse of underlying architecture and an alteration of subsurface drainage. All vehicle traffic over the cemetery should be discouraged. Adding plantings across vehicle trails may act as passive barriers for vehicle entry. Juniper, crepe myrtle, cedar, and yucca are potential candidates that will be easy to maintain, add color at certain times of the year, and offer culturally appropriate symbolism. Should these prove to be ineffective, the erection of additional traffic barriers, such as fencing or concrete cones (a.k.a. dragon's teeth) would be a more aggressive means of discouraging off-road vehicle traffic.

MARKING UNMARKED GRAVES

Improving visibility within the cemetery would also vastly improve community recognition of its value as a landscape feature. One of the best means of preserving the cemetery is to provide some form of surface identification where unmarked graves exist. Marking the location of unmarked graves will provide a physical identity for each grave that would reduce the potential for loss in the future and provide visitors with an idea of the true size and distribution of the cemetery. In Appendix D, Universal Transverse Mercator coordinates (UTMs) provide an approximate location for each known and potential grave currently recorded in the cemetery. These can be easily translated to specific places in the landscape. A metal spike with an aluminum or plastic tag could be driven below the ground surface to mark a grave's general location. The tagged spike will be an unobtrusive, metal detector-friendly locator that should have the inventory number stamped or burned into it for future identification purposes. To emphasize the presence of unmarked graves, two alternative courses of action are suggested.

Consider Mass Grave Marking

It is customary in large burial fields where decedents were placed in mass graves or where there are a great number of unmarked graves, to erect a monument outlining the contents of the burial field. The monument could be placed where the area that it memorializes is easily interpretable. Likewise consider defining the area with fences, edgings, or plantings.

Figure 22.
Preservation Agendas within the Dunwoody Cemetery

a. Vehicle Trail on the East Side of Section B

b. Overgrown and Broken Gate

c. Modern Wooden Crosses in Section A

d. Weathered and Collapsed Fence Around Section B

Consider Individual Grave Markers

Individual grave markers provide a means of indicating exactly where each grave is located (or believed to be located). They can be tied into the cemetery's inventory and provide a visual record of the size, distribution, and location of individual interments. When unmarked graves are relocated, they are typically marked with a flat stone monument that provides an inventory number, which can be tied to a map and description of the grave and its contents. New South Associates, Inc. has observed that the sandy soils of Georgia's coast will cause even small stone markers to sink unless a substantial foundation or cradle is provided to distribute the stone's weight. Alternatively, a more cost-effective means of marking unmarked graves was employed by the City of Washington, Georgia, where uniformly sized concrete tablets were placed on each unmarked grave (see background in Figure 19b). If placed flat on the ground, these monuments will distribute their weight over a large area, thus reducing sinking, and will provide a surface that can be mowed efficiently. These latter monument forms offer a means of marking graves that do not dramatically change or detract from the cemetery's overall current appearance.

Optimally, the cemetery's surface visibility would be restored to reflect its original form. Unfortunately, no records, photographs, or descriptions of the cemetery's appearance have been found, meaning that restoration to its original form will not be possible. Technically, any method chosen to visually identify the location of unmarked graves will likely stray from what was originally present. New South Associates, Inc. believes however that a balance can be maintained between effective cemetery management and preservation. Balancing these issues entails marking the cemetery as much as possible with materials that are historically accurate and would have been used during the cemetery's active period; by placing unobservable markers beneath the ground's surface, or both. Likewise the proposed marking media should not be confused with materials that are original to the cemetery. Equally as important, no marking methods should permanently alter the cemetery's surface or adversely affect its NRHP eligibility. The Ceylon Cemetery Trust should consider how it wishes to present the cemetery to visitors and design policies around this plan that address preservation, landscaping, maintenance, and management needs.

VIII. INVENTORY AND CONDITIONS ASSESSMENT

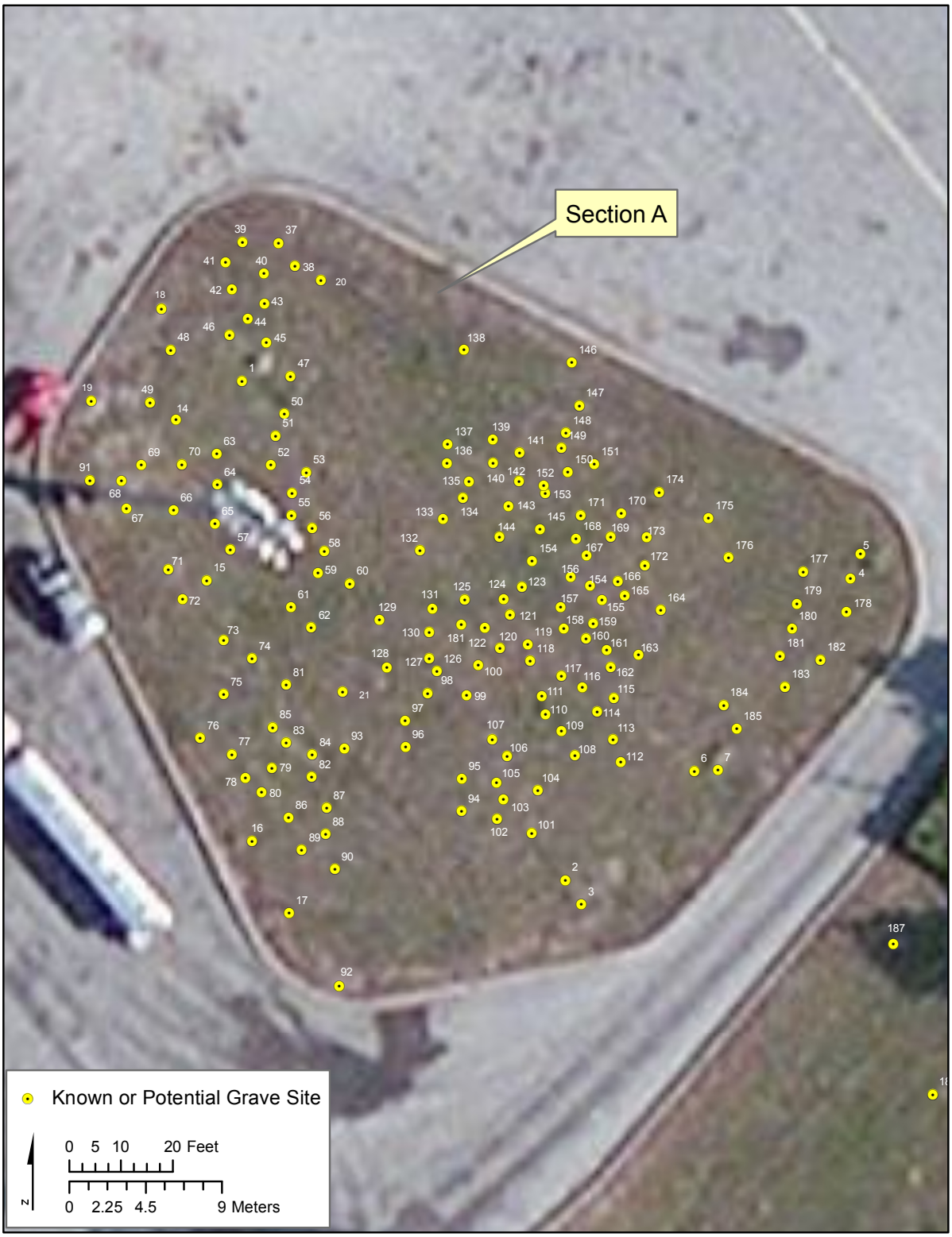
The Dunwoody Cemetery is composed of a variety of landscape, surface, and subsurface features. These features are defined as any grave with its accompanying furniture and each landscape element not specifically associated with a grave. Landscape features would include fences, plot edgings, monuments, spoil piles/mounds, paths, and plantings. Each feature needs to be identified, and individual records kept of its condition, what repairs or modifications have been done to it, and what is known about the feature. An inventory and conditions assessment of each grave and landscape feature can help accomplish this goal.

CEMETERY INVENTORY

A standard means of organizing cemetery information is by assigning each feature an inventory number. A basic inventory for the Dunwoody Cemetery is provided in Appendix D. Each feature (inventory) number corresponds to a specific location on a map and an approximate UTM point. The feature number can also be tied to a running inventory of all objects associated with the feature. Objects recorded should include all monuments and markers, edgings, decorations, and plants (including all intentional native and exotic plantings) associated with the feature. Historical information, including known or suspected identity of the decedent(s), ties to other graves or families, and any biographic information about the decedent(s) can also be included with the inventory or tied to other records. A grave marker inventory form provided by the Georgia Historic Preservation Division can be used as a guide towards inventorying individual gravestone characteristics (Appendix E).

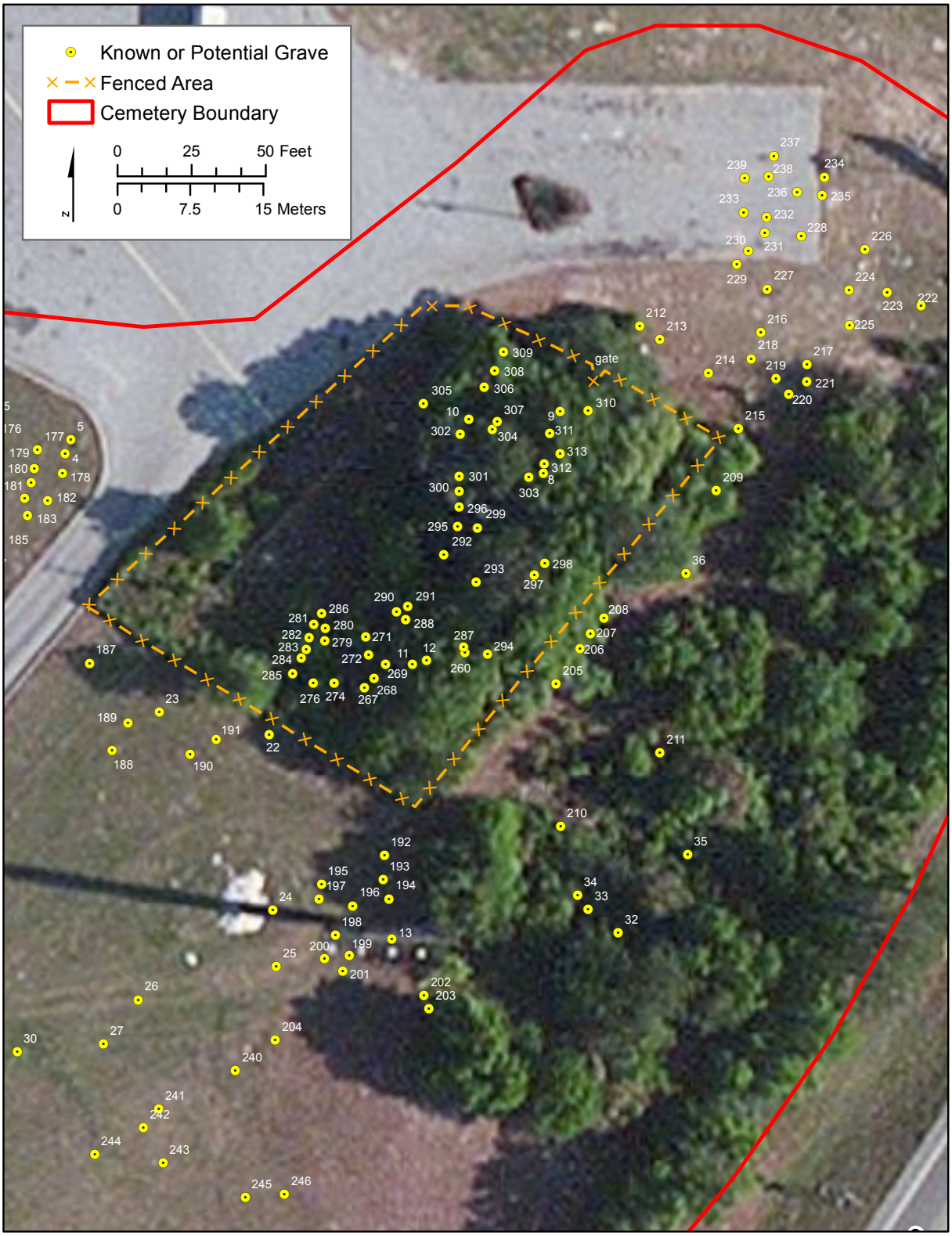
To date, 314 known, potential and probable mortuary features have been identified in the Dunwoody Cemetery. These features have been defined by a combination of archival, past field research (see Chapter III), and a field survey as described below. The inventory includes phenomena that could be tied to an approximate location in the cemetery. An inventory map recording the location of all known or suspected graves is provided in Figures 23, 24, and 25. A corresponding inventory is located in Appendix D. The inventory in Appendix D and these maps should be treated as minimum estimates of the number and locations of graves associated with the Dunwoody Cemetery. As evidence for the location of other graves comes to light in the future, this inventory should be updated accordingly.

Figure 23.
Approximate Location of Known and Potential Graves in Section A as of December 2012



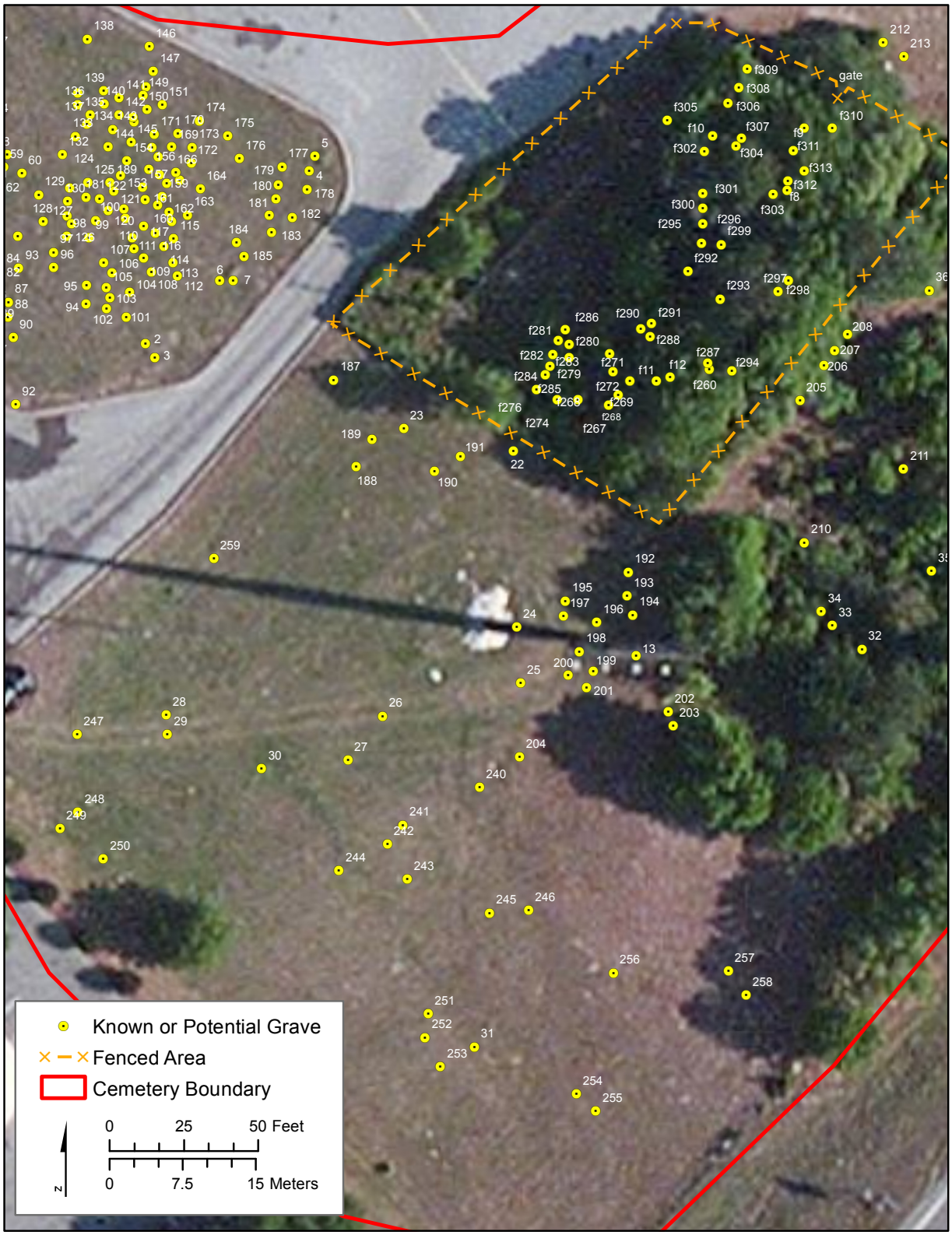
Source: ESRI Resource Data

Figure 24.
Approximate Location of Known and Potential Graves in the Northern Part of Section B as of December 2012



Source: ESRI Resource Data

Figure 25.
Approximate Location of Known and Potential Graves in the Southern Part of Section B as of December 2012



Source: ESRI Resource Data

New South Associates conducted a survey of the Dunwoody Cemetery to assess and verify what resources were detectable from the surface. A two-phase approach was initially employed that focused on a systematic surface reconnaissance followed by a subsurface examination utilizing a steel-ceramic alloy probe to detect grave pits by differences in soil compaction. Ground surfaces were examined for evidence of human-sized cigar-shaped depressions or mounds; stone, metal, concrete, or wooden grave markers; concentrations of mortuary-associated ground covers (particularly vinca, narcissus, cedar, hemlock, crepe myrtle, gardenia, spirea, roses, lilies, and/or irises); stone, metal, wood, or floral enclosures; concentrations of stone, glass, wood, metal, seashells or plastic containers outlining a potential grave's dimensions; low oval or rectangular piles of stones; oval or human-sized color/plant differences; and maintained areas, as evidenced by the removal of vegetation and other unwanted materials. All grounds in the cemetery area were examined for these surface feature indicators. When found, they were marked with pin flags, cataloged in a field inventory log, and their location was recorded on a sketch map and digitally recorded using a Trimble GPS unit.

Initially, the grounds were tested using a steel probe in hopes of identifying grave pits. In general, refilling grave pits as a part of burial changes soil particle orientation. The pit is filled with less compacted soil that contrasts the undisturbed, more compacted surrounding soils by the pit fill's resistance to having a probe pushed into it. Graves appear as 'soft', less dense anomalies against a 'harder', more resistant, and undisturbed surrounding matrix. Unfortunately, the removal and redeposition of surface soils in Section A and major portions of Section B during Fred Cook's (1993) examination placed soils that were in their original context deeper than a probe can be effectively used to penetrate and evaluate soil compaction. Inside the fenced portion of Section B, probe tests contrasting known grave locations and areas lacking grave pits failed to accurately discern differences in soil compaction. As noted earlier by Fred Cook (1993), probing was shown to be an ineffective means in discerning individual grave pits in the Dunwoody Cemetery environment. While probing was occasionally used to help spot check the location and shape of individual grave pits, it was not used systematically across the burial ground.

Surface features leading to the identification of potential gravesites consisted of markers and depressions. Six wooden crosses (F-2 through F-7) were identified along the eastern side of Section A's traffic island. These corresponded to markers placed by Fred Cook (1994) to identify graves close to the traffic island's margin. A marble headstone and footstone memorializing Rebecca West's grave (F-1) was also noted in Section A. In Section B, a concrete headstone (F-11) and footstone (F-12) for Renar Wilson, and unmarked architectural marble head and footstones (F-10) attributed to Annie Shaw were identified. Additionally, two metal temporary funeral home markers (F-8, F-9) were identified. Cement-filled PVC pipes with

feature numbers attached were found along the central southwestern margin of the fenced area; these corresponded with the location of Fred Cook's 26 historic and one Precontact reinterment. Only 14 of the original 27 reinterments could be accurately pinpointed. Placement of these markers and discussions with Fred Cook confirmed that all reinterments were placed in close proximity with one another; the unidentified reinterments were placed close to their marked counterparts and have been tentatively included in the Appendix D inventory. A total of 27 linear unmarked depressions were also noted within the fenced area. Following Gladstone (2000a:113), these included the potential graves of Donnie Shaw, Douglas Shaw, Henry Shaw Sr, Henry Shaw Jr, Emily Frazier, and Mary and Crawford LeCount. No evidence of surface decorations, intentional plantings, or additional architecture was noted, although the possibility that these were present in or beneath the thick surface organic layer cannot be dismissed.

Surface features, particularly within the fenced Section B area were marked with pin flags to help identify feature location. We suggest the Ceylon Cemetery Trust consider tagging the location of each potential grave with a more permanent marker as needed for future reference (see Chapter VII).

One benefit of an inventory is that it provides a summary of a cemetery's holding. The number of graves present, the types of markers, families, time periods, cultural affiliations, number of marked versus unmarked graves, and how many can be positively identified can be easily generated from the inventory. These are critical data for describing, researching, and interpreting the cemetery. Assigning inventory numbers, with markers, to individual burials also provides a way of tracking information that may be obtained from descendants willing to share oral history and remembrances about individuals in the cemetery.

Finally, a photographic record of all objects associated with a grave could be generated. Photographs should be taken with two objectives in mind. First, they should record all objects present as part of the feature's historic documentation in case they are lost or damaged in the future. Second, photographs should record the condition of all objects at the time of the inventory as a means of documenting what restoration or preservation may need to be accomplished.

CONDITIONS ASSESSMENT

Since the Dunwoody Cemetery is an exposed open-air site, the graves are constantly exposed to natural and human destructive agents. Over time, it will be necessary to counter these effects with preventative methods. The state of each object in a feature can be documented by a conditions assessment. An initial inspection or conditions assessment could be conducted by the Ceylon Cemetery Trust to roughly identify the overall state of the cemetery. The initial

inspection can also help determine whether a professional conservator should be contacted to provide a more in-depth assessment. As part of the initial inspection, the committee can identify what types of physical deterioration are taking place and if possible, identify what agents are responsible for each object's degradation. Physical deterioration would include breaking or cracking, weathering, dissolving, staining, mildewing, or peeling. Plant and animal activity, including rooting, burrowing, gnawing, and lichen growth, on the object can be documented. Erosion, drainage, and soil runoff accumulations may also be noted. Notes of past and current repairs or alterations can be made. If surface objects are collapsing, sinking, tilting, or exhibiting any other form of movement, these may also be noted. The health of plants and trees can be documented. Finally, if objects have been vandalized, stolen, or are at risk of theft, this should be annotated in the assessment. Photographic records of feature conditions are also suggested.

Condition assessments can also include some guidelines about what can be done about the object's condition. There are two issues to consider. First, the assessment should address what can be done to stabilize the object to prevent further damage. A separate assessment will be needed to consider what can be done to restore the object to its former undamaged form. Part of the assessment will be to determine if the task that can be accomplished by committee members, by a professional, or by unskilled volunteer efforts. These measures will provide the foundation for the cemetery's restoration. Once assessments have been completed, the Ceylon Cemetery Trust can review and prioritize individual feature and object conditions in terms of expense, manpower, and immediate and long-term loss. The list can then serve as a foundation for continued improvement of the grounds. A conditions assessment survey will be most effective if conducted on an annual basis and preservation activities adjusted to fit the cemetery's current needs.

IX. CEMETERY MANAGEMENT PLAN

Professional management of a cemetery requires several levels of organization to ensure that it is adequately administered and maintained. Management can best be accomplished by establishing plans of action. In particular, a management plan to address how the cemetery will be cared for needs to be constructed. The management plan should be formally developed and agreed upon by the Ceylon Cemetery Trust prior to policy implementation.

MANAGEMENT PLAN

Cemetery management requires a plan of action with an established set of procedures and rules so that all participants are aware of how tasks are to be accomplished. Management plans should be considered dynamic working documents. Its policies can be reviewed on an annual basis and modified to provide efficient cemetery preservation. Among the issues that can be addressed in the management plan are:

- Policies governing the organization and meeting of the Ceylon Cemetery Trust. These should identify how officers were selected, how funds are to be handled, how minutes and other records are addressed, and what standards were set for making decisions.
- Identify a long-term landscaping plan for the cemetery. The committee should agree on how the cemetery should look including whether it should be an open or wooded landscape; whether graves should all be marked or allowed to remain unmarked to retain this part of their character; and whether fences, trails, and other landscape appliques should be added.
- Policies addressing how individual graves in the cemetery will be maintained. In particular, the management plan should identify the responsibilities of the management team and descendants.
- Definitions of the types of surface decoration allowed on individual graves or plots.
- Identification of a cemetery maintenance plan.

- Policies concerning whether the cemetery will remain inactive and whether new interments can or should be added to the existing facility. These should outline what policies will govern the acceptance of new graves.

- Policies governing the preservation, restoration, and/or removal of exiting (or future) grave and landscape architecture.

- Determinations about the types of activities permitted on the grounds. The committee will need to determine whether the cemetery will be used for memorial purposes only or if other memorial services, second funerals, or family gatherings will be allowed. Policies concerning the use of the grounds for public purposes, such as a picnic or recreation area need to be outlined.

- Policies concerning parking at the cemetery.

- Determination of whether the cemetery will remain a private burial ground or will be it used to help promote public interest in the region's cultural heritage.

Inactive burial grounds, like the Dunwoody Cemetery, rarely need the Ceylon Cemetery Trust's input on a daily basis, but administration will need to occur at regular intervals. It is highly recommended that the Ceylon Cemetery Trust physically meet at least three to four times a year to discuss the Dunwoody Cemetery, with additional meetings scheduled as needed. Telephone or electronic 'conferences' between meetings are encouraged to ensure that questions and minor issues are adequately coordinated.

CEMETERY REGULATIONS

An important step in establishing a cemetery management plan is to determine what actions will and will not be allowed in the cemetery. These policies are an integral part of the management plan and they should be clearly organized for quick reference. Policymakers need to recognize that the regulations need to be dynamic and as time and situations develop, they should be modified or amended.

Cemetery rules are only as good as those who know about them. While not all rules need to be distributed to the general public, the Ceylon Cemetery Trust needs to determine how visitors and the community are aware of what can and cannot be done at the Dunwoody Cemetery. Signage outlining the cemetery's rules should be posted.

Signs communicate not only rules and conduct, but emphasize that there are institutions exercising control over the property. It is recommended that signage be erected to inform the public what is acceptable and unacceptable behavior at the cemetery. Signage will also emphasize that the Dunwoody Cemetery is a managed property. Signage also provides a point of contact about the grounds, should the need arise. An example of information to be included in cemetery signage is provided in Figure 26.

Figure 26. Suggested Rules for the Dunwoody Cemetery

DUNWOODY CEMETERY
The Dunwoody Cemetery is the resting place for more than 300 members of McIntosh County, Georgia's African American and Native American communities.
Please be respectful in your visit to this significant historic site, and abide by the following rules:

The Dunwoody Cemetery is open for visitation from dawn to dusk. Use of the cemetery after dark is not permitted.
Please respect the privacy of other visitors in the cemetery.
Visitors should park in designated parking areas.
Do not disturb headstones, burial plot boundaries, plantings, or other burial markers.
Do not disturb or remove artifacts and objects from graves and the cemetery.
No littering or dumping.
No loud music.
Please coordinate plantings or addition of permanent memorials with the Ceylon Cemetery Trust.
Please refrain from cleaning gravestones or obtaining rubbings from them without permission of the Ceylon Cemetery Trust.
The Dunwoody Cemetery is under the jurisdiction of the McIntosh County's Sheriff's office. Vandalism and other illegal activities on this site will be prosecuted.
For further information contact the Ceylon Cemetery Trust at (Phone Number).

SPECIAL EVENT USE

Burial grounds are frequently a focus for special events. On national holidays, for example, they are used to honor military, political, or community figures. They may be included in fraternal or religious celebrations. In the American South, a group visit to the cemetery is frequently part of homecomings, second funerals, decoration days, and community revivals. The grounds may also be used to promote local community heritage. Each of these activities can further advance awareness of the Dunwoody Cemetery's presence. These events, however, will also increase the need for cemetery management. Guidelines can be established that outline whether special events can be hosted at the Dunwoody Cemetery and how these will be managed. Prior to allowing a special event to occur, the Ceylon Cemetery Trust is highly encouraged to coordinate with the event's directors to ensure that all parties understand what activities will be taking place and who will be responsible for their management.

X. ROUTINE MAINTENANCE PLAN

Cemeteries require periodic upkeep to prevent them from falling into disrepair. It is recommended that a routine maintenance plan be established which focuses on two primary aspects - lawn care and architectural preservation.

LAWN CARE

It is highly recommended that a uniform grounds maintenance program be applied to the entire burial ground. Currently, the grounds are subjected to at least four maintenance regimens. Section A's traffic island is planted in lawn grasses and receives semi-regular lawn care. Grounds surrounding Section B are bush-hogged on a sporadic basis. Some parts of Section B have been allowed to develop into a mature meadow and young scrub tree forest. These areas do not appear to receive any care. Lastly, lands within Section B's fence line do not appear to receive any regular maintenance, with the possible exception of work done by individual family members. Plant growth around the fence gate prevents use of it as an entryway (Figure 22b). As noted in Chapter VII, there is no single landscape feature on the ground surface that unifies different parts of the cemetery into a single unit. Recognition of the grounds as part of one facility can have the greatest visual impact by applying a single uniform landscape plan to it. A grounds maintenance plan can include identification of ground cover, whether trees are to be promoted, and whether paths, monuments, fences and other non-grave-specific architecture will be applied to the cemetery.

It is suggested that most of the cemetery grounds be covered in a uniform ground cover. A lawn grass, preferably one that is adapted to the conditions present in McIntosh County and relatively easy to maintain will be the simplest choice. The grass should then be maintained at regular intervals (once every 2-6 weeks during growing seasons, once every 8-12 weeks during the winter) to keep the grounds healthy and convey to the community that the cemetery is actively maintained.

The Dunwoody Cemetery is in an environment where invasive plants will be a constant threat. Non-native plants, including privet, wisteria, daylilies, bamboo, kudzu, chinaberry, English ivy, and others should be aggressively removed unless specifically desired and maintained. Native pioneer plants, such as prickly pear cactus, honey suckle, poison ivy, trumpet vine, and white and yellow pine, can also be culled if not desired. In the past, vegetation control in the cemetery may have entailed the use of controlled burns. Burning would have an adverse effect on the cemetery

by incinerating wooden architecture, melting glass, damaging ceramics, spalling and smutting markers, and potentially damaging human remains and grave furniture among shallow graves. Brush control by fire is not an acceptable means of cemetery maintenance. Unwanted vegetation can be cut at ground level and physically removed from the cemetery grounds. Removal of root balls should be avoided as digging or grubbing can damage subsurface deposits and leave surface architecture unstable. Likewise spraying defoliants can leave caustic chemicals on monuments and decorations further promoting their deterioration. Invasive vegetation control should be considered two to four times a year. When done in combination with holidays or events (Mother's Day, Father's Day homecoming, Memorial Day, Easter, or Christmas), the community can be engaged as part of a special work project.

Weed eating, particularly around markers and decorative plants, has the detrimental effects of scarring gravestones and accidently cutting intentional plantings. To prevent damaging stones, unwanted vegetation around monuments can be removed by hand, or a barrier, such as skirts, landscaping cloth, or decorative plantings placed around monuments.

Dunwoody Cemetery currently does not appear to have any intentionally planted or ornamental trees. There are a variety of immature 'scrub' trees in and around Section B that do not appear to be intentional plantings. Many trees within the Section B fence line are mature; they add a visual appeal to the cemetery. A historically accurate landscaping feature may be expanded to include other portions of the burial area. The Ceylon Cemetery Trust needs to decide whether these trees are to be made part of the cemetery's landscape, whether they are to be replaced by other trees, or whether additional trees will be allowed to grow in the cemetery. Tree placement needs to be considered on a plant-by-plant basis, assessing whether it will adversely affect markers, surface definition, the underlying deposits, as well as whether the tree will hinder other plant care. All trees can be examined on a biannual basis to assess their health and stability and to prune away unwanted limbs. Dying or diseased trees should be replaced and those in overcrowded areas should be thinned.

A similar regimen can be established for other plants. Portions within the Section B fence area have developed natural plant habitats and these add a visual appeal that the Ceylon Cemetery Trust may wish to retain. Community members can be encouraged to add plantings to the cemetery as a means of re-engaging the community's interest in their heritage. Plantings should not be added randomly; rather some managerial control applied. Control may be in the form of signage identifying where plants may be added to graves or as special work projects, where plantings are added to the cemetery as a whole. Plants added to the cemetery should be relatively low maintenance, able to thrive in McIntosh County, be placed where they will not impact surface or subsurface deposits, and offer some forms of symbolic meaning that do not

detract from the cemetery's landscaping as a whole. Plants including live and water oaks, red and white cedars, vinca, narcissus, yucca, spirea, roses, lilies, and irises are among those that would be symbolically and historically appropriate for planting in the Dunwoody Cemetery. Like trees, the health of all plants and need for pruning can be examined on a biannual basis.

Lawn care should include trash control. In the past and currently, portions of the cemetery have been used illegally as dumping stations. These trash piles need to be removed. Care, however, should be taken not to confuse trash with grave decoration. Trash pile and group clean up projects can be accomplished under the supervision of a manager who has inventory records, once one has been created, of the surface decoration holdings for each grave. Litter should be removed on a monthly basis. If litter accumulation is a persistent problem, installation of a trashcan and arrangements for emptying it regularly can be considered.

ARCHITECTURAL PRESERVATION

Dunwoody Cemetery does not possess much in the way of original architecture, which means that what elements are present are especially valuable commodities. Care needs to be taken to preserve them. Probably the most important step is recognition of what is and is not grave architecture. Formal monuments, such as the Rebecca West and Renar Wilson markers, are easy to identify, but large fieldstones, wooden marker fragments, whole or incomplete glass and pottery vessels, personal objects, bricks and other construction materials, coins, and other shiny metal objects are among the vernacular materials commonly used as grave architecture. Care should be taken that these are not misidentified and thrown away by well-intentioned workers. Elements of grave architecture associated with each feature can be outlined in the conditions assessment report; those maintaining the cemetery should be familiar with these listings prior to engaging in any form of cemetery cleanup.

Grave markers frequently sink, tilt, or topple. Stones in need of resetting can easily be broken and represent a physical danger to the public. Improperly resetting a stone can compound these issues as well as risk injury to the re-setter. Persons attempting to reset gravestones in the Dunwoody Cemetery are highly advised to view the National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT) online training video (Church 2008a) before undertaking this type of restoration. Likewise, monument repair should be accomplished by experienced personnel. The Georgia Municipal Cemetery Association frequently offers training seminars on minor monument repair. Restorationists are encouraged to participate in one of these seminars before attempting a repair. Complicated repairs and stone rehabilitations should be approached by a professional gravestone conservator. All stone restorations and resetting can then be annotated on the conditions assessment record.

Gravestones can be cleaned on an annual or biannual basis. Uncontrolled cleaning of markers can severely damage them; cleaning personnel are highly advised to view the NCPTT online training video (Church 2008b) before undertaking monument cleaning. Wooden markers should not be cleaned. The use of caustic chemicals, including bleach, lime cleaner, vinegar, laundry detergent, on stone or metal markers should be strictly avoided. Likewise, physical abrasives such as wire brushes, metal paint scrapers or putty knives, scrubbing pads, high pressure water (greater than 30 psi), sand or sand blasting will ultimately damage stones more than clean them. Painting gravestones is also not an acceptable cleaning procedure. Gravestones can be cleaned using mild, environmentally friendly liquid dish soap (roughly three teaspoons per gallon of water) applied to a pre-rinsed gravestone using a soft (horsehair, soft plastic or nylon) bristle brush that is thoroughly rinsed afterward. These methods will remove most stains, lichens, and mildews.

There are a variety of cleaners available marketed specifically for gravestone care. Ongoing studies by the NCPTT have compared the short term and longer terms affects of these products on markers on federally managed properties (Striegel and Church 2007). The results of these longitudinal examinations are updated on a regular basis. Currently, *D2*, a solution designed to clean statuary and resist mildew, has been recognized as perhaps the safest alternative for monument cleaning (Striegel and Church 2007). New South Associates' personal research with this product has noted that it has retarded mildew regrowth on granite monuments for upwards of three years in Central Georgia. Prior to the use of these products, the cemetery management committee is advised to review the latest NCPTT update to ascertain which products are the most appropriate for Dunwoody Cemetery.

Gladstone (2000a:112) reported that wooden monuments were part of the Dunwoody Cemetery. These markers are very fragile and care should be taken to preserve them as much as possible. McIntosh County's environment does not promote the preservation of wood and ultimately wooden markers will not be able to withstand the ravages of sun, rain, insects, fungi, and molds. The best preservation strategy for original wooden markers includes replacement with an exact reproduction and storage of the original marker in a climate controlled facility such as a local museum or historical society archive. Any removal or replacement should be coordinated with surviving family members -- if they can be identified. Under no circumstances should an original wooden marker be repainted. White crosses in Section A would be considered wooden monuments, but they technically are not historically accurate (Figure 22c). These and other recently placed wooden monuments can be painted with a good quality exterior paint at regular intervals (about every 3-5 years). All wooden monuments, regardless of their age are extremely sensitive to water and fire damage. Preventing vegetation from growing up or choking a wooden monument will reduce the amount of water retained around a marker. Vegetation removal will

slow down decay and also reduce damage should a fire occur. The deterioration of an original marker on site may be slowed down by the application of consolidants, coatings, and preservatives. The process is complicated and can be best approached by a professional conservator (Anthony and Dugan 2009).

Portions of Section B are enclosed by a wooden fence. The fence is a modern installation; it is not historically accurate and perpetuates an illusion that the cemetery encompasses only a very small area. The Ceylon Cemetery Trust should consider whether its presence promotes their intended vision of the cemetery. The fence is currently in desperate need of repair or replacement. Many sections of the fence have fallen over and other sections are covered in vegetation (Figure 22d). The gate is no longer operable and needs to be repaired, if kept. If the committee decides to retain the fence, these repairs would dramatically improve the cemetery appearance as an actively maintained facility. A high quality exterior paint of an appropriate color can be used. The fence is currently tinted white; any change in the fence's color should be approved by the Ceylon Cemetery Trust. Repairs can be made using the same types of wood and following the same construction designs as the original form. Once repairs are completed, the fence should be examined on an annual basis to assess the paint's durability; whether it has been invaded by termites or other wood boring insects; determine if it has been damaged by fallen limbs; remove vines and other intrusive plants; and to determine whether parts of it need to be replaced. Special care should be taken to inspect the gate to ensure that all components of it are in working order.

Another part of architectural preservation is an inspection of land surfaces to ensure that they are stable and free from damage. Optimally, the cemetery exhibits a ground surface that conforms to the local topography and is free from unintentional mounds or depressions. All holes should be filled, and mounds resulting from animal or plant activity leveled. Grave depressions, particularly those that extend more than two inches below current ground surface, represent potential safety hazards. These can be filled in with a sand, soil, or gravel that is distinctive and cannot be confused with the original surrounding soil. Animal burrows and nests (especially those of yellow jackets and other wasps) should be eradicated. Thinning the brush will help reduce ticks and chiggers.

Drainage and erosion control are important issues. Soils in the area drain extremely well, however, excessive rain can sometimes cause runoff problems that can quickly turn into erosional gullies. Surface drainage currently is directed down Magnolia Bluff Way and away from the cemetery or east towards I-95. Care can be taken ensure that these drain fields are not blocked by debris and that erosional gullies do not develop. Any resulting gullies can refilled with rock or gravel. Sheet erosion can be addressed by the planting grass and ground covers or

spreading surface treatments, such as pine straw or mulch. Eroding pathways may be addressed by laying coarse sand or gravel. Persistent erosional issues may require more expertise and the services of a professional landscaper.

Maintaining the Dunwoody Cemetery is an ongoing project and Ceylon Cemetery Trust members need to clearly identify who is responsible for various aspects of routine maintenance and spot check the cemetery to ensure that the maintenance plan is being followed. A maintenance visit can be made to the cemetery on a weekly basis. The visit may include the collection of any accumulated trash, inspection of the grounds for damage, assessment of grounds maintenance (does the grass need cutting, do shrubs need additional trimming), and to determine whether (and a general idea of how many) visitors have been by the cemetery since the last visit. Potholes and other damages to the Magnolia Bluff Way can be reported to appropriate landowner.

XI. EMERGENCY PREPAREDNESS

Because most cemeteries are open-air facilities, they are constantly exposed to natural forms of deterioration. Weathering, subsidence, spalling, root intrusion, and rusting are accretional forms of damage that should be anticipated, particularly as a cemetery ages. Other types of damage, such as those caused by storms, fire, flooding, or vehicle accidents, are more sudden and frequently have more visual impact on a cemetery's landscape. While the immediate affects of these emergencies may be substantial, continued degradation can by minimized by preparedness. The Georgia Municipal Cemetery Association strongly advocates that all organizations managing cemeteries prepare a disaster or emergency response plan (Kuharic 2009).

Frequently, the most common response to a cemetery emergency is "What do we do now?" Damage to a cemetery can sometimes remain unaddressed for weeks or even months because those detecting the damage do not know what to do or who to contact. Organization is the key to addressing the problem. Central to this is the development of an Emergency Response Team. Emergency Response Teams are composed of a Team Leader and several Task Leaders whose responsibilities are to respond immediately to the emergency and to contact the necessary community organizations to stop or minimize continued damage. It is important to recognize that Emergency Response Teams are not responsible for correcting all damage resulting from an emergency; rather, it is their job is to coordinate with other responders to ensure that damage to the cemetery has been stabilized and that the grounds are not a public hazard.

TEAM RESPONSIBILITIES

Members of the team are charged with two responsibilities. First, team members should respond to the site as soon as possible to conduct an immediate damage assessment and determine if the cemetery is safe for non-emergency personnel to enter. Note that hazards include both physical hazards, like broken monuments or downed trees, and biological, principally brought on by the exposure of human remains or inundation by contaminated water. If deemed unsafe, team members need to restrict all entry until the burial ground is deemed safe by emergency personnel. On arrival, team members can note all types of damage to both the cemetery and its surrounding grounds using the attached form developed by the National Park Service or similar means of recordation (see Appendix F). The Team Leader (or available alternate) can serve as the point of contact with other members assisting to complete tasks as they arise. Photographic documentation may prove to be an important tool when addressing the nature of the damage.

Second, emergency response team members must know who to contact. Each team member should have a log or notebook containing contact information for all local emergency services, legal owners of the cemetery, other team members, and caretakers. To facilitate getting emergency services to the site, the notebook can also have written and map directions to the cemetery that the team member can dictate or pass along to responders. Optimally, the log will also contain maps outlining the cemetery's boundaries and the location of each grave. When responding to a cemetery disaster, this information will prove to be invaluable to coordinating with other response organizations.

Damage to a cemetery is often first detected by people who are not part of the team or even know that an emergency preparedness plan has been developed. In order to ensure that they know who to contact, signage posting contact information for Emergency Response Team should be provided. Alternatively emergency response contact information (911 or local law enforcement) should be posted, so long as these organizations are informed how to contact the Emergency Response Team.

PREDICTABLE EMERGENCIES

While some emergencies are unpredictable and it is difficult to prepare for them, the potential for others may be anticipated and some level of preparedness is possible. Preparedness can be accomplished by an examination of the cemetery's site and situation. The Dunwoody Cemetery is situated in and near wooded and open grassy areas where wild fire is an unfortunate possibility. The Emergency Response Team should have contact information for local fire fighting response teams. Thermal damage to monuments and other grave furniture can be minimized by reducing the amount of flammable fuel (needles, dead wood, grass, and leaf piles) on or around the graves. Disruption of water, gas, drainage, power or other utilities in the immediate area of the cemetery can be detrimental to the cemetery; contact information for organizations responsible for maintaining these services can be included in the response team's notebook. The Dunwoody Cemetery is in relatively close proximity to several roadways and therefore the possibility of vehicular-based maladies can be considered. Emergency contacts, including local wrecker services, may need to be part of the response team's notebook.

Hurricanes and other violent storms are predictable weather phenomena for the lower Altamaha River watershed; localized flooding and tree damage are likely outcomes to these events. Potentially dangerous trees (those in danger of falling or snapping) can be removed or trimmed and an inspection of local storm drainage ways made to ensure that excess water can be removed from the cemetery area. Once again, contact information for utility and emergency services should be part of the team's response notebook. These events often result in damaged and

unstable monuments or partially collapsed graves that can pose a threat to the public. Team members may consider being prepared to limit access to hazardous areas within the cemetery until the danger has been eliminated. Access limitations may include the erection of barricades, caution tape, or even temporarily closing the cemetery. Local law enforcement agencies should be made aware of the dangers. Team members may also consider being prepared to coordinate with landowners and descendants to fully stabilize potentially dangerous gravesites.

Finally, it should be noted that the range of predictable emergencies will change over time. Emergency Response Teams should periodically review the cemetery's environment to determine if other new risks may be present and what measures may need to be taken to pre-address them. Contact information frequently changes and can also be reviewed to ensure that team members have the most current information. As communication technologies are improved, team members may wish to consider adding alternate means of contacting key personnel to their response preparedness plan.

XII. FURTHER RESEARCH: A STARTING POINT

One of the more challenging long-term tasks facing those managing the Dunwoody Cemetery will be positively identifying who are present in the burial ground's unmarked graves. To aid this project, New South Associates has compiled a list of potential decedents, drawn largely from the 19th- and 20th-century federal censes (Appendix G).

Online databases developed by Ancestry.com were used to examine the federal census (U.S. Census Bureau 1820). Examination commenced with identification in the census of the decedents inventoried by the Lower Altamaha Historical Society and listed in Table 4. These data confirmed the burial community's African American heritage, as emphasized by the historical and archaeological resources outlined earlier. Slave schedules taken as part of the 1830 through 1860 censes were examined, but no individual slave names were listed. William Smith's records (Table 3) provided a list of slaves known to be at or assigned to the plantation in January of 1853. Unfortunately little more is known about these individuals. The investigation then focused on censes taken in McIntosh County between 1870 and 1940, where individuals were listed by first and last name. The 1890 federal census could not be examined as the parts including McIntosh County were destroyed by a 1921 fire in the basement of the U.S. Commerce building (Blake 1996). Census data collected after 1940 were protected by the Privacy Act of 1974 and were not available for examination.

Pre-late 20th-century census data do not record precisely where people were living, but some concept of where a residence was can be determined by internal divisions within the census. These divisions would include the state, county, city, ward, or Georgia Military District (GMD). Unfortunately, maps of the differing census districts were not found, so the exact geographic area covered by each census was not definable. In some cases, deed records were cross-referenced with census data to pinpoint the area covered by the census. There are limitations to this method. Absentee landowners will not be listed on their property and those living in rented homes cannot be traced accurately through the deeds. Property owners appeared to have stopped living on Sidon (and many of the surrounding plantations) during the second half of the 19th century; census data could not be used to identify who (if anyone) was living on the plantation in the post-bellum periods. Some concept of where the burial community was located geographically; however, could be drawn from the list of decedents. All decedents, with the exception of Carl Butler, Ruth Lee Carter Howard, and Mary Butler Singleton, were found in the censes; the

remaining 22 individuals were all recorded as residing either in the City of Darien or in GMD 271. The burial community minimally could be identified as living in these two areas. Census examinations focused on these two portions of McIntosh County.

Composition of the burial community could also be estimated from the decedents listed in Table 4. As noted, the burial assemblage was likely limited to members of the African American community; racial affinity was one of the features recorded among all of the examined federal census data. Since burial with and among family members was a significant African American mortuary tradition, it can be inferred that the kinsmen of Table 4's decedent's were likely members of the burial community. An inventory of African Americans living in the same part of McIntosh County and sharing the same surname as those listed in Table 4 would likely include individuals who were part of the unmarked burial assemblage in Dunwoody Cemetery.

Examination of the census data identified 469 known and potential decedents. The inventory of known and potential decedents does not include individuals buried in Dunwoody Cemetery with a different surname, enslaved individuals whose names have been lost, and members of the burial community who may have been living outside of the examined census areas. It must be emphasized that this inventory is a conservative estimate. It was not designed to be treated as a comprehensive inventory of the burial community; rather, it should be treated as a minimum representation to provide a starting point for more detailed genealogical and historical research.

The data in Appendix G was organized alphabetically by surname, first name (as defined in the census), their sex, which census they appeared on, what census district they were recorded, and kinship relationships, when provided in the census. Surnames were standardized to the form listed in Table 4 with variations listed in the census recorded to the side. First names or given names were listed similarly. Individuals listed in Table 4 were included in this list and were denoted by shaded surname and first name cells. Appearance in a given census was recorded twice, once with the individual's age as presented in the census and again by the estimated year of birth, based on the census age estimate. Very few individuals possessed ages that were actually known (most were likely estimated), so there was considerable fluctuation in an individual's ages; this was emphasized by a comparison of a single individual's birth year across several census reports. For genealogical purposes, the estimated birth year was probably the more important age parameter for linking records of a given individual. Census districts identified where in McIntosh County the subject was recorded. Kinship was drawn from stated or determined relationships for a given individual. Kinship was based on the earliest representation in the census and did not reflect all familial relationships or changes in relationships over the passage of time.

The data provided in this inventory is a starting point. Considerably more research that is beyond the scope of this preservation plan will be needed to further define who may be interred in the cemetery. Data outlined in Table 4 identified nine core families – the Butlers, Fraziers, Howards, LeCounts, Shaws, Singletons, Waldburgs, Wests, and Wilsons – as part of the Dunwoody Cemetery's burial community. A more detailed examination of the histories of these family members including determining if possible where they originated, where the family dispersed after Emancipation, what churches they attended, and whether other family burial grounds are present (and where) are some of the avenues that would help shed light on who might be buried in the Dunwoody Cemetery. Sources including family records; legends and stories; birth, marriage, and death certificates; church records; and newspaper and legal records (notices, police records, military records, publicly recorded leases) are also potential locations of additional information. A more thorough detailed examination of genealogical records, particularly online sources including Ancestry.com, Find-a-Grave.com, Afrigeneas.com, the Enoch Pratt Free Library, and FamilySearch.org, as well as resources at the Georgia Historical Society and University of Georgia, can yield a wealth of additional information about these families. Examination of family ties to communities outside those examined will also place additional individuals to the list of potential decedents.

There are many other families, identified through kinship that may potentially be linked to the cemetery. These included the Alexanders, Balites, Campbells, Carters, Collins, Cummings, Dickensons, Gooses, Greenhorns, Harrises, Hopkins, Johnsons, Lotsons, McGregors, Millers, Miltons, Pinkneys, Sanders, Saunders, Solomons, Thorpes, Williams, Wrights, and the Youngs. To date, no conclusive evidence has been found that can link them to the Dunwoody cemetery, but their ties to decedent families within the City of Darien and GMD 271 census districts implied that members of these kin groups may also be present in the cemetery. Further examination of these parts of the community is encouraged.

XIII. IMMEDIATE PRESERVATION NEEDS: A STARTING POINT

During the course of this investigation, New South Associates, Inc. was able to define a number of specific issues in the cemetery that the Ceylon Cemetery Trust may consider addressing. These are identified in Table 6.

Table 6. Suggested Preservation Needs for the Dunwoody Cemetery

Preservation Need	Priority	Manpower	Notes
Continue to Identify Potential Descendants in the Cemetery	High	Volunteer(s) with Genealogical Skills	Well established relationship with local community is a must
Determine Landscape Design for Cemetery	High	Ceylon Cemetery Trust	Determining landscaping plan will identify other preservation needs
Mark Cemetery Boundaries	High	Bonded Land Surveyor	To be completed by New South Associates
Repair, Replace, or Remove Existing Cemetery Fencing in Section B	High	Requires Construction-Grade Woodworking Skills	
Create Management Signage	High	Ceylon Cemetery Trust	To be completed by New South Associates
Identify Emergency Response Team	High	Ceylon Cemetery Trust	
Apply a Conditions Assessment to all Cemetery Holdings	Medium	Ceylon Cemetery Trust Member	Initial assessment will determine of more detailed assessments by a professional are needed
Improve Historical Context	Medium	Community Historian/Ethnographer	Continue exploring the cemetery's history by identifying more descendants of those buried there and document their knowledge of McIntosh County funeral practices.
Verifying the Cemetery's True Boundaries	Medium	Remote Sensing Archaeologist(s)	Boundary verification is a long-term project requiring multiple technologies and interpretations
Mark Previously Identified Grave Locations	Medium	Skilled Map Reader with GPR Experience	Grave marking will require use of a sub-metric GPS unit.
Remove Trash Piles within the Cemetery Grounds.	Medium	Supervised Volunteer Efforts	Care must be taken not to remove vernacular grave decorations
Remove All Unwanted Vegetation	Medium	Supervised Volunteer Efforts	Care must be taken not to remove intentional plantings
Block All Informal Vehicle Paths within the Cemetery	Medium	Volunteer Efforts	

(Continues)

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Preservation Need	Priority	Manpower	Notes
Verify Grave Locations in the Cemetery	Low	Remote Sensing Specialist/Community Ethnographer	Long-term project; Consult local community for additional opinions
Clean Monuments	Low	Supervised Volunteer Efforts	Use preservation sensitive materials

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APPENDIX A: TERMINOLOGY

Cemeteries are complex structures and the terminologies used to define their contents and components are often poorly understood. The following section reviews important concepts and ideas surrounding them. When possible these concepts are related to how they apply to the Dunwoody Cemetery.

Cemeteries. Cemeteries are places where multiple independent funeral events designed to memorialize the dead have resulted in the accumulation of graves. Cemeteries are typically thought of just as places where the dead are deposited and as a result, they are sometimes confused with other types of facilities including mass graves, tombs, isolated graves, memorials, and clandestine burial grounds. Cemeteries can contain human remains that are deposited in three general contexts. They can be placed mausoleums, which are single-interment, above ground structures. Individual human remains can also be buried in graves, or they can be installed in communal structures referred to as crypts. Mausoleums and crypts, were not utilized at the Dunwoody Cemetery. All deposited human remains in the Dunwoody Cemetery were exclusively made below the ground surface in graves. There is ample evidence that there were multiple, independent burial events were deposited in Dunwoody.

The presence of human remains is not the key feature defining a cemetery, cemeteries are formed from the repetitive, independent use of grounds to deposit and memorialize the dead. What are preserved in cemeteries, therefore, are not just human remains, but ideas, symbolism, and philosophies that the depositing community wished to associate with them; these concepts are important because they set the principal goals for cemetery preservation. Preservation of a cemetery must focus not only on ensuring that the dead are not disturbed, but also on safeguarding the cultural meanings attached to them.

Cemetery Preservation Committee. Cemetery Preservation Committees are organizations charged with the responsibility of upkeep and care of a cemetery. Their primary goal is to ensure that the cemetery is preserved and recognized as a part of a community's heritage. Their efforts, therefore, are directed towards restoration of the facility to as close to its original historic form as possible and to reach out into the community to prevent the cemetery from becoming abandoned. The Cemetery Preservation Committee for the Dunwoody Cemetery is the Ceylon Cemetery Trust.

Cemetery, Abandoned. Abandoned Cemeteries have not received an interment or exhibit signs of use for at least 50 years prior to when they are observed. Abandoned cemeteries are distinguished from inactive cemeteries by their lack of upkeep. They frequently are overgrown, in need of architectural repair, and exhibit other signs of disuse. They may return to active status be the addition of a new interment and inactive status by being maintained.

Cemetery, Active. Active Cemeteries are those where graves are being added to the grounds within 20 years of when the grounds are observed.

Cemetery, Historic. Historic Cemeteries are considered to be burial grounds whose height of activity was greater than 50 years before the present, but after European Colonization. Historic Cemeteries can have graves placed in them up through the modern period. The Dunwoody Cemetery would be considered a historic cemetery.

Cemetery, Inactive. Inactive Cemeteries are those where the last deposit was made 20-50 years prior to observation, but the grounds are maintained. They do not exhibit signs of abandonment. As such, an active cemetery can have its last grave placed over 50 years ago and the grounds still receiving care. An inactive cemetery may return to active status be the addition of a new interment.

Cemetery, Modern. Modern Cemeteries include those actively and regularly receiving graves within the last 50 years. While graves have been placed in the Dunwoody Cemetery within the last 50 years, the height of activity was earlier; Dunwoody Cemetery is not considered to be a modern cemetery.

Cemetery, Precontact. Precontact Cemeteries are those formed and used prior to European colonization. In Georgia, these cemeteries are Native American although European and African American interments are possible in specific late Precontact burial grounds. The presence of Native American reinterments (made within the last 50 years) in the Dunwoody Cemetery does not qualify it as a Precontact cemetery.

Cenotaphs. The presence of cenotaphs in cemeteries emphasizes that the importance of the cemetery is not just on the deposition of the dead, but the memorialization of the dead. In a cemetery, cenotaphs are monuments honoring decedents who are not buried in that facility. They frequently reserve space set aside for a grave or set of graves. In the South, cenotaphs frequently honor those buried at sea, lost at war, who are buried in another country, or whose remains are not available to the burying community. The loss of surface architecture at Dunwoody Cemetery has made it impossible to determine if cenotaphs were ever present in the facility.

Coffins and Caskets. In the 19th- and 20th-centuries, interments were rarely placed in grave pits without some form of cover. While shrouds, which were burial cloths wrapped around a decedent, may have been used to cover the individual, more substantial media were the cultural norm. Coffins and caskets are burial cases designed to enclose the decedent's mortal remains. They are distinguished by shape and symbolism. Coffins balance focusing attention on the dead

with efficient transport. They tend to follow the general contour of the human body reflecting an oblong hexagonal shape (Farrell 1980):171). Anthropomorphism symbolically emphasized the relationship between the dead and the supernatural. Caskets, particularly those made during the latter parts of the 19th century, were designed to draw attention away from the dead's mortal remains and focus more on the dead's social qualities. Their non-anthropomorphic, more rectangular shapes aided transport, but decoration and applied mortuary symbolism were their primary foci. Fred Cook's (1994) work at Dunwoody has demonstrated that both coffins and caskets were used y the burial community.

Decedent. Decedents are people who have died. In a mortuary setting, the decedent is the person who is the focus of the ritual and who will be buried.

Grave. Throughout American history, the dominant pattern of caring for a decedent's mortal remains has been to deposit them in subsurface facilities within especially reserved portions of the landscape. The location where a funeral ritual has culminated in a singular deposit is referred to as a grave. Graves are generally considered to contain single individuals, although exceptions to this abound; what more importantly defines a grave is that they are the result of a single depositional event. There are many graves in the Dunwoody Cemetery.

In a cemetery setting, the space in which the decedent is buried is also considered to be 'reserved' for at least a period of time, if not permanently. The deposit's location frequently serves as a focus for memorializing the dead. Grave markers, monuments, edgings and enclosures, and grave offerings on and around a grave serve as means of material communication, connecting ideas with the dead.

Grave Markers. Grave markers are objects placed on the ground surface to designate that a grave is present beneath them. Markers can be divided into formal and informal forms. Formal markers are specifically made for mortuary purposes and are either manufactured products or locally made following the shape and form of commercially made, mainstream forms. Durable markers are manufactured from a wide variety of materials. In the coastal lowlands, markers made of marble, granite, concrete, Georgia marble (a distinct, highly metamorphosed crystalline marble), slate, tabby, and sandstone can be found. Formal markers made of wood were commonplace in the 19th century. Informal markers consist of vernacular materials that were either modified or left unmodified for use as a grave marker. Informal markers are extremely common in folk cemeteries and can be made of practically any material. Some forms, including roofing slates, fieldstones, wood, bricks, and construction blocks mimic the shape of more formal markers, while others, like jugs, iron rods, stove parts, or bedposts are more abstract renditions. The use of anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, and abstract sculpture in coastal African

American cemeteries would be considered examples of informal markers. Informal markers typically communicate information about the decedent through symbols. Frequently, only the burying community knows their full meaning.

Both formal and informal markers are present in the Dunwoody Cemetery. The Rebecca West stone is a surviving example of a formal marker in the cemetery. Wooden 'plank' markers appear to have been present in the past; these would have also represented formal markers. Informal markers in the Dunwoody Cemetery are also documented. Marble countertop elements found with F-10 within the fenced portion of Section B are examples of an informal marker.

Grave Offerings. Grave Offerings are materials intentionally left on the grave surface as a means of social display, to provide additional information about the individual, or as offerings to the supernatural world. Objects frequently described as ornamentation or grave ware are considered to also be grave offerings. They may be temporary, such as cut flowers, wreathes, food, pebbles, holiday ornaments, or letters, or more permanent. Examples of this latter form may include toys, figurines, pottery, personal possessions, potted or planted plants. While there is a tendency for them to be placed on or near the headstone, grave offerings can be found anywhere on or around the grave. They differ from grave markers and edgings by not designating a grave's space or delineating space within the facility. Grave offerings are communication mediums. They convey symbolic information to an audience that includes the mourner, the visitor and the decedent. Commercially produced offerings tend to communicate general information (religious affiliation, occupation/military service, age or gender), while the use of personal and vernacular objects express aspects of the individual. Particularly among lowland folk cemeteries, objects are provided as charms to protect both the living and the dead from malevolent supernatural powers. Scatters of broken glass, pottery, and other objects that shimmer, possessions last used by the dead, lamp parts, and food offerings are examples of supernatural charms. A light scatter of these objects (i.e. 'grave ware') were present in the past at Dunwoody and a few vestige sherds and glass bits may still be observed.

Grave Pits. Grave pits are holes dug into the ground for the purpose of depositing an interment. In coastal Georgia, grave pits tended to be rectangular, straight-walled receptacles. They were sometimes lined with brick or wood, creating chambers referred to as vaults, where the casket or coffin was deposited. In rural or less economically advantaged settings, vaults were not built, unlined, or a rough box/wooden case was simply deposited on the base of the pit. Fred Cook's 1994 excavations confirmed that more rural-style grave pits used at Dunwoody Cemetery. Grave pits are considered to be a part of a grave until its contents are physically removed regardless of the condition of the interred remains.

Digging a grave pits frequently entails the removal of soils that have never been disturbed. When filled in, the redeposited soil particles loose their original orientation, gain air space and combine with soils from a variety of layers. These features have important implications for identification, particularly among unmarked graves. Changing particle orientation means that grave pit fill become less compacted and can often be identified with a probe or GPR unit as 'soft' or unconsolidated spots interfacing with the surrounding more compacted and undisturbed soils. Soil removal and re-deposition changes particle orientation, resulting in changes in light orientation and a mixture of formerly separate deposits. When viewed against the surrounding soil matrix, grave pits typically exhibit dramatic color differences. Particle reorientation also results in greater space between particles; as a result, grave pits tend to retain more moisture than the surrounding undisturbed soils. Prior investigations at the Dunwoody Cemetery have utilized these grave pit features to define the location of unmarked graves.

Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR). GPR is a remote sensing tool that sends high frequency radio waves into the ground and measures the strength of those waves that bounce back. Technically what the signals detect are margins or interfaces. The method is sensitive to identifying the edges of pits, such as a grave, and the surface of buried objects, including coffins or vaults. In the right soil environments, it can be a very powerful tool for detecting unmarked graves.

Inhumation/Interments. Inhumations or interments are human remains deposited in a grave. Their preservation is largely dependent on what was done to the body prior to deposition. The type of interment is dependent on the condition of the body when it is placed in the ground. The dead may be deposited as fully fleshed individuals, referred to as primary interments. They may also be buried as disarticulated skeletons or partial remains, referred to as secondary interments. The most common form of secondary interment in modern mainstream American culture is cremation. Relocated historic and Precontact remains in the Dunwoody Cemetery would be considered secondary interments.

Landscape Features. The grounds used for burial are frequently modified for functional and symbolic reasons. Soils may be added or removed to provide a more suitable place for burial, to allow markers and memorials a sturdier foundation, or to make access to parts of the cemetery more manageable. Family plots are often leveled to a common plane to emphasize unity and exclusiveness among those buried within them. Trees and other plants may be added to make the cemetery more visually appealing and add botanical symbolism. In some communities, fresh soils are regularly added to graves ('mounding') as a means of demonstrating that the dead are still part of the social support network. Unfortunately, much of the Dunwoody Cemetery has been disturbed by heavy equipment and it has lost much of its original landscape features. Soils and curbing were added to deter vehicular damage and grass was added to make the grounds more visually appealing.

Magnetometry. Magnetometry is a remote sensing technique that detects variations in soil magnetism relative to the earth's magnetic field. In an undisturbed subsurface environment, the magnetism associated with individual soil particles will be aligned to follow the earth's magnetic field. When soils are removed as part of a pit's construction and then replaced, their magnetic alignments are altered, creating a highly localized anomaly in the magnetic field. Burning a surface recalibrates a locale's magnetic alignment, which can also be detected by a magnetometer. Magnetometers are extremely sensitive to anthrogenic magnetic fields or those emanating from metal objects; the technique has limited applications in places where metal debris or underground utilities are present.

Monuments. Monuments are distinguished from grave markers by their ultimate function. While the primary purpose of a grave marker is to identify the location of a grave, the primary function of a monument is to memorialize. They do not specifically reserve space. Monuments typically draw attention to groups of individuals (families, military units, congregations, etc.), but occasionally can be used to focus on the actions of a single individual. They may be used in conjunction with grave markers or stand alone, emphasizing the location of a group of individuals rather than a single person. Memorials also help to remember persons, such as those lost at sea or buried elsewhere, who are not present in the cemetery.

Plot Enclosures. Plot enclosures or edgings are objects used to define the margins of reserved space within the cemetery. They define the space within them as exclusive and emphasize social cohesion among those whose graves fall within them. Plot enclosures most frequently define three sets of reserved space. They may be used to identify the exact location of an individual grave (and thus reserving the space for that individual); they define marital units (i.e. husbands and wives); and they identify family burial areas. Edgings can be made from any object or group of objects. Stone, brick, or cinderblock walls are often used to denote family plots, while bricks, stones, gardener's fencing, edging stones, and even plants can be used to group individuals together. In folk cemeteries, inverted bottles, detergent jugs, painted stones, and seashells are among the materials used to mark space. It is likely that in the past plot enclosures emphasizing individual or family graves were present in the Dunwoody Cemetery, however no examples of these appear to have survived to the present day. The wooden fence enclosing portions of Section B emphasize that the space within it is reserved for burial purposes and helps unify the encapsulated graves as part of a cohesive burial community.

Probe (Soil Density) Analysis. In an undisturbed environment, soil particles naturally tend to be oriented in manners that maximize the number of particles in a given area. When a pit is dug into these environments and subsequently refilled, the redeposited particles loose their original orientations. Voids form between particles and the soils become less compact. Soil density

analysis is designed to detect these differences in compaction. A steel rod (or probe) or a penetrometer is inserted into the soil to gauge the difference between soil compaction in disturbed and undisturbed soils. In a cemetery setting, a less compacted area approximating the dimensions of a human frequently indicates the presence of grave pit. The rates in which redeposited soil particles will naturally return to their compacted state are dependent on the shape of the particles involved. In sandy soils, where particles tend to be less flat and more polygonal-shaped, compaction returns relatively quickly. In these environments, soil density analysis is limited to recently constructed pit structures. Probing does not entail pushing the rod into a grave to encounter coffins, vaults, or human remains.

APPENDIX B: RELEVENT STATUTES

Both the Federal Government and the State of Georgia recognize that cemeteries are important, vulnerable components of the cultural landscape in need of protection. A variety of measures have been put in place to protect burial grounds and to promote their protection (Table 7). Statutes potentially relevant to management of the Dunwoody Cemetery are briefly outlined in this section. The Official Code of Georgia's full text may be viewed at http://www.lexisnexis.com/hottopics/gacode/Default.asp. Relevant federal regulations may be viewed at http://www.achp.gov/regs.html and http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/MANDATES/25USC3001etseq.htm. The financial and development-related aspects of cemetery management are of major concern to the Sate of Georgia (see GA Codes 10-14, 36-37, 38-4.2.3. 44-3.1). Managers of the Dunwoody Cemetery should be aware of them, however their direct application to preservation of the Dunwoody Cemetery is only marginal. Other statutes, principally those in Georgia Codes 36-72 and 31-21, are more important to the cemetery's preservation.

Table 7. Statutes Applicable to Preservation of the Dunwoody Cemetery

Regulatory Level	Statute	Common Title
Federal	36 CFR Part 800	National Historic Preservation Act (1966)
Federal	Pubic Law 101-601	Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (1990) [NAGPRA]
State (Official Code of Georgia)	36-72	Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Grounds
State (Official Code of Georgia)	31-21-6	Notification Upon Disturbance of Human Remains
State (Official Code of Georgia)	31-21-44	Unlawful Removal or Disturbance of Grave Contents
State (Official Code of Georgia)	31-21-45	Display of Native American Remains
State (Official Code of Georgia)	10-14	Cemeteries and Funeral Services
Local (McIntosh County)		None Identified
Local (City of Darien)		None Identified

Some counties and municipalities in Georgia have mandated additional cemetery management policies. Statutes relevant to the management of the Dunwoody Cemetery, however, have not been implemented by the City of Darien or McIntosh County.

It is highly recommended that a qualified real estate or property attorney review any specific legal actions based on interpretations of state or federal statutes. Van Voorhies (2003:48) noted that these statutes are not commonly used and as a result, many county and government staff members are unaware of them. Before exercising the law, one should first understand what the law says and be prepared to educate your officials of the laws existence and their full meaning.

Not all aspects of the way cemeteries are managed in Georgia require legal consultation. More generalized questions about how to interpret or implement management policies of historic cemeteries should be addressed to cemetery coordinator (Rachel Black, 404-651-6433) at the Georgia Department of Natural Resources Historic Preservation Division.

Cemeteries are among the cultural landscape features deemed potentially important enough by the Federal Government to seek special protection. The National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) was designed to provide incentives to avoid or minimize impact to cultural properties, specifically those where federal funding is involved. A recommendation for inclusion or potential eligibility for inclusion on the NRHP is necessary to receive these protections. Cemeteries are evaluated as architectural and archaeological properties. Evaluations of the Dunwoody Cemetery have concluded that the cemetery's surface features were not significant enough for inclusion on the NRHP, however its ability to provide information about past communities, particularly when considered a part of the Cathead Creek Historical District has made its archaeological component potentially eligible for the NRHP. The Dunwoody Cemetery, therefore currently receives some federal protection under the NHPA.

It is important to recognize that human remains or burial objects associated with them are not owned by those who own the property on which they are located. They are recognized as "a part of the finite, irreplaceable, and nonrenewable cultural heritage of the people of Georgia which should be protected" (GA Code 36-72-1[b]). Stewardship of a burial ground, therefore is based on its management not its ownership.

In Georgia, the State recognizes that cemeteries will naturally degrade over time and unless the facility's management has contracted perpetual care of the grounds, there are no requirements for the property owners to maintain or upkeep them. Conversely, property owners and cemetery managers need to keep in mind that they can be held responsible for injuries resulting from hazardous conditions, such as open pits, partially downed trees, or collapsing architecture, that represent a physical threat to public safety.

In general, cemeteries, graves, human remains, or burial objects (those intentionally left on a grave's surface) may not be disturbed for the purposes of land development or changing the land use (GA Code 36-72). Willful violation is considered a high and aggravated misdemeanor punishable by both a fine and jail time. Likewise wonton or malicious removal or disturbance of human remains from any place of interment is a criminal offense (GA Code 31-21-44[a]).

In historic cemeteries, plant, animal, and sometimes, human activities can move bones and burial objects close to or place them on the surface. Graves, human remains, or burial objects that are inadvertently disturbed or discovered are not in violation of GA Code 31-21-44. Should these events occur, local law enforcement agency should be notified and the site secured until the circumstances surrounding the origin of the remains (i.e. are these from an archaeological, modern burial, or modern forensic setting) have been determined.

Cemeteries where the grounds are clearly not being managed and where no person legally responsible for it can be found (or said person is not financially capable of maintaining it) are considered 'abandoned' (GA Code 36-72-2[1]). Property owners have the right to petition for an abandoned cemetery to be relocated (GA Code 36-72). In brief, the boundaries and contents of the cemetery to be relocated should be defined and the recovery supervised by a qualified archaeologist. A professional genealogist should be employed to identify living descendants and efforts made to notify them of the proposed relocation. Submission of an application for a permit (sometimes referred to as burial, cemetery termination, or land use change permits) is submitted, reviewed in public hearing and if approved, is issued by the relevant governing authority. For actions involving the Dunwoody Cemetery the McIntosh County Zoning and Planning Board is the appropriate local organ. Any relocation of parts of all of the Dunwoody Cemetery or the reinterment of any historic or Precontact period graves from elsewhere into the Dunwoody Cemetery should be accomplished following these guidelines.

The display of human remains outside of funerary, educational or professional settings are considered to be 'in poor taste' and generally frowned upon in most of Georgia's communities. In 1992, special provisions were added to the Georgia Code (GA Code 31-21-45) to specifically outlaw the display of Native American human remains. Any professional exhibition of these materials would require the written permission of the Native American group(s) claiming jurisdiction over where the remains were found and displayed.

Archaeological evidence for Precontact Native American communities constitute part of the Cathead Creek Historic District and more specifically, Native American deposits including human remains have been found in close proximity to the Dunwoody Cemetery (Gladstone 1995). While currently unrecorded, the possibility that Native American human remains are present within lands containing the Dunwoody Cemetery cannot be discounted. The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) emphasizes Georgia's position that grave contents are not owned and if discovered, Native American human remains and burial goods are to remain *in situ* or repatriated as soon as possible. NAGPRA also recognizes that Native American groups claiming jurisdiction over where the remains were found should be contacted and be a part of the consulting team. The latter part of NAGPRA is of especial

importance to the Dunwoody Cemetery as Precontact Native American remains were repatriated in it. Any activities that may involve the location where these remains were re-interred will require consultation with the Native American community.

APPENDIX C: ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE FORM

GEORGIA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE FORM

1990

Official Site Number: 9MC437

Institutional Site Number: 9Mc(DOT)8 **Site Name:** Dunwoody Cemetery

County: McIntosh **Map Name:** Ridgeville, GA (USGS) or **USNOAA**

UTM Zone: 17 **UTM East:** 457269.1 **UTM North:** 3473745.7

Owner: Sommers Oil **Address**

Site Length: 66 meters **Width:** 139 meters **Elevation:** (+) - 10.7 meters

Orientation: 1. N - S (2.) E - W 3. NE - SW 4. NW - SE 5. Round 6. Unknown

Kind of investigation: 1. Survey 2. Testing 3. Excavation (4.) Documentary 6. Hearsay 6. Unknown 7. Amateur

Standing Architecture: 1. Present (2.) Absent

Site Nature: 1. Plowzone (2.) Subsurface 3. Both 4. Only Surface Known 1. Unknown 2. Underwater

Midden: 1. Present (2.) Absent 3. Unknown **Features:** (1.) Present 2. Absent 3. Unknown

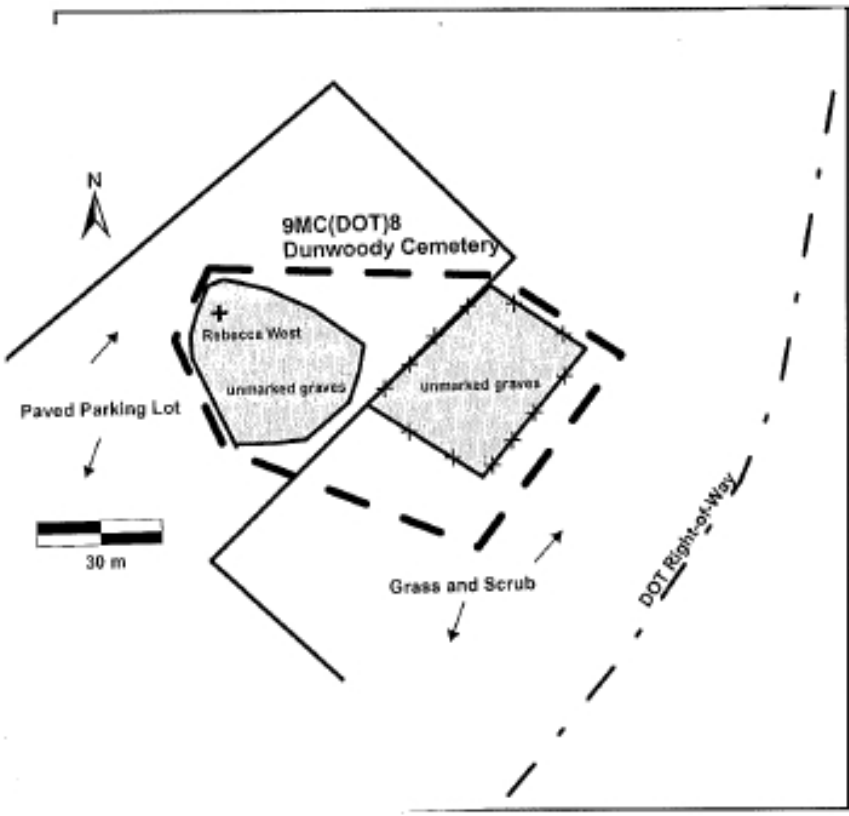
Percent Disturbance: 1. None 2. Greater than 50 3. Less than 50 (4.) Unknown

Type of Site (Mill, Mound, Quarry, Lithic Scatter, etc.) : cemetery

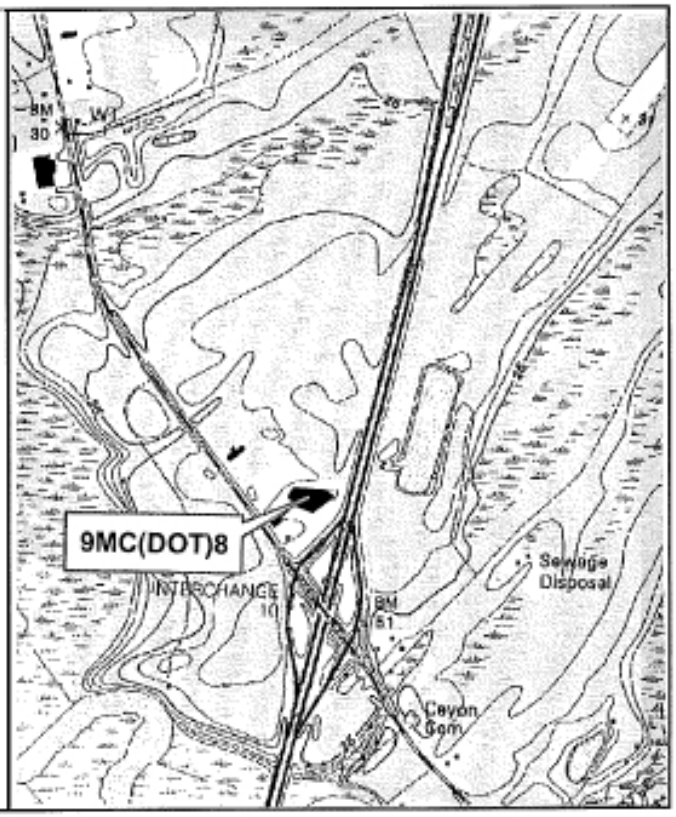
Topography (Ridge, Terrace, etc.): bluff

Current Vegetation (Woods, Pasture, etc): woods, grass, pavement

Additional information: Site 9Mc(DOT)8 is an unmarked slave cemetery associated with Sidon rice plantation. The cemetery was most likely started during the late 18th to early 19th century. Only one 20th century headstone remains (Rebecca West, died 1912). The cemetery was investigated in 1994 by archaeologist Fred Cook in advance of construction of an access road. Cook identified approximately 200 burials, 26 of which had to be removed. Currently there is a modern fence that encompasses a portion of the cemetery. Some white wooden crosses were also placed over suspected unmarked graves. A portion of the cemetery was cut off from the cemetery when the access road was constructed in 1994, this is now a grass island surrounded by pavement. This is also where the grave of Rebecca West is located.



SKETCH MAP
(Include sites, roads, streams, landmarks)



OFFICIAL MAP
(Xerox of proper map)

State Site Number: 9MC437 **Institutional Site Number:** 9Mc(DOT)8

Public Status: 1. National Historic Landmark 2. National Natural Landmark 3. Georgia Register 4. Georgia Historic Trust 5. HABS 6. HAER

National Register Standing: 1. Determined Eligible 2. Recommended Ineligible (3.) Recommended Eligible 4. Nominated 5. Listed 6. Unknown 7. Removed

National Register Level of Significance: 1. Local (2.) State 3. National

Preservation State (Select up to Two): 1. Undisturbed 2. Cultivated 3. Eroded 4. Submerged 5. Lake Flooded 6. Vandalized 7. Destroyed. 8. Redeposited 9. Graded 10. Razed (11.) Other: 26 graves relocated in 1994

Preservation Prospects: 1. Safe 2. Endangered by: _____ (2.) Unknown

RECORDS OF INVESTIGATIONS

Supervisor: James Pomfret **Affiliation:** Georgia DOT **Date** 8/25/2008

Report Title: Field Notes, Volume IV

Other Reports: Cook, Fred, 1994, An archeological Survey of Western Dunwoody Cemetery, McIntosh County, Georgia

Artifacts Collected: none

Location of Collections: Antonio J. Waring Research Lab, University of West Georgia, Carrollton

Location of Field Notes: Antonio J. Waring Research Lab, University of West Georgia, Carrollton

Private Collections: unknown

Name: n/a **Address:** _____

CULTURAL AFFINITY

Cultural Periods: late 18th/early 19th century

Phases: n/a

FORM PREPARATION AND REVISION

Date	Name	Institutional Affiliation
8/25/2008	James Pomfret	Georgia DOT

APPENDIX D: CEMETERY FEATURE INVENTORY

Cemetery Feature Inventory
Dunwood Cemetery
New South Associates

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-01	Rebecca West	3473785	457242	17	Marble HS & FS (Possibly Original Grave 1)	X				X	Section A		X	X
F-02	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473756	457261	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-03	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473754	457262	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-04	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473773	457278	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-05	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473775	457278	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-06	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473762	457268	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-07	Cross (Unidentified Grave)	3473762	457270	17	Cook (1994) used to mark graves close to island margin								X	X
F-08	Unidentified Grave	3473957	457327	17	Metal Marker								X	X
F-09	Unidentified Grave	3473963	457329	17	Metal Marker						Possibly Row 7 Grave 4		X	X
F-10	Annie Shaw	3473962	457320	17	Marble Headstone & Footstone						Row 8 Grave 2		X	X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-11	Renar Wilson	3473937	457314	17	Headstone						Row 1 Grave 1		X	X
F-12	Renar Wilson?	3473938	457316	17	Probable Foot Stone for Renar Wilson						Row 1 Grave 1		X	X
F-13	Unidentified Grave	3473724	457311	17	Original Grave 6	X		X	X	X				
F-14	Unidentified Grave	3473783	457238	17	Original Grave 2	X		X	X	X				
F-15	Unidentified Grave	3473773	457240	17	Original Grave 3	X		X	X	X				
F-16	Unidentified Grave	3473758	457242	17	Original Grave 4	X		X	X	X				
F-17	Unidentified Grave	3473754	457244	17	Original Grave 5	X		X	X	X				
F-18	Probe Outline	3473789	457237	17	Potential Grave Area, No Specifics Identified	X								
F-19	Probe Outline	3473784	457233	17	Potential Grave Area, No Specifics Identified	X								
F-20	Probe Outline	3473791	457246	17	Potential Grave Area, No Specifics Identified	X								
F-21	Probe Outline	3473767	457248	17	Potential Grave Area, No Specifics Identified	X								
F-22	GPR Anomaly	3473745	457298	17	Anomaly A8, Possibly in Gladstone 2000:113							X		

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-23	GPR Anomaly	3473747	457287	17	Anomaly A7, Possibly in Gladstone 2000:113							X		
F-24	GPR Anomaly	3473727	457299	17	Anomaly A9, Possibly in Gladstone 2000:113							X	X	
F-25	GPR Anomaly	3473721	457299	17	Anomaly A10							X		
F-26	GPR Anomaly	3473717	457285	17	Anomaly A6							X		
F-27	GPR Anomaly	3473713	457282	17	Anomaly A5							X		
F-28	GPR Anomaly	3473718	457263	17	Anomaly A4							X		
F-29	GPR Anomaly	3473716	457263	17	Anomaly A3							X		
F-30	GPR Anomaly	3473712	457273	17	Anomaly A2							X		
F-31	GPR Anomaly	3473683	457295	17	Anomaly A10							X		
F-32	GPR Anomaly	3473724	457334	17	Anomaly AA1							X		
F-33	GPR Anomaly	3473727	457331	17	Anomaly AA2							X		
F-34	GPR Anomaly	3473728	457330	17	Anomaly AA3							X		
F-35	GPR Anomaly	3473732	457341	17	Anomaly AA4							X		
F-36	GPR Anomaly	3473761	457341	17	Anomaly AA5							X	X	
F-37	Unmarked Grave	3473793	457244	17			X							
F-38	Unmarked Grave	3473792	457245	17			X							
F-39	Unmarked Grave	3473793	457242	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-40	Unmarked Grave	3473791	457243	17			X							
F-41	Unmarked Grave	3473792	457241	17			X							
F-42	Unmarked Grave	3473791	457241	17			X							
F-43	Unmarked Grave	3473790	457243	17			X							
F-44	Unmarked Grave	3473789	457242	17			X							
F-45	Unmarked Grave	3473787	457243	17			X							
F-46	Unmarked Grave	3473788	457241	17			X							
F-47	Unmarked Grave	3473785	457245	17			X							
F-48	Unmarked Grave	3473787	457237	17			X							
F-49	Unmarked Grave	3473784	457236	17			X							
F-50	Unmarked Grave	3473783	457244	17			X							
F-51	Unmarked Grave	3473782	457244	17			X							
F-52	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457243	17			X							
F-53	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457246	17			X							
F-54	Unmarked Grave	3473778	457245	17			X							
F-55	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457245	17			X							
F-56	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457246	17			X							
F-57	Unmarked Grave	775	457241	17			X							
F-58	Unmarked Grave	3473775	457247	17			X							
F-59	Unmarked Grave	3473774	457246	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-60	Unmarked Grave	3473773	457248	17			X							
F-61	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457245	17			X							
F-62	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457246	17			X							
F-63	Unmarked Grave	3473781	457240	17			X							
F-64	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457240	17			X							
F-65	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457240	17			X							
F-66	Unmarked Grave	3473778	457238	17			X							
F-67	Unmarked Grave	3473778	457235	17			X							
F-68	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457235	17			X							
F-69	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457236	17			X							
F-70	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457238	17			X							
F-71	Unmarked Grave	3473774	457237	17			X							
F-72	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457238	17			X							
F-73	Unmarked Grave	3473770	457241	17			X							
F-74	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457242	17			X							
F-75	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457241	17			X							
F-76	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457239	17			X							
F-77	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457241	17			X							
F-78	Unmarked Grave	3473762	457242	17			X							
F-79	Unmarked Grave	3473762	457243	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-80	Unmarked Grave	3473761	457243	17			X							
F-81	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457244	17			X							
F-82	Unmarked Grave	3473762	457246	17			X							
F-83	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457244	17			X							
F-84	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457246	17			X							
F-85	Unmarked Grave	3473765	457244	17			X							
F-86	Unmarked Grave	3473759	457244	17			X							
F-87	Unmarked Grave	3473760	457247	17			X							
F-88	Unmarked Grave	3473758	457247	17			X							
F-89	Unmarked Grave	3473757	457245	17			X							
F-90	Unmarked Grave	3473756	457247	17			X							
F-91	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457233	17			X							
F-92	Unmarked Grave	3473749	457247	17			X							
F-93	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457248	17			X							
F-94	Unmarked Grave	3473760	457255	17			X							
F-95	Unmarked Grave	3473762	457255	17			X							
F-96	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457251	17			X							
F-97	Unmarked Grave	3473765	457251	17			X							
F-98	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457253	17			X							
F-99	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457255	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-100	Unmarked Grave	3473768	457256	17			X							
F-101	Unmarked Grave	3473758	457259	17			X							
F-102	Unmarked Grave	3473759	457257	17			X							
F-103	Unmarked Grave	3473760	457257	17			X							
F-104	Unmarked Grave	3473761	457259	17			X							
F-105	Unmarked Grave	3473761	457257	17			X							
F-106	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457257	17			X							
F-107	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457256	17			X							
F-108	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457261	17			X							
F-109	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457261	17			X							
F-110	Unmarked Grave	3473765	457260	17			X							
F-111	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457259	17			X							
F-112	Unmarked Grave	3473763	457264	17			X							
F-113	Unmarked Grave	3473764	457264	17			X							
F-114	Unmarked Grave	3473766	457263	17			X							
F-115	Unmarked Grave	3473766	457264	17			X							
F-116	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457262	17			X							
F-117	Unmarked Grave	3473768	457261	17			X							
F-118	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457259	17			X							
F-119	Unmarked Grave	3473770	457259	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-120	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457257	17			X							
F-121	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457258	17			X							
F-122	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457256	17			X							
F-123	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457257	17			X							
F-124	Unmarked Grave	3473773	457258	17			X							
F-125	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457255	17			X							
F-126	Unmarked Grave	3473768	457253	17			X							
F-127	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457253	17			X							
F-128	Unmarked Grave	3473768	457250	17			X							
F-129	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457250	17			X							
F-130	Unmarked Grave	3473770	457253	17			X							
F-131	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457253	17			X							
F-132	Unmarked Grave	3473775	457252	17			X							
F-133	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457254	17			X							
F-134	Unmarked Grave	3473778	457255	17			X							
F-135	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457255	17			X							
F-136	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457254	17			X							
F-137	Unmarked Grave	3473781	457254	17			X							
F-138	Unmarked Grave	3473787	457255	17			X							
F-139	Unmarked Grave	3473782	457256	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-140	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457256	17			X							
F-141	Unmarked Grave	3473781	457258	17			X							
F-142	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457258	17			X							
F-143	Unmarked Grave	3473778	457257	17			X							
F-144	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457257	17			X							
F-145	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457259	17			X							
F-146	Unmarked Grave	3473786	457261	17			X							
F-147	Unmarked Grave	3473784	457262	17			X							
F-148	Unmarked Grave	3473782	457261	17			X							
F-149	Unmarked Grave	3473781	457261	17			X							
F-150	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457261	17			X							
F-151	Unmarked Grave	3473780	457262	17			X							
F-152	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457259	17			X							
F-153	Unmarked Grave	3473773	457258	17			X							
F-154	Unmarked Grave	3473774	457259	17			X							
F-155	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457263	17			X							
F-156	Unmarked Grave	3473774	457261	17			X							
F-157	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457260	17			X							
F-158	Unmarked Grave	3473770	457261	17			X							
F-159	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457262	17			X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-160	Unmarked Grave	3473770	457262	17			X							
F-161	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457263	17			X							
F-162	Unmarked Grave	3473768	457263	17			X							
F-163	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457265	17			X							
F-164	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457266	17			X							
F-165	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457264	17			X							
F-166	Unmarked Grave	3473773	457264	17			X							
F-167	Unmarked Grave	3473775	457262	17			X							
F-168	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457261	17			X							
F-169	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457263	17			X							
F-170	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457264	17			X							
F-171	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457262	17			X							
F-172	Unmarked Grave	3473774	457265	17			X							
F-173	Unmarked Grave	3473776	457266	17			X							
F-174	Unmarked Grave	3473779	457266	17			X							
F-175	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457269	17			X							
F-176	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457270	17			X							
F-177	Unmarked Grave	3473777	457275	17	May be same as F-5		X							
F-178	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457277	17	May be same as F-4		X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-179	Unmarked Grave	3473772	457274	17			X							
F-180	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457274	17			X							
F-181	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457273	17			X							
F-182	Unmarked Grave	3473771	457255	17			X							
F-183	Unmarked Grave	3473769	457276	17			X							
F-184	Unmarked Grave	3473767	457274	17			X							
F-185	Unmarked Grave	3473766	457270	17			X							
F-186	Not Used													
F-187	GPR Anomaly	3473752	457280	17									X	
F-188	GPR Anomaly	3473743	457282	17							Possible "Outside of Fenced Area" Grave 4		X	
F-189	GPR Anomaly	3473772	457257	17							Possible "Outside of Fenced Area" Grave 4		X	
F-190	Adam ___?, GPR Anomaly	3473743	457290	17							Possible "Outside of Fenced Area" Grave 2		X	
F-191	GPR Anomaly	3473744	457293	17							Possible "Outside of Fenced Area" Grave 3		X	

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-192	GPR Anomaly	3473732	457310	17							Possible "Outside of Fenced Area" Grave 1		X	
F-193	GPR Anomaly	3473730	457310	17									X	
F-194	GPR Anomaly	3473728	457311	17									X	
F-195	GPR Anomaly	3473729	457304	17									X	
F-196	GPR Anomaly	3473727	457307	17									X	
F-197	GPR Anomaly	3473728	457304	17									X	
F-198	GPR Anomaly	3473724	457305	17									X	
F-199	GPR Anomaly	3473722	457307	17									X	
F-200	GPR Anomaly	3473722	457304	17									X	
F-201	GPR Anomaly	3473720	457306	17									X	
F-202	GPR Anomaly	3473718	457314	17									X	
F-203	GPR Anomaly	3473716	457315	17									X	
F-204	GPR Anomaly	3473713	457299	17									X	
F-205	GPR Anomaly	3473750	457328	17									X	
F-206	GPR Anomaly	3473753	457330	17									X	
F-207	GPR Anomaly	3473755	457331	17									X	
F-208	GPR Anomaly	3473757	457333	17									X	
F-209	GPR Anomaly	3473770	457344	17									X	

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-210	GPR Anomaly	3473735	457328	17									X	
F-211	GPR Anomaly	3473743	457339	17									X	
F-212	GPR Anomaly	3473787	457336	17									X	
F-213	GPR Anomaly	3473785	457339	17									X	
F-214	GPR Anomaly	3473782	457344	17									X	
F-215	GPR Anomaly	3473776	457347	17									X	
F-216	GPR Anomaly	3473786	457349	17									X	
F-217	GPR Anomaly	3473783	457354	17									X	
F-218	GPR Anomaly	3473783	457348	17									X	
F-219	GPR Anomaly	3473781	457350	17									X	
F-220	GPR Anomaly	3473780	457352	17									X	
F-221	GPR Anomaly	3473781	457354	17									X	
F-222	GPR Anomaly	3473789	457365	17									X	
F-223	GPR Anomaly	3473790	457362	17									X	
F-224	GPR Anomaly	3473790	457358	17									X	
F-225	GPR Anomaly	3473787	457358	17									X	
F-226	GPR Anomaly	3473794	457360	17									X	
F-227	GPR Anomaly	3473790	457350	17									X	
F-228	GPR Anomaly	3473796	457353	17									X	
F-229	GPR Anomaly	3473793	457346	17									X	

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-230	GPR Anomaly	3473794	457348	17									X	
F-231	GPR Anomaly	3473796	457349	17									X	
F-232	GPR Anomaly	3473798	457350	17									X	
F-233	GPR Anomaly	3473798	457347	17									X	
F-234	GPR Anomaly	3473802	457355	17									X	
F-235	GPR Anomaly	3473800	457355	17									X	
F-236	GPR Anomaly	3473800	457353	17									X	
F-237	GPR Anomaly	3473804	457350	17									X	
F-238	GPR Anomaly	3473802	457350	17									X	
F-239	GPR Anomaly	3473802	457347	17									X	
F-240	GPR Anomaly	3473710	457295	17									X	
F-241	GPR Anomaly	3473706	457287	17									X	
F-242	GPR Anomaly	3473704	457286	17									X	
F-243	GPR Anomaly	3473701	457288	17									X	
F-244	GPR Anomaly	3473702	457281	17									X	
F-245	GPR Anomaly	3473697	457296	17									X	
F-246	GPR Anomaly	3473698	457300	17									X	
F-247	GPR Anomaly	3473716	457254	17									X	
F-248	GPR Anomaly	3473708	457254	17									X	
F-249	GPR Anomaly	3473706	457252	17									X	

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-250	GPR Anomaly	3473703	457256	17									X	
F-251	GPR Anomaly	3473687	457290	17									X	
F-252	GPR Anomaly	3473684	457289	17									X	
F-253	GPR Anomaly	3473681	457291	17									X	
F-254	GPR Anomaly	3473679	457305	17									X	
F-255	GPR Anomaly	3473677	457307	17									X	
F-256	GPR Anomaly	3473691	457309	17									X	
F-257	GPR Anomaly	3473691	457321	17									X	
F-258	GPR Anomaly	3473689	457322	17									X	
F-259	GPR Anomaly	3473734	457268	17									X	
F-260	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473938	457319	17	"Old Fenced Lot" (Gladstone 2000:112)						Row 2 Grave 1			X
F-261	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 1 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-262	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 2 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-263	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 3 by Cook (1994)		X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-264	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 4 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-265	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 5 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-266	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 6 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-267	Reinterment	3473935	457309	17	Reinterment 7 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 15		X							X
F-268	Reinterment	3473936	457310	17	Reinterment 8 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 16		X							X
F-269	Reinterment	3473937	457311	17	Reinterment 9 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 17		X							X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-270	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 10 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-271	Reinterment	3473940	457309	17	Reinterment 11 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 14		X							X
F-272	Reinterment	3473938	457310	17	Reinterment 12 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 13		X							X
F-273	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 13 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-274	Reinterment	3473935	457306	17	Reinterment 14 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 11		X							X
F-275	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 15 by Cook (1994)		X							

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-276	Reinterment	3473935	457304	17	Reinterment 16 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 6		X							X
F-277	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 17 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-278	Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment 18 by Cook (1994)		X							
F-279	Reinterment	3473940	457305	17	Reinterment 19 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 9		X							X
F-280	Reinterment	3473941	457305	17	Reinterment 20 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 10		X							X
F-281	Reinterment	3473941	457304	17	Reinterment 21 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 5		X							X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-282	Reinterment	3473940	457303	17	Reinterment 22 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 4		X							X
F-283	Reinterment	3473939	457303	17	Reinterment 23 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 3		X							X
F-284	Reinterment	3473938	457303	17	Reinterment 24 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 2		X							X
F-285	Reinterment	3473936	457302	17	Reinterment 25 by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 1		X							X
F-286	Reinterment	3473943	457305	17	Reinterment 26 by Cook (1994)		X							X
F-287	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473939	457319	17	"Old Fenced Lot" (Gladstone 2000:112)						Row 2 Grave 2			X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-288	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473942	457313	17	"Old Fenced Lot" (Gladstone 2000:112)						Possibly Row 2 Grave 3			X
F-289	Native American Reinterment				Not Located; Reinterment by Cook (1994), Same as Gladstone (2000:113) Reinterment No. 27									
F-290	Emily Frazier? (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473943	457314	17							Possibly Row 3 Grave 4			X
F-291	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473943	457312	17										X
F-292	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473948	457317	17							Possibly Row 4 Grave 1			X
F-293	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473946	457321	17							Possibly Row 3 Grave 2			X
F-294	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473938	457322	17	NNW-SSE Orientation, Treated as Potential						Possibly Row 3 Grave 1			X
F-295	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473951	457319	17										X
F-296	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473953	457319	17										X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-297	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473946	457327	17							Possibly Row 4 Grave 3			X
F-298	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473948	457328	17							Possibly Row 4 Grave 3			X
F-299	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473951	457321	17										X
F-300	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473955	457319	17										X
F-301	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473957	457319	17										X
F-302	Henry Shaw Sr. (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473961	457319	17							Possibly Row 8 Grave 1			X
F-303	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473956	457326	17										X
F-304	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473961	457322	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 1			X
F-305	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473964	457315	17							Possibly Row 9 Grave 2			X
F-306	Douglas Shaw (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473966	457321	17							Row 8 Grave 3			X
F-307	Donnie Shaw? (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473962	457323	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 2			X

Feature No.	Identity	UTM Northing (NAD 27)	UTM Easting (NAD 27)	UTM Zone	Notes	Cook 1993	Cook 1994	Cubbedge 1970	Gardner 1989	Kinard 1993	Gladstone 2000	Proulx 2001	Williams 2011	This Survey
F-308	Crawford LeCount (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473967	457323	17							Row 8 Grave 4			X
F-309	Mary LeCount (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473969	457323	17							Row 8 Grave 5			X
F-310	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473963	457332	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 4			X
F-311	Henry Shaw, Jr.? (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473961	457328	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 3			X
F-312	Unmarked Linear Depression	3473958	457328	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 1			X
F-313	Donnie Shaw or Henry Shaw, Jr.? (Unmarked Linear Depression)	3473959	457329	17							Possibly Row 7 Grave 2 or Grave 3			X

APPENDIX E: INDIVIDUAL GRAVE MARKER SURVEY FORM

Individual Marker Survey Form

Georgia Historic Cemetery Preservation

Cemetery Name_____

City/County _____

Address or location _____

1. Marker number (linked to map or grid sketch of cemetery)

   _____

2. Marker type/shape (refer to attached Field Guide to Monument Types)

   ___ Headstone/Tablet ___ Footstone ___Die on base ____Die in socket ___Obelisk
   ___Pedestal with urn ____Pedestal/vaulted top ___Raised top ___ Government issue
   ___ Lawn type ____Plaque ____ Pulpit ___ Die, base & cap ___ Ledger stone ___ Box
   ___ Table ____ Bedstead ___ Sculptural memorial ___ Columnar ___ Cross
   ____Fieldstone

   Other _____

3. Material

   ___ Marble ___ Granite ___Sandstone ___Limestone ___ Concrete ____ Brick
   ____Fieldstone ___White Bronze ___ Iron ___Wood

   Other_____

4. Carver or manufacturer_____

5. Number of carved surfaces _____

6. Carving technique used: ___ incised ___ relief ___three dimensional

7. Decorative carving motif(s)

   ___ urn and willow ___ urn ___ willow ___ heart ___ hands clasped ___ hand pointing down ___ hand pointing up ___ angel ___ lamb ___ open book ____cross
   _____fraternal symbol ___ botanical (describe)_____
   ___ other (describe) _____

8. Number of people commemorated _____

9. Condition of marker

   ___ sound ___ chipped ___ cracked ___ crumbled ___ eroded ___ sugaring

   ___ tilted ____ fallen ___ broken ___ sunken ___ girdling/spalling

___ repaired ___ in situ ___ displaced ___ encased in cement

____ soiled/biological growth (lichen, other organics) ____ stained ___ overgrown (vines, weeds, brush) ____ other_____

10. Previous repairs, cleaning

___cracks ___ pins ___ mortar patch ___ adhesive/epoxy ___ other (explain)_____

____cleaned (describe evidence of cleaning)_____

11. Condition of inscription

___ excellent ___ clear but worn ___ mostly readable ___ mostly unreadable

12. Dimensions

Main body: height _____ width _____ thickness _____

Base: height _____ width _____ thickness _____

Other: _____

13. Marker orientation (direction main inscription faces)

__N __S __E __W __ NE __SE __ NW __SW

14. Master record number _____

15. Date of record _____

16. Name of recorder and contact information _____

_____

17. Inscriptions

Face _____

Left _____

Right _____

Rear _____

Top _____

18. Photograph (one or more per side)

19. Additional information _____

_____

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX F: NPS RAPID CEMETERY ASSESSEMENT FORM

Rapid Cemetery Assessment Form

Inspection

Inspection date/ time _____ ☐ AM ☐ PM

Inspector _____

Affiliation _____

Page 1 of ____

Attachments
☐ *Documents* ☐ *Photographs*
☐ *Sketches* ☐ *Other*

photo #s _____

Cemetery Description

Cemetery Name _____

Address _____

County/Parish Name _____

Est Cemetery Size _____

Total Lot/Section Damage Estimate
☐ *None*
☐ *1-10%*
☐ *10-30%*
☐ *30-60%*
☐ *60-90%*
☐ *90-100%*

Owner/Contact Info

Repairs begun? ☐ Yes ☐ No

Record , Lot/Section # or I.D.

_____

Interment Type ☐ Individual ☐ Family ☐ Multiple ☐ Other

Est number of structures ☐ 1 ☐ 2-4 ☐ 5-6 ☐ 6-10 ☐ >10 _____

This section of assessment describes the damaged structures and resources found within this section or lot. Check all items that display damage.

Structures	Materials Found		Coatings found	Type of damage	Level of damage
☐ *Marker*	☐ *Marble*	☐ *Wrought Iron*	☐ *Limewash*	☐ *Collapse*	☐ *None*
☐ *Footstone*	☐ *Limestone*	☐ *Bronze*	☐ *Cement Wash*	☐ *Fallen*	☐ *1-10%*
☐ *Box tomb/basal*	☐ *Granite*	☐ *Lead*	☐ *Stucco*	☐ *Broken*	☐ *10-30%*
☐ *Vault*	☐ *Slate*	☐ *Zinc (White Bronze)*	☐ *Modern Coating*	☐ *Missing Pieces*	☐ *30-60%*
☐ *Mausoleum*	☐ *Sandstone*	☐ *Concrete*	☐ *Paint*	☐ *Stained*	☐ *60-90%*
☐ *Bedstead*	☐ *Schist*	☐ *Glass*	☐ *Unknown*	☐ *Biological Growth*	☐ *90-100%*
☐ *Obelisk*	☐ *Brick*	☐ *Other*	☐ *None*	☐ *Erosion*	
☐ *Other*	☐ *Wood*		☐ *Other*	☐ *Other*	
	☐ *Cast Iron*				

Enclosures	Materials Found		Coatings found	Type of damage	Level of damage
☐ *Curb*	☐ *Marble*	☐ *Cast Iron*	☐ *Limewash*	☐ *Collapse*	☐ *None*
☐ *Fence*	☐ *Limestone*	☐ *Wrought Iron*	☐ *Cement Wash*	☐ *Fallen*	☐ *1-10%*
☐ *Gate*	☐ *Granite*	☐ *Bronze*	☐ *Stucco*	☐ *Broken*	☐ *10-30%*
☐ *Wall*	☐ *Slate*	☐ *Lead*	☐ *Modern Coating*	☐ *Missing Pieces*	☐ *30-60%*
☐ *Other*	☐ *Sandstone*	☐ *Zinc (White Bronze)*	☐ *Paint*	☐ *Stained*	☐ *60-90%*
☐ *None*	☐ *Schist*	☐ *Concrete*	☐ *Unknown*	☐ *Biological Growth*	☐ *90-100%*
	☐ *Brick*	☐ *Other*	☐ *None*	☐ *Erosion*	
	☐ *Wood*		☐ *Other*	☐ *Other*	

Landscapes	Materials Found		Type of damage	Level of damage
☐ *Trees*	☐ *Annual plants*	☐ *Gravel/pebbles*	☐ *Fallen*	☐ *None*
☐ *Plants*	☐ *Perennial plants*	☐ *Shell*	☐ *Fallen on monument*	☐ *1-10%*
☐ *Ground Covering*	☐ *Ornamental trees*	☐ *Concrete*	☐ *Broken*	☐ *10-30%*
☐ *Roadways*	☐ *Shade Trees*	☐ *Brick*	☐ *Downed limbs*	☐ *30-60%*
☐ *Walkways*	☐ *Hedges*	☐ *Pavers*	☐ *Uprooted*	☐ *60-90%*
☐ *Others*	☐ *Grass*	☐ *Other* _____	☐ *Missing pieces*	☐ *90-100%*
			☐ *Other*	

Comments/observations

Visible human remains/coffins? ☐ *Yes* ☐ *No* ☐ *Don't know* _____

Storm Data

Storm Name _____ Storm Date _____

Nature of water ☐ Standing ☐ Flowing ☐ Seepage ☐ Water Marks ☐ Other _____

Sediment deposited ☐ On Site ☐ In Structure Site erosion ☐ Yes ☐ No ☐ Don't know

Further Actions

Further actions ☐ Emergency Stabilization ☐ Urgent Attention ☐ Brush/Tree Clearing ☐ Cleaning ☐ Repairs

Other recommendations _____

Posting

☐ Inspected ☐ Unsafe ☐ Restricted Use ☐ Historic Designation ☐ Detailed Evaluation Needed

Developed for FEMA by the NPS National Center for Preservation Technology and Training, 9/2005.

NCPTT
www.ncptt.nps.gov

APPENDIX G: POTENTIAL BURIAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Butler	Annabel	Female									6	1914
Butler	Austin	Male										
Butler	Austin	Male			15	1865			60	1850		
Butler	Austin, Jr.	Male							17	1893		
Butler	Barney	Male			22	1858						
Butler	Be/Rebecca	Female					46	1854				
Butler	Becky	Female			22	1858						
Butler	Belia	Female										
Butler	Benjamin	Male			7	1873						
Butler	Bessie	Female										
Butler	Bessie	Female										
Butler	Carl	Male										
Butler	Catherine	Female									15	1905
Butler/Rutter	Catherine	Female							10	1900		
Butler/Buttler	Christina	Female							26	1884		
Butler	Christopher	Male									11	1909
Butler	Cooper	Male					15	1885				
Butler	Cristena/Christina	Female					7	1893				
Butler	Daniel	Male							27	1883		
Butler	Daniel	Male			2	1878						
Butler/Buttler	Dave/Davie	Male							7	1903		
Butler/Rutter	David	Male							18	1892		
Butler	Dayo/Days Edward	Male										
Butler/Buttler/Bettler	Derill (Isreal)	Male								Not Listed		
Butler	Dorothy	Female										
Butler	Edward	Male			25	1855						
Butler	Eleanor	Female							16	1894		
Butler	Elester	Female										
Butler	Eliza	Female							9	1901		
Butler	Ernest	Male										
Butler	Fannie	Female										
Butler	Fibby	Female					11	1889				

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Butler/Buster	Frances	Female									18	1902
Butler	Harold	Male										
Butler	Harry	Male			1	1879						
Butler/Buttler	Hattie	Female							9	1901	15	1905
Butler	Hector	Male			26	1854						
Butler/Buttler	Isirel [Israel]	Male							24	1886		
Butler	Israel	Male									22	1898
Butler	Israel/Nial	Male					5	1895				
Butler	Israel/Nil	Male			13	1867	34	1866			60	1860
Butler/Rutter	James	Male							12	1898		
Butler/Buster	Janie	Female									0	1920
Butler	Janie	Female							14	1896		
Butler/Batten	Jasper	Male					55	1845				
Butler/Buster	Jenever	Female									2	1918
Butler/Batten	John	Male					0	1900				
Butler	Joseph	Male							12	1898		
Butler	Joseph(ina?)	Female										
Butler	Laura	Female									30	1890
Butler	Lena	Female							5	1905		
Butler	Leusia	Female					3	1897				
Butler/Buttler	Levi	Male							5	1905		
Butler/Buttler	Lewis/Louis	Male					13	1887	22	1888		
Butler	Lizzie	Female							55	1855		
Butler/Buttler	Louisa	Female							12	1898	19	1901
Butler/Rutter	Lucinda	Female							38	1872		
Butler	Lucious	Male									10	1910
Butler	Lucy	Female									4	1916
Butler/Buttler	Ludwick	Male							3	1907		
Butler/Batten	Mack	Male					4	1896				
Butler	Malcolm	Male					23	1877				
Butler	Marcus	Male			4	1876						

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Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Butler	Maria	Female					31	1869			55	1865
Butler/Buttler	Mary	Female							28	1882		
Butler	Mary	Female			24	1856						
Butler	Mary/Mary L.	Female							15	1895	25	1895
Butler	Mary/Mary L.	Female					9	1891				
Butler	May	Female									5	1915
Butler	Morris	Male									1	1919
Butler	Morris	Male									40	1880
Butler	Morris	Male			35	1845	62	1838	68	1842		
Butler	Morris	Male					11	1889				
Butler/Batten	Ned	Male					6	1894				
Butler	Ora Mae	Female										
Butler	Patience	Female			20	1860						
Butler	Peggy	Female										
Butler	Peter	Male			11	1869						
Butler	Phillis	Female									65	1855
Butler/Buttler	Phoebe	Female							31	1879		
Butler	Phoebe	Female			32	1848						
Butler	Randolph	Male										
Butler/Buttler	Rea	Female								Not Listed		
Butler	Rebecca	Female									10	1910
Butler/Rutter	Rebecca	Female							14	1896		
Butler	Rena	Female							31	1879		
Butler	Rosalee	Female									23	1897
Butler	Rosena	Female							19	1891		
Butler	Samuel	Male							11	1899		
Butler	Samuel	Male			9	1871						
Butler	Sarah	Female							47	1863		
Butler	Singleton	Male										
Butler/Buttler	Susan/Susie	Female					1	1899	11	1899	28	1892
Butler/Batten	Tama	Female					8	1892				
Butler/Batten	Tena	Female					32	1868				

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Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	**First**	**Sex**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**
Butler	Tyra	Female									9	1911
Butler	William	Male			1	1879						
Frazier	Alaxanda	Male							27	1883		
Frazier/Fraser	Bende	Female	28	1842								
Frazier/Frazer	Bina	Female			4	1876						
Frazier/Fraser	Charles	Male					34	1866				
Frazier/Fraser	Clara	Female									25	1895
Frazier/Frasier	Clara	Female							27	1883		
Frazier	Cloe	Female					19	1881				
Frazier/Frazer	Dafne	Female			12	1868						
Frazier	Diana	Female			1	1879						
Frazier	Emily/Emily Green	Female										
Frazier/Fraser	Eve	Female					27	1873				
Frazier/Fraser	Hagan/Hager	Female			30	1850	53	1847				
Frazier/Fraser	Henry	Male					8	1892				
Frazier/Frazer	Ida	Female					17	1883				
Frazier/Fraser	Infant (Unnamed)	Male	0	1870								
Frazier	Jacob	Male	23	1847	30	1850						
Frazier/Fraser	James	Male					18	1882	28	1882		
Frazier	James	Male			4	1876						
Frazier	Jasper	Male										
Frazier	John	Male			6	1874						
Frazier	Lasanda	Female							55	1855		
Frazier/Frazer	Lavinia/Lovanger/ Lavande/Lasanda	Female					60	1840			79	1841
Frazier/Fraser	Lewis	Male					12	1888				
Frazier/Fraser	Margret	Female			22	1858						
Frazier	Mary	Female							18	1892		
Frazier	Mary J.	Female										
Frazier/Frazer	Mary J.	Female					9	1891				
Frazier	Mary Jane	Female					25	1875				
Frazier/Fragler	Matilda	Female							21	1889		

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Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Frazier	Mayzey	Female							6	1904		
Frazier/Fraser	Mollie	Female			35	1845	52	1848				
Frazier/Fraser	Nancy	Female									9	1911
Frazier/Frazer	Peggy	Female			14	1866						
Frazier/Fraser	Rose	Female					25	1875				
Frazier	Rose	Female	17	1853	23	1857						
Frazier	Sam	Male					27	1873				
Frazier/Frasier	Samuel	Male							27	1883		
Frazier/Fraser/Frazer	Samuel	Male					65	1835			85	1835
Frazier	Samuel	Male							70	1840		
Frazier/Fraser	Samuel	Male	41	1829								
Frazier/Frazer	Sana	Male			80	1800						
Frazier	William	Male							29	1881		
Frazier/Frasir	William	Male			24	1856						
Frazier/Fraser	William	Male	3	1867								
Frazier/Fraser	Willie	Male									1	1919
Howard	Albert	Male			28	1852						
Howard	Edgar	Male					7	1893				
Howard	Edward E.	Male	29	1841								
Howard	Eliza J.	Female	25	1845								
Howard	Elizabeth	Female					0	1900				
Howard	Ellen	Female	16	1854								
Howard	Elsie	Female			25	1855						
Howard	Georgia	Female			16	1864						
Howard	Ida	Female					28	1872				
Howard	Marion	Female									5	1915
Howard	Moses	Male			3	1877						
Howard	Mosses	Male					9	1891				
Howard	Porter	Male			25	1855						
Howard	Ruth Lee Carter	Female										
Howard	Sarah	Female					5	1895				
LeCount	Bradl[e]y	Male			5	1875						

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Dunwoody Cemetery
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Surname	**First**	**Sex**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**
LeCount	Christopher	Male							2	1908		
LeCount/LaCount/Lacounts	Crawford	Male							2	1908	9	1911
LeCount/LaCount	Crawford	Male										
LeCount	Freeman	Male									2	1918
LeCount/Laconte	Isaac	Male									4	1916
LeCount/LaCounts	Lewis	Male							0	1910		
LeCount/Lecont	Lewis	Male					51	1849				
LeCount/Laconte	Linder	Male									1	1919
LeCount	Louise	Female										
LeCount	Lucinda	Female										
LeCount/LaCount	Maria	Female									6	1914
LeCount	Mary	Female										
LeCount/LaCount	Mary	Female									25	1895
LeCount/Lecomit	Napoleon	Male			6	1874	23	1877				
LeCount/Lacont	Nathan	Male					11	1889				
LeCount	Nellie	Female										
LeCount	Rebecca	Female										
LeCount/Lecont	Rebecca	Female					46	1854				
LeCount	Richard	Male										
LeCount/LaCounts	Richard	Male							0	1910		
LeCount/LaCount	Richard	Male									8	1912
LeCount	Rosa	Female										
LeCount/Lacont	Singleton	Male					14	1886			35	1885
LeCount/Lacont	Victoria	Female					19	1881				
LeCount	Willie	Male					23	1877				
Shaw	Ann	Female			22	1858						
Shaw	Annie	Female							31	1879	40	1880
Shaw	Belle	Female										
Shaw	Bertha/Elbertha	Female							0	1910	10	1910
Shaw	Christoph	Male	35	1835								
Shaw	Donnie	Male							11	1899	21	1899
Shaw	Donnie	Male										

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Shaw	Douglas (Jimbo)	Male							3	1907	12	1908
Shaw	Edward	Male	9	1861								
Shaw	Eliza	Female							8	1902	19	1901
Shaw	Evelyn	Female										
Shaw/Shan	Florence	Female					29	1871			50	1870
Shaw	Frank	Male										
Shaw	Freddie/Fred	Male									8	1912
Shaw	Henry	Male										
Shaw	Henry	Male										
Shaw	Henry	Male							30	1880	55	1865
Shaw/Shan	Henry	Male					9	1891			28	1892
Shaw	Henry	Male							5	1905	17	1903
Shaw	Ida	Female					8	1892				
Shaw	James	Male									2	1918
Shaw	Jane	Female	5	1865								
Shaw	Janie	Female							2	1908	12	1908
Shaw	John	Male										
Shaw	Lee	Male										
Shaw	Liza	Female										
Shaw	Mary	Female										
Shaw	Mary	Female	2	1868								
Shaw	Mary Ann	Female	32	1838								
Shaw	Mary F.	Female										
Shaw	Mary Lee	Female										
Shaw	Nancy	Female										
Shaw	Nancy	Female			9	1871						
Shaw	Richard	Male							9	1901	18	1902
Shaw	Robert	Male	6	1864								
Singleton	Abram	Male			7	1873						
Singleton	Anniebell	Female									5	1915
Singleton	Bula	Female					13	1887				
Singleton	Cormiller	Female									23	1897

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Singleton	Elizabeth	Female										
Singleton	Elsy	Female			11	1869						
Singleton	Emma	Female									1	1919
Singleton	Jimmy	Male			4	1876						
Singleton	John	Male									24	1896
Singleton	John	Male									7	1913
Singleton	M.L.	Female			13	1867						
Singleton	Mary Butler	Female										
Singleton	Mary Elizabeth	Female	0	1870								
Singleton	Richard	Male	30	1840								
Singleton	Richmond	Male			40	1840						
Singleton	Robert	Male			38	1842						
Singleton	Rosa	Female									3	1917
Singleton	Sara	Female			2	1878						
Singleton	Sarah	Female	23	1847								
Singleton	Venus	Female			30	1850	49	1851				
West	Abram	Male			45	1835	64	1836	74	1836		
West	Adeline	Female			2	1878						
West	Alex	Male			12	1868	20	1880				
West	Alexander	Male					23	1877				
West	Allurtha	Female										
West	Ann	Female	20	1850								
West	Beccy/Diecy (Becky)	Female					24	1876				
West	Ben Carter	Male										
West	Betsie	Female							54	1856		
West	Betsy	Female					51	1849				
West	Carrie	Female					7	1893				
West	Catherine/Kate	Female					35	1865	50	1860		
West	Cecile Gibson	Female					2	1902				
West	Delia	Female					33	1867				
West	Emma	Female					6	1894				
West	Ethel J.	Female					5	1895				

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Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
West	Eva	Female							22	1888		
West	Eve/Eva	Female	50	1820	50	1830						
West	Ezekiel	Male										
West	Fannie	Female					38	1862				
West	Fanny	Female	0	1870								
West	Francis	Male	22	1848								
West	Frank	Male										
West	George D.	Male					3	1897				
West	Handy	Male			5	1875						
West	Hattie	Female					25	1875				
West	Hattie Mary	Female										
West	Henry	Male					31	1869				
West	Henry	Male					28	1872				
West	Ida	Female					13	1887				
West	James S.	Male					3	1897				
West	Jeanie	Female			18	1862						
West	Jimmy	Male					14	1886				
West	Joe Lewis	Male										
West	John	Male			21	1859						
West	John Gibson	Male					10	1890				
West	Joseph	Male					36	1864				
West	Joseph	Male			3	1877						
West	Kate	Female							50	1860		
West	Kitty	Female			25	1855						
West	Lela	Female	1	1869								
West	Lena	Female					22	1878				
West	Lilly	Female					18	1882				
West	Linder	Male	16	1854								
West	Lizzie	Female			20	1860						
West	Mack	Male	49	1821	50	1830	76	1824				
West	Mamie	Female					3	1897				
West	Marrie	Female							3	1907		

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Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

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Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
West	Mary	Female					9	1891				
West	Mary	Female			1	1879						
West	Mary J.	Female										
West	Mary L.	Female			13	1867			42	1868		
West	May Belle	Female					20	1880				
West	Mazie	Female			17	1863						
West	McKinley	Male					4	1896	13	1897		
West	Miley	Female			18	1862						
West	Mollie	Female					38	1862				
West	Monday	Male			25	1855					60	1860
West	Monday	Male							40	1870		
West	Monday	Male	18	1852			48	1852				
West	Moses	Male							30	1880		
West	Mosses	Male					13	1887				
West	Neta	Female					20	1880				
West	Primus	Male	9	1861	21	1859	43	1857	55	1855		
West	Primus	Male			1	1879						
West	Prophet	Male			23	1857						
West	Rebecca	Female	24	1846	35	1845	69	1831	70	1840		
West	Rebecca G.	Male					16	1884	24	1886		
West	Rebeker	Female							24	1886		
West	Richard	Male					13	1887				
West	Robert	Male			3	1877						
West	Samuel	Male			2	1878						
West	Sarah	Female										
West	Sarah	Female									53	1867
West	Sarah	Female					7	1893	18	1892		
West	Silvy	Female					30	1870				
West	Sophie/Sophel	Female									30	1890
West	Stella B.	Female					8	1892				
West	Stephen	Male	50	1820	60	1820						
West	Susan	Female					36	1864				

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Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
West	Susan	Female			55	1825						
West	Sylvia	Female					34	1866				
West	Tena	Female					20	1880				
West	Thomas	Male			14	1866						
West	Thomas	Male			12	1868						
West	Tina/Tenah	Female	3	1867	16	1864						
West	Underwood	Male										
West	Veneta	Female							27	1883		
West	William	Male					31	1869				
West	William	Male					5	1895				
West	Willie	Male					9	1891				
Wilson	A.R.	Male			27	1853						
Wilson	Abram	Male										
Wilson	Adam	Male			3	1877						
Wilson	Adeline	Female					15	1885				
Wilson	Albert	Male			7	1873						
Wilson	Amelia	Female			2	1878						
Wilson	Amy	Female			7	1873						
Wilson	Ann E.	Female	14	1856								
Wilson	Anna	Female			21	1859						
Wilson	Annah	Female					23	1877				
Wilson	Anny	Female	1	1869								
Wilson	Anthony	Male					27	1873	41	1869		
Wilson	B.J.	Male										
Wilson	Belia	Female			8	1872						
Wilson	Benjamin	Male							25	1885		
Wilson	Bernard	Male							8	1902		
Wilson	Bessie	Female							11	1899	15	1905
Wilson	Betsey	Female	87	1783								
Wilson	Betsy	Female					18	1882				
Wilson	Betty	Female	33	1837	42	1838						
Wilson	Billy	Male			50	1830						

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Wilson	Bralin	Male			23	1857						
Wilson	C.H.	Male			30	1850						
Wilson	Caroline	Female			4	1876						
Wilson	Cato	Male	37	1833	45	1835						
Wilson	Cato	Male			12	1868						
Wilson	Cato	Male	0	1870	10	1870						
Wilson	Charles	Male			45	1835	65	1835				
Wilson	Clara	Female										
Wilson	Clara	Female										
Wilson	Crawford	Male	9	1861	18	1862						
Wilson	Crueline	Female	3	1867								
Wilson	Easter	Female									81	1839
Wilson	Edward	Male			9	1871						
Wilson	Edward Baker	Male										
Wilson	Ellen	Female					25	1875	40	1870	50	1870
Wilson	Eloise	Female										
Wilson	Emmaline	Female			13	1867						
Wilson	Eve	Female			3	1877						
Wilson	F.G.	Male			8	1872						
Wilson	Fargus/Fergus	Male	2	1868	11	1869						
Wilson	Flora	Female			8	1872						
Wilson	Fuller	Male					53	1847				
Wilson	Furgus/Fergust	Male	4	1866	13	1867						
Wilson	George	Male	7	1863								
Wilson	Georgia	Female			2	1878						
Wilson	H.L.	Male			38	1842						
Wilson	Haclis	Male			7	1873						
Wilson	Hagar	Male	0	1870								
Wilson	Hamit	Male					15	1885				
Wilson	Harrington	Male			16	1864						
Wilson	Hercules	Male	27	1843	37	1843	49	1851	70	1840		
Wilson	Hester	Female					29	1871	41	1869		

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	**First**	**Sex**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**
Wilson	Hester	Female					50	1850				
Wilson	Hurculese	Male					18	1882				
Wilson	Infant (Unnamed)	Female			1	1879						
Wilson	Infant (Unnamed)	Male	0	1870								
Wilson	Ishmael	Male					10	1890				
Wilson	Israel	Male			75	1805						
Wilson	James	Male					15	1885				
Wilson	James	Male			7	1873						
Wilson	Jane	Female			1	1879						
Wilson	Janie	Female							6	1904		
Wilson	Janie	Female					26	1874				
Wilson	Jeffrey	Male			0	1880						
Wilson	Jennie	Female			18	1862						
Wilson	Joe	Male					65	1835				
Wilson	John	Male					5	1895				
Wilson	John	Male	18	1852	30	1850						
Wilson	John	Male			1	1879						
Wilson	Joseph	Male			10	1870						
Wilson	Joseph	Male			4	1876						
Wilson	Julia	Female							23	1887		
Wilson	June	Female			21	1859						
Wilson	Juno	Female	7	1863								
Wilson	Justice	Male			4	1876						
Wilson	Laranda	Female			0	1880						
Wilson	Leah	Female			34	1846	45	1855	69	1841	71	1849
Wilson	Leah	Female	2	1868								
Wilson	Lena	Female					18	1882				
Wilson	Lettie	Female					8	1892				
Wilson	Lucretia	Female	2	1868								
Wilson	Mary	Female			21	1859			51	1859		
Wilson	Mary	Female			8	1872	29	1871			48	1872
Wilson	Mary	Female							16	1894		

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	First	Sex	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year	Age	Birth Year
Wilson	Mary	Female							9	1901		
Wilson	Mary	Female					47	1853				
Wilson	Mary	Female					24	1876				
Wilson	Mary	Female					16	1884				
Wilson	Mary	Female			55	1825						
Wilson	Mary	Female			20	1860						
Wilson	Mary E.	Female										
Wilson	Matilda	Female					35	1865				
Wilson	Mildred	Female										
Wilson	Molly	Female			35	1845						
Wilson	Nellie	Female			20	1860						
Wilson	Pheby	Female			35	1845						
Wilson	Phillis	Female	50	1820								
Wilson	Poldo	Male					15	1885				
Wilson	Rebecca	Female			5	1875	24	1876				
Wilson	Rena/Renar/Rona	Female							23	1887	42	1878
Wilson	Richard	Male					4	1896	13	1897		
Wilson	Richard	Male	11	1859			45	1855				
Wilson	Richard	Male	56	1814								
Wilson	Robert	Male					0	1900				
Wilson	Rose	Female			5	1875	21	1879				
Wilson	Rufus	Male							12	1898		
Wilson	Sadie	Female							2	1908		
Wilson	Sallie	Female					19	1881				
Wilson	Sally	Female										
Wilson	Sally	Female	25	1845								
Wilson	Sam	Male			18	1862						
Wilson	Samuel	Male							36	1874		
Wilson	Sarah	Female					23	1877				
Wilson	Sarah/Sarah J.	Female	16	1854	30	1850						
Wilson	Shedrick	Male			6	1874						
Wilson	Silas	Male			26	1854	49	1851				

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

			1870 Census		1880 Census		1900 Census		1910 Census		1920 Census	
Surname	**First**	**Sex**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**
Wilson	Silas	Male					20	1880				
Wilson	Silas/Silva	Male							45	1865		
Wilson	Simon	Male			5	1875						
Wilson	Susin	Female			5	1875						
Wilson	Sylvia	Female	5	1865								
Wilson	Titus	Male	4	1866								
Wilson	Venus	Female					10	1890				
Wilson	Venus	Female			10	1870						
Wilson	Victoria	Female			45	1835	57	1843				
Wilson	Virginia	Female					18	1882				
Wilson	William	Male					13	1887				
Wilson	Willie	Male			4	1876						
Wilson	Willie N.	Male										
Wilson	Wilnotha	Female										
Wilson	Zach/Zack	Male	32	1838	35	1845						
Waldburg/Walburg	Anna	Female							18	1892		
Waldburg/Walburg	Christena	Female					9	1891				
Waldburg/Walburg	Elizabeth/Lizzie	Female					25	1875		No Age Listed		
Waldburg/Walburg	Lucretia	Female					33	1867				
Waldburg/Walburg	Molly/Mellie	Female					10	1890	20	1890		
Waldburg/Walberg	Patience	Female									65	1855
Waldburg/Walburg/ Warberg/Walberg	Singleton	Male					33	1867		No Age Listed		
Waldburg/Walburg	Willie	Male					10	1890				

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Butler	Annabel					GMD 271	Daughter of Morris Butler
Butler	Austin	50	1880			Darien	Widower
Butler	Austin					Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Sarah Butler
Butler	Austin, Jr.					GMD 271	Son of Austin Butler
Butler	Barney					Darien	No Listing
Butler	Be/Rebecca					Darien	Widow
Butler	Becky					Darien	No Listing
Butler	Belia			12	1928	Darien	Daughter of Christina Butler
Butler	Benjamin					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler	Bessie			15	1925	Darien	Daughter of Christina Butler
Butler	Bessie			5	1935	Darien	Daughter of Dorothy Butler
Butler	Carl						
Butler	Catherine					Darien	Daughter of Cinder Pinkney
Butler/Rutter	Catherine					GMD 271	Daughter of Lucinda Butler
Butler/Buttler	Christina					GMD 271	Daughter of Derill Butler
Butler	Christopher					GMD 271	Son of Israel Butler
Butler	Cooper					Darien	Nephew of John Campbell
Butler	Cristena/Christina			45	1895	Darien	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler	Daniel					GMD 271	Husband of Rena Butler
Butler	Daniel					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler/Buttler	Dave/Davie					GMD 271	Son of Derill Butler
Butler/Rutter	David					GMD 271	Son of Lucinda Butler
Butler	Dayo/Days Edward	17	1913			Darien	Adopted Son of Elizabeth Saunders
Butler/Buttler/Bettler	Derill [Isreal]					GMD 271	Husband of Rea Butler
Butler	Dorothy			26	1914	Darien	Daughter of William Young
Butler	Edward					Darien	Husband of Patience Butler
Butler	Eleanor					GMD 271	Daughter of Esie Wright
Butler	Elester	16	1914			Darien	No Listing
Butler	Eliza					Darien	Daughter of Austin Butler
Butler	Ernest			4	1936	Darien	Son of Christina Butler
Butler	Fannie			21	1919	Darien	Cousin of Fannie Butler
Butler	Fibby					Darien	Daughter of Israel Butler

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Butler/Buster	Frances					Darien	No Listing
Butler	Harold			16	1924	Darien	Son of Israel Butler
Butler	Harry					Darien	Son of Edward Butler
Butler/Buttler	Hattie					GMD 271	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler	Hector					Darien	Husband of Mary Butler
Butler/Buttler	Isirel [Israel]					GMD 271	Son of Derill Butler
Butler	Israel			45	1895	Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Rosalee Butler
Butler	Israel/Nial					Darien	Son of Israel Butler
Butler	Israel/Nil					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler/Rutter	James					GMD 271	Son of Lucinda Butler
Butler/Buster	Janie					Darien	Daughter of Francis Butler
Butler	Janie					GMD 271	Daughter of Lucinda Butler
Butler/Batten	Jasper					Darien	Husband of Tena Butler
Butler/Buster	Jenever					Darien	Daughter of Francis Butler
Butler/Batten	John					Darien	Son of Jasper Butler
Butler	Joseph					GMD 271	Son of Austin Butler
Butler	Joseph(ina?)			16	1924	Darien	Daughter of Christina Butler
Butler	Laura					GMD 271	Wife of Morris Butler
Butler	Lena					GMD 271	Daughter of Isador Thorpe
Butler	Leusia					Darien	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler/Buttler	Levi					GMD 271	Son of Derill Butler
Butler/Buttler	Lewis/Louis					Darien	Son of Israel Butler
Butler	Lizzie					GMD 271	Wife of Morris Butler
Butler/Buttler	Louisa					GMD 271	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler/Rutter	Lucinda					Darien	Widow
Butler	Lucious					GMD 271	Son of Israel Butler
Butler	Lucy					GMD 271	Daughter of Morris Butler
Butler/Buttler	Ludwick					GMD 271	Son of Derill Butler
Butler/Batten	Mack					Darien	Son of Jasper Butler
Butler	Malcolm					Darien	
Butler	Marcus					Darien	Son of Becky Butler

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Butler	Maria			69	1871	Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Israel Butler
Butler/Buttler	Mary					GMD 271	Daughter of Derill Butler
Butler	Mary					Darien	Wife of Hector Butler
Butler	Mary/Mary L.					GMD 271	Daughter of Austin Butler
Butler	Mary/Mary L.					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler	May					GMD 271	Granddaughter of Lizzie Sanders
Butler	Morris			21	1919	Darien, GMD 271	Son of Morris Butler
Butler	Morris					GMD 271	Husband of Laura Butler
Butler	Morris					Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Phoebe Butler
Butler	Morris					Darien	Son of Israel Butler
Butler/Batten	Ned					Darien	Son of Jasper Butler
Butler	Ora Mae	15	1915			Darien	Daughter of Peggie Butler
Butler	Patience					Darien	Wife of Edward Butler
Butler	Peggy	30	1900			Darien	Widow
Butler	Peter					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler	Phillis					GMD 271	No Listing
Butler/Buttler	Phoebe					GMD 271	Daughter of Derill Butler
Butler	Phoebe					Darien	Wife of Morris Butler
Butler	Randolph			19	1921	Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler/Buttler	Rea					GMD 271	Wife of Derill Butler
Butler	Rebecca					GMD 271	Daughter of Morris Butler
Butler/Rutter	Rebecca					GMD 271	Daughter of Lucinda Butler
Butler	Rena					GMD 271	Wife of Daniel Butler
Butler	Rosalee			44	1896	GMD 271	Wife of Israel Butler
Butler	Rosena					Darien	Daughter of Austin Butler
Butler	Samuel					GMD 271	Son of Austin Butler
Butler	Samuel					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Butler	Sarah					GMD 271	Wife of Austin Butler
Butler	Singleton			8	1932	Darien	Son of Christina Butler
Butler/Buttler	Susan/Susie					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Israel Butler
Butler/Batten	Tama					Darien	Daughter of Jasper Butler
Butler/Batten	Tena					Darien	Wife of Jasper Butler

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Butler	Tyra					GMD 271	Daughter of Morris Butler
Butler	William					Darien	Son of Morris Butler
Frazier	Alaxanda					GMD 271	Son of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Bende					GMD 271	Wife of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Bina					Darien	Daughter of Sana Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Charles					Darien	Not Listed
Frazier/Fraser	Clara					Darien	Daughter of Gib Carter
Frazier/Frasier	Clara					GMD 271	Wife of Samuel Frazier
Frazier	Cloe					Darien	Sister of Sam Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Dafne					Darien	Daughter of Sana Frazier
Frazier	Diana					Darien	Daughter of Jacob Frazier
Frazier	Emily/Emily Green	20	1910			Darien	Daughter of Jasper Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Eve					Darien	Daughter of Mollie Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Hagan/Hager					Darien	Wife of Sana Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Henry					Darien	Grandson of John Solomon
Frazier/Frazer	Ida					Darien	Daughter of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Infant (Unnamed)					GMD 271	Son of Samuel Frazier
Frazier	Jacob					Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Rose Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	James					Darien	Son of Hagan Frazier
Frazier	James					Darien	Son of Jacob Frazier
Frazier	Jasper	46	1884			Darien	Husband of Mary J. Frazier
Frazier	John					Darien	Son of Jacob Frazier
Frazier	Lasanda					GMD 271	Wife of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Lavinia/Lovanger/ Lavande/Lasanda					Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Lewis					Darien	Son of Hagan Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Margret					Darien	Not Listed
Frazier	Mary					GMD 271	Daughter of Samuel Frazier
Frazier	Mary J.	50	1880			Darien	Wife of Jasper Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Mary J.					Darien	Daughter of Samuel Frazier
Frazier	Mary Jane					Darien	Daughter of Mollie Frazier
Frazier/Fragler	Matilda					GMD 271	Wife of William Frazier

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Frazier	Mayzey					GMD 271	Daughter of William Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Mollie					Darien	Not Listed
Frazier/Fraser	Nancy					Darien	Daughter of Clara Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Peggy					Darien	Daughter of Sana Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Rose					Darien	Widow
Frazier	Rose					Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Jacob Frazier
Frazier	Sam					Darien	Brother of Cloe Frazier
Frazier/Frasier	Samuel	41	1889			GMD 271	Husband of Clara Frazier
Frazier/Fraser/Frazer	Samuel					GMD 271	Husban of Lavinia Frazier
Frazier	Samuel					GMD 271	Husband of Lasanda Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Samuel					GMD 271	Husband of Bende Frazier
Frazier/Frazer	Sana					Darien	Husband of Hager Frazier
Frazier	William					GMD 271	Husband of Matilda Frazier
Frazier/Frasir	William					Darien	Husband of Susin Williams
Frazier/Fraser	William					GMD 271	Son of Samuel Frazier
Frazier/Fraser	Willie					Darien	Son of Clara Frazier
Howard	Albert					Darien	No Listing
Howard	Edgar					Darien	Son of Ida Howard
Howard	Edward E.					Darien	Husband of Eliza Howard
Howard	Eliza J.					Darien	Wife of Edward Howard
Howard	Elizabeth					Darien	Daughter of Ida Howard
Howard	Ellen					Darien	No Listing
Howard	Elsie					Darien	Wife of Porter Howard
Howard	Georgia					Darien	Daughter of Henry Howard
Howard	Ida					Darien	Daughter of Jeff Lotson
Howard	Marion					Darien	Graddaughter of Lydie Broughton
Howard	Moses					Darien	Son of Porter Howard
Howard	Mosses					Darien	Son of Ida Howard
Howard	Porter					Darien	Husband of Elsie Howard
Howard	Ruth Lee Carter						
Howard	Sarah					Darien	Daughter of Ida Howard
LeCount	Bradl[e]y					Darien	Grandson of Charity Pinkney

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
LeCount	Christopher	Male				GMD 271	Grandson of Derill Bettler
LeCount/LaCount/Lacounts	Crawford	Male				GMD 271	Grandson of Derill Bettler
LeCount/LaCount	Crawford					GMD 271	Son of Singleton LeCount
LeCount	Freeman	Male				GMD 271	Son of Singleton LeCount
LeCount/Laconte	Isaac	Male				GMD 271	Son of Singleton LeCount
LeCount/LaCounts	Lewis	Male				GMD 271	Grandson of Derill Bettler
LeCount/Lecont	Lewis	Male				GMD 271	Husband of Rebecca Lecont
LeCount/Laconte	Linder	Male				GMD 271	Son of Singleton LeCount
LeCount	Louise	Female	1913			Darien	Wife of Richard Lacount
LeCount	Lucinda	Female		4	1936	Darien	Daughter of Nathan LeCount
LeCount/LaCount	Maria	Female				GMD 271	Daughter of Singleton LeCount
LeCount	Mary	Female	1880			Darien	Wife of Richard LeCount
LeCount/LaCount	Mary	Female				GMD 271	Daughter of Singleton LeCount
LeCount/Lecomit	Napoleon	Male				Darien	Grandson of Charity Pinkney
LeCount/Lacont	Nathan	Male	1892	46	1894	Darien	Son of Lewis Lecont
LeCount	Nellie	Female	1924			Darien	Daughter of Nathan LeCount
LeCount	Rebecca	Female	1926			Darien	Daughter of Nathan LeCount
LeCount/Lecont	Rebecca	Female				GMD 271	Wife of Lewis Lecont
LeCount	Richard	Male	1875			Darien	Husband of Mary LeCount
LeCount/LaCounts	Richard	Male	1909			GMD 271	Wife of Louise LeCount
LeCount/LaCount	Richard	Male				GMD 271	Son of Singleton LeCount
LeCount	Rosa	Female	1907	38	1902	Darien	Wife of Nathan LaCount
LeCount/Lacont	Singleton	Male				GMD 271	Son of Lewis Lecont
LeCount/Lacont	Victoria	Female				GMD 271	Daughter of Lewis Lecont
LeCount	Willie	Male				Darien	No Listing
Shaw	Ann					Darien	No Listing
Shaw	Annie	49	1881	65	1875	Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Belle			27	1913	Darien	Wife of Douglas Shaw
Shaw	Bertha/Elbertha					GMD 271	Daughter of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Christoph					GMD 271	Husband of Mary Ann Shaw
Shaw	Donnie			41	1899	GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Donnie			0	1940	Darien	Son of Donnie Shaw

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Shaw	Douglas (Jimbo)			29	1911	Darien, GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Edward					GMD 271	Son of Christoph Shaw
Shaw	Eliza					GMD 271	Daughter of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Evelyn			7	1933	Darien	Daughter of Evelyn Shaw
Shaw/Shan	Florence	53	1877	72	1868	Darien	Mother of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Frank			14	1926	Darien	No Listing
Shaw	Freddie/Fred	18	1912	28	1912	Darien, GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Henry			70	1870	Darien	No Listing
Shaw	Henry			6	1934	Darien	Son of Donnie Shaw
Shaw	Henry	52	1878			Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Annie Shaw
Shaw/Shan	Henry	36	1894			Darien	Son of Forence Shaw
Shaw	Henry					GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Ida					Darien	Granddaughter of Jinnie McGregor
Shaw	James					GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Jane					GMD 271	Daughter of Christoph Shaw
Shaw	Janie					GMD 271	Daughter of Henry Shaw
Shaw	John			12	1928	Darien	Son of Douglas Shaw
Shaw	Lee			12	1928	Darien	Son of Donnie Shaw
Shaw	Liza			34	1906	Darien	Wife of Donnie Shaw
Shaw	Mary			8	1932	Darien	Daughter of Donnie Shaw
Shaw	Mary					GMD 271	Daughter of Christoph Shaw
Shaw	Mary Ann					GMD 271	Wife of Christoph Shaw
Shaw	Mary F.			12	1928	Darien	Daughter of Freddie Shaw
Shaw	Mary Lee			11	1929	Darien	Daughter of Douglas Shaw
Shaw	Nancy			4	1936	Darien	Daughter of Donnie Shaw
Shaw	Nancy					Darien	Daughter of Judy Miller
Shaw	Richard					GMD 271	Son of Henry Shaw
Shaw	Robert					GMD 271	Son of Christoph Shaw
Singleton	Abram					Darien	Son of Richmond Singleton
Singleton	Anniebell					Darien	Daughter of John Singleton
Singleton	Bula					Darien	Daughter of Venus Singleton
Singleton	Cormiller					Darien	Wife of John Singleton

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Singleton	Elizabeth			26	1914	Darien	Niece of Dora Alexander
Singleton	Elsy					Darien	Niece of Phyllis Johnson
Singleton	Emma					Darien	Daughter of John Singleton
Singleton	Jimmy					Darien	Son of Richmond Singleton
Singleton	John					Darien	Husband of Cormiller Singleton
Singleton	John					Darien	Son of John Singleton
Singleton	M.L.					Darien	Daughter of Richmond Singleton
Singleton	Mary Butler						
Singleton	Mary Elizabeth					Darien	Daughter of Richard Singleton
Singleton	Richard					Darien	Husband of Sarah Singleton
Singleton	Richmond					Darien	Husband of Venus Singleton
Singleton	Robert					Darien	No Listing
Singleton	Rosa					Darien	Daughter of John Singleton
Singleton	Sara					Darien	Daughter of Richmond Singleton
Singleton	Sarah					Darien	Wife of Richard Singleton
Singleton	Venus					Darien	Wife of Richmond Singleton
West	Abram					Darien	Husband of Susan West
West	Adeline					Darien	Daughter of John West
West	Alex					Darien	Son of Monday West
West	Alexander					Darien	Husband of Delia West
West	Allurtha				1917	Darien	Daughter of Phoebe Campbell
West	Ann					Darien	Wife of Francis West
West	Beccy/Diecy (Becky)					Darien	No Listing
West	Ben Carter				1935	Darien	Ward of Phoebe Campbell
West	Betsie					GMD 271	Widow
West	Betsy					Darien	Widow
West	Carrie					Darien	Daughter of Alexander West
West	Catherine/Kate					Darien	Wife of Monday West
West	Cecile Gibson					Darien	Daughter of Delia West
West	Delia					Darien	Wife of Alexander West
West	Emma					Darien	Daughter of Alexander West
West	Ethel J.					Darien	Daughter of Joseph West

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
West	Eva					GMD 271	Daughter of Julia Campbell
West	Eve/Eva					GMD 271	Wife of Stephen West
West	Ezekiel				1937	Darien	Ward of Phoebe Campbell
West	Fannie					Darien	Widow
West	Fanny					Darien	Daughter of Francis West
West	Francis					Darien	Husband of Ann West
West	Frank				1939	Darien	Son of Phoebe Campbell
West	George D.					Darien	Son of Primus West
West	Handy					Darien	Son of Mack West
West	Hattie					Darien	No Listing
West	Hattie Mary				1933	Darien	Ward of Phoebe Campbell
West	Henry					Darien	Husband of Silvy West
West	Henry					Darien	No Listing
West	Ida					Darien	Daughter of Mack West
West	James S.					Darien	Son of Joseph West
West	Jeanie					Darien	Wife of Primus West
West	Jimmy					Darien	Son of Mollie West
West	Joe Lewis				1936	Darien	Ward of Phoebe Campbell
West	John					Darien	Husband of Miley West
West	John Gibson					Darien	Son of Delia West
West	Joseph					Darien	Husband of Sylvia West
West	Joseph					Darien	Son of Mack West
West	Kate					GMD 271	Wife of Monday West
West	Kitty					Darien	Wife of Monday West
West	Lela					GMD 271	Daughter of Mack West
West	Lena					Darien	Daughter of Henry West
West	Lilly					Darien	Daughter of Delia West
West	Linder					GMD 271	Son of Stephen West
West	Lizzie					Darien	Wife of Prophet West
West	Mack					Darien	Husband of Rebecca West
West	Mamie					Darien	Daughter of Primus West
West	Marrie					GMD 271	Daughter of Moses West

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
West	Mary					Darien	Daughter of Primus West
West	Mary					Darien	Daughter of Mack West
West	Mary J.				1928	Darien	Daughter of Florine Jones
West	Mary L.					Darien	Daughter of Daphney Greenhorn
West	May Belle					Darien	Daughter of Delia West
West	Mazie					Darien	No Listing
West	McKinley					Darien	Son of Primus West
West	Miley					Darien	Daughter of John West
West	Mollie					Darien	No Listing
West	Monday					Darien	Husband of Kitty West
West	Monday					GMD 271	Husband of Kate West
West	Monday					GMD 271	Son of Stephen West
West	Moses					GMD 271	Husband f Rebecker West
West	Mosses					Darien	Son of Betsy West
West	Neta					Darien	Daughter of Betsy West
West	Primus					GMD 271	Son of Stephen West
West	Primus					Darien	Son of Primus West
West	Prophet					Darien	Husband of Lizzie West
West	Rebecca					Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Mack West
West	Rebecca G.					Darien	Daughter of Delia West
West	Rebeker					GMD 271	Wife of Moses West
West	Richard					Darien	Son of Hannah Campbell
West	Robert					Darien	Son of Primus West
West	Samuel					Darien	Son of Primus West
West	Sarah	51	1879	68	1872	Darien	Widow
West	Sarah					GMD 271	Wife of Monday West
West	Sarah					Darien	Daughter of Primus West
West	Silvy					Darien	Wife of Henry West
West	Sophie/Sophel					Darien	No Listing
West	Stella B.					Darien	Daughter of Joseph West
West	Stephen					GMD 271	Husband of Eva West
West	Susan					Darien	Wife of Primus West

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
West	Susan					Darien	Wife of Abram West
West	Sylvia					Darien	Wife of Joseph West
West	Tena					Darien	Daughter of Mollie West
West	Thomas					Darien	Nephew of Samuel Milton
West	Thomas					Darien	No Listing
West	Tina/Tenah					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Mack West
West	Underwood	18	1912			Darien	Son of Sarah West
West	Veneta					GMD 271	Daughter of Betsie West
West	William					Darien	Son of Henry West
West	William					Darien	Son of Alexander West
West	Willie					Darien	Son of Mollie West
Wilson	A.R.					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Abram			43	1897	Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Adam					Darien	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Adeline					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Albert					Darien	Son of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Amelia					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Amy					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Ann E.					GMD 271	Daughter of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Anna					Darien	Wife of Bralin Wilson
Wilson	Annah					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Anny					GMD 271	Daughter of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Anthony					GMD 271	No Listing
Wilson	B.J.			8	1932	Darien	Grandson of George Balite
Wilson	Belia					Darien	Daughter of John Wilson
Wilson	Benjamin					GMD 271	Husband of Julia Wilson
Wilson	Bernard					GMD 271	Son of Maggie Goose
Wilson	Bessie					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Ellen Wilson
Wilson	Betsey					GMD 271	Mother of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Betsy					Darien	Daughter of Mary Wilson
Wilson	Betty					Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Billy					Darien	Husband of Molly Wilson

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Wilson	Bralin					Darien	Husband of Anna Wilson
Wilson	C.H.					Darien	
Wilson	Caroline					Darien	Daughter of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Cato					Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Betty Wilson
Wilson	Cato					Darien	Son of Pheby Wilson
Wilson	Cato					Darien, GMD 271	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Charles					Darien	Husband of Victoria Wilson
Wilson	Clara			52	1888	Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Clara	35	1895			Darien	Wife of William Wilson
Wilson	Crawford					Darien, GMD 271	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Crueline					GMD 271	Daughter of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Easter					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Edward					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Edward Baker	33	1897			GMD 271	Son of Sallie Wilson
Wilson	Ellen					Darien, GMD 271	No Listing
Wilson	Eloise	5	1925			Darien	Daughter of William Wilson
Wilson	Emmaline					Darien	Daughter of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Eve					Darien	Daughter of Cato Wilson
Wilson	F.G.					Darien	Son of H.L. Wilson
Wilson	Fargus/Fergus					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Flora					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Fuller					Darien	Husband of Hester Wilson
Wilson	Furgus/Fergust					Darien	Son of Zack Wilson
Wilson	George					GMD 271	Son of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Georgia					Darien	Daughter of Bralin Wilson
Wilson	H.L.					Darien	Widower
Wilson	Haclis					Darien	Son of Pheby Wilson
Wilson	Hagar					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Hamit					Darien	Son of Charles Wilson
Wilson	Harrington					Darien	Son of Pheby Wilson
Wilson	Hercules					GMD 271	Husband of Leah Wilson
Wilson	Hester	50	1880			GMD 271	Wife of Silas Wilson

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Wilson	Hester					Darien	Wife of Fuller Wilson
Wilson	Hurculese					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Infant (Unnamed)					Darien	Daughter of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Infant (Unnamed)					Darien	Son of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Ishmael					Darien	Son of Fuller Wilson
Wilson	Israel					Darien	Husband of Mary Wilson
Wilson	James					Darien	Son of Silas Wilson
Wilson	James					Darien	Son of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Jane					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Janie					GMD 271	Daughter of Silva Wilson
Wilson	Janie					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Jeffrey					Darien	Son of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Jennie					Darien	Wife of Sam Wilson
Wilson	Joe					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	John					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	John					Darien, GMD 271	Son of Richard Wilson
Wilson	John					Darien	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Joseph					Darien	Son of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Joseph					Darien	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Julia					GMD 271	Wife of Benjamin Wilson
Wilson	June					Darien	Cousin of Levinia Harris
Wilson	Juno					GMD 271	Living with Daniel Cummings
Wilson	Justice					Darien	Son of June Wilson
Wilson	Laranda					Darien	Daughter of Bralin Wilson
Wilson	Leah					Darien	Wife of Hercules Wilson
Wilson	Leah					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Lena					Darien	Niece of Daniel Hopkins
Wilson	Lettie					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Lucretia					GMD 271	Daughter of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Mary	71	1859			Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Mary					Darien	Daughter of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Mary					GMD 271	Daughter of Ellen Wilson

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Wilson	Mary					GMD 271	Daughter of Silva Wilson
Wilson	Mary					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Mary					Darien	Mother of Robert Wilson
Wilson	Mary					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Mary					Darien	Wife of Israel Wilson
Wilson	Mary					Darien	Wife of John Wilson
Wilson	Mary E.			13	1927	Darien	Stepdaughter of Authur Dickenson
Wilson	Matilda					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Mildred	8	1922			GMD 271	Niece of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Molly					Darien	Husband of Billy Wilson
Wilson	Nellie					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Pheby					Darien	No Listing
Wilson	Phillis					GMD 271	Wife of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Poldo					Darien	Nephew of Daniel Hopkins
Wilson	Rebecca					Darien	Daughter of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Rena/Renar/Rona					GMD 271	Wife of Samuel Wilson
Wilson	Richard					GMD 271	Son of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Richard					Darien, GMD 271	Son of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Richard					GMD 271	Husband of Phillis Wilson
Wilson	Robert					Darien	Son of Mary Wilson
Wilson	Rose					Darien	Daughter of Hecules Wilson
Wilson	Rufus					GMD 271	Nephew of Solomore Leake
Wilson	Sadie					GMD 271	Daughter of Benjamin Wilson
Wilson	Sallie	50	1880			GMD 271	Niece of Daniel Hopkins
Wilson	Sally			73	1867	Darien	Mother of Edward Baker Wilson
Wilson	Sally					GMD 271	Wife of Zack Wilson
Wilson	Sam					Darien	Husband of Jennie Wilson
Wilson	Samuel					GMD 271	Husband of Rena Wilson
Wilson	Sarah					Darien	Sister of Mary Wilson
Wilson	Sarah/Sarah J.					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Shedrick					Darien	Son of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Silas					Darien	Husband of Mary Wilson

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

Dunwoody Cemetery
Potential Descendants Inventory

		1930 Census		1940 Census			
Surname	**First**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Age**	**Birth Year**	**Census District**	**Kinship**
Wilson	Silas					Darien	Son of Silas Wilson
Wilson	Silas/Silva	65	1865			GMD 271	Husband of Hester Wilson
Wilson	Simon					Darien	Son of Pheby Wilson
Wilson	Susin					Darien	Daughter of Nellie Wilson
Wilson	Sylvia					GMD 271	Daughter of Cato Wilson
Wilson	Titus					GMD 271	Son of Richard Wilson
Wilson	Venus					Darien	Daughter of Charles Wilson
Wilson	Venus					Darien	Daughter of John Wilson
Wilson	Victoria					Darien	Wife of Charles Wilson
Wilson	Virginia					Darien	Daughter of Fuller Wilson
Wilson	William	45	1885			Darien	Son of Charles Wilson
Wilson	Willie					Darien	Son of Pheby Wilson
Wilson	Willie N.	8	1922			Darien	Son of William Wilson
Wilson	Wilnotha			21	1919	Darien	Daughter of Clara Wilson
Wilson	Zach/Zack					Darien	Son of Betsey Wilson
Waldburg/Walburg	Anna					GMD 271	Daughter of Singleton Walberg
Waldburg/Walburg	Christena					Darien	Daughter of Singleton Walberg
Waldburg/Walburg	Elizabeth/Lizzie					Darien, GMD 271	Wife of Singleton Walberg
Waldburg/Walburg	Lucretia					Darien	No Listing
Waldburg/Walburg	Molly/Mellie					Darien, GMD 271	Daughter of Singleton Walberg
Waldburg/Walberg	Patience					Darien	Sister of Julia Collins
Waldburg/Walburg/ Warberg/Walberg	Singleton	60	1870			Darien, GMD 271	Husband of Elizabeth Waldburg
Waldburg/Walburg	Willie					Darien	Stepson of Cain Young

Shaded Cells = Descendants listed in Gladstone (2000b:111-113)

APPENDIX H: CONTACTS

Organizations:

Association for Gravestone Studies:
Greenfield Corporate Center
101 Munson Street - Suite 108
Greenfield, Massachusetts 01301
Tel: 413-772-0836
Email: info@gravestonestudies.org
Website: http://www.gravestonestudies.org/

City of Darien:
City Hall
106 Washington Street
Darien, Georgia 31305
Tel: 912-437-6686
Website: http://www.cityofdarienga.com/

Georgia Historic Preservation Division:
Georgia Department of Natural Resources
Historic Preservation Division
254 Washington Street, SW
Ground Level
Atlanta, Georgia 30334
Tel: 404-656-2840
Fax: 404-657-1368
Website: http://georgiashpo.org/

Georgia Municipal Cemetery Association:
Website: http://www.gmcaweb.org/

McIntosh SEED (Sustainable Environment & Economic Development):

210 Munro Street
Darien, Georgia 31305
Tel: 912-437-7821
Fax: 912-437-4271
Email: mcseed@darientel.net
Website: www.mcintoshseed.org/

John Littles, Executive Director
P.O. Box 2355
Darien, Georgia 31305
912-399-0698

johlit@darientel.net

National Center for Preservation Technology and Training (NCPTT):
National Center for Preservation Technology and Training
645 University Parkway
Natchitoches, Louisiana 71457
Tel: 318-356-7444
Fax: 318-356-9119
Website: http://ncptt.nps.gov/

The Stone Foundation:
116 Lovoto Lane
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87505
Tel: 505-989-4644
Email: tomas@stonefoundation.org
Website: http://www.stonefoundation.org/

University of Georgia Map Library:
320 South Jackson Street
Athens, GA 30602
Tel: 706-542-0621
Email: mapsinfo@uga.edu
Website*:* www.libs.uga.edu/maproom/

Research Facilities:

Enoch Pratt Free Library:
400 Cathedral Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201
Tel: 410-396-5430
Website*:* www.prattlibrary.org/

Find A Grave:
Website: http://www.findagrave.com/

Georgia Archives:
5800 Jonesboro Road
Morrow, Georgia 30260
Tel: 678-364-3700
Website: www.GeorgiaArchives.org

Vanishing Georgia (Digital Photographic Archive):
Website: http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/vanga/

Georgia Department of Transportation (Cemetery Investigations):
Avondale Burial Place:
Website: www.avondaleburialplace.org/

Georgia Historical Society:

Savannah Office:
501 Whitaker Street
Savannah, Georgia 31401
Tel: 912-651-2125
Fax: 912-651-2831
Toll Free 877-424-4789
Library & Archives: 912-651-2128

Atlanta Office:
260 14th Street, N.W., Suite A-148
Atlanta, Georgia 30318
Tel: 404-382-5410
Fax: 404-671-8570

Ida Hilton Public Library:
1105 Northway
P.O. Box 1227
Darien, Georgia 31305
Tel: 912-437-2124
Fax: 912-437-5113
Website: http://www.trrl.org/idahilton/index.htm

Library of Congress:

Thomas Jefferson Building
10 First Street, SE
Washington, DC 20540
Tel: 202-707-9779
Website: http://www.loc.gov/index.html

James Madison Memorial Building
101 Independence Avenue, SE
Washington, DC 20540

Lower Altamaha Historical Society:
1600 Wayne Street
Darien, Georgia 31305
Tel. 812-437-4770

P.O. Box 1405
Darien, Georgia 31305

Website: http://www.loweraltamahahistoricalsociety.org/

Making of America (Cornell University Library):
Website: http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/m/moa/

National Park Service:
National NAGPRA Home
Website: http://www.nps.gov/nagpra/

National Gullah/Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor
Website: www.nps.gov/guge/

National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA) Office of Coast Survey Historical Maps and Chart Collection:
Website: http://www.nauticalcharts.noaa.gov/csdl/ctp/abstract.htm

Products and Services

Arborist:
Mr. Hugh Tyer
P.O. Box 1657
Palmetto, Georgia 30268
Tel: 770-463-1550
Fax: 770-463-1550
Email: htyer@bellsouth.net

Archaeological Consulting (Remote Sensing, Field Surveys, Conditions Assessments):
New South Associates, Inc.
6150 East Ponce de Leon Avenue
Stone Mountain, Georgia 30083
Tel: 770-498-4155
Fax: 770-498-3809

DNA Analysis:
African Ancestry
5505 Connecticut Avenue NW, #297
Washington, DC 20015
Tel: 202-723-0900
Fax: 202-318-0742
Email: info@africanancestry.com
Website: http://www.africanancestry.com/

Funeral Arrangements:
Darien Funeral Home
Nathan Gilbert, Manager/Director
1000 C.A. DeVillars Road
Darien, Georgia 31305
Tel: 912-437-4123

Genealogical Services (Online):
Ancestry.com
Tel: 1-800-598-9095
Website: www.ancestry.com

Gravestone Repair:
Jonathan Appell
Tel: 860-558-2785
Website: http://www.gravestonepreservation.info/

Gravestone Repair Supplies:
Granite City Tool Company of Vermont
11 Blackwell Street, P.O. Box 411
Barre, Vermont 05641
Tel: 1-800-451-4570
Email: granitecitytoolco@myfairpoint.net
Website: http://www.granitecitytoolvt.com/

Gravestone Cleaning Products (D2):
Cathedral Stone Products, Inc.
7266 Park Circle Drive
Hanover, Maryland 21076
Maryland: 410.782.9150
Tel: 800.684.0901
Fax: 800.684.0904
Email: info@cathedralstone.com

Gullah Culture Interpreters:
Gullah/Geechee Cultural Heritage Corridor Commission (GA)

Griffin Lotson (Commissioner)
1109 Fort King George Drive
Darien. Georgia 31305
Tel: 912-571-9014
Email: griffinlotson@mindspring.com

City of Darien
P.O. Box 452
Darien. Georgia 31305
griffinlotson@gmail.com

McIntosh County Shouters (Master Artists of the Authentic Ring Shout)
Susan Durkes
2126 Georgia Highway 99
Townsend, Georgia 31331
Tel: 912-399-2466
Email: info@mcintoshcountyshouters.com
Website: www.mcintoshcountyshouters.com

Historian:
Buddy Sullivan
Sapelo Island National Estuarine Research Reserve
P.O. Box 15
Sapelo Island, Georgia 3127
Tel: 912-485-2251
Sapelo Island, Georgia 31327
Tel: 912-437-3224
Email: buddy@darientel.net

Historic Deed Research:
Faris Cadel, Inc.
5228 Augusta Road No. 8
Garden City, Georgia 31408
Tel: 912-398-5202
Fax: 912-965-9491
Email: fcadle@bellsouth.net

APPENDIX I: TRANSCRIPTS OF INFORMANT INTERVIEWS

Cornelia Bailey
Born: 1945 (Age 68)
Interview Location: Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: June 27, 2012

BEGIN PART 1 OF 2

GREG SMITH: This is Wednesday, June 27th. I'm with Ms. Cornelia Bailey on Sapelo Island. And Ms. Bailey if you could just tell us a little bit about yourself first, where you're from, your family, and any associations you have with the area cemeteries, etc.

CORNELIA BAILEY: My name is Cornelia Bailey. I live here on Sapelo. I was born on the north end of the island at a place called Belle Marsh on the northwest side of the island, moved in the present community of Hog Hammock in 1950 and lived off the island for a couple of years in the middle sixties, moved back home in '66. And my husband and I raised five kids lots of foster children, adopted a couple of kids, have sixteen grandchildren and about eight great-grandchildren. So we're involved in all kind of things in the community. We helped put the new fence around Behavior Cemetery, sort of look out for that and keep it locked. We also belong to various organization. My father is a member of the Farmer's Alliance. I am vice president of the McIntosh County Historic Preservation Committee as well so that just give you a little bit of the things that we do around here.

SMITH: And you were born here on the island, and what types of occupations have you had over the years?

BAILEY: Over the years I have worked for the State of Georgia as a tour guide, worked at the Marine Institute doing a little of all kinds of stuff. And mostly then after that I just became self-employed, had a gift shop at one time. We run the Wallow Lodge out there (unintelligible), and so just sort of semi-retired. And I'm a author of God, Dr. Buzzard, and the Bolito Man, a cookbook with two of my friends, Lowcountry cooking, and co-author Sapelo Voices with archeologist Dr. Ray Crook, (unintelligible) Dr. Ray Crook.

SMITH: So you've been busy?

BAILEY: I have been.

SMITH: Do you have any recollections or did your family pass down any first-hand observations about the old plantation system that was here before?

BAILEY: You always hear things when you was growing up, you know. And usually when you're growing up you listen to things. You listen to conversations between adults and you don't think it even apply to you or anything. And so what it is later on as you get older you're going, Oh so that's what they were talking about [laughs] so—because I grew up and they didn't never use the word plantation and so that was not there. And matter of fact, I grew up with them not even using the word slavery and um—and they would say when we was held in bondage but they wouldn't use the word slavery mostly so—and so a lot of the things that we did when we was little or what I've seen them done is things that I later read about in various history books and recollection and I'm saying, Wait a minute, so that's what they were doing and that's where it came from. Like for instance, give an example, I went to Africa—West Africa—went to visit this rice farm there and they planted rice. And there was birds there. And there was young mens there with slingshots, like the David and Goliath type slingshot. And they were swinging around and [makes noise] letting it go and that'll chase the birds off the rice. So I came back home and told my father. And he said, Well we used to do that when we was little the same exact way with the same kind of slingshot, just like that we used to run the birds

off the rice so [laughs] so it was identical to, you know, just talking about it with him because he lived to be 100 and so he so—and I asked him once about the ditches here. We've got a lot of ditches. You know, some people call them canals because of how deep it is or ditch or canal, you know, canal supposed to be dug a little deeper than a regular ditch. But anyhow I asked papa I said, Well how come there's two of them, one here and one—a smaller one not far from it? He said, That was the irrigation system they used to use in the days of old. And one—and the deeper one hold water longer and the shallow one right near it there's earthen dam. So you open that one and take water out the big one, run it through the little one into the field and reverse it. When it need to be reversed you also reverse it and take it out of the field and run it through and run it to the big one for holding. And so that was irrigation system. So that's how they irrigated the rice field and so forth. So you learn a whole lot of things just by asking questions and I asked a lot of questions. [laughter]

SMITH: So was there—is there evidence still of the main house that was here for the owner of the plantation?

BAILEY: That is—no—one of them. Down at Chocolate there's remnants of Chocolate but remnants of any of the houses here the slaveholder has like—well they built another one on the site of the Reynolds—where the Reynolds house, Reynolds mansion is now so that's where Thomas Spalding original house was there and so—and I always say archeologist would have a field day digging up [laughs] that yard there because that yard is nothing but fill and um some of my great-great ancestors—when Howard Coffin bought the island there he decided he was going to rebuild the mansion house using the basic plans of Thomas Spalding but he wanted a basement under it. So he had—so a lot of my relatives I learned actually dug by hand and wheelbarrow to put that basement there. And so all the material from under the basement is actually what was in that yard. So that's what come from under there and so it's filled up the yard so build the yard up as well. But yeah so you learn all kinds of stuff.

SMITH: Do you know how the living quarters for the enslaved people were laid out? Were they on streets or rows or clustered, just scattered about?

BAILEY: They were scattered about according to the fields. And so you had—like my father said his Uncle Nero was born there what now—what—the mansion there is now and—because he was born in that area. And so no doubt his parents was born in that area as slaves. But the thing about it is, you know, there was slave communities, Bush Camp Field as you go into (unintelligible). I know you saw the gas station yesterday. Well not too far from that is an open field called Bush Camp Field. And that was where the slave communities there that Ray uncovered and whatsoever and so and there—so there was—according to—I think according to what they planted and where the fields were that's where the community was. And a little further down the road at Hanging Bull there was another community there and so they're way up on the north end at Bourbon Field there was a group of settlements there. And so it was where people lived at according to what was being planted and where the need was and so that's where they were all over the place.

SMITH: Do you know if there were other quarters for servants that worked in the household itself? Did they have cabins like that do you know or did they have separate quarters?

BAILEY: They had separate quarters. And like I said with Uncle Nero there was—the cabin wasn't too far from where we call down on the South End. We got some serious houses that and so forth back in that area. So I figured they were the one that works in the house and near the house because they were closer to the house there and whatever so yeah.

SMITH: Do you know—had you heard anything about what types of agricultural buildings there were around the island, say barns or pens, livestock pens, or any specialized buildings related to the plantation?

BAILEY: No specialized one because see I was still trying to find out whether Thomas Spalding with all the people he had working for him how come there's never mention of a church and never mention of a infirmary or hospital or anything here on the island. And most big plantation had—they had a hospital, they had a church and whatsoever. And we know he was Protestant and so forth but—he went to church in Darien but you had hundreds of people you know and you didn't have a church. That was kind of unusual and I always wondered how come there is no mention of a hospital or anything also. So it had to have been one here someplace, so something is missing in the history that was written down, so yeah.

SMITH: What was the principal crop here and any secondary crops that might have been? Were they year-round or seasonal?

BAILEY: They had—the seasonal ones there was—especially the seasonal one were cotton, rice, indigo, and sugar cane. They were the cash crops. And then in between that naturally you had corn and peas and beans and other secondary crops as well, yeah. But the main crop was the one that they sell a lot and so those were the first four.

SMITH: And those were the ones that—the owner of the plantation reaped all the profits from that?

BAILEY: Oh of course he reaped all the profit from that yeah.

SMITH: And then did the people who worked there have their own small plots?

BAILEY: They had their small plots as well. They had their—and they planted what helped sustain them—the peas and beans and corn and other stuff and sweet potatoes and stuff like that also yeah, of course.

SMITH: And they hunted as well when they could?

BAILEY: They hunt, they fish, they gather clam and oysters and that kind of stuff like that. So living on the island also is one way to—that they were able to gather a lot of other stuff to sustain their diet.

SMITH: Um-hm.

BAILEY: Yeah but—yes.

SMITH: And did they—was that mainly for individual families or did they trade or exchange or get any income from that?

BAILEY: I guess they—no they didn't get money money. There was a lot of bartering going on I'm [laughs] pretty sure yeah. Because I grew up with people swapping thing—they call it swapping it out. They didn't use the word bartering but they swap things out, you know. Like if I had okra and you had peas and they would just swap. But you know I give you some what you got and vice versa, yeah so we did a lot of that.

SMITH: And the cotton that was year-round was it?

BAILEY: No. Because sometimes it can get kind of cold in the winter so you didn't—I call it semi-tropical. We didn't have tropical—[laughs] it wasn't total tropical here, no so—

SMITH: Okay. And as you said the crops or the fields were probably on different parts of the island and—

BAILEY: Different parts according to the lay of the land. Some things require lower areas and some things require higher ground so it depends on yeah what was being planted, you know. Some—the same place you plant sugar cane at you're definitely not going to plant cotton maybe or something. So it probably—different places for different things, yeah.

SMITH: Depending on the environment?

BAILEY: Um-hm.

SMITH: How was the island accessed?

BAILEY: By boat.

SMITH: Where was the landing? I know there's a landing here today. Is it the same location?

BAILEY: Yeah but they've mostly been on the North End. They didn't use the South End. What was so amazing they usually came around and went all the way around the island to the North End and came up on the island and then got in horse and wagon then come back up on the South End, you know. So yeah so they didn't have South End access that much. It was mostly the North End.

SMITH: And most of the roads were just designed to get the products from the fields up to the boat to get them off the island?

BAILEY: Yep.

SMITH: Okay. So you did hunt and fish. Do you know some types of fish or game that were popular or more available or—

BAILEY: Well there always was squirrels and rabbits—[laughs] squirrel, rabbit, raccoon, you know, those kind of things and always—all—the fish that are basically still here which is mullet and trout and bass and yellowtails and, you know, stuff like that so yeah.

SMITH: What did they use specifically for fishing? Let's see, I know they had a line and hook—

BAILEY: It was a cast net.

SMITH: Just—oh cast net?

BAILEY: Cast net, so mostly net.

SMITH: Was this off the shore or sometimes did you have—

BAILEY: Yeah—

SMITH: —a boat let's say? Did somebody have a—

BAILEY: Most people—most families had a rowboat so they went out, yeah.

SMITH: There's that French word was it—

BAILEY: Bateau.

SMITH: Bateau, that's right.

BAILEY: So we had a bateau.

SMITH: And then again that was personal use and you would trade with friends, neighbors and things?

BAILEY: Yeah. Yeah they would, yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And then what about plants and berries, fruits and things like that? What were—

BAILEY: There's all kinds of stuff we grew up with. You grew up with eating a lot of stuff, you know. When I used to do the tour for the State of Georgia people would—I would stop the bus at certain places and introduce them to things and I was always a guinea pig because I'd tell them I wouldn't let you chew or eat something that I myself have not eaten. I said, Unless you're highly allergic to something I said I would advise you not to but I said, These are just ordinary stuff that we grew up on. And so people have fun chewing on the root of the sawtooth patamada and tips of smilax vines and all that sort of stuff and so yeah.

SMITH: What was the first one you mentioned?

BAILEY: Sawtooth patamada.

SMITH: patamada?

BAILEY: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay. I had some of the Hercules' Club yesterday, the toothache plant.

BAILEY: Yeah toothache things, yeah. So there's a number of things and so we grew up with it and so that's—yeah.

SMITH: What were some of the plants that you used medicinally?

BAILEY: Besides the toothache—

SMITH: I'm sure there were a lot right?

BAILEY: —tree we had—yeah we had a lot of—everything from the beauty berry bush to the roots of the blackberry—root of the blackberry bush to Spanish moss to you name it so everything. You know, like they said God put everything here on earth for man to sustain himself and so there was a lot of it being used, yeah.

SMITH: Um-hm. Could you tell me specifically what each one of those was related to?

BAILEY: Uh they—the roots of the blackberry is for diarrhea. So if you had diarrhea you'd dig up the roots and clean it and boil it and make a tea out of it and it was good, you know, for that purpose. Beauty berry bush was for fever. Um you had—sassafras was blood cleanser and so forth and for measles if you happened to catch the measles and so yeah.

SMITH: And Spanish moss I seem to recall was for asthma.

BAILEY: Spanish moss for asthma.

SMITH: Okay.

BAILEY: Yeah.

SMITH: And then what kind of social events were practiced or enjoyed by people?

BAILEY: I don't know besides for not sitting around to see how many ways we could kill white folks we didn't have—[laughter] No we didn't—I don't know what—

SMITH: Like harvest festival or—

BAILEY: I don't know if they did that because Thomas Spalding supposed to have been a teetotaler and very strict about things according to history and so I don't think—and then a lot of my people were Muslims and so I don't think they did too much celebrating of—

SMITH: No?

BAILEY: Yeah, the happy-go-lucky type things, yeah.

SMITH: So there were just informal—

BAILEY: Yeah—

SMITH: —small get-togethers with friends?

BAILEY: Yeah just mostly and, you know, activities of that kind and that kind of stuff, celebrating the birth and that kind of stuff maybe and um—but not anything outrageous—until later in life, you know, and then they had things like after—when they became Christians and they had like hot supper night and that kind of stuff like that but yeah.

SMITH: Was there ever any travel off the island or people were pretty much here?

BAILEY: No, people traveled.

SMITH: Where did they go and for what reasons?

BAILEY: Because they have relatives on the mainland a lot and so they went to St. Simons, Brunswick, Savannah, Florida.

SMITH: How far back are we talking?

BAILEY: We're talking right after the Civil War. Not too long after the Civil War people—

SMITH: Oh—

BAILEY: —started traveling, yeah so—

SMITH: And they would—how would they do that? How would they get to and from?

BAILEY: By boat. [laughs]

SMITH: I mean their own boats or is there a ferry—

BAILEY: Either that or there was somebody that had a bigger one, you know, and some people had sailboat that go—(unintelligible) go on the early schooners they call it and they had to fuel and then it chug-chug along and—but they would get from here and go into Darien. Somebody would pick them up with a horse and wagon or sometime they rode all the way into Darien and then get transportation from Darien and go where they're going and whatsoever so yeah—or they go into Harris Neck area and go from there. So it depends, yes.

SMITH: Okay. Was there—do you know anything about musical instruments and people that might have played them and what they were and how they got hold of them?

BAILEY: I don't know. Harmonica and fiddle was—and preceded the guitar. When I grew up the guitar and the harmonica was still prevalent around here and they had—you know, they played the spoons and they played the comb and that kind of stuff. So they had different things that they did, yes.

SMITH: And so would they play those just for their own enjoyment? There weren't many gatherings you said so it wasn't like there would be a musical event.

BAILEY: Well when—the time when I was coming up my parents—then things were a little bit, you know, a little bit less stringent yeah, so—

SMITH: Were there other things that people did in their time that they had for let's say recreation?

BAILEY: There wasn't too much recreation going on. So everybody was always working as you know and either trying to make a living putting up with some kind of hardship or whatever and so forth. So there wasn't—unless some occasion like somebody having a wedding or something that, you know, yeah.

SMITH: What about the children? What kind of games would they—certainly they—

BAILEY: Oh the kids had fun. They'd just make up anything. [laughs] They played anything they can think about and make up and so kids made up their own games and fun and um so imaginary—kids was—they had great imagination and so it did everything from imitating adults to you name it so yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And were there important times of the year, seasonal things that you marked with any traditions?

BAILEY: The biggest time of the year that people marked with traditions would be celebrating the church anniversary and that was a big time for people because every year was a milestone and so they would have lots of cooking and lots of things going on and sometime and, you know, and people would come to visit, come home and that sort of stuff so it became a very friendly time full of fun and so forth, yeah and family gathering. Funeral was another—a funeral was sad in the moment the minister was speaking and after that—people celebrated the dead after that, you know, because—and so they didn't sit around with a long face too long yeah after that so—

SMITH: I've always thought that would be a good way to go is to have people remember you fondly.

BAILEY: Yeah. People sit around then and eat, drink, and be merry and talk about the dead and the funny thing they did or the not-so-funny thing and people start laughing and remembering and that kind of stuff and so—

SMITH: We went to—my mother's—we took my mother back up to Michigan and got together with family and we had a very good time considering the circumstances.

BAILEY: Yeah. Because you do, you can't wear that veil over your face forever so you've got to lighten up [laughs].

SMITH: And what other parts of the country do your—does your family live in?

BAILEY: They live all over the place. I don't think I'll find anybody in Wyoming or whatsoever but—especially up and down the coast they from—they're from Maine to California so they're all over the place.

SMITH: And do they still come back to visit and you visit them periodically?

BAILEY: They're here—people come home more—this is their roots and so they—whosoever is out there end up coming back here more than we who here go to visit them. Some people from here go visit their relatives but the relatives who are away from home always tend to come back yeah.

SMITH: And why did they leave?

BAILEY: Economic, job reason. Job, going into the service, going to college, you know that kind of stuff and so they leave, yes.

SMITH: Okay. Could we switch to talking about cemetery traditions, burial practices, or would you like to take a break?

BAILEY: No I'm fine so—but the question is all of these questions has to do with the DOT and roads and so forth etc.? It's kind of—[laughs]

SMITH: Well, it's their way of trying to collect some information to mitigate the effects of the project because there's—as I said there's going to be road widening or maybe new businesses that go in there and so it's a way—besides archeology. There'll be archeology done as well, but this is a way to get something from the community at a time when a lot of that oral tradition is disappearing.

BAILEY: Yeah, it is disappearing.

SMITH: And again we want to try and interpret a couple of those cemeteries and to try and bring in aspects of daily life on those plantations and about death and burial related to the cemeteries.

BAILEY: Yeah, because you know a lot of time back then they didn't even have time—they usually—it depends on who your slave owner happened to be. Some of them was mean, some was scrungy or who the overseer happened to be or whatsoever. So a lot of time you couldn't bury your dead in the day, they didn't let you take time out to bury your dead, and so a lot of funerals was held at night because of that. So after work stopped then you bury the dead, yeah so—

SMITH: Where are your people buried here?

BAILEY: They're buried in—some of the early ones in that cemetery we're trying to locate in the New Orleans and buried inside Behavior.

SMITH: Were birth and death records kept at the time and who kept those?

BAILEY: They were sent away from the island. The churches were responsible for them and they would record them, write them down, and then they would send them over to Darien and they would be recorded.

SMITH: And I understand the courthouse burned in 1863 so—

BAILEY: Yeah it did but a lot of stuff did not get—I mean 1863 you remember most black people been on the records for the slave master so they kept records sometime of who died and so forth and whatsoever. And some of them kept better record than some, and so you was at the mercy of them on whether they had good records or not. Federal government didn't step in to take records of black people basically until the first census in the South in 1870 so—and that's when they really stepped up a notch you know, yeah—because you had to depend on the records of the slaveholder and what was recorded birth and death and so forth, yeah.

SMITH: And were these community cemeteries or they were individual family plots?

BAILEY: No, just community cemetery.

SMITH: And even the families weren't in say one specific area that was edged or marked—

BAILEY: They were to a certain degree. [telephone ringing] Some people go in the cemetery and they'd say, Well how come this husband's over here and his wife is over there? There was a tradition to that and the tradition to that was it was—in life you belong to each other. You and I were married, we belong to each other in life, and when we die we go back to our parents. So you die you were buried with your—if your mom and dad was already dead you were buried with your kinfolks and when I die I'm buried with mine. So that's the reason why they didn't understand that and some people still carrying that old tradition, yeah. So in life you're a couple but in death you're separate, You go back to your family.

SMITH: Um-hm.

BAILEY: [telephone ringing] That's right. So that's the reason why they go, Well how come that husband is over there and that wife is over there? That's the reason why.

SMITH: Uh-huh.

BAILEY: That's right. Somebody's insistent. Excuse me a minute.

[telephone call interruption]

END PART 1 OF 2

BEGIN PART 2 OF 2

SMITH: Well we stopped for a minute but we're back.

BAILEY: Okay.

SMITH: How was a person's body prepared for burial?

BAILEY: They were washed and dressed in their best finery and if it was summertime you were buried that same day. You didn't have time to wait for relatives that come, you know, because relatives were notified actually then by letters and so you couldn't wait for a letter to get to New York or even Savannah in August and said your sister passed and that kind of stuff. And so you were buried right away and with—the immediate family here buried you right away and so forth. And later when ice was prevalent they would keep the body on ice for a while before they'd start embalming it and sending it to the mainland when somebody die. They would lay it on ice and put ice all around, you know, until—but they only kept you then for like two or three days and hoping message got to the relative in time to come home and if not then you were buried, you know. So ice helped preserve for a little while. And after that then now everybody's, you know, sent to the funeral home if somebody dies here.

SMITH: What were the special preparations that were—

BAILEY: Well according to—if you belong to an organization or something special preparation because then the—the sisters would come in, the Eastern Stars would come in and take care of the ladies and matter of fact and the mens, Masonic, would take care of the mens. They would dress them and bathe them and that kind of stuff, so it depends on—yeah, depends on things like that.

SMITH: And can you tell us about the setting up?

BAILEY: Well they set up watch nights. They would set up and sit with the dead and sit with the family because—when that practice was more prevalent well the body was in the house also. And so you just—people sat up and keep you company and they eat and they sat around and eat—and the men folks if they wanted to drink they go outside so they didn't drink inside the house, [laughs] so they drink coffee and other things that people brought to the house and whatsoever, yeah. And they sat around the reminisce, talk about the dead and other things until time—and they just sort of sit around and be sure everything was okay, the family was okay and that sort of stuff. And usually the burial if it's two days somebody to your house constantly, you know, there's always day and night there's people to your house all the time yeah.

SMITH: And was there use of a cooling board and any type of garment wrapping?

BAILEY: They had the cooling—the cooling board was what they lay you on naturally, you know, and they would take you off the bed because you wasn't on the bed anymore. They'll take you and lay you on the cooling board and so—and the cooling board—I remember one cooling board as a child I remember it was on a sawhorse and they had this board on there and it was called the cooling board. And so the body was—and the body wasn't dressed yet. The body was just draped in a sheet and wrapped in a sheet, a white sheet, and then they'll dress before the service they usually will yeah dress the body (unintelligible).

SMITH: And then so normally they were buried within a very short time and then—

BAILEY: Yeah—

SMITH: —was the second funeral common?

BAILEY: They didn't have a second funeral, not when I was growing up they didn't have one. That one was the one they would have that service. And they would go to the church and from the church to the cemetery and that would have been at so yeah. So they didn't have second services. Now they might have had second services but I never heard anybody mention a second service—because there's some places they did, they had to bury and then they would actually have this—have the service later when family members and all can come and they will have the service and whatsoever in remembrance of that person.

SMITH: Would both African American and white people come to the service?

BAILEY: If they're—you know, if they're known and whatsoever they'll come but mostly it was just African Americans when I grew up unless there's somebody, some whites—it wasn't that much white people on the island when I was growing up and so yeah.

SMITH: And are there other—what other families are you related to here and are they buried in the same cemetery with your family or—

BAILEY: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. Who keeps the cemetery up today and in the past who would have—

BAILEY: Right now we've got a volunteer. We've got a guy here Joseph goes down there. And he had been away from Sapelo (unintelligible). He said, Well I've been from home so long—so he's retired he said, Well I'll do something. So he goes down and keep the cemetery. And then about twice a year or so all the guys get together and do a general cleanup of the cemetery as well, yeah.

SMITH: At the time of burial was there sweeping or weeding that went on or was it—

BAILEY: They would clean off their spot. Back then they didn't have—long time ago they didn't have all these modern things we got now like weed wackers and that kind of stuff. So they'll go and they'll clean off the gravesite that they want and they'll clean off all the places nearby and get the cemetery clean before they actually do the digging of the grave and that kind of stuff like that, yeah.

SMITH: Do you feel that there's been change from the way burials were practiced way in the past and the way they are now or is it more commonalities?

BAILEY: More commonalities, you know. You just got a few more modern things that go with it. The cemetery mostly kept clean now all the time instead of, you know, having to go down and prepare it before service but—and the commonality they still try to dig that grave six feet and the burial is the same way and still ashes to ashes, dust to dust so yeah stuff like that hasn't changed.

SMITH: How common is it here or was it here to put shells or pots or personal items related to the person with the—

BAILEY: They put personal items. You don't see shells on there as much. But I went down to the cemetery Mother's Day to put flowers and stuff to my mother and niece and grandparents and my husband's mother and grandparents and others and we went down there. And I took a large shell from the house and put it on each one of their graves, you know and—but no we didn't do the shell thing as much but we did other artifacts. You would see things like the bowl and pitcher or you would see glassware and you'd see plates and cups, saucer and all like—clock, other stuff like that. You would see pieces of ceramic. Like one of them had a ceramic cat on there for instance and stuff like that. And a lot of the stuff got—before we put the fence—we used to have a fence around it years and years ago and then the fence went bad and around 1996, '97, we put a—we redid the fence around it and put it back because we were missing too much artifacts, yeah.

SMITH: What was the intention—what was the meaning behind some of those things? Why were they selected?

BAILEY: Well there's sometime like two reasons. One of the reason was they were—because that's their favorite thing and they were a marker. Now their favorite thing that they wanted them to have in the afterlife was actually put in the casket—your glasses, your false teeth, your other things. Some things were placed in the casket with you for the afterlife. So things that was put on top of the grave (unintelligible) is put on as a marker because people did not have money to put a headstone, so they'll know where grandmamma is all the time because grandma favorite cup is on her grave. And so when they go to the cemetery to visit grandma they know that grandma favorite blue cup that's where it is or they send somebody there and say, You go to the cemetery and you go to the left side and you walk down there and whatsoever right near Cousin so-and-so who has a head marker you will see grandma's grave there because that blue cup is there. So you can find grandma because of that blue cup that is there. When people start taking things off it's hard. And some people later in life, the family was able to get a proper headstone. And once—even when they get the proper headstone they still kept grandma's favorite blue cup there too yeah, so they didn't move it yeah.

SMITH: When there were markers other than personal items I imagine first they were made out of wood?

BAILEY: Yeah.

SMITH: What can you tell me about those and who made them and how did it go? Was it family that did that or was there specialists sometimes?

BAILEY: Family did it and most of the time it was family who did it and so forth then over the years, you know—they try to make it out of live oak. And live oak is a very tough wood but then even over the years live oak will go away, but live oak will stay for a very long time, yeah. So they would put it on the gravesite and so—because they know that that piece of wood will be there.

SMITH: Were there sometimes plants or trees that were put—

BAILEY: Oh there was plants and trees—excuse me, plant and trees were also put there because, you know, there's that gardenia and that's grandma's, there goes this oleander and that's your uncle's and there goes—so certain flowers were put there and planted there and so—and we still—a lot of the cemeteries these days won't let you plant flowers. You just put the artificial one there and that's it but then we still put the live plant. So there's that cedar, there's that palm, there's that gardenia, there's that, you know, there's that crepe myrtle, yeah so—

SMITH: And it was because that—it was associated with that person, it was something they cared about—reminds me of—

BAILEY: A lot of time they would say, Well that person, their favorite thing was a rose and favorite thing was this. And even if they didn't have a favorite it also act as a marker too, yeah because they know that there goes mama over there because there's her flowers, yeah.

SMITH: Who did the services? Was it the local pastor—

BAILEY: The local pastor, yeah.

SMITH: Sometimes people come in or was it—

BAILEY: No.

SMITH: Okay.

BAILEY: It was always your local pastor of your church, yeah. And if you move away from home and you were living in Savannah first and then belong to a church in Savannah but you wanted to be buried back home well that church you're associated with in Savannah that pastor would come with you for the last rites yeah.

SMITH: And were there certain songs maybe that were sung or hymns?

BAILEY: It depends. Sometimes the family will request certain hymns to be sung and whatsoever. And I remember when I was growing up one of the favorite hymn was "How Great Thou Art" that people would sing as a solo and "Nearer, My God, to Thee" and "Shall we Gather at the River?" and that sort of stuff like that. So there was some of that, yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And when the graves were marked did they often have a headstone and a footstone?

BAILEY: Headstone and a footstone, yeah.

SMITH: To keep it—

BAILEY: They don't do footstones no more but long time they used—

SMITH: No they don't, not so much no.

BAILEY: Yeah, long time they used to do headstone and footstone.

SMITH: And how were the graves oriented? Could you tell us something about the way the headstone was facing?

BAILEY: East, East, facing East. And so when you're—when you're like this and you're laying down like this see when you rise up—so your head is one way, your face is facing—always facing east. So the belief is on Judgment Day when God call us all home and Gabriel blows his horn and you stand up to be accounted for you stand up and your eyes, you look toward the East, look towards Mecca, that's right. So nobody's buried opposite. You don't supposed to look to the West because the devil—devil sits on his throne in the West so everybody's facing East, yes.

SMITH: I thought it was interesting how you spoke about your great-great-great-great-grandfather and his associations with speaking Arabic and Mecca and such.

BAILEY: Yeah he was—yeah he was Muslim, yeah.

SMITH: Um-hm.

BAILEY: And a lot of the folks here was also Muslim and so—so that tradition kind of stuck in some ways, yeah.

SMITH: What happened to the person's spirit when they were—when they died and then when they were put in the ground? Is there a transition there? How was that viewed?

BAILEY: Well some people said you were in limbo and then there's some people who belief was soon as you die your soul went to heaven and then some people your soul remained—they said your soul went one way and your spirit went the other but your spirit linger, your spirit doesn't leave, so your spirit is always around, always.

SMITH: Okay. Can you describe a service that you attended, anything unusual about it or common about it? I know that there's—I've heard about taking a young child and—

BAILEY: Um-hm—

SMITH: —and passing it over. What was the symbolism of that and just any visual remembrances—

BAILEY: So they can rest. Oh yeah they did that a lot. So even in occasions they still do that today so. So it's not a forgotten practice. And it's that the youngest child in the family is passed over the grave and so they wouldn't be bothered, the spirit of the dead wouldn't bother them yeah so they pass them over yeah.

SMITH: You said earlier it was—people wanted it to be a happy occasion. Even though they were sad they wanted to kind of rejoice or remember the person fondly.

BAILEY: Oh yeah.

SMITH: Yeah.

BAILEY: And sort of like no matter how mean or how hateful or how whatsoever the person was, during the time when they died you pick out all the good stuff that they did and what they said and so forth even if you just have to comment about she was a great cook, you know, she was the best cook there was but then at the same time you know that she was a mean, hateful person but then you pick out the good thing about that person, yeah.

SMITH: Right. Did you ever personally leave a personal item at a loved one's grave and what did that mean to you?

BAILEY: Well on my mother's grave there's—mother and father's grave there's some personal stuff on their grave that—I bought them—once I was at some sort of craft show and there was a couple of red birds that somebody made and I liked them and I bought that pair of red birds for mom and pop. And so that's on their graves, that pair of red birds, yeah. It looks nice. It's about so high, yeah.

SMITH: You had mentioned an organization earlier. Did your family participate in Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, the Masons, or any other burial associations?

BAILEY: We—they—no, they had belonged to the Farmers Alliance, they—some of them were Eastern Stars, some of them were Masonics and those kind of things and naturally have them a ritual sometime when they do burial.

SMITH: They do have their own—did you ever—I don't know anything about those—

BAILEY: Well I attended an Eastern Star burial and whatsoever. I'm a Eastern Star but I haven't been for so long to follow Eastern Star because I'm going—no, I wouldn't put my family through that long ritual [laughs] that they do and so—

SMITH: It's a more formal—

BAILEY: Yeah, it's a more formal thing. But at the gravesites, you know, they do all this—the one rose is for this and one rose is for that and one rose is for that and so forth. And they take forever and the family's standing there. You're grieving as it is and they go through this long thing. I'm standing there going, Oh no. [laughs] That's a bit too long, yeah.

SMITH: And who made the coffins, was it—

BAILEY: The coffins were handmade a long time ago until you got the commercial coffins. But they were made because the guy—Fred Wilson built mine when they thought I had died so—and he built a lot—he built casket. Anybody who was good with a hammer and nail and carpentry built caskets, yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And then when people have left the community do they—and they die are they often brought back and buried here?

BAILEY: Um-hm, yeah. A lot of people their last request is take me home, yeah.

SMITH: I heard something about that yesterday, that they come over on the ferry just like anybody else and—

BAILEY: Yeah. And when you die—if I keel off and die right in front of you right now my body's taken over to Darien and then the proper thing was done and then I come back on that boat. I'll leave from here on that boat and I'll come back on that boat, yes.

SMITH: Today is Behavior Cemetery in the South End the only one that's still in use?

BAILEY: Yes, that's the only one.

SMITH: Because you said there are some—

BAILEY: It's five acres. We cleared off some more about a year or so where we clear off some extra space in that five acres so we could have extra space there, yeah.

SMITH: And how many other unmarked cemeteries do you think are present on the island?

BAILEY: Some of them is white and some of them is black. I think the—I know the one in New Orleans is black and I'm pretty sure the one that—Belle Marsh probably is black and the one at High Point is white. The one at Kenan Field is white and so forth so we got yeah.

SMITH: So there was that segregation in death?

BAILEY: Oh of course and it still is—there still—especially in the South. There ain't too many cemeteries that you'll have black and white (unintelligible). And so like my aunt—my aunt—one of my aunt we was having a funeral and I was sitting near her in church and she said—and he was a young man that got killed in a car accident in Brunswick and she said, Oh Lord what a casket full of good meat just gone before time. I'm looking at my aunt going,[laughs] what a thing to say. I never asked her to explain but that's what she said, yeah.

SMITH: Well, is there anything else about plantation life or cemetery traditions that I haven't asked about that you could add to this?

BAILEY: For instance—

SMITH: What might we be missing here, something that you think would help to understand either of those aspects of the project?

BAILEY: Well one of the thing they said is never use the word pretty when you're at a cemetery, it's beautiful. Even as you see flowers you don't say those are pretty flowers, say those are beautiful flowers. Oh, okay, [laughs] like what the difference. I went to—when I went to Africa we went and visited a very old cemetery, old Christian cemetery up on a hill. It took some walking to get up there but we went up there. And the graves there were covered with shells. Every grave was covered with shells. Okay, first time I seen a grave that was—all the graves there was—you know, they were in the mound shape but it was shells, every square inch of it, you know. And I went down to the Florida

Keys, Cedar Key with a friend of mine. When I was writing my book we went down there and went to visit a cemetery there. And it's a white cemetery and all the graves were covered in shells, you know. I'm looking that going, Wait a minute now. In Africa there were these graves covered with shells. Here I was in Cedar Key, Florida and these graves, a white cemetery, they're covered with shells. And there was one that was buried like six months before according to the headstone and so that was virtually sort of a new grave and it was covered in shells. And I'm going, Well what in the world [laughs]. And I asked but nobody could explain why they cover them in shells. And I kind of think that the cemetery was right near the river, you know. It wasn't a big drop-off but the marsh come in and high tide—if there's a storm on the course or whatsoever I can see the water coming up in the cemetery, the saltwater cover the cemetery. If it cover the cemetery if those shells are there maybe that shell keep it from being washed away or something, I don't know. But that's the only explanation. I cannot figure out why those graves were covered in shells, all over they were covered. And they wasn't covered in any particular—I mean they have one type of shell and that shell was a quahog clam and it was all over, just neatly arranged all over. [laughs] So I'm going, Okay. So I haven't had any good explanation yet as to why but it was there, yeah from Africa to Cedar Key yes. So it was covered in shells. So—but anyhow we'll have—we just traditionally bury what we think just like everybody [laughs] else, you know, and that sort of stuff and so—and nothing except ashes to ashes are the same thing no matter what—no matter who you are or where you are and that kind of stuff and the layout of the cemeteries are basically the same. And when you go into the cemetery you're supposed to ask leave to enter.

SMITH: Yes.

BAILEY: And leave your information.

SMITH: [laughs] That's good to know.

BAILEY: You ask leave to enter. You don't just go in. You said, Hello family. Is it okay for me to come in or you said, I'm coming in. Yeah, and so let them know you're coming in yes.

SMITH: And to do maybe some little upkeep of the individual person's grave when you go and see them, sure.

BAILEY: Yeah, because when you're going in you'd do that. You'd pull out little saplings or little weeds and do different things and whatsoever. Some people make it a annual thing, every Mother's Day or Father's Day and some people do it more regular. So it depends but yeah. So you don't just—you don't just go in yeah to go in. I love cemeteries here. I'll go in a cemetery anytime and think nothing of it and some people won't go in until they have a reason to go in so it depends on the individual. You ain't going say hello? Marcus?

SMITH: Well, I think that's all I've got unless there's—

MARCUS: I'm looking at that.

SMITH: It's a little tape recorder.

BAILEY: that's a little tape recorder.

SMITH: Thank you.

BAILEY: You're welcome my dear.

[end]

Clarence Baker
Born: 1934 (Age 79)
Interview Location: Crescent, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: August 9, 2012

GREG SMITH: It is August 9, 2012. I'm in the Crescent area with Mr. Clarence Baker. Mr. Baker could you tell me when you were born and a little bit about yourself, what your occupations have been?

CLARENCE BAKER: I was born in this area back in 1934 and I growed up in this area. It wasn't much going on back in that time. My dad was a commercial shrimper and he built shrimp boats and different things, houses, and he even did some pulpwood work, cutting pulpwood. And we growed up in this area. And it began to get a little more prosperous. And as we—during the summer we would make our little summer living by catching crabs and things during the summertime and then we'd go to school and back crabbing again because things wasn't too plentiful around in this area. And we have—it was a leaf they call deer-tongue. I don't know if you ever heard about it but it was a mixture that we go in the woods and find it and we dried it out. We'd sell those deer-tongue then they mix it with—to make tobacco what I was told.

SMITH: Deer-tongue?

BAKER: Yeah. And that played out. And after I finished high school then I became a commercial shrimper.

SMITH: Is that also—that tobacco-like product is it also referred to as dog-something?

BAKER: Well some people call it dog-tongue, deer-tongue, dog-tongue, I don't know which—

SMITH: It's tongue?

BAKER: Yeah, it's a just a leaf.

SMITH: Dog-tongue okay.

BAKER: Yeah. It looks like—look like a tongue.

SMITH: Okay that helps. And that wood you were talking about was that pulpwood?

BAKER: Call it pulpwood but it's timber now, you know, log trucks carrying it to be made into paper and whatnot?

SMITH: Right, okay.

BAKER: Back in those days the old people they used to cut it with the handsaw and they'll stack it up in piles. I think it was six-foot long. I think they had to stack it up and load it on the truck by hand and go to the mill and they make paper out of it. And that's why they call it pulpwood. I don't know if that's the real name but that's what we growed up calling it pulpwood.

SMITH: And then your family has been in this area many generations before that?

BAKER: Oh yeah, yeah.

SMITH: How far back do they go?

BAKER: Well my grandfather—my great-grandfather growed up around here. This is his property here, my great-grandfather. My grandfather he took it over. And then we all gather around. This is a Baker's neighborhood right in here. Right, my dad down there and a sister and cousin and my aunt right there and me here, first cousin, my uncle, and my grandmother's on the other end, that's my uncle and that's my brother and that's my uncle over there. So we all right here in this neighborhood. We all growed up right here. And so my grandfather—as far as I knows of my grandfather died at ninety-one. And I don't know when he first came on this land because the land was given to my grandmother which was his wife by my great-grandfather James Spencer. So that's how he got in that.

SMITH: And he was here as well?

BAKER: My great-grandfather.

SMITH: And before him your great-great grandfather?

BAKER: Uh, I don't know about—because my great-grandfather was the son of a slave so I don't know how far—not a slave but a slave master.

SMITH: A slave master?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: So I don't know where he was.

SMITH: Okay. And do you have any first-hand knowledge of the Cathead Creek area where there were a number of plantations?

BAKER: No, no more than just hearing about Cathead, that's all I know.

SMITH: Okay because we're about fifteen miles or so from there.

BAKER: Yeah. Yeah, we about—yeah.

SMITH: But your great-great grandfather do you know anything specifically about how he—what he did as a—how did you refer to him, as a slave master?

BAKER: A slave master child, my great-grandfather. He growed up in the slave master's house.

SMITH: I see.

BAKER: Yeah. And after that—now I don't know too much about how he went about his living and thing like that. I don't know too much about that.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: But he had I think it was about six girls and one son and my grandmother was one—was the baby girl of them all. And she died—this road is named after her, Susie Baker Road.

SMITH: So the earliest of your people that you know of was your great-grandfather and he was the son of a slave master?

BAKER: Yeah, um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. Are there any stories that have been handed down about what his life was like?

BAKER: No I—no, I really can't say because I've never heard them really talk about what he was—how he growed up as a laborer or how he lived, I don't know.

SMITH: But he lived in the slave master's house?

BAKER: Until—until he growed up I guess.

SMITH: Okay that's—I haven't heard many people with that role since I've been here.

BAKER: And that was on my grandmother's side. Now my grandfather, his mother was from the Harris Neck Area. She was a Thorpe.

SMITH: Thorpe?

BAKER: Yeah. But I don't know too much about her family part, her mothers and fathers and whatnot.

SMITH: Okay. So it's really then with your grandfather that oral history—

BAKER: Yeah—

SMITH: —began to be passed down, not so much before that—

BAKER: Right—

SMITH: —from the slave master's house?

BAKER: I wouldn't remember that yeah.

SMITH: Okay. So not a lot of plantation information to talk about?

BAKER: No—

SMITH: But in this area like in your grandfather's time you said they got crab, they were subsisting as best they could with various activities?

BAKER: Mostly farming, raising animals and—at one point there used to be free roaming of animals—hogs and cows and horse, they were all out in the woods. And here come—that no-fence law came in effect. People had to gather up all of their animals, pen them in. And that's the reason everything has grown up so because the cows, the animals used to roam the woods and keep everything clean. And then after that—and that's what my grandfather used to do. I think he back in the when—he paid Social Security—he paid twenty dollars into Social Security, when they first organized Social Security. And then he didn't do any more public work. He only did his farming and—

SMITH: On his land?

BAKER: Yeah, and things like that. And so that's how he did most of his taking care of his family. And most of the time they done growed up, you know, and a lot of the older one—my dad now is still living and he'll be ninety-nine next month so—

SMITH: Maybe I could speak with him sometime—

BAKER: No you wouldn't—you wouldn't get too much information from him.

SMITH: Okay, I understand.

BAKER: And so by that time my grandfather quit work. Everything—the kids—his children had done growed up to be about on their own so he didn't have too much of expense of taking care children, you know anymore and he just did his farm work and things like that and—

SMITH: And specifically some of the farm work that your grandfather did around here?

BAKER: Well he—he growed his corn in order to feed his animals and he made cane. He growed his cane and he made his syrup and other vegetables, you know, like he growed during the summertime. And he raised chickens and things like that in order to feed the family and whatnot like that.

SMITH: So the fence law really changed things here in terms of the landscape?

BAKER: Yes—right. No fence law everybody had to gather up their animals because if there was an accident by an animal in the road, somebody hit them with their car or whatever, then they could be able to claim—sue that person or whatever so they made them gather them in.

SMITH: You know about when that fence law was passed?

BAKER: I really don't remember. It had to be in the—I don't know if it was in the forties or—probably in the forties.

SMITH: The forties, okay. Did your family have a history of using wild plants or fruits, gathering from the countryside, or they pretty much did their own crops?

BAKER: Well the fruit trees and thing like that they gathered those things in order—my grandmother would always preserve—do a lot of preserving of vegetable, fruits, and make their own jelly and jam and different things like that to have during the year time.

SMITH: Was there a lot of travel say into Darien? I guess that was the big city. Did you have any occasions to get into Darien from out here in some of these smaller communities?

BAKER: Well at times (*unintelligible*) small, young boys and whatnot there was a more—wasn't too easy to get into Darien. We didn't have much of transportation. And growing up we had the mailman. We called him mailman, the route, mailman come from Townsend and had a post office right there at Crescent right there in the road, and a lot of times we would catch him into Darien. And he would come back from Darien in the afternoon we'd catch him back. And that was a lot of traveling back in those days. That would be back—we did that mostly up in the fifties, um-hm.

SMITH: And then what other parts of the country does your family live in or is everyone pretty much from this area?

BAKER: Well from—let me back up. Now while we were growing up my dad was a caretaker for a little while over there in Pine Harbor. I don't know if you heard that or not.

SMITH: No.

BAKER: Okay that's going towards Harris Neck end there. And we lived there a while. And the man that owned the place my dad was working for, caretaker for, he died. So we moved to Shellman over there to another owner of a place that my dad was caretaker there. And we stayed there until my dad built his house right down the road here and we moved back here. And that was in the forties too.

SMITH: Okay. So you're able to trace your ancestry back to your great-grandfather and he was definitely born right here?

BAKER: Yeah see—my grandfather, now where he was born at I don't know exactly the spot he was born but this is where he end up after he married my grandmother because this is my great-grandfather's property, my grandmother's dad, my great-grandfather. And when my granddaddy met her that's where he end up here with her.

SMITH: Okay. So I'm just trying to get as much information as we can about your great-grandfather who was born to the slave master. So he was your most direct ancestor that you can point to?

BAKER: Yeah. I had a picture of him. Don't have a picture of him now. He was—well I knew him and I knew my great-grandfather. He was a preacher and he was pastoring for a while. And when I knew him well he was old then, kind of old so he wasn't pastoring anymore but he was still preaching.

SMITH: And where are your family members buried?

BAKER: Right down the road here.

SMITH: And the name of that cemetery?

BAKER: Belleville Cemetery. We could ride down there if you want to look at it.

SMITH: Okay, and who kept the birth and burial records in the community at that time?

BAKER: No special person.

SMITH: Maybe in the Bible, family Bible or something like that?

BAKER: Some—yeah, some people kept their personal family in their own personal Bibles but I don't—they didn't have anybody to keep a record of death or anything.

SMITH: Not like we have today with birth and death records?

BAKER: No. You probably could go to the courthouse and pull up some of those old death certificates and things like that, maybe some you could find.

SMITH: And the place where your family is buried there is it—do you have a particular section for members of your family?

BAKER: Yeah, we could say that I guess but it's—the space was there and then it's some other family was close to it, and as the family died you had to move them to another little section. So my family isn't in just one section.

SMITH: Okay, not just—not a specific section that's marked by a fence or—

BAKER: No, uh-uh.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: We would only do that if it was a cemetery that you buy your plots. But this isn't like that. It just a—

SMITH: Country—

BAKER: Yeah, country cemetery and um—

SMITH: Not as formal as the ones we have today?

BAKER: No. No. We're trying to get it—well you'll see. We'll go down and let you take a look at it. We're trying to get it cleaned up better than it was at one point.

SMITH: Um-hm. How is that cemetery maintained?

BAKER: We—a few years ago, I guess it was about three or four years we got a group and we formed a cemetery committee. We put in there some bylaws that we would—and had it notarized and signed. We sent the bylaws to different funeral homes that when the families make an arrangement this is what we required. For anybody to be buried in that cemetery—which had never been—anybody would come and just be buried there. But now they would have to contact some of the committee members. Most of the time they'll contact me. I dig most of the graves, me and a friend of mine.

SMITH: Oh you do?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: You and a friend dig the graves?

BAKER: Uh-huh. And contact us. And we have in that bylaws anybody that wants to be buried in here that have connections with someone down there would pay one hundred dollars before they'd be buried in there. That's how we get our little funds.

SMITH: To operate?

BAKER: To operate it. And also in our bylaws we have asking all the family members to pay twenty-five dollars a year, only twenty-five dollars a year, to try to move some of the trees from out of the cemetery. We're doing pretty good with that but they—it's so many of the members they wouldn't pay the twenty-five dollars. Only thing they mostly rely upon now is the hundred dollars because you know somebody will die and in order for them to come in to be buried we get that hundred dollars. If we get enough we'll get somebody to come in and move some of the trees out. So that's how we maintain it. We did—in the beginning we did get enough to put a fence. We had it surveyed and got a fence around it. We have—it's 5-point—I think it's 5-point-some acre. I don't know. It's a five-acre tract anyway.

SMITH: Okay. Far back as you know how is a person's body prepared for burial?

BAKER: Well far as I could remember if they die they'll have to be buried within twenty-four hours. Twenty-four? Yeah, I think it was twenty-four hours or forty-eight hours, something like that, far as I could remember—if they die today they'll prepare to bury a person tomorrow, something like that but—and then I growed up and then there was funeral homes after that so I—they was able to keep the body a little bit longer then. But everybody at that time still wasn't able to—they just wasn't able to send them to the funeral home because the closest funeral home around here was in Brunswick or Savannah and some of them just buried—it was a grocery store in Meridian there which was Frank Williams Grocery Store. And he used to sell caskets.

SMITH: Oh just at the grocery store?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: Frank Williams?

BAKER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: He used to sell—you could buy a whole lot of things from Frank Williams. He had a big place there. And he's one of the landowners in McIntosh County that owned most of the land, majority of the land around here is owned by Frank Williams. And a lot of the people used to buy caskets from him, fifty dollars casket. And that's how he got so much of the land because some of the people wasn't able to pay the fifty dollars back so that's how—

SMITH: They traded some land—

BAKER: Land for the casket.

SMITH: I see.

BAKER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Would people as far as Darien use his services do you think?

BAKER: I imagine so. I don't know how far back, you know, which way but I know around in this area, Jones and different places in the county.

SMITH: Um-hm. But as far as before that person was buried what sort of preparations would they have done with the body?

BAKER: Well family members and friends and whatnot they would get there and clean the body up, wash the body up and whatnot and just prepare the body for burial far as that goes.

SMITH: Were they wrapped or clothed—

BAKER: Yeah, yeah—

SMITH: —or how—

BAKER: They clothed them and whatnot, yeah. That's what I—I never seen it done but I was around the house while they were doing it and whatnot.

SMITH: Maybe their Sunday clothes—

BAKER: Yeah—

SMITH: —something like that? And did people sometimes put personal items with the person in the casket?

BAKER: I've heard that. And even on the grave after they have been buried and whatnot they carried some of their pots and whatnot and they put them on the graves and things like that, something like—it make me think that's what the Indians used to do and things like that. But they have done that.

SMITH: So how do you see that the funeral services may have changed from those early days up until now?

BAKER: Oh yeah it has changed a whole lot. I guess someone might have mentioned about Darien Funeral Home when it first came here. Yeah well that made the big change with the burial and funerals in McIntosh County. When he first came he did—he really did a lot for the people in McIntosh County. I don't know what some of them think about it but his name was Herbert Cooper.

SMITH: Herbert Cooper, um-hm.

BAKER: Yeah. I think—yeah H. G. Cooper, Herbert—"G" was for something (*unintelligible*) but H. G. Cooper was his name. And he did a whole lot for people.

SMITH: When was that established, do you recall?

BAKER: In '53 I think it was, '52 or '53, somewhere in the fifties.

SMITH: So prior to that—

BAKER: Maybe '51.

SMITH: Prior to that do you feel that most of the burial was conducted by individual families?

BAKER: Yes, a whole lot of it was, um-hm.

SMITH: What were the alternatives to doing it yourself? Was there other—since there wasn't anything in Darien what—

BAKER: Well they just—I guess—I wouldn't know too much about how they went about whether it had to be a death certificate and things like that, I don't remember. I don't know about that part because I wasn't involved; I just seen it being done and whatnot. And most of the time they would go to bury they'd put the body maybe on the back of a truck or put the casket on the truck or either on a wagon or something like that and take it to the cemetery and bury them.

SMITH: And what's your earliest memory of going to a person's funeral? How old do you think you were?

BAKER: I don't know.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: I can't remember. Well I guess the earliest (*unintelligible*) remember. Yeah I don't remember. My mother died when I was about a year and four months old so I guess I went—they took me to her funeral I guess but as a child memory I really don't remember who was there. No, I can't remember then. But I remember going to a whole lot of funerals like that, you know, family take them to church and have the funeral and bring them to the cemetery and whatnot like that but what year, how old I was, I don't remember.

SMITH: Okay. And the funerals that you do know of since you got older did both white and black people attend the funeral?

BAKER: Well now I think it's more white and black attending each other's funeral now than it used to be. Growing up I can't remember of any whites coming to a black funeral unless that person was working for that person. I don't remember. And it's a white cemetery right over here. It's the Hopkins Cemetery. Now I know a lot of the whites in this area. I know a whole lot of them, friends and whatnot. And most of the time when they die or somebody die in their family I'll go even to the funeral, you know, even to the house with them whatever, just as friend you know and whatnot. But they have come—we have come a long ways from being—from that part of it, you know, being somebody needs somebody. Because my grandfather and grandmother was so close to a white family we growed up just like—and their daddy, the children of that white family, used to call my grandfather Uncle Jeff. They didn't know he wasn't their uncle until they growed up and found out. They just did that because they was so close. They got to be so close. And we'd go—just like that right now. We are still close to one another.

SMITH: But still today the cemeteries themselves are segregated?

BAKER: Yes, uh-huh.

SMITH: They are?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: Who gave the services here locally at the funerals?

BAKER: Well the mortician he handled that part. And from that part the church service if you have a reverend, preacher, or anybody doing it they would do the service unless the family have somebody special to do it, but mostly they'll have a minister or somebody to do the last rites or whatever.

SMITH: If the family—

BAKER: Um-hm—

SMITH: —pastor?

BAKER: Yes.

SMITH: What happened to the person's soul when they died, their spirit?

BAKER: Well [laughs] I go back—the Bible—I'm a true believer in the Bible. The Bible say the soul go back to the one that giveth which is God, and that's my sole belief.

SMITH: And what do you think way back in time as you think that was—

BAKER: I still believe that. He's the only one giveth and he's the only one taketh and it goes back to him because (*unintelligible*) body the Bible teaches us go back to dust. That's where he came from.

SMITH: Was there a lot of singing at the funerals? Were there certain songs that were sung?

BAKER: Yes.

SMITH: Do you remember some of them?

BAKER: Yeah, some of them is "What a Friend We Have in Jesus" and "Jesus Keep me Near the Cross", all those old hymns that they would sing and now "May the Life I Live Speak for Me" and different—"Step by Step"—"Step by Step I'm Growing Nearer", and then "Every day That We are Living We're Getting Closer to the End."

SMITH: You think most of those songs came from the Bible or were some of them you think developed or adapted from field songs, work songs?

BAKER: Well some of them came from work I believe from slave. And then some if you go back to the Bible with the hymns like in Psalms and things like that it's a whole lot of the—the hymns comes from the Bible, wording of—because I'm a true believer that a lot of hymns is a sermon within itself. If we just pay attention to the wording and the verses in that song it's a sermon of itself.

SMITH: Do you know of any specific work songs that have carried on into hymns?

BAKER: Into hymn—I wouldn't say hymns but it is in the lyrics of song. Like "Steal Away"—"Steal Away", that's a old slave song that they would sing. And they would have to—when they sing that they have to steal away to pray and things like that so they made up their songs of that. And it's some more but I just can't think of them right at this point, yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: "I'll Fly Away" and thing like that.

SMITH: You talked briefly about things that were left at the graves. What can you tell us about how the graves were marked as far back as you can remember or that you heard about?

BAKER: Well some family was putting—was marking them with some pretty good stones but there was no—like you see some now have a slab, a vault or whatever. It wasn't that back—like that in our cemetery at least but it was some stones. But it was a whole lot was not marked properly. And we have some down in there, some graves down there we don't even know about because it's—

SMITH: Unmarked?

BAKER: Unmarked and it just look like flat ground. Because I know myself where some of the—when I was a boy growing up there's a whole line of grave even in the area—you spoke with Griffin Lotson?

SMITH: Yes.

BAKER: Well one of his uncle—one of his uncle buried. And I know—I was there when they buried him but the place is just like nothing there.

SMITH: Just flat?

BAKER: Um-hm.

SMITH: No marker, no—

BAKER: No marker, nothing.

SMITH: —personal items or anything?

BAKER: Right. And that's the problem we have. And also in our bylaws we have—in the bylaws that we sent to the funeral home while they're making the arrangement they would have to put in that arrangement a headstone he would collect during the funeral, making up the funeral program, paying for the service and whatnot. That would be in there for them to have that in there so we'll know that when they're buried they'll have a marker.

SMITH: Um-hm. And now your grandfather and perhaps even your great-grandfather, are they buried in the Belleville Cemetery?

BAKER: Yeah, uh-uh.

SMITH: Are both of those marked?

BAKER: Yeah. Now my grandfather has a good marker. He has a—but my great-grand just only have the headstone.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: Yeah so we know that it's a grave there from that headstone. And my grandmother and all those they have markers but a whole lot of her—her sister, one of her—two of her sister, one of her brother-in-law and first cousin they—I know the area they at but what grave is what I don't know.

SMITH: Okay. In terms of personal items do you know back in the day if people would sometimes bury those with the person?

BAKER: They might have. I don't know but I believe that—I know I've seen like eyeglasses and things like that in the casket with them and things like that but otherwise I don't know too much about that.

SMITH: Okay. And then in terms of personal items at the graveside—

BAKER: Yeah I seen them get some collection of their pots and pans and things like they have and they decorate the grave with that.

SMITH: Even though they had a headstone? Is that in addition to or just—

BAKER: No they didn't—they didn't have no headstone.

SMITH: Okay. So they used those—

BAKER: Yeah. At the end of the—at the head and the foot they'll have a cedar post, you have a cedar post there. But as time move on the cedar post will deteriorate.

SMITH: Um-hm, but the pots and pans and personal items were—

BAKER: They'd go too. They'd go too because in order to clean up the cemetery you had to get rid of a whole lot of those.

SMITH: Oh. Because I know a lot of times those were used to mark the graves because there wasn't perhaps money for a monument.

BAKER: Right.

SMITH: But you're saying that through time those disappear?

BAKER: Yeah, they'll disappear.

SMITH: They do?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: Did you ever leave anything at a graveside?

BAKER: No, no.

SMITH: No?

BAKER: No, I never did that.

SMITH: What do you think the meaning is of when they would put the personal items there besides maybe marking them? What meaning might that—did that person have had—what significance might there have been?

BAKER: I don't know if there was any. I don't know if there was any. I guess some people—I just believe that some of the older people were thinking maybe the spirit would hang around of that person. I don't know but I—the Bible speak of when you're dead that's it so I don't know.

SMITH: Were shells ever used in the marking?

BAKER: Like seashells and things like that?

SMITH: Um-hm.

BAKER: I don't—I don't remember any shell was.

SMITH: No? Okay or pottery or bottles, things like that? You mentioned pot and pans.

BAKER: Pots and pans and flowerpots and things like that, yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And what about plants? Were there sometimes plants that were put near—

BAKER: Yeah we have done that now. We have planted plants around the grave but in our bylaw we wish that they don't do that anymore because they grow up and they be interfering with the tent when they have a funeral and you have to cut them down anyway and things like that, so we try not to have them to put no live plant down there.

SMITH: And on the older graves are there plants that you think were put there as dedications to that person—

BAKER: Decoration of the graves. And I think that's mostly what it was just decorating around the grave.

SMITH: Um-hm. Could those have been used as markers on occasion as well?

BAKER: I think so. I think it could have been. But you take a lot of—it's a lot of people now and back then too the reason it hadn't been kept up as to markers and whatnot because people take their family member and bury them and forget about them. Then they come around, Do you know where such-and-such one buried? And some I do and some I don't but I—but that's a bad part when you bury somebody and don't—you love them while they're living so why not take care of their grave?

SMITH: When plants were used for specific individuals do you know of any specific plants that might have been introduced?

BAKER: Cedar was the most that they would put there. Then they started using azaleas and this other plant I can't think of—camellias. Mostly cedar, azaleas, and camellias are the three that we have a lot of problem with—because the azaleas they would grow up and they'd cover the grave and they'll just—we take a whole lot of them out because of that.

SMITH: For the people who planted them there do you think there was any specific symbolism or meaning—

BAKER: No—

SMITH: —involved with the individual plants?

BAKER: I don't think so. I think they're just decorating the grave, I really do.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: And a whole lot of time they plant them there the day of the funeral, and after that some of them [laughs] don't even come back so they don't even think too much about it.

SMITH: Yeah. Because the individuals were buried so quickly after death were there ever any of this what they call second funerals that took place at a later date so the family could come from farther away?

BAKER: I have heard about that. Now my stepmother was from Jones. I don't know if you heard anybody mention about Jones but that's another community in McIntosh. And she was from Jones. While we were living some of her family members had died while I was a small kid, and they would bury them the next day but maybe Saturday or Sunday they would have the funeral.

SMITH: Okay. So that was just days later?

BAKER: Yes, uh-huh.

SMITH: I see. They buried them because of preservation—

BAKER: Right—

SMITH: —concerns they buried them quickly—

BAKER: Um-hm—

SMITH: —but as far as you know there were sometimes those second funerals?

BAKER: Right, um-hm.

SMITH: Does that still go on today or do you think of that as something from the past?

BAKER: I know it from the past. Now what—the reason that it may be today because there's a lot of cremation and they would have a later date they would have burials, a memorial and things like that. Now maybe that's some of that but we call it funeral back then and it could be the same as memorial but the person has already been buried.

SMITH: Did you ever go to one of those later funerals like that?

BAKER: Yes I have, uh-huh.

SMITH: Did you feel it was the same as a regular graveside service or was this for a cremation—did you notice any difference between—

BAKER: I've never been to a—yeah I've been to one cremation service that the picture was there. It was just like the person was there but they weren't, but you know everything was just the same.

SMITH: And that was later in time—

BAKER: Yeah—

SMITH: —like you spoke of—

BAKER: Um-hm—

SMITH: —just to allow more time for family to—

BAKER: Yeah—

SMITH: —to come? Okay. Did your family ever participate in any of those burial associations like the Odd Fellows or the Knights of Pythias or the Masons?

BAKER: No, no. My—I got a lot of family members are Masons and whatnot, get—well they do their ceremonies and whatnot at the graveside or either at the funeral. They used to do it sometime even at the funeral, during the funeral at the church. If the weather is bad or something they'll do it at the church and when they get to the cemetery they'll go ahead and bury. And now a lot of them doing it at the funeral parlor maybe the night before the funeral or something like that.

SMITH: Hm? Have you been present when some of those—

BAKER: Oh yeah.

SMITH: Oh yeah they are open to the public—

BAKER: Oh yeah—

SMITH: —or they're not done separately?

BAKER: No, uh-uh. They're open to the public.

SMITH: They are?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: What are your recollections of those? How do they differ say from a regular ceremony?

BAKER: Well they just have—like the Masonic or Eastern Stars they would have their way of performing and whatnot. They'll do that while you just sit back and family just sit back and relax while they're going through that, because the person have been a part of that so that's the reason they really do it.

SMITH: So you were present and you were able to hear what was said but perhaps there were some physical movements or whatever they did that maybe you didn't understand really what they were doing?

BAKER: Oh yeah—

SMITH: You think that was kind of the secret part of it?

BAKER: Now if they have any secret parts they must be do that at their meetings when it's just the members there but they—what they do at the funerals is the ceremonial parts that is no secret in that. They just perform—do their duty performing the act I guess. But during their meeting time I guess there would be some—because the initiation time, if you join it initiation time they have that, and I don't know how that is but that's a time of their initiation for a new member.

SMITH: Um-m.

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And I think you said you had never left a personal gift—

BAKER: No—

SMITH: —or remembrance at a grave?

BAKER: No.

SMITH: Okay. And then in terms of the coffins, the grave markers you mentioned that store or graves where the coffins could be?

BAKER: Where they were purchased?

SMITH: Yes.

BAKER: From the store named Frank—Williams Brothers, Williams Brothers.

SMITH: And what about the markers?

BAKER: Well—

SMITH: Far back as you know or even the wooden ones, how were those obtained?

BAKER: They were stones but I—where they get them from I don't know.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: But now my great-grandfather brother he used to make them and—

SMITH: Your great-grandfather did?

BAKER: Brother.

SMITH: Oh his brother, okay.

BAKER: Uh-huh. But he used to make some headstones. And he died and me and a younger uncle of mine we said we was going and get the pattern to do it. We never did do it. They told us where it was and under the old house of his, I remember the old house, but we never did go and get them so—

SMITH: So the great-grandfather's brother they had different fathers?

BAKER: Yeah.

SMITH: What was their relationship or their interaction? Did the brother live in the slave master's house as well?

BAKER: No I don't think so.

SMITH: So he had a whole—

BAKER: I don't know. Now his name—my grandfather's name was Spencer and his brother name was—

SMITH: Great-grand?

BAKER: Great-grand.

SMITH: Okay, Spencer and—

BAKER: Great-grand was Dunham.

SMITH: Dunham okay.

BAKER: James Spencer was my great-grandfathers and Henry Dunham was his brother.

SMITH: His brother, your great well whatever that—great—

BAKER: Great-granduncle.

SMITH: Well they must have lived different lives then?

BAKER: I guess they did.

SMITH: And they were brothers—

BAKER: Yeah—

SMITH: —but one lived in the slave master's house and one did not. I wonder what—how he lived.

BAKER: When my—I guess during the time when my grandfather was born it wasn't too long (unintelligible) became free I guess. I'm saying that now. I don't know but that's what he—my great-grandfather he probably—I'm saying this—he might not have lived in the house of his father that long I'm saying.

SMITH: Okay.

BAKER: I don't know how long he stayed there but—

SMITH: Any idea on the years of when the great—when your great-grandfather was born? Just to put it in context with the end of slavery—

BAKER: Now his stone is down there. His stone is down there so I don't know. Back in the 18—I don't know.

SMITH: 1860s maybe?

BAKER: Maybe so. I don't know but it's on his headstone down there now.

SMITH: Okay. And you don't have any old photographs of—

BAKER: No I don't have no—

SMITH: —from those days, okay. Okay. Well thank you very much. It was—it's a lot of good information, appreciate it.

BAKER: Yeah, you're welcome. You want to ride down there?

SMITH: Sure.

[end]

Willie Cook
Born: 1928 (Age 85)
Interview Location: Ardoch, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: June 25, 2012

BEGIN PART 1 OF 2

GREG SMITH: Okay it's June 25th. I'm with Mr. Willie Cook in Ardoch and I guess we'll get—

WILLIE COOK: On James Cook Road.

SMITH: On James Cook Road.

COOK: That's my daddy.

SMITH: Oh that's your daddy? I wondered as I got here.

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Could you just tell me a little bit about yourself?

COOK: Well, about myself I could tell you a lot about me. I born September 2, 1928, old house right over there.

SMITH: Right over next door, okay.

COOK: Right there. They built that house over there, lived we did before my mother and father, before they passed. So the old house was right over there. (*unintelligible*) over there?

SMITH: Uh-huh.

COOK: I born September 2, 1928.

SMITH: Okay, and so you lived around here all your life?

COOK: All my life except two years. I spent two years in service. I went in service in 1951, July, and I come out the 23rd of March 1953.

SMITH: What branch?

COOK: Huh?

SMITH: What branch of the service?

COOK: I was in the—I take training at Fort Jackson, South Carolina. I ship in Korea and I was over there in Seoul, (*unintelligible*) and then end up with North Korea. And I served nine months over there on the front line and was in two battle. And I wonder about that, think looking at soldiers in there with no arm, no leg, and the Lord take care of me.

SMITH: Sure did.

COOK: Um-hm. Two battle and come out whole and still (*unintelligible*) with my right mind, and many mens as I helped back up I could have been(*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: Yeah, see after we made the first port all the mens what got killed the next day we bagged them up and threw them on a truck. I don't know what they done with them but they was in the bag and on the truck and they bring them back to (*unintelligible*). Some of them dog tag was on, some got their dog tag blew off.

SMITH: Has your family lived here for a long, long time?

COOK: For a long time. My mother home is in Monticello. My daddy home out there on 251 a little place they call Beach Hill. And he lived there. He lived there—he born and raised there. And his mother house is right down there, (*unintelligible*) was her husband name but my daddy daddy was a Cook, Nathan Cook. And I don't know what happened to him but anyway I had (*unintelligible*) that was his step-daddy. And he leave here in—he tell me in 1902. And he went to Quitman, and from Quitman to Valdosta. And he come back from Valdosta out around (*unintelligible*) and Monticello. And my mother home was in Monticello so that way he meet her in Monticello and he brought her here in 1919.

SMITH: Did any of your family have any association working on any of the plantations in the area?

COOK: That's my daughter right there in the trailer. That my sister in the house over there. And I got a sister in Augusta. I got two brothers up north. And my brother (*unintelligible*) my sister they next to (*unintelligible*) home, he had one of his leg taken off and he a diabetic and didn't have no one to take care of him so (*unintelligible*) he have to go in the home.

SMITH: Your ancestors like 150, 200 years ago did they work on any of the plantations in this area?

COOK: Yeah, see my daddy come up with mining bird out of rice out to Greenwood Plantation.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: Well yeah he was, he was a boy and he didn't say (*unintelligible*) but he mine bird and every morning dark of the morning he had to go up there and night when he leave to come back. See birds come out time daylight and they don't go in 'til night, and he used to go up there mine the bird out the rice. All right, when I was a young man coming up we had rice down there on the other side our house on this side the field by that road back to the woods part over there. And it grew up high and we just had to mine the bird out here. And last November and coming on for December they cut the rice and stack it. They'd put a pole long distance like that, long distance. And when they up the pole like that they put a pole in it like my finger and they stack that rice on it all the way down. Then they spread something over it to keep the birds from eating it.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: And your great-great-grandfather or grandfather—

COOK: No that was my daddy—

SMITH: —did they live on Greenwood or did they work there?

COOK: Well my—I didn't—I had know my mother father. He didn't work nowhere when they brought him from—he was in Jacksonville when they brought him, yeah. He was a old man. He couldn't do nothing. And they'd take care of him until he had died. Then my mother mother she was here with us too and she was here until she died.

SMITH: Okay. So nobody in your family was really working on the plantations in the area, like farming rice or working—I mean working as an enslaved person?

COOK: Oh no, no.

SMITH: Not in your family?

COOK: No, well see all this after slave.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: Well let's count—and I'm eighty-three.

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: I born September—eighty-three. So now Mr. Sam Smith he was from Sapelo Island. And he was a big boy during slave time you see and he had know about slave. And the slave—they had slave planation or whatever with Sapelo. And then after then with R. J. Reynold he got Sapelo Island. And then he had it and his mansion and everything over there until he passed. And I don't know who is the big man with Sapelo but the county here don't want to treat the people right with Sapelo. I remember when they didn't used to have to buy no tag or nothing, ain't have to pay no tax. But I think from what I hear they charging Sapelo people tax now too.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: I mean all of it McIntosh County but I wouldn't see why such a great change. New people, new business.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: See, because really the most people we got in office of McIntosh County now is new people. Like the county commissioner-at-large, the lady they got there now, she change from the dumpster what we had to the trashcan for $120 a month. All the other trash was free so—

SMITH: So it was your father who came here as a young man, that's how you first got—

COOK: No my father born and raised in the county here over there on 251 where you're going out I'm raised right around there.

SMITH: And your grandfather?

COOK: Now—

SMITH: Is he the one that came from Jacksonville?

COOK: No. I don't know where his father come from, but now my mother father originally his home was in Thomasville.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: And he—from Thomasville. That ain't that far from Jacksonville—Thomasville, Monticello, Jacksonville, Welaka. I had a uncle in Welaka. That was—my mother had two brothers and her one—my grandmother didn't have but three children, two boys and a girl. The one—one of the boys was a preacher. The other boy was just a man. And my mother she live here to be 102 right here before she passed. And my daddy lived to been 108 until he passed.

SMITH: [laughs] He took good care of himself.

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Well let me ask since you were talking about them in the cemeteries, Where are your family members buried?

COOK: Now, we got a cemetery over here on 251 called Windy Hill.

SMITH: Randall Hill?

COOK: Windy Hill.

SMITH: Oh Windy Hill?

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Yes, okay.

COOK: I need to get the cemetery book and show you the different—

SMITH: I have information on those but I just wanted to get your—

COOK: Oh, okay I got you then, I got you.

SMITH: Yeah I just want to—

COOK: Now on my daddy's side I got a lot of people with Windy Hill I don't even know. Now right here in Ardoch I got a brother and a sister and a granddaddy, two granddaddy. My daddy, step-daddy would be my great-granddaddy right?

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: All right my mother daddy, that's my granddaddy and her mother is my grandmother. So my grandmother in Ebenezer and the granddaddy right around there on (*unintelligible*), and I got a brother and a sister there on (*unintelligible*) down there.

SMITH: And then who is in Windy Hill from your family?

COOK: Well they don't—last I remember they using Windy Hill had to been like '43 or '42 and that was a man they buried used to live out there on 251 named Steve Mann.

SMITH: Steve Mang?

COOK: Steve Mann.

SMITH: Oh Mann.

COOK: That was my daddy first cousin if I ain't mistaken, Steve Mann was. He in Windy Hill. And my daddy Uncle August, Ishmael, and all them other. And I (*unintelligible*) is Uncle Ishmael. I didn't know Uncle August but I'd hear them talk about him enough that I remember his name. All right so Ishmael at Windy Hill, Uncle August is Windy Hill.

SMITH: And they were all Cooks?

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: But see now they was Nephews. My daddy come from the Nephew family and the Nephew family—

SMITH: How do you spell that?

COOK: My—Nephew?

SMITH: Yes.

COOK: N-E-V—let me let Leona spell that for you, but I can't leave from this (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Well I'll get that from you. I just want to get the name right, because it's probably in that book about the cemeteries.

COOK: Uh—

SMITH: And it starts with "N"?

COOK: N-E-V—Now I knew it when I see it but I just—

SMITH: Nebion? Did you say—

COOK: Nephew.

SMITH: Nevia?

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay, N-E-V-I-A-N pronounced.

COOK: Yeah, something like that, yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: Yeah—

SMITH: And—

COOK: That was my daddy uncle.

SMITH: Did they have their own little plot in the—or area within the cemetery where all of your people went? Did they have their own location or were they just put in different places?

COOK: What you mean?

SMITH: Well if you have your own little parcel—

COOK: Everybody had their own property in their own little house, everybody.

SMITH: Okay, so you didn't cluster—

COOK: My daddy. Uncle was up there to his house. My daddy mother was on the other side here. And everybody was family or no family. Like the Jones Family was over there. They had (*unintelligible*) house, they lived further over. And it's that one house is over there. That was Martha Jones. And she was a old lady when she died.

SMITH: Did they have any special family methods that they prepared the person for burial?

COOK: No—

SMITH: Did you have a setting up—

COOK: —if a person died—

SMITH: They have a setting up where people would come and visit before and to visit the person who died?

COOK: Right, ever how the weather was. It hot and you died last night they bury you today. No funeral home wasn't in the county here then. Only funeral home was uh—Abraham Brown got the funeral home now—was—what the man had name—Collin—Collins Funeral Home was in Brunswick and another one too in Savannah. Now when Cooper come in in forty—

SMITH: The 1940s?

COOK: 1943 or '44.

SMITH: But before that each family just took care of their own—

COOK: Their own—

SMITH: —person and got them ready for burial?

COOK: (*unintelligible*) family. See this like—okay somebody in my house here died last night and it's real hot. They set up over him that night. But now this one of the funniest thing I could ever see—they washes them and dress them. They wash them, dress them, and put them out on a cooling board.

SMITH: Right. I've heard of that, yes.

COOK: A cooling board. And that cooling board then they put a white sheet (*unintelligible*) whatnot. And the man over there used to call Shorty Fleming. Shorty Fleming was the casket man and (*unintelligible*) with his mule and wagon was the hearse.

SMITH: Oh the mule and wagon took them, yeah.

COOK: Took them to the cemetery. All right, and then they notified our preacher, ever who preacher ever what church they went to and that—with (*unintelligible*) the body to the dust and all that like they do now, it was none of that. They do just like you hear me saying, the weather what when they had to bury. All right, and when they bury them they—then that Saturday or Sunday like you see them having memorial service after they have one (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: A second funeral?

COOK: There you go.

SMITH: Right, right.

COOK: That's when they have the funeral.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: And ever who will say something over there. And even back then they got now is a picture. They didn't have no picture. All they done was come that Sunday and they put a wreath of flowers or something, and ever what seat they'll sit on in the church they'd put a black bow where that one sit.

SMITH: A black board?

COOK: Black bow.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: Just a bow what—just like tie one of them strap with a black bow.

SMITH: Oh okay a strap.

COOK: And that bow would be—ever what position they sitting on that seat that bow would be pinned to that seat.

SMITH: Okay a strap?

COOK: A strap.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: Uh-huh so—

SMITH: And then—so the preacher—as far as the pastor or the preacher went he—just whoever was associated—whatever church—

COOK: That Sunday—right. Then he would come and say what he had to say but the body be done buried.

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: That would be—right the second funeral where people would be able to come from other—

COOK: That's right—

SMITH: —other towns.

COOK: And then like—when back in then really the people anyway it wasn't (*unintelligible*) they didn't done no seeing of the body; the body be buried. They didn't keep no—like they keeping bodies now, a week and two weeks and all like that.

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: That—of now. That wasn't (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Right. Was there white and black people who would come to the cemetery—

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: —for the funeral? Whoever—

COOK: Whoever—

SMITH: —would pay their respects?

COOK: Because lot of people—see like the—well with the segregation or whatever (*unintelligible*) to see. We had two white people out here, Don McDonald and Grice okay. We had to get along with them just like we get along with us. We used to go to Don McDonald and people who didn't—all us had cows and hogs. This was open range. And then after with—with the open range that summer we'd kill a cow. During the winter we had our own meat with the smokehouse year-round. So people who didn't have no hog we'd give them meat. People who didn't have no cow we'd give them a piece of beef when we kill the cow. And the Bowens Family, the Jones Family—these are Jones here too, and the Smith Family across the road over there, and all of us but we wasn't segregated with no white people or nothing like—when the segregation passed it was same as it didn't pass (*unintelligible*) with all them I knew.

SMITH: Your neighbors?

COOK: I got lot of—

SMITH: Good neighbors?

COOK: Yeah, the (*unintelligible*) out there. The (*unintelligible*) out on 251 out there, Mr. uh—oh what that man that name? (*unintelligible*) and Ms. Robinson—oh K. G. Robinson, all them was white family. I still visit them and they do me too sometime. They visit me. If I don't see them for the certain length of time they check on me. I don't see them with a certain length of time I check on them. All right, with the Robinson, the Rawls, and uh (*unintelligible*) with the Boland and with Ann Poppell and Booty Goodrich (*unintelligible*). All of us we just like we always been.

SMITH: Good, yeah.

COOK: Now Ann that Junior Poppell mother. You know Junior Poppell? That's the lawyer at the county—

SMITH: Poppell, Poppell yes. I've heard that name.

COOK: Oh well okay he the county lawyer. He judge too now so they say, I don't know. But I mean, (*unintelligible*). And um we all got along good and still do. And don't mention the Jenkins, Dale Jenkins, he judge, a lawyer. He in Darien right there on 17 with his office right off from—and Poppell he down in the new division (*unintelligible*) and Junior Poppell and them, but (*unintelligible*) is white uptown there just before you get to Marine Hardware. Okay to the Marine Hardware I know all of them just as good as looking at that flowers there and knowing our name. They give us Thanksgiving Dinner. I goes and get Thanksgiving dinner with them every year over the (*unintelligible*). They give a dinner for the senior citizen. I go to senior citizen (*unintelligible*) too sometime but I goes to them over there. And they have a special good Thanksgiving dinner for us.

SMITH: How nice.

COOK: (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: You were pointing at that plant and I wondered at the cemetery did you often plant—put any plants there around the grave?

COOK: Um-hm. Well see, we got (*unintelligible*) to Ebenezer live plant right on. Now to Windy Hill Cemetery we used to—they don't do that no more.

SMITH: No?

COOK: Just like your coffee cup and saucer, I don't know why they would do that. They put that to the foot of the grave.

SMITH: The coffee cup and saucer?

COOK: Yeah. That your cup where you drink coffee out of every morning, they put it in that thing. Me and Ms. Holloway and them we dig up some of the prettiest antique out there to Windy Hill. You want to see what we do, they let us stick with the sharp thing. When we feel (*unintelligible*) out there and we dig it up to see what it is but we bury it back.

SMITH: People don't do that as much anymore?

COOK: They don't do that no more.

SMITH: Did you have an idea of why they were doing that, what it meant to them?

COOK: I would have the slightest idea. And what sense would it make? They can't drink no more coffee— [laughs] but they coffee cup and they saucer. See, they didn't drank—when I drink coffee now I don't drink—I don't have no saucer. I just drink the coffee out the cup or ever how I do it and they would have a saucer.

SMITH: A saucer right.

COOK: And they'd pour the coffee in that. It cool down time it get to them, then they'd drink it out the saucer. But um now I didn't see what sense that make either but that what they had done. And then it's a really so much things the (*unintelligible*) people used to do that really didn't make sense but they had done it. I used to—well I always plant my good garden until this year. First (*unintelligible*) take cataract off my right eye, the 19th of this month (*unintelligible*) he take that one off. So that why I ain't been doing nothing too much and still ain't doing it. And I just (*unintelligible*) to the (*unintelligible*) and was trying it out to see what I got. I might didn't fasten that clamp in that thing tight as it ought to been, because that thing didn't due to come out with a washer on each side of it and (*unintelligible*) it go in. It stays in there. And I got that from Marine Hardware and that was four dollars and some cents for that one (*unintelligible*) yeah.

SMITH: You mentioned the cup and saucer. Did they ever put shells around the graves?

COOK: Straw?

SMITH: Shells? Seashells?

COOK: Um-um. Well they put—just like that the grave, that pan, they put a piece of wood there and a piece of wood there.

SMITH: Piece of wood?

COOK: No name.

SMITH: Oh those were like the head—

COOK: So now when—

SMITH: —head and the footstone?

COOK: That's right—

SMITH: Just a blank—

COOK: The one to the foot shorter than the one to the—the head higher, the foot shorter.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: Now no one know that that is there but the one who put it there. And the next year it done rot. But now we didn't used to put (*unintelligible*) thing with Windy Hill.

SMITH: Who made those monuments, the headstones and the footstones? Was it the family or was there a person that specialized in that?

COOK: Now—see I have—I make them. I used to make them.

SMITH: Oh you used to?

COOK: I got one for my grandmother. Her name, her date of birth and everything I got on hers there. I made—now the one for my mother and dad we bought that. It's a combination, a twin.

SMITH: Oh you bought that one?

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: It was stone?

COOK: Stone.

SMITH: Stone?

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: That was from—

COOK: And then—

SMITH: —out of the city somewhere?

COOK: I don't know here my sister had get it from.

SMITH: Okay, you had to order it?

COOK: We had to order it. But anyway um—and who she order it from they the one put it out there. But anyway, Windy Hill got a lot of markers now with names just like Ardoch with a lot of markers with names and a lot no name. Now I don't know where my sister and brother were around there and (*unintelligible*). I used to know but the woods done grew up so and what and ever. I know their grave. You could tell where the grave is because it's—sink and uh—but where it is direct I couldn't tell you.

SMITH: What—can you describe a funeral that you went to when you were young?

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: What—and again, did people leave things then or did they put plants there? What are you memories of a typical funeral of your family?

COOK: See, they be done buried the dead (*unintelligible*) and they go to the church. And see having the funeral the preacher say what he have to say, and my daddy he was good on speaking over the dead or anything else. He was a good speaker. And then when they do that and it turned out all right. Back then they wasn't having the way they have now about no repast. The family was prepared wherever where they family come from—New York or Florida, wherever they come from, the family prepare a meal for them.

SMITH: The repast?

COOK: For the—right. But see like all these café and things wasn't like it is now. And then most of the café (*unintelligible*) back and then the black didn't have no restaurant and the white only was the restaurant.

SMITH: Oh you were saying there weren't any cafés?

COOK: Right.

SMITH: Okay, right.

COOK: Yeah see it was only like—okay like Archie Davis would be—you see where Texaco Station is? He was right in that U right there from where Texaco—Texaco a little farther down where they servicing cars and everything what they was doing in gas station just like they is too. But um the restaurant was like that (*unintelligible*). And the little shed belong to the back I would say like this porch. And the shed belong to the porch (*unintelligible*) for (*unintelligible*) for a hamburger—

SMITH: Uh-huh, around the back—

COOK: —or for—

SMITH: That was Archie's?

COOK: Archie Davis.

SMITH: Archie's. I've heard about that, yeah.

COOK: Yeah well this—I ain't talking about the one on 17, all that been built later; the one now uptown there. Now look how strange this is now—a black lady doing all the cooking for all and fixing this hamburger sandwich for us, and us in the back in that part back there with a hamburger sandwich, a pint of milk or ever what you get to go with the sandwich and the same woman cooking for the white cooking for the black too.

SMITH: In the front and in the back right?

COOK: And it was a black woman, okay. I don't know whether you know much—you know (*unintelligible*) a lot of cafes, a lot of café where you eat whatnot.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: You remember the year—I mean like way back with the early fifties I just saying because you young man, but the early fifties and sixties and whatnot, very seldom you would see a white lady working in places like that. The most would be black lady, all right. Looking at Seapac—Seapac started way out to Sea Garden on 99, leave there and go on the (*unintelligible*), and they leave there and build a Seapac plant out there on 251.

SMITH: And Seapac—

COOK: Not on 251, 301.

SMITH: Seapac stands for Southeastern—

COOK: There you go. All right—

SMITH: And the P-A-C I don't know what the P-A-C means.

COOK: Right. Now it's about 50/50 with black womens, white womens, white mens, black mens, all to Seapac. All right, when Seapac was over here the Sea Garden—Seapac I would say was (*unintelligible*). Now it's a (*unintelligible*) with the people there working in three shifts. When they been (*unintelligible*) they ain't had—I don't think they had but one shift then. If they did have two it just was two. Now they got three shifts. So that makes a great difference with the population and whatnot, all right breaking down to the woods.

SMITH: Yeah.

COOK: I used to (*unintelligible*) wood when we used to have to load that on the truck by hand.

SMITH: So your family didn't—I'm just wondering if there's anything else about leaving things at the grave that you can remember.

COOK: Leaving off the grave?

SMITH: Leaving things—you talked about the cup and the saucer and the headstone and the footstone.

COOK: Um-hm, that was all.

SMITH: And did you sweep—

COOK: They didn't even—

SMITH: —the ground—

COOK: No man. You been burying people six foot there.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: Six foot.

SMITH: Well some—I've seen some in other parts of—photographs where they swept it clean of all the—there wasn't any grass or anything so I just wondered.

COOK: Oh yeah, yeah they used to do that. They used to do that. Uh but really like around there (*unintelligible*) we call this muddying your gumbo, gumbo mud.

SMITH: Gumbo mud?

COOK: Yeah. Now you didn't find no grass growing on no grave too much, that clay dirt.

SMITH: It was wet.

COOK: Wet.

SMITH: Wet area.

COOK: And then when most time—like you say uh yeah just like say Memorial Day or whatever they go and clean that off and put a flowers out there.

SMITH: They put—okay when they would visit—

COOK: And visit—

SMITH: —they'd put flowers, okay.

COOK: Yeah, like Memorial Day or Mother Day. Uh what day—and then plenty of them used to do it between times, just celebrating and do it.

SMITH: Right.

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: What happened to the person's spirit after they died? (*unintelligible*)?

COOK: Hm—

SMITH: Any thoughts on that?

COOK: Now I hears people say that—say when a person die their spirit dwell around there two or three days. I wouldn't know now. I wouldn't know. But they say that. But I do know this, since the undertakers and things been around I never used to see no spirit or nothing but I have hear people say they see things and all like that but I hadn't. Now my brother had burned my grandfather hat up.

SMITH: Brought in—

COOK: Burned his hat up.

SMITH: Oh his hat?

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: Brought this hat—

COOK: After he died—

SMITH: Oh okay.

COOK: Yeah the hat was under the house and he burned it up and—

SMITH: He burned it up?

COOK: Burned the hat up, yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: And we had a wagon go around through there and go to the cane mill. And late that evening me and him come in from the mill and he say he had see him and he was on two crutch and had the hat on but he burned it up. Now that next day he got sick, that morning we was fixing to go to school. And only thing what he did is rear back in a chair and had his mouth open. And my mother had know Ms. Cornelia, the same lady I said across the road over there. My mother had walked over there and get her. And she come and ever what she done for him or to him the next day he gone to school. Now that same incident happened to one of my grandsons. This girl—the granddaughter had married to one of Ms. Katie Armstrong son and this little boy was playing with her in the casket.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: Yu don't let children play with no dead people. But I don't under—I don't know where I had to go that Saturday but I wasn't to her funeral; I was some other place. I always going somewhere. And that Saturday evening after coming from the funeral he was same as a dead person and he end up in St. Joseph in Savannah. And they must—they had know what was wrong or whatever. And so they tell her that didn't worry about it and say he'll be straightened out in a day or two. All right so that Sunday I visit. I gone over there and see him. And he just laying up there in the bed you know, but he—you could tell he still alive. But he was—I would say he had to been in a coma.

SMITH: Hm? This is the little boy that touched the dead person—

COOK: Playing with the dead person, right—

SMITH: —and this is what happened—oh.

COOK: Right. See, plenty eligible people plenty of time let children do what we shouldn't let them do. And Tanza and all them they—we call her Tanza. That ain't her name but her nickname—

SMITH: What is that called?

COOK: Her name Tanza.

SMITH: Oh Tanza.

COOK: Okay so that was her son. Now, her and all the other grown people—it ain't have to been her—any of the other eligible people if they see a child doing something wrong stop him. That what I do—white, black or ever who it might be if I see that child doing something he ought not do. And then I'll say, Baby don't do that, and you know talk to them nice and get them off from that. See, and I notice a lot of people if a baby they hand him across the casket, what reason I wouldn't know.

SMITH: I've heard of that, the youngest child across the casket.

COOK: Across—I don't know what that means, but anyway that what they do.

SMITH: What happened—the story about the hat? The man was going to—he—

COOK: Oh okay—

SMITH: Did he burn the hat or did he not?

COOK: He burned the hat up after grandpa died. And so we come in from the cane mill. They had cane over there we (*unintelligible*). We coming back. And when he see him then that next morning when he got sick. All right so what he done the old man had scare him.

SMITH: The old man—

COOK: It scare him. The old man had scare him. He just was a big boy. I was a boy too but I was—

SMITH: He had skinned, is that what you—

COOK: I said he scare him.

SMITH: He scared him?

COOK: Scare him, scare him, right.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: And ever where he—how he was but he didn't get sick from it until the next day. That morning we ready to go to school we have to walk across the woods there and go all the way to 251 to go to school. And that morning then when my mother go on over there and get her and come (*unintelligible*) he gone to school the next day.

SMITH: But he did burn the hat but he got sick for a short time after that?

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: So it's a lot I have see through life of being here them eighty-two years. If I live to see July, August, September I'll be eighty-four.

SMITH: Eighty-four?

COOK: Um-hm. How old you is?

SMITH: I'm fifty-six.

COOK: Oh you young man, fifty-six. I got children older than you.

SMITH: [laughs]

COOK: My oldest daughter born in '50 so she'll be sixty-one I think.

SMITH: Huh?

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Well let's see, a couple more things. Did any of your family participate in any of those burial association organizations like Odd Fellows or Knights of Pythias or the Masons? Did your family belong to any of those groups?

COOK: Yeah, me and my other sisters and brothers (*unintelligible*) my brother what I tell you bury out there. It was nine head of us.

SMITH: Nine?

COOK: It was nine head us children.

SMITH: Nine of you in your family?

COOK: Now it's six of us now.

SMITH: Uh-huh.

COOK: Three dead, one boy and two girls.

SMITH: And some of them did belong to one of those associations?

COOK: They right there yeah.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Did you ever leave a gift at a grave yourself?

COOK: Huh?

SMITH: Did you ever leave something at a grave?

COOK: No.

SMITH: No?

COOK: I don't believe in putting flowers to graves and all that. See, like the old man had say a song said if he could smell them flowers he could eat a plate of rice and lima bean. [laughter] The dead do know nothing and do nothing. Well read it, that what the Bible say, The dead knows nothing.

SMITH: They know nothing and they do nothing?

COOK: And they do nothing.

SMITH: And the Bible says.

COOK: But now that spirit they (*unintelligible*) will make—it'll scare you. Now I tell you what we have done me and my brother-in-law right there, we gone hunting. And I had two dogs tree a possum or a coon. And they tree a possum right across the road over there. And the possum right out on the limb. I look at him like I look at the (*unintelligible*) and start to shoot it. And he turned and say, No, say don't shoot him, I'll shake him out. He (*unintelligible*) shake him out but he didn't see nothing yet.

SMITH: Did he shake him out?

COOK: So that was—No, there was nothing up there to shake out.

SMITH: Oh—

COOK: It was a spirit.

SMITH: It was a spirit, just thought it was a raccoon?

COOK: And so instead of we turning around and come on back we gone on and the dog tree him every time. And when the dog tree him they'd shine the light up the tree and nothing they see.

SMITH: Nothing there?

COOK: That same spirit.

SMITH: The dog thought he saw it too?

COOK: Uh-huh.

SMITH: [laughs]

COOK: Now a spirit he'll scare that dog too. A spirit will scare a dog. And if that dog tuck his tail and come to you he see something he ought not see.

SMITH: Um.

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: And that spirit was—that just happened out hunting—

COOK: Right—

SMITH: —one day?

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: When people moved away from here after they died were their bodies ever brought back here?

COOK: Yeah, yeah plenty of time. They brought one um (*unintelligible*) from Darien, right down out there—back of Piggly Wiggly store in Darien.

SMITH: Yes?

COOK: It was last Saturday. She was up in Texas and she died and they bring the body back.

SMITH: Back from Texas?

COOK: And they buried her (*unintelligible*) in Darien. That we have family buried in.

SMITH: In Darien? Not in Windy Hill though?

COOK: No, no, no, no. Ain't no burying been done in Windy Hill since way back with the forties. Ain't none been done in Ardoch here until after '64; 1964 three of the Smith grand got burned up around there and they buried him right there in Ardoch, and ain't no burying been back in Ardoch since then. Their grandmother died since then but they buried her to Ebenezer.

SMITH: Ebenezer?

COOK: Un-huh. And uh some people was saying about they condemn Ardoch grave. They ain't condemn it. It was too much to dig in and too wet.

SMITH: Too much—

COOK: I remember in '55—(*unintelligible*) digging graves six foot.

SMITH: Six feet deep.

COOK: Six foot dep. And it come a big rain, fill that grave up, the water, and when (*unintelligible*) bring out of the church that Sunday he had to carry her back to the car. It was raining too much that evening. And that Monday when he bring her back to bury her two or three of us had to stand up on the casket for it go down in that water (*unintelligible*). And that's when my daddy quit burying down there. We moved to Ebenezer. That was in 1958.

SMITH: Do you have any—have you ever had any experience with Dunwoody or Ceylon Cemeteries?

COOK: Yeah. Well at Dunwoody—the Dunwoody Cemetery (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Right.

COOK: All right? But now see we had two cemeteries in Dunwoody—the one down there at Dunwoody Landing and the one, Churchill. Churchill over here.

SMITH: Oh, okay.

COOK: On Churchill Road.

SMITH: This one's on 251?

COOK: No, no just on Ebenezer—

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: —Road. Some people call it Ebenezer and some say Churchill, which it is Churchill. Old man Jimmy Church, the road was named after him just like this road just named after my daddy.

SMITH: Your daddy, yeah.

COOK: And Steve Jessup (*unintelligible*) to tell me—see my daddy had tried to get the road out there paved, he didn't. They didn't pave it. After he died I got it paved and Steve Jessup and David Erlane tell me say, After you were so interested in getting Ardoch Road paved when they finish with that we're going to pave your road (*unintelligible*). So they didn't tell me a joke, they told me the truth.

SMITH: They did it.

COOK: They (*unintelligible*) me to my (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Right there, named after your daddy.

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Do you have any old photographs of the area, old family photographs of cemeteries or the district over at Cathead Creek—perhaps not?

COOK: Um, only thing—I could get what I got but ain't no photograph.

SMITH: Okay. It's not a photograph?

COOK: Only photograph I got is this of the family.

SMITH: Mr. Cook's going to get a photograph now and I'll just wait for him. He says it's just around the corner.

END PART 1 OF 2

BEGIN PART 2 OF 2

SMITH: Well I'll be here this week and then I'm going to be coming back and going back and forth from St. Augustine for a few weeks though July.

COOK: In July?

SMITH: Through July, yes. And that's—yeah we have—we do have that book. That's a very useful book isn't it?

COOK: Huh?

SMITH: That's a good book.

COOK: Yeah, it's a good book.

SMITH: I do have a copy of that.

COOK: Oh you got a copy?

SMITH: I do have that, yeah.

COOK: Well I won't—see where Ms. Gladys Stone.

SMITH: Oh Mattie Gladstone, right yeah she—

COOK: You knew her?

SMITH: She did some archeological work and that's going to be part of our study to conserve that material and perhaps use it.

COOK: Twenty, twenty-five. Now what I telling you—see this Ardoch Plantation.

SMITH: That's the one out here, Ardoch, yes.

COOK: Yeah that's Ardoch Plantation. Now see we—that's what I want to show you and tell you too—a lot of these graves of these people now where we—you made a mistake with Rebecca Davis February, 1958. We got her in Ardoch Cemetery and she in Ebenezer Cemetery.

SMITH: Oh.

COOK: All right? A lot of these name uh—Victor Nephew, now he in Ardoch Cemetery. That's the one I tell you about.

SMITH: Is that the name you were talking about?

COOK: Oh that's the Nevia, that's the way you spell it.

SMITH: N-E

COOK: That's why I should have go get that book.

SMITH: N-E-P-H-E-W—

COOK: That's right—

SMITH: Like Nephew, okay.

COOK: Nephew.

SMITH: Got it.

COOK: That's his. All right. Now this Tana Gibbs I wouldn't direct know but 1928 that's a photo when my granny.

SMITH: Oh okay.

COOK: That was my granny. Okay, and it's nobody for ask (*unintelligible*) anybody. I the oldest one in Ardoch here now. I'm eighty-three and everything under me now. And all before was a fellow around here named Irvin Cumming. He was older than me. And now Ardoch, A-R-D-O-C-K, this Ardoch Cemetery. Okay, I got a—

SMITH: Well that's a little bit out of our district but that certainly is a useful book.

COOK: Huh?

SMITH: That's out of the area that we're studying—

COOK: Right, right. All right. This Ardoch Road (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Well is there any other stories that you can tell me related to the cemeteries or—that's interesting about the hat and the—

COOK: Uh-huh—

SMITH: —and the child who didn't know his manners about touching—playing with the dead person.

COOK: Oh (*unintelligible*), okay. Well that's the—

SMITH: Any other stories like that?

COOK: Now that is the only—see—uh—no ain't no evidence or nothing. I know (*unintelligible*) with the dead but see all these headstone—

SMITH: Headstones?

COOK: This is the McIntosh Family and Gould Cemetery, Harris Neck, and all different things like that, okay. But now—see now that was handmade with that scratchy writing (*unintelligible*), okay. That probably was professional, Mr. Poppell Cemetery. (*unintelligible*). And now—what you say now?

SMITH: Well I just—you were saying that you made the ones for your family for a time, you made the head and footstones yourself. You made some headstones and you inscribed name and date on them—

COOK: Um-hm.

SMITH: Yes.

COOK: Well see now the kind I used to make is something like this, and then I had wires bent with all alphabet to put the name in it while it was wet.

SMITH: Oh right.

COOK: And then when it—

SMITH: —in concrete?

COOK: —dried some I clean them out, you know, (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: So you made them with concrete?

COOK: Yeah.

SMITH: Oh okay, and you scratched in when they were wet, I see, okay.

COOK: And the concrete I made it (*unintelligible*) like that. I cut steel rod. I had a wire that (*unintelligible*) and put in. And so they just as good as any of them (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Um-hm.

COOK: Uh—

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: You see the—like today well that's all I know. [laughs] (*unintelligible*) today (*unintelligible*) shut up with them overnight and ever what the weather like I say. They bury them the next day and then that weekend they have the funeral. Shorty Fleming made the casket.

SMITH: Shorty Fleming, he made the caskets?

COOK: He made the casket. And then see what he have done, he make the casket and then a rough box what he call it. That rough box that take the place—all you got now is a vault.

SMITH: A rough box?

COOK: Yeah, the rough box. And the casket he make that's where they first (*unintelligible*) and clothes and everything and (*unintelligible*) the rough box—that casket sat in the rough box, and all that's six foot deep.

SMITH: Okay.

COOK: Now you ain't got but 27-inch, and a lot of them less than what I noted up here to Sea Garden on 17, a memory garden (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: So they put the casket in the rough box—

COOK: There you go—

SMITH: —and bury them both?

COOK: There it is, right.

SMITH: And sometimes you said because of water you had to stand on the casket to get it to go down—

COOK: Right, Right—

SMITH: —before you put that—

COOK: Um-hm—

SMITH: That um—

COOK: And them—

SMITH: —gumbo on it.

COOK: This object we had to find it, it was a sharp, pointed stick in the ground, just like I hitting on that book. That bowl down there just as solid as a dollar.

SMITH: What's that again?

COOK: That bowl just as solid as a dollar in the ground.

SMITH: It was?

COOK: See the (*unintelligible*) you know and when we (*unintelligible*) down and hit that casket and hit—it's six foot down there in the ground. Some of them I thought used to be longer than that. Now this is the McDonald and the Davis Cemetery. Now all them graves there but who got the name, nobody. If somebody family don't know their name they out, somebody family.

SMITH: Yeah. Well I think you answered all my questions.

COOK: Yeah. I glad I could have—was going to invite you to the—it'll be on the 15th, that'll be third Sunday of next month at St. Mark AME. You come in from this way?

SMITH: Yes.

COOK: Okay then you might have see the church on the right with a sign in the front, right in the front if you had paid attention before you get to 95 coming over. And we having a 100th aniversay the 15th of next month. And I was going to invite you out; will be glad to have you.

SMITH: Oh that'd be nice. I don't know—I think I'll—know if I'll be here then but let me give you my phone number and if you think of anybody at the church who maybe could also give an interview I'd appreciate that.

COOK: Um-hm. Well I'm going to have a history book out. It was organized in 1912 and it's 2012.

SMITH: Yeah, a hundred years.

COOK: One hundred years. All right, now (*unintelligible*) rattlesnake (*unintelligible*), a shanty. You know what a shanty is?

SMITH: A little shed, kind of a little house, small—yeah, a shanty.

COOK: You ever see one?

SMITH: I've seen fishing shanties that they use to fish up—

COOK: Oh okay. Well these sawmill—sawmill quarters had them. And over on—where I'm talking about with rattlesnake (*unintelligible*) the shanty there was maybe four or five mens was sleeping in that, the sawmill. See they was from Liberty County; C. B. Jones had a mill over there. And they was staying in that. And they (*unintelligible*). I reckon it was (*unintelligible*). And (*unintelligible*) where he's sitting out there but that (*unintelligible*). The first one was the shanty, the next one was (*unintelligible*) building was built out of miscut lumber. See now I think about

sawmill all the slab they used to burn that up, all the miscut board. If people want them they could have get them but they burn that out. All right, a lot of people had built houses out of miscut board. And you used to could have get No. 2 board. All the board now No. 1. Didn't care how much knot it got in it. Like these plywood I got here you didn't used to see nothing like that. Plywood like this that'd be No. 2; everything now No. 1. That good what it doing with the gas price, they coming down at least (*unintelligible*), little more and little more. But really, everything (*unintelligible*) until it'll make a new world.

SMITH: Well I appreciate all that you've told me today.

COOK: Uh-huh, I glad I could have—

[end]

Nathaniel Grovner
Born: 1942 (Age 71)
Interview Location: Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: August 21, 2012

GREG SMITH: It is August 21, 2012, we're in Darien, Georgia and I'm with Reverend Nathaniel Grovner. Reverend would you tell me when you were born, where you were born, and a little bit about yourself?

NATHANIEL GROVNER: Yes, my name is Nathaniel Grovner. I'm a resident, lifelong resident of McIntosh County. I've lived in McIntosh all of my life and that would be better than sixty-nine—I'll be seventy in December. My father came from Sapelo Island, he met my mother who lived in Townsend, and they got married and gave birth to me. I was born December 15, 1942 here in McIntosh County.

SMITH: And how do you spell your name?

GROVNER: I spell my name Nathaniel, N-A-T-H-A-N-I-E-L, last name is Grovner, G-R-O-V-N-E-R.

SMITH: How did your family come to inhabit McIntosh County? How far back does that go, your family history?

GROVNER: Quite a distance back. My grandparents moved to McIntosh from Liberty County and settled out in Townsend, Georgia and that's where I was born.

SMITH: So they wouldn't have—or did they have any overlap with the plantation system that was—we're focusing on Cathead Creek here was a district that was—was that after the plantation years that they moved here?

GROVNER: I really can't answer that one because I know they had Butler Island Plantation. I really can't answer that.

SMITH: Okay. And so they—your family didn't have any association with Cathead Creek, any of those seven plantations along there but how about with Butler Island?

GROVNER: No, they didn't have none with Butler—

SMITH: They work there I mean?

GROVNER: Some of them probably worked there on the plantation. They had rice and lettuce was grown there and that would provide work for them.

SMITH: Do you think that was the first part of the 20th century or earlier than that?

GROVNER: It would have been—the 20th century (*unintelligible*). What year would you be—

SMITH: 1900?

GROVNER: Yeah, it would have been in 1900.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: So the plantation system was in the past by then but they did work over there? They had a lot of livelihood opportunities to make a living on Butler in the early 20th century?

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. And so your father lived on Sapelo?

GROVNER: Yeah, he was from Sapelo Island.

SMITH: Okay. Moving away from Cathead Creek then I want to talk with you about funeral and burial practices. I imagine as a reverend you've done a lot of services over the years and we'll get to that. Where are your family members buried?

GROVNER: My family members are buried out at Churchill Cemetery.

SMITH: In Townsend or where is that?

GROVNER: Well you could call that Townsend.

SMITH: Crescent north of Darien?

GROVNER: Yeah, north of Darien, um-hm.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: What they call Churchill.

SMITH: Church—how is that spelled? Church—

GROVNER: Churchill.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: And that's where my family members are buried out there.

SMITH: Who kept the burial records at that time?

GROVNER: A lady by the name of Ms. Mattie Gladstone.

SMITH: I know of her. I haven't met her personally but um-hm.

GROVNER: She has pretty much a history of all the cemeteries here in McIntosh County.

SMITH: She gathered them from descendants?

GROVNER: Yeah.

SMITH: Got it all together. She does have that book out about the different cemeteries and how generally to get there.

GROVNER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay. At your—where your family is buried are there any special borders and edges to it? You have a family plot within the cemetery? Is everybody together?

GROVNER: Yes, we have a family plot in the cemetery and you'll find members of my family buried there. Members of the Mitchell family is buried there.

SMITH: They related to you, the Mitchells?

GROVNER: No.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: Uh-uh. The Dunwoodys.

SMITH: They're at Churchill Cemetery as well?

GROVNER: They're at Churchill.

SMITH: Oh not at the Dunwoody Cemetery necessarily?

GROVNER: Right, right.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: And I know those are three families, those three families. And you have the Ogasburn.

SMITH: How do you spell that?

GROVNER: O-G-A-S-B-U-R-N.

SMITH: Oh okay, Ogasburn?

GROVNER: Uh-huh. Family members buried there.

SMITH: And your family, how are the graves marked?

GROVNER: Most of them have a cement slab with the name on top of it.

SMITH: An upright slab or over the interment itself?

GROVNER: Over the—some have an upright slab and some have the slab on top of the—cement slab.

SMITH: And were those marked at the time?

GROVNER: Yeah, yeah.

SMITH: So the person was buried and then the cement for those—horizontal caps let's say of cement or concrete cement. Somebody would put that there and then they would etch in the name and the dates and things like that?

GROVNER: Yeah. The cement slab was put there. They're buried in a cement vault and the vault is covered with the cement slab.

SMITH: So the vault had sides and they went down?

GROVNER: Right.

SMITH: How deep was that?

GROVNER: Supposed to be six feet down.

SMITH: Oh they filled—they surfaced the entire pit?

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Oh.

GROVNER: And then they would take and put a marker about twelve by twenty-four inch—twelve inches by twenty-four inches marker with the name, the year they're born and the year they died on that—engraved in that marker.

SMITH: And that stood upright or that was on—

GROVNER: Some are upright—

SMITH: And some was in—

GROVNER: Then some just flat on top of the cement slab.

SMITH: Okay. Who did the vaults? Who—was that a mason or the family do that or—

GROVNER: There was a fellow by the name of Joe Frazier that make cement vaults and they would put them in the cement vault and put them in the ground.

SMITH: And this was about what time period when that practice was in use?

GROVNER: I'll say the eighties.

SMITH: Oh the eighties, so recently?

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. Let's change the focus a little bit here, what—how was a person's body prepared for burial back say in the old days?

GROVNER: They—

SMITH: As far back as you can remember or you've heard from people?

GROVNER: The mortician at that time was H.G. Cooper who would get the bodies and embalm them, get them ready for burial. And before we went to cement vaults we had wooden vaults made.

SMITH: That lined the shaft, is that right, the same as the concrete did?

GROVNER: Yeah, yeah. Wooden vaults were made and then they would take the body, the casket, and put it inside the wooden vault. But the wood vault would have a tendency to decay over a period of time.

SMITH: Um-hm.

GROVNER: Um-hm. And the county has really demolished that Churchill Cemetery. They've gone in there and dug sand out to build roads and it's really got—it's not a nice site to have to go to.

SMITH: And is that the same one you mentioned, Churchill?

GROVNER: Churchill Cemetery.

SMITH: And who keeps that cemetery up today? You say it's not the best place to visit.

GROVNER: The family members would go out and clean the gravesites for those different families.

SMITH: Just as needed or was there a certain day during the year?

GROVNER: Really it has been as needed, but we made a commitment the other day to keep our plot clean at least once a month during the season that grass is growing.

SMITH: Were there any borders used like grasses or bricks or a fence or anything like that or was it all just open area?

GROVNER: It's just an open area.

SMITH: But your family at least is clustered in a certain portion of the cemetery—

GROVNER: Right, um-hm.

SMITH: You've just continued to use that as possible?

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. How have funerals changed in your memory since you were younger? Are they different?

GROVNER: With the exception of—like I say before we used to bury in a wooden casket but now we've gone to the cement vault which would be there for quite some time, wherein the wooden vault would eventually—water would cause it to rot and—but so going from wooden vault to cement vaults has been a great change in the way we bury.

SMITH: Um-hm. And those cement vaults are still in use today?

GROVNER: Yes.

SMITH: They don't just dig the shaft and put the casket in there, the vaults are still in use?

GROVNER: Right.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: In your memory were you ever told about earlier times—I've been given to understand that because it's so hot here often when people died before the mortician was around they had to bury people pretty quickly after they died. Have you heard any mention of that? No?

GROVNER: No I haven't.

SMITH: Okay. White and black people both attend services depending on how well they know the person?

GROVNER: Yes.

SMITH: And well in Churchill cemetery, is that a black cemetery or is it mixed? Is there separate—

GROVNER: It's a black cemetery.

SMITH: It is? Okay.

GROVNER: Um-hm. Now if you go down the road—going down Highway 17 you come to the road and just right across from I-95 you will come to Ebenezer Cemetery and at Ebenezer you have both races buried there.

SMITH: Is it a more recent cemetery than the others or just has that different history?

GROVNER: It has different history but it has been in existence as long as I can remember.

SMITH: Now I was going to ask who gave the services at people's funerals. Maybe you could answer that first and then I'll ask you about your personal experience with doing services.

GROVNER: As far as mortician service most of it is done by Darien Funeral Home here in Darien. First it was H.G. Cooper Funeral Home and after he passed one of his assistants by the name of Nathan Gilbert now operates the Darien Funeral Home who provide the services for African Americans here in McIntosh County.

SMITH: They do the burial preparations. Do they do the services as well or are there local pastors involved?

GROVNER: Mostly the local pastor would officiate the different services.

SMITH: What happens to the person's spirit when they die?

GROVNER: [laughs] That's one that have always fascinated me. I can't—I really can't answer that

SMITH: No? Okay.

GROVNER: I imagine it goes—it's resting until they meet their savior, when Jesus come. But that's something—yeah I can't exactly say what happened to it because I just go on the assumption—the parable that Jesus left when he was down here. He was buried, stayed three days and three night in the grave and early that next—on the third day he rose, it's all power in his hand so to me that's always a mystery.

SMITH: Um-hm. What about singing at the funerals, at the services? How does that work? Is there typical songs or does it vary? Again, thinking back from what you might remember from past.

GROVNER: Well they try to do songs similar to around funerals. I know some that I love is as they're bringing the body and the family in the church "Soon and Very Soon", Some Glad Morning "I'll Fly Away", "When the Saints Go Marching in". Those are some of the—and they normally have a choir to sing. And they have quite a few great soloists that would sing here in the county. A lady named Venus McKiver is an excellent one. Another good one is Loretta Lotson. All of those are—and Mary Lou Jackson is another one. They're great soloists that people love to get to sing at funerals.

SMITH: Does it seem that there's a tradition of doing a lot of those same kind of songs? Like "I'll Fly Away" has that stayed kind of constant? And some of those may have been field songs do you think from way back when?

GROVNER: No, they still sing them now.

SMITH: Sure they do but they may have had that origin. They may have been—

GROVNER: Right, um-hm.

SMITH: One of your old associates, friend perhaps too, Sammie Pinkney actually sang a couple of songs.

GROVNER: Yeah, Sammie sings—

SMITH: He's a soloist.

GROVNER: —solos at funerals also.

SMITH: Uh-huh

GROVNER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Part of what we're doing is trying to find some of these older cemeteries that have been swallowed up by vegetation and then come up with plans to preserve them. So we always want to know more about the markers. You talked about the slab and the upright piece. Do you know anything about further back than that when they used wooden markers perhaps or any other ways that burials were marked?

GROVNER: No because that was before my time.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: That was before my time.

SMITH: There wasn't a lot of—it was passed down related to that?

GROVNER: Right. Right.

SMITH: Okay. And you said as far as the vaults, as far as making them there was a person who did that but then the markers themselves - did the family members sometimes do them or was there some place where you could go and get a monument and have it—

GROVNER: There's a place that would engrave.

SMITH: And we're getting into more recent times?

GROVNER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Okay. So the old lore from the last century or so we don't know that much about that.

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. Have you heard of marking graves again in the past with personal items like plates or bowls or things like that?

GROVNER: I've heard of that but I've never actually seen any of it done.

SMITH: No? Even at the older cemeteries you've just never seen it?

GROVNER: Right.

SMITH: Okay.

GROVNER: Right.

SMITH: You haven't seen shells, anything like that?

GROVNER: Um-um.

SMITH: No? Okay. Any idea what the—being a reverend you do have any idea what the significance of those sort of things left at the grave might have had?

GROVNER: No I don't.

SMITH: Okay. That's always the hard part isn't it—

GROVNER: Yeah—

SMITH: —knowing the meaning behind what happened [laughs] in the past. What about plants put at graveside?

GROVNER: We used to go out and buy a lot of plants and take out there and meet at the grave but mostly now people give token, monetary gift to the family, more so than going out and buying flowers, but years ago we—big on going out buying flowers, sending a floral, but now they mostly send a token to the family.

SMITH: So as far as you are aware not a tradition of planting a plant at the grave?

GROVNER: We don't see very much of that now.

SMITH: Okay. And they used to call those—back in early time they used to call them setting up where people would come when they had to bury people real quickly and put them in the ground within a day or so and then sometimes later they would have a second funeral. Have you ever heard of that or been to one of those?

GROVNER: Um-um.

SMITH: For family members that live far away? Okay. Do you have any memories of some of the earliest funerals that you attended as a child?

GROVNER: Yeah, like I say they would—as far as the service, service would pretty much be the same. Years ago we buried in wooden coffins and put a top on top of the wooden coffin and then put sand on top of that, but now we gone to burying in cement vaults and that vault will come up so high and then they would put a cement slab top on top of that and pretty much that's what you would see at dirt level.

SMITH: Any members of your family participate in any of those burial associations like the Odd Fellows or the Knights of Pythias or the Masons?

GROVNER: Occasionally some of them was a member of the different—the Masons and—

SMITH: The women have Eastern Star.

GROVNER: Eastern Star, um-hm.

SMITH: When you were officiating at some of these funerals was there that aspect of it? Was there—

GROVNER: Yes.

SMITH: Is that separate or did it take place at the same time or—

GROVNER: The ministry would normally perform the burial activity, committing the body to the ground and then the Eastern Star or the Masons would come around and do their ritual.

SMITH: Afterward or at the same time?

GROVNER: At the same time.

SMITH: Okay. And they had certain things that they said and—

GROVNER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: Was it always something that you felt a part of or was it something that had a secret aspect to it?

GROVNER: It was something that you felt a part of. I mean, they would go through their ritual and you're standing there watching it.

SMITH: All right. Did you ever leave a gift at someone's grave, a remembrance of some sort?

GROVNER: No.

SMITH: No? And you talked about who made the—well you talked about the wooden boxes. Was that a formal casket or was that just a wooden box kind of thing that someone made?

GROVNER: That was a wooden box that was made and—you had the wooden box and then put inside the wooden box you would have the coffin.

SMITH: Okay. So someone—you bought the—the coffin was purchased and then what about the wooden box? Where did the family get that?

GROVNER: That came through the mortician.

SMITH: Okay it did?

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: When people have moved away from here is it common that their bodies are brought back and they're buried here in the family cemetery?

GROVNER: Quite a few of them.

SMITH: Um-hm.

GROVNER: Quite a few of them.

SMITH: Okay. And do you have any specific memories of any of the cemeteries here in this Cathead Creek area of having been there, like Ceylon for example, Dunwoody?

GROVNER: Dunwoody—I think that's Dunwoody over there where the El Cheapo station—

SMITH: Um-hm, El Cheapo gas Station, right—

GROVNER: —is built. At the time it was built I think it was built on top of—I meant—there were some graves there and—but they had a service where they removed those bodies from that area and placed it back behind El Cheapo and they had me to officiate that service.

SMITH: So the bodies were moved from in the vicinity of El Cheapo—

GROVNER: Uh-huh.

SMITH: —the gas station? And then also as I understand it a road that was built that goes back to the north.

GROVNER: Um-hm.

SMITH: So was that at the same time, both of those?

GROVNER: Yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And they called you in and you officiated and they were placed in what now has a wooden fence around it?

GROVNER: Right, right.

SMITH: Okay. So did you get a sense of how big that cemetery was? That little fence doesn't quite do it justice does it?

GROVNER: No I didn't. But I think Eunice Moore was active in that—who (*unintelligible*) will give you some—shed some light on that.

SMITH: She certainly did yes when we spoke.

GROVNER: Okay.

SMITH: And I don't imagine you have any photographs of old family members or these cemeteries way back in time?

GROVNER: No I don't. No I don't, um-um.

SMITH: Okay. Okay. Well I'll just ask you after I turn this off just about some other possibilities for interviews, some other people. You mentioned one name I want to ask you about, but I really appreciate your time, and thank you very much.

GROVNER: You're certainly welcome.

[end]

Cornell Hawkins
Born: 1940 (Age 73)
Interview Location: Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: August 9, 2012

GREG SMITH: It is August 9, 2012. I'm in Darien with Mr. Cornell Hawkins. We're expecting his son Anthony to join us but for now it's just the two of us. Mr. Hawkins, would you tell me when you were born and a little bit about your—what occupations you've had?

CORNELL HAWKINS: Well my name is Cornell Leon Hawkins. I was born right in McIntosh County, born in 1940, December 8, 1940. And I worked at—the first job I had was at the city, doing the city truck picking up trash. And I quit that and went shrimp fishing for about twenty-something years, and stopped fishing and I went to Florida and got on a shrimp boat. I fished in Florida, Texas, Carolinas.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: That was it.

SMITH: You've been busy.

HAWKINS: Been busy yeah.

SMITH: Does your family have any association with any of the plantations in the Cathead Creek area?

HAWKINS: Well my great-grandfather used to work—I don't know what his job was but I know they said he would pick up some of the workers in the morning and take them to Butler Island, go back in the afternoon and pick them up and bring them back to the filling station.

SMITH: That was your grandfather?

HAWKINS: Yeah.

SMITH: And your great-grandfather, any history on him that you remember?

HAWKINS: No, I don't remember nothing but him but I know my grandfather he—that's what he used to do.

SMITH: Okay. Would they have been from this area as well, earlier?

HAWKINS: Right from McIntosh County, yeah.

SMITH: They were here but that information just hasn't really been passed down?

HAWKINS: That's right.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: Yeah. But we used to live in north—they call it North Darien now. And that's where he I guess was born and raised out that way.

SMITH: So your grandfather would take the workers and drop—

HAWKINS: To—drop them to work and go back and pick them up.

SMITH: At Butler Island—

HAWKINS: At Butler Island yeah.

SMITH: —to the south of here?

HAWKINS: Yeah.

SMITH: What kind of jobs were they involved in?

HAWKINS: They was cutting lettuce and milking cows and about all they—and butchering. They had a butcher shop over there too.

SMITH: So they were able to live here in Darien but they were able to go there to Butler Island—

HAWKINS: Butler Island, yeah.

SMITH: —for employment?

HAWKINS: For employment, yeah that's most—most of them been doing that—during that time. And they'd get their little money.

SMITH: Um-hm, so they didn't have the workforce—

HAWKINS: Yeah—

SMITH: —down there to the south?

HAWKINS: No they—

SMITH: It's farther to get to Brunswick—

HAWKINS: (*unintelligible*). During that time they didn't hardly leave—McIntosh County they didn't hardly leave. People was (*unintelligible*) fishing (*unintelligible*). They would do their little job and come on back to the house or go pick dog-town in the afternoon.

SMITH: Pick what?

HAWKINS: Dog-town.

SMITH: Pick—

HAWKINS: At least they go in the woods and they used to pay what 40 cent a pound for it.

SMITH: What was—how was that used?

HAWKINS: They would make tobacco out of it.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: Dry it and make tobacco. It was—now it's about five dollars a pound.

SMITH: Hm, it's still in use?

HAWKINS: It's still—there's still—some places still buy it. They still sell it, sell—

SMITH: Is that a practice that goes back a long way?

HAWKINS: That's old. That's (*unintelligible*) during the thirties. Yeah they pick dog-town. I used to pick it myself.

SMITH: Dog-town, okay. And I just—do you think people in this area did that way back—

HAWKINS: They knows about—oh yeah they been doing it forever.

SMITH: Um-hm. So the slaves might have—

HAWKINS: Yeah—

SMITH: —have used that?

HAWKINS: Yeah because my momma born in 1926 and I know she used to pick it. It was back there a while they used to pick that dog-town.

SMITH: When was this ferry operating that took the people back and forth—

HAWKINS: That's during the—must be during the thirties.

SMITH: The thirties?

HAWKINS: Had to been during the thirties.

SMITH: Okay. So you don't have any familiarity with the plantations here, the rice plantations?

HAWKINS: No, the rice plantation that was before my time I'll say.

SMITH: Okay. And like you said you don't know—you know that your people that predated that time were from here but—

HAWKINS: They were from here, yeah.

SMITH: But you just don't know what—how they made their living?

HAWKINS: I mean they had to have made their living picking that dog-town or working on Butler Island because that's the only they could do. And I think the lettuce is a seasonal work. You had to plant it during the summer months and then cut it and wait until next year to plant some more and cut it. That's what kind of work they was doing and picking that dog-town and picking huckleberries too during that time. You could go anywhere in the woods and make you a couple dollars picking huckleberries because they grow—they grow wild and plentiful out there in (*unintelligible*) pasture. They used to get tar—I mean not tar, gum.

SMITH: From the pines?

HAWKINS: From—yeah that's from pine trees. My uncle used to do that. Grand-uncle and my uncle they used to get pine or pine tar. I think he did that until he died, he got tar.

SMITH: And did they hunt and fish, trap as well?

HAWKINS: Hunt and fish oh yeah, trap yeah. They (*unintelligible*) call living on the land.

SMITH: Right. And were there wild plants they might have used too besides the dog-town?

HAWKINS: Oh yeah all kinds for medicine, oh yeah they used all kind of things.

SMITH: Which ones do you remember?

HAWKINS: I remember the first thing I ever took was sheep dung.

SMITH: Sheep dung?

HAWKINS: Yeah used for whooping cough.

SMITH: Oh.

HAWKINS: You can drop—drop so many drops on a tablespoon of sugar and swallow it. Next morning you get up that whooping cough gone.

SMITH: You—say that again for me. You put some sugar on the—

HAWKINS: Sugar on—

SMITH: —the sheep dung.

HAWKINS: On the sheep dung and drink it.

SMITH: Oh. Oh you'd mix it in water or something?

HAWKINS: Yeah.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: What you do boil that sheep dung, strain that out in a cloth and mix sugar in it and drink it.

SMITH: Oh. That's an old family recipe.

HAWKINS: [laughs] Yeah that's—that was a good one.

SMITH: Any other healing plants were used or—this wasn't a plant but—

HAWKINS: This was—[rooster crowing] they used to use a—what you call a—shoot—patamada root.

SMITH: Which root?

HAWKINS: Patamada.

SMITH: Patamada?

HAWKINS: Do you know what Patamada is?

SMITH: No.

HAWKINS: See it growing right yonder, big thing all the way in them bushes yonder?

SMITH: Uh-huh.

HAWKINS: That's patamada. You get the middle of that and it's supposed to kill any fever you get.

SMITH: Oh good for fever?

HAWKINS: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: Chop it down to the (*unintelligible*) and get the middle of it, cook that, ain't got to worry about no fever no more.

SMITH: Those are two I haven't heard of. Any other ones?

HAWKINS: There's about two or three more I heard about but I never had used but I used that. And let's see, fig—they used the fig for—yeah fig tree give off a thing look like—it look like milk but it's not no milk. You pull—you could pull a leaf off it and stuff that runs off—it looks just like milk but it's good for toothache.

SMITH: Oh.

HAWKINS: I use that.

SMITH: Okay. Well let's move onto cemeteries then. Where are your family members buried?

HAWKINS: Okay, here on 251.

SMITH: The cemetery's on 251?

HAWKINS: Yeah. You got the Butlers and the Shaws on 251 yeah.

SMITH: You know which one that was? Is it Ceylon or Dunwoody?

HAWKINS: Dunwoody is the—the first one Ceylon and then Dunwoody the one closer to town.

SMITH: Um-hm.

HAWKINS: All my people that passed they gone, they're buried out in Dunwoody most of them what they didn't move. When they put 95 they moved a lot of the—a lot of the graves got moved.

SMITH: Oh.

HAWKINS: And nobody knew who moved them or where they been put at.

SMITH: I see, hm. So that was in the seventies?

HAWKINS: Yeah that was late seventies.

SMITH: Under what's now Interstate 95—

HAWKINS: Interstate 95, yeah—

SMITH: —and they moved them to an unknown place.

HAWKINS: Yeah, they were moved to an unknown place. Majority of the people that was out there got moved.

SMITH: And that was Dunwoody?

HAWKINS: Um-hm.

SMITH: And some of your family were in Ceylon as well?

HAWKINS: Ceylon yeah. That's where they buried—that's where the—after 95 came that close (*unintelligible*) when they started up to Dunwoody cemetery.

SMITH: And what were their names?

HAWKINS: The Shaws and the Butlers is all out there.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: Harold Butler, Liza Butler. Then they got my grandmamma Liza. She's a Shaw by marriage now but at that time she was a Butler.

SMITH: So back to your grandfather's time you're aware of are there any people earlier than that that you know of that were buried in either of those cemeteries?

HAWKINS: Butlers—Bessie, my great grand-auntie Bessie Butler. She's buried out there but I don't think they—nobody know where the grave was at now.

SMITH: Didn't have a marker?

HAWKINS: They had a marker during the time they buried her but when 95 came in, you know, they used to use the cemetery as a dump, parking trucks so (*unintelligible*) graves were ran over and nobody, you know, even thought about it until after they got through with 95.

SMITH: Oh. Were your family's—well you said two different cemeteries there Ceylon and Dunwoody.

HAWKINS: Um-hm.

SMITH: Did they have their own little family areas?

HAWKINS: They had their own plot. Yeah, they had their own plot.

SMITH: For the family?

HAWKINS: For the family, yeah.

SMITH: Uh-huh.

HAWKINS: Uh-huh. They're still out there now, the Butlers.

SMITH: The Butlers, okay.

HAWKINS: Butlers out there now (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: And why were they in both Ceylon and Dunwoody?

HAWKINS: Well (*unintelligible*) that making 95 they used to—in the cemeteries it was cleanest spot there and they'd park their trucks and run over the graves and do all kind of old crazy things. (*unintelligible*) the summer and the grave didn't have no—just the stuff was running over.

SMITH: Would that have been a wooden marker do you think?

HAWKINS: Yeah it had to have been wooden most of it during that time. There's one that—yeah most of them was wood. There wasn't no casket made out of the stuff they make them out of now.

SMITH: Back in the early days how was a person's body prepared for burial?

HAWKINS: It was—(*unintelligible*) come here they didn't prepare no body. You died that day they buried you that same day or the next day. One time I heard they put—my uncle got drowned when he ride.

SMITH: He got what?

Hawkins: Drowned.

SMITH: He got drowned, oh.

HAWKINS: Yeah. And they found him (*unintelligible*) few days after he drowned. And they bring him to the house and put some (*unintelligible*) ice on him and kept him about two days and put him in the hole.

SMITH: Are there any stories about how they used to have the body like for a setting-up period before the funeral?

HAWKINS: Not many. Not many of them.

SMITH: No?

HAWKINS: Because during the time when my uncle—that's the only time they kept him is until—you could smell him before you got to him. And the only thing they could do is put that ice on him and had the funeral and then buried him.

SMITH: Were there any markers? Like was your family plot, did it have a fence around it or—

HAWKINS: No, no during that time they didn't put no (*unintelligible*) there.

SMITH: Just a certain area?

HAWKINS: Area that you call a cemetery to go out there when they—your folks want to get buried right there you pick out what spots you want, give the man twenty-five or thirty dollars and that's where you was at.

SMITH: Okay. And you return to the same spot whenever you could?

HAWKINS: Yeah. Then when you want to put somebody else you turn to that same spot, they'll have a spot.

SMITH: Okay. And then were there any things that were left at the graves back in the old days? Like did they use plants to mark the graves or use personal—

HAWKINS: They'll use plant—cedar trees, and—oak trees was in there but they didn't—they cut most of them oak trees down but they used cedar and they used hages.

SMITH: What is that?

HAWKINS: Hages.

SMITH: Hages?

HAWKINS: Um-hm. That's like right there growing, they used them to put in the head.

SMITH: Kind of an ornamental bush?

HAWKINS: Uh-huh.

SMITH: They put that at the foot and the head?

HAWKINS: Uh-huh, yeah.

SMITH: Okay. And then was the—that cemetery area or at least your family area was it maintained? Was it—

HAWKINS: During that time the prison used to come here once a year.

SMITH: Who did?

HAWKINS: The prison.

SMITH: Prisoners?

HAWKINS: Yeah prisoner come and work for the Sheriff's department and every year he'd have—when they get through cleaning up people land he—the sheriff would carry them out there and clean the cemetery.

SMITH: Oh, okay. Like a public works project?

HAWKINS: Yeah.

SMITH: Was that any particular time of the year?

HAWKINS: No that was anytime he felt like it.

SMITH: Okay. [laughs]

HAWKINS: [laughs] Yeah.

SMITH: How have funerals and the graves and cemeteries—the use of them how has that changed that you're aware of through time?

HAWKINS: They've changed a little bit because now the city goes and clean them. If any like limb break off the tree the city goes and clean that up and clean—I mean they do a good job of keeping it clean now but yesteryear they didn't do nothing to it.

SMITH: And they never—did they ever have secondary funerals that took place at a later date when family members could come from far away?

HAWKINS: No, no we ain't never—

SMITH: No, okay.

HAWKINS: —done nothing like that.

SMITH: Okay. And did white and black people attend the funerals?

HAWKINS: Not during the seventies. They just recently started that.

SMITH: And then back in time not so much?

HAWKINS: Back in time no, no, no.

SMITH: Who gave the services?

HAWKINS: Black preachers, that's all.

SMITH: Okay, from any particular church that you were affiliated with?

HAWKINS: First AB and the Catholic Church up here.

SMITH: First AB being the First African Baptist?

HAWKINS: Baptist uh-huh, yeah. And then they got a Catholic Church up here, [rooster crowing] I forget the name of it, and at St. John's.

SMITH: St. John's okay.

HAWKINS: That's a Baptist church too.

SMITH: [rooster crowing] What did people feel that happened to the person's soul or their spirit after they died?

HAWKINS: They never talk about—[rooster crowing]—they never hold a conversation about dead folks, unless you been at home you and your people you talk about dead folks, [rooster crowing] but out in the open people didn't talk about dead folks.

SMITH: Did talk much about it?

HAWKINS: No.

SMITH: Okay. And would people sing at the funerals?

HAWKINS: Yeah oh yeah sing that "Old-Time Religion", oh my goodness. That was—that was the time.

SMITH: Would they—

HAWKINS: Singing and praying, oh they was doing that. [rooster crowing] And they still do a little bit of that now but it ain't as much as it used to. But they still do that singing and praying.

SMITH: Where did you think some of those songs came from? Did they make them up? Were they just old-time hymns or field songs?

HAWKINS: Old time hymns and out the Bible. Some of that out the Bible, [rooster crowing] um-hm, yep.

SMITH: Do you remember any in particular?

HAWKINS: No, not right at hand.

SMITH: Okay. So the markers back in time were wood—

HAWKINS: No it was tin.

SMITH: Tin?

HAWKINS: Tin.

SMITH: Um-hm.

HAWKINS: And they'd drive it in the ground, nail a piece of board on (*unintelligible*) and drive the board down in the ground.

SMITH: Um-hm. In the early days do you know anything about caskets, who made those and—

HAWKINS: No, no I don't know nothing about who made them (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Or what type they were?

HAWKINS: They were wood. Only thing we knew is it was wood because it got—I mean my uncle I see (*unintelligible*) paint. It looked like it was paint to me.

SMITH: It was painted?

HAWKINS: Um-hm.

SMITH: Somebody here in town made it perhaps or—

HAWKINS: I don't know where they got it from.

SMITH: Don't know? Okay. Today we buy them at the funeral home and—

HAWKINS: Yeah.

SMITH: Are you aware of putting personal items or shells around the graves back in time?

HAWKINS: No, they didn't used to do that.

SMITH: No?

HAWKINS: They do it now but during that time they didn't do none of that.

SMITH: You say they do it now?

HAWKINS: They do it now, some of them, and then they put that—I think it's called a slab on top.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: They stop doing that.

SMITH: And when they put those plants there that you mentioned what was the significance of that? Why did they do that?

HAWKINS: That's marking the grave spot. That's what you call marking—I put (*unintelligible*) on the tree. Just like my uncle Charlie Rogers they got a cedar tree for his head grave where they buried him at and then his wife she got a cedar tree.

SMITH: Both had cedar trees?

HAWKINS: Both of them got cedar trees.

SMITH: Did anybody in your family participate in any of those burial associations like the Odd Fellows or Knights of Pythias or Masons?

HAWKINS: No, no, no.

SMITH: No, not at all?

HAWKINS: No, no.

SMITH: Did you ever leave a gift at a grave?

HAWKINS: No.

SMITH: Never did?

HAWKINS: No.

SMITH: When people moved away from Darien, when they died were some of their bodies brought back here for burial?

HAWKINS: Yeah, got a aunt out there Ceylon. She been brought from New York.

SMITH: She went to New York?

HAWKINS: Yeah, she died up in New York. They brought her back about four years ago.

SMITH: She's in Ceylon?

HAWKINS: Um-hm.

SMITH: What was her name?

HAWKINS: Mary Shaw.

SMITH: Mary Shaw okay. Do you have any photographs of any of the cemeteries in the area from way back?

HAWKINS: No.

SMITH: No? Okay. All right. Well any other comments you can think of? Anything else you'd like to add?

HAWKINS: No, that's about it.

SMITH: Okay.

HAWKINS: That's about it.

SMITH: All right. Well thank you very much.

HAWKINS: You're welcome.

[end]

Griffin Lotson
Born: 1954 (Age 59)
Interview Location: Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 24, 2012

GREG SMITH: This is Greg Smith. I'm here with Griffin Lotson. Is that L-O-T-S-O-N?

GRIFFIN LOTSON: That's correct.

SMITH: And we're at the Sapelo Visitor Center. And Mr. Lotson if I could just ask you to give me your date of birth and what your occupation is and tell me a little bit about yourself.

LOTSON: Griffin Lotson, June 20, 1954, born and reared in McIntosh County. I've traced my ancestral line back to slavery so I have a lot of history in that area there. I now serve on the city council of the City of Darien, also federal government National Commission of the Gullah/Geechee Heritage Corridor.

SMITH: Okay we're specifically looking for information on the Cathead Creek District but I understand that your family was just adjacent to that. Could you tell us the plantation you're familiar with and what stories you may have heard over the years?

LOTSON: Yeah, the Butler Plantation I have some connections there and the Cathead area as I said I may have some. I need to do more research. I just don't know right now. And then of course from the Harris Neck area there's a plantation in that area there and a lot of the former slaves. So I've done some research on my father's side back to slavery.

SMITH: From your studies, do you know anything about the general layout that the plantations might have had, things that might have been in common, the different buildings that were there, obviously probably a main house, how the slaves were distributed? Perhaps were they clustered or were they spread out? And then we'll get into rice cultivation a little bit later.

LOTSON: Yeah. I don't know so much as different. I think it may have been a standard for that time, separated of course from the main house where most of the slaves would live. So that was more clustered in that area and in particular I do know from the Thickets which is not too far from the Darien area near what we call Carnegan where I grew up on my father's side some of the ruins are still there where I ran barefoot as a boy. And of course on Butler Island the same thing, houses was set apart from the main big house where they lived—the slaves lived separate from the slave masters.

SMITH: Do you know if they were often clustered or if they were spread out adjacent to different fields throughout the plantation?

LOTSON: In my research it very well could have been but what I mostly have seen and know of, actually touched, it was more clustered in certain areas, and it very well could have been various areas of the plantation but I'm not familiar with it.

SMITH: Okay, and any general information on the other agricultural buildings that there might have been?

LOTSON: Only thing I do know of like the mill for like cane grinding, things like that for sugar. They did have things like that. And of course one of the plantations I think the chimney is still up near the Cathead where they would use that, but in my research I have not dug very super deep into that one no.

SMITH: Okay. And the rice fields were obviously in the marsh?

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: Do you know anything about the general size of those and any of the technology used?

LOTSON: Yeah. What I would say, and this came through my research and my travels to what we consider our—where we came from, the Sierra Leone, Africa area is that the expertise that they brought. And of course as you already know they had this built-in immune system for malaria. So they brought that cultivation of how to make the water come and go for the rice. I know they were fairly large in the sense of land mass wise, and of course one good example is not too far from the Cathead is near the Butler Plantation, some of those areas, not like it was but you can still see with the naked eye even today, 2012.

SMITH: Right, and aerial photographs—

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah—

SMITH: —help a lot too.

LOTSON: Oh yeah.

SMITH: Was rice a year-round production crop? Do you know, was it cyclical or—

LOTSON: Uh as anything it's seasonal because of the weather and whatnot. And I only smile when—I thought you were going to get more into the domestic side of rice. And they say how to determine a Geechee is that they love rice and I love rice. [laughter] Seven days a week I could eat rice.

SMITH: So could I.

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: You mentioned technology that the Africans brought with them. What are some of the other ones that you're familiar with?

LOTSON: Uh indigo—when I say indigo to be able to deal with that. And of course indigo you may know but for those—that was the natural dye during the time. Because in Georgia they had the three main crops. A good friend of mine he calls it the Geechee trinity, Jamal, and it's rice, indigo, and cotton. So they specialize in knowing how to plant and harvest that. And of course the cotton crop—they just specialize in knowing what to do and how to do it and how to plant it. And they had to with no pay of course.

SMITH: Um-hm.

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: So rice here on the marsh, cotton I suppose more in the island setting?

LOTSON: Yeah drier.

SMITH: And then indigo probably had some variety to where it would grow?

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: Are there any other crops that you know of?

LOTSON: I don't know of too many other main crops. The thing that we did then and we still practice now of course the herbal medicines that grew wild, and the African Americans as well as the Native Americans knew how to harvest those very special looks like weed and grass and just a regular tree. And it's still being practiced now by some. I practice it now. I go and harvest my own special herbs.

SMITH: You seem to be anticipating a lot of my questions. What are some of the—

LOTSON: Oh I didn't know. [laughs]

SMITH: Well that's—we're on the same wavelength. What fruits and plants might have been gathered and then also as you said the medicinal plants?

LOTSON: Okay. Medicinal plants—of course the standard fruits just like any fruits, you know, the apples, the oranges, and the peaches that's—everybody ate that. But some of the other things the mainstream just wouldn't use because they wouldn't know whether it could harm you or not. It's like a mushroom—I don't pick mushrooms because I don't know which is [laughs] deadly or not.

SMITH: You have to have that tradition.

LOTSON: Yes, but the tradition of sassafras, the tradition of life everlasting, things of that nature I know like the back of my hand. And so it's easy for me to walk in the woods and say, Oh that's Life Everlasting, which I just did the other day and say, Oh it's the season, it's just beginning to happen. So we would go and get those special herbs and pick them and harvest them and make tea with them and mullein and things like that you use that you can rub on for sores. It grows and the leaves you can use as—for a healing process and even make it into a tea also. Those are some of them. And there are others but those are some of the main ones right there that some people still practice today.

SMITH: Life Everlasting I know-probably self-explanatory. It's for good health.

LOTSON: [laughs] Yeah.

SMITH: Now what about sassafras?

LOTSON: Yeah, the sassafras—and I work with a cultural group which is called the Geechee Gullah Ring Shouters. So we do educational things about the roots. And the thing that I tell people the most is that anybody ever heard of a drink root? And they always pop in root beer. And I say, That's where they actually—before they made syndicated root beer now they used to get it from the sassafras root. And if you smell it, it smell just like root beer. But that also is used as a healing remedy for colds and different things of that nature. And some of these same things they say it can—not cure all but you name it, it can help a lot. And I'm thinking of one right now that I'm doing some more research on with Harriet Tubman that use certain flower for the soldiers in the Civil War that grows cranesbill, cranesbill, yeah and they use that. Most people don't know that she was a nurse and come down South here and escaped back with the slaves up north and they would use that for healing, not only for the former slaves but also for the soldiers [laughs] yeah.

SMITH: And then I know there's another name for Hercules' Club.

LOTSON: Yeah. I'm not familiar with that name and I spent a lot of time trying to make sure I know all of the different name. One I used to call a weed that grows and I used to call it sweet candy. But that is also—used also. And I'm trying to get that name right now, soil, sheep soil. And it grows seasonal. Now the season just went out and I usually harvest my sheep soil which is for detoxing.

SMITH: Oh.

LOTSON: And some even almost swear by that it's a cure that can be mixed with other roots to cure cancer. And all this can—everything I'm saying can be researched. You can go on the Internet now, encyclopedias and look all of this up. So these are some of the herbal things that the former slaves and Native American used. And I think modern technology looked at those things and started researching them and saying, Ah eureka. It is something there. [laughs]

SMITH: Is that sheep soil?

LOTSON: Yeah. I call it sweetgrass. That's what we used to do as kids. We'd just see it growing and it has a tart taste but, you know, kids playing and you didn't have money and you wanted candy and didn't have two cents so you go pull the grass up not knowing that—as I became a man and got older and researched these things and found out sheep soil that is the more common name. Now there is a medical name which I have not harnessed to remember yet. But it is sheep soil. You can look that up online and that's—it grows wild. It grows wild. I could probably go out there and see some now. And the season is almost over with. This is July. It's almost over so most of it is dried up. But that's when you want it when it's dry and then you keep it and you can make a tea out of it which I do make tea out of it.

SMITH: And see these kind of things are what's interesting to me. And you're doing all this learning about them and most people don't know about them. I know I learned about Spanish moss being used for asthmas.

LOTSON: Uh-huh, yes.

SMITH: And then I'm sure there's some others?

LOTSON: Oh yes, yes.

SMITH: If you can think of a couple others that's the kind of thing I think people would like to know.

LOTSON: Well Spanish moss is used for more than that. And as I said, I work with a cultural group and so we do programs all over America, Smithsonian. We do cruise ships now and a lot of different venues, festivals. And we like to bring the humor into it but also we know they're going to go back and research what we say. And they say, That crazy guy was really telling the truth. So with the Spanish moss it is also used for—also for if you have high blood pressure you would take and—it will make sense once I tell this part—you would take that Spanish moss not that had fallen to the ground but the one that's still in the tree because the one that falls in the ground it picks up certain termites so it's not some mystical cultural—and we do have a whole lot of root worker and root doctor stuff in our culture okay from slavery, lots of that embedded. But you would take that moss and a portion of it put it in your shoe and that would help bring your blood pressure down. Another one that we tell people that you can take and use the Spanish moss for, besides what you said because I used to be an asthmatic—two other things—you can use it of course to get rid of a lot of mosquitoes. Because that's what we did when we were growing up. You want to get rid of mosquitoes? And we have a lot of mosquitoes and gnats in Georgia, too many, gazillions of them. So you would smother that moss and a miracle happen, mosquitoes are gone, gnats are gone. The one that I get the most humor from and the most excitement is the fact that you can use the Spanish moss—and I always say it because my crowd is different, children, women, men, religious, nonreligious and we usually use the phrase of, For all the men that's here ladies if your man have trouble getting up in the morning or saluting—and they would all start laughing because they know I'm talking about something sexual—the moss you can brew that into a tea and it is used for like what they say for Viagra, believe it or not and it is high potency. And I'll never forget one guy just told me—we did a festival in South Carolina—he came and he said, Well you were here and I tried that and it worked. [laughs] But we tell people, We're not medical doctors, we're not telling you to do this but it is a part of our culture.

SMITH: Sure.

LOTSON: And then people go research and say, That crazy guy, it's true.

SMITH: Well that's where it all started isn't it, home remedies?

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah. I think in—well most of the modern medicine comes from usually something that has grown or some bark or some fish in the sea.

SMITH: Uh-huh.

LOTSON: It's amazing. [laughs]

SMITH: And that Hercules' Club I remember now I heard about it from Ms. Grovner over on Sapelo, toothache plant.

LOTSON: Oh yes.

SMITH: You put it in your mouth—he gave it to us and it's very soothing.

LOTSON: Did you get a piece of the toothache tree on Sapelo?

SMITH: Yes I did.

LOTSON: I did too. [laughs] And it will numb you.

SMITH: Yeah I'm really interested in the plants and plant use.

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: And then in terms of if they had—did the enslaved people have their own crops that you're aware of and was that for home use? Were they able to sell some of that and improve their living or what?

LOTSON: Yes. And the reason why I say that now you're moving from—and there's a difference. You have the hoodoo and the voodoo up in New Orleans area. Down here we're heavy into the root worker and the root doctor, two different individuals. Of course when you say root doctor that is the herbal medicine person that lives in the community.

SMITH: Dr. Buzzard?

LOTSON: Yeah. Okay. Then you've got the root worker. That's the conjurer that you get the bag and get rid of evil spirits and put things on your enemy and things of that nature. Those are two different individuals. And sometime it might be the same person in the same community but it's two different practices. So yes and a lot of people will spend good money just like they do in New Orleans going to the palm readers, to the crystal ball. So it was a way of making money. And the herbs—just like today people make a lot of money off of selling herbs. You've got all kind of books that serve natural vitamins and things of that nature. It's a billion dollar industry now. So yes it was used to—you don't so much plant it because it grew wild, so you know where to harvest it and you know where to get it—they didn't plant crops of it, you know, of life everlasting. I don't know anybody ever planted crops of it, but it is a market now so that—I'm thinking about doing that. [laughs]

SMITH: And at that time it was certainly used for home use but it was probably traded and—

LOTSON: Oh yeah because people needed—just remember when I say about Harriet Tubman she helped the soldiers. She said, I believe I can cure them, go help me find some water lilies which she used for a severe case of diarrhea and from that another thing would happen and people would die. So she said, Well go find me some water lilies and I believe I can help these soldiers live. And miracle would happen. They would start recovering from these crazy things that seemed like wouldn't do anything. [laughs]

SMITH: I want to get back to the plantation itself, but you mentioned the name. Was it Carnegan, C-A-R-N-E-G-A-N you think?

LOTSON: Yeah, I think I put it in here. I should know how to spell my own community. Yeah.

SMITH: Carnegan that's like north of Darien—

LOTSON: If you came from Darien you passed through it.

SMITH: Right, that's what I thought.

LOTSON: You passed right through it. It's Meridian, Carnegan, Ridgeville, Darien leaving from this spot right now.

SMITH: Okay, got you. And then do you have any knowledge of access to plantations? Did they all have an individual dock? Did they have their own entry roads? Did they do landscaping like large oaks maybe lining a central drive? Do you have any sense of that?

LOTSON: No. I don't know of that and as I said to you and others is that a lot—my parents and grandparents which I knew very well on my father's side and on my mother's side, they didn't give history from their parents and grandparents on slavery. So it was very difficult to find out. They just didn't—something—it just wasn't translated. We do better now, my generation, my kids and my grands we're keeping that alive but those past generations it just was a disconnect, yeah. Not very much knowledge but you have to look at old letters and a very few of the old people—they know about the remedy stuff but some of the—how the plantation was that just wasn't passed down.

SMITH: Um-hm. And then—well we talked about crops and gathering. That was—there wasn't really any money involved; it was just barter pretty much?

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: The enslaved people didn't get money for that?

LOTSON: For?

SMITH: For anything that they gathered or grew on their own time like small crops or anything like that?

LOTSON: After slavery and then those that were freed, yes. Yes, there were marketplaces that they would take their food and bring it to the mainland, definitely so when you talk about like Sapelo and Carolina and all of those types of places. You bring it to the main marketplace where people can buy, because you had to make money—but they mostly lived off the land as you would imagine, but yeah we had opportunity.

SMITH: Was that as far back as the 19th centry? That was—just after postwar did that develop?

LOTSON: It was there and even me show my ignorance of how it was when I was younger, I thought all black individuals or negroes were slaves and that's far from the truth. There were many indentured servants which had their freedom and a lot of folks were free individuals. I'm yet researching on my name Lotson because my understanding is that many of the Lotsons were free, had already bought their freedom but I cannot find that documentation so yeah. And if you're free then you had a chance to make as much money as you can navigating through as you know the system and how it worked back then.

SMITH: Um-hm.

LOTSON: So it wasn't all negroes as they called them back then that—they made money. [laughs] They made good money some of them.

SMITH: And through hunting, fishing, and trapping no doubt as well?

LOTSON: Yeah. And they could sell these things. And they did and I think that's well documented too on some of the—it's well documented, yeah.

SMITH: Yeah, I always like to know the specific catches that they were after fish or meat or whatever. I guess just whatever was available?

LOTSON: Yeah, and I'm thinking—mostly they sold within—even now which it's an acquired taste but, you know, old country boy like me I genuinely love it, I love the wild coon. I love it, I love it. My wife she won't eat one piece of it. She's not from here. But they still do that now. They got people that go and hunt the coons and they sell it to individuals that loves coon and so it's a niche market.

SMITH: I know of a recipe that's baked. Are there other—I'm sure there's other methods as well?

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah.

SMITH: What's your favorite preparation?

LOTSON: Well baked for me—I think I've heard people stew—I don't know about fry and they might grill it but I don't know too many people eat it that way [laughs] to be honest. The one that I know that most people do—I can't cook it but I've got friends from the culture that they know how to cook it very well. So I usually buy one or two and give them one or give them half if you cook it for me, because you're all friends. You don't necessarily pay the person but they love it too so you'll buy it and then you would share it.

SMITH: Reciprocity yeah.

LOTSON: Yeah so that's what we do. But it's a pretty good market in season for those that love it around here. They will buy some coon.

SMITH: I'm always willing to try something new.

LOTSON: [laughs] Well I love it, I love it.

SMITH: Social gatherings—have you heard any stories about that? You talked about moving around, especially as the years became more recent. What types of the year were important, what kind of gatherings occurred?

LOTSON: Yeah, there were traditions and one of the—I'll go to the easiest one first, definitely Watch Night or the New Year as the mainstream America celebrated for a different reason. We celebrated because of the so-called signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. And so it's a great celebration. It's done in churches, religious setting where people would come together and they would sing and worship. And they had a thing which we do which is called the shout night or the ring shout. And uh—and it started and then from that big celebration it continues today in many churches all over America now that—matter of fact I can't think of one time in forty years I have not been at church the last day of the year. That's—it's a ritual. I've always got to. It's just something that I do. And many of my family members never miss it, never miss it. And so that's a very much I can think of gathering. And then doing food harvesting I do know—I'm thinking of my own self and even my ancestor—when they slaughter a cow or a hog they—there's a gathering, all the masters that know how to do it. And I'm looking at people I know now that—ancestors from Sapelo and Mr. Lemon and he would come because he was very good, and my daddy and some of the others. And my grandfather would do it too and everybody would come together and they would slaughter the hog. And I still remember my grandfather side. It was 1894 on my mother's side and 1884 I think on my daddy's side and—because a friend of mine from New York would come down—Washington, D.C. and he'd say, That's strange. He would see them butcher this hog—and this was my grandfather in 1894 when he was born. And he said at the end of the day he'd give away almost [laughs] all the food. He didn't understand that. But it was a tradition. It was what you do. It was too much for you. And you've got to keep in mind my granfather did not have a refrigerator. I love it—I hated back then but when I stayed with him in the sixties he had no refrigerator. He had an icebox.

SMITH: Oh.

LOTSON: Which I have right now. So the only way you could keep it fresh was put salt on it. And then they had a place sometime you can go get a block of ice.

SMITH: Um-hm.

LOTSON: So you couldn't keep the meat anyway. But that just was it, somebody else killed a cow then he would get a piece. So those are just customs that you slaughter that cow and then you would probably give away over half of it to people in the community. He was just like almost upset, He should keep it all. [laughs] But that's the way those New Yorkers think. [laugh] Their customs are different.

SMITH: So social gatherings you mentioned the end of the year and Day Watch, that was the other one?

LOTSON: No, they called it—

SMITH: Night Watch?

LOTSON: Uh let me get the proper name so I can say it correctly how we say it—Watch Night, Watch Night. That's what we call it. What you're saying is it but everybody would know what you meant if you said, Oh you're going to Watch Night service? You're going to Watch Night?

SMITH: And that was the last day of the year?

LOTSON: Yeah and everybody knew what that meant.

SMITH: Okay, and the second one you mentioned was?

LOTSON: Oh, this was when there was a slaughter of a cow or a hog. Everybody would come together and help out and butcher that hog and make hog head cheese and they—

SMITH: (*unintelligible*).

LOTSON: There's not too much in there they would not keep. Trust me, there's very little that—because that came from the slavery too—they would eat just about everything that hog—everything [laughs] that you can get out of it, almost everything.

SMITH: So your family has a long history here? Have some of them moved away or they live in other parts of the country?

LOTSON: Oh yeah. That was a standard. That was a standard that if you would—let's just move up to the—fast forward up to the—I'm going to start maybe the forties, fifties, sixties, seventies. I know it was a standard thing when and if you get out of school or you get a little bit grown is to leave because living in the deep South was rough.

SMITH: Um-hm.

LOTSON: You have to learn how to navigate through that. And we did. I smile and people say, What? You actually lived there? I smile I say, Yeah. How could you do that? I said, Well it was the code. And I'm speaking in riddle to you but that when you live to segregation wherein I worked at the restaurant but—cooked the food, [laughs] served the food, but my mother and those would have to come to the back door. And it was—wasn't no problem. You know you had to come to the back door and nobody complained—no one complained about it. You had to work so uh—and they say, You actually did that? Yeah. Well I wouldn't go there. I said, Well you have to understand that was the—you were birthed into it. Your parents knew how to navigate through it so you learned how to navigate through it. So we knew that getting ahead would be slim so most of us like for me in the early seventies, [makes noise] go. Parents were glad to help you go somewhere but don't live here, [laughs] go somewhere. So I went to Washington, D.C. with my uncle and brother.

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: And came back. [laughs]

SMITH: I'm reading *Praying for Sheetrock* so I know about Archie's and some of the history of the clip joints and things like that.

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah. I worked at Archie's. [laughs]

SMITH: Well when you said that, that's what came to mind, I wondered.

LOTSON: Yeah, all true stories, Buccaneer restaurant.

SMITH: So that was your mother who you were serving at the back among others, yeah.

LOTSON: Oh yeah, everybody—every African American knew they were supposed to come to the back door. We didn't do the sit-in and I demand to come in the front door. If you lived here—because if you lived here you knew how to navigate through because you can get in a lot of trouble—and not only you but your friends, your neighbors can get in trouble. And they had a system also that everybody stayed in their place everything would be all right. So you learned how to do that, only push it when you had to. But I lived here during Praying for Sheetrock, yeah so I know all about that. [laughs]

SMITH: So your family is originally from Georgia or when did they first—

LOTSON: Yeah born and reared on both sides, on both sides.

SMITH: But they came from Sierra Leone from western Africa?

LOTSON: Yeah, that's the research, the research.

SMITH: Yeah. I met a lot of people in this area who are from that area, okay.

LOTSON: Yeah, that's the research. Napoleon was a slave, his son James Rodgers, his son Leon Rodgers, Leon Rogers' nephew is sitting down here with you right now so—and I have photos—ooh I'm so happy, of all of them right down to me right now, that chain.

SMITH: Oh that's important to have.

LOTSON: Yes it's—ooh, that's jewel. [laughs]

SMITH: And then one last question on this topic of stores, churches and cemeteries associated with an individual plantation—were those on the plantation, were they—what can you tell me about patterns of that kind of thing?

LOTSON: Well yeah. Mostly—they had sections where you could be buried. One thing particular that—and they will allow it including um I work as a consultant too for this type of stuff that you're doing. I did some work for Sapelo and I traveled to uh Mount Vernon. And even with President George Washington the slaves of course had their place to live and most of them are buried close to the water. So you'll find a lot of that, that the old cemeteries amazingly,

it wasn't by accident, that they're buried closer to the water. Hopefully that symbolizes going back to the Motherland or something like that and I guess the plantation owners allowed it. So yeah some of them also are buried not too far from where they used to live because you didn't have so much space because they wouldn't let you. And then later on they would give you (*unintelligible*) Sapelo, Behavior and different places, they allow certain areas to bury your dead. Deads are sacred with every culture. And even though slaves didn't have that much right but they did have some—Butler Island which is close to here they did give them a parcel to bury their dead and that's where Liverpool Hazzard is buried, the last slave of the Butler Plantation which is walking distance from one of these plantations here.

SMITH: Where is your family buried?

LOTSON: Uh some Lotsons are in the—well one in particular, Moses Lotson, and other distant relative, the Mungins and all of those, are in the Butler Cemetery. And then on my father's side is like a family cemetery which is called Lotson/Hutchison. That's in Meridian about two miles from here going back toward Darien. On my mother's side it's in Belleville which is a lot of tombstones that you can see going way, way, way, way back. That's near the water. That's called Belleville Cemetery. Both of those are primarily African American cemeteries as in living in the deep South and dying is pretty much the same the blacks are buried in the black cemetery, the whites are buried in the white cemetery, pretty much [laughs]—might be a few exceptions.

SMITH: Who kept the birth and burial records back in the time especially?

LOTSON: Oh—mostly the families, the mothers and the fathers would keep them. And of course even in my own research we have to go to the courthouse now or we would try the National Archives. And of course for the new thing Ancestry.com for people like Collins and myself that can't find local papers and moms and pops don't have it or the old house burned down or the next generation just didn't care to keep those records, they're lost forever. That's why it's so fragmented; it's just gone. And you find out a lot through court records as you may know. And that's how you find a lot, you just have to dig the records and sometime hope somebody did something wrong and you [laughs] might can find out. My grandfather case we did not find out his real date of birth long after he was dead—he died in 1973, and through me researching through the Internet finally his selective service record where he signed up in 1922 or something. And I saw my mother about six years ago I guess it was or four years, can't remember now. And she said, I know daddy's signature. My mother's about eighty-five—I know his signature. So I produced it and sure she said, That's his signature, that's him. And that's the only time we figured out or know exactly, and we're only going to the fact that when he was that young in his twenties he probably had no accurate records then. So his selective service papers was probably more accurate than what we thought years later because he didn't even kept records, you know. And my mother and his son and all the other generations, college and all, no one knew what his age was because there is no papers. It's all gone. And so it's just—you have to find those families that kept it as you know in the Bible somewhere.

SMITH: Yeah.

LOTSON: In a box somewhere. And those that lost that didn't care to look for it after momma died; it's gone.

SMITH: Are your family members all in a certain area and is there any markings or borders around a family plot let's say?

LOTSON: Yeah. Four grands yes. Great-grands, no they don't know exactly.

SMITH: Probably unmarked?

LOTSON: It's unmarked. We don't know exactly where they are, we just don't know. My immediate family, no. We know—even my mother's younger brother that died very young we only know roughly he's in this section [laughs] but no name. There's just no tombstone. People didn't have a lot of money, couldn't afford it, and just that's that. The old wooden one faded away.

SMITH: How was a person's body prepared for burial?

LOTSON: Ooh, not—they didn't do a lot in the old days. Of course through my mother and others I would find out what you heard out about the cooling board. And they die today they'll prepare that night—wash them, clean them all up, and then prepare for burial because if you—well you had to do it because of—for those reasons medically you couldn't leave that body out and what could happen and all of that. So they put you on that cooling board and everybody that could make it and it was a very close-knitted ritual. And everybody would come that night and some would stay up all night long and then they would prepare for the burial and put them in the ground. I don't know—I can't tell you specifically how they said they were wrapped up. I don't have that. I would probably have to go back and ask my mother or ask some older people I know exactly how did they do it.

SMITH: And that was called the setting up?

LOTSON: Yeah. They called it—I know it was a cooling board. I'm trying to make sure I give you the accurate name for that. It escapes me right now but I do know the ritual how it was done. All the families would come together and they would sit up, you know that night with the family. And they would be on that cooling board. They'll dress them up, fix them up, and they would be there. That much I—

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: And were there many secondary funerals?

LOTSON: When you say secondary?

SMITH: Well, I've heard them referred to whereas like a week or two later when people could come—

LOTSON: Okay—

SMITH: —from far away to—you know.

LOTSON: Okay. That's fast-forwarding. To me that came after you had the morticians which could do the embalming. So that still—yeah [laughs] it's very traditional and we thought it was so strange because mostly the Europeans that are whites they die today they're in the ground, you know, a day later or two days later and we were like, That was strange. For the uh—you want to say the thirties, forties, and fifties, sixties, seventies, eighties, nineties—2000 is slowing down a lot now because people have a little bit more money and they can travel much faster and not have to save up and try to catch a ride home. So yeah boy you would wait a long time before a person get buried in the deep South but that's mostly I know in the sixties and seventies and the eighties, yeah you're going to wait. If you died on a Thursday or even a Wednesday it's definitely not going to happen that Saturday; it would probably be the next Saturday. You've got to notify everybody first and then see if they can come down. And it's a tradition that they wait on most of the family if you can. It just would not be right. It would be almost sinful to not wait on that family to come home. So it was—

SMITH: In more modern times?

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah you would—it was—you had to wait—Well we're waiting on Jim, we're waiting on his son. And he can make it but he's got to do this and when he gets here that's when we're going to do the funeral. So it was a custom.

SMITH: So those funerals of that sort that came later was in an older time?

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah. I don't know about that even through my research in talking to the older generation. They didn't keep them—no because [laughs] you had no way to keep them number one; you just couldn't do that. But modern technology allowed them to wait a while for everybody—you can put them in the refrigerator, embalm them, and the funeral people could keep them a good long time. And they still do it today; they still wait a little while. Even today if you died on a Thursday you probably won't get buried until that next Saturday for some families—not this Saturday but the next one. They still—not as much but they still do that.

SMITH: And who gives the services?

LOTSON: Uh in most cases it's the—when you say give the services who is over—

SMITH: Officiates let's say?

LOTSON: It's—normally it's usually the minister of that local person's church membership or that mother or that father. My son died and if they're a member of any church that church or that minister would officiate in most cases even today. In most cases that's what's done. But every now and then it does change a little bit but about 90 percent right now or 95.

SMITH: And is there a longstanding understanding in your family of what happens to a person's soul or spirit after they die?

LOTSON: Uh yeah that's—and of course everyone that dies you hope and pray that they made it to heaven. That's a standard, that you hope and pray that they made it to heaven. Now if you want to go back a generation or so when they buried the dead, they don't do it now but they did do a lot of the rituals which some of it that came from the African continent and they incorporated in being here is like the Egyptians certain artifacts are placed—cups and teacups and things of that nature so that would give them a safe journey. All of those things were common. And if you go now to some of the old cemeteries you'll see all of the broken glass and broken things that are there which was a part of the underworld and safe passage and whatnot. But those traditions are not practiced now.

SMITH: Can you tell me more about that?

LOTSON: Yeah. The only thing I can give you there is that it was a standard custom and it's still a standard custom certain rituals that they say which I think the mainstream burials still do it too, you know, ashes to ashes, dust to dust and would go through that ritual like that. And then it's changing as generations come. Usually you wait—I think even when I was growing up you would sit out there cold or hot until that body is totally buried. [laughs] When I say totally—but that even have changed now. They pretty much say, Now this concludes the services and they'll finish doing the burying, but in the old days they would lower them all the way down for that respect for that dead. I may not have answered your question on that part right there but some of the old customs are not being practiced now, slowly just drifting away. And that goes back to the first generation as I was telling you how we don't have it because those families stopped doing those traditions just as this generation stopped doing some of the old traditions, and then my kids and grandkids can't talk about it because they don't know anything about it. They would have to go back and ask an older person, Did you all used to do this, because we're not teaching them to do it. I don't even teach my kids to do—don't wait no two weeks just—let's just get it over with, you know. [laughs]

SMITH: You mentioned the personal effects that were sometimes left there. And as you said, there's stone markers and then before that there was wood.

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: As I understand it at times personal items were put there as a way of marking the location so that when you came back to visit you'd know—

LOTSON: Yeah—

SMITH: —where your person was.

LOTSON: And like you said in due time that's going to go away. And it's rooted into also customs and culture and folklore also of safe passage, things of that nature, and how they are buried. Well the sun rise so you're dead and you can be buried any way you want to but specifically they try to make sure okay the sun right here. We have to set it up that day. And I think that goes beyond the slave. I think that's universal for a lot of different cultures. Some not that way—the Muslims I think theirs is a little bit different, the Black Muslims as I know. And it creates problems in the

black cemetery because we want it this way, one, two, three, but if there's a Muslim that's in that family he wants it this way now and that takes up two burial sites. [laughs] And I don't understand why. I don't know the full but I know it has something to do with the star, David's star. [laughs]

SMITH: Did you ever leave something at a grave?

LOTSON: Top of my head no, just traditional flowers, things of that nature, just standard tradition—wreath, flowers, no.

SMITH: Oh you left—you didn't—were the plants ever put in the ground there or just—

LOTSON: Yeah, yeah. You did the plants and you would leave them there. And sometime family would come back, especially if somebody just died and they would take care of it. You go by most cemeteries now and they'll have a beautiful flower or a plastic one that's been there for five years now [laughs] still there because it's not maintained some of the cemeteries as well as others.

SMITH: Is your family cemetery maintained—

LOTSON: On—yes, on my mother's side much better, on my father's side not as good because I just left my father gravesite because I always go there on Father's Day but this Father's Day I was in New Orleans. So I just went last week. I just went by and I said, Wow it's growing up and no one—they had somebody to keep it but they must be not doing a good job. [laughs]

SMITH: Yeah. Do any plants have any specific meaning in your mind?

LOTSON: The only thing that gives me—and it's sort of a disturbing comment I'm going to make is that uh the lilies for sure. And at one of the old burial sites, Kell's Grove I think it was that we pretty much could swear as they would say that the gravesites were dug up. So news media and all got involved. And I didn't know for sure. Is it horticulturist or whatever you call it with plants—and I said, Does lilies grow wild, the type of lilies that they plant? They said, No. I didn't know because everywhere—and this is the honest-to-God truth—I will go to my grave believing somebody dug those graves up. Because we went there and I was in a position not of power but a little bit of—I could make some things happen. So news media was there and I'm already there and seen tombstones laid over here from the 1800s and houses built right here and a tombstone right here. And they were just taking over the whole cemetery. And so we got the committee together, long story short, and I said, Look make sure—because I study the law. And it's a beautiful thing about cemeteries, if you're building a development you don't even have to know whether it's a gravesite there but if you believe it is construction stops.

SMITH: That's right.

LOTSON: So we took advantage of that law. And they were upset but we stopped construction. End of story is that we did get the media in and people did come with the bulldozers and whatnot. And even I did the elementary probing. And it's like going through water. You say, Wow had to have been. We couldn't find one body where we thought it

was but guess what we did find—the lilies by the oak tree, all of the artifacts [laughs] from burial—because a person that don't know the culture didn't think we need to get rid of that. They didn't get rid of that. Our problem, we couldn't find one body. But if I could afford it, where they dug this little pond if you drain that pond guarantee you're going to find a whole bunch of skeletons probably in there, but like I say I'll go to my grave I believe they moved the bodies to build the houses but I can't prove it.

SMITH: Um-hm. Did any of your family participate in Odd Fellows or Knights of Pythias, Masons, or other burial associations?

LOTSON: No. My daddy was a Mason and he didn't teach me too much of traditions. A lot of my family was a part of the Masons and I have been to some of those rituals. And I do know that James Napoleon Rodgers which was a slave he was a part of—and what is the name because I did research that from history which was recorded in 1932, 1932 in Harris Neck. And I'm only doing this because I'm trying to remember the name of this particular club he was a part of. And I had to research because I didn't even know what it meant. And I can't think of it right now but I have it in my notes. I just found this out this year and—but he was a part of a special club, a guardian and—something like that anyway or protector. Anyway I believe my research from that is that he was there to help that community as not a soldier, but from outside people and anything that would happen he would be the front—him and others would make sure new people moving in or some threat is coming in, he was like the community vigilante group. They didn't talk too much about guns or nothing but you would have to go through him and others if anything looked unusual. But that's about as much as I can give you on that.

SMITH: You don't have any personal memories of any of those ceremonies?

LOTSON: No. Me, I've never joined the Mason but plenty of my friends and family was. My daddy was a Mason but I never joined.

SMITH: You know any old history of who made the coffins or the grave markers in your family?

LOTSON: My grandfather used to make some headstones—Robert Lotson, Sr. He made headstones and I do remember that and when he made them.

SMITH: That was about when, the twenties?

LOTSON: I know he did it—no, no. He may have done it in the twenties because he was born in 1884. He lived up until '79 so he was almost 100 so I know he did it maybe like the fifties, sixties. I just knew from the sixties because that's when I was a little boy and go over to the house and he would be making the headstones.

SMITH: Uh-huh. And your family if they've left Darien after they died have they been brought back for burial here?

LOTSON: Oh boy that's a good one. It was a standard custom if they could and they could afford it yes they would come back. I don't remember a whole lot in the old days but I wasn't—younger and you don't think about those things and everybody I knew was local. So my natural remembrance no but now yes it is a standard custom—

SMITH: To come back—

LOTSON: —that they want to come back.

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: And they would purposely save their money or tell their family, I want to be buried home, and they'd have their money already saved up or given to a relative or somebody so they can be shipped home.

SMITH: Do you have any photographs of the Cathead Creek District or anything—cemeteries, old cemeteries that might be of—

LOTSON: No—

SMITH: —something to be scanned?

LOTSON: No, I'm not good in that area. I don't have, no.

SMITH: Okay. And then before we started taping you mentioned something about a disconnect that had happened with the different generations—

LOTSON: Yeah—

SMITH: —how things have changed. Could you talk a little bit about that?

LOTSON: Okay. The disconnect again—and I say this a lot because I do interviews for people that want to know about the Gullah and the Geechee culture. Okay you had slavery and like I said you know, there were freed individuals then there were slaves all at the same time so you had this dichotomy or whatever the word is, just like you but they're free and I'm a slave; this is unfair. So then the war came and of course the Emancipation Proclamation signed first that we're going to be freed then you have to fight to make sure you're free. So now the war is over with, we're free. So everybody wanted to be mainstream. And to be mainstream or to be a part of mainstream society like some of the negroes as they call at that time was already moved up and then shortly after that they could run for office and be senators and things of that nature and representative—very powerful. And then you had the rest of the folks who was poor as dirt. So now you wanted to be more like these other negroes, as they called them back then, African Americans now. So the quickest and the fast way to do that is to disown some of those things—not that you didn't like but you want to move as fast as you can so you do what you do. You learn to talk more proper. In my case fast forward to the fifties and sixties they would say, Boy you're too Geechee because we would say [foreign language]. And we talk like we're from the islands man you know. And that was not mainstream. You will not get a good job so you have to learn to speak more like the people from New York and uh so you lose it on purpose. So that was the disconnect. And in losing it then you didn't teach your child and your children could not teach their children. So that disconnect happened. There was—the grandchild has—he doesn't know anything about this in the past. So fast forward to 2012 I spend a lot of my time talking to my grands and my nieces and nephews taking them back what their parents never

taught them. And now I'm in the middle so I can talk to their parents. So I talk with my nephew and then I talk to his mother to show her that, Look you've got sassafras on your property. Let me show you how to identify it. She never knew. My mother eighty-five years old I was counting on her to tell me how to find sassafras because she is very wise and she know about these remedies. She gave a lot to me. She laughed at me and said, Shucks. [laughs] Like my granddaddy would do. I don't know. I just been out in the woods with daddy. So that really surprised me. I just knew she knew because I'm going to be smart now, and she didn't know. So I had to learn another way how to identify sassafras and then I actually taught her [laughs] how to identify sassafras if it's growing. And that's my mother, eight-five years old. So there's real life disconnect. My grandfather didn't say, Now you need to remember this and pass it onto your children. He didn't do that. But there was a lot of that now but there still was some disconnect. Because I do remember my mother's aunt used to say, I won't be here. I'll be dead and gone on but you all remember this. So now me I do the same thing—Well I'm probably not going to be here but I wanted to tell you something and you make sure you pass this on to somebody else. So I'm kind of like taking up some of the slack telling my kids—my daughter that serves with—and I'll be through, I know you've got to go—General Petraeus. She said, I want to learn about my history. She's in the military and now she's in Japan, just got back from Turkey and served with the most highest ranking in Afghanistan every day working. And she said, I want to learn more. And I felt proud because I started teaching her. Now she's a grown woman nearly thirty years old now. And I believe she's going to pass it to her kids. She don't have any now but—yeah.

SMITH: I hope so, yeah this is what this is all about too. Well thank you very much for your time.

LOTSON: Thank you.

SMITH: That was a great interview.

LOTSON: All right, got a little short gift for you.

SMITH: Oh good.

LOTSON: Something you can listen to when you don't have anything to do. Hopefully it'll play. That's some history.

SMITH: Great.

LOTSON: And this is a little book I did. And some of it in here is from the Butler Plantation. And it's the only book in America that has—and I did it on purpose—I call it a written memorial. I have all of the names from the Butler Slaves sold in auction in 1859 one by one by one by one and how much they were sold for. And we got that and we just thought we'd put it in the book.

SMITH: Thank you very much.

LOTSON: That's yours.

SMITH: I'll ask you more specifically after I turn this off but do you think there's a lot of people here locally who I could speak with that are descendants from the slaves from this historic district here?

LOTSON: I wish you could give me a copy of this later, e-mail it to me. Let me give you my card.

SMITH: Sure, I can do that.

LOTSON: Because I have not done research on these plantations.

SMITH: Well I'll get with you again about some other interview subjects, but thank you.

LOTSON: Okay.

[end]

Josephine Lotson
Born: 1927 (Age 86)
Interview Location: Crescent McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 24, 2012

GREG SMITH: We're in Crescent, Georgia and it's July 24th and I'm with Josephine Lotson. Thank you for talking with me today. I wanted to ask you if you or any of your family members were associated with any of the plantations in the area?

JOSEPHINE LOTSON: The only place I have worked was at the Altama Delta shoe plant but I didn't work on the—I know they had several plantation around here like Butler Island but I didn't never work there.

SMITH: Right. Any of your ancestors work there? Maybe you know some stories that they may have recounted from those days?

LOTSON: The only person that I know of that really talk about it was Mr. Willie DeVillis. He used to work there and he used to talk how they used to go long hours and work the Butler Island. They used to plant different vegetables. There were not trees there so you just worked from sunup to sundown and the few conversation that I've had with him there, and they also had milk dairy also at Butler Island which it is torn down now.

SMITH: Okay. Did they ever talk about the plantation as it was in the past? Were there any buildings still there?

LOTSON: I know there is. I don't know the name of the building but I know they have about three building to my knowledge. They have a small building and I think they used to call it the Hunting Club. And then they have another building where they used to keep their equipment, and a man named Willie Hutchison he used to work over there. He retired from there. And he used to work over there at the Butler Island also. I don't know the name of the other building, look like it was a house or something, two-story building. I think that's still remaining. The Dairy Queen where they used to use for the dairy had the cows and things. We used that in the beginning. That's where we used to go there to make shoes, the (*unintelligible*) Footwear. And we worked there for a number of years until they moved on 251 and they built a building there. But that's where—at the time the name of the shoe plant was (*unintelligible*) Footwear. And they started in this Dairy Queen place on Butler Island and that's where they were working at, because they no longer use it for the cows.

SMITH: When were you born and how long has your family lived in the Darien area?

LOTSON: Well, as far as I knows of McIntosh County have always been our home, my father home as far as I knows of, my grandmother, and my home also. And I was born in 1927.

SMITH: And your mother and grandparents were from here as well?

LOTSON: No, my father. This is my father home.

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: My mother home is in some part of Carolina, South Carolina, but they met in Florida. And I don't know the exact name of the town where she was born because my aunt, my mother's sister—because I don't know—I didn't really get to know my mother. She died when we were real young but my aunt told me that's where they home was in

Carolina. And she went to Florida looking for a job and then her sister went up there and she got a job. That's where she met my father. My father had leave Georgia and he went to Florida and he was working down there on the dredge. And then they got married.

SMITH: So your father's family has a long history here in Darien?

LOTSON: Yes.

SMITH: How far back do they go, his people?

LOTSON: Well, as far as I knows of his mother, this was his mother home as far as I knows of and he was raised here. And then when he got grown, which he was the only boy, then he move away from home. And he came back after his mother had got sick. He would be back and forth, you know, to help his sister look after his mother. And my mother got sick. They both was sick at the same time. So he would come and see her. But I think his mother died first then my mother died. So after my mother died he just moved back to Georgia. And my sister that was in—I mean his sister that was in Florida moved back to Georgia to take care of us. So I was raised by my father. So this has always been his home.

SMITH: Okay. Were any of his ancestors, did they ever work on any of those old plantations back in history?

LOTSON: As far as I knows of no because I think they had no more than the shrimp factory they call it and that's where you work at, that in Darien called (*unintelligible*) shrimp factory in Darien.

SMITH: Okay. Where are your family members buried?

LOTSON: In Belleville Cemetery.

SMITH: Is that here in Darien?

LOTSON: That's in Crescent.

SMITH: In Crescent, okay.

LOTSON: Um-hm.

SMITH: Bellevue Cemetery in Crescent, okay—

LOTSON: Belleville—

SMITH: Do you know how they kept—back in those days how they kept the birth records and who did that?

LOTSON: Well, back in those days and time there was midwives. And so basically I don't know really how they—they give them—the midwife would give them a paper with your birthdate on it, because see they would go to the—the people that was over the midwives and they would give them a sealed paper to give them with their birthdate on it. So that's how they kept up with their birthdate until after they cut out the midwives and then—that what they would do when they had the midwives. You still get a certificate but you would have to take that certificate and turn it in. In the later years I know after I came along you would have to turn it in to get a real birth certificate. But they would give you a certificate with your baby name on it and how much it weigh and when it was born and the mother and the father name. Then you would take it down to the office in Darien and they would send it off and they would send you a red stamped birth certificate.

SMITH: And then when a person died how were records kept to keep track of that? Was there a funeral home in those days or—

LOTSON: No there were no funeral home. Back in those days and time when anyone died what they do the people in the community they get together and they would keep you in the house and the day before the funeral they would come and if it's a man the men in the community would come to your house and they would bathe the men and they would dress them up and they would put them they call it say on a cooling board. And they would lay them on that cooling board and they would stay there until the next day. And the men that have a truck or ox and wagon or horse and wagon they would put your body on there. They had one place and that was in Meridian, Georgia. Mr. Williams he sell the—your casket. So you can go there and you can get a casket for little or nothing like fifty dollars, seventy-five, anything under a hundred dollars. And if you get a hundred-dollar casket people think that you really are wealthy or seventy-five dollars but you go to Meridian. And they has a small little post office there now but that was a large store. It was a store downstairs. The post office was in one corner and where they keep the casket and the coffin upstairs, the rough box rather and the casket upstairs. So you will go up there and you will pick out. That was the only place around here that sell casket as far as I knows of. You would go there and buy your casket. And then the members in the community, the men will dress them. And early that morning they would put them in the casket and then they would take them on down to the cemetery. There were one man that used to—he had a ox and wagon. He also had a truck. His name was Mr.—

SMITH: Billy?

LOTSON: Jeff—pardon me?

SMITH: I heard someone mention a Mr. Billy. I just wondered if that was the same man.

LOTSON: No, his name was Jeff Baker I think.

SMITH: Jeff—

LOTSON: Mr. Jeff Baker.

SMITH: Baker, okay.

LOTSON: Uh-huh, Baker. He lived in Belleville. And he used to take the casket to the cemetery for the people and they would take them down there.

SMITH: Was he considered like we would call today a funeral director or this is just something that he did?

LOTSON: This is something that he did because you have to—you had to get the body there.

SMITH: Right.

LOTSON: And you know back in the days there were only—people didn't had cars, as many cars as they had and so those that did have a car you could not put a body in a car so you would have to have a truck or ox and wagon. So he had a ox and wagon. Because in the day they used to plow the field with their ox or either their horses if they had horses. They would plow the field. And people don't plant now but they used to have—you know, they plowed the field and they plant the corn, the peas, watermelon, the rice, the greens, cabbage, and all that. So they had oxen wagon. So they were—this man that what he would do. They help the people in the community. He would use his ox and wagon to carry the body. They just notified him.

SMITH: And the time period that this occurred probably goes back a good long while?

LOTSON: Oh yes, yes because I remember I was a little girl, because I remember my oldest brother had passed. I was very young at that time. You really wasn't old enough being a little child to say (*unintelligible*) worry about nobody. They die and that's it. So—and then I remember he came up there to take my brother body down to Belleville to the cemetery and—daddy had got him to take the body to the cemetery. And those who had cars they drive behind. And some people that didn't had an automobile what they would do they would walk, but they were gone way ahead and be to the cemetery, you know, before the funeral start.

SMITH: Um-hm. And when—so the men would prepare the male deceased person and the women would take—

LOTSON: Would take care of the ladies.

SMITH: Were there any special things? What kind of—did they put their favorite clothes or did they wrap him in a white sheet or—

LOTSON: Oh no. What they do, you put them—you put on one of the—they suit, their nice suits. You would dress them up just like you dress—just like they would dress someone up right now. But now people go out and they buy all these nice fancy things, you know, suit. But your same clothes you have—if you had a suit that you would wear they would get your best suit and they would put it on that man or that young boy. But if he didn't have any they would go out and they would buy a suit and put on him. And you had to take their underwear and their socks and their shoes, their shirt and tie and you take it all that. And you give it to the men and they bathe them and then they dressed them and they put them on the cooling board. And they had a board and they just laid them out on that and the next morning they would take and put them in the casket.

SMITH: I'm sorry, earlier you mentioned a rough box and the casket?

LOTSON: Yeah.

SMITH: What was the difference between those two?

LOTSON: Okay. The casket is the one just like how they put people in today. You know, they got this beautiful casket. And then the rough box it was make out of board. You sit the rough box—the casket in the rough box and you put it in the ground.

SMITH: Okay, the casket is in the rough box?

LOTSON: Yes.

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: And you put it in the ground then you put the top on it. But now what they call it—but they don't use a rough box anymore.

SMITH: Why did they use that at the time, the rough box?

LOTSON: Oh the rough box, at the time that what they use to put the casket in was rough box but it was make out of something just like dressed lumber.

SMITH: Yes.

LOTSON: And they would put this casket in there. But the casket it was nice. And it basically—some of them was gray like little suede like on the outside, some of them was white, you know. And it was nice. But now they have upgrade these casket. So what they do now they don't put them in the rough box anymore. They call it a vault.

SMITH: A vault right, okay.

LOTSON: They changed from that. They say vault. And they put that in there so you don't have to bury it that deep. But when you put them in the casket, the casket and the rough box, you got to bury six feet. They don't bury nobody six feet no more.

SMITH: So the rough box served to preserve the casket longer?

LOTSON: Yeah, preserve the casket you see.

SMITH: Even though that was an added expense that was seen as something that was important?

LOTSON: Oh yes it was, (*unintelligible*) yes it was.

SMITH: Did people put personal items in the casket sometimes with the person?

LOTSON: Oh yes, yes they do if they die, especially the ladies. If someone die and they have their nice, expensive jewelry they take all the nice, expensive jewelry and lay it in the casket beside them—for what? I don't see where it makes no sense but that's what they did. They put it in the casket because that's what they want to do.

SMITH: Who did the services? Who conducted the service when they were burying the person?

LOTSON: Oh well they had preachers.

SMITH: Just the local family preacher?

LOTSON: Yeah, they had—okay for instance they do just like how they do now. If you go—whatever church you're a member of. And if they have a funeral you goes to the church. They take your body to the church and they have your funeral. And then after the funeral then the men they will take your body out to church. They go to the house and they take your body and they carry it to the church. After the funeral they will take your body out the church, put it back on the buggy or the truck, on the ox and wagon or on the truck, and they'll take it on down to the cemetery. And when they get to the cemetery that's when they'll have their little final—sing their little song, do their little prayer. And then they'll say from ashes to ashes, dust to dust. And some people break their little green leaves and drop it in there and they start shoveling that dirt on you. But they bury you so deep and what they did they would just put a bank of sand on you and smooth it around and shape it up and they would take a stick, a little pole, and they'll bury that in the ground and they'll have a little tag with your name on it. But if you don't put a stone there year after year that piece of wood will rot. So except you have something there to mark it down through the years when those older people going on the next generation won't know where their loved ones are.

SMITH: Do you remember people putting personal items from that person who had died on top of the graves as a marker?

LOTSON: No, I don't remember any—

SMITH: Plates or bowls or anything like that?

LOTSON: Oh um—oh yes, yes some of them they put a little bowl up there. They'll put a bowl. And then they'll have a little tag about—

SMITH: Couple inches—

LOTSON: —so wide. And they have your name on it. And they will stick that in the ground. But then down through the years the dust and stuff eventually it kind of deteriorate the writings that's on it.

SMITH: Would people sing songs? Was there singing that sometimes occurred?

LOTSON: Oh yes they sing song. They sing song as I said. They have the funeral just like they have the funeral now. And when they get to the cemetery they still—they sing the song. They'll sing a song. And first they'll have a prayer and they'll sing the song. And when they get through doing that then they'll (*unintelligible*) then they'll go ahead and they start shoveling that dirt on. When they start shoveling that dirt that's a final and ain't nothing else you see, because they have a lot of shoveling of dirt because at that time they bury you six feet.

SMITH: That's a big hole.

LOTSON: Um-hm, yeah to bury you six feet.

SMITH: Do you remember any specific songs that were sung at funerals, and were they the same songs you'd sing at a regular Sunday service?

LOTSON: Oh, they sing all these sad—[laughs] (*unintelligible*) sad funeral. I can't recall right off hand—

SMITH: They were sad ones for the most part, the songs?

LOTSON: Yeah, mostly sad. They started singing some sad, sad song make people cry and all that stuff.

SMITH: What happened to the person's spirit when they died?

LOTSON: Well, you know, it has been a lot of say about people's spirit but to me—and I've heard some folks say oh they can see people and they come and talk to them but I have never seen anyone. I've never heard no one's spirit come and talk to me because once you are dead you don't know anything. Once that breath leave that body you don't know anything, nothing at all, according to the Bible. And you know yourself if you're sleeping and you're in a deep sleep someone can walk in, walk around you all day and you wouldn't even know because—I forgot how much percent of your body they said when you're sleeping is dead. So you don't know anything. And people have their different revelation of your spirit and what happen to your spirit and where your spirit go. But it has been so much saying about this. People claim they can bring back someone's spirit and let them talk to you and they telling you what to do and all that. Now I'm not saying it's not true. It could be. But you know, I just hear a whole lot of thing about that. But myself experience, I haven't. I haven't. And then when I say something I like to talk what I do know, what I have seen. So I don't have any definite answer for that. Some folks may have but I don't.

SMITH: Okay. So a lot of people have different feelings about that?

LOTSON: Yes.

SMITH: At your family's burial grounds were there markers that were put around your family plot or particular plants or anything like that?

LOTSON: Well now my later—my later relative that pass they has a marker. My early relative that pass when I was a child they don't have a marker as far as I knows of. They just don't have one. Because as I say, back in those days and time some people just did not put one down there but in later years when my brother came along—just like I had a aunt pass so he made sure. He says that he have relative that pass he don't know where they are so he want to make sure that as long as he living any relative pass he wanted to have something that will last, and it would be a marker that you can go there year after year and see where that individual was buried. So that's what he did. When my father passed he make sure he put a headstone there, you know.

SMITH: And were some of those headstones homemade by someone or did you get them from the big city, or how were those obtained?

LOTSON: He got the funeral home to see that the headstone was made and put there.

SMITH: And before that it was like you said a stick or a personal item, a plate or something like that?

LOTSON: Now I imagine you could get your own if you wanted to but see since he wasn't living here, you know, he wanted to make sure that it was done. So he just pay for it and gave them order and then the undertaker man said that he would make sure that it would have get done. But before what people do they just put a stick in the ground. And you know, when you stick a stick in the ground it's going rot. It definitely going rot because wood is going to rot, not unless you have a creosote post. Now it will last for many, many, many years. Now it will last.

SMITH: Were your family members, were they grouped in like a family plot maybe surrounded by a fence or were they just put in in different locations in the cemeteries?

LOTSON: No well you know each of them they got their own plot, you know, in the cemetery.

SMITH: Okay, it wasn't a family area where everybody was necessarily?

LOTSON: It's a large cemetery but you know everyone has their own family plot where they want to—their family member buried so they all will be together.

SMITH: Do you remember shells ever being used to outline the grave or any pots or things like that that might have been used, bottles?

LOTSON: Well some people may go down there and put bottle—that's up to the individual, you know, if they want to put bottles and stuff to mark their family member, you know, then they will know where they are.

SMITH: Did you ever leave anything?

LOTSON: Pardon me?

SMITH: Did you ever leave anything at the graveside?

LOTSON: No, um-um.

SMITH: And what do you think the meaning was for those people that did that? Partly it was to locate the location, to find it again but—

LOTSON: Just to locate it, to find out where it is you see, but if you have a headstone—that was back in the day and that is for people that don't or can't I guess buy a headstone then they would get something that would not deteriorate but then they would have to go ever so often also and keep that up because you know down through the years those bottles will eventually, it will get covered up in the dirt from the windstorm blowing dirt on it. Because you can just have a bottle out in your yard or a brick and after a while down through the years you go out there and that whole brick is done covered up. And I know that because when I used to really get out there in my yard I used to have some bricks around some of my plants for decoration. But down through the years I come to find out you couldn't hardly see the brick because the brick had done (*unintelligible*) within the dirt because you know the wind, the rain, and then the sand just keep piling up, piling up, piling up on it and after a while it's just a little small tip of the brick. Now you got to get the hoe or the shovel and pry the brick up out the dirt and then reset it gain.

SMITH: They were outlined?

LOTSON: Uh-huh.

SMITH: They outlined the grave?

LOTSON: No, I mean I just have it like in my yard.

SMITH: Oh.

LOTSON: So I'm saying down to cemeteries it's even worse with all the trees and the leaves and things are falling you see. It's going to cover it up and those bottles you're not going to see those bottles. It's not going to do it in two years but down through the years that what going to happen.

SMITH: Right.

LOTSON: That definitely going to happen. I know from self-experience, I can tell you that. If you don't believe it if you've got trees in your yard you just outline some bricks around it.

SMITH: Right. So I think especially way back in time they used to have to bury the person really soon after they died because it was so hot.

LOTSON: Oh yeah, you could not keep them, you know. Now like they can keep them for a whole week. But you know back in the day you couldn't keep a body that long. So this is the reason why when an individual pass, you know, they have to go there and wash them up and dress them up and go on and have that funeral.

SMITH: You'd have some visitors, family and friends, come to the house?

LOTSON: Oh yes. One thing, the people they were more loving. The people were more loving back in those days. If you have little children they will come to your house and they will bathe your little children, they will bring food, see that your children have something to eat, and that sorrowing mother wouldn't have to worry about washing her children, giving them a bath. She wouldn't have to worry about cooking and feeding them because your neighbors would come and they would help you. But people doesn't have that love like they used to. People die in the community and bury and you hardly know.

SMITH: That's one of the things that's changed. You talked about the caskets changing and the marker types changing—

LOTSON: Yes—

SMITH: —and then this care and getting together. I guess they used to call it a setting up?

LOTSON: Yes. Yes, they'll come and set up. Now they come and they'll set up, they come and set up. And now they call it—some folks that like ice water they come and they have a ball. They don't come like they used to come and be in mourning and grieving and praying and singing and trying to help you get over your sorrow. Now everybody come with a cup in their hand and having a good time and before they bury you they got cars string from I don't know where, had a big old cookout, everybody drunk. I said, Lord help. Now some places not everybody. Now some folks they do that because that's the type of life the individual lived so that's what they carry on, had a—but then after that you don't see them no more.

SMITH: So one thing is that the ceremony isn't as solemn as it was before?

LOTSON: No, no, no, no. I was telling one of my daughters I said, Child take care of yourself. I said, You can run, run, run I said but you got to look out. Nobody can take care of you no better than you. I said, Because they talking about all these good work you did. I said, And honey when your eyes close and they say these few words about you today, tomorrow you're history. There is a few people that are remembered for their good work and they're not going to forget it. There is a few people are remembered for their good work and there is some people that does good work and nobody talk about it, nobody.

SMITH: Do you remember back when they had the setting ups and they had to bury the person really soon after they died—would they have a second funeral later, like a week later when family from far away could come?

LOTSON: Well some—well what they do sometime they just say they have a little memorial you know and they'll get together. And some have been trying to do that since but sometime they just couldn't get the family together. But they'll have like what you call that's a memorial you know.

SMITH: A memorial?

LOTSON: Yeah, that's what they call it. Get all them together.

SMITH: Did your family participate in any of those organizations like the Odd Fellows or the Knights of Pythias or the Masons that were burial associations?

LOTSON: Well my husband he was a member of the Mason and I think later then he finally dropped out of that, but I don't know of anyone else that I knows of that really participated in the Mason, that I knows of. I don't even hear too much about the Mason anymore like I used to. You used to hear about all these little organization, but I don't hear people talk about it like they used to, you know.

SMITH: How did they contribute to the whole process, do you recall, that you heard about? I don't know much about that myself.

LOTSON: No, because the members that was in the Mason they said they don't supposed to discuss with the non-members of the Mason what goes on in the Mason.

SMITH: So they had some secret—

LOTSON: Yeah—

SMITH: —rites that they performed perhaps without the family? I wonder if that would have been before or after?

LOTSON: They just said that they don't supposed to discuss. So he never really talked. He used to go to the meetings but he never discussed what was in the meeting because he said they're not supposed to talk about it. And I really didn't understand what they was doing. They always performed their little, you know, if a member died that is a member of the Mason they do their little performing but I didn't understand what they were saying or doing, because if you're not a member of something you don't know, you know, their signs and stuff all that. I don't know whether you ever seen them or have been around them when they do their little sign.

SMITH: No.

LOTSON: Yeah. But they have their little signs that the Mason does and their little saying.

SMITH: Oh like hand signs?

LOTSON: Yeah hand—

SMITH: I know what you mean. I don't know any of them either. It's a secret.

LOTSON: Yes, so you don't know the hand sign so therefore you don't know—you don't know what they're saying.

SMITH: In the services that you've attended here in Darien were there white and black people that attended?

LOTSON: Oh yeah, some of them be white, a few, you know.

SMITH: Um-hm. And were the cemeteries segregated? Were the whites in one area and the blacks in another area or in time—through time that—

LOTSON: Oh no, no. It's just like this, I mean if some whites know you they will come to your funeral, but the white have their own private cemetery and the black have theirs. Yeah, they were not like—now the only one that would have—goes to the cemetery if you are black and you're a member of this white church or you're white and you're a member of this black church then you all go the same place like that. But other than that, you know, you go to your cemetery, I go to mine. And there's always more black will visit a white than what white will visit a black, but there's a few white that would but it's not that many that would.

SMITH: Today are there still white and black cemeteries or is that something that's changed?

LOTSON: No it has not changed.

SMITH: Not here?

LOTSON: No, not here. And Darien going always be marked. Because I—I heard ever since I was a child that they did something to a black woman in Darien and—the white folks did. And this black woman said Darien would always be cursed. And I don't care what they try to do to bring up Darien, Darien just going to be just for Darien. Darien is not going to be successful.

SMITH: She put the hex on Darien.

LOTSON: It just not. It just not.

SMITH: When people who have left Darien and gone to live somewhere else, maybe they moved to New York City or something, when they die is there much practice of them being flown back to Darien, transported back here some way to be buried here in Darien where they came from?

LOTSON: Well, we say Darien but it's a lot of places. People that—

SMITH: Well—

LOTSON: —they leave home and this was their hometown. And their cemetery is either to Meridian, Georgia, Darien, Crescent, or (*unintelligible*) or somewhere out there so they come back to their hometown to be buried. They may be in New York but when they die they come back home to be buried. They may be done leave from there, you don't even know the person.

SMITH: In your respective communities around Darien like you said?

LOTSON: Yes, they come back home.

SMITH: So none of your family members are in a Darien cemetery at all?

LOTSON: Oh no.

SMITH: No, they're all out here? Okay. Well I guess one other question I have is do you have any photographs of any—of the cemeteries in the area or any of the cemeteries in this area, old photographs?

LOTSON: No. Well, no I sure don't.

SMITH: Okay.

LOTSON: Because I'm really not into cemeteries.

SMITH: Right.

LOTSON: When I die I know I got to go there.

SMITH: Right. [laughs]

LOTSON: [laughs] But I'm not into all that. Some people, you know, they'll run down to the cemetery all the time but, you know, that is up to what a person does, you know. And it's not like—my loved ones they stay on my mind. I never can ever stop thinking about my father or my brother, never, never, every day of my life. And then sometime I just say Lord I say just take my brother off my mind, you know. Because we just grew up together. Even when we were children we just grew up together just so close, you know. And although he was so far away but we was always just like two peas in a pod. And then my father he brought us up to always keep in touch with our family member. If it wasn't for my father I would never know my aunt. But he was just that type of father when his—my mother died he wanted us to know where our aunt was. So daddy would take us to Florida once a year to see our aunt. So that's how I did to get in touch to know my aunt. So, you know, but this cemetery I'm just not, you know, I just don't but I just—and I said, Lord I think about my brother so much, so much and I think about my father.

SMITH: Well that kind of goes back to that question about where does the person go when they die? So they're still with you in that way?

LOTSON: Yeah, I guess.

SMITH: Well—

LOTSON: I don't like to talk about them, I don't talk about them even to my children. I just don't talk because I said I don't want them to think that I'm still worrying, you know, that I'm still worrying but, you know, I just think about him.

SMITH: Right. They're still in your heart is what I mean?

LOTSON: Um-hm.

SMITH: Well okay. Well thank you very much.

LOTSON: Alright, and thank you, appreciate you. Sorry I don't know more about them dead folks.

SMITH: Oh no you've said plenty. Thanks very much.

[end]

Eunice Moore
Born: 1939 (Age 74)
Interview Location: Darien, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 24, 2012

BEGIN PART 1 OF 3

GREG SMITH: It's July 25th. I'm at the Darien Hotel with Eunice Moore. And Ms. Moore thanks for talking with me today. Can you tell me a little bit about yourself, where you were born, your date of birth, and some of the occupations that you've had?

EUNICE MOORE: I was born here in Darien, Georgia, McIntosh County and I lived here all my life. I finished high school here at Todd-Grant High School. I am married to George William Moore, Sr. I am the mother of three children, two boys and a girl, and I have six grandchildren and four great-grandchildren. And I have worked in several areas of the county. I have done many different things. I worked as a school lunchroom worker, I worked at Bluestein's Grocery Store, I did insurance work, I end up working for the Gateway mentally retarded program it was called at that time. They've changed the name of it. And I retired from there in 1999. And now I am doing what I need to do to help people because I am a servant of the Lord. I substitute at the school system whenever they call me and I am a caregiver for many of the senior citizens helping them get to the doctor, get their meals, get their shopping, do just what's needed to help the older people.

SMITH: Did you mention what your birthdate was?

MOORE: Oh I was born in 1939, March 17th.

SMITH: And how far back does your family's history in this area go?

MOORE: I don't know my family history on my father's side too well. We just started making connections with that in the last five years for the connection of our family on the Mungins. On my mother's side we go back quite a few years but our family on my mother's side is not a large family and they are the Bryan Family. That's the family name for them. And her mother had four sisters. I do not know of a brother, they just talked about sisters. And my mother was the baby of four children to my knowledge. And her mother raised her sister's children which the sister died after childbirth and she raised my mother and her children and her sister and her children together as if they were all of her children.

SMITH: And you mentioned Mungin. I believe that's the way it's pronounced here locally but it's spelled M-E-N-T-I-O-N? No? It is Mungin?

MOORE: M-U-N-G-I-N is Mungin.

SMITH: Mungin, M-U-N-G-I-N, okay.

MOORE: Right.

SMITH: Thank you. I needed to know that.

MOORE: Yes.

SMITH: Okay [laughs] I appreciate that.

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: And you said earlier that none of your family has any direct association with Cathead Creek and any of the plantations that you know of except perhaps on your—

MOORE: I do not know anything about the connections.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: I know until in the fifties my church that's where they went for the baptism, in the Cathead Creek. And in the fifties they stopped doing that and started going to churches where they had pools built in churches for baptism.

SMITH: Okay. Well I'd like to hear what you can tell us about African American funerals and burial practices. First of all, what cemetery here in Darien is your family buried in?

MOORE: The Upper Mill Cemetery is where my father is buried and Butler Cemetery which is the slave cemetery that Butler—from Butler Island the Butler, Pierce Butler, those have a cemetery on 99 that's called Butler Cemetery because there was nowhere to bury them on Butler Island due to the flooding and so much water. So that particular site is for the slaves of the island. That was where it started from.

SMITH: And are there good burial—birth and burial date information available?

MOORE: There is somewhere but I cannot tell it to you offhand now.

SMITH: No?

MOORE: And the cemetery is overgrown. We've talked about trying to get it clean, constantly, constantly. They don't want me to do the manual labor so now it's got to be to where I've got to see that it's done because it's a forest. Liverpool Hazzard was buried there and Lotson found that. Well it wasn't like he found it because it wasn't lost. They just didn't know that he was buried there.

SMITH: Oh.

MOORE: So now they have that as a historical—a national historical site with a monument and all in that area at the time. But he was never lost. I knew he was in there. It's just that people did not know that that's where he was buried.

SMITH: Right. Right. And did your family have a family plot of their own?

MOORE: We have—we don't really call it a plot. We have a site because—

SMITH: Or a section?

MOORE: A section, uh-huh.

SMITH: Plots are different.

MOORE: Right, and our family members are buried in that area.

SMITH: And they're all marked? Are there some that are so far back in time that they're not—

MOORE: Some are so far back in time that they're not marked. My grandmother, Flora Jane, is marked. And then there was another cemetery called Kell Cemetery. So I really don't know where my grandmother's husband was buried at all.

SMITH: Did you ever hear stories about how way in the past the bodies were prepared for burial?

MOORE: Yes. They—by not having a funeral home here someone came and embalmed the body here and it always stayed right here and right in the room wherever it was until it was time for burial. And they always covered the individual up so the flies won't play over them.

SMITH: And it was so hot—

MOORE: Right, so hot.

SMITH: —so I imagine burial probably occurred quite shortly after death?

MOORE: Shortly. They never kept them too long. Depend upon the distance of the funeral home but they never were kept very long.

SMITH: No? They had a setting up?

MOORE: It was just like—they were just there. It was not necessarily—you didn't have to necessarily set up.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: They were just there.

SMITH: Okay. Didn't have to do the cooling board or anything like that?

MOORE: They were on a cooling board.

SMITH: Oh they were, okay. And then other families in this area that are related to yours are they buried in the same location or are they—

MOORE: There are a lot of them that's buried in the same location. A lot of them is buried in the same—our family on the Butler side is a large family of us and we are buried in that site.

SMITH: And you mentioned that at least one of the particular cemeteries isn't well kept up. In the past were there ever special plants that might have been put there or anything—

MOORE: I don't know where the—well in some areas there are special plants depending upon the family members but they—the older people kept the cemeteries clean, the young people don't keep it clean.

SMITH: Really?

MOORE: There was a special time every year that you clean the cemetery.

SMITH: Oh how did that work? This is the first time I've heard anybody mention that.

MOORE: All I know is they did it.

SMITH: Just as needed?

MOORE: It wasn't nothing that I was a part of; I just know it happened.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: Um-hm, yeah.

SMITH: Do you see a lot of changes that have occurred over the years in burial practices?

MOORE: Yes, a lot of changes but they're not detrimental to anyone; just changes for the generation of time.

SMITH: Like for example?

MOORE: When—the changes at that time when people died families came to families and did what they had (*unintelligible*). Now I see where there's so much changes when it come to, Okay there's a funeral (*unintelligible*) and you got to feed all these people as if it's a [laughs] as if it's the family reunion and whatnot. They don't—I don't—that part I can't get accustomed to.

SMITH: No?

MOORE: I'm a part of it but I just don't understand that part. Because when I came along you took to family. Now you got to give to the community so much. It's like I got to feed you because you came to see about my people. If you come to my house I don't mind offering you a meal but once the funeral is over I think we should disperse our ways and families go to themselves. That's the oldness in me.

SMITH: Well even before that were there—

MOORE: That's the way they did it before.

SMITH: Okay. Well I was thinking of when people were sometimes buried very quickly after death was there like a second funeral that would occur later in time for those who were out of town?

MOORE: No.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: They didn't have but one. If you didn't make it there you just didn't make it, but the family would greet you and you would be a part of what was going on.

SMITH: Okay. And who gave the services?

MOORE: The minister.

SMITH: Just your local, your family minister?

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: And white people and black people would attend?

MOORE: Yes, um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. And then do you have any feelings on what happened to the person's spirit after they died?

MOORE: (*unintelligible*) in the spirit, the spirit leaves them once they die.

SMITH: Okay. Simple as that? [laughter] Was there a lot of singing at the funeral? There any special songs?

MOORE: They had special songs. If I had a particular song I liked that song would be sung. And I had an aunt that was a big person for singing in the choir and she would sing her song. And then they would have different memories about the person that's dead. Funerals were not stretched out like they are now. They're stretched out. When I say stretched out they're lengthy. And they were not stretched out as lengthy as they are today, not this day and time.

SMITH: That's true yes. It covers several days sometimes.

MOORE: Um-hm. And even when you sit in a funeral line you can be in there two hours.

SMITH: Um-hm. So just songs that were meaningful to the family or to the deceased?

MOORE: Um-hm

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: If you missed me from singing down here come on up to Bright Glory because I'll be singing up there, um-hm and "Precious Lord Take my Hand", "Amazing Grace".

SMITH: What was the first one again, first one you mentioned? Take my hand?

MOORE: Oh, "Precious Lord—"

SMITH: "Precious Lord Take my Hand"?

MOORE: Um-hm. Lead me on, let me stand, um-hm. And they had special funeral songs that were sung and people had their choices of songs they wanted.

SMITH: In terms of markers—

END PART 1 OF 3

BEGIN PART 2 OF 3

SMITH: Okay we're back. We had a brief interruption but we're back and we're talking about markers and monuments on graves.

MOORE: Everyone had their different monuments that they choose to have on graves. Years ago they put memory things—vases, picture and different things and broken craft things on top of the graves. Now they don't do that anymore. They just put the luxury monuments and that's it now. It's not like it used to be.

SMITH: You know why they—

MOORE: And they put them in vaults now.

SMITH: Do you know why they started leaving those personal items on the graves?

MOORE: They said it was for them to rest. [laughs]

SMITH: To have their favorite things with them?

MOORE: That it was like I have a favorite thing so they would put my favorite thing.

SMITH: And I've heard too that it also helped to recognize the person's grave when you came back to visit if there wasn't a marker.

MOORE: But most of them had something there to signify.

SMITH: Okay. So these were in addition—

MOORE: Um-hm—

SMITH: —to that okay.

MOORE: Right, um-hm.

SMITH: Did you ever see any markers that consisted of shells?

MOORE: Um-hm, yeah. The full length of the grave would have different shells, decorations and things on top the full length of it, and it would have a small marker to the head signifying who it is, identifying the individual.

SMITH: And the shells sometimes were the full length?

MOORE: Right. And they would have the different clay pots and different things, the little broken pieces and things from them, they would lay that on top.

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: What do you think the meaning was of the shells?

MOORE: I would think that it was out of the ocean and that's how we traveled here.

SMITH: That makes sense. [laughter] So do you have any memories of hearing about a time when some of those personal items were put in the casket with the person?

MOORE: People still do that. People still have special things they put in the casket with the—I don't know why they do that, that I don't.

SMITH: To keep the person comfortable, make it seem—

MOORE: I don't know—

SMITH: —just another day?

MOORE: —the story there. I don't know. I never know why they choose to put things in there with them.

SMITH: Okay. Can you think back to one of the early—the funerals that you attended as a small child, is there anything—you talked a little bit about change about the length of them and that sort of thing—any other observations that you remember?

MOORE: As a child? Um-um. One thing I could just remember the long funerals now.

SMITH: They're long now and they were much more brief in the past?

MOORE: Right. (*unintelligible*) everybody got something to say about somebody after they die and not nothing about them while they're alive.

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: I just want you to know this about your mama, I want you to know that about your mama. And why can't you tell me my mama's good as you look at me to make me feel good about my mama so we can share that moment?

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: That's me.

SMITH: Well I have a personal experience with that myself so I know what you're saying. [laughter] Did any of your family participate in some of those burial organizations like the Odd Fellows or the Knights of Pythias or the Masons?

MOORE: Yes.

SMITH: They did?

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: Were you ever privy to any of the ceremonies?

MOORE: Most of them.

SMITH: Oh you were?

MOORE: Uh-huh. If they're a family member and then I'm a member of the organization so if it's someone in our organization (*unintelligible*) at that time I'm a part of it.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: So there were—but some of those are thought to be secret, but if you—you are a part of the same group so you were included in that?

MOORE: All organizations are secret to a certain extent. My faith is secret to a certain extent but my faith is not so secret until I cannot talk about it so that's the same way it is with the organization.

SMITH: Okay. You're the first person that's said anything about being part of one of those so I'm just trying to find out as much as I can from—

MOORE: [laughs] Oh well normally people don't ask me but I am a member of many organizations, many.

SMITH: Well like those that I mentioned, Odd Fellows or Knights of—

MOORE: I'm not—

SMITH: Those are burial associations.

MOORE: Those are the male organizations. Like I'm a member of the Eastern Star.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: Uh-huh, the Order of the Eastern Star. So those that are associated with that I'm a part of it. If the men bury someone and they're a part of our—we are the sister to them or the brother to us I attend the service and witness what goes on. I'm not a part of it.

SMITH: Oh okay.

MOORE: I witness what goes on.

SMITH: So there's—this is—these are just male groups that I mentioned here; there's also Eastern Star and there are others for women?

MOORE: Right.

SMITH: Well what are some of the other ones for women?

MOORE: We have the Eastern Stars, Golden Circle, Cyrene Crusaders, Heroines of Jericho, Daughters of Isis. And I'm also a member of the NAACP. I'm a member of the Darien—the McIntosh County, whatever it is Historical Society, Lower Altamaha Historical Society—many organizations I'm a member.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: But those fraternal organizations are the ones that we do a ceremony.

SMITH: And you have some special things that you say or—

MOORE: Right—

SMITH: —perform—

MOORE: Um-hm—

SMITH: —with members of the group?

MOORE: Right. Just like the preacher have something special to say when he do the ceremony we have something special to say about our deceased.

SMITH: Um-hm, okay. Did you yourself ever leave a gift at a grave?

MOORE: No I don't.

SMITH: No? Okay.

MOORE: If there are flowers there I will leave some flowers. I might select a rose because my mother was crazy about roses. I would—I laid a rose on her casket but you know other than that—and I requested roses for the covering of the casket.

SMITH: Back in say your grandmother's time do you know about getting a coffin for her? How was that done, do you know?

MOORE: I don't know. I hardly was twelve years old—

SMITH: Okay—

MOORE: —when she died.

SMITH: All right.

MOORE: I just know that she died, they had a funeral and buried her.

SMITH: Okay. And then when people have left Darien here, moved away to go somewhere else, is it common that when they die they're buried back here?

MOORE: If that's the request of some of them. Some of them don't come back. I have several members that have died and didn't come back.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: And one that was 102 last year in October and they didn't bring her back.

SMITH: Um-hm. And then the last question, do you have any photographs of any of the—of cemeteries in this area?

MOORE: No I don't.

SMITH: Okay. That's always—that's common. I think most people don't.

MOORE: We had them for different family members but no I don't know where they are.

SMITH: Okay. You remember seeing some of the—this is sort of your personal experience—when you were at cemeteries did you see some of the older-looking graves that had grave goods on them?

MOORE: Right, uh-huh.

SMITH: Were they swept clean or were they vegetated over or—

MOORE: They would be clean. They would—because the people would visit them and keep them clean.

SMITH: Of grass and everything? Just dirt?

MOORE: Right.

SMITH: So it was down to the dirt?

MOORE: They would actually be clean.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. And they still had some—either a boundary or the shells you talked about or a grave good, grave gift?

MOORE: It would be contained in this area right there, in this area. It's contained in this area. Whatever's there is contained in this area.

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: Now they put slab tops on them—

SMITH: Um-hm—

MOORE: —and things. They don't dress graves up anymore.

SMITH: Okay. Well anything else you'd like to add?

MOORE: What else do you need to know?

SMITH: Well just I'm trying to get information on the district here.

MOORE: Oh. Well I've served on different commissions here in the city and the county. I also served as city council member. I am now on the Tax Assessor's Board. I've done many things.

SMITH: You have?

MOORE: Things too much to try to remember.

SMITH: Well I appreciate you doing this with me today.

MOORE: [laughs] And I have served with you for the information that you need for this (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Yes you have.

MOORE: I really—and when it comes to—we had a certain number of blocks that was called Cathead. When it came to all the way down to the river as far as I know it was always white people lived that far. As a child my grandmother lived between white people. There were no houses on the other side of her or anywhere in that area except down the street in a block it was one black person that lived. My grandmother told me that one time all of this area down here was black. She said that. I don't know anything about anybody being black because that was too far above my time.

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: And she lived by what we used to call the beekeeper.

SMITH: Oh.

MOORE: In that same little house it's still there. I ride the street sometime just to pass that house.

SMITH: Oh do you?

MOORE: Um-hm, just to pass that house. I get off the road and go right on by.

SMITH: And your people were then on the east side of what's today Interstate 95?

MOORE: This is—yeah we're on the east side uh-huh. And on the west side is where my grandmother lived and where I was raised up at. My mother's family came out of what they call Lower Bluff to Fort King George. That's where my mother family and my mother, that's where they were raised up.

SMITH: Okay, a little bit further east from—

MOORE: Off of (*unintelligible*). All the way east on the coast.

SMITH: Um-hm.

MOORE: All the way that way, down Fort King George, all the way down. You know where Fort King George is?

SMITH: Yes I do.

MOORE: Okay. That's where my mother was raised.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: And that area had a lot of black people at one time which it's not—limited—I don't know, I think it's—maybe one section's got a few black people, maybe about three, and one street's got maybe four but it's limited now. One time there was. I lived there before I moved to where I am now but it was the old home site when I lived there.

SMITH: Okay well thank you very much.

MOORE: I'm a member of St. John Baptist Church and our church holds the deed for Butler Cemetery. We do not own the cemetery; we just have the deed for the cemetery because the cemetery is for the people.

SMITH: Um-hm. Okay. Thank you.

MOORE: You're welcome.

END PART 2 OF 3

BEGIN PART 3 OF 3

SMITH: Hello we're back a third time here. Something came up after we quit talking about Dunwoody Cemetery. If you could go ahead and tell us what you know about Dunwoody Cemetery and what's occurred there.

MOORE: Okay. I-95 has some of Dunwoody Cemetery and 251. And all those businesses that's up there they're a part of it. The service station and everything and where the tombstone is behind one of the service station, all back over there, all the way back, they destroyed some of the graves and one day they had a ceremony to rebury the bones that they found. And they gave the cemetery what they wanted them to have because all of that area is the cemetery. They destroyed tombstones, all that stuff. They just completely destroyed it because all that was in there. They took the cemetery. And maybe across the street down a little bit is where Oasis Plantation Cemetery was or either Greenwood, one of those in there because across the street was what was called a plantation—because plantations were out through that way from my husband's grandmother telling me that, that plantations were out there. And when they paved the road through there she could not find her family members anymore because she didn't know where the cemetery was because they put those structures out there like the three service stations and all those things up and down in there, and they just got lost and couldn't find it anymore. Ceylon, some of that's taken but we don't want to keep our cemeteries clean. Every time I suggest something they don't like the idea. And I can't clean it. I'll give a dollar to keep it clean but I cannot keep it—the manpower I don't have behind it.

SMITH: You mean you want to keep them clean but you can't get support and help to keep them clean?

MOORE: Can't get support and help for it to happen. Everybody's got a idea but nobody's doing nothing about it.

SMITH: You said something about that your husband's family was in Dunwoody?

MOORE: Yes. His grandmother that's where they're buried in Dunwoody.

SMITH: And what would her name be?

MOORE: Mary Elizabeth Rutledge. But she's not buried there now. Her mother and father were out there, so she's buried at Upper Mill.

SMITH: I see.

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: So the mother and father Rutledge were at Dunwoody—

MOORE: Right—

SMITH: —and then the mother was at—

MOORE: Um-hm.

SMITH: Okay.

MOORE: Um-hm. But she would tell me about those—this strip through here she would tell me about it. That's how I knew—the different plantations I did not know the name of them. She just said plantations—because I wouldn't remember with her telling me.

SMITH: Okay. We're looking at a map now that shows the seven plantations that are in the historic district and that's what Ms. Moore is commenting on. Anything else that you remember about either of those two cemeteries?

MOORE: Not offhand.

SMITH: Okay. Well thanks.

MOORE: Um-hm.

[end]

Mary Moran and Wilson Moran
Born: 1928 (Age 85) and 1942 (Age 71)
Interview Location: Harris Neck, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 26, 2012

GREG SMITH: This is July 26th. I'm on Harris Neck Road with Mrs. Mary Moran and her son Wilson. We're going to talk a little bit this morning. I appreciate you speaking with me. What is your history in this area? Well first of all let me ask you if you have an association with the Cathead Creek area near Darien?

WILSON MORAN: No, not that we know of.

GREG: Okay, where is your family from and how long have you been in the McIntosh County area?

WILSON: Okay, well let me tell you a quick story about the people on my mother's side. Now my father is of Native descent so we'll just talk about my mom's side. There's a song that is in our family that has been in our family for more than 200 years. And in 1987 the anthropologist Joe Opala found my mother—we won't go into that whole part of the story—and come to discover that my mom was the last known person in North America that knew this song. And this song, as we discovered, was of the ancient Mende religion and these Mende people lived in Sierra Leone deep into the interior near Liberia. Now what's so important about this song is it's a burial song. And when the girls of the Mende tribe was initiated they would learn this song and learn about burials and learn about birthing, or how to bring children into this world. And this song was brought here from Sierra Leone by a little girl. We don't know her name but she had to be between twelve or fifteen years old, taken from the village Senehun Ngola, brought to America. She was either raped on the ship or had her baby short after that, but she was brought and sold—sold and bought over here and brought to Harris Neck. This little girl had a daughter and the daughter—the child's name was Katherine. Now Katherine then had a child with the plantation owner's son. His name was Edward Delegal which was from Delegal Plantation right near us now. Katherine's son name was Mustapha Delegal. He later changed his name to Shaw during the Civil War. Well then Mustapha had several children. One of then name was Amelia Dawley which is my mother's mother, my grandmother. And Amelia had one living child and her name was Mary Dawley, D-A-W-L-E-Y, is my mother. Then my mother being—having just—just being one child had eleven children?

MARY MORAN: Thirteen.

WILSON: Thirteen children. Nine is alive today. And most of the way—even though we have lost a lot of it how we go about our burial services is related to how we did it in West Africa, and that's having a wake and a party or celebration, going home celebration. That's how we got here.

GREG: Okay, from the Sierra Leone area?

WILSON: Um-hm.

GREG: Okay. And where are your family members buried in this area?

MARY: At Harris Neck.

WILSON: Gould Cemetery—

MARY: Gold—

WILSON: —in Harris Neck.

GREG: Gould, G-O-U-L-D?

MARY: Cemetery, um-hm.

WILSON: Yes. See it was two cemeteries down there but one of them were destroyed when the federal government claimed imminent domain and took our land.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: So we only have one left and that's in the National Wildlife Reserve.

GREG: So you used to live closer to the coast than Harris Neck?

MARY: Yes.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*).

GREG: What changed there?

MARY: When the government took our place in 1942.

GREG: 1942 to make a national wildlife preserve?

WILSON: No.

MARY: No, air base.

GREG: An air base?

MARY: Uh-huh.

WILSON: Let me—

MARY: Okay.

WILSON: You've got to realize a lot of things happened prior to '42. If you'll remember the Civil War, General William T. Sherman as he was marching from Atlanta to Savannah destroying and defeating every purpose he possibly could to what the Confederates. When he got here they were at a—they were confused as to what they were going to do with these recently freed slaves.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: So he issued Field Order 15. And Field Order 15 gave us all the land from South Carolina to the northern tip of Florida, all the islands, and some lands up to 30 miles inland he gave it to these recently freed people. And that's when they began to realize what freedom was because they realized that it was connected to economics. Well they already knew how to farm and the government gave them the mules and the plows and the seeds and then they really began to flourish and—but after Reconstruction or during Reconstruction the government took the land back from the people. But Margaret Harris who they gave Harris Neck back to came to the conclusion in her will that she would—if we took care of her she would give us the land which was about 2,687 acres of land and 75 families were on it. That's when my grandfather, Mary's mother began to have this—he began to flourish—(*unintelligible*) the shrimp boat, he farmed, he had this beautiful house—and we have a picture of his house. And he was doing extremely well up until 1942 when the war broke out and the federal government was trying to find out what they can do to combat the German U-boats that were destroying our merchant ships going from the southern ports to England. And even though there's a lot of vacant land all around Harris Neck the local government convinced the federal government to take Harris Neck. And they claimed imminent domain and gave my mom and them two weeks to move. A lot of the old people who were perfectly physically well died but my papa being the person he was refused to give up or to die. The reason we are sitting in this house right here is because when they moved us out my papa got this little old piece of land here and this is where I was born in 1942 in a lean-to shack. And my mother and I almost died because of the severity of the move. But the Harris Neck as they knew it were all gone. And that's how we live now—not in Harris Neck but on Harris Neck Road.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: And you've got to realize we are sitting on just an acre-and-a-half of land here—

MARY: Um-hm—

WILSON: —but my grandfather owned over 100 acres of land. It was very difficult for them.

MARY: They told us not to move far away because we will have the first preference of getting our home back.

WILSON: In 1942.

MARY: In 1942, and that's why we huddled up on this little twenty acres, a bunch of families on twenty acres of property.

WILSON: And they began to die—get sick and die out.

MARY: That's right, the older fellows. One man didn't live but one month, just took a stroke and died because he had a brand new home torn down on Harris Neck. We were treated like cattles, out here in a pine woods.

GREG: Was that pattern of dislocation common from here all the way to the south end of Georgia?

WILSON: No.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: But the land was taken back from the people. And if you look to the recent history from all the way into Florida down into St. Augustine there—few if any black families own land on the water anymore. So there was a plan.

MARY: It's a plan, um-hm.

GREG: So there was some dislocation then you say all the way to St. Augustine so—

WILSON: All the way to St. Augustine.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: Well getting back to cemeteries and family burial—and just to get this straight, your relative Mustapha he changed his name to was it Shaw?

WILSON: Shaw.

GREG: S-H-A-W?

WILSON: Um-hm.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: And that was during the war. Because he became a

Civil War soldier and he fought in the war on the North side. And he got injured in Savannah Georgia and he later mustered out in Beaufort, South Carolina. And if you'd go today in Washington, D.C. I think—is it Union Street or U Street to the Colored Soldiers Memorial Civil War you'll find my—look up the 33rd infantry and you'll find my great-granddaddy's name, Mustapha Shaw.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: And you can understand why he changed his name.

MARY: He was a slaveholder son.

GREG: Okay, slaveholder's son, okay. Is he buried in Gould Cemetery?

MARY: Oh no.

GREG: No? Okay. Can we—

MARY: They had a cemetery down in Delegal.

WILSON: Yeah, but we can't go in there because the guy who owns it don't allow us in there.

GREG: What was that word that started with a "D"?

WILSON: Delegal, D-E-L-E-G-A-L, Delegal. And that's right adjacent to Harris Neck.

MARY: Yeah.

GREG: Okay. Well what can you tell me about your family's burial grounds? Is everyone together in one place, is it—

MARY: Now in one place. It was two graveyards but the government took one.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: Thomas Graveyard which was—the wildlife settled upon that particular spot.

GREG: Oh.

WILSON: Well the air base.

MARY: Wildlife is settled where Thomas Graveyard.

WILSON: Yeah. They own it now—

MARY: Um-hm—

WILSON: —but in 1942 they destroyed it because that's where they wanted to build the runways. But I'll give you all that information. And they said they were going to move it from the location that it was if it was in the way into Gould Cemetery, but from what I heard from the elders they just dug a hole and just dumped them all in there.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: Okay. Well what about your family then and your family people in Gould? Are you all together there?

MARY: Yeah my mother and father. They're down in Gould.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: But that was a different set of families at the other graveyard.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: But our family's in Gould Graveyard.

GREG: In Gould, okay. Is there a fence around the graves or—

MARY: The government put a fence around it.

WILSON: The entire—

GREG: The entire cemetery, okay. And around your family is there any—

WILSON: We have markers.

GREG: There's markers as well?

MARY: Yes. Yes.

GREG: But they're not—they don't have their own border let's say around your family—

WILSON: Um-um—

MARY: No—

GREG: —but they're just part of the cemetery but in a section of its own?

MARY: Right.

GREG: Okay. Who kept the birth and death records for your family members?

MARY: Did we—

WILSON: Yeah, used to use the Bible.

MARY: Yeah, it's in the Bible.

GREG: Oh, individual families then?

MARY: Big Bible, yeah, right um-hm.

GREG: There wasn't a community register say or a cemetery register of who was in there; it was individual families kept that? Is that right?

WILSON: And you still have the Bible.

MARY: Oh yeah.

WILSON: Date.

MARY: You want the year that my parents died?

GREG: Sure.

MARY: Mother died in '55, December of '55, and my father died in 1960.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: And the year they were born—

MARY: Papa was born in 1879. Mama was born in 1880.

GREG: Well going back, as far back as you can remember or that you may have learned from your family members, how were the dead prepared for burial?

MARY: Oh they had—when my parents died they had undertakers.

WILSON: But before then?

MARY: Before then you died today they bury you tomorrow. They put a penny on each eye to keep them eyes closed and salt on top of your stomach. You die today they bury you tomorrow.

GREG: Was the body cleansed and put in any—

MARY: Yeah, they washed them and dressed them and put that salt on the stomach say that salt kept them until the next day.

GREG: Oh it helped preserve?

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*). And tell them about the way people had built their own—

MARY: Oh yeah we had carpenters build their own coffins.

GREG: Carpenters?

MARY: Carpenters, it was two brothers—

GREG: Oh—

MARY: —would built their coffins. We didn't buy new caskets. They built (*unintelligible*). The ladies would dress them. If you was a man yours was covered with black and the women in purple, lavender.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: Um-hm. (*unintelligible*) box, wooden boxes with material.

GREG: Lining the box you mean, materials?

MARY: All over.

GREG: Oh, all over them?

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: And these carpenters that was just a service they provided for the—

MARY: Yeah, they do it for nothing. I think—I was a little girl but I don't believe they got paid. They just live, loving together like that—you die they build you a casket.

WILSON: Tell him about the wakes, the parties, the wakes.

MARY: The who?

GREG: The setting ups—setting up?

MARY: Oh yeah they set up with you that night and sing songs and drink coffee.

WILSON: And liquor.

MARY: I reckon so. I was a little girl but I remember, because my parents you die they'll (*unintelligible*) and I was afraid, I was a scary little girl, but they won't stay from them dead people.

WILSON: And another thing that was very important in the community then was the church, everything revolved around the church. And we had a bell. And we still have—

MARY: We still got the bell today—

WILSON: —that bell before I was born, probably before she was born—

MARY: Right—

WILSON: The bell is still in the church. When they moved the church out they brought the bell. Now the bell is very, very significant in any event that goes on in the Gullah/Geechee community, especially when somebody dies.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: The sexton—

MARY: Yeah, toll the bell.

WILSON: That was a very important job for him. And he'd go to the church and he would begin to toll the bell and everybody in the community would know automatically and right away at the same time that somebody died.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: And the—then the—everybody in the community—whoever's job was to do whatever would start preparing themselves to find out whose house it was and they'd go and they'd start going through the ceremony of getting these people for their celebration to be buried to go home.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: Now the bell also act in alarm situation, then you rang it a different way, right.

MARY: Go fast.

WILSON: And then the bell also worked in a different way when it was time for church and you start Sunday school. And there was three—as far as I know three significant way to ring the bell—the alarm, the church, and tolling—

MARY: Death.

WILSON: Death.

GREG: Ah.

MARY: And in my days we didn't know nothing about tombstones. They'd put one high stick to the head and a little stick to the foot.

GREG: Hm.

MARY: You didn't have tomb—very few tombstones.

WILSON: But some of them had them now because we got—

MARY: Some of them had them.

WILSON: Some of them we got done as handmade, very very old even before she was—long before she was born and I'll show you those, but the poor people—

MARY: Yeah—

WILSON: —had the sticks and the crooked sticks and what have you, a sign of an ancient religion.

MARY: Tall to the head and low to the foot.

WILSON: But when we go into the cemetery we'll show you how—I don't know what type of material they used but there's some very, very old tombstones in there but I don't—the sticks are all gone—

MARY: On the north end where (*unintelligible*) family was buried, that's why you don't see nothing (*unintelligible*).

WILSON: Because of—

MARY: They ran into water (*unintelligible*) supposed to (*unintelligible*).

WILSON: And the sticks are gone—

MARY: Oh yeah—

WILSON: —but their sticks were very unique because they were—it wasn't just sticks; it was—some of them had crooked—

MARY: Mostly cedar sticks.

WILSON: Yeah and—but it was very mystifying to me because even the dishes, we don't even see—you don't see the dishes anymore—

MARY: That's eighty-some years ago—

WILSON: —the broken dishes.

MARY: People will go down and steal the dishes off the grave if you put a pretty dish or a picture, (*unintelligible*) especially.

WILSON: Yeah.

MARY: (*unintelligible*) she'll be there tonight stealing dishes and carry it to her house.

GREG: Hm?

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: So who made those markers? Let's start with that—

MARY: They just cut a cedar stick. I think them cedars last longer than any other wood.

WILSON: Well yeah but some of those sticks had meaning. Everybody weren't Christians. And the one that comes in my mind more so than others is the one at Sunbury in Liberty County, Deacon Bowens, they had a lot of—I only remember a few of them in the fifties still here but some of those markers had a religious significance and it wasn't Christian.

GREG: They were fashioned to convey that symbolism and for the non-Christians they were—

WILSON: Well, we got more tombstones, like you said a high stake and a low stake.

GREG: But for those markers that weren't related to Christians that was what other religious belief?

WILSON: It's West Africa.

GREG: West African? Muslim?

WILSON: No.

GREG: No?

WILSON: No. You've got to realize their religion prior to Christianity and Muslims in Sierra Leone. That's where the song came from. It wasn't a Muslim song; it was an ancient religious song tied to the Mende beliefs.

GREG: And that's M-E-N-D-E?

WILSON: M-E-N-D-E.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: And the Mende belief—when I went back in '05 I tried to get more into it but it's—it's faded away—because from what I understood from them is when the Christians and the Muslims—Moslems and Christians came into the region they kind of outlawed the ancient religion, but that song is tied to the religion prior to Moslems, prior to Christianity.

GREG: Okay. Well that and well the markers and the other—any other traditions? Those Africanisms that were brought over here, those are the kind of things that we'd certainly like to hear about.

WILSON: The breaking of the dishes.

GREG: Breaking. Yeah tell me about leaving things on the graves. You mentioned dishes earlier and they didn't always stay there.

MARY: Oh no—

GREG: So the—

MARY: Certain people would steal them, carry to their house.

GREG: And those people who left those kinds of things, they were personal items, maybe they didn't have the money to leave another type of marker?

MARY: I think that just was their—

WILSON: It was a tradition. You've got to realize markers in the Christian world aren't the markers in the Mende ancient tradition, and that's the way I perceive it. There are different types of markers and it doesn't necessarily have to be a tombstone. And then maybe the markers is tied to something even more spiritual than the significance of leaving a tombstone with your name on it.

GREG: And those are the things that don't last and so anything else you can comment on about those, those types of symbols?

WILSON: Mama don't—well we—the best I can say about those is it was tied into the going home ceremony and as—I saw it as death was a part of life and that's probably why a lot of their household items was buried with them and upon the gravesite. And as a child even though I got just an inkling of it I felt something different when they had the wake, the ones I were allowed to go to. And when they buried—they had their funeral service in the church and when they buried them it was very, very spiritual. That's about the only way I can explain it, but as you go into this you may find some other things about it. But you have to—I feel you have to get out of the mindset of how Christians act or how we act when we got here; it's about how we act before we got here.

GREG: Right, so that's a continuity with Africa?

WILSON: Even the way we sing our songs. I'll never forget as long as I live the sounds I heard as a child when we sang burial songs and our devotional songs. And some churches even today they still sing it in a way that you might consider it eerie, very, very—it goes to a deep place within the spiritual realm and some people still sing it in those ways. And that's why the burials I feared a lot of them but I—the ones I had to go to I learned to understand or feel more about what was going on. But it was a very, very sacred ceremony, it was. Now it's a little different.

GREG: So when you mentioned earlier that the markers and things related to burial were about going home so that—when you go home, when the spirit leaves the body where does it go and how—well that's—as you said that's changed so early on where were those spirits going?

MARY: According to what they lived for. They lived for the devil it went to the devil, if you lived for God they went to heaven.

GREG: Um-hm. I mean looking back at the old traditions was that—going home was that the spirit going back to Africa as well?

MARY: I wouldn't know.

WILSON: Well they had a saying and the saying was when someone died it says they done crossed over or they're crossing over, right, so I thought for years when a person died here in America in the Gullah/Geechee community crossing over meant the spirit went back to Africa. When I got to Sierra Leone some of the elders told me says, They always use the term crossing over. So I don't know what they were crossing over to because I always thought they were crossing over the Atlantic Ocean going back home, but almost all of them who I spoke to spoke of burials always mention that they always use the word—the saying crossing over. So even in Africa you were crossing over, so it must have been another realm.

GREG: Could we talk a little bit more about the personal items that you mentioned? Some I think were buried in the cloth-covered coffins with the person, is that right—personal items, were they buried with the person sometimes?

MARY: No, no.

GREG: No?

MARY: They used to put it on top of the grave.

GREG: On top of the grave?

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: The cloth, he's talking about when you line the coffin.

MARY: Oh no, no. You see, they had a top and they covered the top. They put you in there and they nailed—nail that top down.

WILSON: Yeah with that—what kind of covering? The—

MARY: I don't remember they covering them up.

GREG: Cloth?

WILSON: No the cloth. Remember you said the cloth was lined?

MARY: Oh no, no. This was the natural cloth that they nailed onto that board.

WILSON: Okay, black for the males?

MARY: And purple for the women folk.

WILSON: So there had to have been significance because purple is royal.

MARY: Because I remember the two brothers, the Thorpe Brothers, Leonard Thorpe and Eddie Thorpe (*unintelligible*).

WILSON: And that was coming into the end of that tradition also—

MARY: Right—

WILSON: —because then it became against the law you know—

MARY: Until—

WILSON: It became against the law for you to bury your own.

MARY: Right, because you know once upon a time at Gould graveyard the (*unintelligible*) things would dig down in there and—

WILSON: And get into the—

MARY: —into them wooden coffin.

WILSON: Yeah.

GREG: And that cloth you mentioned was it wrapped around the person? Were they clothed? Did they have their good clothes on?

MARY: No, no, that person was dressed.

GREG: They were dressed?

MARY: Yeah, they dressed that body.

GREG: In their good clothes?

MARY: Yes, but just the coffins had the cloth.

GREG: On the outside?

MARY: On the outside. They'd decorate it very beautiful with material.

GREG: You think that's something that came over from Sierra Leone as well?

MARY: I wouldn't know. I reckon so. I don't know where that came from.

WILSON: Probably did because we were left to our own thoughts there from 18—

MARY: I don't know how they bury those slaves when they died.

WILSON: Well they—well that's another story. [laughs] But when we were left to our own thought process that's probably—that tradition was reinstituted or restarted again because you were able to bury as you wish. During the slavery there's some stories I don't want to talk about.

MARY: Well I don't know nothing about the slavery because that—I was—wasn't born in them days.

GREG: There's some things about—or stories that have been passed on since the plantation and slavery days that just are best left not talked about? Is that a common feeling?

WILSON: Well—

MARY: It—

WILSON: —yes. Well everybody may have a different idea about how to talk about it. And then I talk about it so much in my going to the colleges and stuff I—you weren't given the freedom of acting out your ceremony the way you'd like to do in other words.

MARY: Well all my folk—parents is buried down in Delegal.

WILSON: Yeah.

MARY: But it weren't but one tombstone in that graveyard.

WILSON: Katherine.

MARY: No, Josephine Moran.

WILSON: Josephine Moran, that's right.

GREG: So during plantation times it probably varied according to what the plantation owner would allow in terms of giving people time to properly mourn their people. Some of them may have just had to keep working and they were buried very quickly.

MARY: That's right.

GREG: Or—

MARY: They didn't keep you but just overnight. They had to because those body weren't embalmed. That's salt that kept them overnight.

GREG: That salt, okay.

MARY: Salt.

GREG: Were they sometimes buried at night because then the slaves would have had more time to—

MARY: No. You die today they bury you around eleven o'clock the next day.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: They had to hurry bury because there were no undertakers in them days cause I know of.

GREG: And the salt, the dish with the salt and the pennies were those—

MARY: A saucer—

GREG: A saucer.

MARY: A saucer of salt on top of that body.

GREG: Um-hm.

MARY: And if they eyes crack anything they put a penny on each eye and that would seal the eyes.

GREG: Okay. Were those buried with the person, the pennies?

MARY: I reckon—I don't know.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Because they had a saying about a thief will steal a penny off a dead man eyes. [laughter]

GREG: Right.

MARY: So then most people take the pennies off.

GREG: Uh-huh. And then the saucer with the salt, was that just—that was just used as a preservative? Was that buried with the person as well?

MARY: To preserve that body until the next day.

GREG: Was that buried with the person as well or was that plate reused?

MARY: I don't know because I was a little girl. And when I was big enough to understand things they had undertakers from Brunswick to come down (*unintelligible*).

GREG: Because I have heard of saucers being found outside of—

MARY: They probably put it on top of the grave.

GREG: Uh-huh. Because that gets back to what you were mentioning about the—the personal items that were found marking the graves, those may have been used if they didn't have a marker so that when someone went back to find their loved one they would see those things—

MARY: Maybe.

GREG: —but you said a lot of times those were broken or stolen?

MARY: People would steal it if it's a beautiful dish or pitcher or water pitcher or something.

GREG: A water pitcher?

MARY: Yeah, they would steal it, or a plate—because they put beautiful dishes, flowered dishes, on the grave. That's the way they decorated the graves. And certain people would steal the dishes off the dead man grave, woman grave.

GREG: And what was the symbolism do you think of leaving those items there?

MARY: Just for decoration.

GREG: Decoration?

MARY: Uh-huh. Very few—now they might have put a tree or a flower tree like a—the tree that I got out there that bears—that flowers with—gardenia bush. They—

WILSON: Or cedar.

MARY: Yeah.

GREG: Those were sometimes planted?

MARY: They were sometimes planted to the grave, uh-huh.

WILSON: Oh yeah.

GREG: Cedar or—

MARY: Especially gardenias.

GREG: Gardenias and cedars, okay.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: There was others too, that little thing that Carol had—you got planted out in the front yard there, because some of them are still down there on the gravesite now.

MARY: Uh-huh.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*). What's that line of bushes you got out the front?

MARY: Azaleas?

WILSON: Azaleas.

GREG: Those too sometimes?

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: So there was some landscaping added sometimes?

MARY: Yeah, later years.

GREG: Later years?

MARY: Yeah.

GREG: I see, way back?

MARY: But in my childhood coming up it would be gardenias mostly planted on the—

WILSON: There were always flowers.

MARY: Or a pretty—yes, a pretty rosebush or something.

WILSON: Oh yeah there was always flowers in the—

GREG: In the cemeteries? Was the grave kept clean of grass and leaves and things? Was it swept clean?

MARY: Every Memorial Day you would see—while I was a child we would see the wagons, horse and wagons crowded with people going to the graveyard. They community kept the graveyard clean.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: Community of people.

GREG: As a community project to clean up the cemeteries a little bit?

MARY: Right.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: They kept the cemetery.

GREG: And in terms of the funerals, the ceremony itself, did white and black people attend those together?

MARY: No white.

GREG: No whites?

MARY: No whites; nothing but black people.

GREG: And this is an out of—this is a community that's—

MARY: It wasn't nothing but colored people in that community.

GREG: I see.

WILSON: Well you had a couple of whites in there.

MARY: They didn't live—I don't remember no white folks living in—they say they lived in there but I don't remember.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*) and (*unintelligible*).

MARY: Oh yes. Well after I got grown but—

WILSON: Yeah, well but Livingston and—

MARY: Nellie Clapp.

WILSON: Nellie (*unintelligible*).

MARY: We had two millionaires live down there.

WILSON: Lived with them.

MARY: That's right.

WILSON: And that's a very interesting story.

MARY: Because my mother used to work for Ms. Clapp, Ms. Nellie Clap. She was a little Irish lady.

WILSON: After she moved in. Now she—all—two of those people moved there from someplace else.

MARY: Well Ms. Livingston she had homes—

WILSON: All up and down the coast.

MARY: They said she had five homes. She would come and you'd see them whitewashing the posts and the fences, say the madam is coming, the madam is coming. She be there the next week. And they was very nice people. They lived just like colored people with us, very nice. But we had one commissioner (*unintelligible*). He's the one that got us over Harris Neck, E. M. Thorpe.

GREG: E. M. Thorpe?

MARY: Yes. That was his name. He told the government that he owned—

WILSON: Well he had to get those—he had to break those people up because they were too successful.

MARY: Right. He didn't like the way they lived—

WILSON: Arrogant.

MARY: Yes.

WILSON: And they said that—

MARY: And he had a plantation named Muller outside of the community.

GREG: Muller?

MARY: Muller.

GREG: Mulla?

MARY: Muller Planation.

WILSON: It was M-U-L-L-E-R.

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: Muller?

MARY: And the real poor ones would have to go in his field and work. But my parents—my father didn't and a few others they didn't have to go there because they had shrimp boats and they worked on the river.

WILSON: And they had—

MARY: But he didn't like it because he could not get some—most of the people to work on his farm.

WILSON: So the war—

MARY: Slave was over but he wanted to keep it up.

WILSON: So the war was very helpful to him in 1942. He's one of the men that steered the government to Harris Neck—

MARY: Right—

WILSON: —and gave it to them as if he owned it. But he had—that property adjacent to Harris Neck was—nobody was on it and he could have sold that—

MARY: Right, right.

WILSON: But that's not the way he did it.

MARY: He wanted to—he wanted us off there.

WILSON: Yeah, he eventually sold it but that was after he got us off of Harris Neck.

MARY: And paid them little or nothing. Some people never did get paid for their property.

WILSON: And also—

GREG: You mentioned—oh I'm sorry.

WILSON: Go ahead.

GREG: You mentioned the important role that the bell played in communication and you said the sexton rang that.

WILSON: Oh yeah.

GREG: Who did the ceremonies for the burials?

MARY: The minister.

WILSON: Oh, the minister.

GREG: The local minister?

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: But you've got to realize that job of sexton was a very, very important job.

MARY: Yes.

WILSON: And my grandfather was sexton for a while as I grew up.

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: That's like an assistant to the—

MARY: Clean the church and help clean—

GREG: —to the pastor, is that—

WILSON: Well I guess you would say he was the village communicator, because anything happened they'd bring it to him so he can go to the church and do the code.

MARY: And what's a—

WILSON: We still ring our bells on first Sunday.

MARY: Once upon a time the church house didn't have-we didn't have electricity, and I had the iron rods with—I think it was before lamps (*unintelligible*). And the sexton, him and his worker had to keep those lampshades washed, (*unintelligible*). And the church was bright just like we had electricity.

WILSON: Um-hm.

MARY: But just before we moved coastal the electric came through and we had electric lights. Other than that, we only had the lamps.

GREG: You mentioned that song early on that you were the last person here that remembered that. Were there other songs that were sung? Was that one that came over here as an Africanism that people sang and—

MARY: Yes, in my family. Yeah my mother taught it—her grandmother taught it to her and my mother taught it to me. But I—and my mother didn't even know it was a burial hymn.

WILSON: It's a hymn.

GREG: Oh. Did you pass that on—

MARY: And I didn't know it either because it had a little beat to it and I was a little girl I, you know, danced by it. But I didn't know what it was. Mama just learned it to me and you know how children is.

GREG: Did you teach that to your children as well? Is that still—

MARY: I tried to. I got a little granddaughter. She went over to Africa with me.

WILSON: We all sing it now.

MARY: And they all—most of them know it. But I got so many grands and great-grands, all of them don't know it.

GREG: Oh right.

MARY: [laughs] because I got—I got thirty-some grands, forty-some great-grands, and eight great-great grands.

GREG: I don't know whether to ask if you'd like to sing that for us now or—

MARY: [laughs]

GREG: I'm sure—I know I've never heard it before.

MARY: [laughs] [singing]

Ah wakuh muh monuh kambay yah lee luh lay tambay

Ah wakuh muh monuh kambay yah lee luh lay kah.

Ha suh wileego seehi uh kwendaiyah.

Ha suh wileego dwelin duh kwen

Ha suh wileego seehai yuh gbangah lilly

Ha suh wileego dwelin duh kwen

GREG: Beautiful. Thank you.

WILSON: And the strange thing about that is because of that song, in 1997 fourteen of us were invited to Sierra Leone by the president, President Kabbah, the legislature. And we flew from here in 1997—

MARY: Um-hm—

WILSON: —to Sierra Leone during the war of the diamonds, Taylor, you know, Liberia. And after meeting with the president, this wife, and the cabinet members what have you, they flew us out to this remote village by the name of Senehun Ngola. Loosely translated it means Clean Village in the Jungle or Clean Village in the Forest.

MARY: You didn't tell him what we rode in.

WILSON: It was a Russian helicopter.

MARY: Rough.

WILSON: Old rickety one. But you'll see if you see the documentary. And we had these ancient warriors to protect us, the Kamajor Warriors. In other words, they were having so much trouble with the fighting during this time that they reinstituted this ancient army called the Kamajor Warriors where they had to go through this great ceremony. And when we got there they had already secured the village and they lined around the helicopter field. And we got down. They were all dressed in all those lores of that ceremony that they went through, because after you come out of the ceremony you had the belief that you cannot, you will not die. And they surrounded us and marched us into the village. And we have pictures and whatever of—and then my mom meets this woman. Her name is Baindu Jabiti who we now call our sister—my mom's sister, the only other woman that knew the song.

GREG: Oh.

WILSON: And that song—were you about to get something mama?

MARY: I wanted to show—

WILSON: Oh there she is, Baindu Jabiti.

GREG: Oh. How would you spell that so we get that right?

WILSON: B-A-I-N-D-U last name is J-A-B-I-T-I, Jabiti. And she is now doing well in the village. And we have helped her and sent some of her children, because you know you've got to pay to go to school, and grandchildren to school. But then mama and Baindu meet and now they talk through a translator. And we are in the village with the

paramount chiefs and other chiefs from all the other surrounding village and they just have a great time and they sing the song in the village—mama sang her version and then Baindu sings her version and mama's—my niece sings it. She is now—since then is doing her master's in—

MARY: Atlanta.

WILSON: Atlanta. But the point here was Baindu Jabiti grandmother taught her the song and told her she must remember this song because one day her people who were taken away from them years ago will come back and this will be proof that she is related to these people who have come back. I'm serious. And then they sing the song and then—you'll have to see it to understand it. And tonight when you see—I'm going to bring an extra copy just in case they have a problem or they might have edited because I have nothing to do with them showing it. But I'll bring an extra copy, my copy, so—be sure they show it exactly how it is. But it is an ancient burial song prior to the introduction of Islam and Christianity to that region. And it's just—and then people ask me so how we were able to get back. It was providence. It was impossible. And believe it or not after we left that village—now these two Russian pilots told me—came during our celebration in the village says they have to go, they're not going to stay any longer because they're going to not let nightfall catch them in the village because the war was still going on. So we came on back. In '05 I went back to the village to visit and see how things were going. And some of the people took me to this ancient burial ground. He says, I'm going to show you where our people come from, your people come from. And they don't take anybody there. That's one of the sacred places, right. And they took me there. And basically the same things I saw as a child in Harris Neck and a couple other places it was there. It was clean, clean and there were certain artifacts there and the crooked sticks and the gnarly sticks and all this stuff down there. And I realized then the markings were more spiritual than they were natural. So therefore, it had to be orally told where your mother or your grandmother or your great-grandmother was buried because the marking would have to be inward and not outward. It was—that's my perception of what I saw there. But the way they took me to that cemetery was just very mystic because he says, Will I'm going to show you something. And I knew right then that anybody didn't go there, right. So it's amazing. And I'll be going back hopefully in January after the election in November.

GREG: And who is it that said—you mentioned the president that had—

WILSON: President Kabbah, K-A-B-A-H. And you'll see that tonight also.

GREG: Okay, and he's from Sierra Leone?

WILSON: Well yeah he'd better be.

GREG: Yes. He's the—well that's—I just wanted to—

WILSON: Yeah. Oh yeah.

GREG: —be clear on that.

WILSON: Yeah.

GREG: And just one more thing about the graves themselves, Did you ever see people leave shells at the graves?

MARY: No.

GREG: No? Okay.

WILSON: Well there were shells there. You might not have seen them—seen nobody put them there. There were some shells like conch shells, really nice conch shells at the head and maybe a shell that has a significant look to it—because some of the oyster shells after the tide has hit it and it's shining and shining and have all these different colors in it. And I know the shells didn't just come there because it's up away from the marsh. But you'll notice that all of our graves in the Gullah/Geechee community—all our cemeteries are placed near a body of water as close as they possibly can. And this body of water has something to do with the burial and has something to do with crossing over.

GREG: And the shells as well?

WILSON: I don't know I don't know why they were there but the significance of this was—I know a conch shell had no place—it didn't crawl up in the cemetery right, so somebody put-and there were—you can tell they might have been nicely shined. But when I saw them as a child they were kind of faded right. But I remember the oyster shells because I fish a lot. And it was nice and it had a significance. It wasn't just a oyster shell, because oyster shells have different colors over time and—the inside I'm talking about. I remember well. Mama probably just overlooked it.

MARY: But once I go to a graveyard—

WILSON: Yeah but see I was raised by her mom and dad. When I was born in '42 I never left that house. So my grandmother Amelia, her mother, and my grandfather Robert, her father, would tell me the stories over and over and over. And that's why I'm able to go tell these—do the lectures because it's not really me speaking it's the voices of my elders speaking—because he'd just tell me the stories, even the ghost stories about the spirits walking and moonlit nights and when the spirits are really out, and even about people who flew and people who could boil water without fire, all kind of stuff.

GREG: Huh?

MARY: [laughs]

GREG: Well that's a whole interview in itself right there. Is there some story you could tell us?

WILSON: No—

GREG: These weren't related to burials, these were just lore?

WILSON: It was—yeah, it would scare the daylights out of me.

MARY: He would tell them scary things (*unintelligible*) was a scary little (*unintelligible*).

WILSON: Yeah, but he didn't tell her a lot of stuff. But I'd be sitting by the fireplace with my grandpa and he'd start telling these stories about storms and Blackbeard the pirate—oh yeah because you know Blackbeard is (*unintelligible*).

MARY: He told us that story about the hog that got out the pen. And he went out to put the hogs back in the pen because it would get into his potato field. And he saw a woman coming, floating on top of the grass. He saw her foot on top of the grass. And when he got to the porch she popped around the corner of the house and he run in the house and slammed the door and jumped in the bed. So my mama said, Well what's wrong with you Robert? Well he didn't tell the story until later, the bell started tolling. And he say a lady died at that river side and that was her spirit going back where she lived past the church.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: And he would tell us stories. And I was just as scared as I could be. I was a scary little girl (*unintelligible*) until I got married and all that fear leave me.

WILSON: In earlier years in the village the sexton was always first to know whatever happened.

MARY: Yeah, that bell would go to tolling he said, somebody's gone.

WILSON: So burials were a very integral part of our entire life, the bell and the church. The church was like the headquarters of the community so everything start and stopped. You got christened there, starting, and you got buried there, that's passing on. So it was—from childhood I knew how important the church was and birthing and burial. That time has gone and the children have changed.

GREG: And those stories don't get told as much.

WILSON: No. And they have changed for the most part the worse. My papa would say, If you don't know where you come from you're going to have a hard time finding out where you're going.

MARY: Where you're going.

GREG: Yeah.

WILSON: So you need the stories of the elders, those oral studies. I try to tell them, I told them to my children, and I try to integrate it into when I go out to the colleges and what have you. But that thought process is all but disappeared, and the respect for your elders is all but disappeared.

GREG: Could you describe—you talked about how the body was prepared and everyone gathered. Can you—from your memories can you tell us then how it got from the setting up to the cemetery and the burial and anything you can say about that?

MARY: They would have wagons, horse and wagon, put it on the wagon, horse and wagon take you to the graveyard.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Most people had wagons and horses.

GREG: And then the pastor did the ceremony?

MARY: Yes.

GREG: Were songs sung there at the—just thinking about singing. I know you talked about at the setting up there was some singing there.

MARY: Yes.

GREG: Songs also at the graveside.

MARY: Right, right.

WILSON: And they'd be appropriate type songs.

MARY: And they'd sing the saddest songs that they could sing to keep the people crying. People don't cry, whoop and holler no more, but in my day coming up people would just be whooping and hollering, going on.

WILSON: Mourning.

MARY: That's right. One lady I remember I was a child, I couldn't understand her. Her father died. And they was holding her. She said—she used to call her daddy Pa—turn me a loose I want to get in that grave with Pa. Turn—and they just hold her and she was fighting. Somebody said, Turn her a loose. They turn her a loose, she calm on down get away from the grave. As long as they was holding her she wanted to get down there. The minute they turned her a loose she calmed down and she moved away from grave.

WILSON: One of those songs I remember was *No more Weeping and Moaning*.

MARY: Yeah.

WILSON: Remember that one?

MARY: Yeah.

WILSON: I'm going home to live with the Lord.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: Remember—and it had to have been a slave song because it sound so, so sad.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: [singing]

No more weeping and moaning

No more—remember?

MARY: [singing]

By and By.

WILSON: By and By.

MARY AND WILSON: [singing]

When the morning comes

Oh when the saints of God go marching home

We will tell the story how we overcome

We will understand it better by and by.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*) children—

MARY AND WILSON : [singing]

By and by when the morning come

And when all the saints of God go gathering home

Lord we'll tell the story how we overcome

We will understand it better by and by.

WILSON: Now I would think of that song, I said, Boy that person must have went through a whole lot of stuff. They going tell when they get home. [laughter] And I'd be sitting there listening to them stories because I—if you think about it (*unintelligible*) for me to see the screaming and hollering but when they started singing those songs I said, Uh-huh we can understand it better by—we going tell the story—when we get to God we going tell him how we overcome and how they treated us. And those songs were just amazing.

MARY: They had another one with, [singing]

Oh when the saints—

WILSON: Oh yeah go marching in—

MARY AND WILSON: [singing]

Go marching in

Oh when the saints go marching in (go marching in)

Oh Lord I want to be in that number

Oh when the saints go marching in

WILSON: That was a beautiful song because everybody didn't go—wasn't in that number. [laughter]

GREG: I guess that's right.

WILSON: And I'd hear—I'd be sitting out here. My grandma said, If he got to heaven boy I tell you it must be by chance if he was a hell raiser down here.

MARY: Yes. [laughter]

WILSON: And every time you saw him he had a half a pint of corn liquor in his back pocket. I don't know how he make it. [laughs] So there was—I would love to hear them tell the stories often but they didn't know I was there.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: And they said, Oh no Sam. They said, He ain't never been worth nothing. Every time you saw him he was drunk.

MARY: Uh-huh.

WILSON: I sure hope he—but that preacher sure lied on him. [laughter]

MARY: I'm telling you.

WILSON: Because the preacher would try to like preach him into heaven right?

MARY: Right, or make the family feel good.

WILSON: Oh yeah. They ain't going to tell the truth on the man. If they told the truth on the man he'd be in a world of trouble or the preacher would be in a world of trouble.

MARY: Well I remember when Josh Silas died. The family came to my daddy and they wanted to put him on the program to tell as a—what kind of Christian man—

WILSON: Upright standing man he was in the community.

MARY: Right. So my daddy told him said, Let me tell you something, I'd rather you not put me on that program because I'm going to tell the truth. Said, and if I have to get up there and tell the truth he's going to get angry with me so don't put me on that program because I ain't going to that church and lie.

WILSON: That's him right there.

GREG: Oh. Nice moustache.

MARY: Yes.

WILSON: Well it's—I have a better picture to the house.

MARY: He was twenty-four years old.

WILSON: And he always liked to wear his clothes. And that's my grandma right there.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: And there's mama and daddy when they first got married.

MARY: Yeah, I was sixteen years old. And the other one is our 50th wedding anniversary.

WILSON: Um-hm.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: The one in white.

GREG: One other thing I wanted to ask is because they had to bury the people so quickly after death was there often a second funeral later where maybe people came from afar?

MARY: No.

GREG: No?

MARY: No, just that one ceremony and that was it.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: They might have had a memorial later but that's few and far between.

MARY: I don't remember no memorial, because everything was done when they preach your funeral and put you in that grave. It would be at the church.

WILSON: Oh yeah.

MARY: It'd be with the church members.

WILSON: Yeah, but if they had to come from Philadelphia, no they couldn't hold the body.

MARY: They couldn't hold the body—

GREG: No?

MARY: No, no, but I don't remember they bringing no bodies from North. I remember they brought my aunt body from North but that was, you know, later years.

WILSON: No, I mean if the relative had to come from Philadelphia here to see—

MARY: Oh yeah.

GREG: Or Savannah even or—

WILSON: Yeah, even Savannah.

MARY: Right.

WILSON: Yeah.

GREG: So there wasn't a memorial later after—

MARY: No.

GREG: No? Okay.

MARY: No, um-um. But when they brought my aunt body well it was undertakers (*unintelligible*).

WILSON: And you've got to realize every community did things maybe just a little different. You've got to realize that even though we were a part of the bigger McIntosh County or the bigger Gullah/Geechee region we all did things just a little differently. We built our boats maybe a little different, we made our oars just a little—maybe even our tradition in planting. Maybe we used different types of (*unintelligible*). And if you notice, if you listen at our songs we sing it basically the same but there's always a little difference in the sound of it.

GREG: Regional differences?

WILSON: Yeah. And even in say Sapelo and McIntosh our dialect, some things just weren't the same, never, never and—because even in Jones sometimes I had to listen to that person speak before I can pick up their dialect. Like we'd say, Where did you come from? Who's your father? Who dat you fo? There gets a little difference in our—

MARY: Our language.

WILSON: —speech, um-hm.

GREG: You mentioned the wood that was left as markers and you mentioned the early monuments, stones. What can you tell me about those? Who made those and what kind of materials were used?

WILSON: I'll show you if you're ready to go?

GREG: Well just to get that in the interview here what—

WILSON: I don't know. I know it had to be some form of tabby.

GREG: Oh okay.

WILSON: Yeah. The—cook the oyster shells and you mix it with the mud and what have you and how did—I don't know but I can show you.

GREG: So those are some real old ones?

WILSON: Oh yeah. These are old ones. And I've seen people chip pieces—I don't know who went into our graves and—to find out—analyze what it is, especially the one in Shellman or The Point Cemetery where daddy's people are buried where the old lady they just chip—I've seen two or three pieces where people—marks where they chipped the pieces off so—I guess to find out what it was made of.

MARY: Or probably that fellow who is taking care of the graveyard—

WILSON: No. No this was actual chipped off. They wanted to know what it was made of—because I used to do the tours—

MARY: Oh.

WILSON: And I'd go back and I said, Oh wow. Somebody done came and knocked a piece off to find out what it's made out of. Because tabby was one thing but I don't know what other method they use, but you can look at it maybe and see.

GREG: And who made those? Was it family members or just a person in the community?

WILSON: Community.

GREG: Community, okay.

WILSON: You've got to realize if somebody needed a room built onto their house somebody in the community was a carpenter.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: And if somebody wanted a boat built somebody—well we had several boat builders. My dad built my boat. The first boat I owned my dad built it when I was about sixteen, right. And funny thing about the boats I never saw him put it on paper. [laughter]

GREG: He just knew how to do the recipe.

WILSON: [laughs] But every—Mr. Bill (*unintelligible*) used to build boats and that was a different—and they would have—every Fourth of July they would have boat races see who was the fastest.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: Now you've got to realize now they were—my daddy said it started with the (*unintelligible*) before the—after the oars and the single sail. When I came along it was 8 Horse Briggs & Stratton with the shaft and all that. But they could build the whole thing and the shaft and the gearbox and the whole nine yards. And my boat did not go plow the water, it did not sit up on top of the water, it wasn't built that way or it wasn't built that way, it went just like that. It floated just like it was supposed to float. And they were just the right height. And I always was amazed when I was in the army how these people knew all this stuff without putting it on paper. And my uncle built—

MARY: (*unintelligible*) head.

WILSON: And they—and Cousin Chris whose house I'm living in now, room with him, he would build—he could build a yacht.

MARY: He was a carpenter from a child.

WILSON: [laughs]

GREG: Just by feeling?

WILSON: I don't know how he—how they did it. I really don't know but it had to have been—

MARY: He was a born carpenter.

WILSON: Cousin Chris? Yeah.

MARY: Yeah.

WILSON: And he built this house.

MARY: We would be going to Sunday School and he would—cigar boxes used to build little boats in them days. And his parents never did keep him in Sunday school like my daddy kept me in Sunday school because my daddy was the Sunday school superintendent. And he would be (*unintelligible*) hammer. We had to walk—before papa got that '28 Ford we'd be walking going to—we had to walk about two miles to the church. But Chris would have his hammer and them cigar boxes and he would make houses, make little houses out of them cigar boxes. But I said he was a born carpenter. He was nine months older than me.

WILSON: And they can always fix things. And my grandpa—

MARY: He was a born carpenter.

WILSON: And papa house was a grand house. I mean, I often take the drawing out and look at it. It's just beautiful.

MARY: (*unintelligible*) did a good job on it.

WILSON: (*unintelligible*). And an artist came from SCAD and drew it from her memory. But they lived a great life.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: I am honored just to realize being with my grandpa from infancy until he died; I was about seventeen. He knew a lot. And I've met a lot of smart people or intelligent people in my life but his knowledge of things were such a wide variety that I've never met any person as rounded as he was. He could read, he could write one generation removed from slavery as a child, wise beyond thought. He could see things ahead. He was amazing, amazing, amazing man. And if you have the—and you have your mother so you should know what I'm talking about.

GREG: Yes sir.

WILSON: You should know what I'm talking about.

GREG: Couple more things—I want to ask if any of your family were members of any of the burial associations like the—men I guess there's the Odd Fellows and Knights of Pythias or the Masons and Eastern Star for the women?

MARY: My daddy was a Mason.

GREG: He was?

MARY: But my mother wasn't no Eastern Star but my daddy was a Mason.

GREG: Did they have separate ceremonies related to burial?

MARY: Well they would go from one community to the other, different churches.

WILSON: And they had separate ceremonies with—integrated into the service.

MARY: Right.

GREG: Oh.

MARY: Um-hm.

GREG: How would they do that, as part of the service or was it secret with—

MARY: I remember I was a child and they had it at Gould Branch Baptist Church. And they was—I don't know why they did it or what that performance was but they'd catch every man and sit him down on the chair, on the bench real hard. And I was a little girl about seven years old and I burst out and cried when they sat my daddy down on that—

WILSON: They don't do that anymore.

MARY: —so hard.

GREG: They forcibly—

MARY: Mu mama had to take me out the church. I said they were trying to kill my daddy.

WILSON: [laughs]

GREG: What, they forcibly sat him in a chair?

MARY: They sat—

WILSON: A ceremony.

MARY: A ceremony, sat every Mason, boom—(*unintelligible*), boom and so hard.

WILSON: It has to do with the Secret Society.

MARY: Yes. And so I burst out and started crying. Mama had to take me out the church because I thought they were trying to kill my daddy.

WILSON: [laughs]

MARY: [laughs]

GREG: Anything—was that separate—like they had their secret part of the ceremony or was everybody allowed to be part of that?

MARY: Everybody allowed then but when they have their meeting now it was secret.

WILSON: Well, you were able to see what they did—

MARY: Yeah—

WILSON: —but you didn't know what they did.

GREG: You didn't hear—

MARY: We didn't understand what it was.

GREG: —the words or, okay.

WILSON: Oh yeah well they performed out of the Bible but the movements and the acts that they perform and the hat that the Grand Master wear and all that, yeah well that secret.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: So you saw it but you didn't know what it was.

GREG: Okay.

WILSON: Now I was a Mason so—

GREG: You observed what they were doing but you didn't know the significance of it?

WILSON: Well, I was a Mason.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Well I was in Eastern Star and you couldn't go in there unless you know that knock. Whatever that knock was they'll open the door for you.

WILSON: Oh yeah.

GREG: I see.

WILSON: But there was another Secret Society I know nothing about nor my mom and you'll see on the—when you go down to the cemetery there are certain markings on the tombstone and it's a mark of that Secret Society.

MARY: Yeah.

WILSON: Plus they had what the Home Association that helped bury people. That was another society.

MARY: Yeah.

WILSON: And that was the money—you put money in that so help pay for your burial.

MARY: Um-hm.

WILSON: What'd you call that? But all—every community that I know around here had one and this was some type of society.

MARY: Um, I can't remember the name of it. Home-something Lodge.

WILSON: Yeah, yeah but—

MARY: Home—Oh I can't remember.

WILSON: All communities that I know of had formed this association.

MARY: They had two or three lodges on Harris Neck.

WILSON: Um-hm and that was—

MARY: And they'd perform over the dead for the burial.

WILSON: That was another one I don't know nothing about.

MARY: Well I was a child, I remember. Because you know, I gave you my mama's gravel. She was one of the boss of that home—

WILSON: Gavel you mean.

MARY: Whatever it's called, that thing.

WILSON: Yeah she was—

MARY: Call your meeting to order.

GREG: And that was for what group?

MARY: I can't remember the name of that group.

GREG: Oh.

WILSON: But they had to do with burials.

MARY: Yeah. If you was a member of that lodge they'd perform over that grave.

WILSON: And they—you put money in—penny, nickels, dimes, and that helped bury you. But I don't know the significance of it but it was like a community chest I guess you would call it if you're a member of it. But these people were very innovative—

MARY: Oh yes.

WILSON: Very—like say, you see that sewing machine right there, it's a Singer sewing machine.

GREG: Yes.

WILSON: So my—that's my grandmother's—

MARY: It's still sewing to it—

WILSON: —sewing machine. But tell her how she—

MARY: She raised turkey and she sold it and she paid twenty-five dollars for that Singer sewing machine, got a pen. And I keep that greased with the oil.

WILSON: 3-IN-ONE.

MARY: And I—see I had three girls came right up together and I had to do a lot of sewing. And right now I don't sew no more but I mend my clothes.

GREG: Still?

MARY: It's still sewing.

GREG: Built to last?

MARY: Still sewing.

GREG: Right.

MARY: But I don't think that well they'll—when I'm gone somebody will understand how to use it.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Because it still sews.

GREG: Did you ever leave a gift at a grave?

MARY: At my—

GREG: Did you ever?

MARY: Um-um.

GREG: No? Okay. And then I think you said that when most—in large part when people moved away from here they didn't necessarily—their bodies weren't brought back here for burial, is that the—

MARY: No, no.

GREG: Maybe because you're a more rural area here as opposed to in the city?

MARY: Right. No, but no after the—

WILSON: Say that again now.

GREG: Well I just asked if people moved away from the community is it common that they would come back and be buried here at Gould Cemetery?

MARY: No.

WILSON: Yes. We've had people buried back here.

GREG: Okay.

MARY: Yeah some—a few, after they had undertakers.

WILSON: Yeah.

MARY: Because the undertakers keep that body.

WILSON: He's talking about in the more—

GREG: More modern times—

WILSON: Yeah, oh yes, yes. We've had people from New York and Philadelphia.

MARY: Aunt Josephine came from New York, um-hm.

WILSON: They're buried down there.

MARY: Yeah, because my aunt is buried by my mom but she don't have a stone.

WILSON: Yeah if somebody—

MARY: I don't know why her son—her son came with her too.

WILSON: Now mama I don't know.

GREG: Do you have any photographs of cemeteries or old graves that might be useful to the project?

MARY: No.

GREG: No? There aren't many of those it turns out.

MARY: No.

GREG: Okay. Well this was a very good interview. I thank you both for your time.

MARY: Oh yeah.

WILSON: Oh yeah.

GREG: And your singing.

MARY: You're much welcome.

GREG: It was beautiful.

WILSON: Oh that was a little impromptu.

GREG: Well that was very nice. [laughter] I'm really glad that you did that.

WILSON: Thank you.

GREG: Thanks.

WILSON: Now if you have the time I'll run you down to the cemetery.

GREG: Sure. Let me just turn this off.

[end]

Sammie Pinkney
Born: 1942 (Age 71)
Interview Location: Brunswick, Glynn County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 26, 2012

GREG SMITH: It is July 26th. I'm in Brunswick, Georgia with Sammie Pinkney. Mr. Pinkney thank you for talking with me today. Would you tell me your date of birth and occupation and just something about yourself?

SAMMIE PINKNEY: Yeah. Sammie Pinkney, age seventy born August 18th, I'll be seventy in August, August 18, 1942. I'm a retired police officer, investigator for the Glynn County Police Department at one time but I retired from the New York City Police Department. Grew up in McIntosh County. Went to school in Savannah Georgia for a while and graduated from high school, Todd-Grant High School in Darien. After that I went to the military, U.S. Army, honorable discharge from there. And now I'm also associate director now of Brunswick Funeral Home, CEO of C. J. Spids Coastal Alliance which is a nonprofit organization dealing with veterans and dealing with the greenery and making sure that our estuary and everything stays intact. That's my—what I'm doing now at the present time.

SMITH: You're a busy man.

PINKNEY: Yes.

SMITH: Do your—your ancestors, do they have any connection with the Cathead Creek Historic District?

PINKNEY: Not that I know of. I don't have any memory of anybody talking about the Cathead Creek. I've heard a lot about Cathead Creek but that's hearsay and I don't have any direct information in reference to that.

SMITH: Okay. How did your family come to live in this area?

PINKNEY: My family came—their actually slave owners came by way of Sapelo Island. My mother—on my mother's side came from Sapelo Island. My dad's side which is the Pinkney side came by way of the slave ship from South Carolina. My mother's people was dropped off on Sapelo Island which was the Holmes. They took on the name of Holmes and the McIntosh they're very closely related families.

SMITH: Where—

PINKNEY: And the Banks that are on Sapelo are closely related.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: Right.

SMITH: Those that came over on the slave ships do you know what part of Africa they came from?

PINKNEY: No, I don't know exactly what part of Africa they came from. I can't give you that information because I really don't know.

SMITH: Okay. Well let's talk about burial and funeral practices if we could for a while, and that's part of your background. You said you were a director?

PINKNEY: Now.

SMITH: Now?

PINKNEY: Yeah, um-hm.

SMITH: Okay. Well just—and your family members here in this area in McIntosh County where are they buried?

PINKNEY: Right. Some—they're buried all over [laughs] McIntosh County because my family background is very huge. My grandfather's father's people are related, closely related to the Thorpes, closely related to the Thorpes and the Pinkneys which is the background of my grandmother, my father's mother, but his father is Baker. His name was Jefferson Baker born in 1865. The burial practices, some are buried in Crescent, Crescent Cemetery. Some was buried in Hudson Cemetery in Meridian. And they're just scattered all over the county. But the burial practice back then they didn't have real funerals. I remember the horse and wagon, how we used to take the bodies to the cemetery but most of the time they didn't do a lot of embalming. Most of the embalming was done in the house and the bodies laid in—stayed in the house for a certain length of time before burial. And everybody gathered in time for the funeral, gathered there from the house or the church in the wagon, they would go to the cemetery. And it was walking. There was no cars back in those days or anything. Mostly everybody walked. And walked and sang. And they had no lowering devices back in those days. They used poles, cut poles from different trees that they used back in those days and ropes that they used to lower the (*unintelligible*). There was no real caskets. They basically used rough boxes, what they call rough boxes, made out of wood. And that's how they did their burial system back in those days, and six feet that they dug the graves. And it would take usually three to six men. They would lift up the whole casket, pull the boards out, the logs out, and lower the casket by ropes down and pull them back up. And a lot of the areas around the county you can't find grave markers because there was none but you can tell there's a grave been dug there simply because the way that the structure of the property is it tells you at this grave such-and-such-and-such and gives you the family plots. It was scattered pretty much all over the cemetery because a lot of times they didn't have special plots where they would bury anyone.

SMITH: Those weren't common? Special plots for individual families were uncommon?

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: Right, they were not common in a lot of areas. Some cemeteries did and some didn't. So the cemeteries you find out is a little more structured than it was back then. A lot of it is growed up, as you mentioned earlier fences in certain areas, but the actual cemeteries is a lot larger than what it really is. Well I can take you to Hudson because I know more about Hudson in Meridian than any of the other cemeteries because I've done a lot of studies on Hudson and I found graves that growed—(*unintelligible*) growed up which is real bad. I know that's terrible.

SMITH: Well starting from death to maintenance that you just mentioned too, we'll get to that, I wondered first of all how were the bodies prepared for burial when they died? Was it different for men and women and who handled that?

PINKNEY: Well the women of the house along with the undertaker, along with the undertaker that would come and he would do whatever he needed to do, was basically done at the house.

SMITH: Um-hm. And prior to undertakers even, even before?

PINKNEY: Prior to the undertaker—prior to them, even before that what would happen is when you found someone dying they had the special way of certain—there was certain type—I don't know whether it was sulfur or what, something that they used within themselves. They would put pennies over their eyes to make sure the eyes were closed and they would lie in state. Sometime it took sometime a half a day before an undertaker would get to the body but in the meantime there were ointment and stuff that they used on the body to keep it preserved.

SMITH: Oh. Do you know what that ointment might have been?

PINKNEY: I wish I could (*unintelligible*) you. I really don't know but they used some type of ointment to keep that body until the undertaker arrived. And he would come in and after he's finished they would wash the body, clean it up, and dress, and clean the whole bed everything off. And it would lie in state there covered.

SMITH: Was that for a long period of time or short?

PINKNEY: Short. Usually around—sometime usually around about three to four days.

SMITH: Oh okay.

PINKNEY: Three to four days.

SMITH: Because back even earlier than that I've heard a number of people say that it was usually by the next morning—

PINKNEY: Yeah.

SMITH: —or if not the end of that day because it's just so hot here.

PINKNEY: Right. They didn't do the burial right away. They didn't do the burial right way. But like I said whatever they used worked because there was no deterioration of the body or anything of that sort.

SMITH: You know anything about clothing and—

PINKNEY: Oh the clothing—

SMITH: —and the personal effects (*unintelligible*) as far back in time as you can remember.

PINKNEY: Okay. The personal effects basically was kept by the family. Nothing was basically buried with the families back those days. A lot of those things were kept because they were things that they kept for memory of their loved ones and if they would (*unintelligible*) but they don't give those things up. They keep those things for lifetime. And a lot of the younger people today don't understand these things, how important it is and how valuable they are. A lot of them just throw it away.

SMITH: Um-hm. Well that's interesting how that you know about how the six men did that with the poles and they did put them deep.

PINKNEY: Oh yes, six feet. Six feet deep, that's how deep they dug the holes.

SMITH: Okay. And then what about—what do you know about the earliest marker types?

PINKNEY: Now like I said before there was no markers. What they would do is they had—someone would use steel markers, steel crosses. They would make steel crosses to mark the graves. Other than that they would use bricks. They would use some type of bricks or some type of metal to mark where a grave is. And there was no names. There was no names in a lot of cases back then. And there was some that did have—some of the people that were able to afford markers they would go back later years and put markers on the grave. They kept a record of the deaths. The date and times was basically put in the Bibles. So they had—that's how they kept the dates of the death of a lot of their relatives. And if you can find some of the old Bibles you'd be surprised what you can [laughs] find from family members if they still have them.

SMITH: So I wonder if back in—so yes up to the present day—well now today the undertaker will be involved in the death records—

PINKNEY: Correct—

SMITH: —and then the family did it in the Bible. And then back in plantation times I wonder what sort of records were kept if any.

PINKNEY: Back in plantation times I don't know if any of that was kept. I don't know if any of that was kept. If there were I don't know. I don't know about that.

SMITH: Okay. And normally who would perform the ceremony?

PINKNEY: Oh there was always a preacher. There was always a community preacher. And you—most neighborhoods had one to two churches. First AB Darien is the mother church of all the churches in McIntosh County, First AB Darien. And from there it might be the Sapelo next. They had the next oldest church in the county. And all those churches, and it kind of branched off from First AB Darien.

SMITH: Those were all AB right?

PINKNEY: Right, First AB Darien.

SMITH: That quite a bit of continuity there.

PINKNEY: Oh yes. Yes it was. And you know because of the way they had to travel, the distance that they lived from Darien, it was hard for them to—horse and buggy. So that's what they did. That's why they built a lot of the community churches. That's why they were developed.

SMITH: So that initial time when the body after it was prepared and it was laid there it was called a setting up as I understand it? Do you have any—

PINKNEY: Correct, that's correct.

SMITH: Have you heard any stories about that type of practice?

PINKNEY: Oh they would come, they would pray, they would sing, they would sing and pray and—and then the praying a lot of times was done so the spirit would leave the home, would leave the home and follow the remains. And that's how we did that. And even then any young child that was in the house would pass over the remains of the person that died so the spirit would not linger with the child.

SMITH: Thank you for adding that. That's a good thing to know.

PINKNEY: And in some cases they still do it today.

SMITH: Hm?

PINKNEY: Some families still do it today.

SMITH: Um-hm. Those types of things are—which we don't always hear about today.

PINKNEY: Right. Yeah, we do it though. Some of the cases that we have the parents—the family request that the child be passed—or the youngest child be passed over.

SMITH: Uh-hm. And so then the cart, the oxcart let's say took the deceased—

PINKNEY: The wagon, correct.

SMITH: The wagon took the deceased there. The six men were involved in lowering it six feet into the ground—

PINKNEY: That's correct.

SMITH: —and then—

PINKNEY: You will have the—sing the song. You would sing and you would pray and whatever the case might be and before the ceremony's over as they were lowering the body in the ground they would sing and it's just—it was just (*unintelligible*) was a beautiful ceremony. And there was no dressed up type thing back in those days. You wore whatever you had. Now (*unintelligible*) most people have a certain shirt and tie (*unintelligible*). They didn't have it.

SMITH: Did they put the deceased in their finest clothes normally when they bury them?

PINKNEY: Not really, no.

SMITH: No?

PINKNEY: No. A lot of them didn't have suits.

SMITH: And then the hard—the rough box that you talked about was there ever any fabric used with that?

PINKNEY: No cushion, no fabric, none whatsoever.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: None whatsoever, just a rough box made out of wood and they would nail the top down. And some wasn't able to even afford a rough box; they were just buried directly in the ground.

SMITH: And then did the—was it filled in immediately? Did the family stay or did they—

PINKNEY: Yes, the family stayed after they were covered—

SMITH: Until it was completely returned to the earth let's say?

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: Okay. And songs may have been sung at the setting up as well as at the—

PINKNEY: Oh yes definitely.

SMITH: —both places. Or maybe probably all along the route to—

PINKNEY: Right. And when someone died in the community there was always an individual that would go to the church and ring the bell. They would toll the bell and that sound would go for miles. And they knew—it was a special way that they tolled the bell to let them know that someone had passed. And people would come. They would come from all over the area, the community. And they would gather together and they would cook. It was just so much they would do for that particular family. It didn't matter whether they were related or not. And that's how they did it.

SMITH: Were there white and blacks that attended?

PINKNEY: Very few whites.

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: Very few whites that attended black funerals back then, very few. And you have very few now. [laughs] I may as well be honest with you it's very few now that attend black funerals. And a lot of them will not use a black funeral home.

SMITH: Oh.

PINKNEY: (*unintelligible*).

SMITH: Okay so the person's in the ground then was it commonplace—you mentioned bricks sometimes used as markers?

PINKNEY: Uh-huh, right they would use that as a marker.

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: They would use that as a marker. And a lot of it—like I say a lot of them used metal but the brick's usually the one that they use because that's what they were more familiar with or that they can get to. And they would leave that marker. They was—they would make their crosses sometime. They would build them. They didn't even have cement. But the bricks was done in such a way that—I mean it was solid. I don't know what they ended up—what type of—I don't know whether it was clay or whatever was mixed with it when they built it, it stayed. It stayed.

SMITH: Is that a headstone or was this used like to surround the—

PINKNEY: No, they made it as a headstone.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: (*unintelligible*) as a marker and it's always placed at the head. And that's what—that's the head, where the headstone would be.

SMITH: Were there family plots? Did they ever get fenced in or outlined, separated (*unintelligible*)?

PINKNEY: Only the rich—only the so-called rich or the one that could afford it.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: Most of them didn't have fences. Like I said, not even grave markers back in those days.

SMITH: Do you know about plants that might have been used?

PINKNEY: Yes. Oh Lord a lot of the—cedar was your main one that they would place at the head of the grave.

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: And they would use that as a marker. A lot of—you know, years go by and people forget. They forget who was buried where because there was nothing there to show.

SMITH: Well and when there weren't markers have you heard of people leaving personal items of the deceased or some of their own?

PINKNEY: Well, not of their own. They have been done—that has been done. It has been done. There was personal things but nothing really of value that they would use. They would use sometimes—they would use a pot. Sometimes they would use a special cup of some sort, something that's not going to deteriorate that would be placed there, but over the years that would sink and sometime when you're digging around then you'll find those things. When you do that then you know there's a grave here. A young man that digs a lot of the graves now by hand sometimes you get an area where you think there's not a grave and this is what happens. That's when we find, Oh there's a grave here.

SMITH: Um-hm, were probably marking the location before in lieu of a headstone or a more formal marker.

PINKNEY: Correct, that's what they would use.

SMITH: Okay. Have you heard of shells being used?

PINKNEY: Oh oyster shells, yes.

SMITH: Or larger like conch shells that kind of thing? Oyster shells too?

PINKNEY: Oyster shells was your main. You didn't have a lot of conch shells that they used back in those days.

SMITH: How did they use the oyster at the grave?

PINKNEY: They would just make a pile.

SMITH: Oh.

PINKNEY: They would just make a pile and it would stay there. They used to mark—a land corner is the same way.

SMITH: But the pile of oyster shell that's using what's at hand isn't it?

PINKNEY: That's correct.

SMITH: Uh-huh.

PINKNEY: That's correct. And if they could have planted a tree of some sort that's what they would do too—

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: —plant a tree on that corner. And after years go by they—and mostly it was the pine. They would use the pine to mark the corners.

SMITH: Do you know if at the individual grave location if they just let the grass and the leaves build up or did they sometimes scrape back everything down to bare earth?

PINKNEY: Oh they would—yeah they—in the cemetery there was always someone that would go and clean, clean (*unintelligible*) all through the years.

SMITH: They didn't strip it clean of vegetation though?

PINKNEY: Oh no by no means.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: No, they didn't do that.

SMITH: Okay. And then who normally kept those up?

PINKNEY: The community.

SMITH: The community?

PINKNEY: They had community lodges throughout every community and those are the ones that basically kept the cemeteries clean. Now we have what they call a cemetery committee in most areas that different churches, different families would donate funds to make sure that the cemeteries are kept clean.

SMITH: Would that be seasonal or yearly or how—

PINKNEY: Oh no, this is done yearly around every—particularly during the summer when things grow fast, keep the grass cut and clean it.

SMITH: Okay. What—there's probably a lot of opinions on this—what happened to the person's soul and their spirit when they died?

PINKNEY: Ha-ha good question, good question. Hopefully—there was so many—so much folklore. They say that a person had lived a bad life that they would end up going to hell and this thing and that thing, but if you know anything about scripture death has no control—the Devil has no control over death.

SMITH: Good point.

PINKNEY: And that all belong to the good master who controls it all. But people would say like I said earlier if they lived a bad life, if they were a drunk, wino and stuff like that they say, Oh he's going to hell. Nobody knows the last word that that individual might have said and might have been forgiven by God. And he has given his—God gave his (*unintelligible*) on everything from murderers to liars to drunkards, you name it. The scriptures tells you how God felt and the laws that he gave. The Mosaic Law was very, very strenuous. You couldn't live basically under it—not that you couldn't live under the Mosaic Law.

SMITH: What law is that? How do you spell that?

PINKNEY: Mosaic.

SMITH: Mosaic?

PINKNEY: Yeah, the law that was given to Moses, when the Ten Commandments was given to Moses.

SMITH: Oh, I get you, okay.

PINKNEY: That's what you call the Mosaic Law. They were strict. They were very strict. And it's strict now basically but when Jesus came on the scene it was a lot of things changed. A lot of things changed not for the worst but he says—like even like tithing. During the Mosaic Law there was this one individual said he would give 10 percent of his earnings because that's the promise that he made to God. And this is what they use even until today. They tell you you have to give 10 percent of your earnings from the first fruits that you earn. And Jesus came on the scene he said give as the Lord has blessed you.

SMITH: I'm sorry?

PINKNEY: Give as the Lord has blessed you which means if you can give more than 10 percent you give more than 10 percent.

SMITH: Um-hm, from each according to their—however that phrase goes.

PINKNEY: That's correct.

SMITH: Yeah that always—that question always gets—

PINKNEY: [laughs]

SMITH: —gets you thinking about a lot of things doesn't it?

PINKNEY: Yes, yes because see the lady that gave the last penny that she had and Christ told her said, Well she has given more than you with the 100,000 because—and she gave her last. She gave what she had.

SMITH: Um-hm. When the spirit does leave—

PINKNEY: God is controlling the spirit.

SMITH: Right. Well—

PINKNEY: Now the devil has his spirit too now.

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: But God controls it all.

SMITH: Right. But do you think there's a perception among people especially far back into the plantation times that perhaps their spirit was going back to Africa?

PINKNEY: From the pulpit yes. From the pulpit they've said that it would go back to the Motherland. They would say go back to the Motherland because that's what they believed, but the spirit goes back to God. Not necessarily—well and the Indians from parts of my family, my father's side, the (*unintelligible*), they believe that the spirit does goes back to God but it does not go back to Africa per se if you understand what I'm saying?

SMITH: Yes, not physically to the continent but—

PINKNEY: Right but the spirits, they feel that the spirit goes back to the homeland where they were actually born from, their family roots.

SMITH: After the person was buried was it common to have secondary funerals for people who live far away maybe like a month later or something that they would come and have a memorial service of any sort?

PINKNEY: No. No.

SMITH: Okay. Second funerals?

PINKNEY: No.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: Now sometimes they have a memorial service if someone—they do it now—if someone died in New York they would have a service there then they would bring the body here and have a memorial service here for the family that couldn't—were not able to go to New York.

SMITH: Oh okay.

PINKNEY: They would have—sometime they would have a memorial service here.

SMITH: Okay.

PINKNEY: But other than that just saying having a second service no.

SMITH: Okay. And sometimes people who do live say in New York when they die is it common that their bodies would be sent back here for burial in the family plot?

PINKNEY: In a lot of cases. A lot of cases they do and a lot of cases they don't because a lot of them can't afford to send—to ship a body from New York back to Georgia. The price is just crazy, air flights. And they have certain laws. You can't transport a deceased body across lines without special permission from the state.

SMITH: Um-hm. Can you describe either the earliest funeral that you recall attending or one that you had heard described by a member of your family?

PINKNEY: The earliest one that I can recall I might have been four or five years old. I remember going to a funeral. And to tell you who it was at that time I can't but I can remember going and watching and listening to the family, the crying and stuff like that, but to tell you who it was I can't. And that was long time [laughs] ago so—because I'm right at seventy. I'll be seventy next month.

SMITH: Um-hm, and that's not so long ago.

PINKNEY: No. [laughs] For me it is. [laughter] But I'm thankful. I'm thankful. My grandfather told me a lot, my father's father. My mother's father I did not know.

SMITH: How would you say that funerals have changed over the past 300 years say from the time—of course the time was shorter then because of the heat here and everything.

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: But the preparations, the ceremonies, the mourning, anything, similarities or differences that you see?

PINKNEY: Well yes, yes and another way now—the mourning that used to be at the house years ago where they couldn't afford to go anyplace else. They'd usually have what they called a wake or sitting the day before the funeral where people would come and they would go through (*unintelligible*). They would get up and they would talk about that particular person's life and stuff like that. They would sing songs. And there's not usually a speaker. It was just where families and friends come and congregate with one another. That's what they called a wake. And the next day they would have the actual funeral service where a lot of that would not go on. It would be a lot shorter. This way it eliminates a lot of time because they—now blacks—negroes' funeral, black funerals, usually last a lot longer than white funerals. (*unintelligible*) fifteen, twenty, thirty minutes usually and black services last an hour or an hour-and-a-half because that's—it's just more spiritual.

SMITH: More singing?

PINKNEY: Oh man more singing. But it's awesome.

SMITH: It's a special—it's a rite of passage and so it's something that is marked by—

PINKNEY: And it's traditional, it's traditional and that's what they do. I sing to a lot of funerals off and on for different families. They call me and some of them request certain songs to be sung, old slave songs or something like that that I know how they used to sing when they were in the fields picking cotton and the slave master was watching and certain things, those type songs. Sometimes families request them and—

SMITH: And you know some of those songs that go way back like the—

PINKNEY: Oh some of the old ones yes like "Nobody knows the trouble I've seen", "Go Down Moses" and those type songs.

SMITH: I like that last one. I know that one especially from the Alvin Ailey productions, I believe they do that. I don't suppose we could get a song out of you here?

PINKNEY: [laughs] Get a song out of me. I don't know about that one but—

SMITH: Okay—

PINKNEY: —but I'll give you a small portion of one (*unintelligible*).

[singing]

Nobody knows the trouble I've seen.

Nobody knows but Jesus and me.

You have to (*unintelligible*) it takes time to sing but it's beautiful.

SMITH: Yeah that's beautiful. I've never heard Jesus included in that.

PINKNEY: Yes. Yes.

SMITH: That's a nice touch. [laughs]

PINKNEY: Because see when they talk in the song they talk to Jesus because nobody else knows how they feel from within, and when they sing that song it relieves them of the pressure.

SMITH: Um-hm. Was it sung that way in the fields-with Jesus—

PINKNEY: Oh yeah—

SMITH: —because I know in more popular versions that Jesus is not in it and I know those versions—

PINKNEY: Well back in those times they couldn't call Jesus' name; they wasn't allowed to because they wasn't allowed to read. [laughs] You understand what I'm saying? But after they were taught then they were able to say it that way.

SMITH: That adds a different dimension to it doesn't it?

PINKNEY: Right. And they would talk about how they would feel good at one time and bad. And they'd say—

[singing]

Sometimes I'm up, sometimes I'm down.

Oh yes Lord.

Sometime I'm almost to the ground.

Oh yes Lord.

SMITH: Nice. That's beautiful. So those are the types of songs—you just sang them—they don't sound quite so mournful for some reason but in the context.

PINKNEY: And the speech particularly. And like some (*unintelligible*) Kum—they didn't say Kum say—

[singing]

Kumbaya my Lord Kumbaya.

Kumbaya my Lord Kumbaya.

That's how they used to say it.

SMITH: And that's got that African cadence to it too doesn't it?

PINKNEY: Correct, yes.

SMITH: So in terms of Africanisms just bringing that in, what kind of things do you interpret or perceive as being continuities from people that came over here those hundreds of years ago?

PINKNEY: Well if you listen to some of the Geechee-Gullah way that people talk in the area that's just a descent from the African—from the African background which was brought over here. It sounds like West Indies. You can take West Indies and I can take you to McIntosh County and put the two together, [laughs] you would think they're from the some place because of the dialect. And the Geechee-Gullah dialect is the same as the—only thing the African language is not English. To us it's something different.

SMITH: Say that again, I'm sorry.

PINKNEY: The language that the Africans use is their English but it's not ours because we don't understand it.

SMITH: OK.

PINKNEY: That's all. And that's the only difference because of the (*unintelligible*) that we were raised after being brought from Africa. We were taught the English language because that's all we knew. There's not too many of us can speak the African language.

SMITH: Except in those cultural traditions like the songs.

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: And then not everybody seems to pass those along, and especially not in the amount that they did before.

PINKNEY: And not only that they were not allowed to. They were not allowed to—there's certain things you were just not allowed to say. Slave owners didn't allow it. Now the Pinckney plantation still exists. Now the black and white meets together during the family reunion. As a matter of fact they're having it next—I think it's next year—where the blacks and white comes together as a family now.

SMITH: Pinckney Island, South Carolina?

PINKNEY: Yeah.

SMITH: Oh.

PINKNEY: Um-hm.

SMITH: How about that?

PINKNEY: Yes. [laughs]

SMITH: That's a change.

PINKNEY: Yeah.

SMITH: Through times of—

PINKNEY: Yeah oh a big change from time.

SMITH: Yeah.

PINKNEY: Big change through time. And Charles Pinckney who actually came from Germany came over to this country and that's how the—they were slave owners—and that's how I got the Pinkney name. And he spelled his name back then as P-I-N-C-K-N-E-Y. And what we did, what they did, they took the "C" out and just put the "N", P-I-N-K-N-E-Y, but it's the same family.

SMITH: Okay. Little change there too.

PINKNEY: Yes. The whites—most of the whites kept the "C" and the blacks they took the "C" out and used—just P-I-N-K.

SMITH: Okay. Oh, did any of your family members participate in any of those burial associations like the Odd Fellows or Knights of Pythias or Masons, any of those? I understand for the women they have the—

PINKNEY: The Eastern Star.

SMITH: —Eastern Star.

PINKNEY: My grandfather was a Mason. I'm a Mason. I'm a Shriner. There are so many different grades of the Masonic Order which we came under the Prince Hall Affiliate.

SMITH: Under the?

PINKNEY: Prince Hall Affiliate.

SMITH: Affiliate?

PINKNEY: Yes, out of France, out of France.

SMITH: Oh. Is that—the Prince Hall Affiliate is related to France?

PINKNEY: Yes.

SMITH: How did that association develop?

PINKNEY: It just migrated from there. I don't know the whole history of that I couldn't tell you about now—

SMITH: That's probably an interesting story.

PINKNEY: And it's known all over the world. The Knights of Columbus, it's all part of the—came by part of the way of the Prince Hall.

SMITH: Okay so they're related in a way?

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: Knights of—K of C and—

PINKNEY: Uh-huh—

SMITH: Okay. So do you have recollections of those—rites from those organizations being involved in the burial traditions?

PINKNEY: Oh yes. Oh yes. There were certain things—back in those days what the order would do, they had a special thing that they would do just for the family, they would do for the family. And they took part in all the family's burial arrangements. They helped families with the burial arrangements. If they needed something the Masonic Order would go there to help them to see what they need or if they can help in what way. They would end up serving as pallbearers and all that stuff. They would take food. They would take food in order for the family—particularly if a family didn't have anything. That was part of the Masonic Order's duty.

SMITH: And did the families—or did some families or all families pay into that association?

PINKNEY: No—yes.

SMITH: They did?

PINKNEY: Usually back then they had a small—not all the families paid in it but only the member that—the person that was a member of the order.

SMITH: Um-hm. They received that assistance?

PINKNEY: They—correct. They had a—they paid a certain amount. Back in those days they didn't have much. And that's where they had these community organizations like The Elks. The Elks, they had community lodges that they organized back in those days that they would put funds in to help families with burials and all of that stuff. A person that was burned out in the community these family lodges, community lodges, would come in and help them as much as they could to rebuild, give them clothes or whatever they might need. During farming days after they would (*unintelligible*) they would have them to come in and get whatever they need from the fields or if they killed a hog it was shared within the community. That's how we lived back in those days. Every family looked out for the family that was in their community.

SMITH: So you say even at the family level there, there was a rite of—some practices that the members—

PINKNEY: Oh yes—

SMITH: —practiced there?

PINKNEY: That's correct. You had a family lodge. You had a family Masonic lodge pretty much in every county. And usually there's one, some of them will have two different lodges especially if you're a longer distance away.

SMITH: (*unintelligible*)?

PINKNEY: McIntosh County has two. I had a brother who was a Mason. My father wasn't. My grandfather was. I'm the next one that's a Mason in my immediate family. My two sisters were Eastern Stars.

SMITH: So there was a get-together with the family and then was there also something that took place at the gravesite?

PINKNEY: At the cemetery yes. They would perform. They have a special duty that would be performed at the cemetery and even today they still perform at the cemetery.

SMITH: Was that out loud or was some of that secret?

PINKNEY: Oh out loud. A lot of it was secret—there were certain things done at the cemetery that the public didn't know. There were certain things—

SMITH: Didn't understand?

PINKNEY: Right.

SMITH: Didn't—okay.

PINKNEY: Yeah.

SMITH: Didn't know the meaning behind it?

PINKNEY: They don't know the meaning behind it and they wonder how it was done or why it was done.

SMITH: Um-hm. And those meanings are just ties to the commonalities that they—your various precepts and things that—

PINKNEY: Correct.

SMITH: —that you have to be a member to really know—

PINKNEY: To really know what's going on, what they're doing—

SMITH: —what—make the connections right.

PINKNEY: Right.

SMITH: Okay. See that's something that I know very little about so—

PINKNEY: [laughs]

SMITH: —thank you for that discussion. It's the first time I've ever learned that—yeah.

PINKNEY: Oh yes. Even today there are certain ways that you would know a Masonic brother.

SMITH: It was a secret society?

PINKNEY: There's a certain—there are just certain things that you would know.

SMITH: White or black?

PINKNEY: White or black.

SMITH: How about that?

PINKNEY: White or black.

SMITH: That crosses lines (*unintelligible*)—

PINKNEY: In the country, in all parts of the country. I can see a gentleman and know whether he's a Mason or not.

SMITH: Is that right?

PINKNEY: Yes. Oh yes and the thing about it the Masonic Order is so strong that—I mean if you're in trouble there's certain things that they must do. If you get in trouble in certain countries, if you can find a Masonic brother you've got help.

SMITH: Sign me up. [laughter]

PINKNEY: And the Shriner's—

SMITH: Huh?

PINKNEY: They do wonderful—we do wonderful things, you know, and particularly to help not only just the community, all around the country.

SMITH: Yeah, we hear about that periodically but you don't—that's something that I think the general public doesn't really see—

PINKNEY: Um-hm, they don't know—

SMITH: Did you ever leave a gift at a grave yourself for a loved one, friend?

PINKNEY: Yes I have.

SMITH: Yeah you did? What did you leave and what was the meaning of it?

PINKNEY: Now that I won't tell. [laughs]

SMITH: Oh okay.

PINKNEY: But as far—it was a—it's a special bond that you have with a certain individual that you would leave that, say well take this with you so that you will remember me in the spirit and I know I'll remember you within my heart as long as I live.

SMITH: Um-hm. You just left it there?

PINKNEY: I put it—

SMITH: Because sometimes those things walk off.

PINKNEY: I know. I put it inside—normally the average person don't know it's there.

SMITH: Okay. You go to the wake and [telephone ringing] just drop it in the casket perhaps as a way to do that today.

PINKNEY: That's right, correct.

SMITH: Okay I have just a little bit more; I don't want to keep you too much. Making markers and things in the community I guess which you said in your memory—

[interruption]

PINKNEY: I'll call her back. It's my daughter.

SMITH: You were saying way back in time there just weren't markers—

PINKNEY: Right, there just wasn't any markers there.

SMITH: And then through time they were somehow produced but that was just—it differed by family and—

PINKNEY: Oh yeah now by—when your loved one dies and they will buy grave markers that you order through the funeral home or they would put your name and the birthdate.

SMITH: More moderate, more of the things that we see today even?

PINKNEY: Correct. Now they did a lot of it back then too but those were done—when you see a lot of the cement markers they were done later years, way later years, they would—the people that could afford them then they bought the markers and placed them on the grave because they knew where they were.

SMITH: Um-hm.

PINKNEY: That's why you see a lot of markers now but there was not too many, there was not too many because a lot of people they just couldn't afford it.

SMITH: Right. And the last question, you don't have any old photographs of—[telephone ringing] [laughs]

PINKNEY: Say that again.

SMITH: That's an interesting ringtone.

PINKNEY: Yes.

SMITH: You don't have any old photographs of cemeteries or some of the older graves that have grave goods on them perhaps?

PINKNEY: I don't have any photographs but I know where they are, what's within the Hudson Cemetery. I can take you there and show you places back in the 1700s, 1600s that have markers now because the family bought them in the later years.

SMITH: Do they have some personal items on top that are visible?

PINKNEY: No, there wouldn't be no personal items.

SMITH: Okay there wouldn't be any—that's Hudson Cemetery in Darien?

PINKNEY: Yeah on 99 in Meridian.

SMITH: Okay. I'll make a note of that because our mortuary archeologist may want to contact you about that.

PINKNEY: Oh okay. Yeah, just let me know; I'll be glad to go show you some.

SMITH: Okay. Meridian. Yeah it seems that there's a lot of people that have continuity with Meridian or Townsend or Crescent—

PINKNEY: Um-hm, Crescent—

SMITH: —and the outlying communities—

PINKNEY: Right—

SMITH: —but it seems to be more difficult coming up with descendants from this specific area that we're studying—

PINKNEY: Right in Darien, right. It's hard. I don't know of any of my relatives that is buried in this cemetery, especially the one in Darien. Could be, I don't know.

SMITH: Okay. Well I thank you very much for your time and your insights.

PINKNEY: No problem.

SMITH: And for your songs.

PINKNEY: Oh well thank you.

SMITH: Thank you.

PINKNEY: I wish I could sing the whole song for you sometime.

SMITH: Well—

PINKNEY: Maybe when we get together doing the little bit of research (*unintelligible*) the cemetery I'll sing it for you.

SMITH: Okay, appreciate that. Well thank you very much.

PINKNEY: Yes you're quite welcome. And I'm sorry—I apologize for we were not able to get together earlier but—

SMITH: Well I just—I appreciate the fact you let me come during your workday. Thank you.

PINKNEY: No problem.

[end]

Buddy Sullivan
Born: 1946 (Age 67)
Interview Location: Sapelo Island, McIntosh County, Georgia
Interview Date: July 10, 2012

GREG SMITH: It's July 10th. I'm at Sapelo Island Visitor Center with Buddy Sullivan. Thank you for talking with me today. I wonder if you could start by telling us a little bit about yourself, when you were born, where you were born, what your occupation is, etc.

BUDDY SULLIVAN: Okay. I am a fifth generation McIntosh Countian. I was born in 1946, the first year of the baby boomers, and I was born in Savannah but I grew up and spent my adolescence here in McIntosh County and around Darien. My background is journalism and I have been the manager of the Sapelo Island National Estuarine Research Reserve for the past nineteen years. And I am also a coastal Georgia historian and have published about fifteen books on various aspects of coastal Georgia history with one of my primary foci being McIntosh County and Darien history which I have published extensively on. So I've done a great deal of research on the history of this immediate area, the middle part of the Georgia coast, specifically Darien and McIntosh and Sapelo Island.

SMITH: Okay. Well as you know—we've talked about the fact that we're focusing on the Cathead Creek Historic District and you've got a map there in front of you showing the seven plantations. I wonder if you could describe as you understand it what general plantation layout was like, what similarities might have existed between those different locations and perhaps what differences.

SULLIVAN: The Cathead Plantation sort of evolved over a period of time really in the latter part of the colonial period when slavery was introduced into the Georgia Colony starting in 1752 some nineteen years after the founding of the colony incidentally. The cultivation of rice began to take off quite extensively all along the freshwater river systems off coastal Georgia being adopted or adapted from techniques used in the South Carolina colony in which the migration of plantation owners and their slaves acquired land in coastal Georgia, the colony, seeking fresh and more fertile lands on which to grow rice. And the Cathead Creek Plantations were among the earliest. We do have some evidence of land grants going back to the 1760s to the colonial governor of Georgia, the Royal Governor Sir James Wright. He is supposed to have owned property in the Cathead Creek region, although I have never found evidence that he ever had time to develop those lands for the cultivation of rice. All of these lands in the Altamaha District—and I'm talking about that because the Cathead Creek region is an extension of the Altamaha River estuary or delta and the plantations in the bottomlands of the lower Altamaha River delta were the scenes of extensive and growing rice cultivation after the American Revolution, particularly in the late 1790s into the early 1800s. And the Cathead Plantation sort of evolved as people came in and acquired land, bought the land, acquired slaves. And many of the landowners were from other parts. Probably the greatest example is Major Pierce Butler who came in from South Carolina and acquired 1500 acres on Butler Island near Darien and had the largest and the most extensive of all the rice plantations in the region. And he had something like 500 slaves working at Butler's Island in rice with another 500 slaves on St. Simons Island at his cotton plantation. But as the early 1800s went along the land began to be acquired. And one of the earliest of the plantations would have been Potosi Plantation which is the lower end of Cathead Creek and on the immediate west side of the town corporate limits of Darien. And that was begun by Major Jacob Wood, a Revolutionary War veteran. And Jacob Wood began planting rice on Potosi Island in the first five or six years of the 1800s and he also adapted some of those lands for cultivation of sugar cane and a little bit of Sea Island cotton but rice was his primary crop. And as time went along the plantations as they marched up the Cathead Creek area—Ceylon and Sidon and Hopestill and Windy Hill, Greenwood, and Oasis being the main ones—evolved from the early 1800s right on up to the time of the Civil War all under different ownership except for the case of the

Oasis and the Greenwood Plantations and Windy Hill which are all attributed to various members of the Gignilliat Family of McIntosh County and other parts of coastal Georgia. But rice was quite extensively grown. It was—they did not incorporate large tracts of land. For rice cultivation you didn't need a lot of land. Generally an average rice plantation would only have maybe 400 or 500 acres under cultivation at any one season and all subject of course to the freshwater flow subjected to inundation from Buffalo Swamp which was upriver from which Cathead Creek flows. The headwaters of Cathead are in Buffalo Swamp which is flooded by the Altamaha River. And so a constant supply of fresh water was available to the Cathead planters by which they were able to grow their rice, not as large a scale as say Butler's Island or some of the others but nonetheless quite productively and then quite economically for the planters on Cathead Creek.

SMITH: And were there any common layout features the way that it was used in terms of main house, slave quarters, agricultural buildings?

SULLIVAN: Yes. In the case of Cathead Creek—of course all of the plantations had high ground, some typically on upland bluffs, good case being both Ceylon and Sidon. And the overseer's house and/or the owner's house would be on the uplands overlooking the rice fields on the higher ground. And archeological work that has been done along Cathead Creek has attested to this and has uncovered a fairly substantial amount of evidence of the plantation ownership being located on the uplands but very close proximity to the rice fields themselves on the other side of Cathead Creek. All the rice was pretty much on the opposite side of Cathead Creek as opposed to the upland sections where the slave quarters were located and the managers' or the owners' residences were located. And also some of the plantations may have had their own processing equipment such as pounding machinery or threshing machinery operated by steam power. Some may have had that and that would have been in proximity to the slave quarters and the plantation house as well, all on the high ground overlooking the fields. The rice fields themselves were generally broken up into squares. And a look at the topographic map of the Cathead region is very indicative of this where you see the network of irrigation ditches and canals penetrating the freshwater marshes in which the clearing was done and the canals and the ditches were dug to break up the squares as they were called for the cultivation of plots of rice. Generally the squares of rice would range anywhere from twenty acres to maybe 80 to 100 acres depending on the methodology of the planter himself. So it was a relatively small amount of acreage on the Cathead Plantations, on any of these plantations. There were five or six major plantations and none of them were of what you would call large in size particularly when compared to the larger plantations such as nearby General's Island or Rhett's Island or Broughton or Butler or the Glynn County side of the river where the Hopeton and Hofwyl Broadfield Plantations were located. But nonetheless these were—they were substantial enough to make good profits for the owners. None of them had what you would call very large slave forces. The slave forces were adequate to operate the plantations. The slave numbers for the 1860 census of McIntosh County indicate that the Cathead planters typically had slave forces of less than 100 slaves as compared to those of the larger plantations such as Butler Island and Broughton which had 100+ and in some cases more than 200 or 300 slaves. Generally the plantations would have a driver, the head driver, the head slave, who would work under the direct supervision and take his instructions from the plantation owner or overseer whichever the case might be, or both. And the driver would manage the workforce, the slave force, on any of the plantations. All the plantations would have had a driver to understand or to undertake the day-to-day task work and to give out the work assignments for the slave force on the plantation. And the work was quite intense from spring through fall each year. The planting would be done in the spring. And the plantings would generally be done on a

staggered basis. Rather than plant all of your rice acreage in one swoop you would plant staggered plantings. One week you'd plant thirty or forty acres, next week you'd plant another thirty or forty or fifty acres and so on, so that way you would not have to harvest everything at the same time. And so there would be four different floodings of the fields. Of course all the rice fields and the ditches were controlled. The inflow and outflow of water was controlled by tide gates. These were wooden trunks as they were sometimes called which allowed the ingress and the outflow of water, always fresh water, into the floods to irrigate the rice crop. Typically there would be four floodings and four drainings during the growing season from say early April into early September. And the work would be quite intense particularly when the fields were drained because the workforce, generally the women of the plantation, the younger women and the stronger women, would do the field work typically on the rice plantation by which the weeds would be removed and the crop would be protected from insects and birds and that type of thing whereas the heavier, more intense labor would be performed by the men of the slave force, the younger, stronger men who would do the digging of the ditches and the building of embankments and levies and also the building and repair of the tide gates and trunks. They would also operate the rice mill machinery and the flatboats that would go throughout the plantation to transport the harvested rice back up to the plantation complex. So it was very intense work, very intensive labor. The most labor intense of all the southern plantations were on the South Carolina and Georgia rice plantations simply because of the great degree of work that was involved and also the conditions under which the slaves had to work with the constant exposure to dampness, wetness, subjected to various reptiles, water moccasins, the occasional alligator, things like that. So it was not easy. It was not an easy way of life. So it was very intense. And as a consequence of that the mortality rate on a typical rice plantation would have been quite high as compared to the inland plantations that grew cotton or tobacco or other crops.

SMITH: You mentioned spring through fall as the primary growing season. What happened in the winter? Is that when a lot of that maintenance took place?

SULLIVAN: Winter—yeah. Winter would be the dormant season by which it would be used to—well let me back up. The rice would begin to be harvested. You'd have a full-grown mature rice crop as I say staggered late August into September and then the harvesting would begin and the rice would be cut. And the fields of course would be drained and the workers, generally the women and young men, would get out there with rice hooks, reap hooks, very sharp curved blades, would cut the rice off near the bottom, near the bottom of the rice chutes and leaving he stalks in the ground. And then all the rice chutes would be taken into the plantation where they would be prepared to be sent to the markets, generally shipped out of Darien to the bigger markets in Savannah and Charleston. During the fall and winter months the work would be largely entailed with preparing the fields for the next spring planting. In other words the stubble, the stalks, and the remainder of the stubble and all would be burned off or tilled off. The fields would be plowed again in probably January into February being prepared for the next planting of the crop in late March into early April. So it was really a year-round process. There was always work to do but not nearly quite so intense during the fall and winter months as it would be during the April to August growing season.

SMITH: What was plantation access like both from the water side and on land?

SULLIVAN: You're speaking of Cathead Creek?

SMITH: Yes, in the district there, yes sir.

SULLIVAN: Yeah. There would have been two accesses. In those days—in antebellum days most of the transportation anywhere in coastal areas was typically by water, and Cathead Creek of course had very good water access as I've already alluded to from the north branch of the Altamaha River being now known as the Darien River, and Cathead Creek flows into the Darien River or north branch of the Altamaha. So generally if you wanted to get to Darien particularly from the upper reaches of Cathead you would go by water right on down the creek using the tide of course going out down to Darien. And the opposite way going back—go by water up the creek. And these would be small boats, maybe small sailing craft, one-masted sailing craft, flat-bottomed barge type boats. But then there was also a road known as the River Road which connected Darien with the interior. There were two roads going into Darien in the antebellum period. One was known as the Stage Road which is the present day U.S. Highway 17 which ran along the coast from Savannah down to Jacksonville. But in the early days it was known as the Darien-Savannah Stage Road. And that was the road which connected Darien with Savanna and points north, there being no bridges across the Altamaha delta until the early 1900s. But then the River Road which intersected the Stage Road or right north of Darien which is—generally runs a route roughly paralleling the present State Highway 251 which ran out of Darien and into the interior of Georgia, also known as a very important mail route for the transport or the delivery of mail from the interior of Georgia into Darien when it was not delivered by water. The original River Road ran into the section of Darien known as Mentionville now known as Old River Road. And so it provided a nice connection with the western part of Darien and then the plantations along Cathead Creek which all had access roads from the River Road going down to the plantation complex being the mansion or—not the mansion but the plantation house and the slave quarters. A lot of people get the misnomer mansion and plantations. This is not Tara in *Gone with the Wind*. This is not mint juleps on the front porch with the big tall Greek columns. Even the plantation owners' houses were very simple, simple wood frame structures, very functional and usable but not fancy in any sense of the word. And they were largely built of wood, and many had tabby foundations of the tabby mix of shell, water, sand, and lime and then—but they would be built as frame wooden structures usually with brick chimneys. And the slave quarters would be very similarly built with tabby foundations or brick chimneys built out of wood. The island plantations—or the barrier island plantations you'll see many structures of tabby, the shell mixed with water, sand, and lime. But the tabby was not a real useful structure in the damp, wet alluvial bottomlands of the Altamaha River plantations because of the fact that there was so much moisture and so much dampness the soil conditions were not nearly as stable. But they did use tabby on occasion for building foundations to provide a stable platform for the buildings.

SMITH: Did they do any stabilization along the shoreline itself, and they would have had one or more docks along there that they used presumably to receive and send out?

SULLIVAN: Oh yes. All of the plantations would have had a dock, the plantation dock. The dock would have been necessary for several reasons—to provide access for the plantation workers to get from the plantation out to the rice fields. In other words, they would depart by flatboats or skiffs or canoes or whatever from the dock, the plantation dock, and spread out into the rice fields of the plantation through the canals and the ditches and whatnot. But the dock was also important for the collection of the rice which would be brought in during harvest time in late August and through September. The dock would be critical for the—collecting point for the rice as it was brought in from the

fields and then taken up to the plantation complex for preparation for market. So yes, they would have all had a dock, a dock complex, and then—which was where generally the boats of the plantation would be kept and maintained and whatnot.

SMITH: Other than these features that we've just talked about, were there any additions to create a cultural landscape? Like did they line some of the roads with big oaks? Did they create gardens as we see in other locations? I know as you said we don't have the plantation manors but did they introduce some things to make it more of a landscape?

SULLIVAN: They did. They did indeed. This would be fairly typical of a plantation to—many of the plantation owners were quite aware of their ecosystem. They appreciated the shade cover provided by spreading live oaks not only for the family but more importantly for the slave force. A good plantation owner would always keep a lot of tree cover on his grounds, on the upland part of the plantation, to provide shade and cover. And many of the plantation owners actually planted avenues of oaks leading from the entryways from like the main road perhaps the river road down to their plantation complex. There are several instances of this along Cathead Creek. Some of the upper plantations, Greenwood, and some of the lower plantations, Sidon and others, would have had the oak avenue where oaks would have been planted. And also there would have been a lot of—there were a lot of attention paid to horticulture and also small-scale agriculture for the use of the planation. The plantation families and the workforce, the slave force, there would have been substantial crops of vegetables, sweet potatoes, peas, corn, things of that type which of course would not have been grown so much in the rice fields of course because of the constant wetness but on the upland sections of the plantations would have been small plots where vegetables would be cultivated to feed the workforce as well as the plantation families. So yeah and that's why you go along Cathead now and you see a lot of oak trees, you see a lot of tree cover. And that is testimony—some of those trees go back to the time of the rice plantation era—and that's testimony to the fact that the plantation owners were cognizant of the importance of tree cover and trees from a very useful benefit to the plantation as well as for the ambience of the plantation as well.

SMITH: Were all the non-rice crops, fruit trees even included, were they for use in the plantation or was there ever any bartering or selling outside of the plantation?

SULLIVAN: Yes and no. Most of the vegetables, what I call provision crops which would be grown on all the plantations—the workforce had to be fed and the slaves ate a lot of rice obviously—a lot of the rice would be used for domestic use, but also the vegetables that would be grown would be used for the workforce, to feed the workforce and then—but also some of the crops would be grown and some of the slaves had crops by which the slaves could actually grow crops and sell them. And we have some documented evidence, and some of the historical contemporary accounts do attest to some of the slaves growing crops in the proximity of their cottages or quarters and they being allowed to say on a Saturday which is typically a day off or a Sunday to carry them into Darien to sell. And they could supplement their livelihood with the small income that they could get from selling vegetables in town. So this was fairly common. And it went on—we do know that a lot of the Butler Island Slaves were allowed to do this and I assume, I don't know for a fact through, that some of the Cathead plantations were the same way. I suspect that they were. The plantation owners of these plantations in the Altamaha District were in close communication with each other. They talked to each other and they traded notes and they compared crop production and, you know, the productivity of rice fields and that type of thing. And they also compared information and exchanged notes on the workforce management. And a good

plantation owner who was interested in an efficiently run and a productive plantation would also be cognizant of the treatment of his workforce, his slave force, and these were the ones who would allow some slaves to sell vegetables in town, to grow their own crops for their personal use, to be allowed to have firearms and even in some cases to hunt small game and to build their own boats to get out on the creek and to catch fish and things like that. So there was a lot more leeway than we might be led to suspect just as a casual observer of the plantation process.

SMITH: That was exactly what I was going to work into was to talk about hunting, fishing, and trapping. Would the slaves have been supplying game or fish or anything from the ocean or the estuaries here to the owners or just for themselves or would the owner have had his own hunting team, or how did that work?

SULLIVAN: My understanding is that the shellfish and the fish and the game, the small game that would be taken by the workforce would be generally for their use. I don't know—there might be some instances of it providing for the plantation owner and the plantation family, but my understanding from my reading and research is that virtually all of the fish and the game would be largely for the slave family and for their use and sustenance. And this would be encouraged by the plantation owner in most instances. So it would be a way of providing food sources for the workforce to supplement the things that they grew on the grounds. So—but yeah there was probably some exchange there with the plantation family. I don't know how much but I suspect that it was not substantial.

SMITH: I wonder how often they had time to do that, whether it would have been weekly, monthly, or if we even know that and then what type of tools—did they have pistols, rifles, fishhooks, what type of technology did they have available?

SULLIVAN: Yeah. Most of the plantations around here in South Carolina and Georgia—I'm saying around here but it would include this immediate area—operated on what was known as the task system of labor. And the task system, a good plantation owner would incorporate the task system because it enhanced productivity and efficiency. And when I say task system a particular slave would be given an assignment or a task of work to do on any given day according to his or her physical condition, their age, and their technical skills or knowledge. And so everybody had an assignment, everybody had a job, and everybody would start work about the same time of day, very early in the morning and during the rice season that would be even before daybreak in some cases because of the hot weather. But when you finished your task, when you got your job done, you were through for the day. And depending on how fast you work or how good you are at your job or that kind of thing when you got through with work pretty much the rest of the day was your time and it might involve as much as a whole afternoon or the better part of an afternoon or late afternoon, early evening. And these are the times the workforce would use for their own purposes—to grow their own crops, to do their own hunting and fishing. And so I think on most of the plantations there would be a fair amount of time to do these sorts of things, for the slaves to gather fish and to grow their own vegetables and this type of thing. It would be obviously far less than the time they spent in the rice fields but nonetheless it would be if not on a daily basis more than likely several days a week. And then typically on a Sunday which was generally a non-work day, typically they'd work a half a day on Saturday and then have all of Sunday not working. And so obviously these were times when they would be allowed to do their own hunting and fishing and mending nets and gardening and this type of thing. And they would be provided fishing hooks and this type of thing by the plantation owner. These were typical supplies coming into a plantation which would be bought once or twice a year. They'd do inventory and buy these things. And fishing

hooks and that sort of thing would be distributed to the slave force. The firearms—not everybody had the firearms. I suspect from what I understand only the most reliable or the less—the least troublesome slaves would be provided firearms and these would be generally nothing like state-of-the-art. Typically old muskets and this type of thing would be used to—some of the old plantation accounts testified to some maybe veterans of the Revolutionary War passing along muskets that they might have used in the Revolution to members of the slave force and that sort of thing or the War of 1812 perhaps so—but it was not uncommon for slaves to have firearms to hunt with and to gather game. And also there are reports that many of the slaves were allowed to carry firearms into the rice fields for protection—from reptiles, alligators, water moccasins, things of this sort. So that was not uncommon either.

SMITH: In addition to these type of technological things for hunting and fishing, etc. what type of provisioning was available to the slaves that they didn't collect or hunt themselves? I don't know much about the owners perhaps doling things out.

SULLIVAN: Yeah, there would be periodic times during the year when the plantation owner would provide the slave force with I guess staple commodities—a certain amount of sugar, coffee, things of that type would be provided to the slaves, also clothing. There would be clothing distribution usually twice a year, summer clothing and winter clothing depending on the season. Also at least once a year, maybe twice a year, each slave family would be provided new blankets, new shoes, footwear, that type of thing—of course the kind of shoes and footwear that would withstand the rigors of working in fields of course. So there would be two to three times a year when the workforce would be given certain food items as well as clothing and shoes and blankets and that type of thing.

SMITH: Were wild plants and fruit used often, collected, and did that serve both the planation and the slaves?

SULLIVAN: Yeah, I think so. I don't know as much about that. I do know some of the plantations grew fruit, citrus, oranges, grapefruit, melons of various kind perhaps, also some grew sugarcane as I think I mentioned earlier but I don't know—I don't think that was on any large-scale basis at all and what was grown would be used strictly for the use of the workforce and the plantation family. None of that would have been marketed for commercial purposes.

SMITH: Okay. Were there social gatherings that the enslaved peoples were allowed to engage in? Was there any interaction between plantations?

SULLIVAN: That part is sort of vague or cloudy. We do know that there was some interaction but it was a controlled interaction from what my understanding of it is. I don't think it was very regular. I don't think it was very often. But there would be periods of time when there would be the—for example when the crop was all harvested, the rice crop was in and everything, the fields were completed. There would be some what we call downtime in our lexicon nowadays where the workforce would be allowed to have several days off to sort of like reenergize or recharge which they could visit with each other within the plantation and this would be the times when certain perhaps of the more trusted slaves would be allowed to interact with perhaps family members or friends on other plantations up and down Cathead. This would also go on at Christmas. Christmas would be a time when there would be a period of several days taken off in which the slave force would be free from any work duties and they could prepare food and have

interaction and that type of thing, perhaps some religious observances and that sort of thing. So that was—that would be fairly common on any of the plantations. I suspect the interplantation connectivity though would be considerably less but it did go on.

SMITH: And at that time was Darien itself a place where people from the either owners or slaves would travel to and from?

SULLIVAN: Yeah, that would be fairly common. Certainly the owners and their families would frequently go to Darien for one thing or another—less though the slaves of course but slaves did go. As I said, some of the more trusted slaves would be allowed to go to the markets in Darien and sell their vegetables and things and fish and whatnot particularly on like a Saturday afternoon or a Sunday and they would get access to Darien. A lot of the plantation owners would send some of their slaves to other plantations to learn skills. This is something that I've found out in fairly recent research that a particular slave owner might have a slave who knew how to operate steam machinery for example, and so another slave owner at a neighboring plantation might pay that owner a fee to send his head driver or his engineer to that plantation to get training. And this would be fairly common depending on the skills that were needed or whatnot. But yeah, Darien would be fairly common for access and whatnot—rarely beyond Darien I suspect however particularly for the slaves. And also the owners were only seasonal residents in most cases. It seems pretty well established that the white residents of these plantations would not live on the rice plantations during the warm weather months and the early fall months because of the fear of yellow fever. It was of course very suspected in those days in the antebellum and post-bellum period that the proximity to rice fields and marshes were cause of yellow fever and the spread of yellow fever. And of course the slaves were not nearly as susceptible to yellow fever and malaria as were the white people were because of the immunities that had been built up generation to generation to generation in West Africa and then later in South Carolina, and then the migrating slaves to Georgia inherited those immunities where they would of course be much more immune to what we call tropical diseases than the white owners and their families would be. So the white owners generally left during the hot weather say from May through September. They would be gone. They would go to drier areas of the—maybe go to the barrier islands or go to the uplands of Georgia. Many might have had homes in Savannah or Athens or Milledgeville, the state capitol at the time. So they were not year-round full-time residents. Of course marshes and rice fields had nothing to do directly with the cause of yellow fever as we learned later. It was of course mosquitoes which were the transmitters of the yellow fever disease and of course mosquitoes bred in the salt marshes and the rice fields because of the wetness and the dampness. And so if a mosquito bred in a Darien salt marsh happened to bite somebody that came in on a ship from South America with yellow fever and start biting other people and it would perpetuate, that's where the yellow fever epidemics came from, but not as a direct consequence of the rice fields per se. And there were epidemics. The worst yellow fever epidemic that Darien ever had and the surrounding rice plantations was in 1854 when a number of people died of yellow fever and—because of the spread of the disease we know now by mosquitoes. And there are reports that Dr. Holmes, the town doctor of Darien, Dr. Holmes made a number of visits to the rice plantations to treat people who had come down with yellow fever who had stayed maybe, generally white people but occasionally some of the slaves would get the yellow fever as well and Dr. Holmes would treat them as well as much as they could be treated. Yellow fever had a very high mortality rate and so it was—the survival rate was only about 20% if you got yellow fever. So it was not much that could be done considering the medical conditions of the time as well as the sanitary conditions.

SMITH: What sort of opportunities would the plantation occupants have to stores, churches, and cemeteries?

SULLIVAN: The slave force would have—I would think—from what I know very limited access to that sort of thing. Again, the more dependable or trusted slaves perhaps could be the ones who may go into town to sell vegetables and whatnot, and if they earned a little money from the sale of vegetables or fish they could go into some of the stores perhaps. That would not be unknown but it was not a general sort of thing that went on as far as I understand it and—

SMITH: In Darien?

SULLIVAN: In Darien. I don't know about other locations but in Darien itself. The attendants at church would be dependable upon the outlook of a plantation owner. There are many instances in coastal Georgia of slaves attending white churches in Darien, in Midway and other—Savannah of course, St. Simons. So that was not uncommon at all. And it happened on occasion in Darien. The records of the Darien Presbyterian Church had a fairly substantial membership of slaves and freed blacks on their church rolls prior to the Civil War. Now whether any of these came from the Cathead plantations I just don't know. I would suspect that they probably did but I just don't know for sure. The Episcopal Church in Darien same thing—they also had members of slave—slaves from plantations were members of the Darien Episcopal Church, the Saint Andrew's Church. And after the Civil War the freed slaves of these white churches of course broke off and in several instances formed their own congregations—in the case of Darien would be the First African Baptist Church and the Saint Cyprian's African Episcopal Church and then later the Grant Chapel Presbyterian Church in which the forebears or members of those early churches were members of the white churches in the antebellum period.

SMITH: And as part of this project we're trying to find the Oasis and Windy Hill cemeteries which are shown as dots on here but finding them today is a little bit more difficult than that. They're reported in those locations. Have you ever been to either one of those?

SULLIVAN: I have never been to any of those cemeteries at all. I know they're there and finding them is obviously difficult because of the—most if not all of them rarely if ever used permanent tombstone markers and that sort of thing. But every plantation had a cemetery generally for the slave force, they were slave cemeteries. But I have never been to any of these along the Cathead—in fact, the only slave cemetery where slaves were buried that I have actually physically visited would be the Upper Mill cemetery in Darien and then the Butler Cemetery just outside of Darien so which—but the plantation cemeteries I don't know about them.

SMITH: And the slaves were always buried in their own location?

SULLIVAN: Pretty much, yeah. That's pretty much the case. There was a slave cemetery on Butler Island and one on General's Island and the ones that you've mentioned that are associated with the Cathead plantations. And the slaves, the generations of slaves of a plantation, would be buried right there. And they would be with attendant religious services and whatnot. The plantation owners would generally allow a white pastor to come in and conduct the burial service and that type of thing. So that was a common practice. But I don't know of any slaves unless they were a freed slave prior to the Civil War that would have been buried anywhere except on the plantations themselves.

SMITH: Okay. And do you have any information you could provide on Dunwoody and Ceylon back from the early days?

SULLIVAN: No I can't. They're both documented cemeteries but I don't know the families that are buried there or I could not give you any surnames or anything of that sort of thing, no.

SMITH: Okay. Well is there anything else that you think would be good to know for this project that I haven't asked you about? Anything else—

SULLIVAN: No—

SMITH: —about the district as a whole in us trying to pull together a cultural context for the community?

SULLIVAN: I would just add that I think what you're doing is extremely important, particularly from the cultural component, to try to preserve some of these oral histories and some of these traditional aspects of our local history that have been passed down, and it's important to try to gather and then interpret that information and material. The documented history as I've pointed out in many of my books and publications there's plenty of that but that is all based on land deeds and land plats and plantation journals and diaries and church records and business records and census reports and slave censuses and all of that. The real history of this though is coming from the people themselves and that is what—there's just such a small amount of that that's been saved and preserved. So this is where you really get down to what I call the foundational aspects of our cultural history in any area but particularly this immediate area that you all are working on—that's important to try to capture that and preserve it and then interpret it to whatever degree possible.

SMITH: Well thank you very much. This was a great interview.

SULLIVAN: Well glad to help. I think it's a great project. Glad to help you out.

[end]