# EVALUATING

# THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF GEORGIA'S BURIAL GROUNDS

Mitchell Family Cemetery, Walton County.

## WHERE TO START WITH A CEMETERY EVALUATION?

Cemeteries, or parts of cemetery landscapes, can be eligible as sites, districts, buildings, objects, or structures under the following criteria:

**Criterion A**     for significant events or broad patterns of history;

**Criterion B**     for historically significant people;

**Criterion C**     for distinctive architecture, engineering, or artistic merit; or

**Criterion D**     that yields or has the potential to yield historically Important Information.

They can be eligible for historical significance in the following categories:

Exploration and Settlement, Community Planning and Development, Religion, Social History, Ethnic Heritage, Military History, Art, Architecture, Landscape Architecture, Archaeology, and Health/Medicine at the Local, State, or National Level.

# INTRODUCTION

Section One explored the origins of Georgia's historic period burial places and practices from the time immediately preceding European arrival and the establishment of the Georgia colony through the mid-20th century. Georgia's cemetery landscapes reflect the historical events of the last 300 years, as well as the cultural and religious movements that have influenced American society. This Context provides a starting place to begin thinking about the historical significance of Georgia's burial places.

Determining which of Georgia's cemeteries are objectively significant within a specific historic context at the local, state, or national level requires a common vocabulary. Section Two established a common vocabulary to describe a cemetery and its character-defining features, introduced Types and Styles as a means to describe a cemetery's establishment and decoration, and detailed how to survey a cemetery. All of these concepts, combined with the historical and cultural perspectives presented in Section One, lead to Section Three – Evaluating the Historical Significance of Georgia's Cemeteries. This section will examine cemeteries through the lens of a National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) evaluation.

In this section, we will first discuss the goals and the level of effort necessary for various types of survey. Next, we will introduce the National Register Criteria of Evaluation and explore existing guidance on the evaluation of historic cemeteries through an analysis of *NR Bulletins 15, 16A, 18, 21, 36,* and *41.* To demonstrate how cemetery evaluation should occur in practice, a series of case studies have been provided at the end of this section.

## Survey Goals and Level of Effort

The primary purpose of this context and handbook is to assist the cultural resource preservation professional in surveying a cemetery and evaluating its potential NRHP eligibility. They would complete this work to fulfill the requirements of Section 106 of the NHPA for work being planned by GDOT. This means that the level of effort for the cemetery survey and its corresponding NRHP evaluation may depend, in part, on what actions are planned and how they may affect the cemetery if implemented.

How much research needs to be completed on a cemetery in order to make an eligibility determination for the purposes of Section 106? It will certainly not be the same research effort as would be required to nominate a cemetery to the NRHP. Where does one start and where does one stop? Does there need to be a full deed search of the land? Is it necessary to know everyone buried there, or to catalog every marker type? Is remote sensing required? How do you know if there is integrity of archaeological deposits if there is no excavation? This is not a complete list of questions but might give some idea of what types of questions may be on someone's mind as they work through this process. All of these are important questions that can be asked about the level of effort and level of impact for a Section 106 NRHP evaluation of a cemetery. The answers will depend on the cemetery and the project. For many of the questions above, the answers can be found in Section Two. If a surveyor can describe the landscape features of a cemetery called out in Section Two and can identify its Type and Style, then there should be enough data there to complete an NRHP evaluation for everything except "NRHP significant research potential."

An agency's first choice is to avoid any possible physical effects to graves by avoiding the burials altogether and in general minimizing impacts to cemeteries when planning projects. This may affect the level of archaeological survey conducted and therefore the amount of information available on subsurface deposits. While the cemetery can be evaluated for NRHP eligibility based on what can be seen above the surface, and what can be learned of the cemetery's history, what remains below the ground surface, will typically remain unknown. The possibility of answering historically significant research questions that might make the cemetery NRHP eligible for research potential under Criterion D cannot be gauged adequately without an examination of below ground features and integrity through subsurface archaeological investigations. If the plan is to avoid the cemetery in most cases, then these techniques are typically not employed. In the event where a GDOT project would need to physically affect burials within a cemetery, then the appropriate steps to develop research questions and define available data sets as described later in this section would apply.

## THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

To be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a cemetery must meet at least one of following four criteria:

### Criterion A
Associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history (page 297).

### Criterion B
Associated with the lives of persons significant in our past (pages 297-298).

### Criterion C
Embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that posses high artistic value, or that represent a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (page 298).

### Criterion D
Have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history (pages 298-300).

While National Register bulletins are clear that most cemeteries or burial places will meet eligibility requirements under any of the four criteria, it is possible for a cemetery to be eligible under all four criteria. More information about the criteria can be found on pages 297-300.

In addition, there are Criteria Considerations that may apply and that will be discussed later on pages 306-309. Criteria considerations are particularily notable for cemeteries. Criteria Consideration D refers to all cemeteries, Criteria Consideration A applies to religious properties, such as cemeteries associated with churches, and Criteria Consideration C applies to the graves of important people in history.

# CEMETERIES AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER

As described by *NR Bulletin 15,* the effort to officially recognize and preserve historic properties began in 1906 with the Antiquities Act, continued with the Historic Sites Act of 1935, and culminated with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA) of 1966. While the Historic Sites Act focused on properties of national significance, the NHPA broadened this to those historic properties of local and state significance and created the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP), which is maintained by the National Park Service (NPS) on behalf of the Secretary of the Interior. The NPS has published a number of useful documents that include guidance on how properties are classified, examined for historical significance, and then evaluated to see if they retain the integrity necessary to convey that significance. Additional guidance helps an evaluator determine the historical period for which the property has significance and for determining if that significance is to the nation, state, or local community.

For an understanding of cemeteries and the NRHP, the following NPS bulletins are helpful:

- *National Register Bulletin 15 (NR Bulletin 15): How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation;*

- *National Register Bulletin 41 (NR Bulletin 41): Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places;*

- *National Register Bulletin 36 (NR Bulletin 36): Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archaeological Properties;*

- *National Register Bulletin 16A (NR Bulletin 16A): How to Complete the National Register Registration Form;*

- *National Register Bulletin 18 (NR Bulletin 18): How to Evaluate and Nominate Designed Historic Landscapes; and*

- *National Register Bulletin 21 (NR Bulletin 21): Defining Boundaries for National Register Properties.*

In addition to providing public recognition of a property's historic importance, understanding if a historic property is eligible to be listed on the National Register has a number of important implications under the NHPA, in particular under Section 106. Section 106, in part, "requires Federal agencies to take into account the effects of their undertakings on historic properties." This means when a federal action is involved for an undertaking, it becomes necessary to see if any properties that are listed on the NRHP, or are determined eligible to be listed on the NRHP, are present in the area that could be affected by the project or permitted action. All burial grounds or cemeteries, regardless of whether they are eligible for the NRHP, are protected by a number of state and Federal laws (pgs 302-303). If a cemetery is determined to be eligible for the NRHP, then there are other considerations that must be made for its treatment based on the NHPA. The process of "Section 106 Compliance," which in large part defines the purpose of this context, involves determining what eligible historic properties are present and what components of these properties contribute to their eligibility so that an undertaking's effect can be taken into consideration by agencies such as GDOT.

**NR BULLETIN 15** lays out the basic steps for how to evaluate a property to determine if it is eligible for the NRHP:

For a property type (buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts) to be eligible for the National Register, it generally must be 50 years of age or older and meet one of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation by:

- Being associated with an important historic context and
- Retaining historic integrity for those features necessary to convey its significance.

Information about the property based on physical examination and documentary research is necessary to evaluate a property's eligibility for the National Register. Evaluation of a property should follow this sequence:

1. Determine the age of the property.

2. Categorize the property. A property must be classified as a district, site, building, structure, or object for inclusion in the National Register (page 287).

3. Determine which precontact or historic context(s) the property represents. A property must possess significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, or culture when evaluated within the historic context of a relevant geographic area. These are referred to as the NRHP areas of significance (pages 288-295).

4. Determine whether the property is significant under the National Register Criteria. This is done by identifying the links to important events or persons, design or construction features, or information potential that make the property important (pages 297-300).

5. Determine if the property falls into a category usually excluded from the National Register. If so, determine if it meets the applicable Criteria Considerations (pages 306-309).

6. Determine whether the property retains integrity. Evaluate the aspects of location, design, setting, workmanship, materials, feeling, and association that the property must retain to convey its historic significance (pages 310-317).

Source: *National Register Bulletin 15*: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation

## Categories of Historic Properties

Cemeteries, or components of cemeteries, can be eligible for the NRHP as objects, structures, buildings, sites, or districts, or they can be considered as contributing elements of larger historic districts. Typically, cemeteries when viewed as a whole entity are treated as sites or districts. Cemeteries that are complex, encompassing a multitude of burials, designed landscape features, or buildings should be described or treated as potential districts. The district model is widely applicable to many cemeteries, as they often possess a mixture of contributing and non-contributing features that can include sites, buildings, structures, or objects. For example, a large Municipal-type cemetery may have a historic core exhibiting Rural Garden style, later sections with Lawn Park–style elements, and recent 20th-century structures such as a modern veterans memorial and gazebo. A portion of the cemetery might have unmarked graves and be considered a contributing site, while high style mausoleums are considered contributing structures. One particularly notable vernacular marker may be considered an object and be a notable feature to highlight in the historic district.

A cemetery that has few aboveground features and primarily consists of subsurface deposits would be defined as a site. Individual markers, monuments, or lesser furnishings, such as benches, fountains, or grave goods, are examples of objects. As noted in the example Municipal-type cemetery above, they could be contributing to a larger eligible cemetery district, or, when located in a cemetery that is not eligible as a whole, they could be individually eligible as objects. Common examples of buildings in a cemetery include community mausoleums, administrative buildings (i.e. offices and visitors centers), chapels, and gatehouses. Family mausoleums, columbaria, gazebos, and fences are examples of structures within a cemetery. The most common way that cemeteries have been listed on the NRHP is as contributing elements to larger historic districts such as a town or community. The elements described above that can be eligible in a cemetery individually or as contributing to a site or district are detailed in Section Two, Chapter 1 – Cemetery Landscape Elements.

### Building

A building, such as a house, barn, church, hotel, or similar construction is created principally to shelter any form of human activity. "Building" may also be used to refer to a historically and functionally related unit such as a courthouse and jail, a church and associated cemetery, or a house and barn.

### Structure

The term "structure" is used to distinguish from buildings those functional constructions made usually for purposes other than creating human shelter.

### Object

The term "object" is used to distinguish from buildings and structures those constructions that are primarily artistic in nature or are relatively small in scale and simply constructed. Although it may be by nature or design, movable, an object is associated with a specific setting or environment.

### Site

A site is the location of a significant event, a prehistoric or historic occupation, an activity, or a building or structure, whether standing, ruined, or vanished, where the location itself possesses historic, cultural, or archaeological value regardless of the value of any existing structure.

### District

A district possesses a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of sites, buildings, structures, or objects unified historically or aesthetically by plan or physical development.

Source: *National Register Bulletin 15*: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation

## HISTORIC CONTEXTS AND THE NATIONAL REGISTER AREAS OF SIGNIFICANCE

To the families and communities of the interred, each burial ground is a special, sacred, and hallowed place, worthy of respect, protection, and admiration. The intent of the NRHP, however, is to capture those places that are the most significant either at a local, state, or national level. As noted in *NR Bulletin 41*, "reverence and devout sentiment can overshadow objective evaluation." For the Section 106 practitioner, objectivity is the goal. Eligibility is attained by a property having historical significance and sufficient integrity to convey that significance.

The *NR Bulletin 41* states that, to measure the significance of burial places in American culture, we must know something of:

- their geographic extent,
- the historic events affecting their creation,
- the span of time in which they evolved,
- their ceremonial functions,

- their aesthetic value,
- the reasons for the location and orientation of graves, and
- the underlying meaning of their embellishments

The National Register guidance defines many specific categories of the above and these are known as NRHP "areas of significance." *NR Bulletin 41* further notes that certain areas of significance are more likely to apply to cemeteries.

Exploration and Settlement

Community Planning and Development

Religion

Social History

Ethnic Heritage

Military History

Art

Architecture

Landscape Architecture

Archaeology

Health/Medicine

The following discussions delve into each of the areas of significance most commonly associated with cemeteries and summarizes how they might fit or apply to a cemetery. Additionally, there are discussions of possible data sets associated with each of the areas. These data sets become Increasingly important in the later discussions in Section Three for Criterion D, particularly for archaeological research potential (pages 304-305).

## Exploration and Settlement

Euroamericans, African Americans, and members of other ethnicities rapidly spread inland from the coast of Georgia and northward towards the mountains. Although their cultures moved inland with them, the Euroamericans also adapted to new circumstances and environments, adopting some elements of culture from American Indians they encountered and that of the enslaved African Americans they brought with them. The term "frontier," which is a Euro-centric concept, is defined as a border between two countries or cultures, the extreme limit of "settled" land, or the extreme limits of understanding. The Georgia frontier as it expanded between 1732 and 1838 represented all of these ideals. At the frontier, Euroamerican cultures clashed and converged with American Indian cultures, but also blended. Although the majority of the historical buildings and sites from this period are gone, cemeteries often remain, even though they may be hidden, poorly marked, or in poor condition. These cemeteries could show how different cultural groups either stayed separate and kept their own traditions or blended and formed new ones. Frontier cemeteries are typically smaller, and unless a larger settlement grew in later years at the same location, were often abandoned after a period of years when a pioneer family moved on to new opportunities. A cemetery could provide important information of life during this early period.

Many of Georgia's earliest settlers on the frontier were not wealthy and left little behind. Their cemeteries are likely one tangible way to understand their history on their own terms. The ideal frontier cemetery would yield a sample of graves from known individuals with known dates of death, and there would be sufficient osteological preservation to address age, gender, and health. The features of these cemetery landscapes such as gravestones, plantings, or broader associations with other properties and/or sites, as well as items buried with the deceased, possible coffin adornments, the human remains would allow inferences to be drawn on how people lived, their cultures, and how people were buried on the frontier. A cemetery that holds

significance in this area may be the only physical record of the Euroamerican families that first settled an area or it may help to show if cultural or religion-specific patterns of burial practice were evident in frontier settlements. When examined collectively, the inscriptions on the markers or the marker styles may have something to say about what life on the frontier was like during the period the cemetery was used. Research could even show if burial treatment varied with distance from major transportation corridors including roads, rivers, and rail lines.

The cemeteries of this period most relevant to significance for exploration and settlement are predominately Family and Religious types, however, Community-type cemeteries are certainly possible. In terms of style, these are predominately Vernacular-style cemeteries, although in the 19th century, Upland Folk style may be visible as well. These Upland Folk style graves in particular may yield information on how American Indian cultural traditions may have been included into typical Protestant Euroamerican burials. Critical knowledge for establishing significance in exploration and settlement are understanding geographically and temporally where and when the cemetery existed in response to the growth of the colony and then state of Georgia. If the cemetery developed around the junctures of American Indian Land cession lines up to 1838, or as part of growth and expansion of Georgia during the town planning period (see Chapter 4, Section One), these are indications that exploration and settlement should be explored as an area of significance.

## Community Planning and Development

After the Revolutionary War and the forced removal of American Indians, Georgia was administered by Georgians of primarily Euroamerican descent. What was once a frontier quickly transformed from small communities to towns and then to cities. During this transformational period, the placement of cemeteries often became a deliberate choice as part of an organized town-planning effort. A public cemetery was a community necessity and

for towns seeking to make their mark and advertise themselves as a fine place to live and work, a beautifully designed city cemetery was a mark of distinction. The location of cemeteries within a town plan may have been determined by a number of other factors including health and sanitation or, later, Jim Crow laws, which called for segregated cemeteries.

Understanding the placement of a cemetery within the community, as well as the design and intent of the cemetery developers, are important clues for understanding if a cemetery might hold significance in this area. Possible data sets include archival plans and design information, for the town as well as for the cemetery; spatial and temporal data on the growth and expansion of the cemetery, which can be obtained through approved archaeological investigations; survey of marker epitaphs or materials; survey or GPR survey; or a seriation based on changes in coffin hardware when archaeological preservation is good. Archaeological and remote sensing data combined with archival data can serve to corroborate incomplete or erroneous records on the dates and locations of graves. The presence or absence of a marker are features that could help identify likely pauper burials or the graves of enslaved persons. Even where grave contents are poorly preserved, grave dimensions can be used as a proxy for distinguishing infants from adults. All these data sets above can help in identifying significance in the area of community planning and development.

Research in this area could help answer questions such as how the placement of a cemetery was determined. It could be that the cemetery was established to address an influx of new people or new religious denominations. Was the cemetery organized and used based on religion, social class, ethnicity, or other factors? Another potential question would ask if the plan, type, and style of the cemetery reflect the conditions for the cemetery's founding.

Cemeteries more likely to be significant for community planning and development include Municipal, Religious, Community, Corporate and possibly Institutional types. They could exhibit any of the styles discussed

in this context either independently or layered through years of successive development. For example, a Municipal-type cemetery may have begun as a Family-, Community-, or even Religious-type cemetery exhibiting vernacular style, and later became the official city cemetery, with Rural Garden-, Lawn Park–, or Memorial Park–style elements added later as the cemetery expanded with a more formal plan.

## Religion

The history of Western religion in Georgia began with Spanish Catholic missions on the coast followed by the Protestant Church of England, as specified in its colonial charter. Judaism was introduced after the colony was founded, followed by Islamic and African tribal influences brought by enslaved West Africans. After the American Revolution, Catholics made their way through Georgia in small numbers. Finally, new Protestant denominations, such as Methodist and Baptist, blossomed from the Great Awakenings, which were heartily embraced by Georgians. The diversity of these new religions left a mark on Georgia's cemeteries. These Religious-type cemeteries may or may not be physically connected to their attendant church, synagogue, temple, or mosque; however, Protestant Christian cemeteries in a churchyard are the most abundant examples in Georgia.

Considering potential religious significance may include examining if the markers exhibit the particular ideology or values of a religion or religious denomination or if the cemetery contains graves outside of the predominant or founding religion. If so, what is the proportion? Also worth considering is if the cemetery is associated with the oldest congregation of its denomination in the community. If so, how might this have influenced the development of that community?

Although the Religious cemetery type is most often examined for possible significance for religion, Municipal-type cemeteries with specific sections reserved for individual faiths may also be relevant under this context. In the

same manner, Corporate-type cemeteries may be established for members of a specific faith and may have significance in religion. Religious-type cemeteries can be of any style, but are most likely to exhibit Vernacular, Lawn Park, or Memorial Park styles. Informal or grid plans are most common as they maximize available space. Useful sources of information for these cemeteries are varied and may include the presence or absence of specific religious symbology; the placement of graves in proximity to one another; the location of the cemetery in regards to attendant religious properties or other properties in a larger historic landscape of a town or community; and, when preservation is good, the osteological information from markers, coffin hardware, personal goods, and indicators of burial process for individuals whose religion can be ascertained. The study of death head symbology, referenced in Section One, Chapter 1, demonstrates how the changes in religious influences over time can be studied, as long as there are plentiful examples and reliable dates of death. Combining archival records and oral histories indicating the religious affiliation of individuals and the overall cemetery with archaeological data that has good preservation and horizontal and vertical integrity can yield stronger data sets.

## Social History

Social history is described in *NR Bulletin 16A* as "[t]he history of efforts to promote the welfare of society; the history of society and the lifeways of its social groups." A cemetery can reflect widespread social movements such as Romanticism, Victorianism, the Civil Rights Movement, or segregation, as well as social reform movements related to Progressivism, such as institutional reform in mental health facilities, hospitals, work camps, and prisons. All of these are presented in the Section One narrative as social history movements that affected the growth, development, and design of different types and styles of cemeteries.

Data sets for social history would include: epitaphs and funerary art on markers, specifically for how they may illustrate the values of specific social history movements; cemetery design within the immediate cemetery landscape and within a broader landscape; temporally diagnostic coffin hardware, coffin and shipping box stains, or personal grave goods from graves with good archaeological preservation and integrity; markers identifying the individuals and their dates of death in order to understand demographics and life expectancy in specific communities; osteological remains of sufficient preservation to determine age, gender, and general health; and a sufficient sample of burials from different areas of the cemetery to study spatial variation. Like in other areas, subsurface and surface data sets can be enhanced if there are burial records, death certificates, obituaries, and similar sources of death-specific data.

Research questions related to Criterion D can be developed such as examining if the markers and features of the cemetery point to a majority of burials related to a benevolent society or group such as the Eastern Star, Masons, or Woodsmen of the World. If a cemetery dates to the Victorian period in American history, does the cemetery exhibit Victorian ideology from the design and layout of the cemetery to the marker styles and even the inscriptions? Even healthcare might be examined, given the presence of good data sets, to answer such questions as how do rates of mothers' deaths in childbirth through time reflect increasing availability of affordable health care?

Corporate-type cemeteries started by non-profit and for-profit benevolent/ mutual aid societies or cemeteries devoted to helping the poor might also hold significance in social history. Cemeteries typically are representative of communities and can reflect the social, cultural, socioeconomic, or political forces of those buried there. Cemeteries could be eligible for multiple layers of social history. For example, a large Municipal-type cemetery developed in the later 19th century may contain a segregated section for African Americans; a pauper section for the economically depressed; high style Rural Garden–style sections for the affluent white community; a Catholic or Jewish section, which may speak more to the way minority Catholics and Jews were treated in Georgia than to the actual religions;

and, finally, sections for trade groups, veterans, or benevolent societies. Any one, or some combination, of these could speak to significance for social history.

## Ethnic Heritage

Cemeteries can be significant for ethnic heritage if they can convey the "history of persons having a common ethnic or racial identity." One of the most prevalent examples of this within Georgia concerns African American cemeteries. Many of these cemeteries arose through slavery or segregation, and they can include standalone cemeteries or segregated sections within larger cemeteries. In addition to African American cemeteries, many cemeteries had different sections for distinct ethnic groups; however, there is overlap frequently as to whether these groups are considered religious groups or ethnic groups. Often the differences in these burial traditions are more reflective of ethnic heritage than religious identity. Examples include Greek Orthodox sections of cemeteries, as well as Chinese sections and Jewish sections. There may be examples yet unidentified in Georgia of sections reserved for ethnic groups independent of religion, such as African American, American Indian, or Mexican American. As for the other groups, the most distinguishing feature in terms of burial customs is religion, not ethnicity. A further distinction is that multiple ethnic groups are often found within one religious group.

Key data sets would be any indicators of burial ceremonialism that may be present on the grave, or on the broader landscape, as well as grave offerings and personal burial goods reflective of ethnic heritage. The ability to identify the ethnic identity of both individuals and the overall cemetery landscape – whether from markers, census records, or cemetery maps and records – would be important for significance in this area.

Significance could relate to many research questions. Do different ethnic groups exhibit different ways of showcasing, through burial customs,

an individual's status in the community while living? In African American cemeteries, are there differences in a cemetery landscape based on whether the burials are in an independent cemetery versus a section in an otherwise white cemetery? When members of an ethnic group are forced to bury or be buried in a location which suppresses their ethnic identity, are there coded messages hidden in the cemetery landscape to illustrate their ethnic identity?

A number of different types and styles of cemeteries may be significant for ethnic heritage, particularly for African American heritage. This area of significance may be applicable in Georgia to any type and/or style of cemetery; however, Family-, Community-, Religious-, Corporate-, and Municipal-type cemeteries with Vernacular, Upland Folk, and Lawn Park styles would be the most likely examples.

## Military History

A cemetery may be significant for military history if it is associated with a particular battle, field hospital, or prison camp, or if it contains a notable veteran's section. Veteran sections are common features in many Georgia cemeteries, particularly for Civil War veterans. If a cemetery contains a notable quantity of veterans from specific wars or, contains a section with numerous veterans from different wars, and these graves are set aside and accorded special monuments, enclosures, gates, cenotaphs, or memorials, it may have significance for military history. Many cemeteries have marked graves of veterans scattered among other burials; these would generally not be significant for military history. According to *NR Bulletin 41,* all national cemeteries have been determined to be eligible for the NRHP due to inherent exceptional significance from associations with important events in our history.

Important data sets for significance in military history might include well preserved osteological remains that could speak to a specific battle;

clothing, such as military uniforms, and personal burial goods; layout and commemoration within the broader cemetery landscape; and evidence of processing and burial practice. The research potential increases significantly if individual interments can be identified by name and unit affiliation. These data sets can augment the archival records on the various conflicts, records that are often incomplete, inaccurate, or completely non-existent.

The first question asked might be: does the cemetery have a direct physical affiliation with a battle associated with a specific conflict such as the American Revolution, French and Indian War, or Civil War? This can possibly lead to the examination of questions about the demographics to see what they can reveal about age profiles of participants in various wars or within the course of a single war.

Even though any type of cemetery could theoretically be significant for military history, the most common types will include Municipal, Corporate, or Institutional. Although sections of cemeteries with military significance may exhibit any style, most often the graves, if separated out from other burials, have a uniform, regimented plan.

### Health/Medicine

Across mid-19th-century America, health concerns that arose from newly accepted understandings of germ theory and the deplorable overcrowding of urban cemeteries sparked cities to build new cemeteries farther away from residential areas and to adopt the principles of the Rural Cemetery Movement. In parts of Georgia, epitaphs from the 18th, 19th, and even the early 20th century reflect high infant and child mortality, deaths in childbirth, and epidemic disease outbreaks. Epidemics and mass death events can also be reflected by large percentages of interments within narrow date ranges (particularly in larger communities and cities) or in the presence of mass graves or dedicated areas for the interment of the diseased. Skeletal remains belowground may speak to the sufficiency or insufficiency of diets,

dangers of certain occupational work, and illnesses most likely to result in death. Health/Medicine refers not only to general health, but also the care of the sick, disabled, or handicapped and the promotion of health and hygiene.

Important data might include osteological remains sufficiently preserved to allow for determinations of gender, ethnicity, stature, and general health, which may lead to an understanding of significant trends in Health and/or Medicine for Georgia. Some level of demographic analysis might be possible if graves have associated markers, minimally allowing death certificate analyses to be conducted.

Research questions may examine aspects of significance for Health/Medicine at the individual level, such as the degree to which variability in access to quality health care and nutritional food was patterned by economic status, and the degree to which elaborateness of burial treatment (as a proxy for expense) can be correlated to health. Alternately, by examining the cemetery as a whole, are there changes in burial practice that might reflect sanitary concerns regarding cemeteries? Was a cemetery abandoned or created at the time of the Rural Cemetery Movement? Any type or style of cemetery could hold significance for Health/Medicine, but Institutional- and Municipal-type cemeteries in particular could speak to many themes in this area.

### Art

According to *NR Bulletin 16A*, the historical significance for art recognizes the creation of painting, print making, photography, sculpture, and decorative arts. In a cemetery context, this area of significance recognizes markers, and associated art works, either as individual objects or together as a group, when a cemetery contains a significant array of grave markers and monuments representing the common artistic values of a historic period. In addition, cemeteries can be eligible for representing the work of master artists or craftsmen. Master craftsmen, *Bulletin 41* notes, do not need to be

known by name or associated with a commercial enterprise. They can be individual artists working in vernacular styles.

Within the cemetery, the markers can be considered for significance in art as an entirety or single collection, as a separate collection or collections within the larger cemetery, or even as a singular, notable object that is considered eligible individually for significance in art. One of the most difficult aspects of determining what is a significant resource in this area lies in determining what constitutes a significant array. In some cases, a significant array may depend on a large percentage, with high visible impact, of markers strongly affiliated with a social movement, artistic stylistic movement, or distinct community.

Data sets that would be useful for examining significance in art might include markers; coffin hardware; cemetery fencing; and grave goods with adequate preservation such as clothing, buttons, jewelry, buckles, hair accessories, or personal items. These are the items most likely to be embellished with symbols and styles reflective of artistic movements. As with most studies, the research potential is greatly increased if the date of burial and identity (age, gender, ethnicity, religion, economic status, military rank, etc.) of the interred are known.

Research questions that examine if the artistic expression evident in the cemetery is representative of a particular artistic movement, a religion, or cultural group or is it more individualistic in style, might help to establish significance for art. Additionally, one might examine if the cemetery holds a temporal range of markers that might allow for a diachronic study of marker materials, style, and symbolism. If so, how does the observed pattern mimic national developments in art?

In the context of Georgia cemeteries, these singular or grouped works of art are most likely to be located in Vernacular-, Rural Garden–, or Lawn Park–style cemeteries and in Family-, Religious-, Municipal-, or Corporate-type cemeteries. These collections may comprise part, or the entirety, of a cemetery.

## Architecture

Architecture, in NRHP terms, refers to the practical art of designing and constructing buildings and structures to serve human needs. Architecture in a cemetery setting is primarily concerned with buildings and structures within a cemetery, which often includes various support facilities, chapels, mausoleums, and columbaria, among others. The architecture of buildings can be closely tied to movements in society or design, and these are frequently present in cemeteries holding significance in this area.

Data sets associated with significance in architecture might include building plans, design, and decoration, as well as the design and engineering associated with specific mausoleums or tombs, both above and below ground.

Examining if the architectural styles represented in a cemetery correspond closely to the national or regional trends is an important step in examining significance for architecture. Do the styles linger into further decades than their national popularity or are there lag times before they appear in Georgia? This can help place the cemetery is an appropriate, larger context and determine architectural significance. A cemetery significant for its architecture is likely to be a Municipal- or Corporate-type cemetery exhibiting Rural Garden or Lawn Park style. Significance for architecture can lie in the actual constructions or in their association with a master craftsman. Master craftsman, as noted by *NR Bulletin 41*, do not need to be associated with a commercial enterprise or known by name. They can be individual architects working in vernacular styles.

## Landscape Architecture

Landscape architecture is described as "the practical art of designing or arranging the land for human use or enjoyment." Cemeteries significant for landscape architecture have a purposeful plan at the center of the cemetery's

design that underlies its significance. This area recognizes cemeteries that have a unified landscape, where cemetery sections were likely laid out in advance, and the natural and built environment are both considered in the look and layout of a cemetery.

Important data sets associated with significance in landscape architecture might include landscape plans, circulation pathways, boundaries and enclosures, plantings, memorials, and cenotaphs as well as the design and engineering associated with specific landscape constructs, such as retaining walls or underground cemetery features.

For significance in landscape architecture, an evaluator might examine who designed the cemetery landscape and if they were professionally trained, then identify what stylistic periods are represented in the landscape design of the cemetery. The evaluator may attempt to discern whether the style of the landscape design mirrors the designs of popular gardens or parks at the time.

Cemeteries significant for landscape architecture are typically a Municipal-, Corporate-, or Military-type cemetery exhibiting Rural Garden, Lawn Park, or Memorial Park style. As with architecture, a cemetery can also be historically significant for its association with a master landscape architect.

Finally, the lack of a designed landscape does not make a cemetery ineligible for the NRHP. It is a consideration to weigh in an evaluation. Some cemeteries may have a physical organization framed by its community's tenets that are not recognizable to an evaluator. In other cases, pursuing eligibility under Ethnic Heritage or Social History may be more appropriate for the resource rather than eligibility in landscape architecture depending on its historic context.

## TRADITIONAL CULTURAL PROPERTIES

A Traditional Cultural Property (TCP), also referred to as a Traditional Cultural Place, is defined by the NRHP as a historic property eligible for the NRHP "because of its association with the cultural practices of beliefs of a living community that (a) are rooted in that community's history, and (b) are important in maintaining the continuing cultural identity of the community." TCPs must first be historic properties – a district, site, building, structure, or object with significance in any of the four criteria – but their integrity as a TCP is evaluated through two aspects of integrity instead of seven. TCPs must show integrity of relationship and integrity of condition. Integrity of relationship refers to how the property is directly related to maintaining the cultural practices and beliefs of that community. Integrity of condition refers to the ability of the property to physically convey its significance through that relationship.

Although historic cemeteries can be TCPs, this is rare. For a cemetery to be considered as a TCP, it would need to be associated with the beliefs and practices of a living community and be an integral part of maintaining those cultural traditions or identity of the group. For additional guidance on TCPs, refer to *NR Bulletin 38*.

## LEVEL OF SIGNIFICANCE – LOCAL, STATE, OR NATIONAL

Cemeteries can be significant at a local, state, or national level based on placing the cemetery in its appropriate historic context. It is important to understand broader historical trends and movements, such as those identified in Section One of this context, but to accurately determine the level of significance for a single resource, comparative knowledge of similar resources is necessary.

According to *NR Bulletin 15*, significance at the local level means that the resource "represents an aspect of the history of a town, city, county, cultural area, or region, or any portions thereof." A cemetery may reflect larger historical trends, but if that cemetery's history is tied to a single community or region and is otherwise unknown to, or disconnected from, that larger historical trend, potential significance is most likely to be defined at the local level. This is especially the case when similar examples are numerous across the state. For example, a Municipal-type cemetery may have local significance to community planning and development as it was designed when that town was founded in the Georgia Town Planning Period after the American Revolution. City designers carefully planned the placement of the cemetery as part of their town plan and then expanded the cemetery over the ensuing decades to include new religious groups moving into the area and the rise of particular interest groups within a community.

A State level of significance is when the property represents "an aspect of the history of the state as a whole." Properties with state level of significance do not have to be a type found throughout the state. They can be in one location, but their significance stretches statewide. An example of this may be the first cemetery in the state to have a columbarium or, perhaps, an associated crematorium or funeral home.

A National level of significance means that a property "represents an aspect of the history of the United States and its territories as a whole." These are cemeteries that represent key moments or movements in American history, often integral to the national story for a given historical context. These are the places where key events in American history occurred. In terms of architecture, design, and aesthetic movements, cemeteries significant at the national level may have been the inspiration, the earliest, or most important example for a specific movement. The cemetery at Andersonville represents a cemetery with a National level of importance for its role in the Civil War and the post-war repatriation and identification efforts under Clara Barton.

## PERIOD OF SIGNIFICANCE

Period of significance is determined by the evaluator based on the sum of a cemetery's parts, archival research, field research, and historical context. Due to their complexity, there is no one formula for evaluating the period of significance for cemeteries. The most important thing to consider is that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and often have multiple layers, meanings, styles, areas of significance, and even types. It is important that the evaluator consider that period of significance refers to the period in which the cemetery acquired its significance not always the full span of its use. As such, it should relate directly to the areas of significance for that particular cemetery. If a cemetery was established in 1880, but 40 years later a vernacular artist created an outstanding group of markers spanning a period of 20 years, then the period of significance for art would be from 1920 to 1940. For a Vernacular-style cemetery founded in the 1850s, which expanded greatly at the turn of the 20th century in an effort to emulate popular, Lawn-Park styling, the period of significance for art, architecture, and landscape architecture, would date from the 20th-century renovations and not from the 19th-century roots.

# THE NATIONAL REGISTER CRITERIA FOR EVALUATION

To be determined eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places, a property must meet at least one of the four criteria for evaluation. This is done by establishing a link between the historic property and significance "in American history, architecture, engineering, and culture" when evaluated within the historic context of a relevant geographic area. Specifically, there are four Criteria for Evaluation: Criterion A, for properties associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; Criterion B for properties associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; Criterion C for properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic value, or that represent a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or for Criterion D, for properties that have yielded or may be likely to yield information important in prehistory or history.

While National Register bulletins are clear that most cemeteries or burial places will meet eligibility requirements under any of the four criteria, it is possible for a cemetery to be eligible under all four criteria. However, Criteria Consideration D, as well as other Criteria Considerations, may apply and these may affect eligibility (pages 306-309). The section below describes how a cemetery in particular may meet the Criteria for Evaluation.

## CRITERION A

Cemeteries may be eligible for the NRHP if they are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history. In particular, *NR Bulletin 15* notes that the "events" must be important and unmistakable in a defined historic context, such as those explored in Section One of this study. These areas of significance include topics that are sociological (such as ethnic heritage, social history, and religion), historical (community planning and development, exploration and settlement, military history, and health/medicine), and research driven (archaeology). Different research will be needed in each of these cases to fully understand how specific contexts may apply to understanding Criterion A for a cemetery. As it is for Criterion C below, it is important to recognize that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and therefore may reflect evolution over time. This may result in significance in multiple areas and periods, or even multiple periods for different facets of the same area of significance. In Georgia, a cemetery could begin as a frontier period cemetery that reflects burial traditions where Euroamericans and Indigenous people formed families with new blended traditions. This early core of a cemetery may be significant for exploration and settlement. Later

a community and then a thriving town could develop in the same area and what was a small Family-type cemetery may now form the core of a new Municipal-type cemetery that could have significance under Criterion A for community planning and development. Later, the town may have added a segregated section for African Americans, and this could add significance to the cemetery under ethnic heritage. In short, after determining what areas of significance may apply to a particular cemetery, one should ask the question, "Does this cemetery evidence a significant trend, impact, or change in this area of significance?"

## CRITERION B

Criterion B refers to historical significance based on association "with the lives of persons significant in our past." To be eligible under Criterion B, an association must be made with the active life of the person, which is the period during which they carried out the activities for which they are recognized. Moreover, the person or persons associated with the cemetery must be of "outstanding importance" to the community, state, or nation. Individual graves or tombs can be eligible under Criterion B or entire cemeteries. For an entire cemetery rather than a grave, this becomes a bit

more challenging. *NR Bulletin 41* allows that cemeteries may be eligible for listing under Criterion B if they contain the graves of "numerous persons who made outstanding contributions." The bulletin however does not define what constitutes an appropriate number of graves for this to apply. Ultimately, it depends on the contributions of the individuals to their respective historic contexts.

A more difficult example to justify might be a cemetery in a town that was formed in the late 1800s and contains the graves of prominent business and community leaders. Did these individuals contribute to local society or the town in ways that were transformative? If they were part of a large period of growth and development for the town through the introduction of a new industry, then perhaps they do. If they were part of a continuum of steady growth, then perhaps they are not a collection of individuals of outstanding importance. In each case, it is the larger context of the cemetery and its relationship to the community, state, or nation that matters in determining if the individuals interred support eligibility under Criterion B.

## CRITERION C

Criterion C applies to a cemetery when it embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction; represents the work of a master; possesses high artistic value; or represents a significant or distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction. To embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, a cemetery must reflect the time period in which it achieved its significance, which may be its date of construction or a specific period within its history. For example, a cemetery constructed in 1865 may reflect the ideals of the Victorian era's Rural Cemetery Movement, with excellent examples of curving roads, pastoral plantings, and elaborate statuary. Likewise, a cemetery on the Sea Islands of Georgia may reflect Gullah/Geechee cultural heritage with the presence of surface and near-surface grave offerings of ceramics, glass, mirrors, or shells. Recognizing that cemeteries are used over long periods of time and have different layers

of styles added over successive time periods, a cemetery may reflect this evolution and have significance in multiple areas and periods, or even multiple periods for different facets of the same area of significance. In terms of representing the work of a master or possessing high artistic merit, this can be exhibited in the planning of the landscape, crafting of the markers in either vernacular or commercial styles, or in the building of elaborate mausoleums. A cemetery can possess individual works or an assemblage of different related or unrelated works, or the cemetery landscape itself can represent the work of a prominent landscape architect or designer. Finally, the sum of a cemetery's individual parts may qualify it as a historic district even if individual elements are not NRHP eligible as objects, buildings, or structures. For example, even if none of the vernacular markers made by a local craftsman from granite quarried in the town are individually eligible, the cemetery may be eligible for its collection of markers that together illustrate a significant local trend. The opposite can be true as well. A small cemetery may not be eligible, but it may possess markers or features (or just one marker) that are significant as a unique form or the work of a master. These would be eligible as objects. For a cemetery to be eligible under Criterion C, it must be demonstrated that the cemetery is significant within its own historic context and not merely representative.

## CRITERION D

Under Criterion D, a cemetery may be eligible for the NRHP if it has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. The process of evaluating for significance under Criterion D is different from evaluating for A, B, or C as it is based on the idea of information potential, not what can be objectively observed by an evaluator. Evaluation of cemeteries under Criterion D is often difficult due to the sensitive nature of human burials and the aim to prevent the disturbance of burials when possible.

Potential is defined as having or showing the capacity to become or develop into something in the future. This requires the evaluator to analyze what useful information might be available or be gleaned from further

study. Critical components for determining significant data potential are formulating research questions based on the relevant historic contexts and identifying data sets, which can be found on surfaces or in subsurface features alike. In other words, the topics on which information can be gained (data potential), and where research questions can be answered, will likely correspond to the NRHP areas of significance that apply to a given cemetery. A Criterion D evaluation then is asking the question, "Are the data sets available sufficient to answer important research questions under a specific area of significance?"

Archaeologists can learn something from all archaeological survey work and excavating a cemetery is no exception. There is always the ability to answer research questions. The difficulty, however, is determining whether the data from a particular cemetery is able to address research questions that when answered reach a NRHP level of significance. This evaluation process is laid out in several of the NR bulletins, but the assumption still remains that to do an NRHP evaluation for archaeological research potential, most of the time something must be known about the archaeological integrity of the below ground features. If these cannot be determined by Section 106 level of archaeological investigations such as survey or remote sensing, then in many cases, the ability of the cemetery to answer significant research questions may remain unknown. In some cases though, it may be possible to determine an estimated level of archaeological integrity through remote sensing, or the cemetery may represent a much less typical or rare example of a type and/or style or because of the cemetery's historic context and/or social setting and a recommendation may be made for eligibility without direct subsurface examination.

To meet Criterion D, the cemetery must have (or previously have had) information to contribute to a study in an area of significance and the information must be considered important. All cemeteries have the ability to contribute information to the archaeological record; however, Criterion D is meant to apply to information that cannot be obtained by other means such

as historical or archival research. Criterion D applies to what can be learned by studying a cemetery from the surface, such as by visual inspection or remote sensing tools like GPR, as well as what can only be gleaned through excavation below the ground surface.

In the earlier discussion of the NRHP areas of significance, the evaluator is advised to consider how a question might be formulated to guide research on a cemetery relative to the appropriate historic context. *NR Bulletin 36* notes that, although research questions will change with advances in archaeological and historical techniques, there are a "number of categories of questions that are used routinely to frame research designs in terms of anthropological observations of societies."

Data sets, sometimes called data categories in *NR Bulletin 36*, are "groups of information." They are defined as "taking into consideration the type of artifacts and features at a property, the research questions posed, and the analytical approach that is used." Data sets for a cemetery are not restricted to those we cannot see (i.e. those below the ground). They might include such things as the markers, plantings, design, and epitaphs, as well as human remains, the items interred with the deceased, the burial process, and the compartment and containers within which the remains were placed. Additionally, the interrelationship and orientation of these data sets between one another provides an additional source of information. Although subsurface finds may contain potential significant data sets, their preservation state and, therefore, integrity often remains unknown, due to the lack of archaeological subsurface investigations.

After developing the research questions based on the historical associations, context, and identifying data sets, the evaluator must then assess the ability of the available data sets to answer those research questions from resources that are not available anywhere else, such church records, death certificates, or census data. One way of determining the relative importance of a cemetery's data is understanding how the data sets at this cemetery have

the ability to contribute significant information about the community with which it is associated, particularly by comparing it, when possible, to other cemeteries with similar data sets and across different cultural contexts and scales of analysis (i.e. local, regional, etc.). However, comparative datasets themselves are not a requirement for significance under Criterion D. If an evaluator tries to compare it to other data sets and no other comparable sets can be located, that also might indicate whether the information potential of the cemetery is unique. In either case, both of these methods can help determine if the data potential is significant.

Finally, integrity is critical to conveying significance under Criterion D for information potential. For the aboveground resources in a cemetery, the evaluator would be able to recommend whether or not a cemetery is eligible under Criterion D based on what they can observe during visual survey. This includes what data sets are present, what their integrity may be, and their relative significance. For example, observations on the legibility of the marker inscriptions, original marker positions relative to the grave they mark and the adjacent graves, the design of the cemetery, survival of grave plantings, or degree of surface disturbance of the soils can help to evaluate the integrity of aboveground data sets. For below ground resources, however, the question of integrity is more complicated. The potential to yield osteological and other subsurface data must consider soils, drainage, the date of the interments, and post-cemetery processes. These conditions may result in preservation and integrity issues that may affect site eligibility.

For many archaeological sites, examining subsurface integrity begins with the shovel test pits completed as part of Phase I archaeological survey or even excavation units completed under Phase II testing. These can yield clues as to the vertical and horizontal integrity of the archaeological deposits, as well as information on the soils and what effect they might have on preservation and therefore data potential. For a cemetery, the survey process is different due to the sensitive nature of these sites. Subsurface disturbance is avoided, and focus is given to boundary delineation rather than investigation of burial deposits. Non-invasive techniques, such as probing and GPR, are two methods commonly used. GPR can sometimes provide clues as to the subsurface integrity without ground disturbance. In these cases, grave shafts may be clearly visible, indicating good vertical and horizontal integrity. GPR is less likely to provide clues to preservation of human remains and material content; therefore, these aspects of integrity cannot be adequately examined without disturbing the soil. The lack of ground disturbance can make the process of determining archaeological integrity difficult, if it is possible at all. In these cases, even though research questions have been formulated and potential data sets identified, it may not be possible to determine the ability of those data sets to answer questions that pertain to their historical significance. The potential for the site to have significance under Criterion D for below ground resources may remain unknown. There is an additional, deeper discussion, of archaeological integrity later in this section.

# THINK ABOUT....

A Criterion D Evaluation Puzzle – You will need all the pieces to complete the picture!

**RESEARCH QUESTIONS**

What significant research questions could be developed to inform our understanding of the historic contexts?

**UNKNOWN**

In the event that information regarding the integrity of subsurface deposits is unavailable, what effect does this have on the ability to determine if the data sets can answer the research questions?

**DATA SETS**

- What data sets exist for this cemetery?
- Are those data sets relevant to the historic contexts and the proposed research questions?
- Is this information available through other sources, such as historical research?
- Do the data sets have sufficient integrity to adequately answer the identified research questions?
- How does our inability to determine the level of integrity of subsurface deposits affect our ability to determine eligibility?

**HISTORIC CONTEXTS**

What are the appropriate historic contexts for this cemetery?

# CEMETERY PRESERVATION LAWS

The focus of this context is on cemetery evaluation – applying objective criteria in determining eligibility for the NRHP. National Register eligibility of a cemetery determines how it will be treated under the Section 106 process; however, it does not dictate a specific level of protection. Both the Federal Government and the State of Georgia recognize that cemeteries are important, vulnerable components of the cultural landscape in need of special protection under the law. A variety of regulations have been put in place to protect burial grounds and promote their preservation. In addition to broader state and federal laws, some counties and municipalities in Georgia have mandated additional cemetery management policies. These combined regulations and policies provide various levels of protections for cemeteries and human remains, regardless of eligibility for the NRHP.

## STATE AND FEDERAL STATUTES

| Regulatory Level | Statute | Common Title |
|---|---|---|
| State | OCGA 36-72 | Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Grounds Act |
| State | OCGA 31-21-6 | Dead Bodies: Notification of Law Enforcement Agency Upon Disturbance, Destruction, or Debasement of Human Remains |
| State | OCGA 31-21-44 | Wanton or Malicious Removal of Dead Body from Grave or Disturbance of Contents of Grave; Receipt, Retention, Disposal, or Possession of Unlawfully Removed Dead Body or Bodily Part |
| State | OCGA 31-21-45 | Public Exhibit or Display of Dead Human Bodies of American Indians or American Indian Human Remains |
| State | OCGA 10-14 | Cemeteries and Funeral Services |
| State | OCGA 44-12-260-262 | Protection of American Indian Human Remains and Burial Objects |
| State | OCGA 12-3-622 | Buying, Selling, Trading, Importing, or Exporting American Indian Burial, Sacred, or Cultural Objects |
| Federal | 25 USC 3001 et seq, 43 CFR 10 | Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act [NAGPRA] |

It is important to recognize that, in the state of Georgia, human remains or burial objects associated with them are not owned by those who own the property on which they are located and that any burial, regardless of its association with a larger cemetery, falls under the same protections under the law. They are recognized as "a part of the finite, irreplaceable, and nonrenewable cultural heritage of the people of Georgia which should be protected." The protection of abandoned cemeteries falls under the jurisdiction of counties and local municipalities and entities may petition for relocation of a cemetery from the governing authority through a permit under OCGA 36-72. In brief, the boundaries and contents of the cemetery to be relocated should be defined and the recovery supervised by a qualified archaeologist. A professional genealogist should be employed to identify living descendants and efforts made to notify them of the proposed relocation. Submission of an application for a permit (sometimes referred to as burial, cemetery termination, or land use change permits) is submitted, reviewed in a public hearing, and if approved, is issued by the relevant governing authority.

In Georgia, the State recognizes that cemeteries will naturally degrade or become overgrown over time, and unless the facility's management has contracted perpetual care of the grounds, there are no requirements for the property owners to maintain or upkeep them. Conversely, property owners and cemetery managers need to keep in mind that they can be held responsible for injuries resulting from hazardous conditions that represent a physical threat to public safety, such as open pits, partially downed trees, or collapsing architecture. Cemeteries where the grounds are clearly not being managed and where no person legally responsible for it can be found (or said person is not financially capable of maintaining it) are considered 'abandoned' (OCGA 36-72-2[1]).

In general, Georgia's Abandoned Cemeteries and Burial Ground Act provides the most protection for cemeteries, graves, human remains, or burial objects (those intentionally left on a grave's surface or buried within) from proposed land development (OCGA 36-72). This law requires a permit from the relevant governing authority in order to disturb burials or land deeded as a cemetery. Willful violation is considered a high and aggravated misdemeanor punishable by both a fine and jail time.

Burials are also protected from destruction or damage by several laws that contain criminal penalties, including fees and jail time. Wanton or malicious removal or disturbance of human remains from any place of interment is a criminal offense (OCGA 31-21-44[a]). In historic cemeteries, plant, animal, and sometimes human activities can move bones and burial objects close to or place them on the surface. Graves, human remains, or burial objects that are inadvertently disturbed or discovered are not in violation of OCGA 31-21-44. Should these events occur, local law enforcement agencies should be notified and the site secured until the circumstances surrounding the origin of the remains have been determined (i.e. are these from an archaeological, modern burial, or modern forensic setting).

Burials associated with American Indians, whether precontact or historic, are subject to additional levels of protection under the law. The federal Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA, 25 USC 3001 et seq, 43 CFR 10) offers protection to burials on federal land, as well as those within the control or possession of institutions receiving federal money. It also provides for repatriation of human remains and associated funerary objects to tribes with ancestral affiliation. The state of Georgia passed a law (OCGA 44-12-260) similar to NAGPRA that outlines a process for repatriation of burials and associated funerary objects within museums that are not already subject to NAGPRA. In addition to these repatriation laws, the display of human remains outside of funerary, educational, or professional settings are considered to be 'in poor taste' and generally frowned upon in most of Georgia's communities. In 1992, special provisions were added to the Georgia Code (OCGA 31-21-45) to specifically outlaw the display of American Indian human remains. Any professional exhibition of these materials would require the written permission of the American Indian group(s) claiming jurisdiction over where the remains were found and displayed. Additionally, the buying, selling, trading, importing, or exporting of American Indian human remains or burial objects is prohibited by OCGA 12-3-622, as well as other federal law if they are determined to have been obtained from federal land.

Guidance from the Office of the State Archaeologist as well as the Department of Community Affairs Historic Preservation Division or even real estate attorneys can be useful in understanding laws and statutes pertaining to cemeteries. Before exercising the law, one should first understand what the law says and be prepared to educate officials of the laws' existence and their full meaning.

# CRITICAL THINKING QUESTIONS

*THIS IS NOT WHERE THE PROCESS STOPS...IT'S WHERE IT STARTS.*

## Military History

**Start with...**

- Have the developers of the cemetery added commemoration for military service such as statuary, memorials, or fencing to denote a specific section for veterans?

**Think Deeper...**

- Can skeletal remains provide information on military injuries, trauma, surgery, and other aspects of the battlefield?

## Exploration and Settlement

**Start with...**

- Was this cemetery active during a period of community settlement for its location?

**Think Deeper...**

- What is the prevalence in a geographical area of Religious-type cemeteries versus Family- or Community-type cemeteries?

- What material resources were available on the frontier and how are these exhibited in cemeteries?

## Ethnic Heritage

**Start with...**

- Is there evidence of a distinct ethnic group or multiple ethic groups?

**Think Deeper...**

- How do specific plantings utilized in the landscape convey cultural meaning for different ethnic groups or minorities?

- Is there a decrease in ethnic references through time, as Georgia culture became more homogenized?

## Social History

**Start with...**

- Knowing the period(s) a cemetery has been or was active, how are different social movements in Georgia history expressed or not expressed in this cemetery?

**Think Deeper...**

- If it is an Institutional type cemetery, how might the burials and the burial landscapes of individuals whose care is in the hands of the State reflect society's ideals on the incarcerated or mentally ill?

## Religion

**Start with...**

- Are these markers specific to a religion or a specific religious denomination?

**Think Deeper...**

- Do any of the plants or trees added to the landscape resonate with specific religious imagery (e.g., red cedars planted to recall cedars of Lebanon)?

- If a Religious-type cemetery, does the cemetery contain a collection of markers, memorials, or mausoleums that are of high artistic quality?

## Health and Medicine

**Start with…**

- Was the location of the cemetery relative to the town determined by health and sanitation concerns?

**Dig Deeper…**

- Was the cemetery associated with a state or municipal institution such as a hospital, prison, or poorhouse?
- How do osteological data reflect changes through time in general health, medical care, sanitation, and nutrition?

## Landscape Architecture

**Start with…**

- Was this cemetery designed or did its form follow its use over time?

**Think Deeper…**

- Do different sections of the cemetery exhibit different design ideals based on different ethnic or social groups?
- How is social status and/or socioeconomic status evident in the design of the cemetery landscape?

## Community Planning and Development

**Start with…**

- Was the location of the cemetery a purposeful choice as part of planning process?

**Think Deeper…**

- Was it placed at the edge of town for sanitary concerns, more centrally located to double as a park, or placed in the suburbs for easy access by car from neighboring residential areas?

## Art

**Start with…**

- Does the cemetery contain funerary art distinctive to a social group or group of artisans, such as the wooden grave markers of Gullah Geechee cemeteries in the Savannah vicinity?

**Think Deeper…**

- Is the artistic expression important to creating and maintaining that social identity?
- To what degree are national artistic movements reflected in markers through time?

## Architecture

**Start with…**

- What stylistic periods are represented in the built architecture of the cemetery?

**Think Deeper…**

- Are the signatures of prominent stone carvers or architects present?
- How are social status and/or socioeconomic status evident in the burial architecture of the cemetery?

## CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS

To describe the historical significance of a property, the NRHP uses the four criteria for evaluation discussed earlier. These are tempered by additional qualifications or restrictions known as Criteria Considerations. In general terms, the NRHP was designed to avoid nominations for properties with inherent or sacred significance, like cemeteries and churches. As the National Register is maintained by the U.S. government with a secular intent, it recognizes historical importance, not spiritual importance. As churches and cemeteries are often seen through the eyes of faith, these properties must go through an extra level of scrutiny, which is why the Criteria Considerations were established. They are meant to help keep the evaluation objective. The same scrutiny is applied to birthplaces and graves of important persons, relocated properties, reconstructed buildings, commemorative properties, and properties that have achieved significance within the last 50 years. When a property of one of the types mentioned above is determined to meet a particular criterion, it must also meet the Criteria Considerations to be considered eligible for the NRHP.

**Criteria Consideration A** – A religious property may be eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance.

**Criteria Consideration B** – A property removed from its original or historically significant location may be eligible if it is significant primarily for architectural value or it is the surviving property most importantly associated with a historic person or event.

**Criteria Consideration C** – A birthplace or grave of a historical figure may be eligible if the person is of outstanding importance and if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life.

**Criteria Consideration D** – A cemetery may be eligible if it derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic events.

**Criteria Consideration E** – A reconstructed property may be eligible when it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived. All three of these requirements must be met.

**Criteria Consideration F** – A property primarily commemorative in intent may be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance.

**Criteria Consideration G** – A property achieving significance within the last 50 years may be eligible if it is of exceptional significance.

The discussion below centers on the Criteria Considerations as elaborated upon for cemeteries in *NR Bulletin 41*. Only cemeteries considered to have significance under Criterion D alone (as archaeological sites) are exempt from examination to see if they meet the Criteria Considerations.

Under **Criteria Consideration A**, religious properties may be eligible if they derive primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance. This is similar to the way that the religious area of significance applies to the historical importance of the association, not the spiritual or religious association. According to *NR Bulletin 15*, "a religious property's significance under Criterion A, B, C, or D must be judged in purely secular terms." *NR Bulletin 41* notes that cemeteries associated with a historic religious building, as well as crypts at an historic religious building, or a cemetery containing the burials of members of a religious order would all be subject to justification under Criteria Consideration A. Additionally, the bulletin notes that if the cemetery noted above possesses a high

degree of artistry in its grave markers or crypts, or was of advanced age, it would likely meet Criteria Consideration A. Religious-type cemeteries that are accompanied by their attendant religious buildings, such as a church, would typically be subject to Criteria Consideration A; however, if a cemetery is nominated as a contributing resource to a religious building nominated for its primary significance, the bulletin notes, it does not need to be justified under Criteria Consideration A.

A property removed from its original or historically significant location can be eligible if it satisfies **Criteria Consideration B**. Cemeteries that would meet Criteria Consideration B include: (1) those where the grave of an important historic figure was moved to a place of commemoration; (2) a relocated columbaria, mausoleum, or other cemetery building; (3) a cemetery or section of a cemetery where a group of historic figures were reinterred; or (4) a cemetery relocated in its entirety. *NR Bulletin 41* notes that the following would likely meet Criteria Consideration B: a relocated mausoleum that was relocated within its historical setting without loss of other aspects of integrity; a section of graves of historic persons of outstanding importance that were reinterred more than 50 years ago; a graveyard moved in its entirety more than 50 years ago where the artistic and social significance of its markers are preserved; and an ossuary that represents reinterment as a traditional cultural practice.

(Right) Family Plot, Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

Criteria Consideration C is in place to ensure that only the birthplaces or graves of those persons of outstanding importance, beyond the standard threshold of significance, are considered eligible. Additionally, there should exist no better historic property to interpret their life's work or historic impact. Individuals' considered to be of outstanding importance can be significant at the local, state, or national level. It is not necessary to meet Criteria Consideration C if the grave or cemetery being nominated is part of a larger property that is associated with the productive life of that person. Criteria Consideration C notes that, in addition to the individual being of outstanding importance, there must be "no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his or her productive life." For example, if the grave under consideration were that of an outstanding author, then the grave would be eligible only if a better site to interpret that individual's productive life as an author was no longer extant.

Criteria Consideration D, in general terms, restricts cemetery eligibility to (1) cemeteries that contain the graves of persons of transcendent importance; (2) cemeteries that are older and able to fill in knowledge gaps due to the passage of time, their relationship to the development of the specific geographic area in which they are located, or because the cemetery represents groups in the past for whom less written history and documentation exists; (3) cemeteries with distinctive design features; or (4) cemeteries associated with significant historic events. It is not necessary to meet Criteria Consideration D if a cemetery is being nominated along with its accompanying religious building or if it is nominated as a contributing, not predominant, part of a historic district.

Criteria Consideration E for reconstructed properties must be met for a historic period cemetery when a substantial number of character-defining features such as mausoleums or markers have been reconstructed. It would most likely meet these characteristics if the repairs and reconstructions

(Right) Hardscaping, Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

were completed with original fabric in accordance with a well-documented cemetery preservation plan.

**Criteria Consideration F** states that properties that are commemorative in intent can be eligible if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance. Public memorials are common elements of a cemetery that, if determined to meet any of the four criteria individually, could be subject to Criteria Consideration F. The bulletin notes that, by their nature, most cemeteries are commemorative; however, the ones referred to in this instance are ones in commemoration of events that occurred on or near their site, such as Andersonville National Cemetery. Criteria Consideration F must be met for the funerary monument of a heroic or martyred figure or tribal or national leader if it is the commemorative nature that is paramount. National cemeteries do not need to be considered under Criteria Consideration F.

**Criteria Consideration G** states that properties achieving significance within the last 50 years may be eligible if they are of exceptional significance. This does not apply to National cemeteries, which are already considered eligible to the NRHP. Otherwise, graves, cemeteries, mausoleums, or other objects, buildings, or structures associated with cemeteries that are less than 50 years of age must be of exceptional significance in order to be eligible. One example of how Criterion Consideration G may be met is if it is the grave of a national or tribal leader that is "exceptionally important because the leader's death had a galvanic effect on broad social movements, or the gravesite is a focal point of reverence for that leader's achievements."

(Right) Circulation through Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.



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## INTEGRITY

Once a cemetery has been defined within its historic context, examined for areas of significance and a period of significance, determined to satisfy at least one of the criteria for evaluation, and met the Criteria Considerations as needed, then the cemetery must be examined to see if it retains integrity. The National Register defines integrity as "the ability of a property to convey its significance" and considers seven aspects or qualities that "in various combinations, define integrity." An assessment of integrity is completed after significance is established. The seven aspects of integrity, as defined i*n NR Bulletin 15*, are:

**Location** is the place where the historic property was constructed or where the historic event occurred. The relationship between the property and the location is often important to understanding why the property was created or why something happened (pages 312-313).

**Design** is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property. It results from original decisions made during conception and planning of a property or significant alteration and applies to activities as diverse as community planning, engineering, architecture, and landscape architecture (page 313).

**Setting** is the physical environment of a historic property. Whereas location refers to the specific place where a property was built or an event occurred, setting refers to the character of the place in which the property has played its historic role (page 313).

**Materials** are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property. The choice and combination of materials reveal the preferences of those who create the property and indicate the availability of particular types of materials or technologies (page 314).

**Workmanship** is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period of history or prehistory. It is the evidence of an artisan's labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site (page 314).

**Feeling** is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. It results from the presence of physical features that, taken together, convey the property's historic character (page 314).

**Association** is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property. A property retains association if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer (page 314).

Historic properties that are eligible for the NRHP will always retain at least several of these aspects and may sometimes retain them all to varying degrees. For different property types, different aspects of integrity may be more critical for a property to convey its historic significance. Cemeteries, for example, require different aspects of integrity than other types of resources such as bridges, lighthouses, or hotels. Likewise, cemeteries significant under different criteria, such as A or C, or different areas of significance, such as art or social history, may need different aspects of integrity to be particularly strong, while others are less critical. The same aspects of integrity apply to archaeological sites eligible under Criterion D; however, they may be expressed differently for below ground resources than they are for those aboveground.

*NR Bulletin 15* establishes the following general steps for assessing integrity:

**Step 1**   Define the essential physical features that must be present for a property to represent its significance.

**Step 2**   Determine whether the essential physical features are visible enough to convey their significance.

**Step 3**   Determine whether the property needs to be compared with similar properties.

**Step 4**   Determine which aspects of integrity are particularly vital to the property being nominated, based on the significance and the essential physical features.

Section One of this context provides the basis for addressing the first steps in the evaluation process by understanding the historical context of the cemetery resource. In Section Two, the essential physical features for the different cemetery landscapes found in Georgia were defined (Step 1, defined above). Step 2 is accomplished through survey of the cemetery and the accompanying historical research. Once the character-defining features of a specific cemetery have been identified, it is necessary to determine whether they are sufficiently intact to be recognizable as they were historically. Step 3 requires, as it did for establishing significance, an understanding of similar resources (or an utter lack of similar resources) so the importance of an example can truly be determined. Sometimes to determine whether a property is a good example, comparison to similar examples is necessary. Finally, Step 4 reaches the core of evaluating for integrity by asking the question, "can the elements of a particular cemetery convey the significance of that cemetery as a whole and if so, which ones are the most important for a particular type or style of cemetery?" These steps will be explored in greater detail through the case studies presented at the end of this section.

### LOCATION

There are some relocated cemeteries in Georgia that may retain integrity of location. When Jim Crow laws were enacted in the states, some municipalities disinterred African Americans from the municipal cemeteries and relocated them to separate segregated cemeteries. The relocations, in this case, underscores the significance for social history and ethnic heritage. Rather than detracting from the significance, it merely transfers it to another area, and the relocated burials become a feature of their new cemetery. The relocation of battlefield casualties in the years that followed the Civil War resulted in

Overview Photograph Showing Extant and Layout of Loganville Cemetery, Walton County.

a similar situation. Sometimes those that died in battle and were buried in another state were later disinterred and returned for burial in Georgia. Re-interment of fallen soldiers was a significant chapter in the history of the Civil War. The location of these re-interments, if done historically, becomes the area assessed in this aspect of integrity in order to convey that significance.

## DESIGN

Design refers to the layout and placement of features within a cemetery landscape. This arrangement can be deliberate, or a product of use, and happen organically over time. For Municipal-, Corporate-, and Institutional-type cemeteries, as well as those exhibiting Rural Garden, Lawn Park, and Memorial Garden styles, the design speaks to the intent of those establishing a cemetery and often conveys social meaning. Integrity of design may be less important in Religious-, Community-, and Family-type cemeteries as they typically have informal plans and for these cemeteries, location and association may help more in conveying intent, along with materials and workmanship. The arrangement of family members within plots and between family plots is more important in an Upland Folk style cemetery than the overall arrangement of the cemetery including roads, paths, and other landscape features. In a Rural Garden–style cemetery, however, the overall design of the cemetery landscape is more important than design and layout within individual plots or between plots. Cemeteries have long histories of use, so it is common for them to grow and change with time. The NRHP recognizes the evolution of historic landscapes. When assessing integrity of design, consider the period of significance and the character-defining features for that period. In general, the growth or expansion of a cemetery is less detrimental to its integrity of design than the alteration of the original or historic areas of the cemetery.

## SETTING

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property. In a cemetery, it is the center of intent. Setting refers to the character of the place in which the property has played its historic role. Cemeteries were placed in a specific setting for a particular reason that will then tell something important about that cemetery. Loss of setting removes a critical element of understanding. A mid-19th-century pre-emancipation African American Community-type cemetery that was sited between several adjoining land lots and used for 100 years can shed light on the ethnic heritage and social history of African American communities through its integrity of setting. A Municipal-type Rural Garden–style cemetery may have been placed in a prominent location near town and its views and vistas. A church congregation may have purposefully placed a cemetery in its churchyard, or a Military-type cemetery may have been placed where the soldiers died – at the scene of a battle. Conversely, Municipal-type cemeteries for the poor or enslaved may have been placed in locations that could not be used for other purposes, such as housing or agriculture. In each of these cases, social information is being conveyed through setting.

The importance of setting needs to be weighed in terms of the significance of the property. For example, if a cemetery is large, the setting within the cemetery may not be diminished by encroachment from outside, but if a cemetery is smaller, this encroachment is going to be more visible and the setting may be compromised or diminished. Cemeteries significant for social history, such as a pre-emancipation African cemetery in an isolated wooded setting on a former plantation, benefit from strong integrity of setting, and a loss of this setting may affect the ability to convey significance. Setting may not be as important in a cemetery eligible for exploration and settlement or for ethnic heritage. One example is the Goldsmith-Maddox Johnson family cemetery, the burial place of founding fathers of the Village of Stone Mountain, which, due to road improvements, is now surrounded by parking lots on Memorial Drive. Strong integrity of setting may be more important in a cemetery eligible under Criterion A for art, landscape architecture, or for military history. The essential question for understanding the relative importance of integrity of setting is: to what degree does the burial place and its overall setting convey the most important period(s) of use?

## MATERIALS

The physical elements that were added to a cemetery during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration comprise the physical components of a cemetery. The choice of materials for elements such as markers, curbing, or fences reveals the preferences of those who established or use the cemetery and indicates the availability of particular types of materials or technologies. These are critical to a number of areas, in particular, art, architecture, landscape architecture, social history, ethnic history, and religion. Each of these relies upon the markers and other burial structures to convey their meaning and significance. Cemeteries can be in use for more than a century, and over that time span, new marker styles can be added and changes or updates to cemetery landscape features such as boundaries, gateways, fencings and other structural additions can occur. Additionally, there can be a loss of historic materials due to damage, displacement, or deterioration. Materials can be damaged even with good intentions as the community and the entity managing the cemetery seek to "improve" the cemetery over time. This often consists of the removal or replacement of old, deteriorated features. The loss of original or historic materials is more detrimental to this aspect of integrity than the addition of non-historic materials in a cemetery.

## WORKMANSHIP

Workmanship is the physical evidence of those that created the cemetery landscape or the built features of the cemetery (i.e. buildings, markers, curbing, fencing, etc.). It is the evidence of an artisan's labor and skill in constructing or altering a building, structure, object, or site. Workmanship integrity (like that of materials) is typically lost in one of two ways: 1) loss of historic materials due to damage, displacement, or deterioration, which obscures the workmanship; or 2) repair or care through inappropriate means. There can be damage or destruction through vandalism, weathering, poor maintenance, or even unsympathetic restoration efforts or renovations.

## FEELING

Feeling is the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time. For the National Register, feeling may be one of the most subjective aspects of integrity. The evaluator needs to consider the feeling in a historical or aesthetic sense, not in a religious or spiritual manner. Emotional significance should not be confused with historical significance. If the historical and social intent of a cemetery was to inspire reverence, such as a Military cemetery, or peaceful contemplation, as in a Lawn Park–style cemetery, feeling becomes important. Modern infill can detract from integrity of feeling, particularly if it overwhelms the historic markers when the markers are interspersed. When the historic features are clustered, like an historic marker section, they can still retain integrity with a reduced boundary. It is helpful to pinpoint the feeling as it relates to the period of significance.

## ASSOCIATION

Association is the recognizable link between a property and an important historic event or person. This aspect is critical in cemeteries that have significance under Criteria A and B, as it is an assessment of that property's ability to convey that significance. For example, if the cemetery was built in a churchyard, then its ability to convey its significance is much stronger when the historic church is present and that association is intact. If a cemetery was built at the turn of the century by an African American Mutual Aid society, the predominance of standardized concrete slab markers provided by the society may convey an association with that connection. Integrity of association helps to illustrate the link between the cemetery and the group or entity that founded it or are otherwise responsible for its historical significance. Cemeteries are frequently listed on the NRHP as a contributing element to a town's historic district. In order for this to happen, its integrity of association, along with integrity of location and setting, needs to be strong.

## ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

For cemeteries, archaeological integrity is largely a product of the cemetery landscape, age, soils, skeletal preservation, and preservation of associated burial artifacts. Archaeologically, cemeteries consist of data sets associated with the human remains, the items interred with the deceased, the grave and containers within which the remains were placed, headstones/markers, and the arrangement of the graves within the cemetery. A cemetery's landscape and arrangement can be considered to possess good integrity if the locations of burials can be identified and their organization, arrangement, and sequence interpreted. It should be noted if surface and near-surface contexts (formerly above the grave) are still in place. Local volunteers at the Old School Cemetery in Washington, for example, removed surface deposits from graves, thinking they were cleaning up the trash on the property. This resulted in the loss of the cemetery's surface features, which diminished the cemetery's cultural integrity.

In an undisturbed context, the grave compartment or shaft could possess good integrity, while the integrity of the container will depend on the type and the archaeological techniques used to record and assess integrity. Similarly, in an intact setting, the integrity of burial inclusions should be good, although the environmental conditions and the nature, quantity, and significance of inclusions will vary from place to place and from burial to burial and can only be determined through excavation. Excavation or ground disturbing activities for the purpose of evaluation is not acceptable and should not be occurring as the norm. Because cemeteries by nature will not be disturbed or excavated for data collection, it needs to be considered how the lack of physical data impacts the ability to evaluate them under Criterion D. Although research questions can be formulated and data sets can be described, the presence and integrity of those potential data sets may not be known at the Phase I survey level. Depending on the research questions, the data potential could increase if an archaeologist is able to confidently ascribe remains to a specific person. Surface markers may be used to associate burials with specific individuals, but there needs to be confidence that markers have not been moved or replaced and that the integrity of association between the marker and the remains in a grave is strong. Even if the placement is not exact, the relative positioning of markers within the entire cemetery or plot can also provide important information on the family or community.

The integrity of the remains themselves is a key element in the evaluation of significant archaeological data potential within a cemetery. A burial with well-preserved human remains and other applicable data sets, such as associated funerary items, could yield abundant data on health, diet, disease, ethnicity, and other aspects that a burial from the same period and culture lacking preservation cannot. Preservation is largely influenced by soils and age. Questions that can be asked to evaluate the integrity of the burials include: Is it likely that osteological remains or associated funerary objects are present in such a condition as to allow meaningful analysis? What level of bone preservation has been seen from similarly dated cemeteries on similar soils?

Finally, it is important to understand to what degree post-interment, ground disturbing actions such as erosion, sea level rise, rodent activity, crayfish burrowing, logging, plowing, looting, landscaping, sidewalk and road improvements, previous archaeological investigations, etc. have displaced or destroyed grave features and contents. All of these can have significant negative impacts to archaeological integrity, which is necessary to convey significance under Criterion D.

# INTERPOLATING ARCHAEOLOGICAL INTEGRITY

**How do you determine archaeological integrity for a cemetery without subsurface examination?** While GPR and other remote sensing tools can play an important role, other methods such as interpolation can be helpful. Interpolation is estimating the answer for one variable, such as integrity, based on examining known relevant data sets for comparison. Interpolation is an estimate, not an exact answer. It can only point to the likelihood of good integrity. In all of these cases, it would need to be established first why the particular cemetery or site used for comparison is relevant for understanding potential integrity of the cemetery being examined.

**What related data sets could be used? Possible data sets might include:**

- **Cemeteries in a similar location or nearby.** While the best comparative data would be other fully excavated and studied cemeteries nearby, these are uncommon and only rarely would that data be available. It is possible though that examining other nearby cemeteries that have not been excavated might provide useful information, but this would need to be examined on a case by case basis and would depend on the questions being asked. Another source of information from existing cemeteries might be the permits that are required for relocating a cemetery or exhuming a grave. These permit reports require some level of research, but many contain cursory writeups of specific soil conditions or burial preservation data.

- **Results of other nearby archaeological excavations.** How could a typical archaeology report from a nearby location help? The report may provide indicators that good integrity is possible at the cemetery in question. Does the nearby site have the same soil type? Is the localized environment of that site similar to the cemetery in terms of drainage, vegetation, and disturbance? One source of the data that could be very useful is shovel test information from the same archaeological survey that includes the cemetery. Are there shovel test data that might provide good comparative data for the cemetery? What was the preservation of recovered artifacts like in nearby shovel tests? If it was good and the soils are similar it may provide some indication of subsurface integrity in the cemetery.

- **Additional tests outside the cemetery boundaries.** Other types of tests could be deliberately undertaken outside cemetery boundaries but within the project area. These might help to estimate the cemetery's subsurface integrity without excavation. These could include nearby auger tests, deeper shovel tests, or test unit excavation.

**Now, let's dive deeper.** These are generic examples above. How might this look different if we now considered the particular type, style, or area of significance that a cemetery might hold? Is it possible to find a cemetery of the same type or style? What about the area of significance? If the cemetery being examined is thought to be significant for data potential for exploration and settlement, then the graves would likely be much older. Having a soil type that is more conducive to the preservation of bone might be important for DNA analysis if the question involves who was buried

there. However, if the research questions are looking more at burial traditions, then a soil type where grave goods and burial items are preserved might be more important. These questions need to be formulated based on the cemetery being studied and its historic context.

**How do you make a strong argument that the estimate for archaeological integrity is valid? What comparisons are most critical?** It depends on the cemetery, but the more information that can be provided on why the data sets are likely to be similar to the cemetery in question, the stronger the argument will be.

**Level of Effort.** As discussed at the beginning of this section, the level of effort necessary to estimate the integrity may not be necessary every survey. GDOT's first choice is to avoid any possible physical effects to graves by avoiding the burials altogether and in general minimizing impacts to cemeteries when planning projects. When avoiding the cemetery, it is not always necessary to know the integrity and to state a definitive recommendation for eligibility under Criterion D. In these cases, the eligibility under Criterion D may remain unknown. If a cemetery may be affected, however, more avenues are necessary to determine if the cemetery has the integrity necessary to be eligible under D as it relates to associated subsurface deposits. This would include the appropriate steps to develop research questions and define available data sets. In the future, an online resource could be developed for Georgia cemeteries to help develop these questions and identify available comparative data.

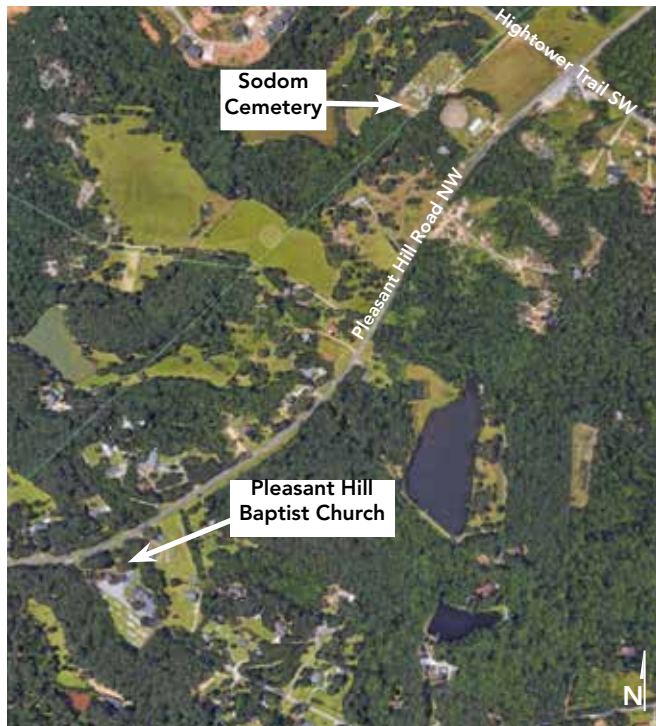Old Suwanee Cemetery, Gwinnett County.

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# Sodom Cemetery
# (Gwinnett/Rockdale Counties)

**Plan**: Informal

**Type**: Community

**Style**: Vernacular

**Date Established**: Circa 1830



Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

## DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY & CONTEXT:

Sodom Cemetery, originally a Family-type cemetery established in the 1830s (Section Two, Cemetery Types), was conveyed from owner J.W. Henry and the Henry Family to trustees W.H. Camp, W.R. Owens, J.W. Henry, and the community of Pleasant Hill in 1901. Gwinnett County was formed in 1818 as part of Georgia's westward expansion. Cemeteries in the rural landscape in Georgia provided three options for burial: Family, Church, and Community type cemeteries (Section One, Chapter 6). This area of the state remained rural through much of its history, and the cemetery evolved over time, growing with use by a single family into a multi-family Community-type cemetery.



1920 Soil Map, Rockdale County.

The square, roughly two-acre cemetery on the Gwinnett/Rockdale County border may have received its biblical name from the activities of an early community known as "Shake Rag," notorious for corn whiskey, moonshine, and a possible brothel.[1] The cemetery's name of Sodom is purported to have derived from its proximity to the distilling center, which was composed of a small log cabin surrounded by stills. The name possibly served as a cautionary tale for the larger community.[2]

[1] David T. Moon, *History of Pleasant Hill Church*, Rockdale County, Georgia: 1873-2001 (2002) 136-137
[2] Genesis:19.
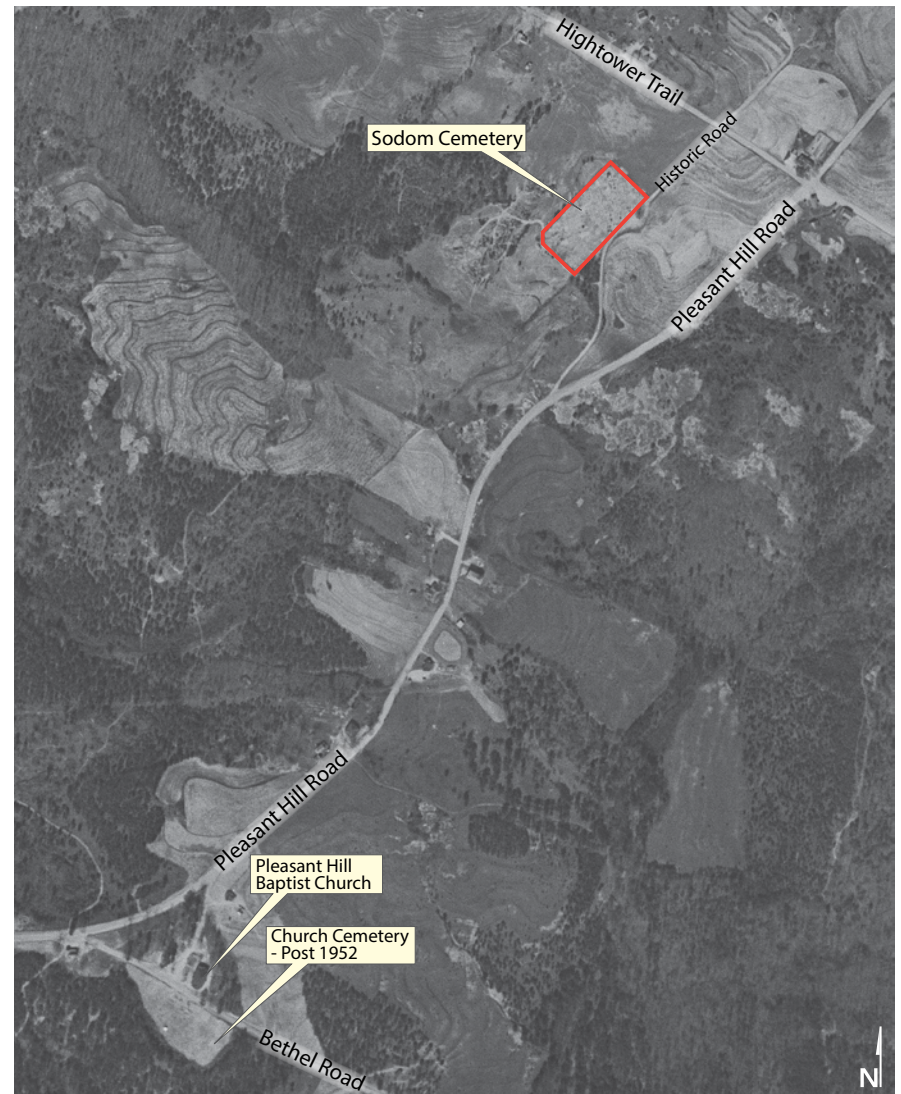


1955 USGS Maps

The cemetery was mostly surrounded by land owned by the Henry family, who were farmers and pioneers within the Rockbridge District of Gwinnett County. The oldest markers are within the original one-acre square of the cemetery. The Henry Family burial plot appears to be the oldest in the cemetery, and it lies at the north edge, closest to Hightower Trail. The grave of William Henry,

a Revolutionary War veteran who died in 1837, is also located in this area. In the 1830s, the Henrys were on Georgia's westward expanding frontier, as discussed in Section One, Chapter 4. The small family graveyard grew to represent a larger community by the 1860s with the influx of burials from the Owens and Grahams families, followed by the Camps and Humphries families, among others (as indicated by a survey of marker epitaphs).

The Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, established in 1873 and located south of Sodom Cemetery on Bethel Road, used the community graveyard from about 1901 until 1952 (and possibly prior to 1901 as well). It established its own cemetery at another location in 1952. During this period, the original cemetery tract grew to over two acres. The cemetery extended to the south, expanding over an additional acre. Notably, the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church is credited with cleaning up the reputation of the area and was responsible for the area's new place name, Pleasant Hill.[3]

Members of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church continue to maintain Sodom Cemetery with annual clean up days. The cemetery remains active, with burials as recent as 2016.

[3] David T. Moon, *History of Pleasant Hill Church*, Rockdale County, Georgia: 1873-2001 (2002) 139


View South, Water Tower in Background.


Family Plots are well defined with granite and concrete blocks.

A historic aerial from 1955 shows no buildings in association with the cemetery. Terraced fields generally surround it. It is bounded by old roads on its eastern and southern perimeters. In addition, the aerial shows the cemetery's eastern boundary was rimmed by an early road, likely a precursor to Pleasant Hill Road, that is only partially extant today. This unimproved remnant connects the cemetery to Hightower Trail, and it is the primary means of entry to the cemetery today. Circa 2001, a large Rockdale County water tank was built just southeast of the cemetery and any entrance, if present, from Pleasant Hill Road was removed.

**LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION:**

The roughly rectangular 2.23-acre cemetery is situated on the Gwinnett County-Rockdale County line, at the intersection of Hightower Trail and a historic road. The setting is rural and undeveloped, with the exception of a large county water tank that is painted with plant imagery to ameliorate its intrusion. The cemetery is set back deeply from the nearby roads, reflecting the landscape prior to the construction of Pleasant Hill Road network, and is generally surrounded by mature trees and dense undergrowth. A narrow remnant of a historic road leads from the Hightower Trail to the cemetery. A small metal county sign with simply the name "Sodom Cemetery" announces its location.

Examples of the Early Box Tombs in Sodom Cemetery.

Sodom Cemetery has an Informal Plan (Section Two, Cemetery Plans). There is no formal entry, nor are there any formal paths. The cemetery plots and burials are generally aligned in a northeast-southwest orientation in informal rows. Kinship appears to be the defining feature of the layout, rather than formal design, as most graves are located within well-defined family plots throughout the cemetery. Family plots are often bordered in granite curbing, although brick and granite fieldstones were observed as well. There are approximately 647 graves with a wide variety of marker styles – some informal, others commercially available, reflecting the extended use of the cemetery through both the 19th and 20th centuries by those with differing financial means. The markers range in material from fieldstones to flush bronze plaques. Modern marker forms dominate the visual perception of the cemetery. Marker forms represented in the cemetery include informal markers, such as unmilled box tombs, field stones, and vernacular forms (concrete); and formal markers, such as tablets, composite forms, military markers, and statuary. Surface depressions suggest the possibility of unmarked burials.

## ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER-DEFINING FEATURES:

The identification of a cemetery's plan, type, and style is based on the recognition of its character-defining features. By identifying the common features that stand out in this landscape, its development can be better understood and the cemetery can be placed within the appropriate historic context. The feature classes that stood out in this landscape are its rural location and setting; informal plan; lack of a formal entry or circulation pattern; prominent use of the family plot; and the presence of both formal and informal markers.

### ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT

#### Circulation

There is no designed entrance and no formal road or paths through the cemetery. The cemetery is entered by an historic road remnant from Hightower Trail.

#### Arrangement

The cemetery consists of a series of family plots with individual graves distributed between them. Consistent with an informal plan, the cemetery appears to have grown organically with use, rather than following any consistent plan.

#### Graves

The graves are oriented roughly northeast-southwest, which is fairly consistent with use by a predominantly Christian community. Pleasant Hill Baptist Church began a long association with the cemetery, beginning formally in 1901, which also suggests it was already a predominantly Christian cemetery prior to their use.

## Plots

This cemetery has well-defined family plots lined with local stone curbing such as granite, concrete blocks, and/or low, poured concrete walls. Some are maintained with a layer of white gravel raked over the entire plot. The plots appear arranged along kinship lines.

### ARCHITECTURE AND THE BUILT ENVIRONMENT

## Markers

There is a mix of formal and informal markers in the cemetery (see Appendix A for marker forms). Among the formal markers are unmilled box tombs that likely dated to the mid-19th century and are located in the historic core of the cemetery. Tablet markers are the predominate form at Sodom. These include examples from the modern period, such as modern crowned, composite, and notched composite. Earlier tablet forms include ionic, crowned, and rounded markers. Laminar markers (page A-11) form a small percentage of the collection. Vernacular markers are present as well, but in a smaller percentage than commercial markers. These include painted, etched, and stamped concrete; garden statuary; fieldstones and mounds bordered with fieldstones; and a wooden cross. Military markers are present including a Revolutionary War veteran (modern marker); Confederate tablets, both in granite and marble styles; and modern military markers for WWII veterans. Finally, a small number of early 20th-century obelisks are present. A cursory examination establishes that 20th-century commercial markers dominate the landscape.

## Archaeological Features

Surface depressions and voids between markers or plots are present at Sodom Cemetery. These likely indicate the presence of



Examples of More Modern Grave Sites.

unmarked graves. Aboveground observation does not seem to indicate spatial patterning. As noted on the sketch map, which shows general date ranges for burials, the cemetery did not expand chronologically from the oldest burials, or in a planned manner, but instead grew organically.

### APPLYING THE NRHP CRITERIA:

Sodom Cemetery was evaluated under Criterion A for significance in the area of Community Planning and Development at the local level.

Established as a Family-type cemetery in the 1830s, when the area was newly settled by Euroamericans, Sodom grew over the course of the 19th century into a rural Community-type cemetery, in conjunction with Gwinnett's growth at this time. Historical research yielded little on the early "Shake Rag" community beyond its characterization within the history of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church as being a place of ill repute. The earlier "Shake Rag" community, which was known primarily for its distilleries, is only shown on a 1920 Soil Map. By that time, it was named after the adjacent cemetery but misspelled as "Sardum." The community does not appear in

the cartographic record after that date and is no longer extant. Given this, it appears that "Shake Rag" and its later iteration, "Sardum," may have been in existence between 1880 and 1920 as an informal settlement. Of the more than 300 markers in the cemetery, 64 have been dated to the 19th century. Even fewer date the mid 1800s, the period of community planning and development for this area. While the earliest markers from the 1830s can be found close together, other dates appear intermixed randomly throughout the cemetery, such that no distinct portion of the cemetery nor the cemetery as a whole is able to convey an intact association with its 19th-century roots. The cemetery more clearly reflects its 20th-century use.

The cemetery was evaluated under Criterion B for significance. Sodom Cemetery is not known to contain a person of transcendent importance or that has had a great impact upon the history of the local community, the state, or nation. The Henrys and other settlers may have been important to their respective communities as land owners and farmers, but, objectively, there is no evidence that they were critical in the development of the county and its institutions.

Sodom Cemetery was evaluated under Criterion C for significance in Landscape Architecture and Art at the local level. Sodom Cemetery lacks a formal plan or design that would make it notable for Landscape Architecture. While most of the markers are not distinctive in their materials, forms, or decorations, the historic core of the cemetery contains a notable collection of mid-19th-century box tombs that are significant for Art. This central core of the cemetery is significant under Criterion C and a potential NRHP boundary would include only this concentration of box tombs and older burials.

In evaluating the Sodom Cemetery under Criterion D, consideration must be given to the cemetery's history and its place within the larger historical and social context. While Sodom Cemetery was established in the 1830s, during the era of Romanticism and Victorian ideals, cemeteries of this





(Above) The overall visual impression of the cemetery is of modern markers such as Composite with vase and Modern Crowned. Differing plot enclosures can be seen (see Section Two – Enclosures). (Below) Vernacular items including a wooden cross, garden statuary, offerings, solar lights, brick curbing, and a funeral home marker mark this grave.

time were not necessarily subject to these more mainstream social ideals, as was seen in Memorial Park–style cemeteries, but instead reflect the development of the Pleasant Hill community. The development of the area known as "Shake Rag" or Sardum and its associations with illicit activities, such as moonshine and whiskey distilling, and the later association of the cemetery with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church and continued use by the larger community holds the potential for many different avenues of research at varying scales. By examining the cemetery's history within its larger social and historical context, a list of research questions can be formulated to evaluate the available data sets and their integrity and their ability to yield new and significant information.

Using the historical context of Sodom Cemetery as the foundation, significant research questions can be established. These may include:

- Is the development of the cemetery from its original establishment as a family plot to its use by the larger community reflected in the spatial relationship of the marker types, burials, and family plots? Knowing that the cemetery was used over a long period of time and contains many markers, what is the spatial relationship between the markers, and how is this reflected in the development of the community?

- As the cemetery was used over a long period of time and by different groups, is there a chronological order or spatial pattern to the layout of the cemetery that is reflective of its development and use over time, and does this provide any insights into the beliefs and burial customs of the community?

- Are there differences in the burial patterns and customs of the early settlers and "Shake Rag" community and the later burials associated with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church? Does this reflect social divisions and/or views of death and burial between the different groups?

- If additional archival research showed there was a brothel within the "Shake Rag" community, can the cemetery provide insight into the health of the women that might have been engaged in prostitution?

The next step is to evaluate available data sets above and below ground. For aboveground resources, Appendix A of the context helps in identifying the formal headstones within the Sodom Cemetery, which consists of unmilled box tombs, tablet markers, laminar, military markers, and obelisks, in additional to informal markers. Basic information contained on the markers themselves generally include inscriptions of the name of the deceased, age at the time of death, birth and death dates, and quotes that reflect the individual's cultural views on death. While the aboveground markers do provide basic information about the individuals buried in the cemetery, the number of burials that date to the earlier period are few, and the evidence of significant social or cultural trends within the Pleasant Hill community, such as the religious affiliation, population within the community, and military associations, is largely available within the historical record. The use of Federal census records, which cover the period of the cemetery's development, tax rolls, and genealogical information may best answer these issues, particularly concerning demographics. Records of the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church may also provide information on both demographics and burial practices. Oral history would also be another approach. Thus, the data potential of the headstones could be acquired from other sources.

In terms of spatial development and chronological layout of the cemetery, the information contained on the markers is too varied, limiting its research potential and providing little data control needed for an understanding of the cultural groups interred there. Their chronological, cultural, and socioeconomic relationship to each other and the other burials in the cemetery cannot be determined by location information alone. Furthermore, the layout of the informal cemetery lacks a clearly definable pattern or chronological layout due to the inclusion of recent headstones scattered

Field Sketch 2018.

**Legend:**

**S** — Stone, but not engraved and/or legible

**E** — Appears empty, no stone visible

**?** — Stones engraved/visible, but not legible

(shield icon) — Revolutionary War William Henry, 1837

**Historic Core 1800s**

Notes:
- Historic core is evident with box tombs and rock piles, fieldstone and footstones visible
- Not likely any slave burials due to proximity, few completely unmarked graves - probably just stone lost to the ground
- Majority of cemetery on plateau of hill
- Most infill is within family plots
- Dates given are of the oldest burial in plot - very often a child long before the parents
- Some infill in plots are one family spanning a century

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throughout the cemetery, making it difficult to address research questions associated with specific burial practices, spatial patterns, the relationships of the people interred there, or the development of the cemetery from a Family-type cemetery to a Community-type cemetery. Well-defined family plots identified by curbing and walls signify that there are distinct family plots and burial groupings. Headstones are all orientated in an east-west direction, but there is no obvious pattern to their placement and it is difficult to tell if their proximity was intentional. Based on analysis of the available above ground datasets, the Sodom Cemetery lacks significant data potential as it relates to eligibility under Criterion D.

The research potential for below ground data in terms of mortuary practices, disenfranchised cultural groups missing from the historical record, or health and nutrition of those in the community may be present; nevertheless, it is difficult to assess whether or not subsurface data is present because excavation of cemeteries should not occur for the sole purpose of determining data potential. The effect of soil chemistry and other environmental factors on the preservation state of burial deposits can affect the ability of deposits to provide certain types of significant data. Without below ground investigations, the preservation status and integrity of deposits is unknown, and, therefore, their ability to address significant research questions is unknown. Based on the archaeological investigation of the below ground data set, the eligibility of the Sodom Cemetery under Criterion D is unknown.

Sodom Cemetery was not determined to possess significance under Criteria A or B. The cenetery does, however, possess significance under Criterion C for the historic core of the cemetery contains a notable collection of mid-19th-century box tombs that are significant for Art. Significance under Criterion D was determined to be unknown.

## ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY:

Sodom Cemetery retains integrity of location, as it remains in its original location. The rural environment, characterized by the natural growth of trees and brush, is consistent with the historic setting, despite non-historic intrusions, including a large water tank to the south. The markers consist of both gathered and rough-cut stone, and professionally-manufactured and hand-carved formal markers, all conveying methods of workmanship from throughout its two-century history. The majority of the markers within the cemetery are non-historic commercial forms; these markers are thoroughly intermixed with their historic counterparts, significantly diminishing the historic feeling of this late 19th- to 20th-century cemetery. The cemetery remains active and used by members of the community, even retaining an association with the Pleasant Hill Baptist Church, who maintains the grounds; therefore, it retains integrity of association.

## NRHP RECOMMENDATION:

The oldest portion of Sodom Cemetery, which contains the 19th-century box tombs, is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion C for Art. The cemetery was also evaluated under Criterion D and determined to lack significant data potential based on an evaluation of aboveground data sets; however, eligibility based on an evaluation of below ground data sets could not be determined and will therefore remain unknown for Criterion D. Criteria Consideration D was applied for cemeteries and Sodom Cemetery is still considered eligible as the box tombs in the historic core of the cemetery are a distinctive design feature.

# Greenwood Cemetery (Fulton County)

**Plan**: Curvilinear
**Type**: Corporate
**Style**: Lawn Park
**Date Established**: 1904

Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.



Source: Google Earth Maps 3/14/2018.

## DEVELOPMENTAL HISTORY & CONTEXT:

Greenwood Cemetery was established as a for-profit, Corporate-type cemetery in 1904. The cemetery was incorporated by William H. Brown and James L. Mayson, who was Atlanta's city attorney, with an initial investment of $100,000. The first burial occurred in 1907; the cemetery remains active with more than 3,000 interments in the cemetery, at present. It encompasses 185 acres.

Greenwood was preceded in Atlanta by Westview Cemetery in 1884. Prior to the opening of Westview, Oakland Cemetery was the only large, public cemetery in Atlanta. By that time, the city had run out of lots to sell in Oakland. Westview served as the principal cemetery for the city for two decades, when it was followed by a second wave of new cemetery development in the first decades of the 20th century. Greenwood Cemetery was among the first in that wave; it was followed closely by Crest Lawn Cemetery in 1916 and others. Greenwood Cemetery was established at a time of urban growth and segregation, described in Section One, Chapter 6, *Two Georgias*. This period (1900-1945) saw the establishment of many new cemeteries around urban centers that would be defined by the separation of ethnic, racial, and religious groups.

The early layout of the cemetery is visible in a 1927 topographic map. The network of curvilinear roads that seem to follow the terrain in delineating distinct burial sections were in place at that time. Expansion of the cemetery to the north with additional roads occurred between 1938 and 1952, according to aerial photography. Additional burial space to the north appeared to have been open by 1960, and clearing for new burial space appears to have occurred (again to the north) in the 1990s. The limits of historic sections of the cemetery, as shown in the 1927 topographic map (and later in the 1938 aerial photograph) have not changed. Aerial photography shows what appears to be the use of hedges or other dense plantings to delineate the plot boundaries for the different sections. The practice appears to have been in place by the 1930s, but is most visible in the 1952 aerial photograph. These natural boundaries were removed between 1968 and 1972.
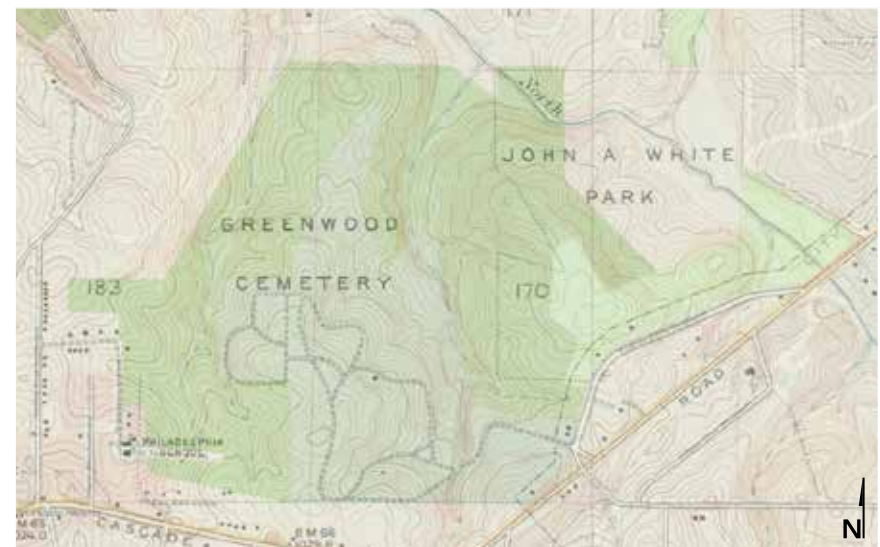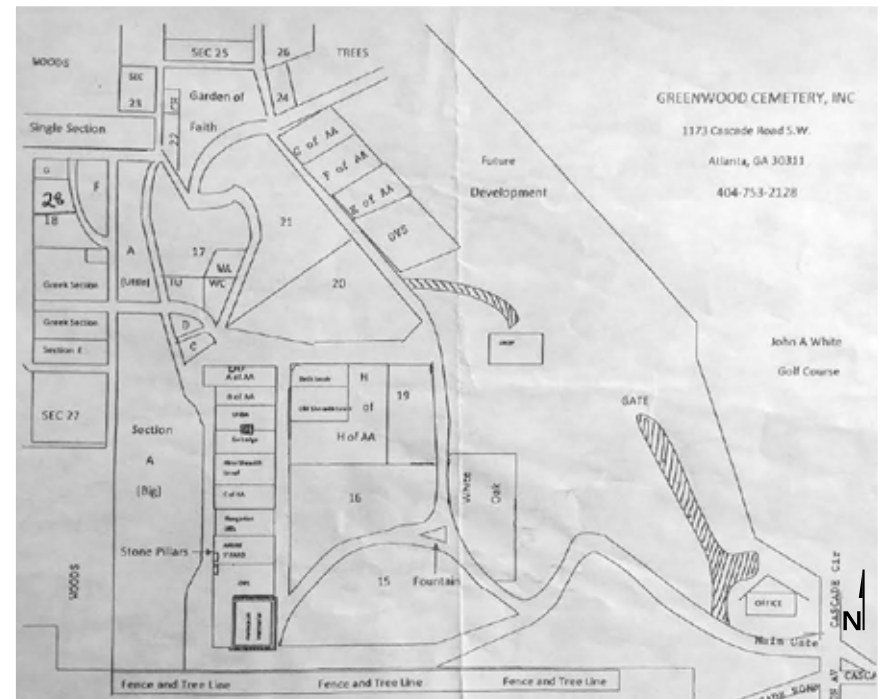




(Above) Map of Greenwood Cemetery. Source: FindAGrave.com (Below) 1927 Topographic Map of Greenwood Cemetery. Source: Emory Digital Library.
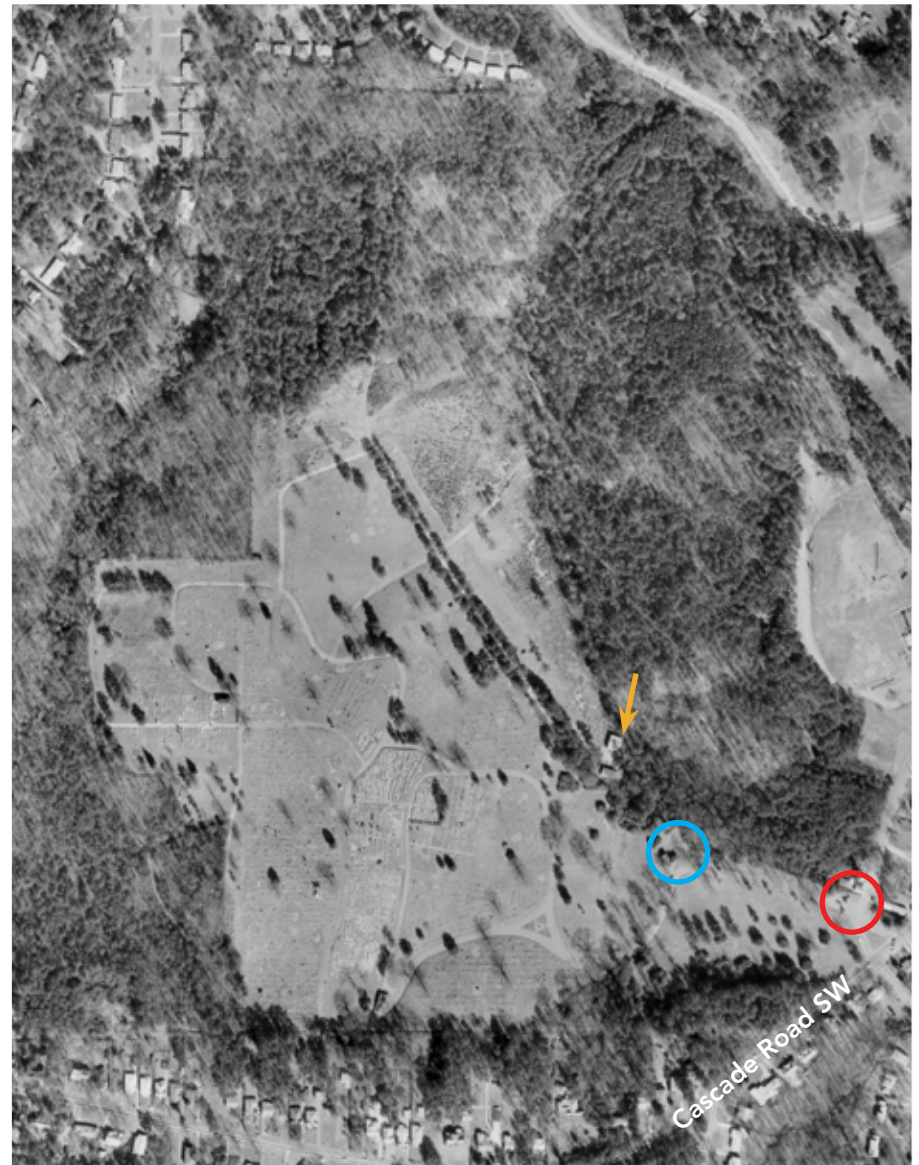
1938 Historic Aerial Showing Cemetery Entrance (Red Circle).
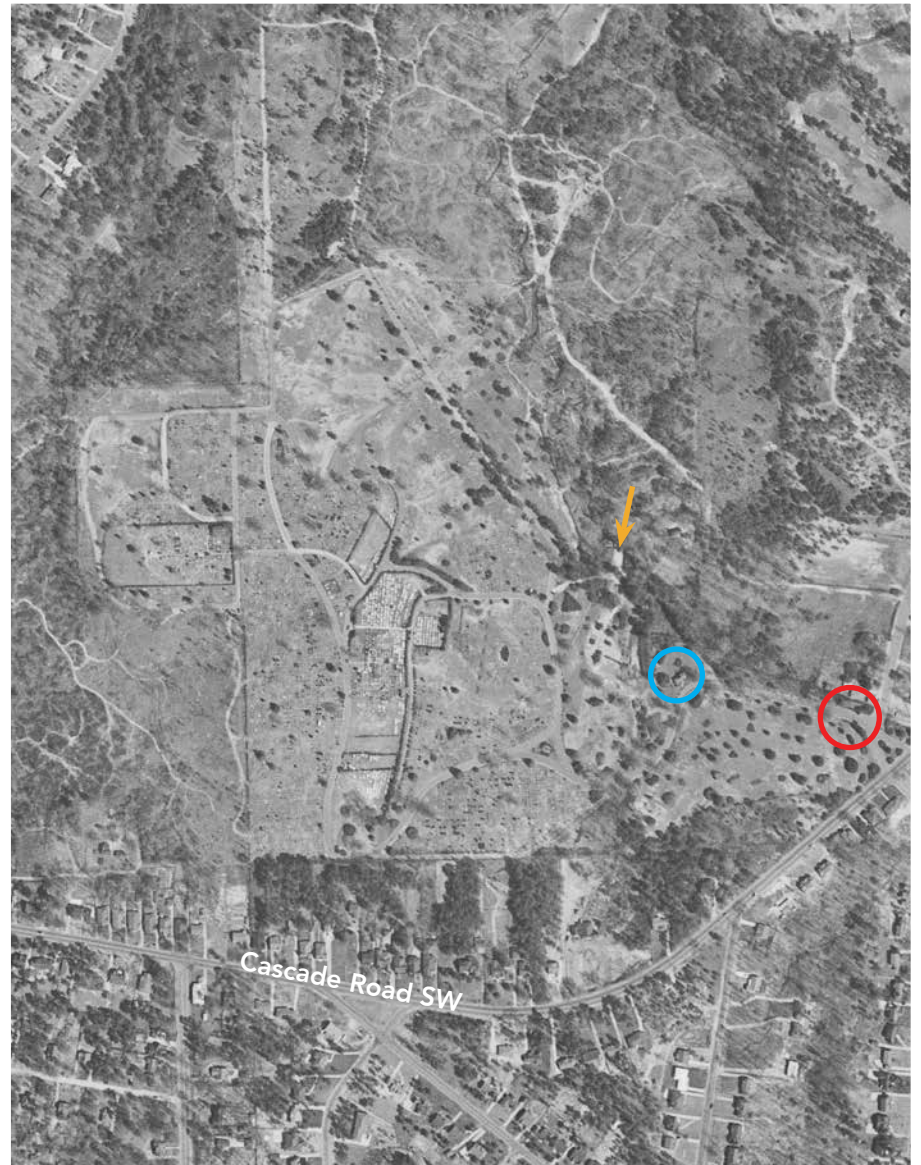


1952 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow). Use of hedges to delineate sections is clear in this aerial.

Cascade Road SW

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1968 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow).



1972 Historic Aerial Showing Historic Cemetery Office (Blue Circle), Entrance (Red Circle), and Maintenance Buildings (Orange Arrow). By 1972, any vegetation borders around sections were removed.

There appear to have been several buildings present in the 1938 aerial, including an office with a neighboring structure at the entrance and a potential caretaker's residence near a bend at the entrance. The office building appears as a compact plan with a hipped roof on historic aerials. This building was destroyed by fire in 1973 and was replaced with the present side-gabled office in the 1980s.[1] A maintenance lot appears to have been present along the northern tree line in 1938; a maintenance building was built between 1955 and 1960 and another maintenance building between 1960 and 1968.

The Jewish sections comprise most of the burial space at Greenwood. Each section represents a different congregation and is marked by a prominent gate. In 1965, the *Memorial to the Six Million* was constructed; it was the first Holocaust memorial in Georgia. The memorial has been the site of an annual Holocaust Commemoration Day for the past 52 years. It was listed in the NRHP in 2008.

In addition to the prominent Jewish presence, Greenwood features distinct sections for Greek Orthodox and Chinese burials. A Greek Orthodox section was built in 1911 in response to limited offerings for the Greek community at nearby Westview Cemetery.[2] This section is separated from other areas of the cemetery visually by a stone wall and roads, and it features a Greek Revival style chapel. There is a small Chinese section with burials dating to the 1910s. The cemetery was not open to African Americans until 1987, when C.R. Jones, Atlanta's first black council member, was interred there. Hank Ballard, Rock and Roll Hall of Fame inducted singer/songwriter and famed (among other accomplishments) as the writer of "The Twist," was buried there in 2003.

1 Personal Communication Greenwood Cemetery Manager, 2018
2 *Atlanta Greeks and Early History.* Stephen Georgeson, 2015. Arcadia Publishing, Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina.
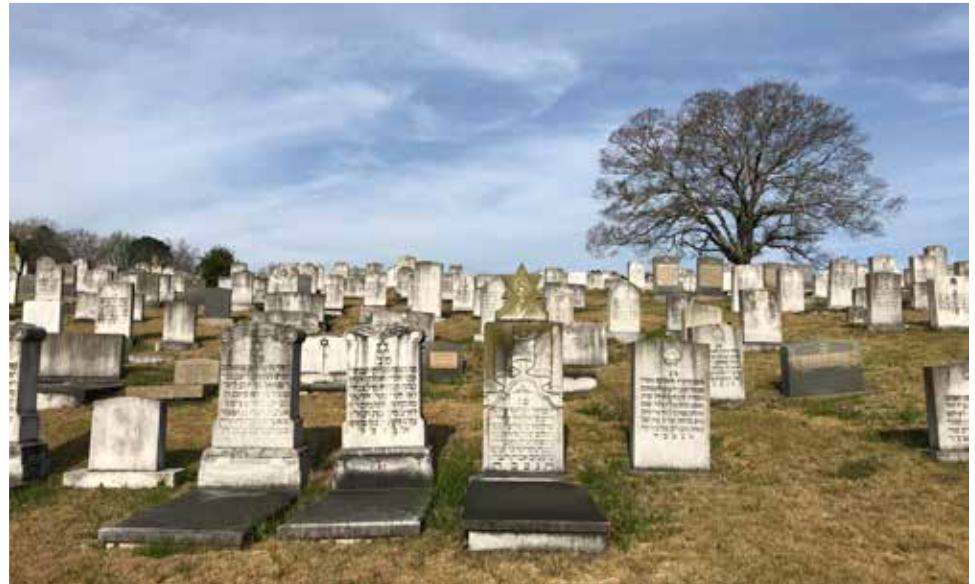
(Above) Wide Variety of Jewish Grave Markers. (Below) NRHP-Listed *Memorial to the Six Million*.

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## LANDSCAPE DESCRIPTION:

Greenwood Cemetery consists of approximately 134 acres in Fulton County. It is located in the Cascade Heights neighborhood, lying north and west of Cascade Avenue SW. Greenwood Cemetery is surrounded by a band of dense forest, which screens views of the surrounding residential neighborhoods. The combination of wooded lands and rolling fields gives the cemetery a park-like feel. The entrance is set back from Cascade Avenue SW, which the narrow entrance drive intersects at a sharp angle. Greenwood has a formal entrance marked by random ashlar granite pillars and low, curved walls adorned with urns and pyramidal capitals.

The cemetery has a formal curvilinear plan. A winding single-lane entrance road leads from the gate into the cemetery, concealing the burial spaces within. In the cemetery, the road forks around a prominent fountain before branching in opposite directions along a curvilinear path through the cemetery. The drives wind through the cemetery, following the terrain, separating and delineating burial sections.

The sections are primarily based on distinct ethnic and religious groups. The largest area of the cemetery is devoted to Atlanta's Jewish congregations, followed by a Greek Orthodox section and a small Chinese section. The Jewish and Greek Orthodox sections feature prominent stone entrances. The markers reflect ethnic and religious symbolism, distinct to those groups, including the Hebrew Peh Nun for "Here lies," the Star of David, Cohanim hands, engraved tablets, menorahs, and scrolls, as well as Greek Orthodox Crosses (see Appendix A, *Symbols*). Within each section, the graves appear in orderly rows with fairly consistent spacing (within the specific section). Graves within the Jewish sections are densely spaced, leaving minimal space for movement between them. Graves in other sections are much wider in comparison.







Arches and pillars mark the entrances to the various sections devoted to specific congregations in the Jewish section.

Within the older sections of the cemetery, including the Jewish, Greek, and Chinese sections, graves and plots are generally oriented east-west; however within the newer sections, particularly the northern sections, grave orientation is sometimes north-south, or even northwest-southeast. Grave orientation appears to be generally uniform within each section, which is laid out in orderly rows following the shape of the section and the terrain therein.

The internments exhibit a wide variety of formal, professionally-manufactured marker types. Though appearing in different shapes and featuring a variety of design motifs and symbols, the majority of the markers in the cemetery consist of robust granite tablets, set on bases. Composite forms and flush bronze placards are also present.

There are a few operational buildings in the cemetery. A non-historic office is located at the entrance. An historic stone chimney stands at the location of the original cemetery office. Maintenance buildings are located within the eastern tree line of the cemetery, beyond the view of the burial spaces. Additional features include a cylindrical stone structure, a granite staircase near the entrance, and a spoil yard near the northern limit of the cemetery.

## ANALYSIS OF CHARACTER DEFINING FEATURES:

The identification of a cemetery's plan, type, and style is based on the recognition of its character-defining features. By identifying the common features that stand out in this landscape, the cemetery's development and place within its historic context can be better understood. The feature classes that stood out in this landscape are its natural setting and topography, plan, prominent entrance, ethnic and religious representations, and the markers.

(Above) Unique Marker in the Orthodox Greek Section. (Below) The Orthodox Greek Section.

## LANDSCAPE AND SETTING

### Views, Vistas, & Vegetation

The entrance to the cemetery is recessed; the narrow drive retreats further back into the cemetery before curving to reach the first burial spaces. This was a deliberate element of the design that was meant to limit visibility between the burial spaces and the areas outside of the cemetery. The paved drives follow the terrain around cascading hills, which create impressive views from within the cemetery to other sections.

The existence and placement of trees within the cemetery is important to the setting. The periphery of the cemetery is densely wooded, screening the areas beyond the cemetery from sight and fostering a park-like environment in an otherwise developed area (even at the time of the cemetery's establishment). Existing trees and the natural terrain have been utilized to hide the maintenance facilities, cemetery office, and the surrounding community.

Within the cemetery, trees appear sparsely spaced and few in number among burial sections. Aerial photography confirms that the number and size has been consistent throughout the cemetery's history, suggesting the landscape has been carefully maintained throughout its life with the effort to maintain a similar setting. In later sections to the north, trees were planted along drives, forming a long allee.

## ORGANIZATION AND LAYOUT

### Formal Entrance

The entrance features a prominent gate, consisting of granite pillars topped with draped urns and flanked by curved granite walls defining the main entrance of the cemetery.

### Arrangement

The cemetery is organized by burial section. Many sections were established for specific ethnic or religious groups.

### Circulation

The paved drives follow the natural terrain; however, they also define and separate burial sections. Unpaved paths are limited. Instead of following defined walkways, the linear placement of the graves fosters natural movement through the landscape without direction.

### Graves

Jewish tradition is explicit in how burials are to be arranged, including the spacing between burials, which is quite close compared to other areas of the cemetery (Section Two, Protestant Cemeteries). Despite the presence of prominent and distinct entrances for each section, the line between them is not distinct among the graves. In other burial sections, spacing between standing markers seems to increase over time, which is likely due to an increase in the use of family markers and individual flush stones as the 20th century progressed.

### Plots

Family plots were observed in all historic sections, throughout much of the 20th century. Few enclosures or boundaries were observed (only low curbing in older sections). The large family surname marker surrounded by individual low or flush stone markers was the predominant preference in this cemetery, historically. This practice was popularized during the earlier rural cemetery stylistic movement, when such plots would typically be fenced or enclosed by similar means (Section One, Chapter 4, *Rural Garden Cemeteries* and Section Two, *Fencing*). The practice observed in Greenwood, lacking enclosures, is a characteristic of the Lawn Park style.

## Sections

There appear to be approximately 46 separate sections – most were part of the original layout of the cemetery. A number of Jewish congregations are represented by separate, distinct sections in the cemetery; together, they make up most of the historic burial space. Other distinct, historic sections include a large section for Orthodox Greeks and the smaller Chinese Association Cemetery. The older Jewish and Greek sections feature prominent gates identifying specific congregations. The prominence of specific groups (and the absence of others) reflects the heightened segregation of distinct cultural and religious groups that characterized this period between the reconstruction era and the Civil Rights Movement.

### ARCHITECTURE AND BUILT ENVIRONMENT

## Markers

The approximately 3,000 internments exhibit a wide variety of formal, professionally-manufactured marker types. Granite, slate, marble, concrete, and bronze types are present. Four distinct periods of marker traditions were observed. The earlier Jewish sections at the core of the cemetery feature a mix of marker forms, with the most abundant consisting of tablet on ledger and cradle types (A-10, A-12, A-14). These are common forms in Jewish cemeteries. Through all sections, dating from the founding through the 1950s, more robust markers exhibit classical themes with a range of religious motifs. Modernist forms dating from the 1930s to the 1950s are also present. In the larger public sections, robust granite tablets set on bases are the most common, spaced evenly with minimal distinctions, such as color, motif, or crown shape. In the newer sections to the north, flush stone or bronze plaques with integrated planters, characteristic of the Memorial Park style, are the only forms present (A-4).

The cemetery possesses a substantial collection of porcelain portraits; the markers that exhibit them date from the first burials through the present.



Porcelain portraits on markers at Greenwood cemetery

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## Buildings and Structures

The cemetery features several standing burial structures. A small Greek Revival chapel within the Greek Orthodox section is the only non-utilitarian building within the cemetery. A non-historic office is located at the entrance, on the site of an historic office that was removed. A small maintenance yard features a historic stone rubble service building and shed structure.

Two ruins stand near the entrance of the cemetery. A stone chimney is suspected to have once been part of the original office building. A round, stone rubble structure stands near the base of a granite staircase along the entrance drive. The nature and use of the latter structure is unknown.

## Memorial/Statuary

The *Memorial to the Six Million*, constructed in 1965, is an open-air granite structure featuring six torches symbolizing the six million victims of the holocaust. The memorial, designed by architect Benjamin Hirsch, is individually listed in the NRHP.

### CULTURAL TRADITIONS

## Grave Goods

Throughout the cemetery, the placement of tokens consisting of pebbles, stones, beads, glass shards, shells, and coins was abundantly observed. This reflects the Jewish tradition of leaving a token in remembrance of a loved one (Section Two, *Offerings*).

## Archaeological Features

There were no archaeological features observed that indicate unmarked graves in any location at Greenwood. This may be an indication that an active Corporate-type cemetery maintains more control of grave placement and their markings.

### APPLYING THE NRHP CRITERIA:

Greenwood Cemetery is considered significant under Criterion A in the area of Social History and Ethnic Heritage at the local level. Greenwood represents a period that this context describes as "Two Georgia's" (Section One, Chapter 6). This period (1900-1945) was characterized by urban growth, industrialization, progressive reform (with social and aesthetic implications to cemeteries), and community building for disadvantaged groups. This period witnessed the establishment of new cemeteries in urban centers; the strengthening of segregation along racial, ethnic, and religious lines; and the growth of mutual interest groups. Greenwood was important to ethnic and religious minorities in Atlanta during the early 20th century. Greenwood was among the earliest Corporate-type cemeteries built in the city to serve specific ethnic and religious groups. Unlike Oakland and Westview, which were public cemeteries that set aside specific spaces for distinct groups, Greenwood was established specifically to serve those groups. Other examples, like Crest Lawn, would follow this model. Its importance to Atlanta's Jewish community grew with the construction of the Holocaust Memorial. The cemetery has been the location of an annual



(Left) A Marker in the Chinese Section Exhibiting Chinese Characters. (Right) A Marker Denoting the Chinese Association Cemetery.

Holocaust Commemoration Day for the past 52 years. With this annual event and its many Jewish sections, the cemetery has served as a cultural center for the Jewish community. The Chinese Association Cemetery was established by a benevolent society, which reflects a significant trend during this time as noted in Section One, Chapter 6, *Mutual Aid Societies*. At the time of its founding and for much of its history, Greenwood Cemetery reflected popular trends of identity reinforcement and solidarity among diverse groups; it reflected an effort to strengthen the lines between diverse groups and the identity within them. As a result, the cemetery is an important part of Atlanta's multi-cultural history.

The cemetery is not considered significant under Criterion B as it is not known to contain an individual of transcendent importance or that has had a significant impact on the community, state, or nation.

Greenwood Cemetery was determined to be significant under Criterion C in the areas of Architecture, Landscape Architecture, and Art at the local level. Greenwood Cemetery embodies characteristic features of the Lawn Park style, as defined in Section Two of this context. The Lawn Park style was developed by Adolph Strauch in 1855 (Section One, Chapter 6, Advent of Lawn Park Cemetery) in a direct response to the popular Rural Garden style of the period. Strauch's design departed from earlier styles by attempting to reduce the scale and abundance of architecture in order to emphasize grassed lawns and open spaces, fostering an orderly and easily-maintained, park-like setting. The careful use of the natural setting reflected the next evolution of Romanticism in cemeteries; where the Rural Garden–style cemeteries were crowded with diverse vegetation, trees, and flowering plants, Lawn Park–style cemeteries would feature far fewer trees and plantings. Lawn Park–style cemeteries emphasized the importance of the grassed terrain, and trees were retained or strategically planted to maintain the park-like setting while creating open, uninterrupted views within the cemetery.





(Above) A newer Memorial Park–style section is also present at Greenwood cemetery. (middle) Lawn Park style can be seen in the lower, more uniform nature of the markers, which lie in neat rows with grass lawn. (Below) After passing through the formal entrance gates, visitors wind their way into the cemetery. The park-like setting indicative of Lawn Park style is evident.

Greenwood was designed to emulate Strauch's ideal of a landscape that balances architecture with a nature. The cemetery is surrounded by a thick buffer, and the only entry is recessed to obstruct any views of the surrounding community. Within its borders, any utilitarian buildings or structures are concealed by vegetation. Burial spaces are largely devoid of plantings. Throughout its history, a limited number of trees have been maintained within the landscape, which has helped maintain the park-like setting without compromising the views. The Lawn Park style features fewer markers with more consistent spacing than earlier cemeteries; plot enclosures are less prevalent; curvilinear roads are typical. With its pastoral landscape, orderly layout, geometrically-shaped sections, and lower-profile headstones, Greenwood is an excellent example of an early 20th-century Lawn Park–style cemetery. It exhibits an emphasis on grassed lawns, family monuments with smaller individual markers, and a more streamlined appearance. The Lawn Park style became popular in Georgia toward the end of the 19th century with prominent examples appearing in the 1880s-1890s, including Atlanta's Westview Cemetery in 1884. Laid out in 1904, Greenwood Cemetery would have been an early example of this style, especially on this scale, as the Lawn Park style remained prominent throughout the 20th century in Georgia.

Greenwood Cemetery is also significant for the NRHP-listed *Memorial to the Six Million*. A small Greek Revival chapel stands within the Greek Orthodox section of the cemetery. Chapels were popular in larger Lawn Park–style cemeteries to provide locations for services or quiet reflection. The chapel is a good example of the Greek Revival as it features a prominent temple front portico with full-height Doric columns atop brick pedestals.

In the area of Art, Greenwood Cemetery contains one of the state's largest collections of early to mid-20th-century Jewish and Greek Orthodox grave markers, as well as a small section of Chinese markers, all with a wide variety of cultural and religious symbology. The cemetery possesses a substantial collection of porcelain portraits; the markers that exhibit them date from the earliest burials through the present. The placement of photographs on markers has been available since the late 19th century and has evolved into

(Above) Marker on the *Memorial to the Six Million*. Visitors have left tokens and offerings at the memorial (see Section Two, *Offerings and Visitor Tokens*). (Below) Greek Revival chapel at Greenwood cemetery.

many alternative forms in recent years. The number and variety of examples in this cemetery span more than a century. The earliest forms include black and white, circular or oval insets, heart-shaped, colored portraits, and portraits within bronze enclosures.

In evaluating Greenwood Cemetery under Criterion D, consideration must be given to the cemetery's history and its place within the larger historical and social context. By developing research questions related to the significant data potential, it can help answer questions about the ethnic and social history of Jewish and Greek Orthodox congregations as well as Atlanta's Chinese American population. It is then possible to evaluate the various data sets that are present and whether they have the potential to help answer these questions. By examining the cemetery's history within its larger social and historical context, the list of research questions can be used to evaluate the available data sets and their integrity, as well as their ability to yield new and significant information.

Section One of this context demonstrates that Greenwood Cemetery's development was very much a product of its time and the social movements that structured American culture between 1900-1945. As discussed above, it was part of a new wave of urban cemeteries that were established to take advantage of a new market afforded by the presence and the increasingly affluent urban religious and ethnic minorities. As noted, Greenwood was among the earliest Corporate-type cemeteries built in the city to serve specific ethnic and religious groups that were previously marginalized, if served at all.

Knowing the cemetery's history within its historical context helps in developing a list of research questions for both the aboveground and below ground data sets.

Using the historical context of Greenwood Cemetery as the foundation for significance, research questions may include:

- In addition to ethnic and religious heritage, are socio-economic status or social status evident in the layout of the individual sections and the design and form of the markers?

- Is the artistic expression inherent in the inscriptions, and are the marker types and decorations important in creating and maintaining social identity as members of a specific ethnic or religious community?

- Is there a decrease in ethnic burials over time as Georgia's population became more homogenized? Additionally, as the population becomes more integrated, do expressions of ethnic and religious identity become more prominently featured in order to maintain membership in a group?

- How does this cemetery and its varying social groups reflect the changing economic landscape and rising consumerism for funerary goods and services?

- The Chinese Association Cemetery section is small in comparison to the Jewish and Greek Orthodox sections. Could this reflect a change in cultural mindset that the United States was now home to those of Chinese ethnicity, and it was no longer culturally necessary to send their deceased family members back to their ancestral homeland in China for burial?

The next step is to evaluate available data sets above and below ground. For aboveground resources, Appendix A of this context helps in identifying the formal headstones within the Greenwood Cemetery. Four distinct periods of marker traditions were observed, including: tablet on ledger and cradle types, which are classically themed and contain religious motifs; Modernist forms dating from the 1930s to the 1950s; robust granite tablets set on bases; and flush stone or bronze plaques with integrated planters typical of the Memorial Park style. Perhaps most notably, the cemetery holds a large collection of porcelain portraits on markers from the founding of the cemetery to the present. Basic information contained

on the markers themselves generally include inscriptions of the name of the deceased, age at the time of death, birth and death dates, and quotes that reflect the individual's cultural views on death. Additionally, many possess images of the deceased. While archival resources such as religious affiliation, population within the community, and military associations, are largely available within the historical record, Greenwood's cemetery's markers provide an additional dimension to our understanding of how Atlanta became a multi-cultural city. This added data stems from the combination of placement of individuals not only within their families, but also within their congregations.

Chronological, cultural, and socioeconomic relationships between individuals, families, and congregations can be inferred by locational information. Based on analysis of the available aboveground data sets, Greenwood Cemetery possesses significant data potential as it relates to eligibility under Criterion D.

The research potential for below ground data in terms of religious and cultural mortuary practices, health, and nutrition of those in the community may be present; nevertheless, it is difficult to assess whether or not subsurface data is present because excavation of cemeteries should not occur for the sole purpose of developing data potential. The effects of soil chemistry and other environmental factors on the preservation state of burial deposits can affect the ability of deposits to provide certain types of significant data. Without below ground investigations, the preservation status and integrity of deposits is unknown, and, therefore, their ability to address significant research questions is unknown.

Greenwood Cemetery holds significance under Criteria A and C; thus, it must meet Criteria Consideration D for cemeteries as well (Section Three). Greenwood Cemetery satisfies Criteria Consideration D: it is significant for ethnic heritage and social history as it exhibits distinctive design features and a rich collection of early 20th-century funerary art associated with

Atlanta's Jewish, Greek Orthodox, and Chinese-American cultural groups. Based on the archaeological considerations for the below ground data set, the eligibility of the Greenwood Cemetery under Criterion D is unknown.

### ASSESSMENT OF INTEGRITY:

Greenwood Cemetery retains a high degree of integrity of all aspects. The cemetery remains in its original location. The historic plan, sections, and drives remain intact; the later growth and layout of new burial spaces to the north have not impacted any elements of the historic design. Historic built features, including the formal entrance gate, fountain, section gates, grave markers, hardscape (i.e. granite and concrete curbing along the historic roads), and historic buildings and structures, remain intact and largely unaltered by inappropriate repairs or the intrusion of non-historic materials; therefore, the cemetery retains integrity of materials. The same components of the built environment are able to convey methods of production and installation of markers, construction of the historic buildings and structures, and historic hardscaping at different stages throughout the 20th century; thus, it retains integrity of workmanship. A comparison of aerial photography since 1938 illustrates how the cemetery has maintained a thick, natural buffer from the surrounding community, sparsely placed trees within the interior, and an open, grassy terrain that is consistent today with the historic setting. The active use and careful maintenance of the cemetery has helped foster a strong connection between the historic landscape and the cemetery today, maintaining integrity of feeling and association.

### NRHP RECOMMENDATION:

Greenwood Cemetery is recommended eligible for the NRHP under Criterion A for Ethnic Heritage and Social History, and Criterion C for Landscape Architecture and Art. The cemetery exhibits excellent integrity. It is also recommended eligible under Criterion D for the research potential of its aboveground data sets. The cemetery's eligibility under Criterion D based on evaluation of below ground data sets could not be determined and is, therefore, unknown.

# ENDNOTES

## SECTION ONE

### INTRODUCTION

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## CHAPTER THREE: AFRICAN DEATH AND BURIAL: 1751–1860

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# SECTION TWO

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