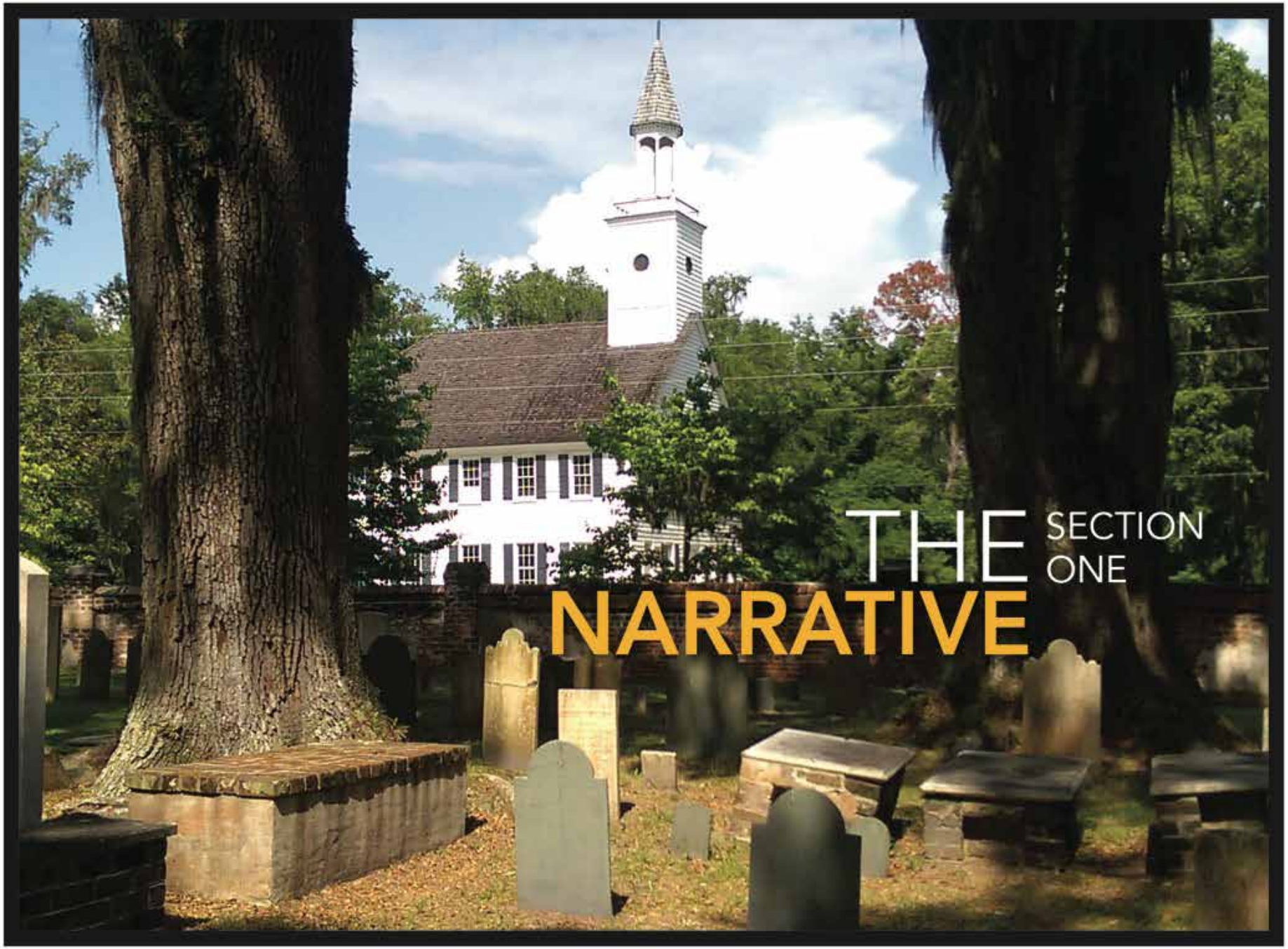


SECTION ONE
THE NARRATIVE

Midway Church Cemetery, Liberty County

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

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

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 Analyses of historical documents, cemeteries, and death-related artifacts show that an adherence to the idea of dying well was practiced in Europe and the United States until a tectonic shift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

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

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

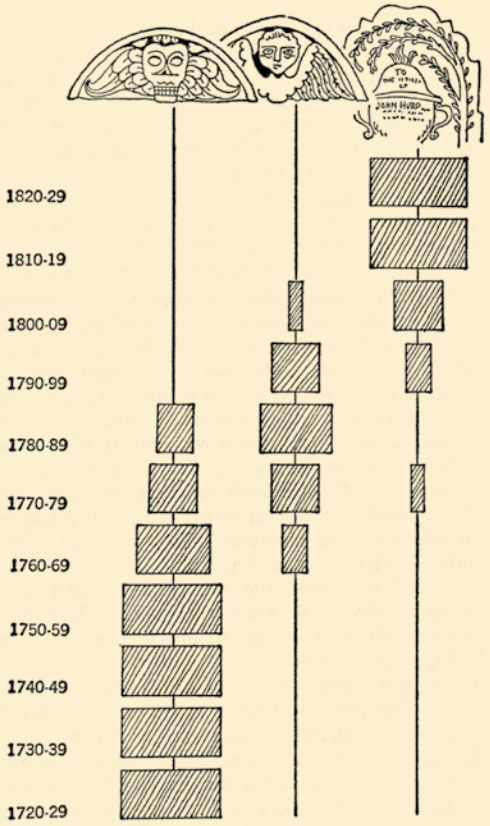
As the meaning of death among the nation's white Protestants changed, thousands of enslaved Africans and African Americans, native to many West African cultures, were subjected to this newer version of Christianity and its resulting burial practices. In time, over the next two centuries, they blended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

Changing Attitudes Captured in Gravestone Iconography

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

Just as Massachusetts' gravestone images reflected the religious and social change occurring in early New England, examples from Midway Cemetery in Georgia in the three images above, indicate the South followed suit to some extent and was instep with its northern counterparts temporally. Top to bottom: A Death's Head image created in 1767; a Cherub design dating to 1796; and an 1859 Willow and Urn design.

Battleship Curve Graph Showing Popularity of Gravestone Designs, Stoneham, Massachusetts, 1720-1829. Analysis of Changes in Gravestone Imagery That Reflect Evolving Religious Beliefs. Source: *In Small Things Forgotten The Archaeology of Early American Life*, by James Deetz.



movements played into this conversation: 1) a delayed reaction to the tenets of the Enlightenment, 2) the advent of the American Romantic Movement, and 3) the Progressive Era.[5] While these movements were the backdrop for 19th-century life and death, the Civil War would be the catalyst for the dramatic change that Aries identified. The sheer scale of the loss of life on distant battlefields forced many Americans to rapidly adapt to the exigencies of wartime death. Compensatory actions were devised to allow for a semblance of a good death that brought others into the experience of death and formalized the response. The first professionals were part-time undertakers; this grew over time into a larger and more diverse funeral industry of full-time professionals. This industry flourished, and modern contemporary death began to take shape. Finally, a movement particular to the American South, political in nature and codified into law, soon followed the Civil War – segregation – and a new generation of cemetery landscapes emerged.

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

THE ROAD TO A GOOD DEATH

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

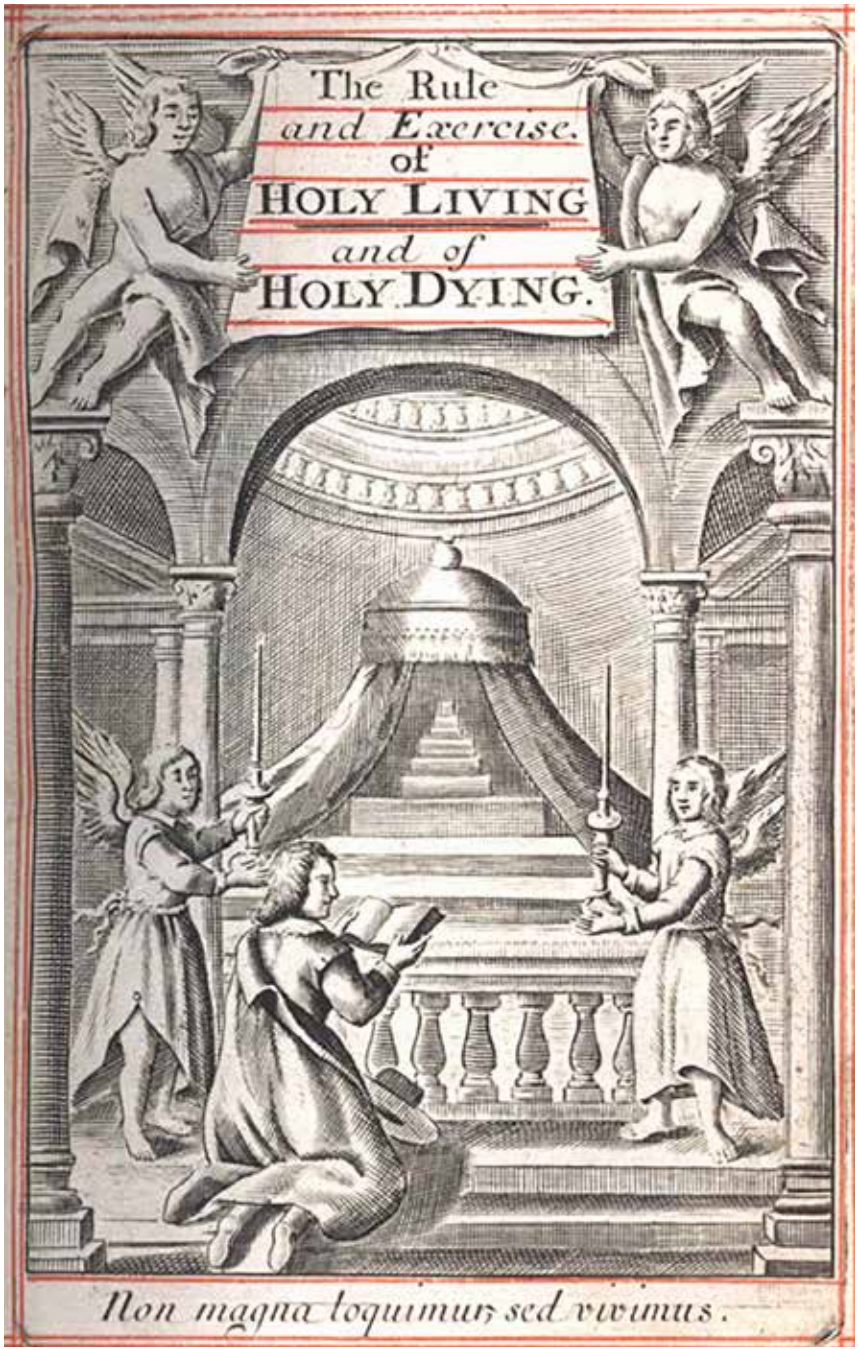


Illustration from a 1682 Book on Dying.
Translation: We do not speak great things, but we live them.
Source: Jeremy Taylor's, *The Rule and Exercise of Holy Dying, 1682.*

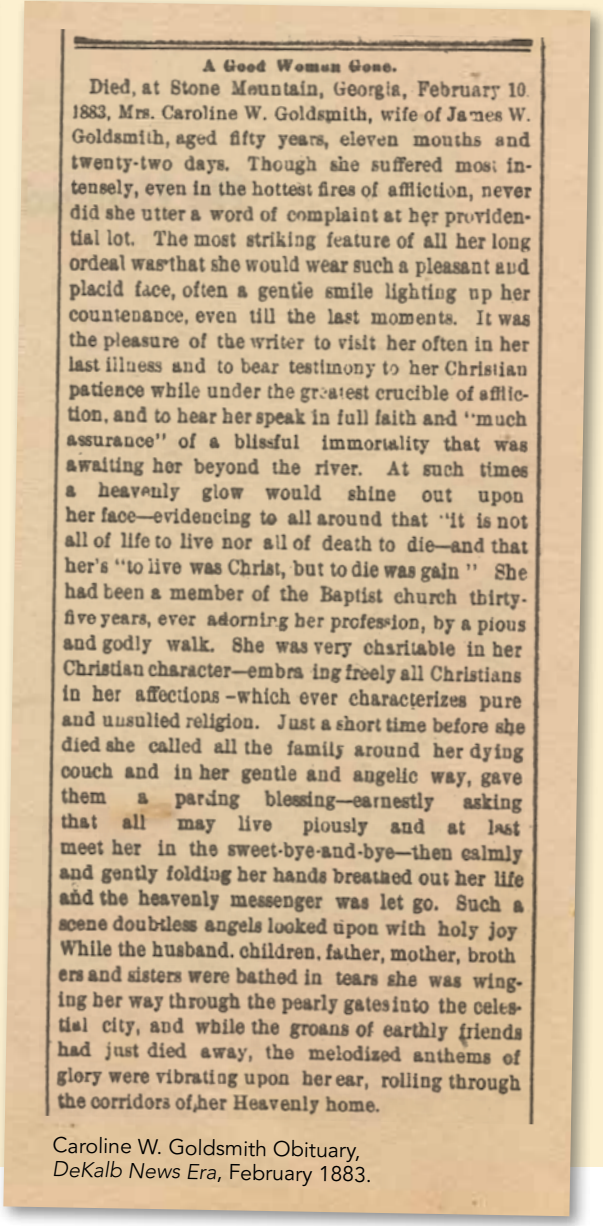
The Good Death, Two Good Women Gone

Margarethe Geschwandel, Ebenezer, Georgia April 2, 1734

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

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

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



A Good Woman Gone.

Died, at Stone Mountain, Georgia, February 10 1883, Mrs. Caroline W. Goldsmith, wife of James W. Goldsmith, aged fifty years, eleven months and twenty-two days. Though she suffered most intensely, even in the hottest fires of affliction, never did she utter a word of complaint at her providential lot. The most striking feature of all her long ordeal was that she would wear such a pleasant and placid face, often a gentle smile lighting up her countenance, even till the last moments. It was the pleasure of the writer to visit her often in her last illness and to bear testimony to her Christian patience while under the greatest crucible of affliction, and to hear her speak in full faith and "much assurance" of a blissful immortality that was awaiting her beyond the river. At such times a heavenly glow would shine out upon her face—evidencing to all around that "it is not all of life to live nor all of death to die—and that her's "to live was Christ, but to die was gain" She had been a member of the Baptist church thirty-five years, ever adorning her profession, by a pious and godly walk. She was very charitable in her Christian character—embra ing freely all Christians in her affections—which ever characterizes pure and unsullied religion. Just a short time before she died she called all the family around her dying couch and in her gentle and angelic way, gave them a parding blessing—earnestly asking that all may live piously and at last meet her in the sweet-bye-and-bye—then calmly and gently folding her hands breathed out her life and the heavenly messenger was let go. Such a scene doubtless angels looked upon with holy joy While the husband. children, father, mother, brothers and sisters were bathed in tears she was winging her way through the pearly gates into the celestial city, and while the groans of earthly friends had just died away, the melodized anthems of glory were vibrating upon her ear, rolling through the corridors of her Heavenly home.

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

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

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

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

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

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

DISPOSING OF THE DEAD

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

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

PREPARATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRANSPORTATION TO THE BURIAL GROUND AND BURIAL

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

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

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

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

CHARTING CHANGE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Little-Terry-Strickland Cemetery, Forsyth County.

Chapter One Summary

KEYS


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


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


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


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


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

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

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

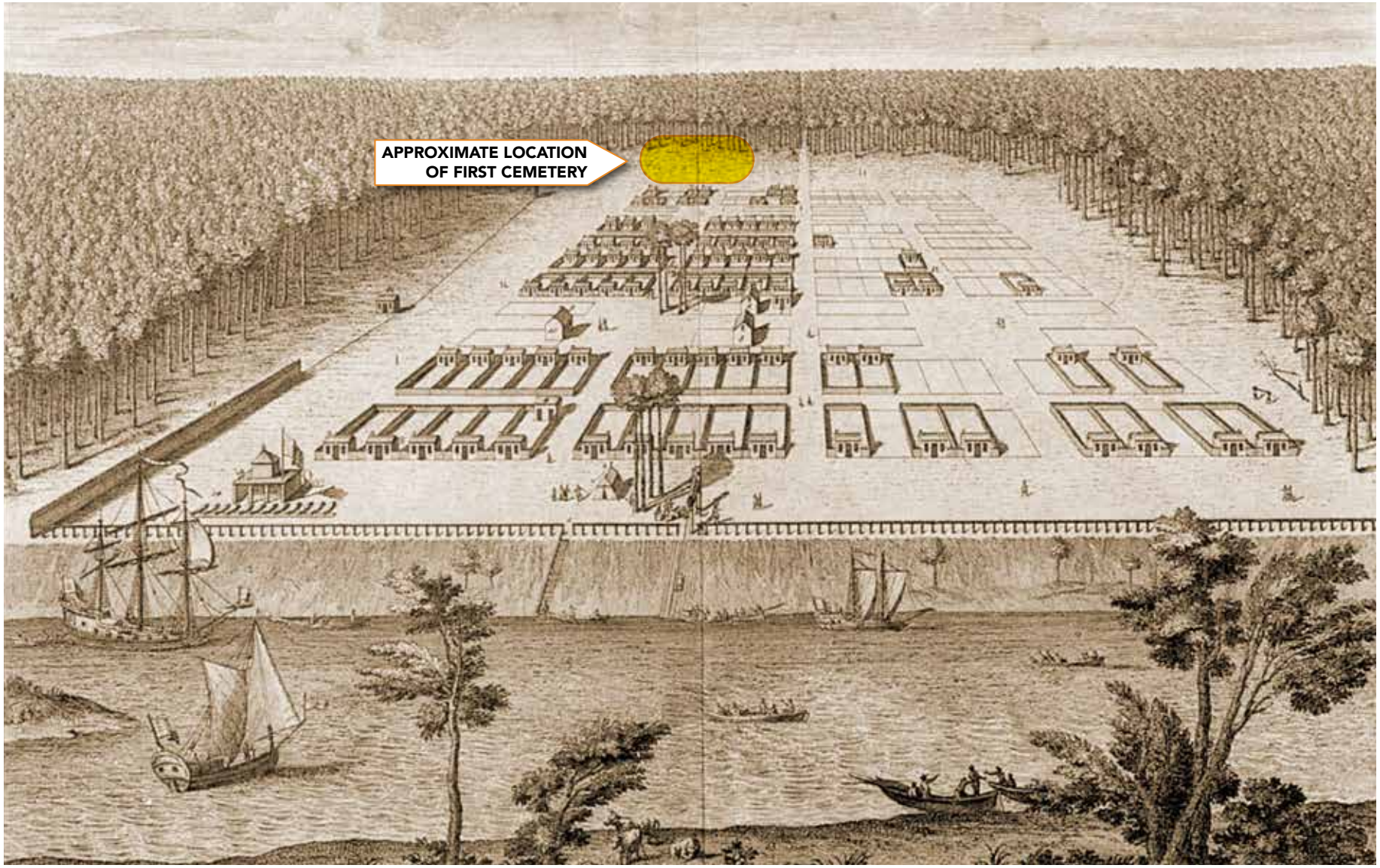
SUGGESTED READINGS

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

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

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

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



CHAPTER TWO
DEATH IN EARLY GEORGIA: PRECONTACT TO 1790

Died in Savannah on Monday the 15th instant, and was buried the next day...
He envied none their vain titles here, But practiced good to all within his sphere;
He viewed the verge of death with manly eye, Was pleased with life, or satisfy'd to die;
He acted well thro' every scene his part, But most excell'd in rectitude of heart;
Zealous for Liberty, – to all most dear, A friend well natur'd, steady, and sincere.
- *Georgia Gazette*, Savannah, December 17, 1766

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

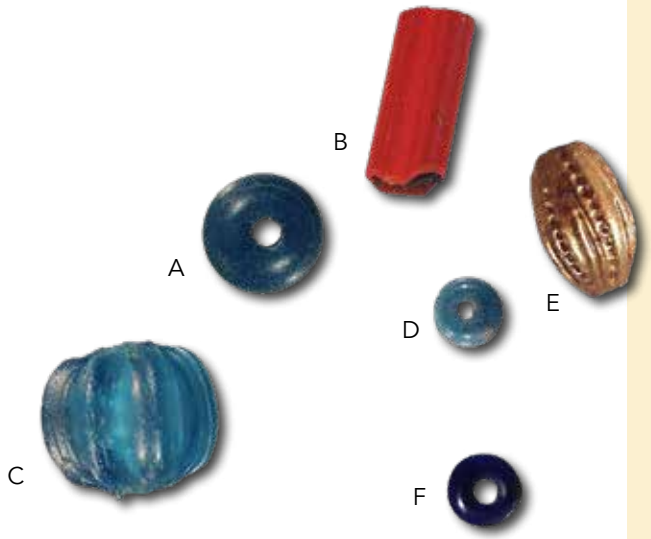
The Euroamerican colonization of Georgia did not occur in a small, gradual way. Instead, different groups of people swept in like waves, riding tides of immigration spurred by their religious and secular ideologies, a desire for riches, religious freedom, or to escape the harsh economic realities in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

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

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

PRECONTACT AMERICAN INDIANS

The burial customs of precontact American Indians in the southeastern U.S. were as varied as the number of tribes that inhabited the area. The precontact period dates to at least 12,000 years ago, with the arrival of the first American Indians in what is known as the Paleoindian period. The burial practices of these, as well as of the subsequent Archaic period (8000 B.C.-1000 B.C.) and Woodland period (1000 B.C.-A.D. 900), generally occurred as individual burials not grouped in a manner similar to European cemeteries. As tribes banded together to form more complex political relationships, their customs blended and adapted over time. The people of the Mississippian period (A.D. 900-1600) are often referred to as the "mound builders." While the mounds served a variety of functions, one of the most recognized Mississippian-period mound types are burial mounds, which were created in earlier periods as well. The Irene Mound site, a mid- to late Mississippian mound complex which contained two mounds including one large, multi-stage mound and a small burial mound, was once located just northwest of downtown Savannah. According to archaeologists, Caldwell and McCann, the burials are thought to be a chief and his family.[1] According to both ethnographic and archaeological accounts, precontact tribes often buried their chiefs, priests, and other elite families within the mounds.[2] Other important mound sites that remain intact in Georgia are Ocmulgee (Macon), Etowah (Cartersville), and Kolomoki (Blakely). Past archaeological excavations of burial mounds across Georgia have identified various burial forms and positions including fully extended burials, log tombs, ossuaries, cremations, and burial urns. The different forms of burials reflect differences in social position, as well as different tribal cultural practices.



Numerous beads found at the site of Mission Santa Catalina de Guale (1590s-1680) during the excavation of the cemetery under the church, St. Catherine's Island. (A) Ichtucknee plain turquoise blue bead, (B) Venetian Green Heart bugle bead, (C) Chinese blue green melon bead, (D) Venetian turquoise blue/green seed bead, (E) Spanish gilded oval glass bead, (F) Common cobalt blue seed bead. Source: Spanish Empire Bead Cache, Georgia. Source: American Museum of Natural History.

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

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

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

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

Spanish Missions on the Georgia Coast, 1570-1684.
Source: New South Associates, 2013.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

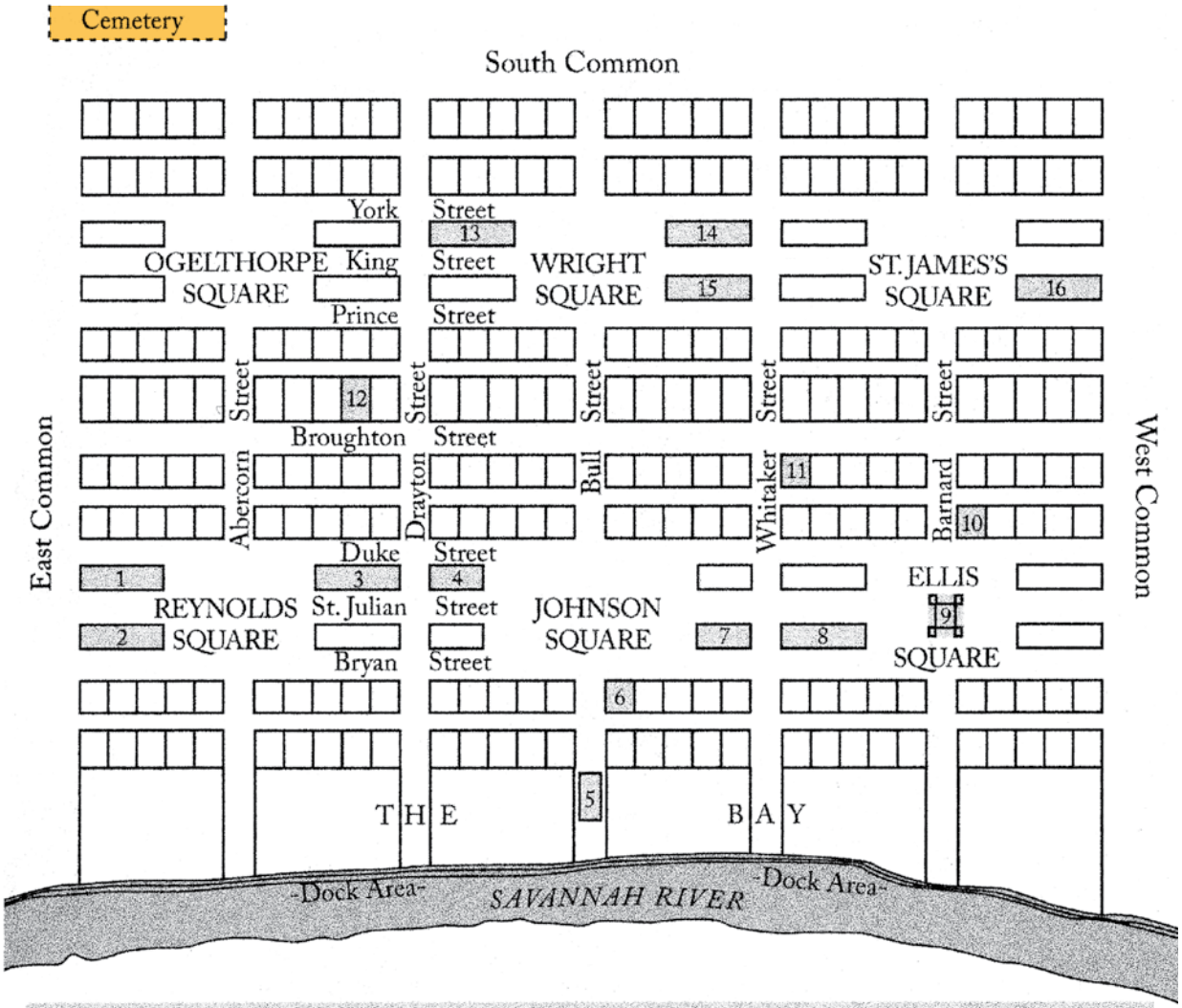
Unfortunately, as the American Colonies grew, the American Indians suffered considerable depredation of their burial grounds at the hands of others who viewed the graves as a threat to legitimating European ownership of the lands and the grave's contents as a source of income. American Indians soon learned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

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

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

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

The colonists who came to Georgia during the Trustee period were a diverse group of predominately Protestants. While the numbers in the accounting do not add up correctly to the totals, the records of the Trustees show that in the first decade of the colony, approximately 1,800 were sent to Georgia at



The original burying place for Savannah was located on the southeast edge of town and overseen by Christ Church. Source: Redrawn from 1770 Savannah Plan.

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

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

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

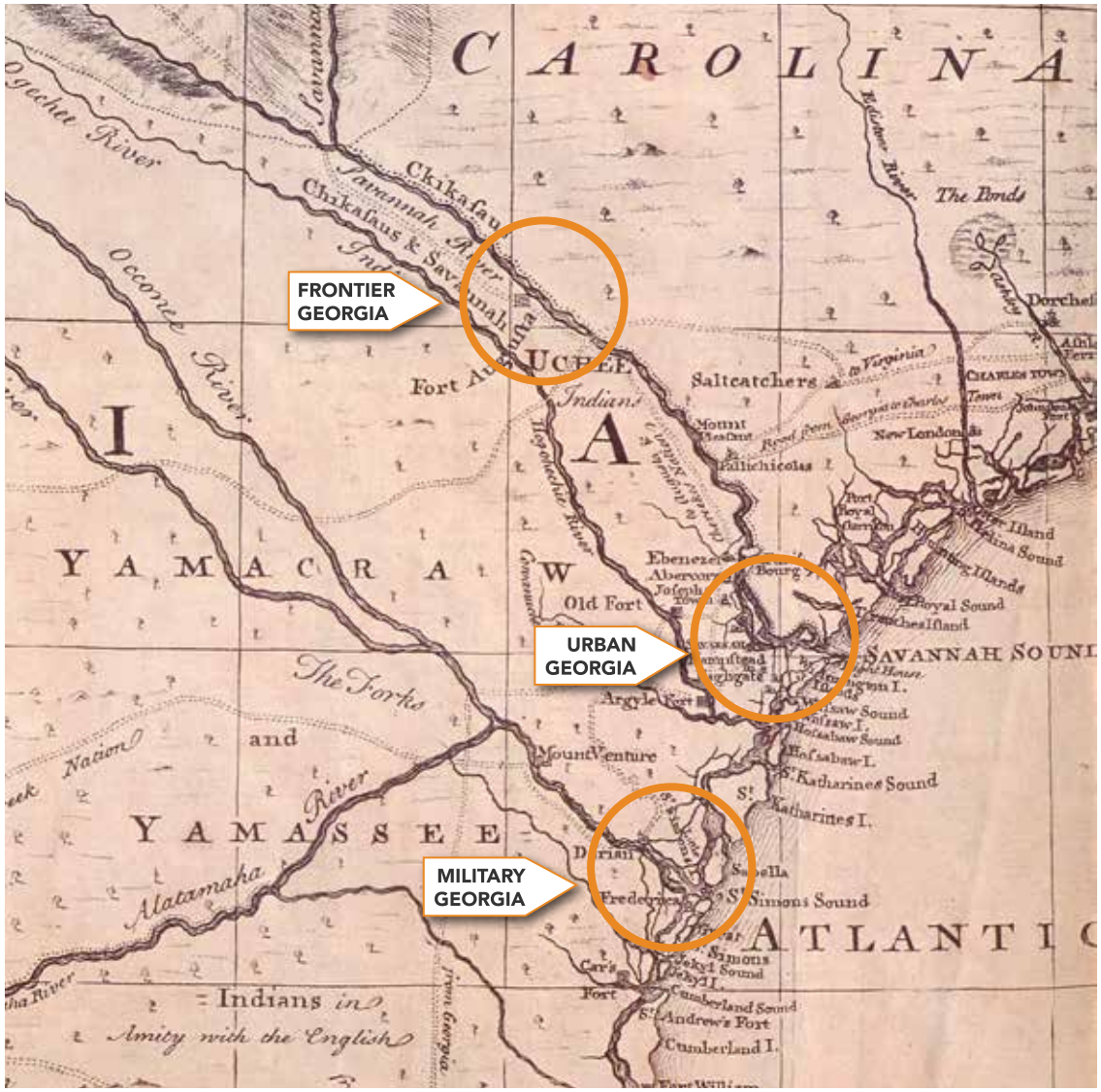
One sobering statistic illustrates the difficulty of life during the early part of Georgia's colonial history – 25 percent of the colonists that arrived on the H.M.S. *Ann* died the first year.[36] While the few that perished on the first voyage were buried at sea, the fledgling colony buried their first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

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

THE "THREE GEORGIAS"

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

- **Urban Georgia:** The first centered on the port of Savannah and its connections and economic ties to England, specifically London. It also included Ebenezer.
- **Military Georgia:** This included Fort King George, Fort Frederica, and Darien to the south on the Altamaha and existed for the defense of British colonial interests, including Georgia and South Carolina, from Spain.
- **Frontier Georgia:** The frontier outpost of Augusta, far up the Savannah River, which was intertwined with the economy of Charleston and South Carolina, composed the third Georgia.



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

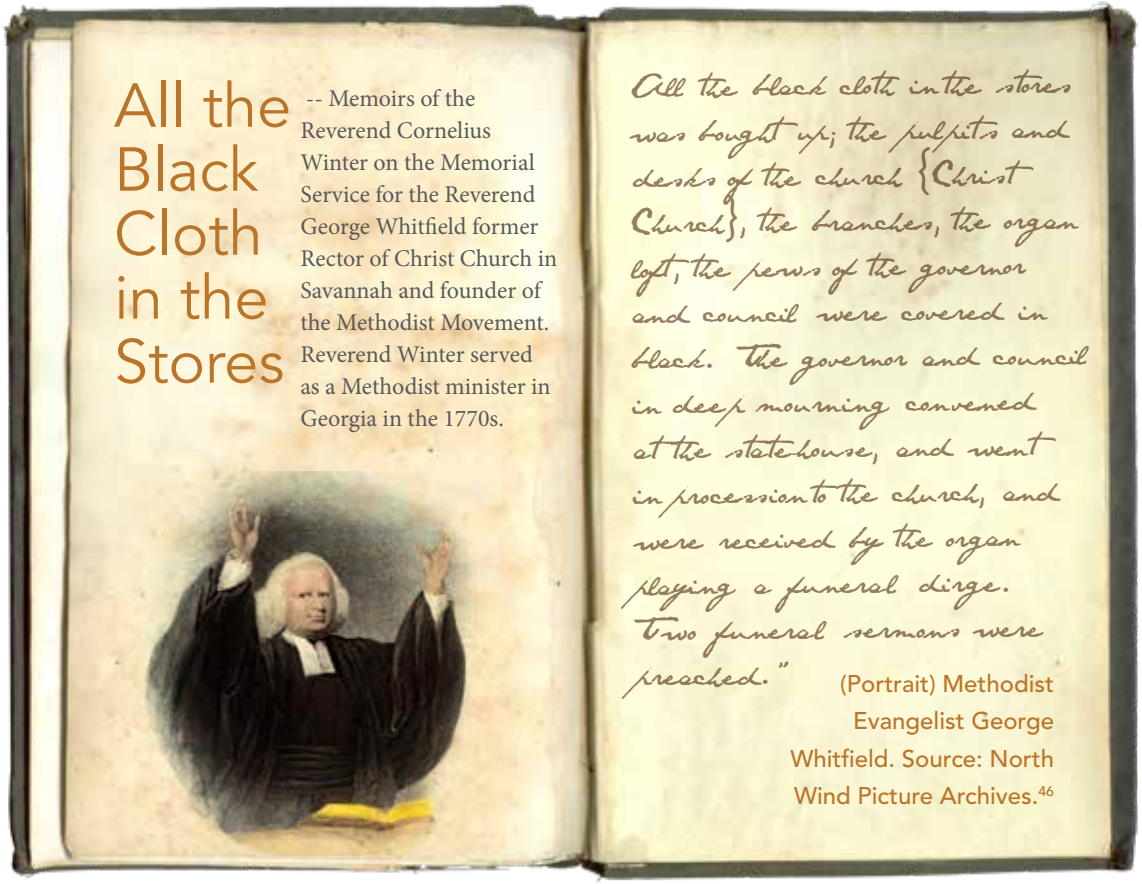
-Historian Paul Pressly

Detail from 1748 Bowen Map Showing the "Three Georgias." Emanuel Bowen, A New Map of Georgia; with Part of Carolina, Florida and Louisiana 1748. Source: Special Collections, University of Georgia Libraries.

Georgia during this time period consisted of multiple communities centered around these five towns – Savannah, Ebenezer, Darien, Frederica, and Augusta.[42]

URBAN GEORGIA: SAVANNAH AND EBENEZER

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

Savannah's Cemeteries

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

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

THE GEORGIA GAZETTE

May 10, 1769

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

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

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

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

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

Colonial Park

Tomochichi and His Nephew Toonahowi, Engraving by John Faber Jr., circa 1735. Source; Northwind Picture Archives.

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

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

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

Savannah's Jewish Colonists

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

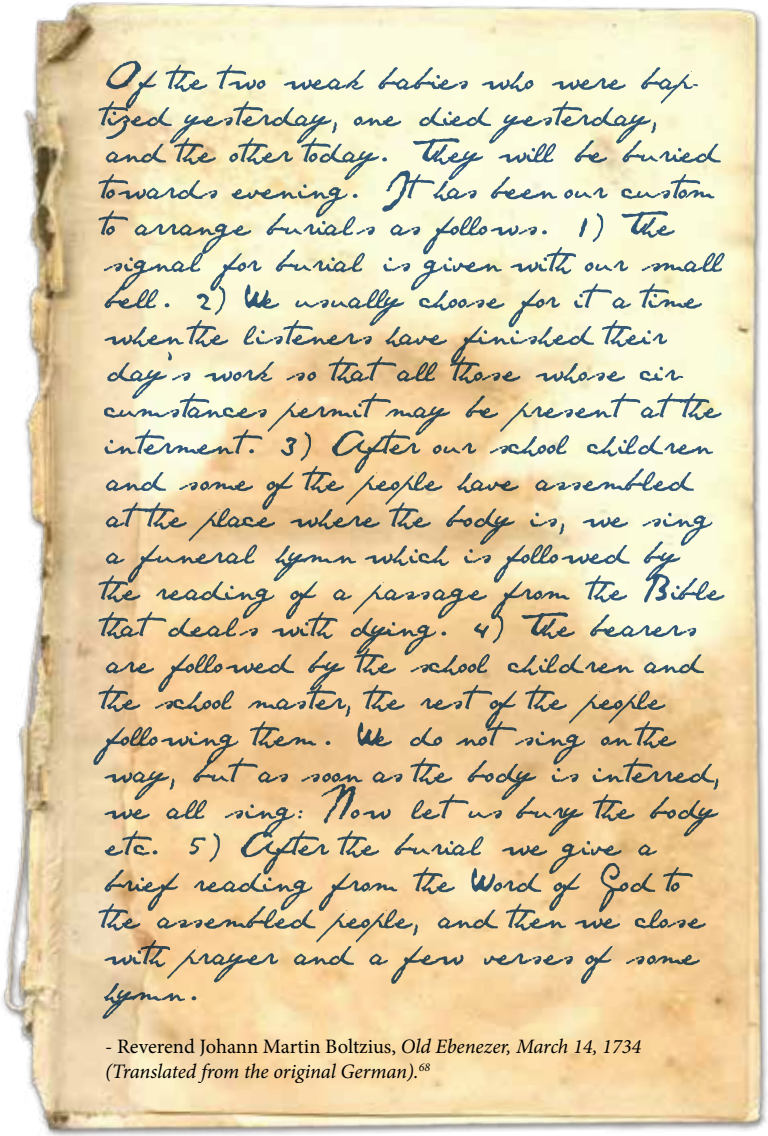
Ebenezer

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

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

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

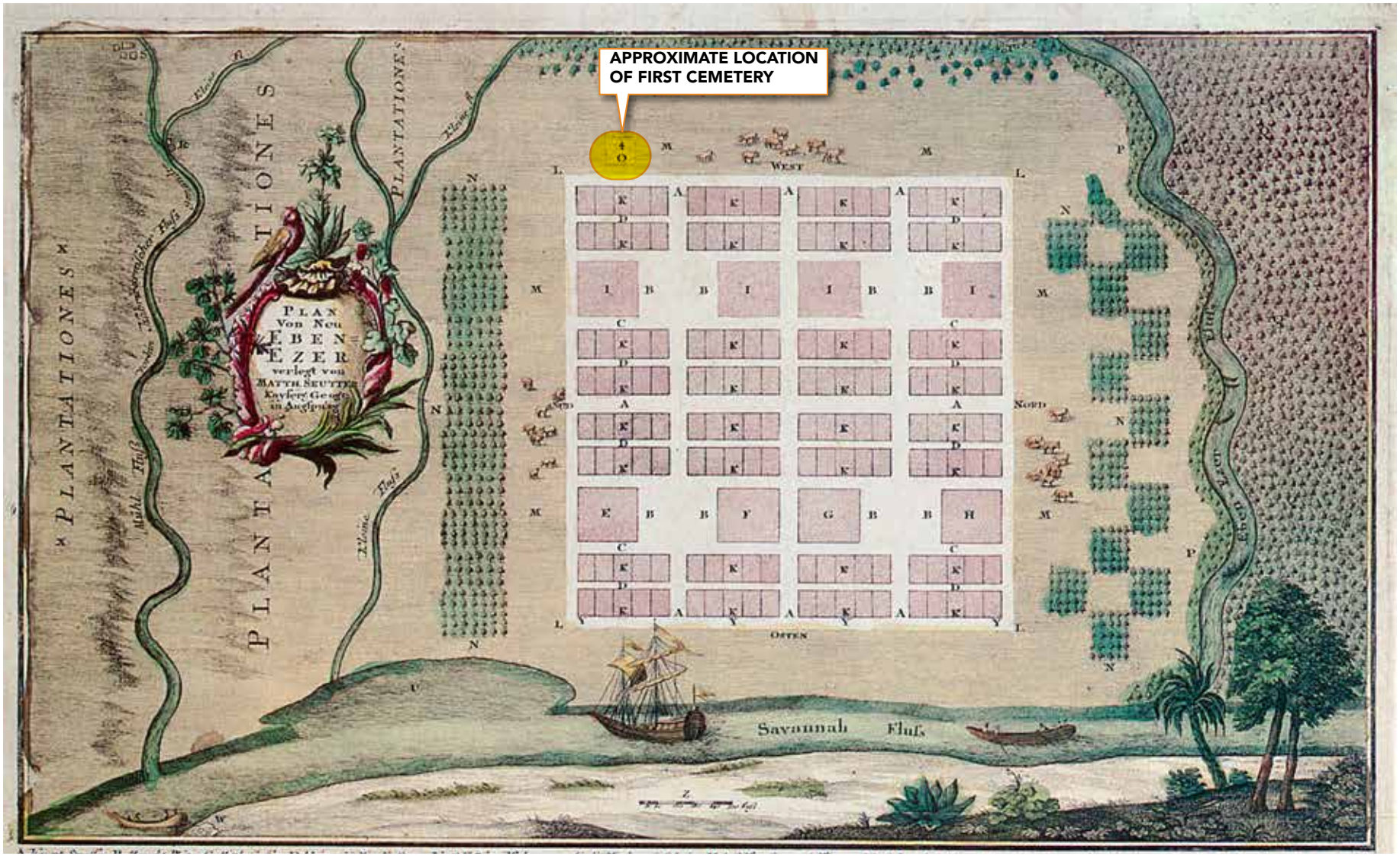
Infant Burial at New Ebenezer, 1734



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

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

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



Church and Cemetery at New Ebenezer

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

Source: My Genealogy Hound Website.

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

The Moravians of Irene

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

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

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

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

Fort King George

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

Fort King George
Source: GDOT

The British Army at Fort Frederica 1735-1742

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

The Highland Scots at Darien

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

A Mid-18th-Century Scottish Funeral

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

- Somerville of Jedburgh (1741-1814), Memoirs (Description of a Funeral in Scotland)

Dead Bell Illustration. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

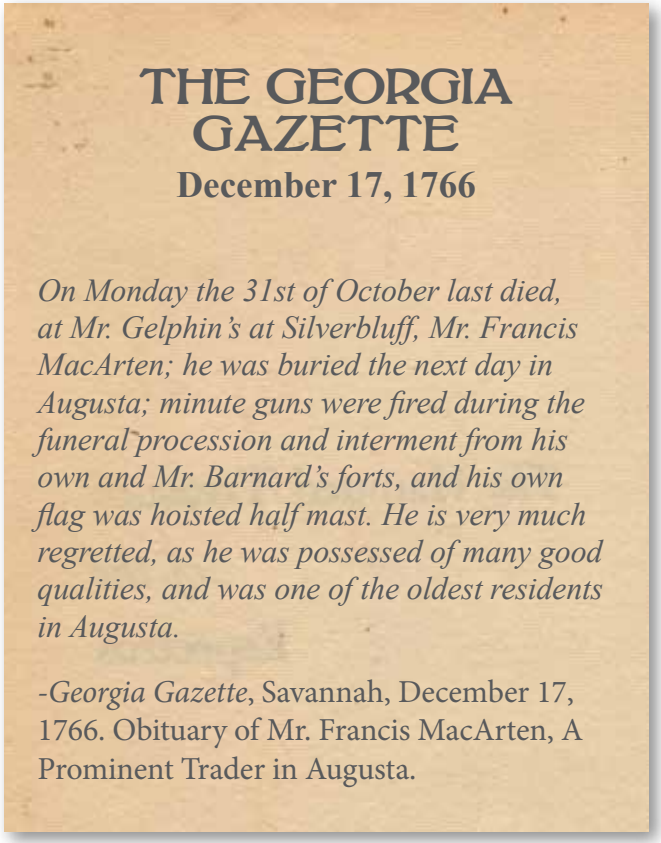
Scottish Traditions in the Old World...and the New

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

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

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

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



FRONTIER GEORGIA: AUGUSTA

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

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

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

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

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

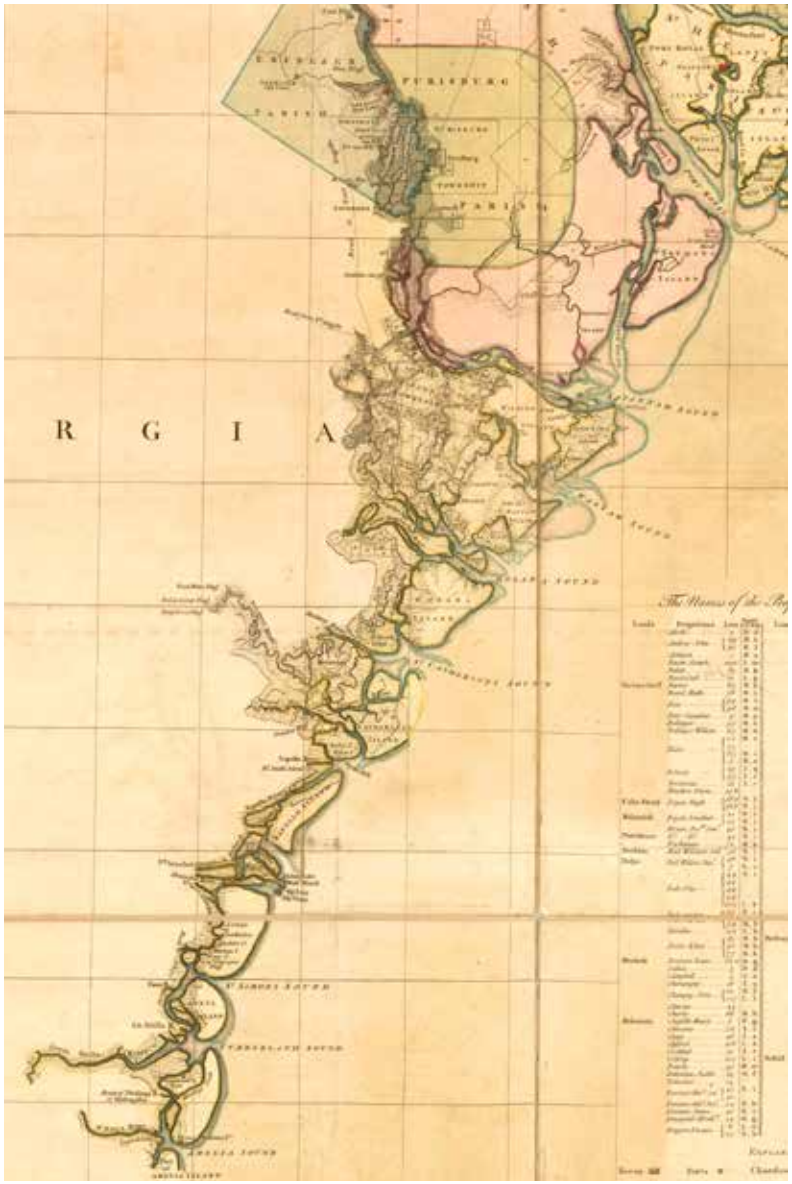
The burial ground in Augusta was located immediately adjacent to the church, which is on the river in the center, not the outskirts of town. This differs from the legislatively designated burial places in the planned towns of Savannah and Ebenezer, where they were not next to the churches, but instead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

THREE GEORGIAS MERGE INTO ONE ROYAL COLONY

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

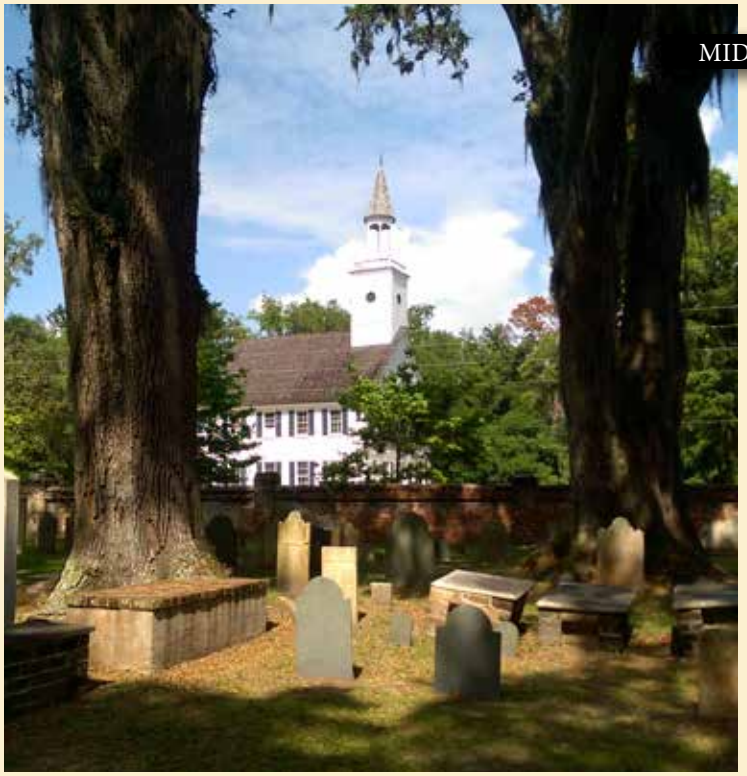
Despite the support from the Scots and Salzburgers, the Trustees began to lose interest and faith in their experiment. In 1751, one year before the Trustee period was scheduled to end and when Parliament had denied their annual request for money, the Trustees decided to surrender their charter early.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

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



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

SUNBURY



MIDWAY

Sunbury and Midway Cemeteries

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

(Top) Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.
(Bottom) Midway Congregational Church, Midway, Liberty County.

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

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

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

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

NEW ARRIVALS

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

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

PRAGMATISM SURPASSES IDEALISM – FROM THE TOWN TO THE PLANTATION

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

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

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

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

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

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

EXPANSION AND CHANGE

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

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

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

Fort Frederica Cemetery, Glynn County.

Chapter Two Summary

KEYS


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


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


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


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


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

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

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

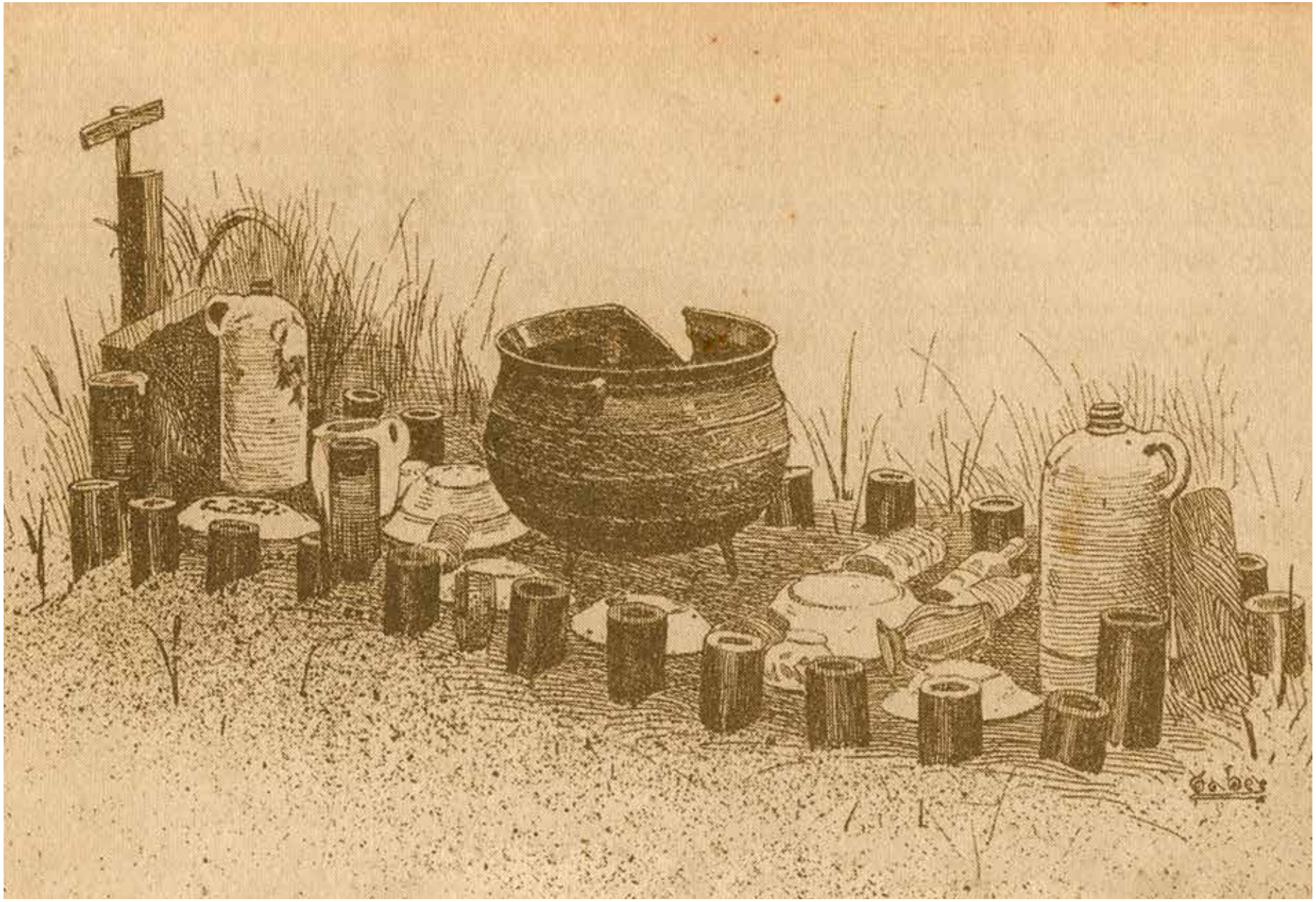
SUGGESTED READINGS

Harold E. Davis, *The Fledgling Province: Social and Cultural Life in Colonial Georgia, 1733-1776*. Chapel Hill: Published for the Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, Virginia, University of North Carolina Press, 1976.

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

Erik R. Seeman, *Death in the New World, Cross Cultural Encounters, 1492-1800*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010.

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



CHAPTER THREE
AFRICAN DEATH AND BURIAL: 1751-1860

The shells stand for the sea. The sea brought us, and the sea shall take us back. So the shells upon our graves stand for water, the means of glory, and the land of demise.

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

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

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

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

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

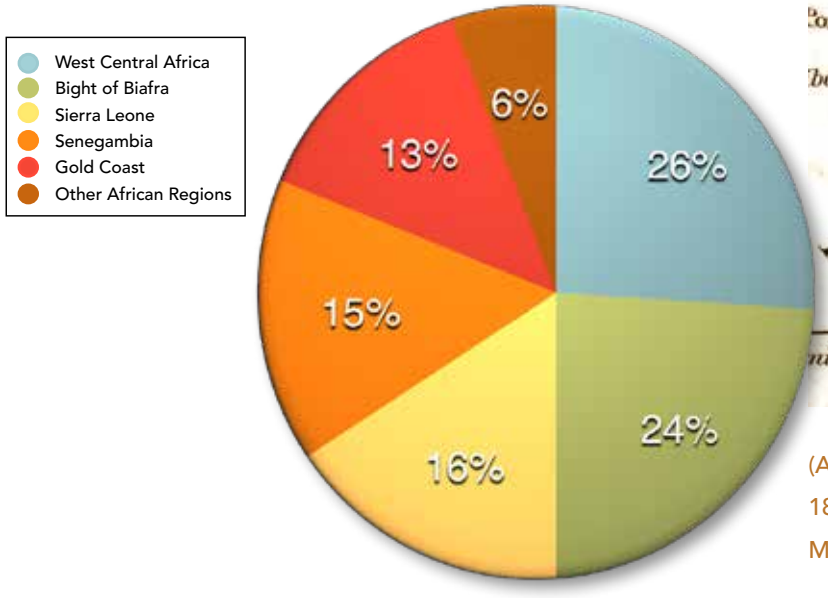
THE PLANTATION ECONOMY AND WEST AFRICAN ENSLAVEMENT

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

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

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

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



(Above) Detail showing West Africa from an 1839 Map of Africa. Drawn by Samuel Augustus Mitchell and published in Philadelphia.

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

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

Gullah Geechee People

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

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

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

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

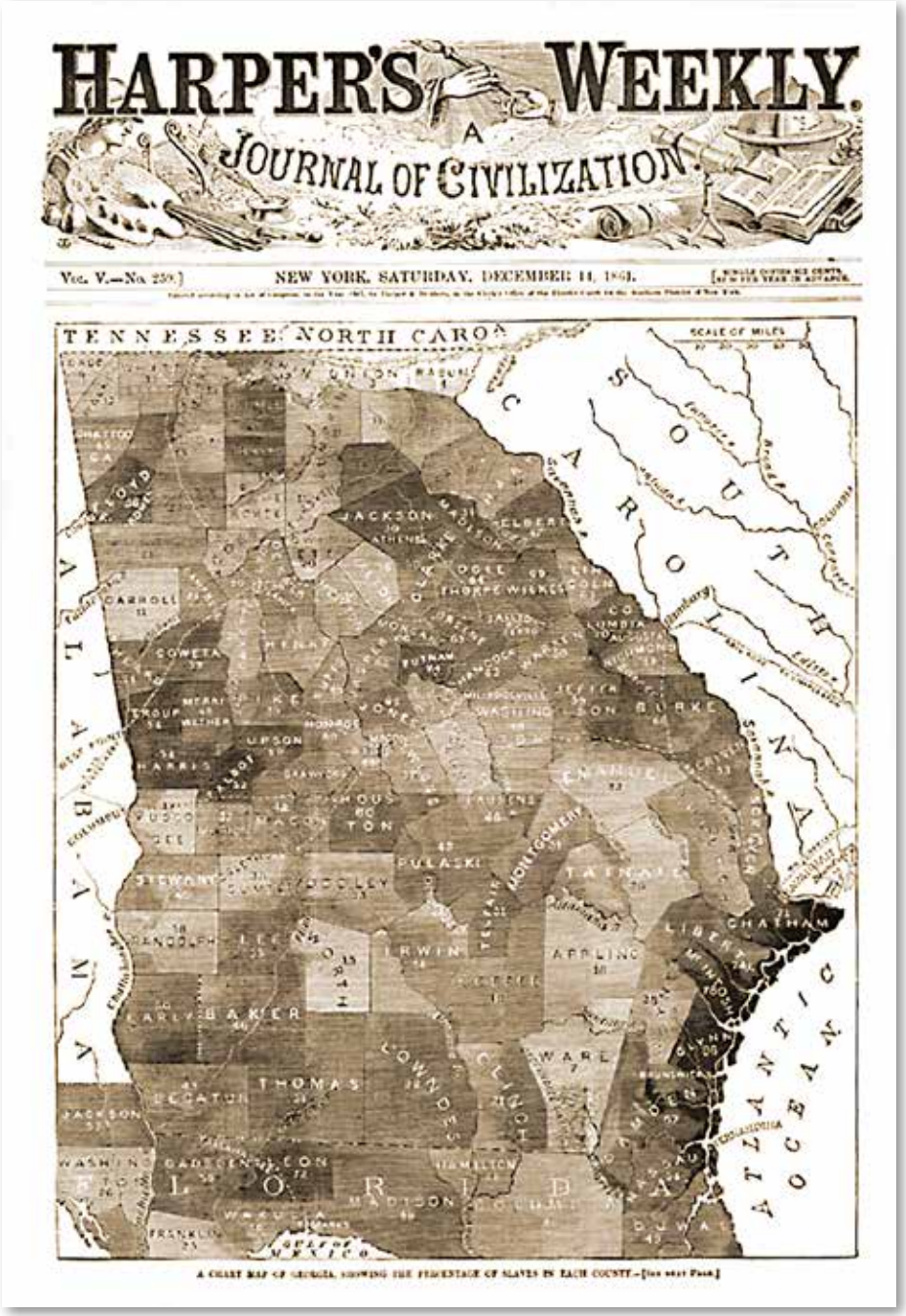
(Top) The Gullah Geechee Heritage Corridor was designated by an Act of Congress in 2006 in recognition of the unique cultural traditions that have evolved there from captive Africans brought to the United States from West Africa. (Baskets Right and Left) The Gullah Geechee community retains many elements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

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

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

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

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



This cover illustration from *Harper's Weekly* charts the percentage of enslaved Africans in Georgia by county in 1861 showing the density of the enslaved population throughout the state. Source: *Harper's Weekly*, 1861.

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

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

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

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

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

BELIEFS THAT SURVIVED THE CROSSING

Buried in the Floor

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

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

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

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

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

The BaKongo Cosmogram

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Reverend Andrew Marshall's Funeral, Savannah, 1856

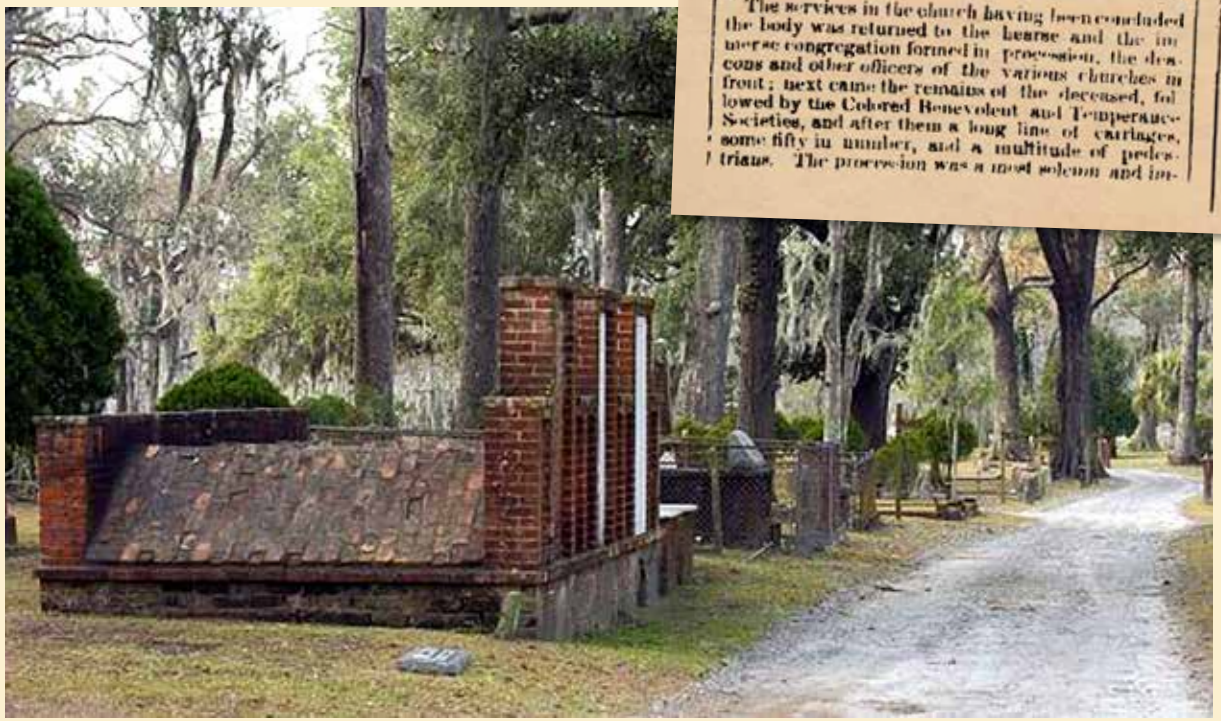
A Black Man's Funeral.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

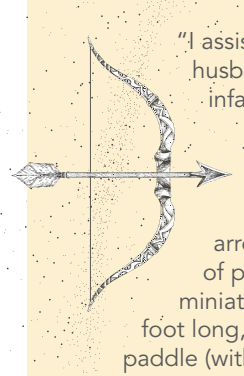
Noted sociologist W.E.B. Du Bois cited statistics that show there were approximately 468,000 total Black Christian church members by the Civil War.[51] This number underscores how deeply entrenched Christianity became among the free and enslaved Black population, both in urban and rural settings, during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

PLANTATION DEATH AND BURIAL

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

Funeral for an Enslaved African Boy

Charles Ball, in the narrative of his life under slavery, told the story of assisting at a funeral conducted by enslaved Africans:



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

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

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

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

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

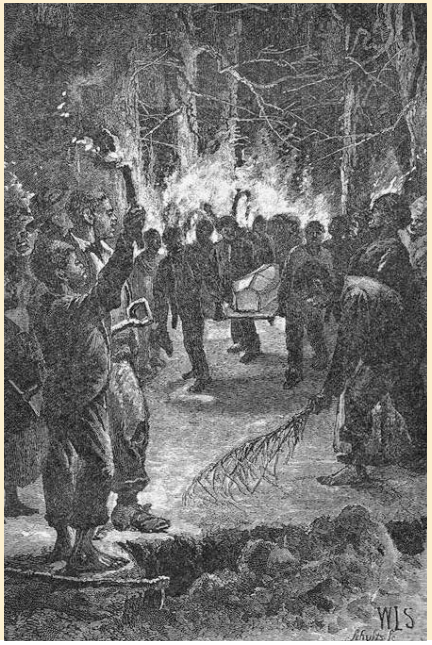
Providing for the Dead...

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

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

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

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



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

...and Protection from Spirits

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CONTRASTS

Placement of White and Black Burials on a Plantation

We skirted the plantation burial ground, and a dismal place it looked; the cattle trampling over it in every direction, except where Mr. King (Roswell King, the overseer] had had an enclosure put up round the graves of two white men who worked on the estate... by virtue of their white skins, their resting place was protected from the hoofs of the cattle, while the parents and children, wives, husbands, brothers and sisters, of the poor slaves, sleeping beside them might see the graves of those they loved trampled upon and browsed over, desecrated and defiled, from morning till night. There is something intolerably cruel in this disdainful denial of a common humanity pursuing these wretches even when they are hid beneath the earth.

- Frances Kemble, 1839, in her *Journal of Residence of a Georgia Plantation in 1838-1839 (McIntosh County)*[87]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Going Home to be with Family

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

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

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

DEATH AND BURIAL OF AFRICAN PEOPLE IN GEORGIA BEFORE 1861

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter Three Summary

KEYS


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


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


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


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


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

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

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

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

Myrtle Hill Cemetery, Rome, Floyd County

Photograph Courtesy of Greg McCary,
New Horizon Photography, 2015.

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

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

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

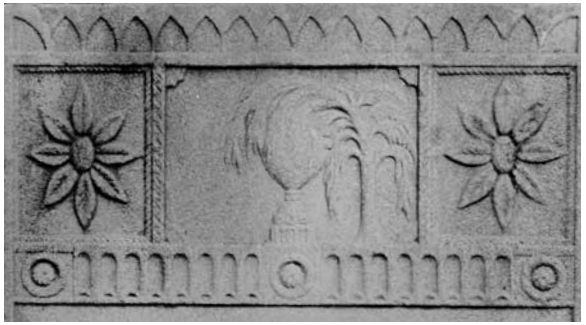
While a number of factors affected the way Georgians viewed death in the 19th century, two were paramount – the rise of Romanticism in American culture and the increasing role of local and state governments and private businesses in burial practices. Ushered in by the end of the Enlightenment and the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

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

THE ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE SECOND GREAT AWAKENING

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

IDEALS OF ROMANTICISM AND VICTORIANISM

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

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

ROMANTICISM

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

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

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

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

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

VICTORIANISM

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

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

A VISIT TO THE CITY CEMETERY

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

Augusta Chronicle,
November 9, 1864

MACON WEEKLY TELEGRAPH

January 26, 1847

HONORS TO THE DEAD

THE FUNERAL OF ISSAC HOLMES, FORMER MAYOR OF MACON

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

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

Victorian Funerals

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

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

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

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

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

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

RURAL GARDEN CEMETERIES

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

The weeping willow was a popular symbol of mourning during the Romantic and Victorian periods. (Left) Midway Cemetery, Liberty County. (Right) Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.

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

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

Père Lachaise in Paris, France was a precursor to the American Rural Garden Cemetery. Its grand monuments to the dead captured the interests of Americans in the Victorian period. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

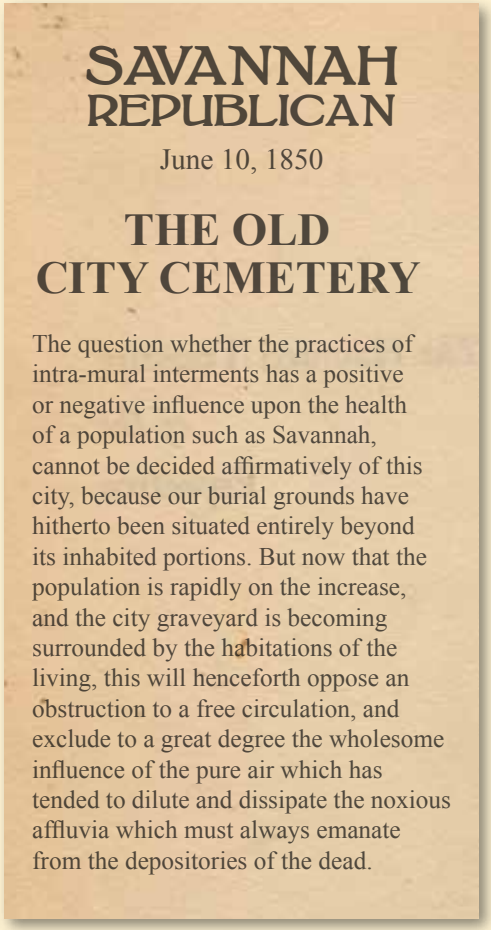
Cemeteries in other large northeastern cities and later had a strong influence on the landscape design of American urban parks.[28] A European woman, Lady Amelia Murray, remarked on the spacious, sylvan setting of Mount Auburn, "…in feeling and taste it is really perfect (circa 1835). No crowding up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

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

Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston, Massachusetts was constructed by city officials facing the same health concerns as those in Paris. Inspired by Père Lachaise and the ideals of the Romantic and Victorian period, Mount Auburn became the first Rural Garden Cemetery. Its picturesque sylvan landscape invited people to escape the bustle of the city and stroll its parklike setting. Source: Siska Williams.

Cemetery Health Concerns

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



SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

June 10, 1850

THE OLD CITY CEMETERY

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

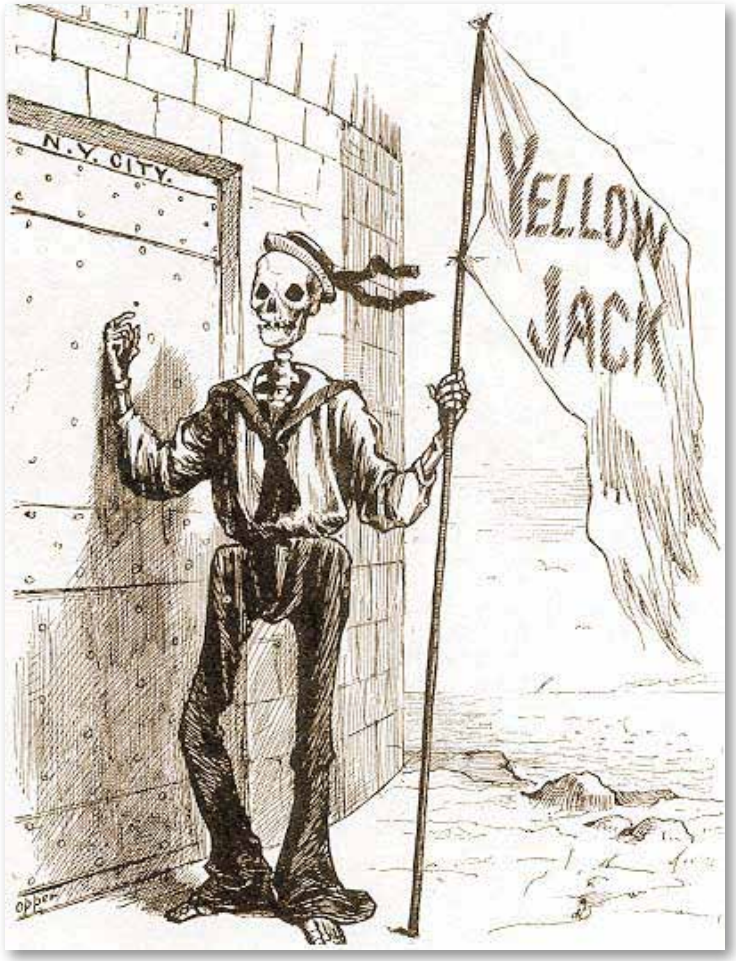
the Garden cemeteries in Georgia were publicly financed and largely accessible to white middle-class residents of more modest means. Rose Hill Cemetery in Macon appears to have been the first Rural Garden Cemetery established in Georgia based on the design concepts established at Mount Auburn. Other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

PUBLIC HEALTH – GERM THEORY, SANITATION REFORM, AND CEMETERIES

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

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

By the mid-1800s, the idea that small microorganisms called germs were present in the body and caused disease began to gain widespread acceptance.[33] New medical treatments based on germ theory were widely adapted as Victorian society stressed innovation and the idea that reform can positively impact the world. While it had long been recognized that burial grounds could be unhealthy places, reformers began to advocate for changing burial practices in urban environments to lessen their impact on human health – namely, to not allow cemeteries to reach extreme overcapacity and to keep them located at the periphery of habitation areas. As mentioned earlier, in America there was generally no shortage of space to expand. As established cities grew and encroached upon older, Colonial-period burial grounds, cities made the decision to close the cemeteries and open new ones further outside of town due, in large part, to health concerns. An additional impetus in America was a desire for the real estate occupied by cemeteries in what is now the downtown city center. It has been suggested that the high value of downtown real estate in Boston was as much of an impetus for the construction and location of Mount Auburn Cemetery as health concerns and Victorian sensibilities.[34]



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

As the American frontier expanded throughout the 1800s, new towns and communities in Georgia sought to plan ahead for death and burials. The management of death and burial continued its progression from the private, religious sphere, to the public, secular sphere. Another innovation of this period concerning the management of death was the Death Certificate. From its roots in the Bills of Mortality, which recorded the numbers of dead from the plague in 16th-century England, the modern death certificate prototype was established in England in 1837.[35] In the U.S., more standardized death certificates appeared in 1910, with Georgia adopting them statewide in 1919.

THE GEOGRAPHY AND MANAGEMENT OF CEMETERIES AND BURIAL GROUNDS

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

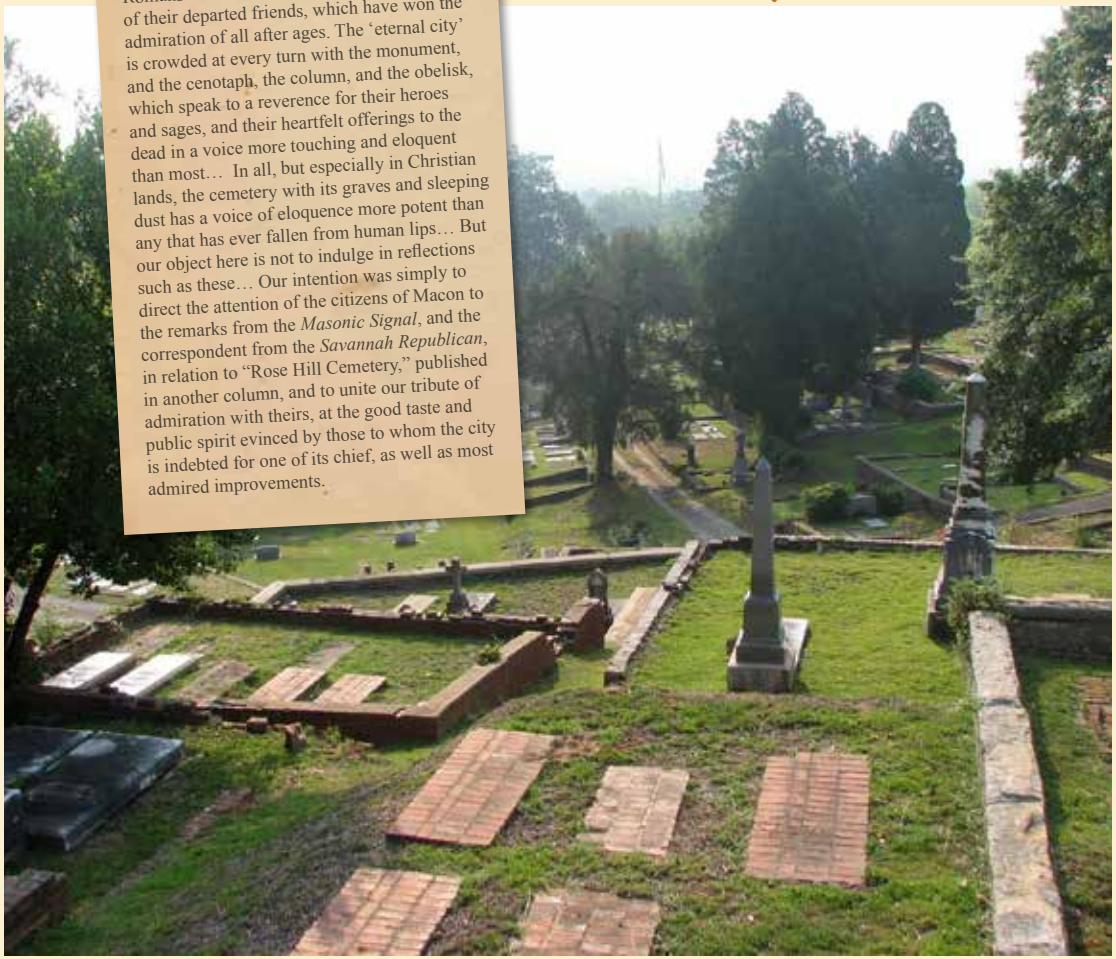
Rural Garden Cemeteries in Georgia

Rose Hill Cemetery, Macon, Bibb County, Established 1840

MACON WEEKLY TELEGRAPH

August 26, 1845

The Egyptians honored the memory of their dead by interring their bodies in the beautiful groves of their Elysian fields or by embalming them and placing them in the vast catacombs, or in their monumental pyramids. The polished and cultivated Greeks in the darkness of their cold mythology exhausted their fine taste and exquisite art in honoring the memory of their dead and soothing the grief of the living. The Romans erected monuments to the memory of their departed friends, which have won the admiration of all after ages. The 'eternal city' is crowded at every turn with the monument, and the cenotaph, the column, and the obelisk, which speak to a reverence for their heroes and sages, and their heartfelt offerings to the dead in a voice more touching and eloquent than most… In all, but especially in Christian lands, the cemetery with its graves and sleeping dust has a voice of eloquence more potent than any that has ever fallen from human lips… But our object here is not to indulge in reflections such as these… Our intention was simply to direct the attention of the citizens of Macon to the remarks from the *Masonic Signal*, and the correspondent from the *Savannah Republican*, in relation to "Rose Hill Cemetery," published in another column, and to unite our tribute of admiration with theirs, at the good taste and public spirit evinced by those to whom the city is indebted for one of its chief, as well as most admired improvements.



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

Oconee Hills Cemetery, Athens, Clark County, Established 1856

(Below) Map of the City of Athens. W.W. Thomas, CE, October 1874. Source: Reprint Athens Historical Society, 1974.

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

DOMESTIC BURIALS IN THE AGRICULTURAL LANDSCAPE

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

EMERGENCE OF MUNICIPAL CEMETERIES

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

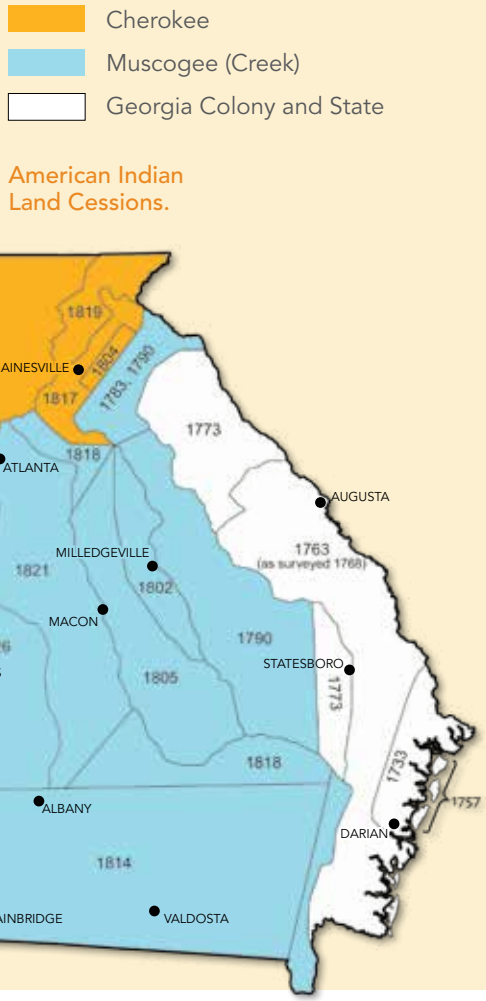
Late 18th and Early 19th-Century Muscogee (Creek) and Cherokee Land Treaties

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

New Echota Cemetery, Gordon County

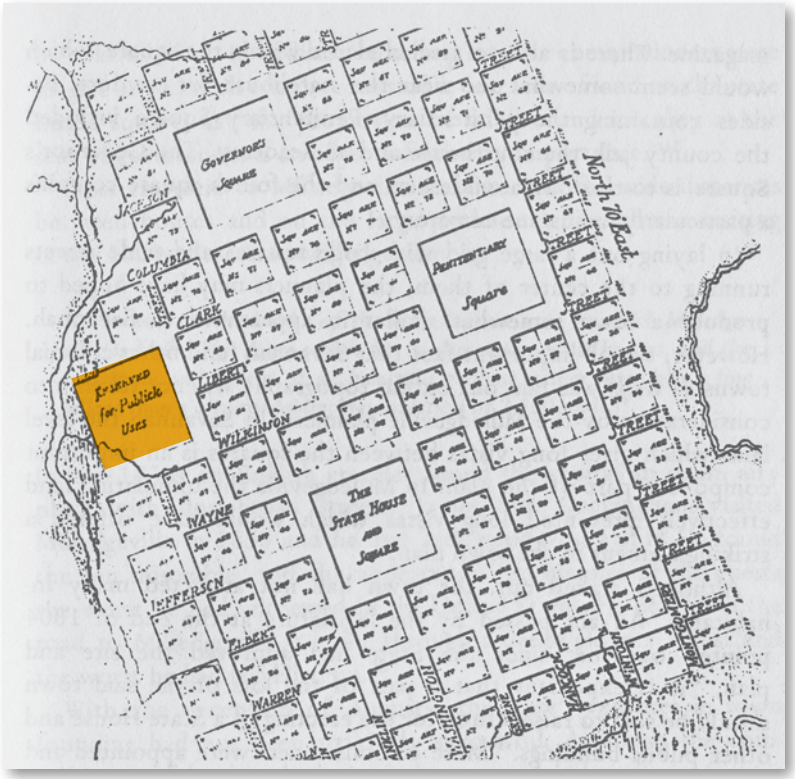
(Far Left) Harriet Ruggles grave. (Left) Chief Path Killer's grave. (Below) New Echota Cemetery, Gordon County.

Land Cession and Population Distributions 1810-1860

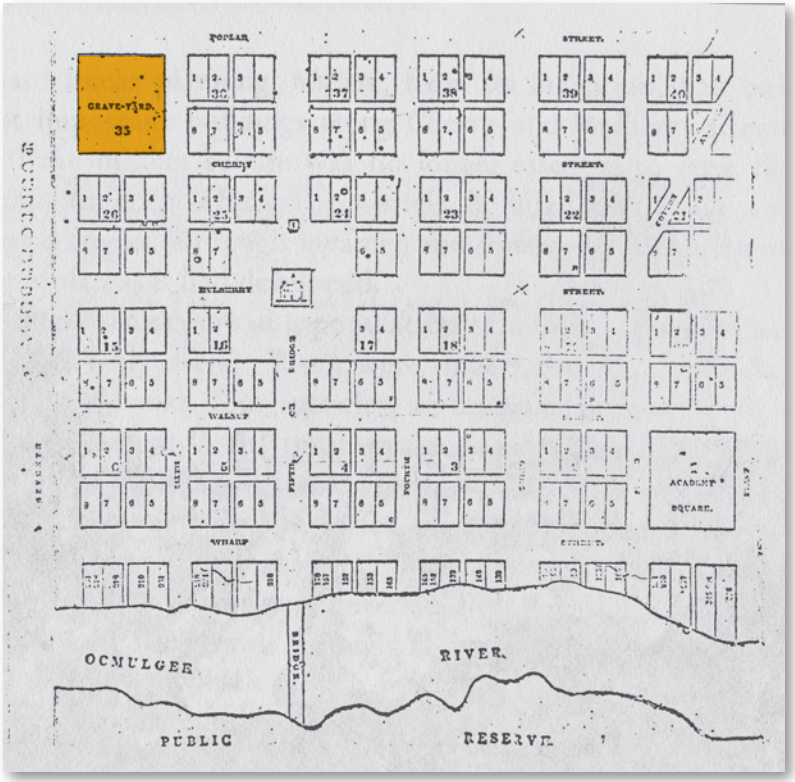


Early Town Plans
with Cemetery Locations

MILLEDGEVILLE



MACON



Source: Sears, *The First One Hundred Years of Town Planning in Georgia,1979.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

City Cemeteries

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

An African American woman in traditional Victorian mourning attire, Baldwin County, Georgia. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection.

Laurel Grove, Savannah, Chatham County

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

April 14, 1851

THE NEW CEMETERY

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

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

SAVANNAH REPUBLICAN

March 18, 1851

THE NEW CEMETERY

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

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

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

Cemetery Fences

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

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

1921 *Sears, Roebuck and Co. Catalog.*

Cast Iron Gate, Gibbs Cemetery, Montgomery County.

ROMANTIC GEORGIA (1811-1837)

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

Greek Key Pattern. Jewish Cemetery, Chatham County.

FEDERAL GEORGIA (1780-1850)

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

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

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

Woven Wire Fence, Linwood Cemetery, Muscogee County.

Cast and Wrought Iron, Sunbury Cemetery, Liberty County.

AMERICAN VICTORIAN (1840-1910)

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

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

INSTITUTIONAL DEATH

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

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

Asylum Cemetery, Milledgeville, Baldwin County

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

Source: Natalie Goes, Flicker.

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

THE PRIVATELY CHARTERED CEMETERY

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

Bonaventure Cemetery, Savannah, Chatham County

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

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

NEW CEMETERIES EMERGE

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

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

Rose Hill Cemetery, Bibb County.

Chapter Four Summary

KEYS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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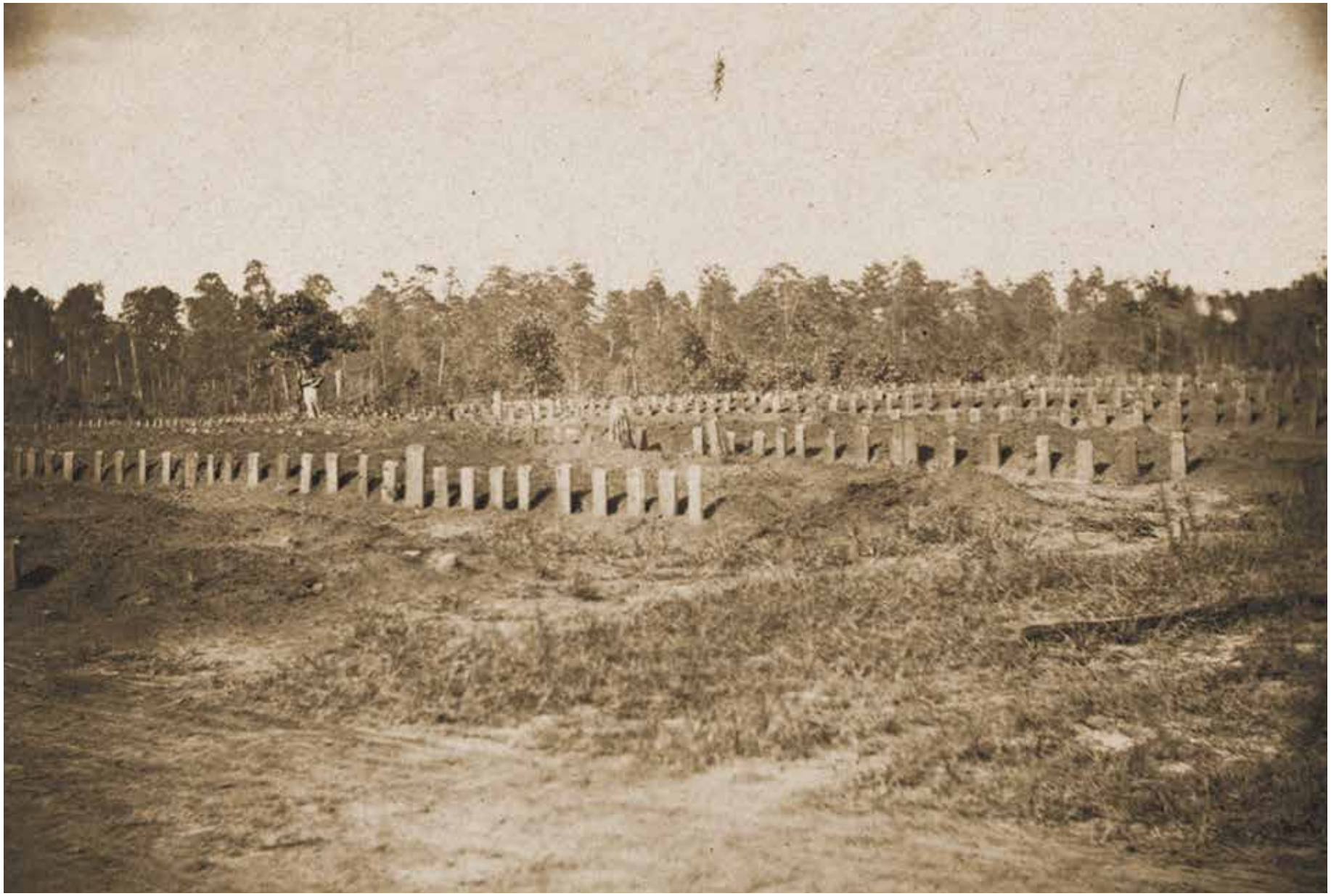
For an even deeper look... See the Annotated Bibliography in Appendix C

Andersonville Prison Cemetery, August 1864 (now Andersonville National Historic Site)
Photographer A.J. Riddle. Source: National Park Service.



CHAPTER FIVE
DEATH RECONSTRUCTED:1864-1920

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

- Elisha Hunt Rhodes[1]

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

ARS MORIENDI IN THE CIVIL WAR

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

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

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

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

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

THE CIVIL WAR DEAD

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

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

Burying the dead at Fredericksburg, Va., after the Wilderness Campaign, May 1864. Photograph by Timothy H. O'Sullivan. Source: National Archives Photograph No. 528928.

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

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

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

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

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

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

The Scale of Death

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

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

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

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

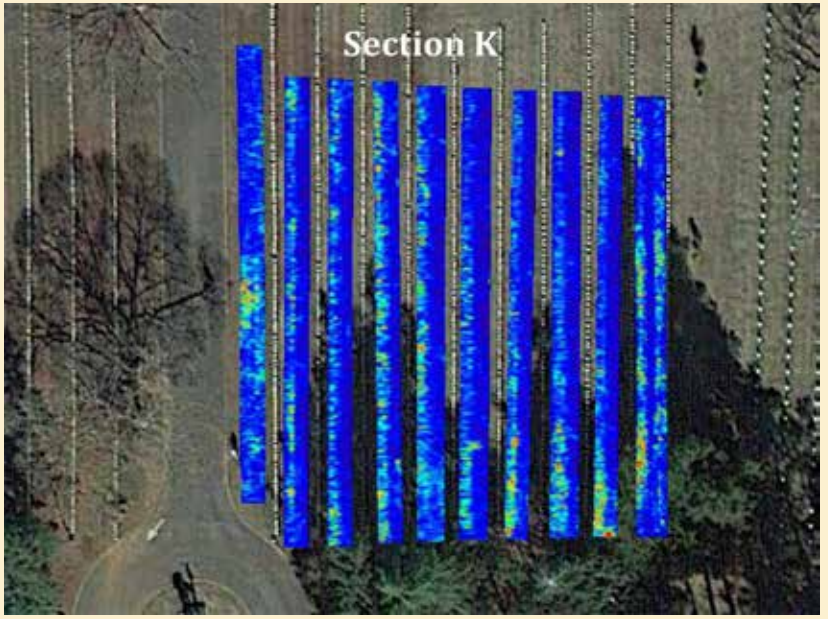
- Confederate Surgeon, John Wyeth[12]

ANDERSONVILLE

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

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

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



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

Source: Jim Pomfret, GDOT.

The massive carnage that became commonplace on the battlefields of Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania was finally brought to Georgia's northern doorstep during the Battle of Chickamauga, September 18-20, 1863. Over 34,000 men were killed, wounded, or lost over a three-day span, and the first cemeteries of the Civil War were established in Georgia in the aftermath of the fighting.[15] After Chickamauga, most of the Union fallen in Georgia were buried on the battlefield, and a large majority of Confederate dead were interred in nearby cemeteries.

Many of the Southern dying and wounded were transported by rail to the large field hospitals in Marietta and Atlanta. The makeshift hospital facilities were located in close proximity to each city's major cemetery to facilitate the mass burial of scores of amputated body parts and dead patients. The Marietta Confederate Cemetery was established in 1863 on privately donated land to handle the sudden influx of war dead, while the Atlanta Cemetery (known today as Oakland Cemetery) was expanded by nearly 50 acres to accommodate the large number of Confederates (and some Union soldiers) who died while in the care of local hospitals.[16]

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

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

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

EVOLUTION OF NATIONAL CEMETERIES

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

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

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

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

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

Be it enacted...

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

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

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

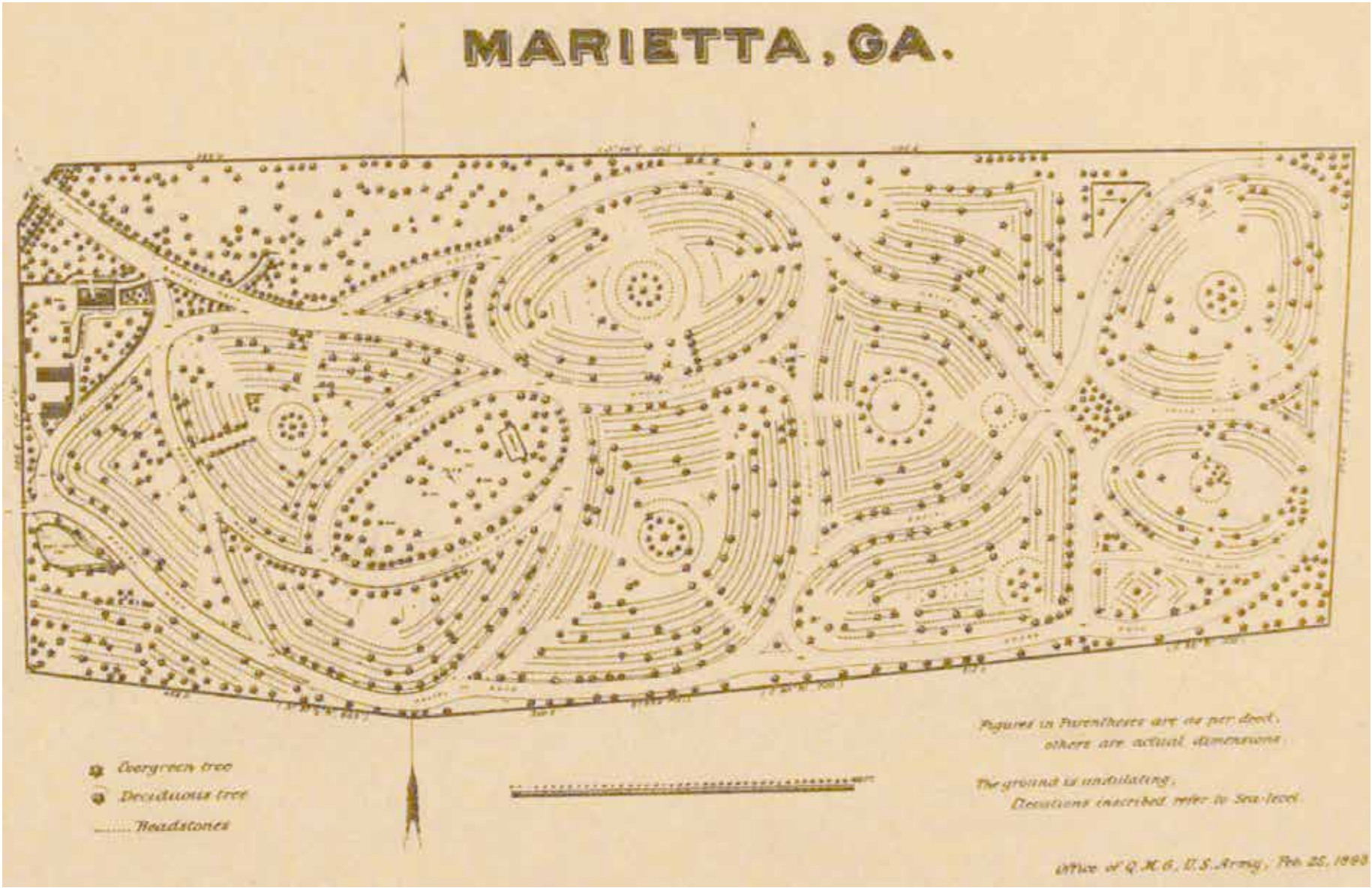
By 1867, the need for guidelines to govern how national cemeteries were designed and maintained resulted in a set of federal standards. These guidelines included the placement of a headstone on every interment and the erection of a wall or fence around the entire facility.[25] All cemeteries were preplanned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

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

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

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

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



1893 Plan for Marietta National Cemetery showing Horn's design featuring 21 burial areas configured in circles, crescents, ovals, and shield shapes within the rectangular boundary. Source: National Archives and Records Administration.

EMBALMED AND IRON CASED

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

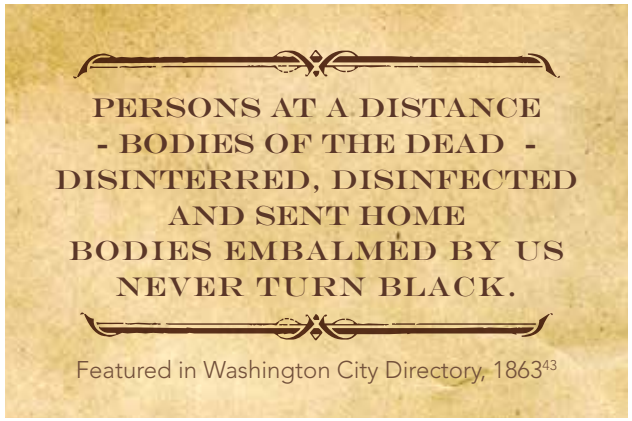
- Oliver Wendell Holmes[34]

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

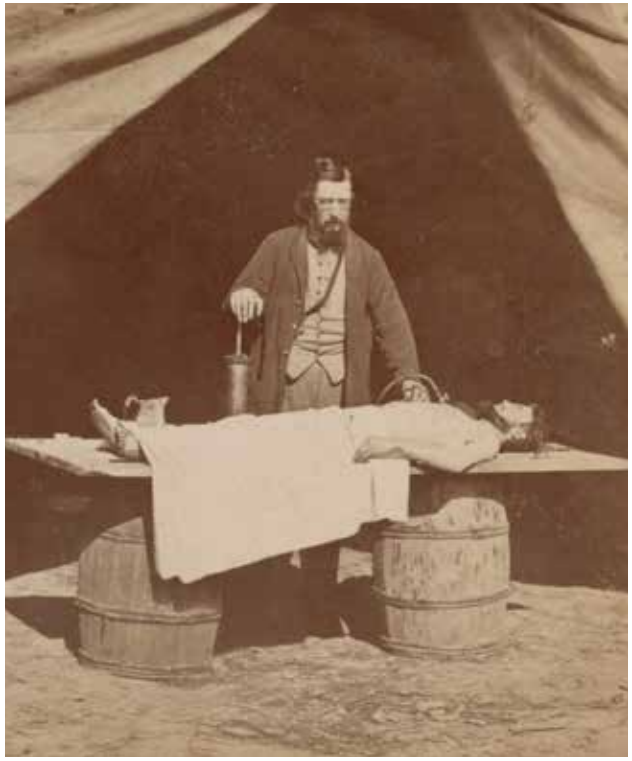
The process involved locating the body, having it removed from the ground, providing a coffin for storage and shipping, embalming, and shipping it home. Faust's research on Civil War burials provides numerous cases in which each or all of these steps could be fraught with difficulty. Many families sought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

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

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



Featured in Washington City Directory, 1863[43]



(Above) Embalming building near Fredericksburg. Source: Stereograph 1s02705, Library of Congress.

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

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

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

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF THE FUNERAL INDUSTRY

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

70 *Savannah City Directory.*

THOMAS HENDERSON,

FURNITURE DEALER AND UNDERTAKER,

Cabinet-Maker and Upholsterer,

No. 28

WHITAKER STREET,

ONE DOOR FROM BROUGHTON,

Savannah, Ga.

Funeral requisites furnished at short notice. Has on hand Metallic Caskets and Cases, and all kinds of Wood Coffins; also, Furniture of all kinds for sale. Furniture repaired and varnished. Mattresses made over and to order, and Feathers renovated by steam.

RESIDENCE, 135 YORK STREET,

Between Bull and Whitaker.

PULASKI HOUSE,

JOHNSON SQUARE,

SAVANNAH, GA.,

WILTBERGER & CARROLL, Proprietors.

1870 Savannah City Directory advertisement for Thomas Henderson's firm on Whitaker Street, Savannah, showing the dichotomy in services they provided.

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

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

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

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

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

1880 Atlanta City Directory Advertisement for Bohnefeld and Boas's Undertaking and Livery Stables on Loyd Street.

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

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

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

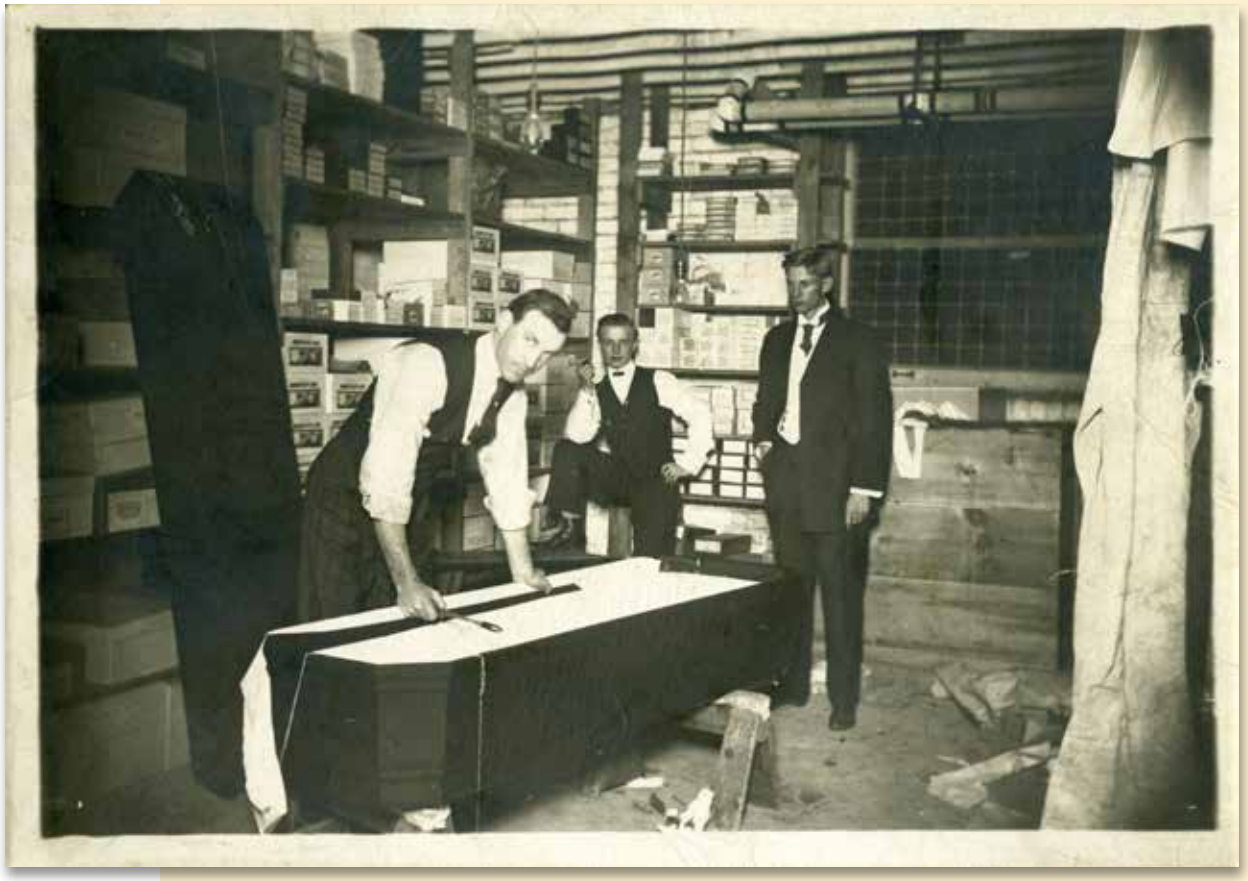
Race was a critical consideration in the development of the Southern funeral industry, allowing both Black and white entrepreneurs strong commercial opportunities. City directories make clear the racial dichotomy that defined the treatment of the dead. Many cities had a white and Black undertaker and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

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

Industry Makers

A VIEW FROM SOUTHWEST GEORGIA

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

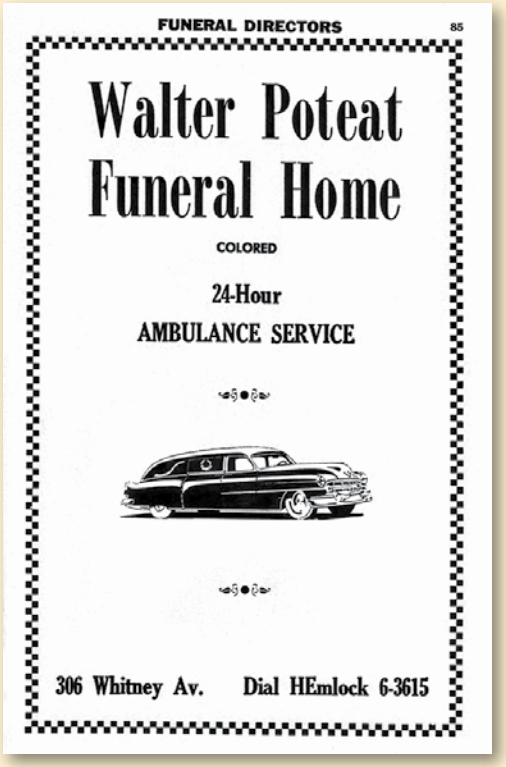


Source: Hugh B. Matternes Personal Photograph Collection.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

One City's Undertaking

– Augusta's Dent Funeral Home
– Platt's Funeral Home

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

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

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

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

The Family Undertaker, 1919.
Source: Advertisement, *Atlanta Journal.*

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

GEORGIA'S FUNERAL INDUSTRY

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

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

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

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

COFFIN AND VAULT MANUFACTURING

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

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

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

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

Crafting a Coffin

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

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

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

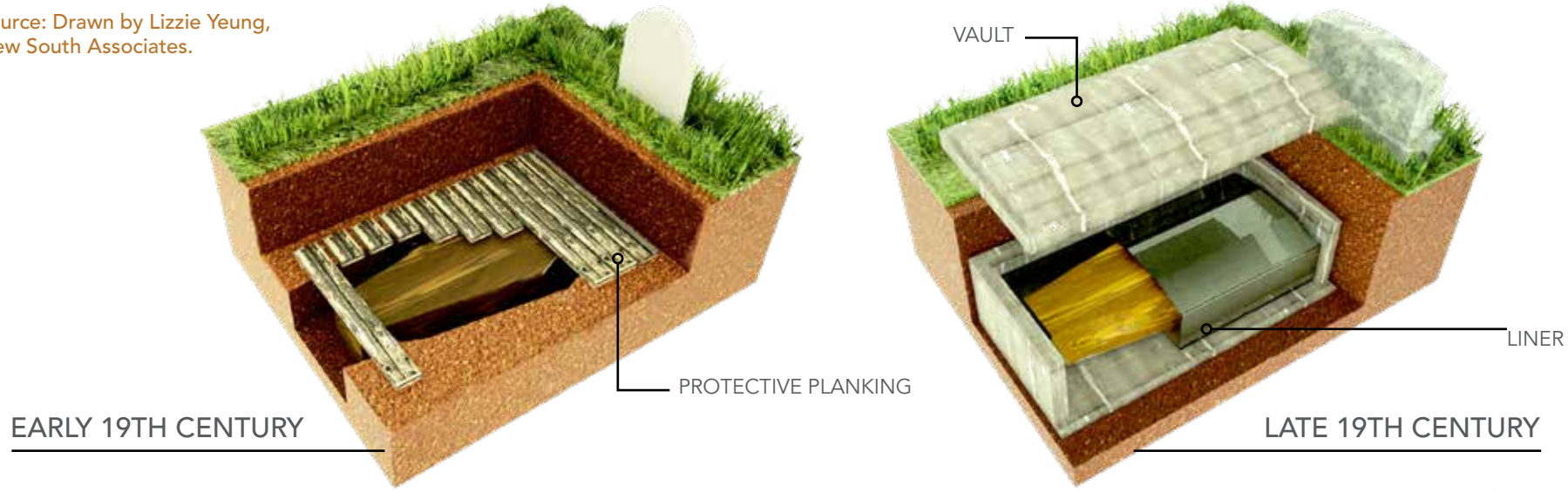
Prior to the Civil War, coffin makers sometimes constructed wooden liners that acted as a protective covering for the casket. The containers exhibited finishes that complemented those on the coffin but were usually less decorative. An economical alternative to a custom-made liner was to use commercial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

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

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

Vaults and Liners:How They Work

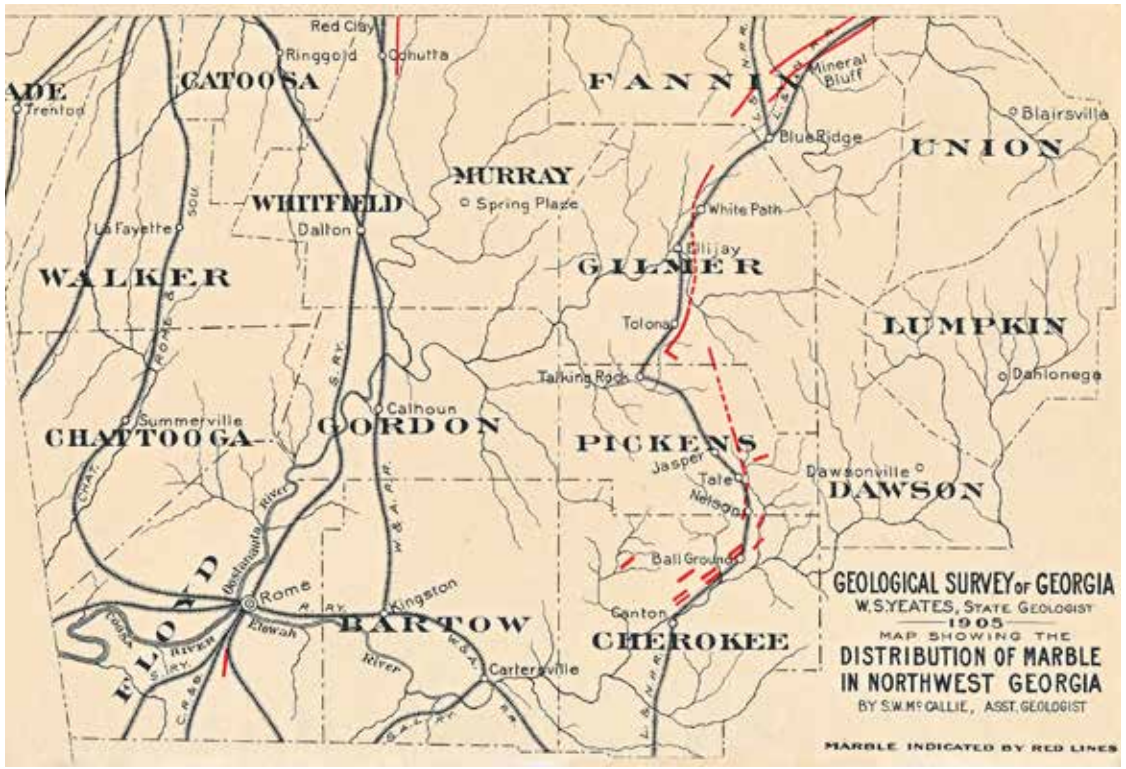
Source: Drawn by Lizzie Yeung, New South Associates.



GRAVE MARKER INDUSTRY

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

As Georgians moved west and northwest, taking possession of north Georgia's marble beds and granite outcrops after the forced removal of American Indians from the region, opportunities for quarry operations expanded. Quarrying in both industries during the antebellum period was essentially opportunistic, with mining focused on accessible outcrops, beds, and veins, and the retrieval of stone that could be feasibly transported by a wagon. Once a viable railroad network was established, railcars quickly replaced wagons and industrial rail spurs were built to connect cutting sheds to the main rail lines. Quarries were successfully opened in the 1880s and operated at an industrial scale, and the state's marble and granite industries began to offer monument stone to state and national consumers.

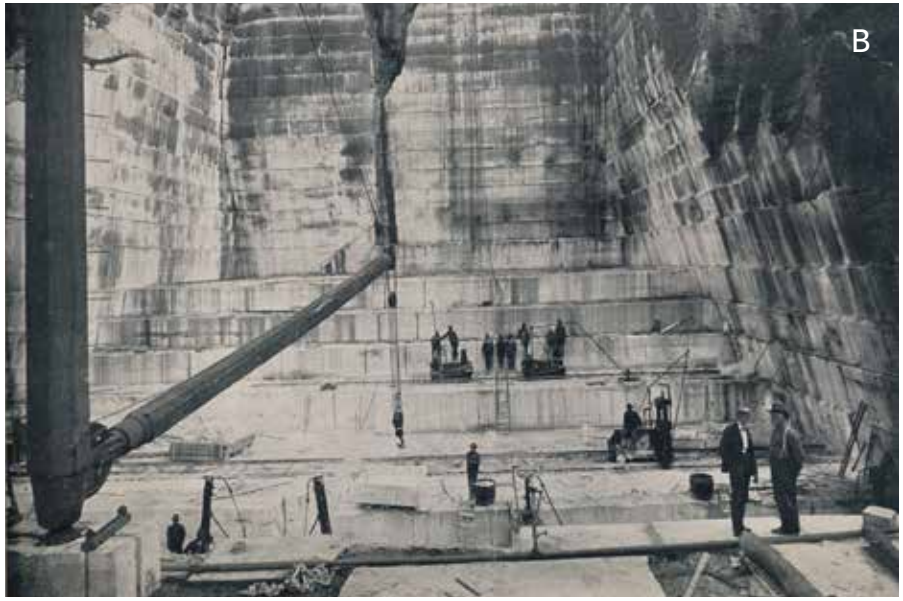


Georgia's marble belt, a narrow, roughly 60-mile long region, lies within Fannin, Gilmer, Pickens, and Cherokee counties in the northwest sector of the state. While many Georgians were looking for land lots to farm, Irish entrepreneur Henry Fitzsimmons acquired land lots to quarry within the marble belt. He began quarrying marble from boulders and surface outcrops in Longswamp Valley, near Tate, in the 1830s to produce grave markers.[81] In Longswamp (now known as Marble Hill) and Jasper, he established several small water-powered finishing mills, where rough quarried stone was cut, carved, and polished into finished gravestones.[82] These mills helped to increase production and reduce costs, but manufacturing was still expensive and distribution local.

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

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

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



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

1906 Georgia Marble Company Price List

No. 3 Base strips, post and bottom bases, per cubic feet	$1.25
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 3 inches	$0.65
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 12 x 3 inches	$0.75
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 4 inches	$0.75
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 12 x 4 inches	$0.65
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 10 x 3 inches	$1.00
Markers, 20 to 24 inches long by 14 x 4 inches	$1.15
Foot Stones, 4 to 8 inches wide by 2 inches thick	$0.20
Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads	$0.22
Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads and sand rubbed	$0.25
Foot Stones, Same size, sawed heads, sand rubbed and boxed	$0.28
Diminished dies, extra, per cubic feet	$0.50

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

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


C


D

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

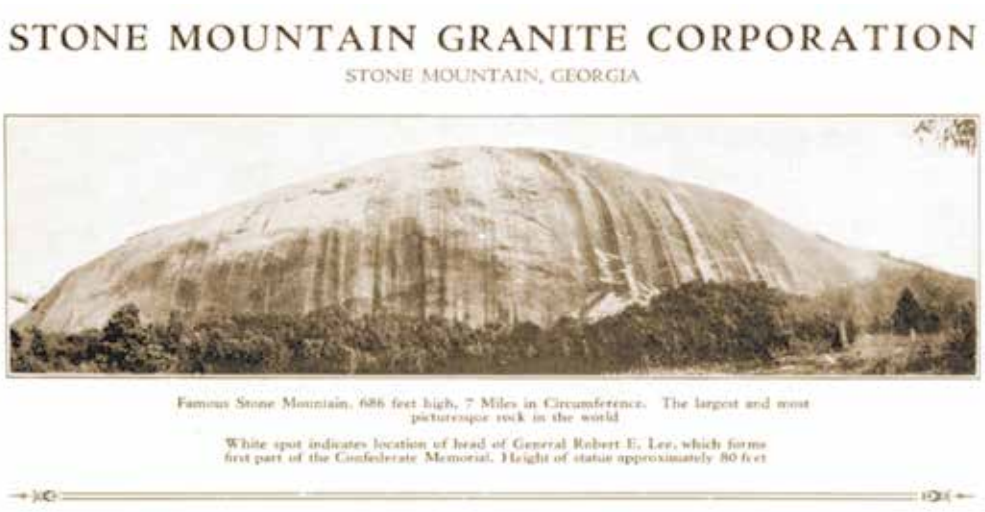
Companies including Sears, Roebuck and Company and Montgomery Ward and Company offered a variety of monuments through catalogue sales directly to the consumer. In 1900, Sears, Roebuck and Company organized a memorial department in their catalogue; its popularity grew to where separate monument catalogues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

CRAFTSMEN AND SMALLER OPERATIONS

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

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

A


STONE MOUNTAIN GRANITE CORPORATION

STONE MOUNTAIN, GEORGIA

Famous Stone Mountain, 686 feet high, 7 Miles in Circumference. The largest and most picturesque rock in the world

White spot indicates location of head of General Robert E. Lee, which forms first part of the Confederate Memorial. Height of statue approximately 80 feet

B

C

D

Funerary Architects

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

Richards Mausoleum, Oakland Cemetery.
Designed by H.Q. French, N.Y.

To Be Admired By Generations As Yet Unborn

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

- Peggy McDowell and Richard Meyer[115]

An Architect's Perspective

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

- Douglas Keister [119]

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

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

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

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

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

TOWARDS A MODERN DEATH AND INDUSTRY

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

Examples of Eldren Bailey's Grave Markers

(Right) Upright example, Stone Mountain City Cemetery, DeKalb County, (Below) Flat example, School Street Cemetery, Wilkes County.

The Lost Cause Cast in Stone. The Lion of Atlanta, Oakland Cemetery.

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

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

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

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

Chapter Five Summary

KEYS

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

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

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

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

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

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

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

SUGGESTED READINGS

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

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

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

CHAPTER SIX
TWO GEORGIAS: 1900-1945

"He Is Not Dead"

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

- James Whitcomb Riley, printed in condolence cards throughout the South in the early 20th century[1]

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

THE PROGRESSIVE ERA AND THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT

The Progressive Era in the South as a whole began a little late; in Georgia, it started in earnest after 1900. At its roots a political phenomenon, the Progressive movement began with the rejection of the Populist Party and reascendance of the Democratic Party in Georgia. The movement was spearheaded by politicians seeking reform primarily in the area of corporate corruption with banks, railroads, and other industries, but also in other areas. Social reformers

(Left) Child workers in Macon, Georgia Factory. (Center) William Jennings Bryant, Campaign poster, c. 1900. (Right) Pre-election Suffrage Parade, New York City, Pre-1920. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

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

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

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

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

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

RESTRUCTURING THE RURAL ECONOMY

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

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

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

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

CEMETERIES WITHIN THE RURAL LANDSCAPE

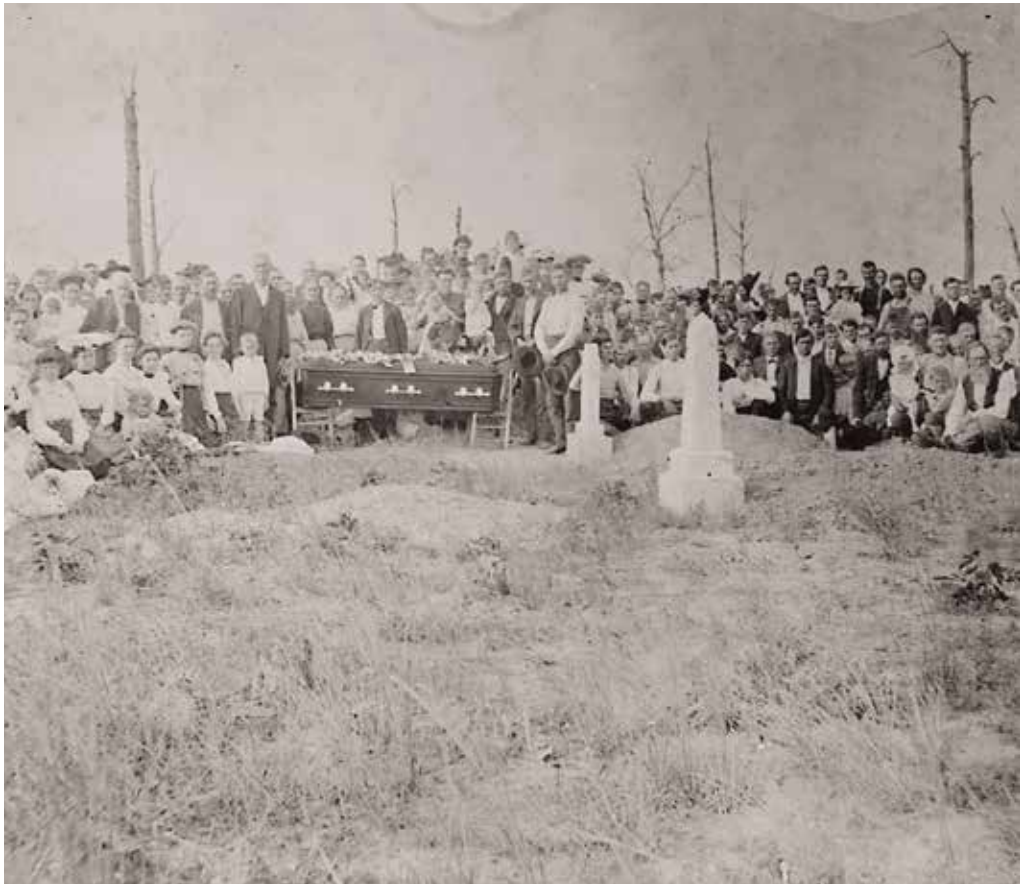
Family members gather at the grave of a relative, Rockdale County, ca. 1900. Source: Vanishing Georgia Collection, Georgia Division of Archives and History.

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

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

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

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



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

Rural African American Funeral in1941

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












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



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

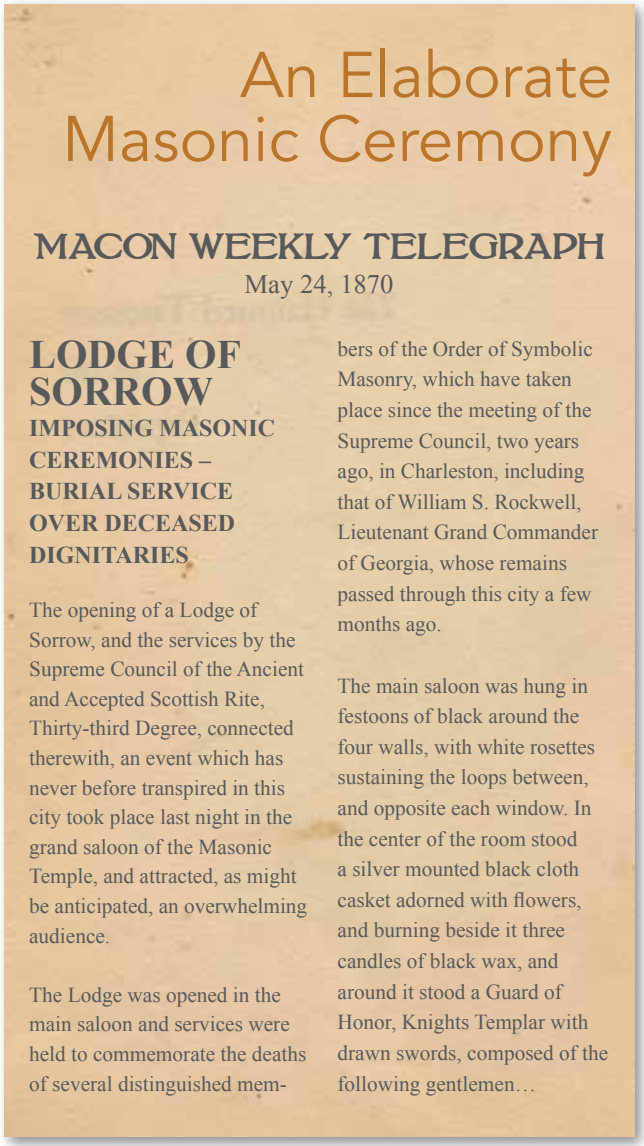
The African American tradition has its roots in the Southern Coastal Low Country and West Africa. After 200 years of contact and interaction between these communities, their burial traditions share a number of characteristics, even if they followed them for different reasons. Also, rural burial grounds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

MUTUAL AID SOCIETIES

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

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

An Elaborate Masonic Ceremony



MACON WEEKLY TELEGRAPH

May 24, 1870

LODGE OF SORROW

IMPOSING MASONIC CEREMONIES – BURIAL SERVICE OVER DECEASED DIGNITARIES

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

The Lodge was opened in the main saloon and services were held to commemorate the deaths of several distinguished members of the Order of Symbolic Masonry, which have taken place since the meeting of the Supreme Council, two years ago, in Charleston, including that of William S. Rockwell, Lieutenant Grand Commander of Georgia, whose remains passed through this city a few months ago.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

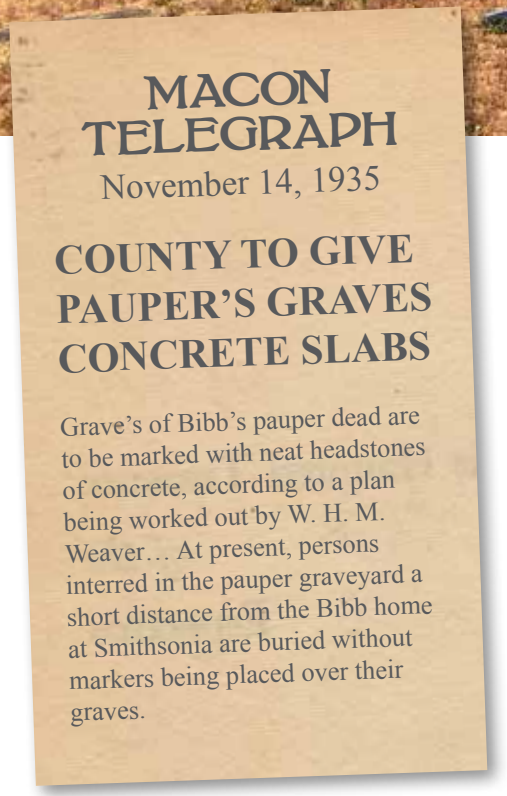
Odd Fellows and Red Men Attend Daniel's Funeral

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

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

Masonic Symbol on Grave in Rose Hill Cemetery, Macon.

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



MACON TELEGRAPH

November 14, 1935

COUNTY TO GIVE PAUPER'S GRAVES CONCRETE SLABS

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

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

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

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

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

JIM CROW AND THE PROGRESSIVE REFORMS

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

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

Paying for Space in the Hereafter

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

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

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

MACON TELEGRAPH

October 19, 1906

NEW NEGRO CEMETERY

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

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

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

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

South-View Cemetery

South-View Cemetery Today, Fulton County.

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

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

RELIGION AND CHURCH CEMETERIES

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

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

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

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

A TALE OF TWO CHURCHES

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

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

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

BIG BUCKHEAD BAPTIST

CARSWELL BAPTIST

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

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

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

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

THE GREAT MIGRATION

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

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

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

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

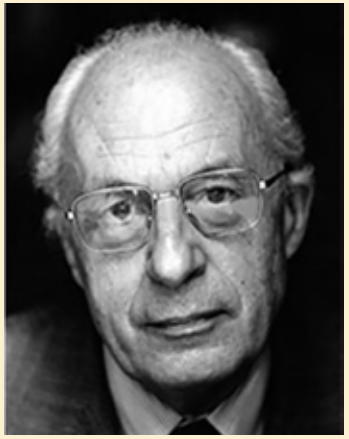
TOWARDS A MODERN VIEW OF DEATH

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

MODERN DEATH

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

- Philippe Aries, *Western Attitudes Toward Death*



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

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

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

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

CREMATION

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

Crematoriums

The first crematorium in the country that was independent of a cemetery was built in Washington, Pennsylvania by Francis LeMoyne. Now a Pennsylvania landmark, it is simple brick structure with two rooms – one where the public was allowed and a furnace room. The first cremation was held in 1876 and took two days to complete. A modern crematorium is more intricately designed and can include a chapel, viewing rooms, and areas where a family can hold a viewing or funeral and participate in the cremation process. A retort within a computer-controlled furnace reaches sufficient heat to vaporize about 95 percent of the body within a couple of hours and bone fragments are pulverized, placed in an urn, and given to the next of kin.[67]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ADVENT OF THE LAWN PARK CEMETERY

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

Notable Lawn Park Cemeteries in Georgia

(Above) Aerial of Hillcrest Cemetery in Columbus showing radial layout, 2014.
(Left) 2016 Plan of Westview Cemetery, Fulton County. (The stars on their plan denote notable burials.) (Top) Westview Cemetery Today.

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

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

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

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

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

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

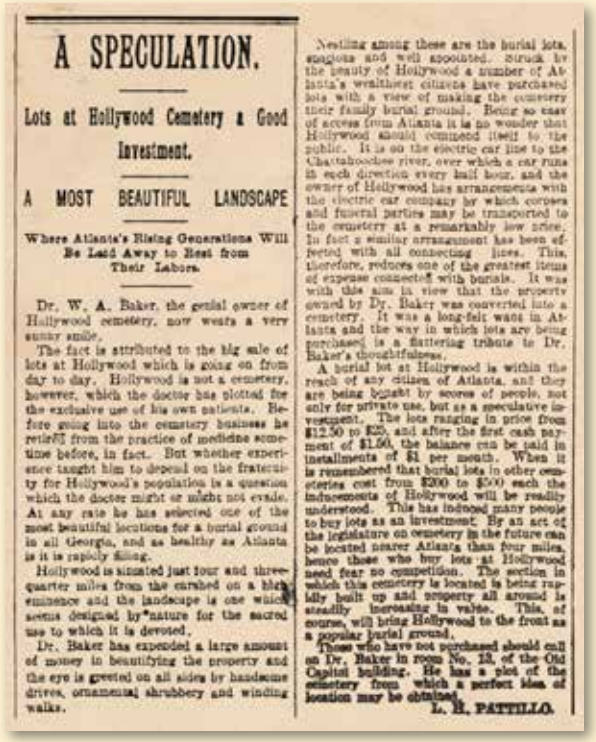
The Lawn Park model became a cemetery type in both large and small towns across Georgia during the 1880s and 1890s. Well suited to late 19th- and early 20th-century attitudes toward death and affording its visitors a place of joy, the Lawn Park cemetery made a larger impact on Georgians than cremation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

Hollywood Cemetery

Rocky Start and Finish on Atlanta's Upper West Side

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

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



A SPECULATION.

Lots at Hollywood Cemetery a Good Investment.

A MOST BEAUTIFUL LANDSCAPE

Where Atlanta's Rising Generations Will Be Laid Away to Rest from Their Labors.

Dr. W. A. Baker, the genial owner of Hollywood cemetery, now wears a very sunny smile.

The fact is attributed to the big sale of lots at Hollywood which is going on from day to day. Hollywood is not a cemetery, however, which the doctor has plotted for the exclusive use of his own patients. Before going into the cemetery business he retired from the practice of medicine sometime before, in fact. But whether experience taught him to depend on the fraternity for Hollywood's population is a question which the doctor might or might not evade. At any rate he has selected one of the most beautiful locations for a burial ground in all Georgia, and as healthy as Atlanta is it is rapidly filling.

Hollywood is situated just four and three-quarter miles from the earshot on a high eminence and the landscape is one which seems designed by nature for the sacred use to which it is devoted.

Dr. Baker has expended a large amount of money in beautifying the property and the eye is greeted on all sides by handsome drives, ornamental shrubbery and winding walks.

Nestling among these are the burial lots, symmetrical and well appointed. Struck by the beauty of Hollywood a number of Atlanta's wealthiest citizens have purchased lots with a view of making the cemetery their family burial ground. Being so easy of access from Atlanta it is no wonder that Hollywood should commend itself to the public. It is on the electric car line to the Chattahoochee river, over which a car runs in each direction every half hour, and the owner of Hollywood has arrangements with the electric car company by which corpses and funeral parties may be transported to the cemetery at a remarkably low price. In fact a similar arrangement has been effected with all connecting lines. This, therefore, reduces one of the greatest items of expense connected with burials. It was with this aim in view that the property owned by Dr. Baker was converted into a cemetery. It was a long-felt want in Atlanta and the way in which lots are being purchased is a flattering tribute to Dr. Baker's thoughtfulness.

A burial lot at Hollywood is within the reach of any citizen of Atlanta, and they are being bought by scores of people, not only for private use, but as a speculative investment. The lots ranging in price from $12.50 to $25, and after the first cash payment of $1.50, the balance can be paid in installments of $1 per month. When it is remembered that burial lots in other cemeteries cost from $200 to $500 each the inducements of Hollywood will be readily understood. This has induced many people to buy lots as an investment. By an act of the legislature no cemetery in the future can be located nearer Atlanta than four miles, hence those who buy lots at Hollywood need fear no competition. The section in which this cemetery is located is being rapidly built up and property all around is steadily increasing in value. This, of course, will bring Hollywood to the front as a popular burial ground.

Those who have not purchased should call on Dr. Baker in room No. 13, of the Old Capital building. He has a plot of the cemetery from which a perfect idea of location may be obtained.

L. B. PATTILLO.

NO FUNERAL CAR TO HAUL THE DEAD

Sale of Hollywood Cemetery Brings Up a Unique Fight.

BREACH OF CONTRACT CHARGED

President Simmons, of Trolley Line, Takes Off Funeral Car.

FARES TO HOLLYWOOD NOW TEN CENTS

He Says the Cemetery Company Broke Faith and He Will Not Aid in Building the Cemetery.

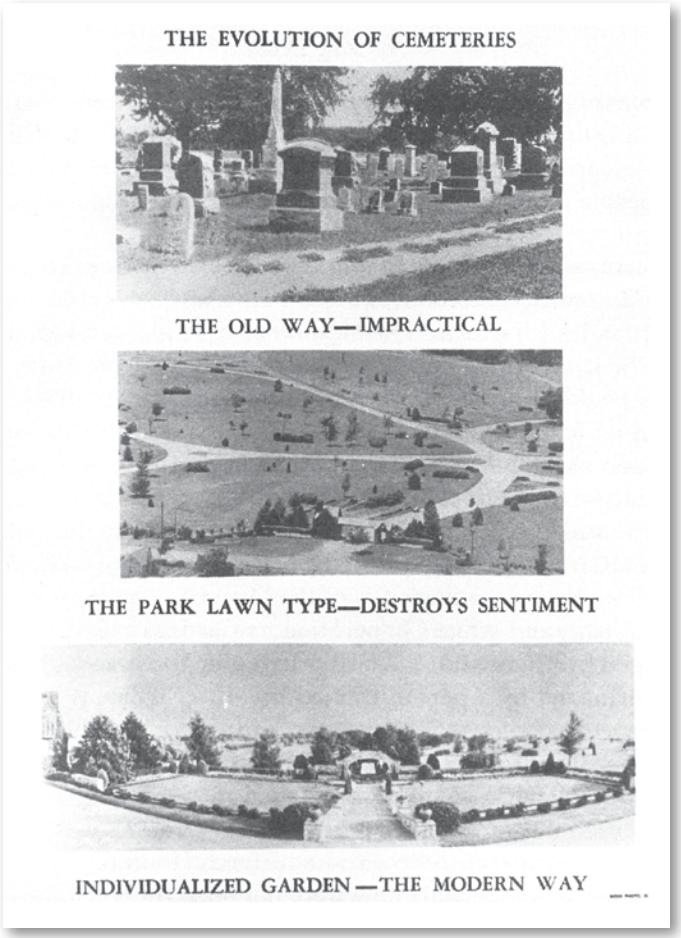
President Simmons's Announcement.

Cemetery Goes at Auction.

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

FOREST LAWN AND THE MEMORIAL PARK MOVEMENT

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

GEORGIA WOMEN IN THE DEATH CARE INDUSTRY

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

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

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

Ruth Hartley Mosley (1886-1975) became a licensed embalmer in 1919. Mosley grew up in Savannah and after receiving her nurses' training at Providence Hospital in Chicago, worked at the Georgia State Sanatorium in Milledgeville where she became head nurse of the "Colored Females Department," the first African American to hold that rank. After her marriage to Macon saloon owner Richard Hartley, she and her husband purchased an interest in a Macon funeral parlor. She returned to school to be trained as an embalmer and worked in the family business, the Central City Funeral Parlor, until its sale in 1967. Socially prominent and active in Civil Rights, she was honored as an inductee into the Georgia Women of Achievement in 1994.

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

January 22, 1922

PROMINENT BUSINESS WOMEN IN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

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

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

EXPANSION OF MEMORIAL ASSOCIATIONS

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

MATURATION OF THE MORTUARY COMPLEX

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

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

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

EXPANDED BURIAL OPTIONS

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

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

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

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

Evergreen Memorial Park Cemetery, Clarke County.

Chapter Six Summary

KEYS

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

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

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

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

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

APPLYING CONTEXT - FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

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

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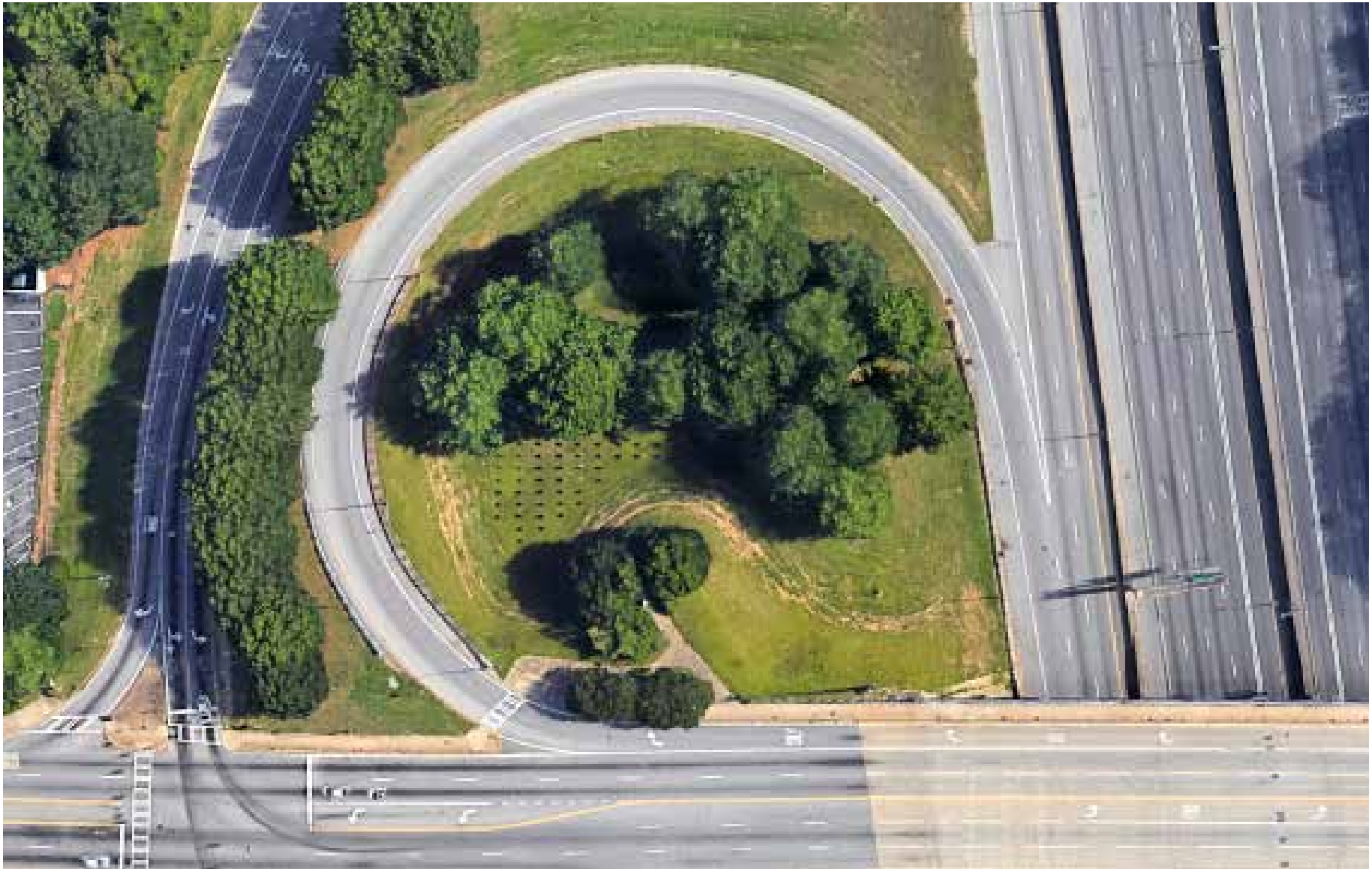
Harold Schechter, *The Whole Death Catalog: A lively Guide to the Bitter End*. New York, Ballantine Books, 2009.

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

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



CHAPTER SEVEN
MODERN DEATH AND GEORGIA'S CEMETERIES MOVEMENT, GROWTH, LOSS AND PRESERVATION: 1945–1975

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

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

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

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

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

"Our Historic Drive Thru Viewing Window"

Herschel Thornton Mortuary, Atlanta

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

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

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

MILITARY PRESENCE

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

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

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

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

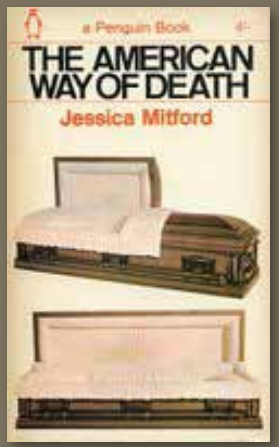
MID-20-CENTURY AGRARIAN GEORGIA

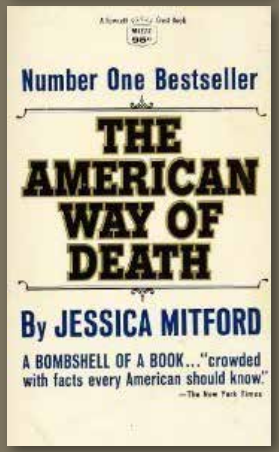
Federal census records show that Georgia was a rural state in 1940 with 65 percent of its citizens enumerated as rural. Twenty years later, 55 percent of Georgians were counted as urban dwellers, with rural Georgians in the minority. Once considered a mostly rural state, Georgia had entered a new stage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

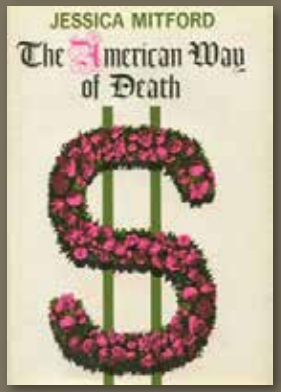
Post WWII agrarian operations were different in their size and composition. The war veterans who took advantage of the GI bill and returned to farming sought modern industrial farming techniques. The transition from small to larger farming operations that started earlier in the century accelerated, as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

DEATH AND MOURNING, CREMATION AND THE MITFORD SERVICE

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







The American Way of Death

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

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

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

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

Columbarium

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

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

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

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

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

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND DESEGREGATION

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

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

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

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

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

BIG BUSINESS, CONSOLIDATION AND THE FUNERAL RULE

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

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

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

CEMETERY PRESERVATION

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

MODERN DEATH

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

Bonaventure Cemetery, Catham County, Georgia.

Chapter Seven Summary

KEYS


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


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


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


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


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


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

APPLYING CONTEXT – FIRST IMPRESSIONS IN A CEMETERY...

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

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

CHAPTER EIGHT
CONCLUSION

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

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

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

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

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