

A SELECTED
BIBLIOGRAPHY

of
PRINT MATERIALS

TO ASSIST WITH
RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION
OF THE
RETENTION OF
WEST AFRICAN BURIAL CUSTOMS
IDENTIFIED IN
FLORIDA

AND ASSOCIATED
CULTURAL-GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

Compiled
For

BY THESE HANDS



VERNACULAR MARKERS OF PENSACOLA'S
HISTORIC AFRICAN AMERICAN CEMETERIES

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A SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY TO ASSIST RESEARCH AND INTERPRETATION OF WEST AFRICAN BURIAL CUSTOMS IDENTIFIED IN FLORIDA AND ASSOCIATED CULTURAL/GEOGRAPHIC REGIONS

This Bibliography offers a selection of printed materials that support the study, documentation and preservation of historic African American burial sites. It is organized by topics, such as African Identified Funerary Customs and Grave Decoration in the New World, Cultural Studies, Artisans, and African-based Burial Traditions in the Caribbean.

The works cited, most with annotations, include books, professional journals and popular newspaper and magazine articles, and unpublished works that contain information useful for understanding and interpreting African American cemeteries in Florida and other regions.

The Bibliography will be posted on the *By These Hands* website at FPAN.us/BTH in such a way that additional references may be added to the document. The goals are to expand the awareness of information available about African American cemeteries, and to continue to compile references about burial sites where African-based burial traditions have been identified.

AN INTRODUCTION AND GUIDE FOR THE DOCUMENTATION AND PRESERVATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CEMETERIES

An Introduction and Guide for the Documentation and Preservation of African American Cemeteries discusses methods for the identification and inventory of burial sites, and describes resources that can be consulted to compile the history of a cemetery. In addition, a case study, *Saving an Historic Cemetery*, details how an African American cemetery in Tallahassee was restored to dignity and grace by the efforts of community volunteers. *I Have Memory. I Don't Have Any Records* is comprised of three oral histories, recorded in 1997, that illustrate the various types of information that can be obtained from informants.

The Introduction and Guide was produced through a Cooperative Agreement between The John G. Riley House Museum/Center and the Northeast Region Office of The National Park Service in 2007. It has been revised by the author for distribution to participants of the *By These Hands* Workshop.

Sharyn Thompson, Center for Historic Cemeteries Preservation

Grave Decoration, Markers, Burial Customs, and Funerary Rites

- Blasingame, John W. *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Ante-Bellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Bolton, H. Carrington. "Decoration of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina." *Journal of American Folklore* 4 (1891):214.
- Bolton, H. Carrington and Ernest Ingersoll. "Decoration of Southern Black Graves." *Folklife Research* *Studies from the Gilded Age*, edited by Simon J. Bronner. Ann Arbor: UMI Press, 1987.
- Branch, Muriel Miller. *The Water Brought Us: The Story of the Gullah-Speaking People*. New York: Cobblehill Books/Dutton, 1995:57-59.
A brief section, "Cemetery Lore," relates a popular Gullah story about graveyards, and describes burial traditions and superstitions that many people continue to practice.
- Brewster, Paul G. "Beliefs and Customs." *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore*, edited by Newman Ivey White, Vol. 1. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1964.
- Burton, Orville Vernon. *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community In Edgefield, South Carolina*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985:236-37.
A comprehensive study of both the black and white populations of Edgefield County, South Carolina from the ante-bellum period through post-Reconstruction. Discusses numerous issues that both communities are typically involved in. Specific information about African American funerals/burials is on pages 236-37.
- Cate, Margaret Davis and Orrin Sage Wightman. *Early Days of Coastal Georgia*. St. Simons Island, GA: Fort Frederica Historical Association, 1955:207-23.
Eight photographs of graves in the Georgia Sea Islands taken in the 1930s-1950s, with commentary about grave decorations and interpretation of funeral custom by the author. Includes markers made by Mr. Cyrus Bowen.
- The African American Cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia: Continuity and Change*. Research Series 55, Chicora Foundation, Inc. Prepared for Virginia Department of Historical Resources and The City of Petersburg, Virginia, May 1999.
*"This is not intended to be a comprehensive account of African-American history in Petersburg. Other writers . . . have documented the subject well up until about 1900 . . . Our purpose in this summary is to note the aspects of local history that related to cemeteries."
The 200 page report describes both the burying sites, and the extensive associated histories, that are located in Petersburg. Excellent example of how archaeological investigations and historical research support the preservation of cemeteries.*
- Cohen, Henning. "Burial of the Drowned Among the Gullah Negroes." *Southern Folklore*

Quarterly 21.2 (1957):116-17; 22.1 (1958):93-97.

Combes, John D. "Ethnography, Archaeology and Burial Practices Among Coastal South

Carolina Blacks." **In** *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 7 (1972): 52-61.

This presentation focuses primarily on the evidence of West African burial traditions identified in the author's study area.

Connor, Cynthia. "Sleep and Take Your Rest": *Black Mortuary Behavior on the East Branch of the Cooper River, South Carolina.* Master's thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of South Carolina, 1989.

"Black cemeteries spanning the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in a rural community in [Berkeley County] South Carolina were examined for creolized elements of West African ideology. The types of materials found on the contemporary black grave, as well as their arrangement, indicated a unique Afro-American conception of death and spirit . . . Black and white burials for the antebellum period were also analyzed. Indications of creolization for nineteenth century blacks was indicated by the use of markers of strongly West African design in conjunction with the European burial pattern."

Creel, Margaret Washington. *A Peculiar People: Slave Religion and Community Culture Among the Gullahs.* New York: New York University Press, 1988:201-02, 205-06, 313-17, 320.

An in-depth study of the Gullah of South Carolina; includes discussion and analysis of funeral rites, grave decoration, religious beliefs. Uses contemporary sources that include letters, day books, and manuscripts to illuminate the roots of the cultural group's history. The final chapter (259-322) addresses Gullah Interpretations of Christianity, Folk Religion in the Slave Quarters, and Gullah Attitude Towards Death and the Supernatural.

Crum, Mason. *Gullah: Negroe Life in the Carolina Sea Islands.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940.

Deas-Moore, Vennie. "Treading on Sacred Ground." **In** *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds.* Information Series #76. National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993.

Dixwell, John. "Mourning Customs of Negroes." *Journal of American Folklore* 21 (1908):365.

Fenn, Elizabeth A. "Honoring the Ancestors: Kongo-American Graves in the American South."

Southern Exposure 8 (1985):42-47.

*Comparison of Bakongo grave decorations with African American grave decorations in cemeteries in North Carolina. This article was reprinted in **Last Miles of the Way**, edited by Elaine Nichols, in 1989.*

Fielding, Herbert U. "Mourning and Burying the Dead: Experiences of a Lowcountry Funeral Director." *The Last Miles of the Way: African American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-Present*, edited by Elaine Nichols. Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, 1989:56-58.

Fitts, Robert K. "The Landscape of Northern Bondage." **In** *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscape of North American Slavery*, edited by Clifton Ellis and Rebecca Ginsburg. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010: 193-222.

Discusses the segregation of burial grounds and churchyards in Narragansett, Rhode Island during 1720-1800, and describes how this spatial separation, and the lack of carved gravestones at the site, was used to reinforce the social positions of enslaved and owners.

Galland, China. *Love Cemetery: Unburying the Secret History of Slaves*. New York: Harper One, 2007.

The story of a community's effort to locate, clean, repair, and finally, to rededicate Love Cemetery with a ceremony steeped in African tradition. The burying ground, located near the town of Marshall, in east Texas, provides a good example of how to reclaim a cemetery -- and the history of the people it holds -- from loss and neglect. The story also revolves around achieving racial and social justice for the descendants of those buried in Love Cemetery.

Garman, James C. *"Faithful and Loyal Servants": The Masking and Marking of Ethnicity in the*

Material Culture of Death. Charleston, SC: South Carolina Institute of Archaeology and Anthropology, 1992.

Georgia Writers' Project, (Savannah Unit) Works Project Administration. *Drums and Shadows:*

Survival Studies Among the Georgia Coastal Negroes. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1940.

Information from field research and oral histories collected in coastal Georgia in the late 1930s. Among the earliest efforts to document the retention of African customs by studying a population in a concentrated area of coastal Georgia. The informants' recollections of Africans who had lived in their communities, as well as the customs that they knew were based in Africa, are an especially interesting part of the book. Burial customs: 106-107, 113-14, 125, 130 140, 143, 147, 155, 160, 165, 167, 174, 180, 182, 192; Burial at home: 62, 63, 77, 95, 113, 147; Possessions on grave: 58, 95, 117, 127, 130, 136, 147; Burial of stranger: 77, 113, 147; Funerals: 71, 76, 86, 87, 107, 113, 125, 127, 130, 140-41, 143, 150, 155, 180, 184, 194; Grave markers: 117; Graveyard dirt: 36, 42, 84, 93-94, 102, 125; Pennies on eyes, 140; Pennies on grave, 75; Settin-ups [wakes]: 67, 91, 106, 113, 118, 122, 125, 136, 143, 147, 160, 167, 192, 194.

Glave, E. J. "Fetishism in Congo Land." *The Century Magazine*, XLI (1891):825-836.

Describes observations made in west Africa during the late 19th century; this article may be best-known for its drawing of a decorated grave often used to illustrate late 20th century articles and books about African burial traditions (see Fenn, 1985:42-44, Fenn 1989:50,57 and Vlach, 1978:138-147).

Holloway, Karla F.C. *Passed On: African American Mourning Stories*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2003.

"A portrait of death and dying and a history of the funeral business in twentieth-century African America . . . investigation of the myths, rituals, economics and politics of African American mourning and burial practices."

Huber, Leonard V., Peggy McDowell, and Mary Louise Christovich. *The Cemeteries*. Vol 3

of New Orleans Architecture, edited by Mary Louise Christovich. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974.

Describes the histories, above-ground tomb architectural styles, attendant funerary arts, and burial customs for New Orleans's early cemeteries. Also addresses preservation efforts that were required for these sites in the 1970s. A brief discussion of tombs "owned and erected by slaves," and of the Societies formed to build and maintain these tombs, is on pages 19-20. Mention of slave and free-people-of-color involved in iron work for cemetery decoration is on page 140. Examples of work executed by free-men-of-color, Prosper Foy and Florville Foy (marble cutters, sculptors, and tomb builders) are shown on pages 75, 76, 105, 106, 130.

Ingersoll, Ernest. "Decoration of Negro Graves." *Journal of American Folklore* 5 (1892):68-69.

Jones-Jackson, Patricia. *When Roots Die: Endangered Traditions on the Sea Islands*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1987:25-28, 73-74, 172-73n51.

The author spent five years studying the Gullah of the Georgia and South Carolina lowcountry. This book is her record of the daily life of the people who then lived on some of the more isolated Sea Islands, and of her interaction with many of them. She endeavored to trace the African customs that continue to exist in their daily lives. Includes descriptions of burial customs, grave decorations, funerals, with photographs.

Jordan, Terry G. *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982: 11, 14, 17-18, 21-22, 25, 30, 34, 39.

Study of how the ethnicities and settlement histories of people in Texas are revealed by their cemeteries; includes discussion of various burial and grave decoration traditions.

Joyner, Charles. *Down By the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press:138-39, 140, 235-36.

The author defines the purposes of this book are "to reconstruct life in one slave community – All Saints Parish, Georgetown District, in the South Carolina Lowcountry – through . . . sifting of every kind of available record . . . to recreate the emotional texture of slave life . . . to examine the process of culture change in a slave community." Includes descriptions of slave funerals in the community during the time period that was studied.

Jubilation! African American Celebrations in the Southeast. Columbia, SC: McKissick Museum,

University of South Carolina, 1993.

An Educator's Guide to the McKissick Museum's exhibition, Jubilation! Explains "Rites of Passage" such as baptisms, weddings, emancipation day, and funerals

in

southern African American communities.

Kruger-Kahoula, Angelika. "Tributes in Stone and Lapidary Lapses: Commemorating Black

People in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century America." *Markers VI: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, (1989):33-100.

Extensive article that describes the results of the author's investigation into the social reasons for whites erecting commemorative markers for African Americans in pre- and post-colonial America. Includes photographs and a number of inscriptions taken from gravestones.

Little, M. Ruth. "Afro-American Gravemarkers in North Carolina." *Markers VI: Annual Journal*

of the Association for Gravestone Studies, (1989):103-34.

Scholarly study of African American cemeteries throughout regions of North Carolina; discussion of two men (Renial Culbreth and Issiah McEachin) who crafted markers at some of the burial sites; photographs of grave decoration and of various types of vernacular markers.

_____. *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1998:36-41, 235-68, 309n1, 310n10.

A detailed study of the various types of gravemarkers identified in North Carolina, many associated with the customs of the State's immigrant groups. Discussion of progression of African slave graveyards to present-day African American cemeteries(36-41) and an extremely well-documented and photographed Chapter 6 ("The Living Vernacular," pages 235-268) about African-based grave decoration, vernacular markers, and known and anonymous African American artisans who fashioned vernacular concrete gravemarkers in the mid-20th century. Impressive black & white photographs (by Tim Buchman) throughout the book.

Malloy, Tom and Brenda. "Slavery in Colonial Massachusetts As Seen Through Selected Gravestones." *Markers XI: Annual Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies*,1994:112-41.

Documents gravestone inscriptions that identify the deceased as slaves; presents the history of slavery

in the Colony – “Besides becoming a leader in the slave trade, Massachusetts was the first of the thirteen English colonies to legalize slavery: formal legislation of the institution was brought about by the Body of Liberties in 1641” – and includes black & white photographs of gravestones. This is, however, not a complete catalog of gravemarkers for slaves in Massachusetts, as the authors note: “In order to demonstrate the thesis of this essay, it was not felt necessary to locate or discuss every existing slave’s marker in Massachusetts.”

Milbauer, John A. “Folk Monuments of Afro-Americans: A Perspective on Black Culture.”

Mid-American Folklore 19.2 (1991):99-109.

Discussion and interpretation of the author’s field observations in African American cemeteries, in Arkansas, Mississippi, and Oklahoma.

Mullin, Michael. *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South*

and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992: 63-66, 70-71, 73-74, 137, 204, 323, 372.

Scholarly work that includes primary resource research of colonial American and Caribbean burial grounds, funerary traditions brought by slaves from West Africa, attitudes of plantation owners towards burial rites practiced by slaves, observations of social stratification of slaves as expressed in various funeral practices.

Includes an extensive bibliography concerning African-based culture and history from the colonial period in the American South and the Caribbean, with listings of collections housed at various libraries and archives, and of material from official records, plantation records, missionary papers, and newspapers (pages 385-403).

Nichols, Elaine, ed. *The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-Present.* Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, 1989.

*A companion publication for the South Carolina State Museum’s exhibit **Last Miles of the Way**, about African American funeral and mourning customs, with the purpose of discovering how a cultural identity can be preserved through funerary rituals. Articles include “Last Miles of the Way” by Elaine Nichols (12-43); “Honoring the Ancestors: Kongo-American Graves in the American South by Elizabeth Fenn (44-50); “Archaeological Analysis of African-American Mortuary Behavior” by Cynthia Connor, and “Mourning and Burying the Dead: Experiences of a Lowcountry Funeral Director” by Herbert U. Glascoe. Many photographs, both vintage and contemporary, of funerals, cemetery markers, and grave decoration.*

Parler, Mary C., ed. *Folk Beliefs from Arkansas: Death and Funeral Customs, Vol 8.* Fayetteville: University of Arkansas, 1962.

Parsons, Elsie Clews. “Folk-Lore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina.” *Memoirs of the American*

Folk-Lore Society 16, 1923.

Patterson, Daniel. “Grave Markers.” In *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, edited by Charles R.

Wilson and William Ferris. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.

Pinckney, Roger. *Blue Roots: African-American Folk Magic of the Gullah People.* St. Paul, MN:

Llewellyn Publications, 1998:16, 54-55, 67-87, 95-96, 154-56.

A collection of Gullah folklore by an African American author who grew up in Beaufort County, South Carolina. In addition to cultural and historical information, is Mr. Pinckney’s lament that the area, and its people, are being over-run by residential development and tourism. The chapter “A Familiarity With Spirits” (67-87) describes burial customs and beliefs. Discussions of ghost stories, visitations from the spirit world, grave decoration, and the uses of graveyard dirt, are scattered throughout the volume.

Pollitzer, William S. *The Gullah People and Their African Heritage*. Athens: The University of

Georgia Press, 1999:141-42, 146-49, 183-86.

Well-research and documented discussion of the Gullah people and their African origins, including successive waves of forced slave migrations from west Africa, settlement in the coastal areas of the British colonies of Georgia and South Carolina, retention of many African skills and crafts through the generations (rice and indigo farming, basketry, music, etc.). Discussion of burial and funeral customs, and grave decoration is brief, and similar to other, earlier published materials. Comprehensive bibliography, photographs of grave decoration (figures 20-23).

Puckett, Newbell N.[iles]. *Folkbeliefs of the Southern Negro*. 1926. Reprint. New York: Dover Press, 1969.

Rankin, Tom. *Sacred Space: Photographs from the Mississippi Delta*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1993.

Beautiful black & white photographs of churches and graveyards, with scenes of the various rites and ceremonies that accompany religious life for African Americans in the Delta. Of special interest are the hand-fashioned vernacular gravemakers.

Roediger, David R. "And Die in Dixie: Funerals, Death and Heaven in a Slave Community,

1700-1865." *The Massachusetts Review* 22 (1981):163-83.

Saxon, Lyle, Edward Dreyes, and Robert Tallant. *Gumbo Ya-Ya*. Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing

Company, 1987; originally published by Louisiana Library Commission, 1945.

Folklore of Louisiana, much of it collected from informants in New Orleans during the 1930s-40s ; Chapter 15, "Crazah and the Glory Road"(300-15) involves stories about African American burial and mourning customs; Chapter 16, "The Cemeteries," (316-65) describes burial, funerary and mourning customs for both African American and other ethnic groups; other material about African American burial societies, wakes, cemeteries, burial practices, etc. are on pages 244-45, 569-70.

Tashjian, Ann and Dickran. "The Afro-American Section of Newport Rhode Island's Common Burying Ground." *In Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, edited by Richard E. Meyer. Ann Arbor: UBI Research Press, 1989:163-196.

Results of a study conducted by Ann Tashjian when she observed markers, carved with iconography common during the early colonial period (1650+), in the section of Newport's graveyard that had been reserved for slaves. "There is no evidence of African survivals, as in burial artifacts on the Georgia Sea Islands." Using a 1903 map of the graveyard, Tashjian found 45 markers that remained in 1986, and photographed and copied the inscriptions of each.

Thompson, Robert Farris. *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. New York: Random House, 1984.

Discussion of five west African groups and the retention of their traditions and philosophies in the United States, various Caribbean islands, and in Central and South America.

Death imagery, 257-60, 268; Death shrines, 257; Graves, 117, 132-42, 182; Bottle trees over graves, 144-45; charms for persistence of spirit, 132; Embellished graves, 146-47, 151, 153, 157; Inverted objects on graves, 140; Lamps, pipes, or vehicles on graves, 139; last-used objects of dead on graves, 134; Seashells on graves, 135-38, 157; trees planted on graves, 138-39; White chickens on graves, 134-35; The Funeral on Cane River, 155; gravesites in Haiti, 132, 135-39.

_____. "African Influence on the Art of the United States." *In Afro-American Folk Art and Crafts*, edited by William Ferris. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984:

27-63.

- Describes the continuities found in Afro-American art that are "possibly derived from the Congo-Angola section of Africa." Thompson's discussion of grave decoration at Sunbury, GA (pages 47-50) includes burial customs of the area and detailed descriptions of the grave markers made by Mr. Cyrus Bowen for his family's cemetery.*
- Twining, Mary A. and Keith E. Baird, eds. *Sea Island Roots: African Presence in the Carolinas and Georgia*. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 1991.
- Velt, Richard. "African-American Gravestones From Early New Jersey." *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, 16:2 (Spring 1992):2-3.
Concise article describing three gravestones found in New Jersey's earliest burial grounds for Africans (or African Americans) with death dates prior to 1828. "It was not until 1828 that New Jersey enacted a law providing for the gradual emancipation of slaves . . . These three stones mark the final resting places of two men and one woman who lived in the transitional period between slavery and freedom." With the article is a photograph of the earliest identified stone, for "Caesar an African" who died in 1806 at the age of 104 years.
- Vernon, Amelia Wallace. *African Americans at Mars Bluff, South Carolina*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993:37, 56, 157, 159, 230n31, 234n18.
The author, a native of Mars Bluff, spent years recording interviews with the town's elderly African Americans, and subsequently wrote their history. The material is especially interesting because it deals with South Carolina's upland region, rather than the coastal area. The information includes first-person memories of night burials, grave decoration, burial/aid societies.
- Vlach, John Michael. "Graveyards and Afro-American Art." *Southern Exposure* 5.2-3 (1977):161-65.
- _____. "Graveyard Decoration." *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts*. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978:138-47. Reprint. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990.
Well-documented and acclaimed study of early graveyard decoration; provides a well-researched history of how West/Central African burial traditions have manifested in the New World. The work focuses primarily on the Georgia and South Carolina Lowcountry.
- _____. "Arrival and Survival: The Maintenance of an Afro-American Tradition in Folk Art and Craft." In *Perspectives on American Folk Art*. (Ian M. G. Quimby and Scott T. Swank, editors). New York: Norton, 1980:177-217.
- _____. "Funerary Customs, Black." In *Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, edited by Charles R. Wilson and William Ferris. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989.
- _____. *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.
- Walvin, James. *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1994:149-54, 169, 183.
An account of colonial period slavery in Britain, North America and the Caribbean, providing descriptions and discussions about numerous aspects of how lives were lived under slavery. Two chapters, "Disease and Death" (135-54) and "Religion" (176-97) are especially pertinent to the study of African burial/funeral traditions. Pages 150-153, 169, 183 give accounts of mortuary practices in Virginia, Barbados, Jamaica, during the mid-17th century. Of interest is a photograph,

taken in an English churchyard, of the head and foot stones for Scipio Africanus, died 1720 -- his elaborately carved markers include typical iconography of the time -- portraits and winged soul effigies, with African features.

Waring, May A. "Folklore Scrapbook: Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes." *Journal of American Folklore* 7.27 (1894):318-19.

Cursory commentary on African American burial traditions; early observation and recordation of these practices.

Wessler, Seth Freed. "Black Deaths Matter: What Cemeteries Reveal About Generations of

Racial Inequity." *The Nation* 301.18 (02 Nov 2015):20-25.

Article about African American cemeteries in St. Louis, Missouri and how the sites have fallen into disrepair because of attitudes of civic authorities regarding upkeep and financial support.

Wright, Roberta Hughes and Wilbur B. Hughes, III. *Lay Down Body*. Detroit: Visible Ink Press, 1996.

Yetman, Norman. *Life Under the "Peculiar Institution": Selections from the Slave Narrative Collection*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1970.

Woofter, T. J., Jr. *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island*. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1930:228-29.

Briefly describes religious and funerary practices observed on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, in the early 1900s; photograph of "An Island Grave" following page 254.

Florida Cemeteries

Dethlefsen, Edwin S. "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethno-

graphic Perspective." In *Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us*, edited by Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer. New York: Academic Press, 1981.

Results of the study of a cemetery in Alachua County, Florida, describing the difference in grave markers for African Americans and other groups in the community.

Hall, Robert L. "African Religious Retentions in Florida." In *The African American Heritage of Florida*, edited by David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1995:42-70.

"This essay addresses the cultural distinctiveness of African Americans by placing spirit possession and ritual ecstatic dance at the heart of the controversy over African cultural survivals in the United States." An abbreviated part of the essay (pp. 61-63) focuses on death, burial, and funeral rites, with the author describing the distinctions between death and "a proper burial" and between "burying" and "preaching the funeral." Extensive notes and references are included.

Hamlin, Chris. "Pallbearer's Unions: An Examination of the History of Benevolent Organizations With the Black Community and Their Modern Counterparts." (no date). Copy housed at the Archaeology Institute, West Florida University.

Historical overview of the history of various African American benevolent organizations in the Southern States, with an in-depth focus on Tallahassee, Florida's Black Pallbearer's Union and The Christian Society.

Historic Coconut Grove Cemetery: A Survey and Preservation Plan. A report prepared for The Coconut Grove Cemetery Association by Research Atlantica, 1992.

Survey and preservation plan for Coconut Grove's historic cemetery (funded by grant assistance provided by the Bureau of Historic Preservation, Florida Department of State) which is located in the city's African American neighborhood. The cemetery was founded by black Bahamians, sometime between 1906-1913, who formed the Coconut Grove Colored Cemetery Association. Report includes a history of the community, with information from local informants, and a summary of associated field research conducted at Eleuthera, Bahamas.

Kenneson, Claude (compiler). *Colored News of Tallahassee: A Walk Through Time, 1855-1995.*

Tallahassee; The John G. Riley House and Museum, no date.

Death notices and obituaries, compiled from the separate "colored news" sections of early Tallahassee newspapers. Kenneson's newspaper research is supplemented by his search of the Old City Cemetery for markers of the deceased. Although most investigations resulted in "no marker found," there are occasional notes about markers that exist. The research confirms there has been a loss of gravemarkers at the site, but reclaims the names and stories of people buried there.

Ortiz, Paul. *Emancipation Betrayed: The Hidden History of Black Organizing and White Violence in Florida from Reconstruction to the Bloody Election of 1920.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005:107-13.

Chapter 5, "To See That None Suffer: Mutual Aid and Resistance," includes information about African American organizations that formed to provide aid and burial assistance to community members. Numerous details about "these collective bodies [that] formed the bedrock of African American culture and society in Florida's cities and towns," as well as in rural areas of the state, were compiled from newspapers, church newsletters, city directories, etc. for this historic time period.

Rivers, Larry Eugene. *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000:173-74.

"Florida offers an excellent laboratory, in the tradition of county- and state-based strategies, for a close examination of the variations of slave experience and race relations patterns." Brief discussion (173-74) of funeral rites of slaves and how these were sometimes wrongly interpreted by Whites. On page 178, a drawing of a 19th century burial with scaffold, pots, bottles, and other possessions of the deceased placed beneath (curated at Florida State Archives Photographic Collection). Chapter 6, "Religion and Community," describes various African religious practices of slaves.

Roman Catholic Parish of St. Augustine, Florida. *Black Interments – Book I, 1785 – 1821*. Transcript of the records housed at the St. Augustine Historical Society's library.

Records of burials for St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period.

Entries include the name, death or burial date, and place of burial of the deceased, whether the person was free or enslaved (with the owner's name given), the skin color (mestizo or pardo/a, quadroon, Morenola, octoroon), the age and name of known kin.

Other information is often included: place of birth, where the person arrived from, the place of death, or the occupation – for example: "natural son of an Indian and a Black"; "native of the coast of Guinea"; "Caudillo of the Black Royalists of Santo Domingo"; "soldier in the Battalion of Free Morenos of Havana"; died at the Royal Hospital of Our Lady of Guadalupe".

Sixty Years of History: Greenwood Cemetery Gravemarker Inscriptions, 1937-1997.

A publication of the John G. Riley Museum of African American History & Culture, Tallahassee, Florida, October 1997.

Includes a history of Greenwood Cemetery (est. 1937) and its rededication in 1987, profiles and photographs of prominent African Americans buried at Greenwood, and lists of persons buried there during its 60 years (Name, Lot/Block/Section and death date.) Compiled by Volunteers of the Greenwood Cemetery foundation and Riley Museum from various sources, including records of the Cemeteries Division, City of Tallahassee.

Stokes, Sherrie. "Gone But Not Forgotten: Wakulla County's Folk Graveyards." *Florida Historical Quarterly* 70 (1991):177-91.

Field survey in thirty of Wakulla County, Florida cemeteries revealed that "folk" burial practices, or grave decoration, were often identical at both African American and White sites. The use of shells on mounded graves, wood head markers in the shape of human head-and-shoulders, and later, the placement of hand-fashioned concrete markers with impressed objects such as glass and shell, were common methods of marking graves.

Thompson, Sharyn M. E. *A History of Greenwood Cemetery, Tallahassee, Florida, 1937-1987* Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 1987. Copies available at The John G.

Riley

House Museum, The Center for Historic Cemeteries Preservation, and the Archaeology

Institute, University of West Florida.

A history of cemetery segregation from Tallahassee's Territorial Period through the mid-20th century; the history of the development of Greenwood Cemetery, its decline and eventual reclamation and restoration by community members and the Greenwood Cemetery Foundation. The Appendices include photographs of the clean-up operations and the Rededication ceremony.

Cemeteries Archaeology

Analysis of Coffin Hardware From 38CH778, Charleston County, South Carolina.

Chicora Foundation, Inc., Research Series 3, December 1984.

Report of the investigation of a small, unmarked cemetery in Mt. Pleasant, South Carolina that was uncovered by earth-moving operations. Data suggest that this was the burial site of black individuals associated with the Hunt plantation during the antebellum and post-bellum periods. Death dates were estimated to be from c. 1840 to 1870. A total of 846 pieces of coffin hardware were recovered from the site, described and comparatively analyzed, and a history of the hardware developed. The artifacts were reburied following the study. Photographs of the material are curated at the Charleston Museum.

Bell, Edward L. *Vestiges of Mortality & Remembrance: A Bibliography on the Historical Archaeology of Cemeteries.* Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1994.

An excellent source of information about historical archaeology and cemeteries up to the year 1994. " . . . indexed by key words, includes over 1,900 citations to scholarly research on cemetery sites dating from the 15th through the 20th century. Bibliographic references include archaeological survey and excavation reports; the physical and forensic anthropology of historical populations; the history of death, mourning, and burial; studies of grave markers and cemetery landscape; and the law and ethics of sepulchre, curation, and repatriation of human remains and funerary objects."

Connor, Cynthia. "Archaeological Analysis of African-American Mortuary Behavior." **In**

The Last Miles of the Way: African-American Homegoing Traditions, 1890-Present, Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, (Elaine Nichols, editor), 1989:51-55.

Dethlefsen, Edwin S. "The Cemetery and Culture Change: Archaeological Focus and Ethno-

graphic Perspective." *In Modern Material Culture: The Archaeology of Us,* edited by Richard A. Gould and Michael B. Schiffer. New York: Academic Press, 1981.

Results of the study of a cemetery in Alachua County, Florida, describing the difference in grave markers for African Americans and other groups in the community.

Dockall, Helen Danzeiser and Leah Carson Powell. "Burial Traditions of Rural African Americans from the Historic Phillips Memorial Cemetery." Department of Anthropology, Texas A & M University, 1993 (?). Copy housed at the

Archaeology

Institute, University of West Florida.

"Abstract: Data recovered from the Albert J. Phillips Memorial Cemetery, an historic (1890s-1927) African-American cemetery from Galveston County, Texas provides insight into the burial customs of rural African Americans. Although the excavated portion of the site had been subjected to some destructive processes, an examination of the excavated and unexcavated portions of the cemetery allowed us to assess the degree in which it exhibited identifying characteristics of traditional African-American Cemeteries . . ."

Garman, James C. "Viewing the Color Line Through the Material Culture of Death." **In** *Historical Archaeology*, (1994), 28(3):74-93.

"Abstract: Historical archaeologists have recently begun to explore the intersections of race, class, gender, and death in American society. This paper uses an approach to the material culture of death grounded in the reception theory . . . Grave markers from the African-American cemetery at Newport, Rhode Island, are considered as intersubjective texts with ranges of different meanings for different viewers . . . interpret[s] three time periods in Newport's history ranging from 1720 to 1830; interpretations of textual similarities and differences in cross-cultural mortuary activities revolve around white paternalism, conspicuous consumption, and African-American strategies of resistance and assimilation."

Parrington, Michael and Janet Wideman. "Acculturation in an Urban Setting: The Archaeology of a Black Philadelphia Cemetery." *Expedition* 28:1, (1986):55-62.

Rose, Jerome C, ed. *Gone to a Better Land: A Biohistory of a Black Rural Cemetery in the Post-Reconstruction South*. Survey Research Series No. 25. Fayetteville: Arkansas Archaeological Survey, 1985.

African American Grave Marker Artisans

Cyrus Bowens

Cate, Margaret Davis and Orrin Sage Wightman. *Early Days of Coastal Georgia..* St. Simons Island, GA: Fort Frederica Historical Association, 1955:216-23.

Photographs and descriptions of markers made by Cyrus Bowens for his family's burial plot in Liberty County, Georgia. The photos are especially significant because they were taken prior to 1955 by the book's authors and show the markers in their original setting – the markers were subsequently moved to Ft. Frederica National Monument on St. Simon's Island, Georgia, to protect them from weathering, theft, and vandalism.

Merritte, Carole. "Cemeteries." In *Historic Black Resources; A Handbook for the Identification,*

Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African-American Properties in Georgia, edited by Carolyn S. Brooks, pp. 34-36. Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 1984.

Brief discussion of the importance of the Bowens gravemarkers to the heritage of African Americans in Georgia.

Thompson, Robert Farris. "African Influence on the Art of the United States." In *Afro-American Folk Art and Crafts* (William Ferris, ed.). Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984: 47-50.

Detailed description of the gravemarkers made by Mr. Cyrus Bowens for his family's cemetery.

Vlach, John Michael. "Graveyard Decoration." *The Afro-American Tradition in Decorative Arts.* Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1978:145-47.

Includes a photograph of the Bowens gravemarkers in their original setting, with detailed descriptions of their appearance.

William Edmondson

Fletcher, Georgianna, ed. *William Edmondson: A Retrospective.* Nashville: Tennessee Arts Commission, 1981.

Fuller, Edmund L. *Visions in Stone: The Sculpture of William Edmondson.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1973.

Spires, Elizabeth. *I Heard God Talking To Me: William Edmondson and His Stone Carving.* New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2009 (reprint).

Discusses the limestone sculptures created by William Edmondson, including his gravemarkers intended for placement in Nashville's African American Cemetery. Mr. Edmondson (c. 1874-1951) was the son of former slaves in Tennessee.

Vlach, John Michael. "From Gravestone to Miracle: Traditional Perspective and the Work of William Edmondson." In *By the Work of Their Hands: Studies in Afro-American Folklife.* Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991.

A discussion and analysis of William Edmondson's 1930s gravestones compared with the statuary he carved. Assesses Mr. Edmondson's contributions to American folk art within the historical and cultural contexts of the time and place where he lived his life; brief discussion of the Tennessee quarries that provided the material for his work.

Williams, Ed. " 'Death Mask' Cemetery." *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone Studies*, 14:3 (Summer 1990), 2-4. (Originally titled "Cemetery Art," this article was reprinted from *EnvironSouth*, Vol. 9, No. 4, (Fall 1985).

Florville Foy

Brady, Patricia. "Florville Foy, F.M.C.: Master Marble Cutter." *Save Our Cemeteries News* (May 1989):4-7.

_____. "Florville Foy, F.M.C.: Master Marble Cutter and Tomb Builder." *Southern Quarterly* 31.2 (1993):8-20.

_____. "Free Men of Color as Tomb Builders." *Cross, Crozier, and Crucible*. Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 1993.

Huber, Leonard V., Peggy McDowell, and Mary Louise Christovich. *The Cemeteries*. Vol 3 of *New Orleans Architecture* (Mary Louise Christovich, ed.). Gretna, LA: Pelican Publishing Company, 1974.
Examples of work executed by free-men-of-color, Prosper Foy and Florville Foy (marble cutters, sculptors, and tomb builders) are shown on pages 75, 76, 105, 106, 130.

Sebastian Hammond

Ashcraft, Mary Ann. "Carving a Path to Freedom: The Life and Work of African American Stonecarver Sebastian "Boss" Hammond." *Markers XXI: Annual Journal of The Association for Gravestone Studies*, 2004:12-39.
Born a slave between 1795 and 1804, in Frederick County, Maryland, Sebastian Boss/Boston/Boston Hammond (freed from enslavement in 1839) is one of the earliest documented black craftsmen in central Maryland. He carved headstones from the 1830s to c.1860, apparently quarrying most of the local greenstone from a site less than a mile from his home. The article, well-illustrated by black & white photographs of headstones carved by Mr. Hammond, includes Appendices that document the work paid for by customers, and the locations of his markers that have been identified.

Isaac Nettles

Brown, Bettye H. "Man Pays Tribute of Family, Friends – With Death Masks." *The Mobile Register*, 26 January 1973, Library of The Clarke County Museum (Alabama).
Newspaper article describing the life-mask gravemarkers created by Isaac Nettles. These markers are unique to the funerary art of the Southeast region, but may echo early practices of the Akan people located in present-day Ghana and Ivory Coast, who commemorated their dead with terra-cotta portraits (see Vlach, 1978:142 and R. F. Thompson, 1983:47).

Isaac Nettles Gravestones. National Register of Historic Places Registration Form.
Alabama

Historical Commission (State Historic Preservation Office). Listed in the
National Register of Historic Places, February 24, 2000.

Ryan, Michelle. "Mt. Nebo's Eerie Effigies Earn National Honor." *SA News*. No date,
Library
of the Clarke County Museum (Alabama).

Thompson, Sharyn. *Documentation of the Isaac Nettles Grave Markers and Considerations for
Preservation*. Unpublished report, 2009-10 for the Clarke County Historical
Society,
Grove Hill, Alabama. Copies on file with the library of the Clark County
Historical
Society and The Archaeology Institute, University of West Florida, Pensacola.

Williams, Ed. "'Death Mask' Cemetery." *Newsletter of the Association for Gravestone
Studies*,
14:3 (Summer 1990), 2-4. (Originally titled "Cemetery Art" this article was
reprinted
from *EnviroSouth*, Vol. 9 No. 4, Fall 1985).

African-Related Funerary Traditions of the Caribbean

Brathwaite, Edward Kamau. *Folk Culture of the Slaves in Jamaica*. Port-of-Spain: New Beacon Books, 1981. pp. 9-16.

Discusses in scholarly detail the death, funeral, and burial traditions practiced by enslaved African and African-Jamaican peoples during the colonial period, with accounts from early historians, travelers, missionary society records, and plantation owner observations. Brathwaite follows with a discussion of "the African Matrix of Jamaican/Caribbean Folk Religion which provides further depth for interpretation of the funerary practices he documents.

Courlander, Harold. *The Drum and the Hoe: Life and Lore of the Haitian People*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1960 (reprinted, 1985). pp. 30-40.

An account of current-day Haitian beliefs regarding death, funerary traditions, and the honoring of spirits of the dead – most all of which have African precedents.

D'Costa, Jean and Barbara Lalla, editors. *Voices in Exile: Jamaican Texts of the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1989.

Texts from early documents of Jamaica; within the materials is information about various customs relating to death and burial: "Sermon at a Slave's Funeral":37-38, "Quacco's Graveside":48-51, "Chant at a Funeral":67-68," Jamaica Superstitions or, The Obeah Book":86-87, "Mourners":115-16 (with illustration, "Funeral practices of the slaves":116, first published, 1843).

Dance, Daryl C. *Folklore from Contemporary Jamaicans*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1985.

A comprehensive collection of Jamaican folklore; includes chapters "Duppy Tales" (35-53)and "Tales About Religion" (72-94). The Introduction (xix – xiv) discusses previous collections of folktales of Jamaica and the various contributions these have made to the Island's folklife and culture.

Dunn, Richard S. *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1973: 250-51; 300-34.

Brief remarks about West African funeral rites observed in Barbados and Jamaica during the late 1600s. The chapter, "Death in the Tropics" describes the many causes of death for those living in these and other British-colonized Caribbean islands during the 17th century.

Forde, G. Addington. "Beliefs about Death, Funerals and Duppies." *Folk Beliefs of Barbados*.

Barbados: The National Cultural Foundation, 1988:32-34.

A booklet by the Cultural Officer for Barbadian Folklore, with a brief, informative chapter about popular beliefs regarding the dead, their spirits, and graveyards, primarily among the Island's African-Barbadian population. The author notes when the same or similar beliefs are held on neighboring islands.

Garoutte, Claire and Anneke Wambaugh. *Crossing the Water: A Photographic Path to the Afro-Cuban Spirit World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007: 27, 45, 69, 123, 206n7, 216n21, 225n45, 237, 238, 240.

Photographs of practitioners and rituals of three African-based religions (Palo Monte, Santería, and Espiritismo) as practiced in the city of Santiago de Cuba, with well-written descriptions of present-day beliefs and customs, celebrations of the Congo Spirits of the Dead and rites associated with cemeteries. Detailed end notes for each chapter.

Hagedorn, Katherine J. *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería*.

Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001: 203-04, 207-10.
Includes brief discussion and descriptions of the mixing of Catholicism and Santeria symbols and beliefs in Havana's Cementerio Cristobal Colon (Christopher Columbus Cemetery).

Handler, Jerome S., Michael D. Conner, and Keith P. Jacobi. *Searching for a Slave Cemetery in Barbados, West Indies: A Bioarchaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation.* Center for Archaeological Investigations, Southern Illinois University at Carbondale, Research Paper No. 59, June 1989.

In-depth report of archaeological excavations and archival/ethnographic research in the island of Barbados. The main objective of the field work for the project was "to locate sugar plantation slave cemetery sites from which skeletal and artifactual remains could be recovered. Archaeological survey and testing focused on five plantations with histories extending deep into the slave period, and where strong oral and written evidence existed for slave cemeteries. This research, however, failed to discover traces of any cemetery or recover any contextual evidence of human remains." Despite the fact that no slave cemeteries were found, the information detailed in the report incorporates "historical/archival and ethnographic research . . . [and consideration] of "historical and anthropological issues regarding unmarked Caribbean slave cemeteries." Probably most pertinent for African American and African Caribbean cemetery studies are Chapter 3, "Cemeteries during the Slave Period: Whites, Slaves and the Newton Cemetery" (13-16) and Chapter 4, "Plantation Fields: Naming Practices, and the Negro Yard and Graveyard Fields (17-19). An extensive References section lists sources used in the archival and ethnographical research for the investigation.

Jerome S. Handler has also written *A Guide to Source Materials for the Study of Barbados History, 1627-1834.* Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971. *"Mr. Handler has undertaken an extensive anthropological study of the social and cultural life of Africans and their descendants in Barbados during the seventeenth through early nineteenth centuries, a long-range study of which this bibliographic guide is a by-product." – from the book's promotional jacket flap.*

Metraux, Alfred. "The Cult of the Dead." *Voodoo in Haiti.* New York: Schocken Books, 1972: 243-65.

This chapter of the book describes funeral rites as practiced by followers of Voodoo, though the author clearly states that, "It would be somewhat arbitrary merely to describe Voodoo funeral ceremonies without giving some attention to rites which, although apparently not linked with the cult of loa, nevertheless are always observed over every dead body no matter whether it is that of a Catholic, a fervent Voodooist or an uncompromising Protestant" Among the topics covered are precautions regarding a proper funeral, laying out of the dead, the burial, mourning, and cemeteries and tombs.

Mullin, Michael. *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736-1831.* Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992: 63-66, 70-71, 73-74, 137, 204, 323, 372.

Scholarly work that includes primary resource research of colonial Caribbean and American burial grounds, funerary traditions brought by slaves from West Africa, attitudes of plantations owners towards burial rites practiced by slaves, observations of social stratification of slaves as expressed in various funeral practices. Includes an extensive bibliography concerning African-based culture and history from the colonial period in the Caribbean and American South. Perhaps most useful are the listings of collections housed at various libraries and archives. Includes material from official records, plantation records, missionary papers, and newspapers (pages 385-403).

Pigou, Elizabeth. "A Note on Afro-Jamaican Beliefs and Rituals." *Jamaica Journal* 20.2 (1987):23-26.

Well-researched article about the beliefs of African-Jamaicans associated with death and burial rituals. The author notes that "Africans entering Jamaica naturally brought with them their native beliefs and rituals relating the death. The beliefs and practices of migrant peoples will normally under-go some changes due to contact with the new physical and social environments.

The position of enslaved peoples is especially vulnerable, due to their exposure to forces which attempt, with at least partial success, to control and remold them." Topics addressed in the article include: the basic West African/Afro-Jamaican beliefs concerning death; slave funerals; Kumina funeral rituals; grave decorations; superstitions associated with death; death in folklore.

Rashford, John. "The Cotton Tree and the Spiritual Realm in Jamaica." *Jamaica Journal* 210.2 (1987):23-26.

"This article explores the association between the cotton tree [Ceiba pentandra] and the spiritual realm in Jamaica and in other parts of tropical America . . ." Rashford includes an extensive discussion of the cotton tree as "the shrine of a sanctuary," and relates the tree's importance in various Jamaican religions such as Obeah and Myal. Article includes a list of published references.

_____. "Packy Tree, Spirits and Duppy Birds." *Jamaica Journal* 21.3 (1988):2-10.

Extensive article on the "cultural importance of the American calabash tree (Crescentia spp.) to Jamaicans, focusing on the way in which it is traditionally associated with the spiritual realm, i.e. its relationships to the world of spirits and to duppy birds." Explores the use of the calabash tree as a grave marker, and the association of various bird species with the tree and graveyards.

_____. "Leaves of Fire: Jamaica's Crotons." *Jamaica Journal* 21.4 (1988/1989):19-25.

The article includes discussion of the use of crotons as grave markers and its association with graveyards, and of the plant's use in Jamaica's traditional religious practices.

Tanna, Laura and Hazel Ramsay. "Dinki Mini." *Jamaica Journal* 20.2 (1987):27-31.

Discussion of the retention of the West African tradition of Dinki Mini, which includes dancing "on the final set-up on the ninth night, when the soul of the departed would be bade farewell." The dances and songs of funeral celebrations are described in detail.

Walvin, James. *Black Ivory: A History of British Slavery*. Washington, DC: Howard University Press, 1994:150-53, 169, 183. (See also chapters "Disease and Death," (135-54) and "Religion," (176-97).

An account of colonial period slavery in Britain, North America and the Caribbean, providing descriptions and discussions about numerous aspects of how lives were lived under slavery. Two chapters, "Disease and Death" (135-54) and "Religion" (176-97) are especially pertinent to the study of African burial/funeral traditions. Pages 150-153, 169, 183 give accounts of mortuary practices in Virginia, Barbados, Jamaica, during the mid-17th century. Of interest is a photograph, taken in an English churchyard, of the head and foot stones for Scipio Africanus, died 1720 -- his elaborately carved markers include typical iconography of the time -- portraits and winged soul effigies, with African features.

Zips, Werner. *Nanny's Asafo Warriors: The Jamaican Maroons' African Experience*. (Translated from German by Francesca Deakin). Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2011: 69, 72, 77-80, 96, 102, 109, 125, 127.

Burial Records, Death Notices, Obituaries, Cemetery Locations

Reddick, Marguerite, compiler. "Cemeteries of Camden County." *In Camden's Challenge: A History of Camden County, Georgia*. Camden County Historical Commission, 1976:511-590.

A compilation of all known cemeteries in the county, with names and vital statistics, taken from the grave markers of the deceased given when available. "No burial plot has been excluded intentionally from this book, but through lack of information or oversight, there will be cemeteries or individual graves omitted, regretfully." African American cemeteries (with marker information) are listed as follows: Hammock Black Cemetery, near Dover Bluff (312); Slave Cemetery in Brown's Neck (518); Cemetery Near Wayside (Slavery Time) – 10 or 12 unmarked graves of former slaves (527); Jefferson Cemetery – "several graves of Blacks" (540); Oak Grove Cemetery – Negro Section (588-590).

Roman Catholic Parish of St. Augustine, Florida. *Black Interments – Book I, 1785 – 1821*. Transcript of the records housed at the St. Augustine Historical Society. *Records of burials for St. Augustine during the Second Spanish Period.*

Sixty Years of History: Greenwood Cemetery Gravemarker Inscriptions, 1937-1997. A publication of the John G. Riley Museum of African American History & Culture, Tallahassee, Florida, October 1997.

Documentation and Preservation

Birnbaum, Charles A. *Protecting Cultural Landscapes: Planning, Treatment and Management of Historic Landscapes*. Preservation Briefs #36. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, Sep 1994.

"This Preservation Brief provides preservation professionals, cultural resources managers, and historic property owners a step-by-step process for preserving historic designed and vernacular landscapes, two types of cultural landscapes. While this process is ideally applied to an entire landscape, it can address a single feature such as a perennial garden, family burial plot, or a sentinel oak in an open meadow. This Brief provides a framework and guidance for undertaking projects to ensure a successful balance between historic preservation and change."

____ (editor). *The Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*

with Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1996.

"The Secretary of Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties and the Guidelines for the Treatment of Cultural Landscapes provide guidance to cultural landscape owners, stewards and managers, landscape architects, preservation planners, architects, contractors, and project reviewers prior to and during the planning and implementation of project work --

Deas-Moore, Vennie. "Treading on Sacred Ground." **In** *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds*. Information Series #76. National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993.

Documenting and Preserving Historical African American Cemeteries: A One Day Workshop To Introduce the Concepts Necessary for the Preservation of African American Cemeteries in the Southern Landscape. Handbook for a workshop presented within Florida's Second Statewide African American Heritage Preservation Conference, Tallahassee, Florida, February 3-6, 1999. Copies housed at the John G. Riley Museum and Center for African American History.

Grave Matters: The Preservation of African-American Cemeteries. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 1996

A booklet that includes a section describing slave burials and graveyards in the South Carolina Lowcountry (taken from plantation and traveler account of the time period). Discusses the role of archaeology in the preservation of African American cemeteries.

Merritte, Carole. "Cemeteries." **In** *Historic Black Resources; A Handbook for the Identification,*

Documentation, and Evaluation of Historic African-American Properties in Georgia, edited by Carolyn S. Brooks, pp. 34-36. Historic Preservation Section, Georgia Department of Natural Resources, 1984.

Provides a summary history of the African/African America presence in Georgia and "discusses some major cultural resources which have historical significance primarily to African Americans." Includes discussion of the cemeteries and burial restrictions for slaves during the State's colonial and ante-bellum periods.

Potter, Elisabeth Walton and Beth M. Boland. *Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places*. National Register Bulletin 41. Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service, National

Register

of Historic Places, 1992.

"The creation of the National Register of Historic Places in 1966 provided the first national recognition for historic properties possessing State or local significance, and uniform standards for evaluating them . . . appreciation has evolved in both scholarship and public perception for

the important historical themes that graves, cemeteries, and other types of burial places and features can represent. The growing emphasis on the history of ordinary individuals, grass roots movements, cultural and designed landscapes, and various cultural groups has nurtured this evolution. At the same time, the identification, maintenance, and preservation of burial places is increasingly threatened through neglect, ignorance, and vandalism. This publication is intended to focus attention on these resources and provide detailed guidance on the qualities that render burial places significant representatives of our history worth of preservation."

The Restoration of Above Ground Masonry Tombs. Save Our Cemeteries, New Orleans, Louisiana and State of Louisiana, Department of Culture, Recreation, and Tourism, September 1989.

Recording Historic Cemeteries: A Guide for Historical Societies and Genealogists.

Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 1998.

Provides basic information about the reason for recording cemetery markers, and the ways that it can be done; the booklet's 12 pages provides a comprehensive beginning for this important work.

Strangstad, Lynette. *A Graveyard Preservation Primer.* Nashville, TN and Worcester, MA:

American Association for State and Local History; The Association for

Gravestone

Studies, 1988. Second edition: Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2013.

Revised edition of the first comprehensive book for conservation of gravestones. New material includes discussion of the importance of developing a preservation plan prior to beginning any restoration project.

_____. *Preservation of Historic Burial Grounds.* Information Series No. 76. Washington, DC:

National Trust for Historic Preservation, 1993.

Thompson, Sharyn. *Florida's Historic Cemeteries: A Preservation Handbook.* Tallahassee:

Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board, 1989 (out of print; on-line, revised

edition

at the Florida Department of State's Division of Historical Resources website).

Designed to assist individuals, organizations, and agencies interested in the preservation and protection of historic cemeteries. It suggests guidelines and methods for identification, survey, and documentation of burial sites and discusses preservation techniques that can be employed to stop or retard their deterioration. Appendices include information on the Florida Master Site File program, the National Register of Historic Places, statues that affect the protection of the state's historic burial sites, and a bibliography of selected books and articles about cemeteries and graveyard in the southern United States.

_____, (compiler). *Historic African American and African Caribbean Cemeteries:*

A Selected Bibliography. Tallahassee, FL: The Center for Historic Cemeteries Preservation, 1997. (out-of-print).

A bibliography compiled to assist persons interested in the interpretation and preservation of historic African American and African Caribbean cemeteries. The publications listed concentrate on the historical and cultural aspects of burial and commemoration.

_____. "Lapidary Trails: Using Graveyards for Genealogical Research." *American Visions* 10.6 (1996):44-45.

Explanation of the importance of documenting African American cemeteries, with information on ways to conduct surveys, take photographs, copy inscriptions, begin historical research in support of the burying site.

Woodtor, Dee Parmer. *Finding A Place Called Home: A Guide to African-American Genealogy and Historical Identity.* New York: Random House, 1999.

A comprehensive and well-organized guide for genealogy research of African Americans; includes chapters on how to document slave ancestors, ancestors during the Civil War and during Recon-

struction, and on "The Last African and the First American." Special topics include Sources for Advanced Research in Slave Genealogy, Caribbean Ancestry, and A Further Note on County Courthouse Records.

African American & African Caribbean Gardens and Yards

- Armstrong, Douglas V. "The Afro-Jamaican House-Yard: An Archaeological and Ethno-Historical Perspective." *Florida Journal of Anthropology* 16:51-63.
- Kimber, Clarissa. "Dooryard Gardens of Martinique." *Yearbook of the Pacific Coast Geographers* 28 (1966):97-118.
- McDaniel, George W. *Hearth & Home: Preserving a People's Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1982:20, 116, 119, 145, 154-55.
- Pulsipher, Lydia M. "The Landscapes and the Ideational Roles of Caribbean Slave Gardens." *The Archaeology of Garden and Field*, edited by Naomi Miller And Kathryn Gleason, no date.
- _____. "They Have Saturdays and Sundays to Feed Themselves: Slave Gardens in the Caribbean." *Expedition* 2.2 (1990):24-33.
- Rashford, John. "The Cotton Tree and the Spiritual Realm in Jamaica." *Jamaica Journal* 18.1 (1985):49-57.
- _____. "Packy Tree, Spirits and Duppy Birds." *Jamaica Journal* 21.3 (1988):2-10.
- _____. "Leaves of Fire: Jamaica's Crotons." *Jamaica Journal* 21.4 (1988/1989):19-25.
- Westmacott, Richard. *African-American Gardens and Yards in the Rural South*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1992.