## Stephen F. Austin State University

## SFA ScholarWorks

**Electronic Theses and Dissertations** 

8-7-2021

# **Gravegoods: A Primer for Preservation**

Mary E. Tucker mhanes94@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/etds



Part of the Public History Commons

Tell us how this article helped you.

#### **Repository Citation**

Tucker, Mary E., "Gravegoods: A Primer for Preservation" (2021). Electronic Theses and Dissertations. 412.

https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/etds/412

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by SFA ScholarWorks. It has been accepted for inclusion in Electronic Theses and Dissertations by an authorized administrator of SFA ScholarWorks. For more information, please contact cdsscholarworks@sfasu.edu.

# **Gravegoods: A Primer for Preservation**

# **Creative Commons License**



This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 4.0 License.

### GRAVEGOODS: A PRIMER FOR PRESERVATION

By

MARY ELIZABETH TUCKER, Bachelor of Arts

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Stephen F. Austin State University In Partial Fulfillment Of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts

STEPHEN F. AUSTIN STATE UNIVERSITY August 2021

### GRAVEGOODS: A PRIMER FOR PRESERVATION

By

## MARY ELIZABETH TUCKER, Bachelor of Arts

### APPROVED:

Perky Beisel, D.A., Thesis Director

M. Scott Sosebee, Ph.D., Committee Member

Jere Jackson, Ph.D., Committee Member

George Avery, Ph.D., Committee Member

Pauline M. Sampson, Ph.D. Dean of Research and Graduate Studies

#### **ABSTRACT**

Deep East Texas is home to many historic cemeteries. The preservation of these cemeteries includes the care of gravemarkers and the management of cemetery grounds. Unfortunately, these practices often neglect gravegoods. The Caddo people have some of the earliest gravegood usage in Deep East Texas, dating back to the eighth century. European and American settlers brought other funerary traditions and influences into the area beginning in the sixteenth century. Gravegoods in historic Deep East Texas cemeteries reflect these influences and traditions. This thesis led to the creation of a preservation brief that will educate cemetery management on best preservation practices for these important pieces of vernacular culture.

#### **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This thesis took almost two years to come together. It took a lot of faith, tears, and patience. But, I never could have done this without the love and support of some very important people in my life.

First, I would like to thank my husband, Brant Tucker, who has been so supportive and patient with me during this time. He also always reminded me that sometimes it is okay to need a break from the computer. In those instances, he would encourage me to get out and research. I cannot overstate just how helpful he has been throughout this whole process.

Next, I would like to thank our families. They have been so understanding of my need to work during this time. Grant and Kristeen Hanes, my father and mother, have always encouraged my academic pursuits. As teachers, they understand the importance of my diligence and focus on this thesis. As parents, they never forget to encourage me or tell me how proud they are of how far I have come. I appreciate all their love and prayers more than I could ever say.

Brett and Barbie Tucker, my father-in-law and mother-in-law, have been so supportive, as well. They have never stopped pushing me and encouraging me to take the next step in completing this thesis. Frequently, they reminded me to stop and take a breath when I became overwhelmed.

To my brother, David (D.J.) Hanes, I want to thank you for being supportive in your own way, reading through my rough drafts, and sending me encouragement every day. I also want to offer my encouragement to you. Whatever life throws at you, I know, and I pray, that you will come out on top. Remember, just take one step at a time.

To my thesis committee, Dr. Perky Beisel, Dr. Scott Sosebee, Dr. George Avery, and Dr. Jere Jackson, thank you. I want to especially thank Dr. Perky Beisel for her encouragement, input, and, at times, patience. This thesis project would not have made it past the proposal phase without this committee and their input.

To everyone else who has prayed for me and encouraged me as I wrote this thesis, I can never thank you enough.

Mary E. Tucker

June 30, 2021

Nacogdoches, Texas

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Figures	v
Introduction	1
Chapter 1: The History of Gravegoods in Deep East Texas	10
Chapter 2: The Management and Preservation of Deep East Texas Cemeteries	23
Chapter 3: Process.	39
Conclusion	78
Bibliography	82
Appendix	100
Vita	113

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figu	re Page
1.	Map of Deep East Texas
2.	White vase with a pink flower and vine print in Old Canaan Cemetery, Marshall, Texas
1.1.	Small Christmas wreath in Macune Cemetery, San Augustine, Texas21
1.2.	Gravehouse in Old North Church Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas
2.1.	Sign at Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas
2.2.	Cleaning gravemarkers in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas37
2.3.	Ceramic vase in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas
2.4.	Metal pitcher and ceramic vessel in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas
3.1.	Gravemarker in the shape of an eighteen-wheeler truck, McKnight Cemetery, Cushing, Texas
3.2.	Blue bottle with "Emerson Drug" visible located in New Canaan Cemetery, Marshall, Texas
3.3.	Metal statue of a fireman in Sacul Cemetery, Sacul, Texas59
3.4.	Gravemarker and other gravegoods associated with the Fireman in Sacul Cemetery, Sacul, Texas
3.5.	Gravemarker inscribed in Spanish and statue of a child in Meador Cemetery, Jacksonville, Texas

3.6.	THC Request for Designation forms for documenting and designating historic cemeteries
3.7.	List of every cemetery visited and associated maps. Some travel was limited due to the 2020 pandemic
3.8.	Map of cemeteries visited in Angelina County, Texas65
3.9.	Map of cemeteries visited in Cherokee County
3.10.	Map of cemeteries visited in Harrison County, Texas
3.11.	Map of cemeteries visited in Houston County, Texas
3.12.	Map of cemeteries visited in Nacogdoches County, Texas
3.13.	Map of cemeteries visited in Rusk County, Texas
3.14.	Map of cemeteries visited in Sabine County, Texas71
3.15.	Map of cemeteries visited in San Augustine, Texas72
3.16	Map of cemeteries visited in Tyler County, Texas73
3.17.	Pierce Chapel Cemetery in Cushing, Texas has many scraped earth graves but no gravegoods
3.18.	Handmade pottery at a grave in Shiloh Baptist Cemetery, San Augustine, Texas75
3.19.	Memorial Day display in St. Joseph's Catholic Cemetery, Marshall, Texas76
3.20.	Gravegoods in McMahan Chapel Cemetery, Bronson, Texas77

#### INTRODUCTION

Gravegoods are decorations or other items left nearby graves and gravemarkers.

Gravegoods have taken many forms throughout history from the earliest graves in Europe and the pyramids in Egypt to the Caddo people of Deep East Texas. In many instances, gravegoods in historic cemeteries are damaged or completely broken. Oftentimes, seems that people attempting to clean cemetery grounds will mistake these items as rubbish.

These gravegoods, however, when taken in context with their respective gravemarkers, can be indicative of serval aspects of life such as ethnic groups, social or familial status, religious preference, gender, age, and occupation.

Therefore, the goal in creating a preservation brief for the gravegoods of Deep East Texas is to educate people in recognizing and preserving these gravegoods as historic and cultural resources. Deep East Texas, as defined for this project, is the area south of Interstate 20, east of Interstate 45, north of Interstate 10, and west of Louisiana (Figure 1). This area contains Nacogdoches, Texas, the oldest town in Texas, and other notable sites such as Caddo Mound State Historic Site, Mission Tejas State Park, and McMahan Chapel. All of these historically significant locations speak to the different people that lived in the region from the Caddo and the early Spanish explorers to Anglo settlers and African peoples both free and enslaved. All of these people have left behind various forms of vernacular culture in the form of artifacts in historic cemeteries.

For the Caddo, the use of gravegoods was ceremonial. They left gravegoods inside of their burial mounds for the dead. In Alto, Texas, examples of these mounds still exist. Archaeological surveys have been completed on these mounds and others like them in Deep East Texas. Examples of these gravegoods included items such as ceremonial knives and pottery. Archaeologists used these items to record information about the Caddo and their funerary traditions. Unfortunately, many of these items were also stolen or destroyed by people who did not understand their historic and cultural value to the Caddo people. Culturally, these items were symbolic of respect and honor for the dead.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Spanish arrived in Texas. Spanish missionaries and explorers brought their funerary practices with them beginning with the Spanish Missions of East Texas.<sup>3</sup> The Spanish also established the oldest town in Texas, Nacogdoches, in 1779.<sup>4</sup> Spanish influences that remain include the introduction of Catholicism and the use of the Spanish language. Religious beliefs are the basis for many gravegoods, such as Catholic iconography, angels, and crosses. The use of religious items is still common today as Christianity is still the most practiced religion in the Deep East Texas region.

<sup>1</sup> "Heading Home," Texas Historical Commission, March 31, 2016, accessed June 06, 2021, <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/historic-sites/caddo-mounds/history/heading-home">https://www.thc.texas.gov/historic-sites/caddo-mounds/history/heading-home</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Caddo Fundamentals: Graves of the Caddo Ancestors," Texas Beyond History, August 6, 2003, accessed June 05, 2021, <a href="https://texasbeyondhistory.net/tejas/fundamentals/graves.html">https://texasbeyondhistory.net/tejas/fundamentals/graves.html</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ida Faye Hamilton and Joe E. Ericson, Texas Indians and Spanish Missions in Colonial Texas (Nacogdoches, TX: Ericson Books, 2006), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> James McReynolds, "Spanish Nacogdoches," *Nacogdoches: Wilderness Outpost to Modern City*, 1779-1979, ed. Archie P. McDonald (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1980), 19.

Anglo settlers came to Texas in the early nineteenth century. Some arrived with men like Stephen F. Austin who had permission to set up colonies from the Mexican government. Others came on their own. In Deep East Texas, these settlers were mainly from the newly established United States and its territories. They brought with them the burial practices of western Europe.

For the people of African descent in the region, funerary traditions developed from the oral traditions of their ancestral tribes.<sup>5</sup> Grave glass and bottles and other liquid holding vessels are familiar sights in historic African American cemeteries.

Unfortunately, many of these cemeteries have been abandoned or have had accessibility issues due to legal battles over land ownership. As a result, their gravegoods are often passed over, destroyed, or disposed of as rubbish by uninformed people. The loss of these items is a loss of a portion of the historical record.

There have been many historical factors that have made preservation and cemetery management difficult for historic cemeteries. As mentioned previously, the taking of gravegoods from Native American burials and the removal of gravegoods on accident from various historic cemeteries has been a long-standing issue. Likewise, vandalism has been a problem that has grown worse since the Civil War (and even more so in the current political and social climate). This is because of the divisiveness of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur B. Hughes III, *The Death Care Industry: African American Cemeteries and Funeral Homes*, ed. Barbara Hughes Smith, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (n.p.: Hughes Wright Enterprises, 2007), 21.

reminders of that period in American History.<sup>6</sup> However, in Deep East Texas, more communities are making efforts toward repairing, managing, and preserving their historic cemeteries to save, record, and remember their histories.

Historically, the transition from families caring for graves to having overarching management teams or committees is still ongoing in some areas of Deep East Texas.

Older families within the communities make up the cemetery committees who make most decisions about upkeep and general care. These historic cemeteries are smaller and not typically corporate-owned. Therefore, they often do not have the regular workforce to undertake large projects with any frequency, amongst other problems.

Many smaller, historic cemeteries are not easily accessible. The locations of these cemeteries lead to a need for easements and, in some cases, legal action to gain access to family cemeteries. The cemeteries, in these cases, are often overgrown and have not been tended to in decades. Some hold signs of damage where livestock and wildlife have made their paths through the cemetery because humans have not visited regularly. When the families do gain access, with whatever frequency, a lack of education can lead to the unintentional destruction or damage of gravemarkers and gravegoods (Figure 2).<sup>8</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Steven B. Burg, "From Troubled Ground to Common Ground": The Locust Grove African-American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service-Learning and Community History," *The Public Historian*, vol. 30, no. 2 (Spring 2008), 52, <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2008.30.2.51">https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2008.30.2.51</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Barbara Wooten and Sandra Jones, interview by Mary Tucker, April 22, 2021, East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Figure 2: A photo of pink spray paint being used to mark gravegoods. This paint can stain and cause chemical damage to gravemarkers and gravegoods.

Regularly maintained historic cemeteries often have their problems and concerns. These larger cemeteries are usually located in or just outside of city limits. Often, they are open to the public at almost all hours. Despite this, however, there is a lack of constant security and surveillance for some of these cemeteries, making them targets for vandals and homeless people who wish to find a quiet place to rest. There is also the problem of vehicles driving into these cemeteries where people may accidentally run over gravemarkers and gravegoods that are difficult to see. While many of these larger historic cemeteries may have full crews to provide general maintenance, they may not always know how to properly handle gravemarkers and gravegoods for preservation.

Other challenges face larger historic cemeteries aside from threats of damage to gravegoods and gravemarkers. For example, these cemeteries may have higher volumes of foot traffic as people visit to attend funerals, visit graves, and, occasionally, get exercise. Cemetery management should consider the safety of these people. Therefore, there will be times when restrictions will be necessary on the number or type of gravegoods left at gravesites. However, this does not mean that historically and culturally significant gravegoods should be completely done away with. Instead, it means working with the families and friends of deceased people to determine what reasonable limits may be. At the very least, historic gravegoods need to be recorded and photographed in case they are removed or broken in the future.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Gary Bass, "Vandals damage Nacogdoches' historic Oak Grove Cemetery," *KTRE*, January 25, 2013, accessed June 23, 2021, <a href="https://www.ktre.com/story/20709305/vandals-damage-nacogdoches-historic-oak-grove-cemetery/">https://www.ktre.com/story/20709305/vandals-damage-nacogdoches-historic-oak-grove-cemetery/</a>.

This project will hopefully aid larger historic cemeteries in the preservation and recognition of significant gravegoods. For smaller, historic cemeteries, it can help by providing basic, small steps rooted in best practices that may not require a large group of people. Overall, this preservation brief should be a general guide of best practices for all historic cemeteries of Deep East Texas, regardless of size.

This gravegoods preservation brief for Deep East Texas will follow the format of many of the National Parks Service's preservation briefs. It will contain a basic introduction and explanation of gravegoods. The reader will also find a brief history and description of types of gravegoods in Deep East Texas to provide context for the kinds of gravegoods seen throughout the region. This information creates the basis for the rest of the brief because it determines factors for preservation best practices such as material type and common threats to these items.

After this information, there is a section regarding best practices for preserving these gravegoods based upon their material type. Throughout the brief, there are photographs that serve as examples of each kind of gravegood. The primary methodology of preservation is, at the basic level, a need for recording. It details that those items should be emptied of any liquids or dirt, gently cleaned according to best practices, set into the upright position if fallen, and photographed from various angles. All of this should be recorded in a format that can be digitally backed up for future reference.

Gravemarkers and associated gravegoods are culturally and historically significant artifacts that need to be preserved. When taken within historic context, they

can inform people about others who once lived. While gravemarkers frequently show information such as names, birth dates, death dates, wedding dates, involvement in various organizations, and other factual information, gravegoods can add to it.

Gravegoods can indicate sex, age, ethnicity, and other factors. To quote Terry Jordan, "No where else, perhaps, is the imprint of Texas' multiple peopling so sharp and clear as the places we set aside for our dead." Preserving these items provides a glimpse into the history of Deep East Texas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1982), 1.

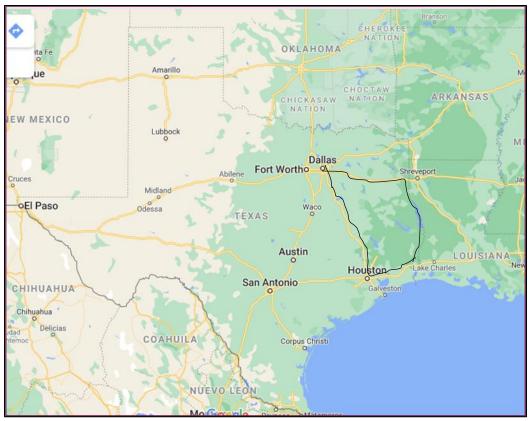


Figure 1. The outline drawn of this map of Texas shows the region defined as Deep East Texas for this project.



Figure 2. Here is a white vase with a pink flower and vine print at New Canaan Cemetery in Marshall, Texas. Someone has marked its location with pink spray paint rather than using proper flagging materials.

#### CHAPTER ONE

Cemeteries have long been places full of historical traditions and displays of cultural influences. All aspects of burial traditions, from the appearance and organization of gravemarkers to the clothing that people are buried wearing to the decorations left by family members and visitors known as gravegoods, are culturally and historically influenced. Many gravegoods have historic significance rooted in the culture and traditions of the local people. Availability, affordability, popularity, and other factors also impacted the types of gravegoods used. From the early days of the Caddo to the arrival Spanish explorers, then to the later influx of Anglo and African American people who migrated to Deep East Texas, gravegoods tell a part of the history of this region. Though the types of gravegoods have changed over time, nineteenth to twenty-first century gravegoods of Deep East Texas are part of the historically, culturally, and traditionally significant practices of historic communities.

In Deep East Texas, the traditional use of gravegoods can be traced back to the eighth to thirteenth century Caddo and their great funerary mounds.<sup>1</sup> There are examples

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Timothy K. Perttula, Mark Walters, and Bo Nelson, "The M. S. Roberts Site (41HE8): Archaeological Investigations at a Caddo Mound Site in the Upper Neches River Basin in East Texas," *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State* vol. 2017, no. 2 (2017), 39-40, accessed July 3, 2021, <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2">https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2</a>.

of these mounds today near Alto, Texas, at the Caddo Mounds State Historic Site.<sup>2</sup> The Caddo first began living in Deep East Texas and the surrounding areas over two-thousand years ago.<sup>3</sup> Within these funerary mounds were human remains and various gravegoods such as ceremonial objects and pottery.<sup>4</sup> The Caddo people traditionally used burial mounds until the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries because of various environmental factors that impacted their quality of life.<sup>5</sup> However, even after this time, the Caddo people buried gravegoods with their dead in smaller graves. The gravegoods used in both cases to show respect based on the status of the people who died as well as their age and sex.<sup>6</sup> There is also some indication that these gravegoods may also have religious and economic implications for the Caddo people.<sup>7</sup> The federal government

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> F. Todd Smith, *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854* (College Station Texas A&M University Press, 1995), 7. One small burial survives in Nacogdoches, TX along Mound Street.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Timothy K. Perttula, "The Archaeology of the Caddo in Southwest Arkansas, Northwest Louisiana, Eastern Oklahoma, and East Texas: An Introduction to the Volume," *The Archaeology of the Caddo*, ed. Timothy K. Perttula and Chester P. Walker (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2012), 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Timothy K. Perttula, "Caddo Ceramics from Mound Deposits at the Shelby Mound Site (41CP71) on Greasy Creek, Camp County, Texas," *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State*, vol. 2014, no. 43 (2014): 10-14, accessed July 3, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2014.1.43">https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2014.1.43</a>. See also Timothy K. Perttula, "The Harling Site (41FN1): An Ancestral Caddo Mound Site on the Red River in Fannin County, Texas," *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lonestar State*, vol. 2015, no. 62 (2015): 76, accessed July 3, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2015.1.62">https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2015.1.62</a>. See also Timothy K. Perttula, Mark Walters, and Bo Nelson, "The M. S. Roberts Site (41HE8): Archaeological Investigations at a Caddo Mound Site in the Upper Neches River Basin in East Texas," *Open Access Gray Literature from the Lonestar State*, vol. 2017, no. 2 (2017): 33, accessed July 3, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2">https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> "Caddo Population Decline," *The National Park Service*, last modified February 10, 2020, accessed July 3, 2021, https://www.nps.gov/elte/learn/historyculture/caddo-population-decline.htm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Timothy K. Perttula, "The Character of Fifteenth- to Seventeenth-Century Caddo Communities in the Big Cypress Creek Basin of Northeast Texas," *The Archaeology of the Caddo*, 399-407.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> James A. Brown, "Spiro Reconsidered: Sacred Economy at the Western Frontier of the Eastern Woodlands," *The Archaeology of the Caddo*,131-133.

relocated the Caddo people to Oklahoma in 1859. Therefore, there is little Caddo influence in Deep East Texas today.

However, the Alabama-Coushatta tribe do currently reside in Deep East Texas near Livingston, Texas.<sup>8</sup> The Alabama-Coushatta began as two separate groups arriving in East Texas in the 1779.<sup>9</sup> Originally from the eastern United States, the Alabama and Coushatta tribes were facing many of the same difficulties that other tribes faced at the entrance of American, Spanish, and other settlers moved into their lands: disease, enslavement, and other forms of violence.<sup>10</sup> As a result, the Alabama Coushatta, who were a part of the larger Creek Confederacy, sought refuge in the Spanish controlled East Texas. Regardless, Anglo immigrants soon pushed into Texas, as well, after the Louisiana Purchase in 1803.

Spanish explorers and missionaries first came to Deep East Texas in 1542 with Hernando DeSoto. They brought their languages and religion with them. Thus, the earliest Christian religious influence brought to Deep East Texas was Catholicism. However, it was not until the late seventeenth century that the Spanish actively began setting up missions in Deep East Texas. These missions rarely lasted more than five years at a time. The Spanish would establish, abandon, and then reestablish many of these

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Due to the 2020 pandemic, I was unable to contact the Alabama-Coushatta tribe directly. Nor was visiting the reservation an option.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Michael Johnson, *The Native Tribes of North America: A Concise Encyclopedia* (New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1994), 45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Robbie Ethridge and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds., *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 256-257.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Donald E. Chipman, Spanish Texas, 1519-1821 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992), 40.

missions repeatedly.<sup>12</sup> The Spanish missionaries and soldiers had a dual purpose in establishing these missions. They created both an outpost and attempted to develop friendlier relations with the local Caddo people. They hoped that the outpost would prevent any intrusion by the French from Louisiana. Though there was little success in converting the Caddo, these missions did help begin the permanent Spanish occupation of Deep East Texas. The Spanish eventually established the oldest surviving town in Texas, Nacogdoches, in 1779 as a permanent outpost.<sup>13</sup>

Anglo settlers began to arrive in Texas from the United States of America less than fifty years later, in 1825, with Stephen F. Austin and other empresarios as well as on their own. 14 Though the newly established Mexican government stipulated that these settlers must be Roman Catholic, this did not stop the settlers from bringing their preferred religions and beliefs. 15 In Bronson, Texas, Anglo settlers established McMahan Chapel in direct disobedience to these requirements in 1831. 16 As a Methodist church, McMahan Chapel was the first organized Protestant church in Deep East Texas. Despite the legalities, both Protestantism and Catholicism flourished in the region.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Ida Faye Hamilton and Joe E. Ericson, *Texas Indians and Spanish Missions in Colonial Texas* (Nacogdoches, TX: Ericson Books, 2006), 27.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Archie P. McDonald, *Nacogdoches: Wilderness Outpost to Modern City, 1779-1979* (Burnet, TX: Eakin Press),16-17

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Gregg Cantrell, *Stephen F. Austin: Empresario of Texas* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999), 176.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Cantrell, Stephen F. Austin, 118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Archie P. McDonald, "McMahan's Chapel," TexasEscapes.com, July 21, 2001, accessed January 5, 2021, http://www.texasescapes.com/AllThingsHistorical/McMahanChapelAMD702.htm.

Religious preference is one of the most enduring cultural influences as it impacts beliefs about death. The most common religion of Deep East Texas is Christianity.<sup>17</sup> Catholicism and Protestant denominations share some common gravegoods. The Latin cross is one example. Regardless of denomination, the cross is one of the most common symbols in Deep East Texas cemeteries. As a gravegood, crosses are either figurines, art, or in the form of crucifixes (Figure 1.1). Crosses have long been a Christian symbol because of their connection to the belief in the death and resurrection of Jesus Christ.

In many Catholic cemeteries, various representations of the saints and Jesus as well as rosary beads are a common sight next to the gravemarkers. All of these things have a connection to how people of the Catholic faith worship. Rosary beads are used in prayer and meditation. Many Catholic church members pray to the saints to intercede before God for them and others, including the deceased, for aid and comfort during times of grieving. <sup>18</sup> In addition to Christian crosses, some Catholic people may place crucifixes, which are crosses depicting the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, on the grave.

Another religion in East Texas is Judaism. While it does not have Christianity's numbers, there are still a few small Jewish communities in Deep East Texas.<sup>19</sup> Many of the Jewish people that immigrated to Texas were originally from Germany. The primary

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Texas Largest Religious Bodies," *Texas Almanac*, 2010, accessed June 7, 2021, https://texasalmanac.com/topics/religion/religious-affiliation-texas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Simon Ditchfield, "Thinking with Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World," *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 35 no. 3, (Spring 2009),566, accessed June 14, 2021, <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/598809">https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/598809</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> There are no known historic Muslim cemeteries in Deep East Texas.

form of gravegoods left by Jewish people in cemeteries are small stones left on top of the gravestones to show that they have visited.<sup>20</sup>

Early Anglo settlers not only brought their traditions with them but also enslaved African people. These enslaved people brought funerary traditions that developed from various practices that originated in the Congo and western and southern regions of Africa. As a result, historic African American communities have many of their traditions passed down within families with a deep-rooted history that began in Africa but evolved over time in the United States.

African American cemeteries often have a variety of gravegoods. Some gravemarkers will have the previously mentioned symbols of Protestant Christianity. The most common type of gravegood, however, is glass. For many African Americans, this tradition goes back to their ancestors who believed that "broken possessions of the deceased should be placed on top of the grave" because it would protect their families from being haunted or following in death.<sup>22</sup> Many of the glass gravegoods are purposely broken into pieces in many older cemeteries, but in more modern historic cemeteries, this glass takes the form of bottles or brightly colored vases. These gravegoods may link the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Roberta Halporn, "American Jewish Cemeteries: A Mirror of History," *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*, Richard Meyer ed. (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green University Press, 1993), 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Margaret Washington Creel, "Gullah Attitudes Toward Life and Death," *Africanisms in American Culture*, ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1990), 69. See also Leland Ferguson, *Uncommon Ground: Archaeology and Early African America*, 1650-1800 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institute Press, 1992), xxxiii.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilber B. Hughes III, *The Death Care Industry: African American Cemeteries and Funeral Homes*, ed. Barbara K. Hughes Smith, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (n.p.: Hughes Write Enterprises, 2007), 22.

past and the present for African Americans who may not have a clear connection to their direct ancestors. These traditions evolved because of the availability of materials, the restrictions of slaveowners, and changes in location.

Enslaved African people were brought to Texas either over land or by ship to Galveston or New Orleans from other port locations in the Caribbean and United States.<sup>23</sup> The Gullah culture and others like it developed because of the arrival of people from different parts of Africa. After the Civil War, many newly freed African American families created their own communities in Deep East Texas. These communities are primarily known as Freedom Colonies and were fresh starts away from the former slave owners and people that once controlled them.<sup>24</sup> Many traditions survived these times, such as grave glass and glass water vessels (e.g., pitchers, cups, vases, etc.) as gravegoods, and further pulled the communities together with their shared past.

The Civil War continues to be a point of contention in the United States. This contention has even carried over into historic cemeteries. During Reconstruction, the creation of appropriate, federally approved gravemarkers for the deceased soldiers was an early source of disagreement for the United States government.<sup>25</sup> The finally approved

ml.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Michael A. Gomez, *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 98-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Jannie Nicole Scott, "Place and Mobility in Shaping the Freedmen's Community in Antioch Colony, Texas, 1870-1954," *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* vol. 7, no. 1 (2018), 3. See also Andrea Roberts, "Freedom Colonies Program," Texas A&M University, last modified 2021, accessed July 8, 2021, <a href="https://chud.arch.tamu.edu/Units%20-%20Programs/Freedom%20Colonies%20Program/Fair%20and%20Affordable%20Housing%20Program.ht">https://chud.arch.tamu.edu/Units%20-%20Programs/Freedom%20Colonies%20Program/Fair%20and%20Affordable%20Housing%20Program.ht</a>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Bruce Elliott, "Memorializing the Civil War Dead: Modernity and Corruption under the Grant Administration" *Markers* XXVII (March 2010), 15-55.

uniform stones are seen in historic cemeteries throughout Deep East Texas. In addition, on various patriotic holidays such as Memorial Day, it is customary to place Confederate or American flags at these graves. They show that, some people of Deep East Texas honor Civil War veterans alongside those of later wars. Thus, there is a strong sense of patriotism in historic cemeteries.

Through World War II, agricultural and natural resource production remained key elements of the Deep East Texas economy. Primary goods included cotton, cattle, lumber, and oil. Since the 1950s continued movement out of Deep East Texas to urban areas and the return of retirees has caused fluctuations in the proportions of demographics of the region. Still, these three primary groups have remained consistent: Anglo, Spanish (now Hispanic or Tejano), and African American. The historic cemeteries of Deep East Texas reflect the cultural and historic traditions of these groups. Because of this, certain types of gravegoods can be seen in almost all historic cemeteries in Deep East Texas regardless of community demographics. Gravegoods for all groups include vegetation, toys for children, birthday presents, and seasonal decorations.

Vegetation became a popular form of gravegood in Texas in the early twentieth century.<sup>26</sup> Plants with a hardy nature that could survive Texas's weather patterns without a great deal of maintenance were popular. Other plants were readily available and easy to transport across long distances. In Deep East Texas some of the most common plants in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Jennifer K. McWilliams, "Plants as a Reflection of Culture and Popularity in Historic Cemeteries in Central and East Texas," *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society*, vol. 88 (2017), 98.

historic cemeteries include roses, crepe myrtles, bulbs such as irises and daffodils, and evergreen trees such as cedars.<sup>27</sup> Some of these plants have historic cultural significance to certain people. For example, African Americans may use trees in their cemeteries as gravemarkers or "to provide honor and shade for the dead."<sup>28</sup> Other plants can be traced to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries' rise in popularity of ornamental plants, which may be connected to economic or social standing.<sup>29</sup> Though these living gravegoods have different significance to different people, they still exist in many historic cemeteries regardless of race or cultural traditions. It is important to note that not all cemetery plants are gravegoods. For example, in some older cemeteries, cedar trees denoted the boundaries and internal layout of cemeteries. In these cases, the trees were not gravegoods, but boundaries within the cemetery.

Toys are another common sight in many cemeteries. Typically, toys are placed on children's graves or gravemarkers. Children's graves have a different connotation to them that seems to extend beyond racial definitions. While the more modern understanding of childhood is a product of the Victorian era, the design and appearances of children's gravemarkers have not undergone much change.<sup>30</sup> Many of these gravemarkers still bear the imagery of lambs and other symbols of innocence. When children pass, gravestones

.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> McWilliams, "Plants as a Reflection of Culture", 100-102.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Robert Farris Thompson, "Kongo Influences on African-American Artistic Culture," *Africanisms*, 172.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> McWilliams, "Plants as a Reflection of Culture," 98.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ellen Marie Snyder, "Innocents in a Worldly World: Victorian Children's Gravemarkers," *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, Richard E. Meyer, ed. (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Press, 1989), 14.

and gravegoods are the last opportunities to express who the child was when they were alive.<sup>31</sup> Many times, toys are left behind that were particularly precious or of strong interest to the child. Parents and family members will also go to the cemetery to leave balloons and other celebratory objects on the child's birthday.

Birthdays are not the only seasonal celebrations that are carried over into cemeteries. Seasonal gravegoods are popular for many people. Though seasonal gravegoods are frequently placed and removed throughout the year, they show which holidays are important within the community and facts about the people buried in the cemetery. Popular holidays represented in cemeteries are Mother's Day, Father's Day, and Christmas. The majority of people in Deep East Texas celebrate Christmas. This holiday is a time of particular closeness for families as they will often gather together at that time of year even if they do not gather at any other time. During this gathering, it is important to some families to include deceased loved ones in their celebrations. Close to Christmas, families will sometimes decorate small Christmas trees or leave brightly colored wreaths in front of the graves of family members and friends (Figure 1.2). Other gravegoods may include decorative baubles and tinsel at gravesites.

There are, however, certain historic cultural traditions that are becoming less common. This is likely due to people moving away. For many Deep East Texas families, however, homecomings surrounding have only recently started to fade out of popularity.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Gay Lynch, "Contemporary Gravemarkers of Youths: Milestones of our Path through Pain to Joy," *Markers XXII* (1980), 149.

Homecoming times are a time for the families of these communities to come together to catch up socially. Typically, during homecoming, community members go to the local cemetery to clean the graves and visit with the deceased. As people cleaned the graves, they sometimes dispose of old or broken gravegoods, but in some cases, they do basic repairs to damaged gravegoods.

Gravehouses or grave sheds are disappearing as well (Figure 1.3). These once familiar structures stood over graves. There are many possible origins for these structures and are in various cemeteries with little connection to the race or origins of the people buried.<sup>32</sup> They could be small enough to house one grave or large enough to cover a family plot. As the homecomings and clean-up days have stopped, so have most repairs to these structures. Many gravehouses have fallen in or been dragged off the property to prevent them from becoming a hazard to anyone visiting the cemetery. They may also be a nuisance for groundskeepers as they can make it difficult to attend to the graves underneath. Because of this removal, many people are unaware of what a gravehouse is, even though they were common in the late-nineteenth to mid-twentieth centuries.

As can be seen with both homecomings and gravehouses, the loss of gravegoods and other cemetery traditions is a loss of history for the Deep East Texas region. Because people continue to use gravegoods, cemetery management teams and volunteers should

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 34-38.

recognize the historic and cultural importance of these items. In doing so, they can help ensure that these important objects do not disappear.

Beginning with the earliest construction of the Caddo burial mounds, Deep East Texas's funerary traditions and gravegoods have held cultural and traditional significance for the region's people. Knowing more about the gravegoods of Deep East Texas can add to the information gathered from gravemarkers alone. They can inform about religious preferences, social status, race, and other people's roles within the community. In recognizing gravegoods, it becomes necessary to record and preserve them to continue to serve as historic resources and community resources.



Figure 1.1. A small Christmas wreath in Macune Cemetery, San Augustine, Texas.<sup>33</sup>

 $^{\rm 33}$  Macune Cemetery, established in 1849 by Macune Baptist Church as a church cemetery, still active, remains a church cemetery, THC# SA-C006.



Figure 1.2. A gravehouse in Old North Church Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Old North Church Cemetery, established in 1836 by Union Baptist Church (now Old North Baptist Church) as a church cemetery, remains a church cemetery, THC# NA-C051.

#### CHAPTER TWO

Cemetery management is the first step to preservation. This makes the overall management of historic cemeteries of great importance. Management, in this case, refers to the day-to-day activities that allow for the overall care of a cemetery. Preservation practices can also be considered a part of cemetery management. Cemetery preservation and management has taken many forms in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries with the development of historic preservation, scientific research, the professionalization of the cemetery management field, and the growing use of municipal and commercial maintenance crews. Many attempts at management focus on the cemetery grounds, fences, gravemarkers – both headstones and footstones. The care and management process has not included gravegoods historically. When gravegoods are not considered during management practices, they are threatened. Therefore, educating volunteers and management teams on best practices is essential.

In many historic cemeteries, families, churches, and surrounding communities conducted the earliest forms of cemetery management depending upon the cemetery type. Colonial Americans established many historic cemeteries in or near churchyards. These graveyards were reminders of the solemness of death and eternity for the local members

of the congregation and other visitors to the cemetery. These plain gravesites had gravemarkers depicting death's heads. Church members and families were the primary source of care for these cemeteries.

Municipal cemeteries located near the center of a town or city were also common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These cemeteries, or burial grounds, were similarly designed to those of churchyards with a basic grid pattern for burials. The primary difference was that municipal cemeteries were open to the public, regardless of denomination or church membership. The management of municipal cemeteries was not tied to churches. Instead, either families or city management would develop care methods for these cemeteries.<sup>2</sup> This led to inconsistencies in the overall management of these cemeteries. In both instances, the growth of towns and cities led to overcrowding.

In 1831, a new cemetery style began called the Rural Cemetery Movement.<sup>3</sup> This movement attempted to make cemeteries more aesthetically pleasing. Unfortunately, this movement became problematic for many forms of cemetery maintenance. These rural cemeteries were designed to resemble parks and encourage people to spend time in reflection while visiting.<sup>4</sup> During this time, the majority of management fell to the care of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Scarlet Jernigan, "'Why Should a Christian Desire to Sleep Here?': The Unitarian Rural Cemetery Movement and Its Adoption in Macon, Georgia," *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, vol. 99, no. 4 (Winter 2015), 294. <a href="https://www.jstor.org/stable/24636784">https://www.jstor.org/stable/24636784</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Keith Eggener, Cemeteries (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2010), 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and 'The Rural Cemetery' Movement" *American Quarterly*, vol. 26, no. 1 (March 1974), 38. https://www-jstororg.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/2711566.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Joy M. Giguere, "'Too Mean to Live, and Certainly in No Fit Condition to Die': Vandalism, Public Misbehavior, the Rural Cemetery Movement," *Journal of the Early Republic*, vol. 38, no. 2, (Summer 2018), 303-304.

paid cemetery superintendents. Management under these superintendents primarily involved the use of trust funds or perpetual care funds preplanned by the owners of a burial plot. This money only went to care for the cleaning of gravemarkers and overall groundskeeping and landscaping, not to the care and recording of gravegoods. However, the rural cemetery aesthetic created further challenges for cemetery management because of the larger size, overall design, and amount of vegetation.

Meanwhile, small, rural cemeteries continued to exist in many places outside of larger towns and cities. Many of these cemeteries began as small family cemeteries that grew as people joined the surrounding communities. As these rural cemeteries developed, community members and families performed seasonal management and other forms of care. This was the origin of homecomings and decoration days. These special times during the year allowed for families and communities to work together to clear the cemetery and clean individual graves. In the late nineteenth century, homecomings became particularly popular in southern rural communities.

An interest in managing and preserving historically significant burial sites rose with the Civil War. As early as 1862, the War Department designated twelve national cemeteries.<sup>7</sup> This was the beginning of the federal government's involvement in preserving sites of national historic importance. Beginning in 1866, the observation of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> James R. Cothran and Erica Danylchak, *Grave Landscapes: The Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemetery Movement* (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 2018), 46, 110, 114, and 206.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1982), 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Richard West Sellars, "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900," *CRM*, vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter 2005), 32-33.

Decoration Day, which would eventually become known as Memorial Day, became a "special time of remembrance . . . throughout the North and South." Both Confederate and Union veterans met near these cemeteries and on the former battlefields. The National Park Service took over the care of these battlefields and cemeteries in 1933. These battle sites and cemeteries have been preserved as historically and culturally significant sites.

Record keeping is a part of cemetery management that has been more consistent for larger cemeteries but is vital for smaller cemeteries. It is important to know what person is buried in what plot. Knowing the dates of burials helps establish the age of the cemetery. Before digital records became mainstream, many records were kept in funeral home registries and by cemetery managers. These records typically only detailed family plots and who was in each plot and payment and ownership information, not details of gravemarkers or any other artifacts. With this basic information, however, cemetery records could be used as both a cultural and historic resource.

Discussions about the importance of cemeteries not directly connected to battles as a historic resources began in the early twentieth century. Historians and genealogists made up the majority of these early efforts because they were interested in preserving and research locations of importance for key historic figures or filling in family records

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Sellars, "Pilgrim Places," 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Quick History of the National Park Service," The National Park Service, last modified May 14, 2018, accessed June 01, 2021, <a href="https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm">https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Funeral Register: March 2, 1930 to April 29, 1935, March 2, 1930 – April 29, 1935, Cason Monk-Metcalf Funeral Directors, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

gaps.<sup>11</sup> Such was the case for Harriet Merrifield Forbes when she changed from genealogy to research on the gravestone carvers of New England.<sup>12</sup> Forbes used various sources to gather information about gravemarkers, including bills of sale, ship logs, and letters.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, these kinds of sources are helpful in researching cemeteries that do not have records stored elsewhere. Thus, she was a pioneer in treating gravestones as historic resources and advocacy for their preservation.

Other writers expanded upon this view of gravemarkers as historic cultural resources. James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen proposed that gravemarkers be considered for their research potential regarding the symbolism present on them and their design and material. <sup>14</sup> Deetz and Dethlefsen state that gravestones are archeological resources that show changes in cultural and societal beliefs toward death. Marking how gravestones show these changes indicates that even changes in cemeteries do "not occur in a vacuum." <sup>15</sup> They can be influenced by social changes, as well.

Federal and state programs that focus on identifying, documenting, and preserving historic places, including cemeteries, encouraged more preservation-minded management practices. The National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 authorized the National

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Norman Tyler, Ted J. Ligibel, and Irene R. Tyler, *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to its History, Principals, and Practice*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York, NY: W.W. Norton and Company, 2009), 27-28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Harriette Merrifield Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them:* 1653 – 1800, (Boston, MA: The Riverside Press, 1927). Forbes is credited as the creator of gravestone studies. However, outside of carver studies, there is not a traditional evolution of academic study that creates a historiography. This may be because of the interdisciplinary nature of grave studies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Forbes, *Gravestones of Early New England*, 6-13.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow" *Natural History*, vol. 76, no. 3 (1967), 31. accessed June 14, 2021, http://www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/deathshead.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow,"30-34.

Register of Historic Places under the National Park Service in 1966. This act also "established preservation roles for federal, state, and local levels of government." The National Register of Historic Places was created to "support public and private efforts to identify, evaluate, and protect America's historic and archaeological resources." These efforts coincided with preparations for the United States's bicentennial, which "brought preservation and conservation ethic to [the] forefront of communities across the country" in 1976.

At the same time, the Civil Rights Movement led the National Park Service to increase the number of National Historic Landmarks for sites that were significant to African Americans and other minorities.<sup>20</sup> Before this effort, many minority groups managed and preserved many of their culturally and historically significant sites, including historic cemeteries.<sup>21</sup> Therefore, there has been a push to find and reclaim historic African American cemeteries that have fallen into disuse either because they are located on private property or because families have left the area.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Genevieve P. Keller and J. Timothy Keller, "Preserving Important Landscapes," *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 188.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Tyler, Ligibel, and Tyler, *Historic Preservation*, 61-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> "Publications of the National Register of Historic Places," National Park Service, last modified April 08, 2020, accessed June 27, 2021. <a href="https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/publications.htm">https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/publications.htm</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Tyler, Ligibel, and Tyler, *Historic Preservation*, 62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Antoinette J. Lee, "Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation," *A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Robert E. Stipe (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 387.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Lee, "Social and Ethnic Dimensions of Historic Preservation," 386.

The National Park Service began working to establish a list of characteristics of cultural landscapes in 1980.<sup>22</sup> This list culminated in *National Register Bulletin 30*, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes," in 1988.<sup>23</sup> The importance of this bulletin, which was updated in 1999, is that it showed that the National Park Service ways landscapes have been utilized as historically significant. However, this did not and does not prevent these landscapes or historic resources from being used in different ways than their previously intended purposes.<sup>24</sup> Instead, it does provide for forms of federal assistance, including a basis for grant funding eligibility for preservation activities.<sup>25</sup>

Nevertheless, cemeteries typically do not apply under the criteria of the National Register of Historic Places. <sup>26</sup> According to *National Register Bulletin 41*, this is because most cemeteries are viewed "with a sense of reverence and devout sentiment that can overshadow objective evaluation." <sup>27</sup> *National Register Bulletin 41* lists "gravesites, gravemarkers, boundary enclosures, walkways, gateways, road systems, natural and planted vegetation, buildings, structures, and the spatial relationship," as elements for

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Keller and Keller, "Preserving Important Landscapes," 195.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Linda Flint McClelland, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes," *National Bulletin #30* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Tyler, Ligibel, and Tyler, *Historic Preservation*, 34-35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Tyler, Ligibel, and Tyler, *Historic Preservation*, 49-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> King, Cultural Resource Laws & Practice, 93-95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Elisabeth Walton and Beth M. Boland, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places," *National Bulletin #41* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992) 1.

consideration in evaluation.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, for a cemetery to be placed on the National Register of Historic places, factors of these elements must meet one of the Criteria A through D.<sup>29</sup> If the cemetery does not meet these criteria, then the nominator should consider Criteria A through G from the "National Register Criteria Considerations."<sup>30</sup>

In the 1990s, *National Register Bulletin 36* and *38* and Executive Order 13007, otherwise known as the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA), were a further recognition and involvement by the federal government in preservation. These bulletins and NAGPRA fulfill the roles of protecting and preserving culturally significant Native American properties. However, *Bulletins 36* and *38* can apply to other types of archaeologically and culturally significant locations, such as Chinatown in Honolulu. They require that a certain level of preservation and communication with members of the corresponding cultural groups prevent desecration or destruction of culturally or archeologically significant locations, including cemeteries.

\_

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Walton and Boland, *National Register #41*, 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Walton and Boland, *National Register #41*, 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> "National Register Criteria Considerations: Implications for Federal Preservation Officers," *Facts for Feds* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2008) https://www.nps.gov/fpi/Documents/NR%20Criteria%20Considerations.pdf.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Thomas F. King, *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013), 255-86. See also Barbara Little, Erika Martin Seibert, Jan Townsend, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archaeological Properties," *National Bulletin #* 36 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000). See also Patricia L. Parker and Thomas King, "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," *National Bulletin #* 38 (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Little, Seibert, Townsend, Sprinkle, and Knoerl, *National Bulletin #* 36. See also Parker and King, *National Bulletin #* 38, 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> King, Cultural Resource Laws & Practice, 262.

The Texas Historical Commission (THC) took possible benefits, such as potential grant funding, from a national level to a state level with the development of the Historic Texas Cemetery (HTC) designation in 1998.<sup>34</sup> The requirements for HTC designation are less stringent than for the National Register of Historic Places. For HTC designation, the cemetery must be at least fifty years old and "deemed worthy of recognition for its historical associations." The benefits from a state level are that the cemetery can be recorded and recognized from a state level as historically significant and worthy of preservation. The forms for recognition from the THC require information about gravemarkers, fences and other structures, cemetery vegetation, community or church association, and ethnicity. They do not include information about gravegoods in this list. This project recommends this information be included in future versions.

These previously mentioned programs, forms, and processes create clear preservation best practices for cemetery management and volunteers. Best practices are practices that best aid management, volunteers, and other would-be preservationists in preserving historically significant places. For example, current best practices include measures for security such as building fences, having appropriate lighting, keeping

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Texas Historical Commission, "Historic Texas Cemetery Designation," last modified December 22, 2020, accessed June 28, 2021, <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/historic-texas-cemetery-designation">https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/historic-texas-cemetery-designation</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Texas Historical Commission, "Historic Texas Cemetery Designation."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Texas Historical Commission, "Cemetery Preservation Program," *Preserving Historic Cemeteries: Texas Preservation Guidelines* (Austin: Texas Historical Commission, 2020), 3.

underbrush and other vegetation cleared, and cleaning, repairing, and recording gravemarkers.<sup>37</sup>

Like the push that arose with the National Register of Historic Places, HTC designation and awareness program has also led to communities and families to seek out cemeteries that were previously left unattended for various reasons. The reasons for abandonment include the buying and selling of private property, the movement of families from rural to more urban areas, and running out of space. In Deep East Texas, the majority of historic cemeteries are smaller, rural cemeteries.

For example, Old Mount Gillion Cemetery in Nacogdoches, Texas, is now located on a private hunting lease (Figure 2.1).<sup>38</sup> The cemetery is no longer used because the church that it was associated with changed locations. Therefore, the community established another cemetery closer to the church. It is difficult to access by anything other than all-terrain vehicles or foot.<sup>39</sup> As family members and volunteers accessed the grounds to clean and record the graves of people buried there in November 2020, they followed many best practices. The volunteers and family members had a plan and listened to the experts out there working, too (Figure 2.2). Volunteers used hand tools to clear brush, the family members allowed volunteers to fill out cemetery survey forms and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Texas Historical Commission, "Cemetery Preservation Program," 5-8.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Old Mount Gillion Cemetery was established by Mount Gillion Congregational Methodist Church as a church cemetery in the late nineteenth century. It was abandoned in the 1950s due to a change in church location. THC# NA-C196.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Rodney Hawkins, "CBS News Producer's Mission to Restore his Family's Cemetery Reveals Country's Buried Past," (video news recording) *CBS this Morning*, posted December 29, 2020, accessed December 29, 2020, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4</a> hDpO5Qnw.

record information about the cemetery, and workers watched for gravegoods once they were made aware of their presence in the cemetery (Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4).

When people do not follow best practices, typically due to a lack of education or awareness, damage can occur to many important historic resources within cemeteries. For example, when people are so eager to help and clean, they discard historically and culturally significant gravegoods and gravemarkers without realizing what they are working with. It is also tempting to bring in tractors and other large landscaping equipment to better clear the underbrush, but this can lead to further damage and destruction without proper care (Figure 2.5). Therefore, this search for historic cemeteries can be both an aid and a threat to management and preservation.

For cemeteries, through regular maintenance, there are basic management concerns with the use of gravegoods and decorations in addition to headstones, footstones, and other gravemarkers. While many newer cemeteries restrict the use of certain types of markers and decorations, older cemeteries may still have all of these things. The question arises on what to do in these situations as many cemetery managers are not necessarily trained in the historic preservation side of cemeteries but rather the management and business side. Therefore, when groundskeeping needs to occur, the groundskeepers need to be educated and aware of how to proceed correctly and cautiously around these gravegoods. If necessary, the removal of gravegoods during maintenance may be appropriate. Perhaps a better solution would be for the families to place curbing around the grave plots. Adding gravel or other barriers within this curbing

would prevent the growth of grass in these areas. This would eliminate the need to weed eat around gravestones and gravegoods. Families can then be responsible for their grave plots and gravegoods moving forward.

Many historic cemeteries face threats such as vandalism, livestock, wildlife, weather, and neglect. Basic management of small, rural cemeteries may be more left to a locked gate and regularly inspected for damage. Like large cemeteries, there does need to be a working record of graves, gravemarkers, and gravegoods. However, funding is a primary issue for many of these small cemeteries. That is where designations such as HTC and the National Register can help if the cemetery meets all of the criteria. Organizations can use this designation to apply for grants and bring awareness to communities to gather volunteers to help keep and preserve these cemeteries and all they contain.

For this project, that means treating gravegoods with the same level of care and management as gravemarkers. Gravegoods reflect people and their historic culture, as mentioned in Chapter One. They can show how traditions have changed over time in Deep East Texas, as the symbols changed on gravemarkers in New England to reflect changing attitudes toward death and dying. They can aid in the identification of cemeteries that lack easily recognized markers. Unfortunately, cemetery caretakers have often disposed of gravegoods as rubbish. These historically and culturally important items need to be recognized and preserved as a part of cemetery preservation and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Deetz and Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow," 30.

management. A basic start for many historic cemeteries would simply be recording gravegoods along with information about gravemarkers.



Figure 2.1. Sign at Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas.



Figure 2.2. Dr. Perky Beisel (second from the right) instructs volunteers on best practices for cleaning gravemarkers at Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas.



Figure 2.3. A ceramic vase in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas.



Figure 2.4. From left to right, a metal pitcher and ceramic vessel in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery, Nacogdoches, Texas.

## CHAPTER THREE

Gravestone studies and cemetery preservation is a field unto itself within the realm of public history. Therefore, much of cemetery preservation focuses on the maintenance and care of gravemarkers and the cemetery grounds. To quote Terry Jordan, "Folkways survive better there [in graveyards] than in the world at large." For these folkways to continue to exist, they must be preserved according to best practices. This project aims to apply best preservation practices to gravegoods.

Cemeteries and graveyards have a different kind of attraction for the public than many other historically significant locations. This is because they exist in a space both for the living and the dead, yet entirely filled with history. Gravemarkers and gravegoods can reveal the feelings and thoughts of people about the deceased, as well. In interviews with people from smaller Deep East Texas communities, the living often create their own communities' stories by remembering and honoring the dead through preserving their cemeteries.

Gravemarkers, in particular, tend to garner the vast majority of these preservation efforts. Gravemarkers usually tell the names of people who are buried there, and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 6.

sometimes those yet to be buried there, along with their birth and death dates. This is not the only information that gravemarkers can provide, however. Gravemarkers have wedding dates, children's and grandchildren's names, and other relationships, while others have photos of the deceased. Epitaphs, stylistic choices, motifs, symbols, and aesthetics reflect different time periods, carvers, and beliefs and attitudes surrounding death.<sup>2</sup> As stone carving technology has developed from hammers and chisels to computer-aided lasers, people may also have their hobbies or work reflected in the shapes and designs on their gravestones or even cut into shapes like the gravestone shaped as an eighteen-wheeler truck at McKnight Cemetery in Cushing, Texas (Figure 3.1).<sup>3</sup>

Gravestones inform about the individual people buried there and about the history of a community as a whole. The type of stone used may bring forth facts about how it was brought to the location. For example, marble is not a native type of stone found in Deep East Texas. Yet, marble gravestones stand in the region's cemeteries. This not only tells the researcher that these stones had to be transported here but that this was someone's occupation. Another person also carved inscriptions on these stones. There are few if any records about stone carving in Deep East Texas, so it most likely occurred in other places. What about the economic standing of those purchasing the gravemarkers? All of this information can be gathered beginning with researching gravemarkers.

<sup>2</sup> James Deetz and Edwin S. Dethlefsen, "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow" *Natural History*, vol. 76, no. 3 (1967), 37. accessed June 14, 2021, http://www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/deathshead.html.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> McKnight Cemetery was established in 1853 as a family cemetery for the McKnight family, still active as a community cemetery, THC# NA-C031.

Gravegoods, though often times overlooked by people visiting cemeteries, add to this overall history of Deep East Texas. Despite their importance as historic resources, very little has been said about the preservation of gravegoods in the literature of cemetery preservation. Many current preservation works follow in the vein of Lynette Strangstad's *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*, in which it is recommended not to "miss or dismiss these items [gravegoods]." While it is wise to be aware of gravegoods, the point of this preservation brief is to recommend that there is more that can be done in order to preserve gravegoods.

The number of written works specifically about cemetery preservation and, by extension, gravegoods for Deep East Texas are few. That does not, however, mean that there are none. This project was first inspired by the previously mentioned *Texas Graveyards* by Terry Jordan. Throughout his work, Jordan, a historical geographer speaks to the fact that almost every aspect of a cemetery from the gravemarker to the gravegoods to the method of burial are all influenced by the culture and history of the people who live in Texas. Cemeteries, and therefore, gravegoods also show how traditions change over time to reflect changes in culture. He references gravegoods such as the broken glass and bottles at African American graves, the personal items left at children's graves, and other gravegoods that are all connected to past traditions from

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Lynette Strangstad, *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013), 59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jordan, *Texas Graveyards*, 1.

ancestral homelands and societal changes. Knowing that these traditions exist in Deep East Texas enables cemetery visitors and local community members to uncover or understand more about their origins and the origins of these communities. Therefore, research needed to be done regarding existing types of gravegoods.

When doing a brief search regarding a gravegood that has no express or obvious cultural or traditional significance, it is important to consider the object from all angles. Things to look for include makers marks or labels, item material, and overall appearance of the item along with any symbolism on the gravemarker by which the gravegood sits. There are some gravegoods, however, that are more important for what they are. For example, at Lake Creek Cemetery, there is a fenced in grave that has a small Disney inspired ashtray. There is no way of knowing with certainty what importance this little figurine had for the person buried there. The figurine does, however, have the potential to provide other historic information.

For example, makers marks or labels are often found on pottery or bottles. These little identifying marks, though not always noticeable are a good place to begin research. An example of this can be seen in a handful of blue bottles found in Old Canaan Cemetery in Harrison County, Texas (Figure 3.2). The inscription on these bottles reads "Emerson Drug Company." Emerson Drug Company's product was marketed as Bromo

<sup>6</sup> Jordan, Texas Graveyards, 19-20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lake Creek Cemetery was established as a family cemetery by the Scurlock family circa 1901. It was donated to the Lake Creek community, still active as a community cemetery, THC# HO-C238.

Seltzer which claimed to be "headache and hangover cure." This could further lead to information about popular products and economic information in the area in which these blue glass bottles were found. As Old Canaan Cemetery is an African American cemetery, the people of the community may have also used these bottles because they were symbolic vessels similar to the African American traditions mentioned in Chapter One. Thus, these bottles further inform the community about their history.

Item material is also informative. Various materials can be more costly than others. In Sacul Cemetery in Sacul, Texas, there is a short, but heavy metal statue of a fireman in front of a grave (Figure 3.3 and Figure 3.4). Metal statues are not cheap. This statue stands just by the footstone of this grave. The primary gravemarker is across from it. So, this statue, when analyzed in context with the gravemarker, shows that being a fireman was so important to the person that was buried there that someone was willing to pay for this statue to be there. Not only that but knowing that this person was a fireman in the local community is a part of the community's history. These gravegoods that have no overarching historic significance do not necessarily mean that they are not historically significant to the deceased, the families, the community, or the Deep East Texas region.

It is necessary to use a variety of academic resources to study gravegoods in Deep East Texas. For example, the use of shells or broken glass could possibly signify the

<sup>8</sup> The Smithsonian Institute, "Emerson's Bromo-Seltzer," National Museum of American History, accessed June 18, 2021. <a href="https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_715714">https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah\_715714</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Sacul cemetery was established in 1849 as the Hughes-King-Williamson Cemetery, still active as a community cemetery, THC# NA-C030.

grave of an African American person or someone whose family may have ties to an African American heritage. These gravegoods have a common root in many traditional African tribal cultures and can be seen in many historic cemeteries. <sup>10</sup> However, shells are tied to other cultural traditions such as rebirth in Christianity. Therefore, further research into the history of the local historic community needs to be done. Because community members and others have recorded and preserved gravegoods and other cemetery features in the past, it is possible to make these connections when looking at the same or similar gravegoods in Deep East Texas. These gravegoods when combined with historic research can be helpful in many situations such as identifying burial grounds or unmarked graves even if there has been a lack of proper management or preservation there in the past.

Other forms of traditions can be identified through aspects of culture such as language and religious iconography. Many ethnic and cultural groups use these gravegoods that represent aspects of their culture and traditions to form connections within their communities. In the Meador Cemetery in Jacksonville, Texas, many gravemarkers have inscriptions written in Spanish, and many of the gravegoods are forms of religious iconography (Figure 3.5). When taken together in context, the gravemarkers and gravegoods identify this cemetery as a primarily Hispanic and Catholic cemetery. These gravegoods as material culture can be compared to those in other cemeteries such

<sup>10</sup> Robert Farris Thompson, "Kongo Influences on African-American Artistic Culture" *Africanisms in American Culture*, ed. Joseph E. Holloway (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1990), 168-169.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Meador Cemetery was established in 1860 as a community cemetery, still active as a community cemetery, THC# CE-C110.

as the San Fernando Cemetery in San Antonio, Texas.<sup>12</sup> Gravegoods like these, and other traditional items are historically important to communities because of the traditions and connections that they represent through expressing familial roles and the importance of religious practices. Therefore, this preservation is not only important because of the information that gravegoods can provide but also for the sake of community history and a sense of unity.

In order to better understand traditions within a community, sometimes it is necessary to speak to members of that community, as well. Conducting oral history interviews with community members at historic cemeteries opens up an entire resource that is not always utilized to its fullest extent. Sometimes, the easiest way to get answers is to simply ask the questions. Many older Texans have memories of traditions such as homecomings, community cemetery clean up days, and reunions that were held during their childhood and how those traditions are carried out, or not, today. When interviewing Lula Battle at Lake Creek Cemetery in Pennington, Texas, she recalled that homecomings and clean up days were commonplace when she was growing up. 13 On the same day, others also shared their memories of homecomings and community clean up days. 14 By including members of the community and raising their awareness and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Lynn Gosnell and Suzanne Gott, "San Fernando Cemetery: Decorations of Love and Loss in a Mexican-American Community," *Cemeteries & Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*, ed. Richard E. Meyer (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989), 225.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Lula Battle, interview by Mary Tucker, February 08, 2020, OH# 2160, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Mary Curtis and Nathanial Hodge, interview by Mary Tucker, February 08, 2020, OH# 2161, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

educating them on different aspects of preservation in historic cemeteries including gravegoods, these people can have a hand in preserving and participating in their own history.

Consider the modern cemetery with its flat gravestones and artificial floral arrangements. These cemeteries are known as memorial gardens. Many cemeteries use these flat stones because they make general maintenance easier. Flat stones are more easily mowed over with lawn care equipment. Artificial flowers do not have to be replaced with the frequency of real flowers. While the ease and ability to maintain cemetery grounds is important, in creating these regulations, larger cemetery management businesses are slowly preventing the use of historically and culturally significant gravegoods. <sup>15</sup> In doing so, these cemetery management businesses begin to prevent a portion of the historic cultural narrative. Nevertheless, many smaller historic cemeteries still allow for people to display their choice of gravemarkers and gravegoods.

Therefore, these historic cemetery committees can aid the communities in preserving these items. Involving the public, though it may make some preservationists uneasy, is necessary for these kinds of efforts. Many people may not know what they are looking at when it comes to the importance of gravegoods. With the help of training,

See also, J.D. Amie, interview by Mary Tucker, February 08, 2020, OH# 2162, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> John F. Llewellyn, *A Cemetery Should be Forever: The Challenge to Managers and Directors* (Glendale, CA: Tropico Press, 1998), 165.

preservation workshops, cemetery surveys, and historic research, it is possible to identify items that were left behind intentionally.

The process of recording information about gravemarkers and gravegoods requires several steps. The first step in recording information is acquiring appropriate supplies: a reliable camera, pens and pencils, survey forms, a light source, and, if possible, a GPS enabled device or map showing the lots and plots of cemetery. Each item on this list has a purpose that aids in the recording process.

Taking photos of gravegoods with a reliable camera will create a visual record of these resources. This is important because if these gravegoods are lost or destroyed, there will still be a record showing what the gravegoods looked like. When lighting is not ideal, a mirror or other light source may be used to direct light upon gravegoods and gravemarkers before photographing them. After taking at least two photos of each item from different angles, descriptive information about the gravegoods should be written down on the proper survey form such as the THC designation form.

Information that should be included is the location, condition, and appearance of gravestones. Location is, at the very least, the name of the cemetery and the town it is in. However, the more detailed the description, the easier it will be to find. The format used to locate cemeteries in *Forever Dixie: A Field Guide to Southern Cemeteries & Their Residents* is particularly informative. Douglas Keister lists the name of the cemetery, a digital source of maps, the GPS location of the cemetery and lists the included

gravemarkers. <sup>16</sup> A detailed record like this is more exact and can be helpful in finding particularly secluded cemeteries in the Piney Woods of Deep East Texas.

The Texas Historical Commission also provides survey forms. These survey forms are for the documenting of historic cemeteries. There is a section for gravegoods but it is not detailed enough (Figure 3.6). It lists only shells, gravel, scraped earth, floral, and other. This project recommends that gravegoods be further defined and detailed in addition to these aspects and expanding with the THC HTC design forms.

Documenting the condition and appearance of gravegoods is necessary to know if and what kind of remediation may be needed for management and preservation. It also creates a way to provide updates on the condition of the resources when damage occurs. Condition includes missing or present bases of statue, paint chipping, broken or missing pieces, and whether the gravegoods need repair. A description of appearance and condition should inform the person reading the record of aspects that are not easily visible in photographs such as measurements and size.

Recording information about gravegoods is not always enough. There are many times in which gravegoods can be gently cleaned and preserved just like the gravestones by which they sit. Professionals may be called in to repair and preserve larger or more delicate gravegoods. The main gravegoods that require professional care are statues.

These may require special care due to the delicate nature of materials and safety concerns

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Douglas Keister, *Forever Dixie: A Field Guide to Southern Cemeteries & Their Residents* (Layton, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2008).

when handling them. Larger items have the potential to fall if not properly secured in a base which can cause damage to them. Statues and other stone or concrete gravegoods need to be repaired with specific kinds of mortar. Other materials such as basic cement can cause further damage these gravegoods as it expands and contracts with changes in exterior temperature.

Cemetery management may choose to remove some of these gravegoods temporarily before allowing groundskeeping practices such as cutting the grass. Another option for larger gravegoods such as statues is marking them with flags to prevent groundskeeping equipment from getting too close. It is most important, however, that gravegoods be returned to the correct gravesites: this can be aided by keeping an up-to-date record of these items. Some cemeteries may also find ways to inform family members of upcoming grounds keeping practices so that they may come collect their gravegoods, themselves. Often, it is possible that the community will attempt to be involved in the management and preservation of these cemeteries through designated clean up days.

Clean up days, unfortunately, can lead to the destruction of important artifacts.

Cemetery visitors may dispose of items that are unsightly or do not seem to belong. They may also break items not easily seen underfoot. Cemetery managers and groundskeepers may remove items they believe to be hazardous, or place gravegoods onto the bases of gravemarkers so they do not get mowed over. As Deborah P. Franklin points out, many volunteers and others who wish to aid in the preservation of a cemetery rush to "clean"

up" the grounds, often discarding gravegoods in the process because the value of these gravegoods. <sup>17</sup> These practices of basic maintenance and care for the cemetery by visitors to the cemetery or cemetery management can cause damage to gravegoods.

Bringing awareness to the public, including cemetery management of how they can be involved in the preservation of historic cemeteries is important. In Deep East Texas, historic cemeteries are still historically and culturally significant to many communities. Raising awareness through education allows for the public to be involved. In order to educate, however, researchers, management teams, and preservationists first must be aware of best practices for preserving gravegoods in historic cemeteries. Preservation briefs are a way of informing people about best preservation practices.

There is not currently a specific preservation brief for gravegoods. *Preservation Brief 48* is the most in-depth preservation brief available for cemetery preservation.<sup>18</sup>

This brief is a broad guide for the preservation of gravemarkers and cemeteries. It covers details for the care of many types of gravemarkers and general cemetery upkeep that can prevent much of the damage caused by a lack of or poor maintenance. Gravegoods, as explained in this project, are instrumental for cultural research. Therefore, they need to be preserved, as well.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Deborah P. Franklin, "Worthless Trash or Cultural Treasure: African American/Christian Burial Traditions Grave Decorations Found in Historic Texas Cemeteries" (presentation at the AGS Chapter Meeting, Plano, TX, May 11, 2019), accessed May 28, 2021, <a href="https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrS9preOEEY">https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrS9preOEEY</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Mary F. Striegel, Frances Gale, Jason Church, and Debbie Dietrich-Smith, "Preservation Brief 48: Preserving Grave Markers in Historic Cemeteries," *Technical Preservation Series* (Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2016).

Best practices for the preservation of cemeteries and other historic resources are in preservation briefs published by the National Park Service. These briefs are available to the public at no cost. These preservation briefs follow a specific pattern of resource explanation, resource history, resource description, resource preservation and management, and further research resources. Thus, the brief that was created in this project attempts to follow this format as well in order to keep it manageable and readable. The goal is to show, as Lynette Strangstad states, "how best to protect and preserve the entire cultural resource" the aspects that comprise cemeteries. <sup>19</sup> This project seeks to further apply this concept to gravegoods.

The earliest part of the project was determining a manageable region to research and gather information about gravegoods. The entirety of Texas is too large for a project of this size. Factors such as cost, distance, and time for travel had to be taken into consideration. The Deep East Texas region, which has been defined in previous chapters is an area large enough to include a wide variety of communities, but small enough that other factors such as climate, wildlife, and vegetation were similar throughout the region. These factors determine the type of preservation efforts that need to occur for these historic cemeteries.

There is no shortage of historic cemeteries in Deep East Texas. Unfortunately, accessing some of these cemeteries proved to be difficult. Cemeteries are not frequently

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Strangstad, A Graveyard Preservation Primer, 15.

labeled on traditional road maps. The Texas Historical Commission, however, has the "Texas Historical Sites Atlas" which shows the locations of historic cemeteries in Texas. <sup>20</sup> This allowed for locating historic cemeteries within the Deep East Texas region in order to access them. The Atlas further provided information about these historic cemeteries such as if they were affiliated with a specific ethnic or religious group. This resource was essential for this project because of its detailed records regarding these cemeteries. <sup>21</sup> Trying to create balance in the number of each type of cemetery was important for making certain that there were enough photos of different types of gravegoods.

Other considerations that went into choosing which historic cemeteries to visit relied heavily on accessibility from major roadways. Obtaining access to all terrain vehicles (ATVs) to enter some historic cemeteries simply was not possible when factors such as cost of purchasing said vehicle and hauling it were considered. Therefore, I chose to go to cemeteries that were accessible to the public and visible from roadways while

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> "Texas Historical Sites Atlas," Texas Historical Commission, accessed May 29, 2021, https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Only four other states, Oregon, Vermont, Utah, and South Carolina, have State Historic Preservation Offices cemetery resources comparable to Texas's.

See also, "Historic Cemeteries Program," Oregon Heritage Services and Programs, last modified August 20, 2020, accessed July 29, 2021, <a href="https://www.oregon.gov/oprd/OH/pages/historic-cemeteries-program.aspx">https://www.oregon.gov/oprd/OH/pages/historic-cemeteries-program.aspx</a>.

See also, "Cemeteries," South Carolina Department of Archives and History, last modified 2021, accessed July 29, 2021, <a href="https://shpo.sc.gov/historic-preservation/technical-assistance/cemeteries">https://shpo.sc.gov/historic-preservation/technical-assistance/cemeteries</a>.

See also, "Heritage and Arts," Utah Division of State History, last modified 2019, accessed July 29, 2021, <a href="https://history.utah.gov/cemeteries/">https://history.utah.gov/cemeteries/</a>.

See also, "Identifying Historic Resources," State of Vermont Agency of Commerce and Community Development, last modified 2021, accessed July 29, 2021, <a href="https://accd.vermont.gov/historic-preservation/identifying-resources">https://accd.vermont.gov/historic-preservation/identifying-resources</a>.

avoiding too many that required going onto private property. This decision was also based upon a need for safety when researching alone.<sup>22</sup> A cemetery is designated as historic if it is at least fifty years old.<sup>23</sup> Because of the previously mentioned Atlas, not much research was required to guarantee the aspect of age. Furthermore, the primary race of people buried in these cemeteries played a role in attempting to gather information on a greater variety of gravegoods. However, not all of these historic cemeteries were a productive use of time to visit (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8).

For example, Pierce Chapel Cemetery in Cushing, Texas has wonderful examples of scraped earth graves (Figure 3.17).<sup>24</sup> It does not, however, contain any gravegoods. Therefore, though this was an interesting and historic cemetery, it did not hold the resource that this project required. On the other hand, Shiloh Baptist Cemetery in San Augustine, Texas holds many good examples of gravegoods. Hours were devoted to documenting the gravegoods of this cemetery (Figure 3.18).<sup>25</sup> Therefore, though there are many cemeteries, not all of them contain gravegoods.

Then began the process of collecting data from the cemeteries and the gravegoods they contained. Any gravegoods that were photographed were given a description that included the historic cemetery in which it was found using survey forms such as the THC

<sup>22</sup> The 2020 pandemic also prevented research on private property.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Historic Texas Cemetery Designation," Texas Historical Commission, last modified December 22, 2020, accessed May 29, 2021, <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/historic-texas-cemetery-designation">https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/historic-texas-cemetery-designation</a>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Pierce Chapel Cemetery was established as a family cemetery in 1865, still active as a family cemetery, THC# NA-C122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Shiloh Baptist Cemetery was established by Shiloh Baptist church in 1893 as a church cemetery, still active as a church cemetery, THC# SA-C115.

form. The photographs included a Kodak color control patch and greyscale. These color control patches allow for a standard with which color could be seen in the photographs regardless of lighting which could be affected by weather, time of day, vegetation in the cemetery, and season of the year.

Choosing items to photograph was determined by a few factors. For many cemeteries, it was easier to photograph every gravegood that was there. Then, the photos were later sorted by common and uncommon items. Common gravegoods include bottles, vases, religious iconography, and holiday decorations (Figure 3.19). More uncommon gravegoods were typically personal items such as animal figurines and toys (Figure 3.20). Damaged gravegoods provide examples of why this preservation brief is useful for informing people about the importance of caring for gravegoods. Many of these gravegoods hold historical or cultural significance as explained in Chapter One.

Gravegoods must be taken within historic context. Therefore, information from different resources is needed to gain a full understanding of these items. Useful resources for learning about significant gravegoods came from museum exhibits, scholarly material and publications such as *Markers*, and archaeological reports. These resources can explain what a gravegoods is, to whom it may have belonged, and other information about vernacular culture. After the research is complete, it is a good idea to create a record compiling both the gravegoods and their pertinent information.

Recording information is not an uncommon task for any historian whether within the field of public history or academia. In fact, making a record is a necessity when it

comes to preserving the past. Without a record, the past may be forgotten. For example, Lynn Rainville spent many years tracking down where enslaved people and their descendants were buried in Virginia because these cemetery records had not been kept.<sup>26</sup> Thus, not only had this lack of information created an obstacle for researchers, but it also left gaps within family histories and genealogies. Similarly, knowing when, where, and to whom gravegoods belong can tell the researcher, cemetery visitor, genealogist, or other interested person about the people, living and dead, within a community.

Because there is little said about gravegoods in either preservation briefs or primers, it was necessary to learn best preservation practices from different sources such as preventative conservation guides for museums.<sup>27</sup> Many of these guides have information on general maintenance of physical artifacts such as cleaning methods and minor repair. The downside to using museum conservation guides is that museums are typically controlled environments. The artifacts displayed in museums are not exposed to weather or other outside forces. Gravegoods are continuously exposed to natural threats. Nonetheless, these guides provide important information for preservation.

Once this information was compiled, it was placed into a Microsoft Publisher file in the format of a preservation brief. Microsoft Publisher allows for ease of text wrapping around photographs and provides a number of tools that allow for such functions as

<sup>26</sup> Lynn Rainville, *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> John E. Simmons, *Things Great and Small: Collections Management Polices*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018), 112-113.

adding captions to photographs. The main drawback to Microsoft Publisher is the size of the files. This makes emailing, downloading, and uploading them time consuming and, in some cases, nearly impossible because many emailing services have a file size limit. However, once the file was completed in Microsoft Publisher, it was compressed into a smaller PDF file that is easier to move through the internet.

Once the final preservation brief is accepted, it may eventually be uploaded to the THC or National Park Service websites where it can be accessed by historians, researchers, and preservationists, both professional and amateur. Over time, updates can be made to the material as practices change and technology improves. Making information about best practices available allows people to participate in the preservation of history. Educating the public and professionals can only aid in preserving gravegoods in Deep East Texas.

Cemeteries are alive with the historical resources they contain. Unfortunately, gravegoods are often left in the footnotes or brief paragraphs of preservation primers and guides. The hope with this brief is that gravegoods will be preserved as the important historical and cultural resources that they are. Knowing more about the rituals that Texans and others have surrounding death will only help tell us more about our history. Educating people in preservation will allow for them to be active in saving their own histories. This preservation brief will hopefully do just that.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> "Technical Preservation Services," National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, accessed May 18, 2021, <a href="https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs.htm">https://www.nps.gov/tps/how-to-preserve/briefs.htm</a>.



Figure 3.1. This gravemarker is in the shape of an eighteen-wheeler truck. It is located in McKnight Cemetery, Cushing, Texas.



Figure 3.2. A blue bottle with "Emerson Drug" visible in Old Canaan Cemetery, Marshall, Texas.



Figure 3.3. A metal statue of a fireman in Sacul Cemetery, Sacul, Texas.



Figure 3.4. The gravemarker and other gravegoods associated with the Fireman in Sacul Cemetery, Sacul, Texas.



Figure 3.5. A gravemarker inscribed in Spanish and statue of a child located in Meador Cemetery, Jacksonville, Texas.

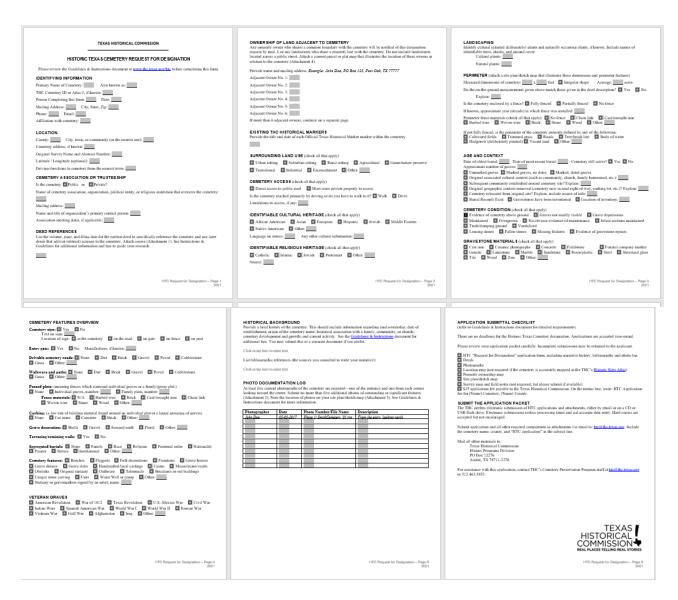


Figure 3.6. THC Request for Designation forms for documenting and designating historic cemeteries.

Name of Cemetery	County	THC#	Concentration of Gravegoods
Freeman	Angelina	AG-C092	Low
Grimes	Angelina	AG-C027	None
Renfro #2	Angelina	AG-C113	None
Zavalla	Angelina	AG-C078	Low
Cedar Hill	Cherokee	CE-C005	None
Meador	Cherokee	CE-C110 & CE-	High
		C111	-
Mt. Hope	Cherokee	CE-C001	Low
Old Palestine	Cherokee	CE-C057	Low
Saint Thomas Chapel	Cherokee	CE-C038	Low
Canaan Cemetery (Old)	Harrison	HS-C008	High
Greenwood	Harrison	HS-C055	Low
Marshall Hebrew	Harrison	HS-C146	Low
Saint Joseph	Harrison	HS-C084	Low
Fodice Cemetery	Houston	HO-C005	High
Lake Creek	Houston	HO-C238	Low
Weches	Houston	HO-C089	Medium
Douglass	Nacogdoches	NA-C109	Medium
Linn-Flatt Cemetery	Nacogdoches	NA-C002	Low
Owens-Nelson	Nacogdoches	NA-C024	None
Cushing	Nacogdoches	NA-C028	Low
Chireno Community	Nacogdoches	NA-C077	None
Chireno Lower Cemetery	Nacogdoches	NA-C010	Low
Chireno Upper	Nacogdoches	NA-C156	Low
Fenton	Nacogdoches	NA-C025	Medium
Fuller-Nichols	Nacogdoches	NA-C113	None
McKnight	Nacogdoches	NA-C031	Low
Old Mount Gillion	Nacogdoches	NA-C196	Low
Old North Church	Nacogdoches	NA-C051	None
Old North Church East	Nacogdoches	NA-C150	None
Peirce Chapel	Nacogdoches	NA-C122	None
Sacul	Nacogdoches	NA-C030	Medium
Baysinger	Rusk	RK-C001	None
Lyles-Sanders	Rusk	RK-C106	Low
Mt. Zion	Rusk	RK-C103	Low
Felts St.	Sabine	SB-C129	Low
Gasby New Zion	Sabine	SB-C015	Medium
Hemphill City	Sabine	SB-C052	Low

Lowe	Sabine	SB-C006	Low
Lott	Sabine	SB-C005	None
McMahon Chapel	Sabine	SB-C014	Medium
Attoyac Baptist	San	SA-C103	High
	Augustine		
Macune	San	SA-C006	High
	Augustine		
Myrtle Springs	San	SA-C017	Low
	Augustine		
Saint Augustine Catholic	San	SA-C136	High
Cemetery	Augustine		
Shiloh	San	SA-C115	High
	Augustine		
Doucette (Black)	Tyler	TL-C136	Low
Magnolia	Tyler	TL-C027	Low

Figure 3.7. List of every cemetery visited and associated maps. Some travel was limited due to the 2020 pandemic.



Figure 3.8. Map of cemeteries visited in Angelina County, Texas.

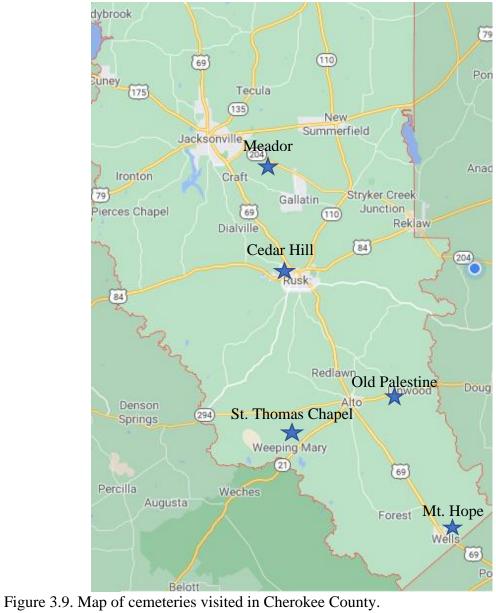




Figure 3.10. Map of cemeteries visited in Harrison County, Texas.

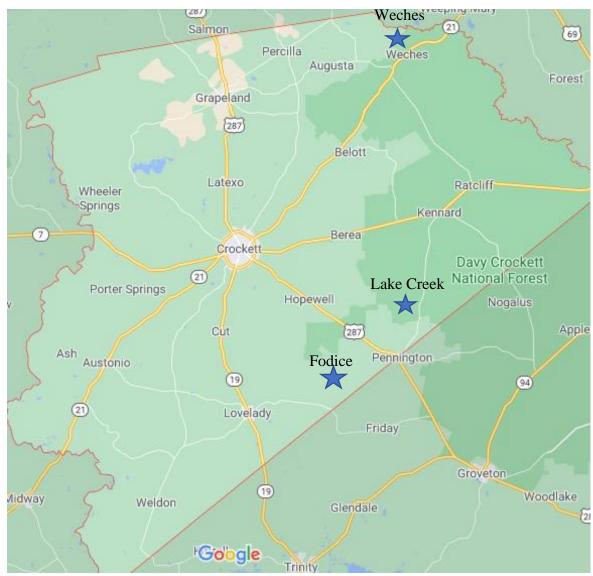


Figure 3.11. Map of cemeteries visited in Houston County, Texas.

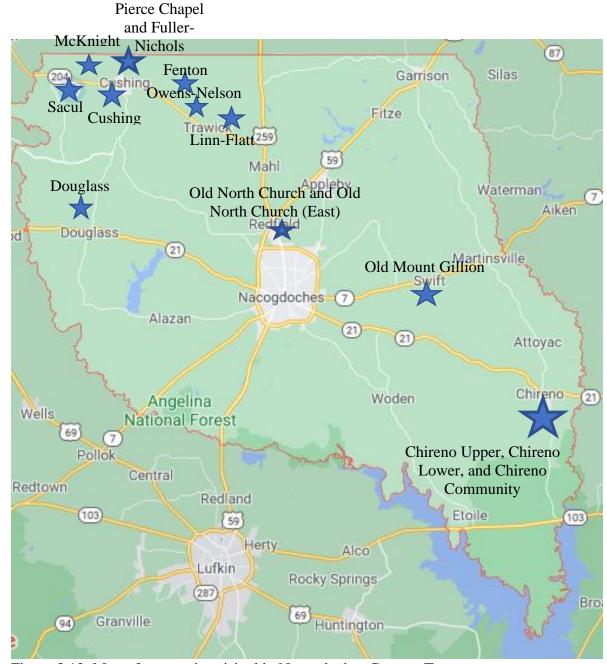


Figure 3.12. Map of cemeteries visited in Nacogdoches County, Texas.



Figure 3.13. Map of cemeteries visited in Rusk County, Texas.

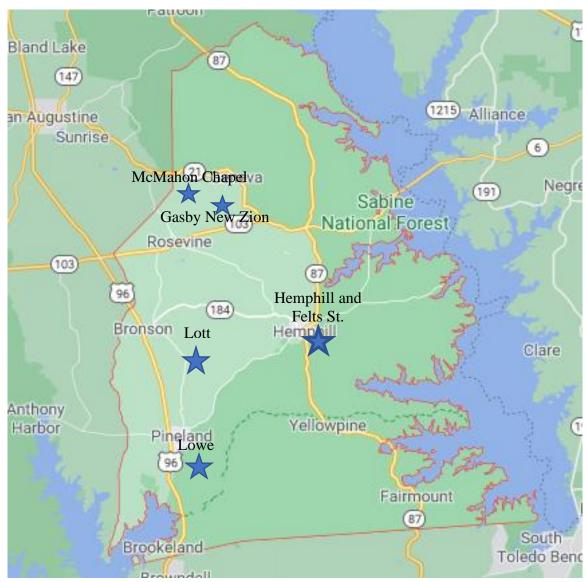


Figure 3.14: Map of cemeteries visited in Sabine County, Texas.

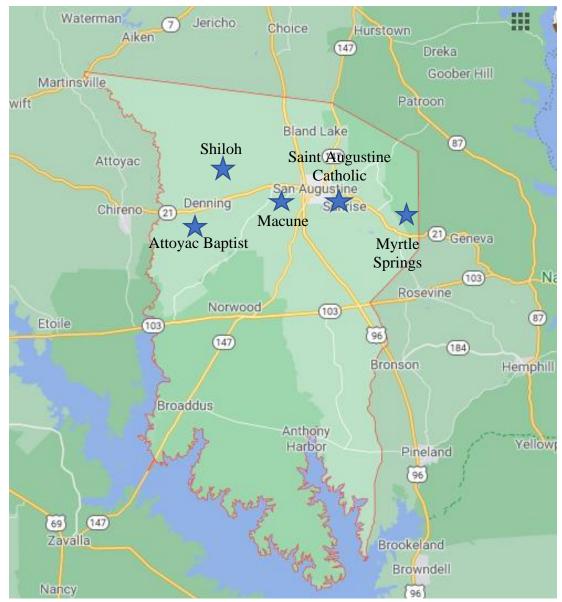


Figure 3.15. Map of cemeteries visited in San Augustine County, Texas.



Figure 3.16. Map of cemeteries visited in Tyler County, Texas.



Figure 3.17. Pierce Chapel Cemetery in Cushing, Texas has many scraped earth graves but no gravegoods.



Figure 3.18. Handmade pottery at a grave at Shiloh Baptist Cemetery, San Augustine, Texas.



Figure 3.19. A Memorial Day display in St. Joseph's Catholic Cemetery, Marshall, Texas.<sup>29</sup>

 $<sup>^{29}</sup>$  Saint Joseph's Catholic Cemetery was established in 1878 by Saint Joseph's Catholic Church as a church cemetery, still active as a church cemetery, THC# HS-C084.



Figure 3.20. This grave has a ceramic blue bird figurine, a plastic stone with a religious message on it, a small floral arrangement, and some American flags. These items have various meanings that are personal to the deceased or his family. This grave is at McMahan Chapel, Bronson, Texas.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>30</sup> McMahan Chapel Cemetery was established by McMahan Chapel Methodist Church in 1844 as a church cemetery, still active as a church cemetery, THC# SB-C014.

## **CONCLUSION**

Terry Jordan said, "Graveyards...reflect the customs, beliefs, handicrafts, and social structures of survivors." Historic Deep East Texas cemeteries are no exception. They are full of many examples of vernacular culture that need to be preserved. The majority of preservation efforts focus on gravemarkers and cemetery landscapes. Unfortunately, these efforts frequently ignore gravegoods. Gravegoods further add to the history of Deep East Texas within the context of historic cemeteries. This thesis project aims to create a preservation brief that will include gravegoods in this preservation narrative.

Chapter One focuses on the history of gravegoods in Deep East Texas, beginning with the eighth to thirteenth-century funerary mounds of the Caddo. Spanish, American, African, and other influences began arriving in Deep East Texas between the sixteenth and nineteenth century. These influences include religious preferences and cultural traditions. These influences are still visible in many historic cemeteries within the region through the use of gravegoods.

Chapter Two further delves into the history of cemetery preservation and maintenance. The earliest forms of cemetery maintenance came from the efforts of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Terry G. Jordan, *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1982), 4.

families and church members cleaning cemetery grounds. As municipal and companyowned cemeteries developed, management fell to cemetery superintendents, management
committees, and groundskeeping teams. The Civil War led to the development of historic
battlefields and cemeteries. The War Department oversaw these locations until 1933,
when the National Park Service took over.<sup>2</sup> The National Park Service educates managers
and other cemetery workers on best practices for management and preservation through
programs such as the National Register of Historic Places and the *Technical Preservation*series. Furthermore, state-based programming from the Texas Historical Commission
expands upon these resources on the state level to further aid those who wish to preserve
historic Texas cemeteries.

Chapter Three explains the process of creating this thesis and subsequent preservation brief for gravegoods. It begins with the necessity of a preservation brief for these often disregarded artifacts. This chapter further follows the methodology used in gathering materials, taking photographs, and combining them to create this thesis. Hopefully, this will lay the groundwork for creating other preservation briefs and preservation primers for historic cemetery resources.

The primary goal for this thesis was to bring recognition and preservation to gravegoods in historic Deep East Texas cemeteries. The history of the region is a determining factor in what gravegoods are used. Therefore, this brief is just the beginning

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Quick History of the National Park Service," The National Park Service, last modified May 14, 2018, accessed June 01, 2021, <a href="https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm">https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm</a>.

for further studies. Eventually, there should be an expanded list of and history of gravegoods for many other parts of the state and, eventually, other locations, as well. Gravegoods have often been damaged, destroyed, or disposed of by unaware visitors, workers, and volunteers. Thus, educating workers and cemetery management on how to best preserve these items so they can continue to exist in the future and provide for cultural and historical research.

## **BIBLIOGRAPHY**

## **Primary Sources**

- Amie, J.D. Interviewed by Mary Tucker. February 08, 2020. OH# 2162, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Barlow, Doris Powell and Weldon McDaniel. *The Story of Brookeland Sabine County, Texas and Selected Cemeteries of the Brookeland Area*, vol. 5. Hemphill, TX: Doris Powell Barlow & Weldon McDaniel, 2012.
- Battle, Lula. Interviewed by Mary Tucker. February 08, 2020. OH# 2160, East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Berry, Reginald. Interviewed by Mary Tucker. April 22, 2021. East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Bohl, Linda L. *Selected Cemeteries of Tyler County Texas*. Nacogdoches, TX: Ericson Books, 1996.
- Burk, Joel Barham. *Nacogdoches County Cemetery Records*, vol. I, ed. Carolyn Reeves Ericson. Nacogdoches, TX: 1974.
- Burk, Joel Barham. *Nacogdoches County Cemetery Records*, vol. II, ed. Carolyn Reeves Ericson. Nacogdoches, TX: 1975.
- Burk, Joel Barham. *Nacogdoches County Cemetery Records*, vol. III, ed. Carolyn Reeves Ericson. Lufkin, TX: Pineywood Printing, 1975.
- Burk, Joel Barham. *Nacogdoches County Cemetery Records*, vol. IV, ed. Carolyn Reeves Ericson. Lufkin, TX: Pineywood Printing, 1977.
- Burk, Joel Barham. *Nacogdoches County Cemetery Records*, vol. V, ed. Carolyn Reeves Ericson. Lufkin, TX: Pineywood Printing, 1978.
- Crawford, Helen Wooddell and M.J. Crawford. *Cemeteries of Mid Cherokee County, Texas*. 1973. East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Crawford, Helen Wooddell and M.J. Crawford. *Cemeteries of Southern Cherokee County, Texas*, vol. 1, no. 5. 1974. East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Crawford, M.J. *Cemeteries of Jacksonville, TX*, vol. 1, no. 2. Jacksonville, TX: 1972. East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Crawford, M.J. *Cemeteries of Northwest Cherokee County*, vol 1. Jacksonville, TX. East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Curtis, Mary and Nathaniel Hodge. Interviewed by Mary Tucker. February 08, 2020. OH# 2161, East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- East Texas Genealogical Society. *Cemetery Records Smith County, Texas*, vol. I Tyler, TX: The East Texas Genealogical Society, 1981.

- East Texas Genealogical Society. *Cemetery Records Smith County, Texas*, vol. II. Tyler, TX: The East Texas Genealogical Society, 1983.
- East Texas Genealogical Society. *Cemetery Records Smith County, Texas*, vol. III. Tyler, TX: The East Texas Genealogical Society, 1984.
- East Texas Genealogical Society. *Cemetery Records Smith County, Texas*, vol. IV. Tyler, TX: The East Texas Genealogical Society, 1986.
- East Texas Genealogical Society. *Cemetery Records Smith County, Texas*, vol. V. Tyler, TX: The East Texas Genealogical Society, 1987.
- Harrison County Genealogical Society. *Harrison County, Texas Cemetery Index*, vol. 1. Shreveport, LA: J & W Enterprises, 1996.
- Hattash, Ogreta. *Alto City Cemetery*. 1970. East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Houston County Historical Commission. *Houston County, Texas Cemeteries*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Winston-Salem, N.C.: 1978.
- Funeral Register: March 2, 1930 to April 29, 1935, March 2, 1930 April 29, 1935, Cason Monk-Metcalf Funeral Directors, East Texas Research Center, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Lale, Max S. Marshall Cemetery: Marshall, TX. Marshall, TX: Port Caddo Press, 1975.
- Lufkin Genealogical and Historical Society. *Cemetery Records of Angelina County: January, 1969 to September, 1981*, vol. II. 1982. East Texas Research Center,
  Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.
- McDaniel, Weldon. *Cemeteries of Sabine County, Texas: 1840-2004*, vol 1. Hemphill, TX: Charcoal Hill Publishing, 2004.
- McDaniel, Weldon. *Cemeteries of Sabine County, Texas: 1850-2005*, vol 2. Hemphill, TX: Charcoal Hill Publishing, 2005.
- McDaniel, Weldon. *Cemeteries of Sabine County, Texas: 1861-2005*, vol 3. Hemphill, TX: Charcoal Hill Publishing, 2005.
- McDaniel, Weldon. The Story of Milam (Red Mount, Red Mound) Sabine County, TX 15-19-2010 and Selected Cemeteries of Milam: History and an Expanded Burial Index for Selected Sabine County Cemeteries Including Father, Mother, Spouse, Military Service, Sate Born In and Marriage Date if Known. Hemphill, TX: Weldon McDaniel, 2010.
- Muckleroy, David V. *Nacogdoches County, Texas: Funeral Home Cemetery Records: January 1, 1970-September 30, 1980*, vol. 1. 1981. East Texas Research Center. Nacogdoches, TX.
- San Augustine Public Library. *Caucasian Cemeteries of San Augustine County, Texas A thru G*, vol. I. San Augustine, TX: San Augustine Public Library, 1993.
- San Augustine Public Library. *Caucasian Cemeteries of San Augustine County, Texas H thru N*, vol. II. San Augustine, TX: San Augustine Public Library, 1993.
- San Augustine Public Library. Caucasian Cemeteries of San Augustine County, Texas O thru Z, vol. III. San Augustine, TX: San Augustine Public Library, 1993.

- Sterne, Adolphus. *Hurrah for Texas! The Diary of Adolphus Sterne: 1838-1851.* ed. Archie P. McDonald. Waco, TX: Texian Press, 1969.
- Sanders, J.B. *Index to the Cemeteries of Sabine County Texas: 1836-1964*. Center, TX: J.B. Sanders, 1964.
- Warner, Vivian and L. D. Smith. *Cemetery Records of Angelina County, Texas: 1980 to 1986*, vol. III. rev. Angelina County Genealogical Society. 1998. East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.
- Wooten, Barbara and Sandra Jones. Interviewed by Mary Tucker. April 22, 2021. East Texas Research Center, Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, TX.

## **Secondary Sources**

- "Railroads in Texas." *Scientific American* 7, no. 49 (1852): 385. Accessed June 25, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/24935520.
- "Texas Largest Religious Bodies." *Texas Almanac*, 2010. Accessed June 7, 2021. <a href="https://texasalmanac.com/topics/religion/religious-affiliation-texas">https://texasalmanac.com/topics/religion/religious-affiliation-texas</a>.
- "The National Park Service." *Science* 73, no. 1879 (1931): 6. Accessed June 1, 2021. <a href="http://www.jstor.org/stable/1654953">http://www.jstor.org/stable/1654953</a>.
- Adgent, Nancy. "Augustus Saint Gaudens: Bringing the American Renaissance to the Cemetery." *Markers* XXXIV (2018): 8-51.
- Adgent, Nancy. *Deep East Texas Grave Markers: Types, Styles, and Motifs*. Nacogdoches, TX: SFA Press, 2010.
- Alanen, Arnold R. and Robert Z. Melnick. *Preserving Cultural Landscapes in America*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Aldrich, Armistead Albert. *The History of Houston County Texas*. San Antonio, TX: The Naylor Company, 1943.
- Allen, Ruth A. East Texas Lumber Workers: And Economic and Social Picture 1870-1950. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1961.
- Alonzo, Armando C. *Tejano Legacy: Rancheros and Settlers in South Texas, 1734-1900.* Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.
- American Monument Association, Inc. *Memorial Symbolism, Epitaphs, and Design Types*. Boston, MA: American Monument Association, Inc., 1947.
- "Archaeological Investigations at a Caddo Mound Site in the Upper Neches River Basin in East Texas." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State* vol. 2017, no. 2. (2017): 23-50. Accessed July 03, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2">https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2017.1.2</a>.
- Arenson, Adam and Andrew R. Graybill, eds. *Civil War Wests: Testing the Limits of the United States*. Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015. Baird, Scott. "Language Codes in German Texas Graveyards." *Markers* IX (1992): 217 255.

- Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers09asso/page/216.
- Baker, T. Lindsay. *Ghost Towns of Texas*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986.
- Baker, T. Lindsay. *More Ghost Towns of Texas*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2003.
- Barclay, Robert L., Carole Dingard, and Lyndsie Selwyn. "Caring for Metal Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, March 16,2021.
- Barr, Alwyn. *Black Texans: A History of Negros in Texas: 1528-1971*. Austin, TX: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1973.
- Bates, Denise E., and David Sickey. *Basket Diplomacy: Leadership, Alliance-Building, and Resilience among the Coushatta Tribe of Louisiana*, 1884-1984. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2020. doi:10.2307/j.ctvswx7j2.
- Berg, Shery Page. "Approaches to Landscape Preservation Treatment at Mount Auburn Cemetery." *APT Bulletin: The Journal of Preservation Technology*, vol. 24, no. 3/4 (1992): 52-58. Accessed February 02,2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/1504349.
- Bolton, H. Carrington. "Decorations of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina." *The Journal of American Folklore* vol. 4, no. 14. (Jul. Sep. 1891): 214. Accessed October 29, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/534005.
- Boone County Historic Preservation Review Board. *Boone County Cemetery Preservation Plan*. Burlington, KY: Boone County Planning Commission, 1989.
- Botham, Fay and Sara M. Patterson. *Race, Religion, Region: Landscapes of Encounter in the American West.* Tucson, AZ: The University of Arizona Press, 2006.
- Bowman, Bob. *Plant Watermelons on My Grave and Let the Juice Run Down: A Handbook for Living in East Texas*. Lufkin, TX: Best of East Texas Publishers, 1991.
- Brandes, Stanley. "Iconography in Mexico's Day of the Dead: Origins and Meaning." *Ethnohistory* vol. 45, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 181 218.
- Brandes, Stanley. "The Meaning of American Pet Cemetery Gravestones." *Ethnology* vol. 48, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 99 118.
- Brew, Catherine and Tony Fawcett. "Reading More into Cemeteries." *Australian Garden History* vol. 18, no. 2 (September/October 2006): 12-15.
- Britton, Karla Cavarra. "Object Lesson: A Mission Among the Navajo: The Vicar, an Architect, and Unforeseen Ghosts." Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum vol. 25, no. 2, (Fall 2018): 36-47.
- Brooks, Charles Matoon, Jr. *Texas Missions: Their Romance and Architecture*. Dallas, TX: Dealey and Lowe, 1936.
- Brown, Russell K. "The Last Civil War Volunteers: The 125<sup>th</sup> U.S. Colored Infantry in New Mexico, 1866-1867." *Army History* no. 92 (Summer 2014): 6-18.

- Burchell, Meghan. "Gender, Grave Goods and Status in British Columbia Burials." *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* vol. 30, no. 2 (2006): 251-271.
- Burg, Steven B. "From Troubled Ground to Common Ground': The Locust Grove African American Cemetery Restoration Project: A Case Study of Service-Learning and Community History." *The Public Historian* vol. 30, no. 2 (Spring 2008): 51-82.
- Burg, Steven B. "The North Queen Street Cemetery and the African American Experience in Shippensburg, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* vol. 77, no. 1 (Winter 2010): 1-36.
- Burnett, Abby. *Gone to the Grave: Burial Customs of the Arkansas Ozarks*, 1850-1950. Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2014.
- Calvert, Robert. Texas History. Malden, MA: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 2014.
- Carter, Mary C. "Archaeology, the Caddo Indian Tribe, and the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State* vol. 1993, no. 28. Accessed May 20, 2021. <a href="https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ita/vol1993/iss1/28">https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/ita/vol1993/iss1/28</a>.
- Cashion, Ty. *Lone Star Mind: Reimagining Texas History*. Norman, OK: The University of Oklahoma Press, 2018.
- Cauvin, Thomas. *Public History: A Textbook of Practice*. New York, NY: Routledge Press, 2016.
- Chambers, William T. "Kilgore, Texas: An Oil Boom Town" *Economic Geography* vol. 9, no. 1 (Jan. 1933): 72-84. <a href="http://www.jstor.com/stable//140803">http://www.jstor.com/stable//140803</a>.
- Chipman, Donald E. Spanish Texas, 1519-1821. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Choate, Mark. *Nazis in the Pineywoods*. Lufkin, TX: Best of East Texas Publishers, 1989.
- Claney, Jane Perkins. *Rockingham Ware in American Culture, 1830-1930: Reading Historical Artifacts.* Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2004.
- Clappin, Elizabeth A. "*Primus Inter Parus*: The Character-Defining Contextual Design of the John F. Kennedy Gravesite." *Markers* XXXV (2019): 82-108.
- Clavir, Miriam and John Moses. "Caring for Sacred and Culturally Sensitive Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, September 10, 2018.
- Cole, E.W. "La Salle in Texas." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 49, no. 4 (April 1946): 473-500. Accessed January 25, 2020. <a href="https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/30240650">https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/30240650</a>.
- Cothran, James R. and Erica Danylchak. *Grave Landscapes: The Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemetery Movement*. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2018.
- Crum, Mason. *Gullah: Negro Life in the Carolina Sea Islands*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1940.

- Cullen, Lisa Takeuchi. *Remember Me: A Lively Tour of the New American Way of Death.* New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 2006.
- Curl, James Stevens. The Victorian Celebration of Death: The Architecture and Planning of the 19th Century Necropolis with some Observations on the Ephemera of the Victorian Funeral and a Special Chapter on Cemeteries and Funeral Customs in America. Detroit, MI: The Partridge Press, 1972.
- Curren, Brian A., Anthony Grafton, Pamela O. Long, and Benjamin Weiss. *Obelisk: A History*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2009.
- Davidson, James M. "The Old Dallas Burial Ground: A Forgotten Cemetery." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 102, no. 2 (Oct. 1998): 162-184.
- Davis, Lucile. *The Library of Native Americans: The Caddo of Texas*. New York, NY: Rosen Publishing Group, 2003.
- Dedek, Peter. *The Cemeteries of New Orleans: A Cultural History*. Baton Rouge, LA: LSU Press, 2017.
- Deetz, James and Edwin S. Dethlefsen. "Death's Head, Cherub, Urn and Willow." *Natural History* vol. 76, no. 3 (1967): 29-37. http://www.histarch.illinois.edu/plymouth/deathshead.html.
- Deetz, James. *In Small Things Forgotten: An Archaeology of Early American Life*. Rev. ed. New York, NY: Anchor Books, 1996.
- DeGolyer, Everett L. "Texas Railroads: The End of an Era." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 73, no. 3 (1970): 356-80. Accessed January 25, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/30238073.
- Dethlefsen, Edwin and James Deetz. "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries." *American Antiquity* vol. 31, no. 4 (April 1966): 502-510.
- Ditchfield, Simon. "Thinking with the Saints: Sanctity and Society in the Early Modern World." *Critical Inquiry* vol. 35, no. 3 (Spring 2009): 552-584. Accessed June 14, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/598809.
- Donohue, Barbara. Preservation Management Plan for the Elm Street Cemetery Braintree, Massachusetts Volume I: Report. Braintree, MA: 2011.
- Douglas, Ann. *The Feminization of American Culture*. New York, NY: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1977.
- Douglas, Mary. *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. New York, NY: Routledge, 1996.
- Downs, Fane. "Tryels and Trubbles": Women in Early Nineteenth-Century Texas." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 90, no. 1 (July 186): 35-56. Accessed January 25, 2020. <a href="https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/30239946">https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/30239946</a>.
- Durbin, Jeffrey L. "Expressions of Mass Greif and Mourning: The Material Culture of Makeshift Memorials." *Material Culture* vol. 35, no. 2 (Fall 2003): 22-47.

- Edwards, Jay D. "Open Issues in the Study of the Historic Influences of Caribbean Architecture on that of North America." *Material Culture* vol. 37, no. 1 (Spring 2005): 44-84.
- Eggener, Keith. Cemeteries. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2010.
- Elliott, Bruce. "Memorializing the Civil War Dead: Modernity and Corruption Under the Grant Administration." *Markers* XXVII (March 2010): 15-57.
- Ellis, Bill. *Lucifer Ascending: The Occult in Folklore and Popular Culture*. Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2004.
- Ethridge, Robbie and Sheri M. Shuck-Hall, eds. *Mapping the Mississippian Shatter Zone: The Colonial Indian Slave Trade and Regional Instability in the American South.*Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2009.
- Everett, Holly. "Roadside Crosses and Memorial Complexes in Texas." *Folklore* vol. 111 no. 1 (April 2000): 91-103.
- Farrelly, Maura Jane. "American Slavery, American Freedom, American Catholicism." *Early American Studies* vol. 10, no. 1 (Winter 2012): 69-100.
- Fenn, Julia and R. Scott Williams. "Caring for Plastics and Rubbers." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, July 16, 2020.
- Fenza, Paula J. "Communities of the Dead: Tombstones as a Reflection of Social Organization." *Markers* VI (1989): 137 57. Accessed September 11, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers06asso/page/136.
- Forbes, Harriette Merrifield. *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them:* 1653 1800. Boston, MA: The Riverside Press, 1927.
- Foster, Gary S. and Craig M. Eckert. "Up from the Grave: A Sociohistorical Reconstruction of an African American Community from Cemetery Data in the Rural Midwest." *Journal of Black Studies* vol. 33, no. 4 (Mar. 2003): 468-489.
- Foster, Gary S., William L. Lovekamp, Steven Di Naso, and Grant Woods. "The Cast-Iron Grave Cover: A Case of Mistaken Identity and Identity Found." *Markers* XXXI (2015): 52-67.
- Franklin, Deborah P. "Worthless Trash or Cultural Treasure: African American/Christian Burial Traditions Grave Decorations Found in Historic Texas Cemeteries" (Presentation at the AGS Chapter Meeting, Plano, TX, May 11, 2019). Accessed May 28, 2021. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QrS9preOEEY.
- Gabel, Laurel K. "Ritual, Regalia and Remembrance: Fraternal Symbolism and Gravestones" *Markers* XI (1994): 1 27. Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers11asso/page/n7.
- Galland, China. *Love Cemetery: Unburying the Secret History of Slaves.* New York, NY: Harper One, 2007.
- Gardner, James B. and Peter S. LaPaglia, eds. *Public History: Essays from the Field*. Rev. ed. Malabar, FL: Krieger Publishing Company, 2006.
- Gaudette, Paul and Deborah Slaton. "Preservation Brief 15: Preservation of Historic

- Concrete," *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2007.
- Giguere, Joy M. "Variety there must be': Eclecticism, Taste, and the Nineteenth-Century Rural Cemetery Landscape." *Markers* XXXIII (2017): 82-104.
- Gomez, Michael A. *Reversing Sail: A History of the African Diaspora*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Guedea, Virginia. "The Process of Mexican Independence." *The American Historical Review* vol. 105, no. 1 (Feb. 2000): 116-130. http://www.jstor.com/stable/2652439.
- Guzmán, Will. Civil Rights in the Texas Borderlands: Dr. Lawrence A. Nixon and Black Activism. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2015.
- Haltom, Richard W. *The History of Nacogdoches County, Texas*. Austin, TX: Jenkins Publishing Company, 1972.
- Hamilton, Ida Faye and Joe E. Ericson. *Texas Indians and Spanish Missions in Colonial Texas*. Nacogdoches, TX: Ericson Books, 2006.
- Hamscher, Albert N. "Pictorial Headstones: Business, Culture, and the Expression of Individuality in the Contemporary Cemetery." *Markers* XXIII (2006): 6 35.
- Hanson, Jeffery R. "Looting of the Fort Craig Cemetery: Damage Done and Lessons Learned." *American Antiquity* vol. 76, no. 3 (July 2011): 429-445.
- Harrison, Douglas. "Why Southern Gospel Music Matters." *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation* vol. 18, no. 1 (Winter 2008): 27-58.
- Hartin, Debra Daly, Wendy Baker, Robert Barclay, and George Prytulak. "Caring for Outdoor Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, July 21, 2020.
- Harvey, Bill. Texas Cemeteries: The Resting Places of Famous, Infamous, and Just Plain Interesting Texans. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2003.
- Hawkins, Rodney. "CBS News Producer's Mission to Restore his Family's Cemetery Reveals Country's Buried Past." (video news recording). CBS this Morning. Posted December 29, 2020. Accessed December 29, 2020. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r4 hDpO5Qnw.
- Heath, Kingston Wm. "Defining the Nature of Vernacular." *Material Culture* vol. 20, no. 2 (Summer/Fall 1988): 48-54.
- Hendricks(on) Family Association: A New Jersey Nonprofit Corporation. *Hendrickson Burial Ground Re-Dedication*, *July 8*, *2017*. Holmdel, NJ: Hendricks(on) Family Association, 2017.
- Herman, Bernard L. "On Being German in British America: Gravestones and the Inscription of Identity." *Winterhur Portfolio* vol. 45, no. 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 2011): 195-208.
- Holloway, Joseph E. ed. *Africanisms in American Culture*. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990.

- Hook, Jonathan B. *The Alabama-Coushatta Indians*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1997.
- Houston County Historical Commission. *History of Houston County, Texas: 1687—1979*. Tulsa, OK: Heritage Publishing Company, 1979.
- Houston County Historical Commission. *Houston County (Texas) Cemeteries*. 2<sup>nd</sup>. ed. Winston-Salem, NC: Hunter Publishing Company Printers, 1978.
- Hunner, Jon. "Preserving Hispanic Lifeways in New Mexico." *The Public Historian* vol. 23, no. 4 (Fall 2001): 29-40.
- Ingalls, Albert G. "The Scientific American Digest." *Scientific American* vol. 137, no. 6 (December 1927): 535-538, 550-553. Accessed February 18, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/26122239.
- Ingersol, Ernest. "Decoration of Negro Graves." *Journal of American Folklore* vol. 5, no. 16 (Jan. Mar. 1892): 68 69. Accessed October 29, 2019. https://www.jstor.org/stable/533461.
- Jabbour, Alan and Karen Singer Jabbour. *Decoration Day in the Mountains: Traditions of Cemetery Decorations in the Southern Appalachians*. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2010.
- Jackson, Hal. Following the Royal Road: A Guide to the Historic Camino Real de Tierra Adentro. Albuquerque, NM: The University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Jeane, Gregory. "Rural Southern Gravestones: Sacred Artifacts in the Upland South Folk Cemetery." *Markers* IV (1987): 55 83. Accessed September 11, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers04asso/page/54.
- Jernigan, Scarlet. "Why Should a Christian Desire to Sleep Here?": The Unitarian Rural Cemetery Movement and Its Adoption in Macon, Georgia." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly* vol. 99, no. 4 (Winter 2015): 290-322.
- Johnson, Benjamin Herber. Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and Its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Johnson, Kirk. "A Counter to Confederate Monuments, Black Cemeteries Tell a Fuller Story of the South: Many have fallen into disrepair, the victims of mismanagement, political strife or abandonment. Now there's an effort to restore and protect them." *New York Times*, September 30, 2020.
- Johnson, Michael. *The Native Tribes of North America: A Concise Encyclopedia*. New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1994.
- Jones, Charla. *The Cradle of Texas: A Pictorial History of San Augustine County*. Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1997.
- Jones, Michael Owen. *Craftsman of the Cumberlands: Tradition and Creativity*. Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1989.
- Jordan, Terry G. "The Roses so Red and The Lilies so Fair': Southern Folk Cemeteries in Texas." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 83, no. 3 (Jan. 1980): 227-258.

- Jordan, Terry G. "Forest Folk and Prairie Folk: Rural Religious Cultures in North Texas." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 80, no. 2 (Oct. 1976): 135-162.
- Jordan, Terry G. *The Upland South: The Making of an American Folk Region and Landscape.* Santa Fe, NM: The Center for American Places, 2003.
- Jordan, Terry G. *Texas Graveyards: A Cultural Legacy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. 1982.
- Kaplan, Marilyn E., Marie Ennis, and Edmund P. Meade. "Masonry #4: Non-destructive Evaluation Techniques for Masonry Construction." *Preservation Tech Notes*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 1997.
- Keister, Douglas. Forever Dixie: A Field Guide to Southern Cemeteries & Their Residents. Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 2008.
- Kewley, Jonathan. "Behind the Bedheads: The Earliest American Gravemakers and the Question of English Roots." *Markers* XXXII (2016): 64-95.
- King, Thomas F. *Cultural Resource Laws & Practice*. 4<sup>th</sup>. ed. Lanham, MD: Altamira Press, 2013.
- Krochmal, Max. *Blue Texas: The Making of a Multiracial Democratic Coalition in the Civil Rights Era.* Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016.
- La Vere. "Between Kinship and Capitalism: French and Spanish Rivalry in the Colonial Louisiana-Texas Indian Tribe." *The Journal of Southern History*, vol. 64, no. 2 (May 1998): 197-218. Accessed June 25, 2020. <a href="https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/2587944">https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/2587944</a>.
- Lagarde, Francois. *The French in Texas: History, Migration, Culture.* Austin, TX: University of Austin Press, 2003.
- Lantis, Margaret. "Vernacular Culture." *American Anthropologist* vol. 62, no. 2 (April 1960): 202 216. www.jstor.org/stable/667896.
- Lees, William B. "An Historical Burial From the Southern Plains of Kansas." *Plains Anthropologist* vol. 37, no. 140 (Aug. 1992): 213-231.
- Liles, Deborah M. and Angela Boswell. Women in Civil War Texas: Diversity and Dissidence in the Trans-Mississippi. Denton, TX: University of North Texas Press, 2016.
- Linden-Ward, Blanche. "The Fencing Mania': The Rise and Fall of Nineteenth Century Funerary Enclosures." *Markers* VII (1990): 35 58. Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers07asso/page/34.
- Little, Barbara, Erika Martin Seibert, Jan Townsend, John H. Sprinkle, Jr., and John Knoerl. "Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Archaeological Properties." *National Bulletin # 36*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2000.
- Little, M. Ruth. *Sticks and Stones: Three Centuries of North Carolina Grave Makers*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.

- Llewellyn, John F. A Cemetery Should be Forever: The Challenge to Managers and Directors. Glendale, CA: Tropico Press, 1998.
- Logan, Judith A. and Tara Grant. "Caring for Ceramic and Glass Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage December 14, 2018.
- Longstreth, Richard, ed. *Cultural Landscapes: Balancing Nature and Heritage in Preservation Practice*. Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 2008.
- Ludwig, Allan I. *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and its Symbols, 1650-1815.* Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1966.
- Lund, Julie. "Fragments of a conversion: handling bodies and objects in pagan and Christian Scandinavia AD 800–1100," *World Archaeology*, vol. 45, no. 1, *Archaeology in Religious Change*, (March 2013): 46-63.
- Luti, Vincent F. "Thomas Diman, 1746-136, Bristol, Rhode Island Gravestone Carver and Related Carvers." *Markers* XXXI (2015): 68-96.
- Lutz, Deborah. *Relics of Death in Victorian Literature and Culture*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2015.
- Lych, Gay. "Contemporary Gravemarkers of Youths: Milestones of Our Path through Pain to Joy." *Markers* XII (1995): 144 159 Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers12asso/page/144.
- MacDonald, Douglass H. "Greif and Burial in the American Southwest: The Role of Evolutionary Theory in the Interpretation of Mortuary Remains." *American Antiquity* vol. 66, no. 4 (Oct. 2001): 704-714.
- Marchi, Regina. "Hybridity and Authenticity in US Day of the Dead Celebrations." *The Journal of American Folklore* vol. 126, no. 501 (Summer 2013): 272–301.
- Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation. *Preservation Guidelines for Municipally Owned Historic Burial Grounds and Cemeteries*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Boston, MA: Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation, 2009.
- McArthur, Judith N. and Harold L. Smith, eds. *Through Women's Eyes: The Twentieth Century Experience*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2010.
- McClelland, Linda Flint, J. Timothy Keller, Genevieve P. Keller, and Robert Z. Melnick. "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Rural Historic Landscapes." *National Bulletin # 30*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1999.
- McDavid, Carol. "Archaeologies that Hurt; Descendants that Matter: A Pragmatic Approach to Collaboration in the Public Interpretation of African American Archaeology." *World Archaeology* vol. 34, no. 2 (Oct. 2002): 303-314.
- McDonald, Archie P., ed. *Nacogdoches: Wilderness Outpost to Modern City, 1779-1979*. Burnet, TX: Eakin Press, 1980.

- McGahee, Susan H. and Mary W. Edmonds. *South Carolinas Historic Cemeteries: A Preservation Handbook*. Columbia, SC: South Carolina Department of Archives and History, 1997.
- McKenzie, Phyllis. *The Mexican Texans*. College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2004.
- McKittrick, Katherine and Clyde Woods, eds. *Black Geographies and the Politics of Place*. Cambridge, MA: Between the Lines, 2007.
- McWilliams, Jennifer K. "Historic Plants as Artifacts: Living Plants as a Type Classification at Historic Sites." *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society*, vol. 88, (2017): 67-76.
- McWilliams, Jennifer K. "Plants as a Reflection of Culture and Popularity in Historic Cemeteries in Central and East Texas." *Bulletin of the Texas Archaeological Society*, vol. 88 (2017): 98-104.
- Merlino, Kathryn Rogers. "[Re]Evaluating Significance: The Environmental and Cultural Value in Older and Historic Buildings." *The Public Historian*, vol. 36, no. 3 (August 2014): 70-85. Accessed July 6, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/tph.2014.36.3.70.
- Meyer, Richard E., ed. *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture*. Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1989.
- Meyer, Richard E., ed. *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1993.
- Meyers, John H. "Preservation Brief #9: The Repair of Historic Wooden Windows." *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1981.
- Milbauer, John A. "Southern Folk Traits in the Cemeteries of Northeastern Oklahoma." *Southern Folklore* vol. 46, no. 2 (1989): 175-185.
- Mitford, Jessica. The American Way of Death. New York, NY: First Crest, 1963.
- Morely, John. *Death, Heaven, and the Victorians*. Pittsburgh, PA: Pittsburg University Press, 1971.
- Mu, Li. "Emergent Chinese Diasporic Identity and Culture: Chinese Grave Markers and Mortuary Rituals in Newfoundland." *Journal of American Folklore* vol. 131, no. 519 (Winter 2018): 53-90.
- Mytum, Harold. *Recording and Analysing Graveyards*. York, England: Council for British Archaeology, 2000.
- Nacogdoches Historical Society. *Nacogdoches: Texas Centennial:1716-1936*. NP: NP, ND.
- Nacogdoches Jaycees. *The Bicentennial Commemorative History of Nacogdoches*. Nacogdoches, TX: Nacogdoches Jaycees, 1976.
- Nakagawa, Tadashi, "Louisiana Cemeteries: Manifestations of Regional and Denominational Identity." *Markers* XI (1994): 29-51. Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers11asso/page/28.

- National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. "Publications of the National Register of Historic Places." Last modified April 08, 2020. Accessed June 27, 2021. https://www.nps.gov/subjects/nationalregister/publications.htm.
- National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. "Quick History of the National Park Service." Last modified May 14, 2018. Accessed June 01, 2021. https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm.
- National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. *Caddo Population Decline*. Last modified February 10, 2020. Accessed July 03, 2021. https://www.nps.gov/elte/learn/historyculture/caddo-population-decline.htm.
- National Park Service U.S. Department of the Interior. *Preservation Brief 9: The Repair of Historic Wooden Windows*. John H. Meyers (1981).
- Nester, William. *The Age of Jackson and the Art of American Power, 1815-1848.* Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2013.
- Olien, Diana Davids and Roger M. Olien. *Oil in Texas: The Gusher Age, 1895-1945*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2002.
- Oregon State Historic Preservation Office. "Historic Cemeteries Program." Oregon Heritage Services and Programs. Last modified August 20, 2020. Accessed July 29, 2021. <a href="https://www.oregon.gov/oprd/OH/pages/historic-cemeteries-program.aspx">https://www.oregon.gov/oprd/OH/pages/historic-cemeteries-program.aspx</a>.
- Page, Max and Randall Mason, eds. *Giving Preservation a History: Histories of Historic Preservation in the United States*. New York, NY: Routledge, 2004.
- Palmer, Daniel S. "A Poignant Take on the Controversy Surrounding Public Monuments: Using a Blizzard and a Scarf, David Hammons Humanized an Otherwise Demeaning 19th-century Sculpture in New York." *New York Times Style Magazine*, October 9, 2020.
- Panich, Lee M. "'Sometimes They Bury the Deceased's Clothes and Trinkets': Indigenous Mortuary Practices at Mission Santa Clara de Asis." *Historical Archaeology* vol. 49, no. 4 (2015): 110-129.
- Park, Sharon C. "Exterior Woodwork #1: Proper Painting and Surface Preparation." *Preservation Tech Notes.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, May 1986.
- Parker, Patricia L. and Thomas King. "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties." *National Bulletin # 38*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992.
- Parsons, Elaine Fritz. *Ku Klux: The Birth of the Klan during Reconstruction*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Perttula, Timothy K. "Caddo Ceramics from Mound Deposits at the Shelby Mound Site (41CP71) on Greasy Creek, Camp County, Texas." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State*, vol. 2017, no. 43 (2014).

- Accessed July 03, 2021.
- https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1990&context=ita.
- Perttula, Timothy K. "The Harling Site (41FN1): An Ancestral Caddo Mound Site on the Red River in Fannin County, Texas." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State*, vol. 2015, no. 62 (2015). Accessed July 03, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2015.1.62">https://doi.org/10.21112/.ita.2015.1.62</a>.
- Perttula, Timothy K. and Chester P. Walker, eds. *The Archaeology of the Caddo*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2012.
- Perttula, Timothy K. and Robert Rogers. "The Evolution of a Caddo Community in Northeastern Texas: The Oak Hill Village Site (41RK214), Rusk County, Texas." *American Antiquity*, vol. 72, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 71-94. Accessed July 03, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/40035299.
- Perttula, Timothy K., Bo Nelson, Mark Walters, Robert Cast, and Bobby Gonzalez. "Documentation of Caddo Funerary Objects in the Gilcrease Museum Collections." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State*, vol. 2009, no. 17. Accessed July 03, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2009.1.17">https://doi.org/10.21112/ita.2009.1.17</a>.
- Perttula, Timothy K., Mark Walters, and Bo Nelson. "The M. S. Roberts Site (41HE8):
- Pieper, Richard. "Preservation Brief 48: The Maintenance, Repair and Replacement of Historic Cast Stone." *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 2001.
- Potter, Chris. "When We All Come to Rest." Purview Southwest (1990): 336-341.
- Powers, Robert M. "Masonry #1: Substitute Materials: Replacing Deteriorated Serpentine Stone and Pre-Cast Concrete." *Preservation Tech Notes*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, April 1988.
- Rainville, Lynn. "Hanover Deathscapes: Mortuary Viability in New Hampshire, 1770-1920." *Ethnohistory* vol. 46, no. 3 (Summer 1999): 541-597.
- Rainville, Lynn. "Memorials from the Great War: Symbolism and Meaning in Gravestones and Statues from World War I." *Markers* XXXI (2015): 7-29.
- Rainville, Lynn. "Protecting Our Shared Heritage in African American Cemeteries." *Journal of Field Archaeology* vol. 34, no. 2 (Summer 2009): 196-206.
- Rainville, Lynn. *Hidden History: African American Cemeteries in Central Virginia*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2014.
- Ramsdell, Charles William. *Reconstruction in Texas*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1970.
- Reynolds, Larry J. "American Cultural Iconography: Vision, History, and the Real." *American Literary History* vol. 9, no. 3 (Autumn 1997) 381-395.
- Richardson, Rupert N., Adrian Anderson, Cary D. Wintz, and Ernest Wallace. *Texas: The Lone Star State*. 9<sup>th</sup> ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson, 2005.
- Roberts, Andrea. "Until the Lord Come Get Me, It Burn Down, Or the Next Storm Blow It Away: The Aesthetics of Freedom in African American Vernacular Homestead

- Preservation." Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of Vernacular Culture Forum, vol. 26, no. 2 (Fall 2019): 73-97.
- Roberts, Blain and Ethan J. Kytle. "Looking the Thing in the Face: Slavery, Race, and the Commemorative in Charleston, South Carolina, 1865-2010." *The Journal of Southern History* vol. 78, no. 3 (August 2012): 639-684.
- Samford, Patricia. "The Archaeology of African-American Slavery and Material Culture." *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 53, no.1 (Jan. 1996): 87-114.
- Schambach, Frank F. "The Development of the Burial Mound Tradition in the Caddo Area." *Index of Texas Archaeology: Open Access Gray Literature from the Lone Star State* vol. 1997, no. 40 (1997): 53-72. Accessed July 03, 2021. https://scholarworks.sfasu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=2170&context=ita.
- Schoemaker, George H. "Acculturation and Transformation of Salt Lake Temple Symbols in Mormon Tombstone Art." *Markers* IX (1992): 197-215. Accessed September 10, 2019. https://archive.org/details/markers09asso/page/196.
- Schuessler, Jennifer. "Amid the Monument Wars, a Rally for 'More History': Historians recently gathered at Civil War sites across the country in an effort to highlight distortions, omissions and the erasure of Black contributions." *New York Times*, September 28, 2020.
- Scott, Jannie Nicole. "Place and Mobility in Shaping the Freedmen's Community of Antioch Colony, Texas, 1870–1954." *Journal of African Diaspora Archaeology and Heritage* vol. 7, no. 1 (2018): 1-16.
- Sellers, Richard West. "Pilgrim Places: Civil War Battlefields, Historic Preservation, and America's First National Military Parks, 1863-1900." *CRM* vol. 2, no. 1 (Winter 2005) 23-52.
- Sheetz, Ron and Charles Fisher. "Exterior Woodwork #4: Protecting Woodwork Against Decay Using Borate Preservatives." *Preservation Tech Notes*. Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, October 1993.
- Sheumaker, Helen and Shirley Teresa Wajda, eds. *Material Culture in America: Understanding Everyday Life.* Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008.
- Simmons, John E. *Things Great and Small: Collections Management Policies*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2018.
- Sitton, Thad. Freedom Colonies: Independent Black Texans in the Time of Jim Crow. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2005.
- Sloane, David Charles. "Memory and Landscape: Nature and the History of the American Cemetery." *SiteLINES: A Journal of Place* vol. 6, no. 1 (Fall 2010): 3-6.
- Smallwood, James. *The History of Smith County Texas: Born in Dixie: Smith County Origins to 1875.* Vol. 1. Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1999.
- Smallwood, James. *The History of Smith County Texas: Born in Dixie: Smith County from 1875 to its Centennial Year.* Vol. 2. Austin, TX: Eakin Press, 1999.
- Smith, F. Todd. *The Caddo Indians: Tribes at the Convergence of Empires, 1542-1854.* College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1995.

- Smith, F. Todd. "The Kadohadacho Indians and the Louisiana-Texas Frontier, 1803-1815." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* 95, no. 2 (1991): 177-204.
- Smith, Jeffery. "Rural Place Attachment in Hispano Urban Centers." *Geographical Review* vol. 92, no. 3 (2002): 432-451. Accessed July 7, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/4140919.
- Smithers, Gregory D. *The Cherokee Diaspora: An Indigenous History of Migration, Resettlement, and Identity.* Yale University Press, 2015. www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt17572d9.
- Snider, Joleene Maddox. *Claiming Sunday: The Story of a Texas Slave Community*. San Marcos, TX: Snider Family Publishing, 2018.
- South Carolina Department of Archives and History. "Cemeteries." South Carolina Department of Archives and History. Last modified 2021. Accessed July 29, 2021. https://shpo.sc.gov/historic-preservation/technical-assistance/cemeteries.
- Stanley-Blackwell, Laurie. "What Lies Beneath': The Green Man in Eastern Nova Scotia and Scottish Folk Beliefs." *Markers* XXXII (2016): 40-63.
- Stipe, Richard E., ed. A Richer Heritage: Historic Preservation in the Twenty-First Century. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Stott, Annette. "Personhood and Agency: A Theoretical Approach to Gravemarkers in Mainstream American Cemeteries." *Markers* XXXV (2019): 46-81.
- Strange, Julie-Marie. "Only a Pauper Whom Nobody Owns: Reassessing the Pauper Grave c. 1880-1914." *Past & Present* no. 178 (Feb. 2003): 148-175.
- Strangstad, Lynette. *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Lanham, MD: AltaMira Press, 2013.
- Striegel, Mary F., Frances Gale, Jason Church, and Debbie Dietrich-Smith. "Preservation Brief 48: Preserving Historic Grave Markers in Historic Cemeteries." *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 2016.
- Suchan, Laura. "Memento Mori: Bringing the Classroom to the Cemetery." *The History Teacher* vol. 42, no. 1 (Nov. 2008): 41-53.
- Sweeney, Katie. *American Afterlife: Encounters in the Customs of Mourning*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2014.
- Swift, Ellen. "Identifying Migrant Communities: A Contextual Analysis of Grave Assemblages from Continental Late Roman Cemeteries." *Britannia* vol. 41 (2010): 273-282.
- Texas Historical Commission. *Cemetery Laws*. Last modified August 8, 2016. https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/cemetery-laws.
- Texas Historical Commission. *Importance of Cemeteries*. Last modified October 26, 2015. <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/importance-cemeteries">https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/importance-cemeteries</a>.

- Texas Historical Commission. *Preserving Historic Cemeteries*. *History News* vol. 63, no. 3 (Summer 2008): 1-8.
- Texas Historical Commission. "Texas Historic Sites Atlas". 2015. Accessed September 01, 2019. https://atlas.thc.state.tx.us/Map
- Texas Historical Commission. "What to Do if a Cemetery is Threatened or Destroyed." Last modified September 23, 2015. Accessed September 01, 2019. <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/what-can-i-do/what-do-if-cemetery-threatened-or.">https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/what-can-i-do/what-do-if-cemetery-threatened-or.</a>
- Texas Historical Commission. *Who Owns a Cemetery*. Last modified August 10, 2016. Accessed September 01, 2019. <a href="https://www.thc.texas.gov/preserve/projects-and-programs/cemetery-preservation/cemetery-laws/who-owns-cemete
- The National Park Service. "Quick History of the National Park Service." Last modified May 14, 2018. Accessed June 1, 2021. <a href="https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm">https://www.nps.gov/articles/quick-nps-history.htm</a>.
- The Smithsonian Institute, "Emerson's Bromo-Seltzer," National Museum of American History. Accessed June 18, 2021. https://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/search/object/nmah 715714.
- Todd, Ellen Wiley. "Remembering the Unknowns: The Longman Memorial and the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire." *American Art* vol. 23, no. 3 (Fall 2009): 60-81.
- Torget, Andrew J. Seeds of Empire: Cotton, Slavery, and the Transformation of the Texas Borderlands, 1800-1850. Chapel Hill, NC: 2015.
- Trinkley, Michael and Debi Hacker. Assessment and Preservation plan for Glenwood Cemetery, Thomaston, Georgia. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2001.
- Trinkley, Michael, Debi Hacker, and Nicole Southerland. *Preservation Plan and Recommendations for the Coleman-Leigh-Warren Cemetery, Augusta, Georgia*. Columbia, SC: Chicora Foundation, Inc., 2008.
- Turner, Elizabeth Hayes, Stephanie Cole, and Rebecca Sharpless, eds. *Texas Women: Their Histories, Their Lives.* Athens, GA: The University of Georgia Press, 2015.
- Tyler, Norman, Ted J. Ligibel, and Ilene R. Tyler. *Historic Preservation: An Introduction to Its History, Principles, and Practice*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009.
- Utah Division of State History. "Heritage and Arts." Utah Division of State History. Last modified 2019. Accessed July 29, 2021. <a href="https://history.utah.gov/cemeteries/">https://history.utah.gov/cemeteries/</a>.
- Vermont Official State Website. "Identifying Historic Resources." State of Vermont Agency of Commerce and Community Development. Last modified 2021. Accessed July 29, 2021. <a href="https://accd.vermont.gov/historic-preservation/identifying-resources">https://accd.vermont.gov/historic-preservation/identifying-resources</a>.
- Vlach, John. "Graveyards and Afro-American Art." *Southern Exposure* vol. 5, no. 2/3 (1977): 1977.
- Voss, Barbara L. "From Casta to California: Social Identity and the Archaeology of Culture Contact." *American Anthropologist* vol. 107, no. 3 (Sep. 2005): 461-474.

- Walker, Melissa. Southern Farmers and Their Stories: Memory and Meaning in Oral History. Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2006.
- Walker, Ronald W. and Doris R. Dant, eds. *Nearly Everything Imaginable: The Everyday Life for Utah's Mormon Pioneers*. Provo, UT: Brigham Young University Press, 1999.
- Walton, Elisabeth and Beth M. Boland. "Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Cemeteries and Burial Places." *National Bulletin #41*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 1992.
- Warren, Lloyd E. "The Warrens of Northampton, VA." *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 8, no. 3 (July 1928): 187-193.
- Weaver, Martin E. "Preservation Brief 38: Removing Graffiti from Historic Masonry." *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, October 1995.
- Webb, Clarence H. "The Belcher Mound: A Stratified Caddoan Site in Caddo Parish, Louisiana." *Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology*, no. 16, (1959): iii-xiii, 1-212. Accessed June 13, 2021. https://www.jstor.org/stable/25146649.
- Weber, John. From South Texas to the Nation: The Exploitation of Mexican Labor in the Twentieth Century. Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2015.
- Weddle, Robert S. "Tarnished Hero: A La Salle Overview." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly* vol. 113, no. 2 (Oct. 2009): 158-183. Accessed January 05, 2020. http://www.jstor.com/stable/40495720.
- Weddle, Robert S., Donald E. Chipman, and Carol A. Lipscomb. "The Misplacement of Mission San Francisco de los Tejas in Eastern Texas and Its Actual Location at San Pedro de los Nebedaches." *The Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, vol. 120, no. 1 (July 2016): 74-84. Accessed January 05, 2021. <a href="http://www.jstor.com/stable/44647080">http://www.jstor.com/stable/44647080</a>.
- Wheeler, Michael. *Death and Future Life in Victorian Literature and Theology*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Winkler, Ernest William. "The Cherokee Indians In Texas." *The Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association* 7, no. 2 (1903): 95-165. Accessed May 25, 2020. www.jstor.org/stable/27784955.
- Wood, Peter H. "La Salle: Discovery of a Lost Explorer." *The American Historical Review* vol. 89, no. 2 (April 1984): 294-323. Accessed January 15, 2020. <a href="https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/1862554">https://www-jstor-org.steenproxy.sfasu.edu/stable/1862554</a>.
- Wright, Roberta Hughes and Wilber B. Hughes III. *The Death Care Industry: African American Cemeteries and Funeral Homes*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. N.P.: Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur B. Hughes III, 2007.
- Yalom, Marilyn. The American Resting Place: Four Hundred Years of History Through our Cemeteries and Burial Grounds. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company, 2008.

- Young, Dwight. *Saving America's Treasures*. Washington DC: The National Geographic Society, 2001.
- Zaniello, Thomas A. "American Gravestone: An Annotated Bibliography." *Folklore Forum* vol. 9, no. 3 (December 1976): 115-137. Accessed October 01, 2019. <a href="https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/handle/2022/1479">https://scholarworks.iu.edu/dspace/handle/2022/1479</a>.

# **APPENDIX**

# Gravegoods: A Primer for Preservation

By Mary E. Tucker

#### Introduction

Historic cemeteries are historically and culturally significant resources. These cemeteries often require a wide range of upkeep and preservation to ensure that all of the artifacts within them are safe from harm. In preserving these resources, they can provide information about both the communities and the cemeteries. This brief focuses on the history, identification, care, and preservation of gravegoods found in cemeteries.

Gravegoods are items left near graves, that hold historical and cultural significance for the people within that community. Gravegoods may include vases, toys, statues, knick-knacks, and certain types of plants (Figure 1). Visitors and caretakers may destroy or remove these items believing that they are trash.



Figure 1: This is a child's grave at McKnight Cemetery in Cushing, Texas. It is covered in a variety of gravegoods.

#### The History of Gravegoods

In Deep East Texas, the Caddo built burial mounds to honor their dead. Within these mounds they left gifts of pottery, jewelry, and tools behind to show respect. The mounds served as a kind of gravemarker. The gifts were gravegoods.

Gravegoods, in addition to their corresponding gravemarkers inform visitors about an area of history such as community, familial, and cultural history. Gravegoods have been used for millennia to signify aspects of the deceased's life such as religious preferences, hobbies, or occupations.

Christian religions came to Deep East Texas with European settlers. Catholicism arrived with the Spanish first. Then various forms of Protestantism came with the Anglo settlers. These influences are visible in the religious symbols both on gravemarkers and through the gravegoods themselves such as crosses, rosaries, and statues of important religious figures (Figure 2).

Judaism also arrived in Deep East Texas with European settlers. Their gravemarkers are unique in that they frequently have Hebrew inscriptions with or without English translations. The common type of Jewish gravegoods are stones left at the grave by family members and other visitors (Figure 3).

African Americans brought to Texas by the



Figure 2: Statue of the Virgin Mary on a heavily decorated grave in Saint Augustine Catholic Cemetery in San Augustine, Texas.



Figure 3: Stones on top of a gravemarker at Marshall Hebrew Cemetery in Marshall, Texas.

Anglo settlers had their own traditions surrounding death. Common gravegoods seen in historic African American cemeteries include brightly colored glass or ceramic pitchers, vases, and bottles (Figure 4). While these items do not necessarily point to a historic African American cemetery, within the context of other aspects of the cemetery, however, it adds to the overall historical narrative.



Figure 4: A yellow and blue vase and a blue pitcher lay next to a grave in Fodice Cemetery in Lovelady, Texas. Fodice is a historic African American community.

Another major influence that results in the use of gravegoods in Deep East Texas is military service. On patriotic holidays, many graves are adorned with small flags (Figure 5).

Though gravegoods are historic resources, they have to be viewed within the context of other resources in their cemeteries such as gravemarkers. Recognizing the various types of gravegoods further increases the chances of them being preserved and not being mistaken for trash.



Figure 5: An American flag placed next to a military gravestone at Oakwood Cemetery in Jefferson, Texas.

### Types of Gravegoods

There are many types of gravegoods. Each type of gravegood requires a different kind of care and attention. This brief will focus on glass and porcelain items, metal and plastic items, concrete and stone items, wooden items, and vegetation.

Glass and Porcelain Items. Glass and porcelain gravegoods are the most fragile type of gravegood. These often include vases, pitchers, and small figurines (Figure 6). Care must be taken in handling these goods because of their fragility and their likelihood of becoming homes for ants, spiders, snakes, and other small animals.

Metal and Plastic Items. Metal items may include windchimes, toys, and artwork. Many metal objects have plastic elements. Oxidation causes the metal to rust and become brittle. Plastic, likewise, is made brittle through forces of weather and



Figure 6: A blue glass pitcher at Fodice, Cemetery in Lovelady, Texas.

sunlight. Common plastic items include toys and drinking vessels (Figure 7).



Figure 7: Toy cars made of plastic and metal on a grave at McKnight Cemetery in Cushing, Texas.

Concrete and Stone Items. Many people place concrete or stone statues at graves. While these materials are more durable,

they are still prone to weathering and physical damage. They can also pose a tripping hazard to people and animals. Many stone and concrete items are heavy. If they fall while being moved or worked on, they may cause serious injury.

Wooden Items. Wooden items are surprisingly fragile. The weather of Deep East Texas is often humid. The moisture in the air causes wooden items to rot. Rot makes them prone to breaking. Wooden items typically are religious symbols such as crosses (Figure 9). However, some people also use wooden windchimes and birdhouses as gravegoods. Birdhouses present a special problem of inviting wildlife to live in the cemetery.



Figure 9: A cross in Macune Cemetery, San Augustine, Texas.

Vegetation. Vegetation often requires the greatest deal of upkeep. Crepe myrtles, rose bushes, jonquils, and irises are common plants used for grave decoration. Many of these plants are perennials and will bloom and grow every year. Because these plants are alive, they grow and can quickly overtake a grave. Annuals bloom once and

then die. Again, many animals like to make their homes in these plants, and most people do not know how to correctly prune and manage these plants (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Crepe myrtles in Attoyac Cemetery in San Augustine, Texas. These trees have been allowed to grow without much trimming.

# Common Threats to Gravegoods and How They Can be Managed

#### Animals

Wildlife use cemeteries as a safe location to feed and rest (Figure 11). Livestock can amble into private or public cemeteries. In doing so, both large and small creatures can cause irreparable damage to structures, fences, gravemarkers, and gravegoods in cemeteries.

Region determines the types of wildlife and livestock. In Deep East Texas, wild hogs are the most destructive (Figure 12).

Nevertheless, there are a number of ways to deter them and manage threats that arise due to these animals.



Figure 11: A calf looks out from some underbrush. Photo courtesy of Alysha



Figure 12: This is just an example of what a single hog can do to the ground. Photo taken in Cushing, Texas.

Fences are a popular management tool for keeping both animals and people out of cemeteries. Many of these fences are further enforced with padlocks. While fences may keep out most larger animals, smaller animals are not so easily deterred.

Smaller animals, including frogs, snakes, birds, rodents, bugs, etc. may not cause damage at first, but as they congregate and begin to reside in gravegoods, their presence can cause concerns. In particular, the person that picks up a vase may receive

the unpleasant surprise of being face-to-face with a small snake, or may find their hands covered in ants (Figure 13).



Figure 13: A pitcher in a fire ant mound in Shiloh Baptist Cemetery in San Augustine, Texas.

Rodents, such as moles, create underground sinkholes, tripping hazards, and subsiding graves.

Crows and birds are attracted to gravesites by bird baths, bird houses, and shiny objects. Bird feces are acidic and cause damage to stone items. Birds may take small shiny gravegoods to their nests. Birds and other animals are unwelcome guests in a cemetery.

In situations involving animals, the best course for prevention is maintaining the cemetery grounds and always looking before attempting to move any items. Another small action that can be taken by families or grounds keepers is to empty out any standing water from gravegoods after rain. Cemetery workers should be cautious when using chemicals to deter pests as they

are toxic to people and wildlife. These same chemicals can also damage gravestones and gravegoods.

**Vegetation**. "Preservation Brief 48" addresses vegetation. This brief expands upon this information for Deep East Texas.

Plants are often left unattended for long periods of time in historic cemeteries. These plants can cause damage if they are left unchecked.

The Deep East Texas region includes the Piney Woods. Pine trees are short lived and lose branches easily. Falling trees and branches cause the most damage to gravesite and gravegoods in cemeteries. Heavy winds and rains occur in Deep East Texas during the late spring. Hurricanes are also a threat for half of the year. These forces rip trees up from the ground or break them. Keeping trees at a manageable height, removing dead limbs, and slowly taking down dead trees can help in reducing the damage that they can cause (Figure 14).



Figure 14: Texas experienced a major freeze in February 2021. This freeze caused many downed trees and other damage.

Vined plants can also cause problems. As

they climb onto gravestones and gravegoods, they can wear down the stone and other materials. They may also pull down statues and other types of decorations. Gentle removal of these plants while wearing gloves is the best way to get rid of them. Many herbicides contain salts that may damage gravestones and gravegoods (Figure 15).



Figure 15: Poison ivy growing up the back of a gravemarker in Marshall Hebrew Cemetery in Marshall, Texas.

Some historic vegetation was planted as a form of gravegood, also known as historic vegetation. Rose bushes and crepe myrtles are particularly common in the Southern United States cemeteries. These plants should be gently pruned back to prevent them from overtaking or damaging gravestones.

Flowering plants such as jonquils and irises should be cut back at the end of their

blooming cycle to allow the bulbs to rest. Cutting these plants back will also deter small wildlife from creating a home in them.

#### **Human Threats**

Many people visit cemeteries with good intentions. These people often cause damage accidentally; either by not paying attention where they are walking or by throwing away items they believe to be rubbish. People driving into cemeteries may also run over gravemarkers and gravegoods. Regulations and clearly marked parking



Figure 16: This gate at Sacul Cemetery in Sacul, Texas discourages people from driving directly into the cemetery.

areas can help prevent some of this damage (Figure 16).

Groundskeepers and funeral homes can accidentally damage or destroy gravemarkers and gravegoods by using heavy equipment. A maintenance plan should also be put into place by the management boards of the cemetery. Using proper equipment will prevent damage to gravestones and gravegoods. Maintenance crews must be taught what to be aware of. This is especially important in small rural areas of Deep East Texas. Flagging tape is a useful tool for marking items that are low to the ground as it is visible from machines without leaving any kind of residue or damage to gravegoods.

Vandals may break gravemarkers and destroy or steal gravegoods. Not all vandalism can be prevented. Nevertheless, it is possible to prevent some damages by having a tall, sturdy locked fence. Lights and game cameras can also be used as a deterrent for many would be vandals as they increase the chances of them being caught.

#### Weather

Weather is unpreventable. However, it is possible to be prepared for certain forms of extreme weather. For example, monitoring control burns can prevent them from spreading and getting out of control. This is especially important during dryer months.

Deep East Texas receives many types of extreme weather — including floods, hurricanes, tornadoes, thunderstorms, droughts, freezing temperatures, and occasional wildfires. Unfortunately, this means that the only way to move forward is to be prepared to remediate damages and save what can be saved. Creating and keeping a record of gravesites and their gravegoods will, at the very least, preserve a record of what existed at one time.

## **Gravegood Management**

Gravegoods should be documented with their corresponding gravestones. When this is done, then there is a record of them even if there has been irreparable damage occurs.

When managing and preserving gravegoods, there must be attention paid to detail. The best methods for preserving individual artifacts are determined by what material they are made of and their age. There are, however, some general preservation actions that should take place with any gravegoods.

There are many resources that can be consulted when taking care of individual gravegoods. The National Park Service, the Canadian Conservation Institute, and the Northeast Document Conservation Center all have resources for conservation best practices.

Cemetery managers and visitors should be aware of where they are walking in order to prevent stepping on any gravegoods that have sunken into the ground (Figure 17).

Gentle handling is necessary for many of these gravegoods, as well. The condition of these gravegoods may be fragile. Maintenance crews and volunteers should be careful not to cause further damage to these items.

Finally, abstain from using chemical cleaners that are not approved for the objects being cleaned. Using such chemicals can cause irreparable damage both to gravegoods and gravestones that may not be repairable. At the worst, it may completely destroy these artifacts.

Caring for Cups, Pitchers, Vases, and Other Glass and Porcelain Gravegoods.



Figure 17: A glass gravegood at New Canaan Cemetery in Marshall, Texas. It was heavily covered by organic debris.

The first thing that must be recognized is that these materials are fragile. They are prone to breaking and chipping even with the gentlest care. Wearing a good pair of gloves is an excellent way to prevent injury to the handler.

As mentioned previously, be aware of where you are walking (Figure 18). In many instances, these glass and porcelain items are smaller or have fallen over on the ground. Stepping on them creates further damage and can be a hazard to anyone moving around without proper footwear as well as dangerous to any wildlife.

Secondly, the gravegoods should be visually inspected for sharp edges, small animals being inside, and various insects and spiders. If possible, lift them gently from the ground, empty out any liquid or dirt that has accumulated inside, and dust them off before setting them upright at the

appropriate gravesite.

#### Caring for Statues and Figurines. Statues



Figure 18: The rim and handle of a green glass pitcher in Old Mount Gillion Cemetery in Nacogdoches, Texas. The leaf and pine litter around it made it difficult to see.

and figurines are a common sight at many graves. Many of these statues and figures depict religious symbols such as the Virgin Mary or Jesus (Figure 19). Others are objects of meaning for the family. These gravegoods are usually made of concrete or stone, making them possibly heavy.

It is best not to attempt to repair these items with concrete or other common masonry materials. Concrete of a different or incorrect type may cause further damage as it expands and contracts with air temperature changes throughout the year. This leads to cracking and further breakage.

Some broken statues will require professional care to repair. Attempting to piece statues or figurines back together requires specific care regarding gluing



Figure 19: A painted stone statue depicting Jesus praying at Meador Cemetery in Jacksonville, Texas.

materials. It is often better to gently clean these with water and place them back near their respective gravesites. If the item is something that absolutely must be repaired, consult a conservationist who has experience in restoring these kinds of items.

Caring for Metal Gravegoods. One of the important things about metal gravegoods is identifying the type of metal the object is made of. Some of these items may be made of steel, iron, or even bronze. The specific composition of these metals will affect the types of preservation work that need to be done. Weather and other natural factors will also need to be taken into consideration.

Iron is a very common gravegood material. Iron rusts easily in the Deep East Texas climate as the weather is often warm and damp. This oxidation causes rust. Rust may be gently removed by sanding and gentle

cleaning with water. Heavy duty cleaners should not be used as they may exacerbate the problem.

Bronze statues may be cleaned with water and a gentle non-ionic soap. The metal should also be rewaxed. If they have had a protective coating on them in the past, it may be possible to see where this is worn down. In such a case, it would be best to consult an expert in how to move forward. If it is a small statue, it may be possible to clean all sides of it. If it is large, it may require assistance for cleaning.

Caring for Plastic Gravegoods. Plastic is prone to fading and chipping. Cleaning with gentle cleaners and setting back into place while removing any broken or damaged pieces is often the best way to handle these items.

Caring for Wooden Gravegoods. If wood is not sealed before it is used, then it can be difficult to preserve. It may have biological growths or rot. However, it is important not to attempt to seal wooden items that have been previously exposed to the elements as water may remain inside of the wood causing more damage.

Unfortunately, due to the nature of wood and the moist humid air of Deep East Texas, many wooden gravegoods are destroyed by rot (Figure 20). Many of these are in poor shape due to exposure to the elements. It can become an issue of how far to take preservation. It can do further damage to repaint or add new materials to these gravegoods. Some families may choose to replace damaged or old wooden gravegoods.

**Vegetation**. Rose bushes, crepe myrtles, andirises are common plants that can be

seen in cemeteries. Annuals have to be



Figure 20: A wooden cross at a grave at Shiloh Cemetery in San Augustine County, Texas. It is faded.

replanted almost every year. Cutting them back after they have bloomed will prevent them from becoming overgrown and damaging gravemarkers or other gravegoods.

Rose bushes and crepe myrtles require regular pruning. These kinds of plants can quickly overtake gravestones and gravegoods when left unattended. However, it is important not to kill or fully remove these plants from cemeteries as they are often intended to serve as memorials and are both gravegood and gravemarker (Figure 21).

#### Conclusion

There are many different types of gravegoods in the Deep East Texas region. These gravegoods required various levels of preservation. Keeping safety and education in mind, it is possible for almost everyone to do something, even if it is just being aware of where they are walking.

Documenting gravegoods, including pictures, helps cemetery managers ensure the gravegoods are identified and to track



Figure 21: Though not necessarily intentional, this little pine tree is overtaking this gravemarker and gravegood because it has not been trimmed back properly or removed. This is at Attoyac Cemetery in San Augustine, Texas.

any conservation work and replacements. The goal is to preserve these gravegoods for the artifacts that they are; objects that give a glimpse into the culture and traditions of the communities in which they are found.

#### **Additional Resources**

Barclay, Robert L., Carole Dingard, and

Lyndsie Selwyn. "Caring for Metal Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, March 16, 2021.

Clavir, Miriam and John Moses. "Caring for Sacred and Culturally Sensitive Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, September 10, 2018.

Fenn, Julia and R. Scott Williams. "Caring for Plastics and Rubbers." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage July 16, 2020.

Gaudette, Paul and Deborah Slaton.

"Preservation Brief 15: Preservation of Historic Concrete," *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, 2007.

Hartin, Debra Daly, Wendy Baker, Robert Barclay, and George Prytulak. "Caring for Outdoor Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage, July 21, 2020.

Kaplan, Marilyn E., Marie Ennis, and Edmund P. Meade. "Masonry #4: Nondestructive Evaluation Techniques for Masonry Construction." *Preservation Tech Notes*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 1997. Logan, Judith A. and Tara Grant. "Caring for Ceramic and Glass Objects." *Preventative Conservation Guidelines for Collections*. Ottawa, ON: Canadian Conservation Institute, Department of Canadian Heritage December 14, 2018.

Park, Sharon C. "Exterior Woodwork #1: Proper Painting and Surface Preparation." *Preservation Tech Notes.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, May 1986.

Pieper, Richard. "The Maintenance, Repair and Replacement of Historic Cast Stone." *Technical Preservation Series.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 2001.

Powers, Robert M. "Masonry #1: Substitute Materials: Replacing Deteriorated Serpentine Stone and Pre-Cast Concrete." *Preservation Tech Notes.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior April 1988.

Sheetz, Ron and Charles Fisher. "Exterior Woodwork #4: Protecting Woodwork Against Decay Using Borate Preservatives." *Preservation Tech Notes.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, October 1993.

Strangstad, Lynette. *A Graveyard Preservation Primer*. 2nd ed. Lanham,
MD: AltaMira Press, 2013.

Striegel, Mary F., Frances Gale, Jason Church, and Debbie Dietrich-Smith.

"Preservation Brief 48: Preserving Grave Markers in Historic Cemeteries." *Technical Preservation Series*. Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, September 2016.

Weaver, Martin E. "Preservation Brief 38: Removing Graffiti from Historic Masonry." *Technical Preservation Series.* Washington, DC: National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, October 1995.

**VITA** 

After completing her work at Wells High School, Wells, Texas, in 2013, Mary

Elizabeth Tucker entered Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas. In 2014, she

transferred to Stephen F. Austin State University, Nacogdoches, Texas. She received the

degree Bachelor of Arts from Stephen F. Austin State University in December 2016.

During the following two years, she was employed as a teacher at Wells I.S.D. and Rusk

I.S.D. In September 2018, she entered the Graduate School at Stephen F. Austin State

University and received the degree of Master of Arts in August of 2020.

Permanent Address: 2995 County Road 890

Cushing, TX 75760

Chicago Manuel of Style 8th edition.

This thesis was typed by Mary E. Tucker.

113