

Copyright

by

James Michael Davidson

2004

The Dissertation Committee for James Michael Davidson

Certifies that this is the approved version of the following dissertation:

MEDIATING RACE AND CLASS THROUGH THE DEATH EXPERIENCE: POWER
RELATIONS AND RESISTANCE STRATEGIES OF AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITY, DALLAS, TEXAS (1869-1907)

Committee:

Maria Franklin, Supervisor

Samuel Wilson

James R. Denbow

Steven Hoelscher

Robert C. Mainfort

MEDIATING RACE AND CLASS THROUGH THE DEATH EXPERIENCE: POWER
RELATIONS AND RESISTANCE STRATEGIES OF AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITY, DALLAS, TEXAS (1869-1907)

by

James Michael Davidson, B.A., M.A.

Dissertation

Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of

the University of Texas at Austin

in Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements

for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Texas at Austin

August 2004

This work is dedicated to the 1,157.



Unknown girl, late nineteenth century, Dallas, Texas.

Acknowledgments

This work is at least in part, a culmination of the last 12 years of my life. I was “hired on” in Dallas at the Freedman’s Cemetery Archaeological Project on March 10, 1992. I was 24 years old. A temporary job, taken on a lark at the suggestion of friend, has proven to be my life’s work (at least up to this point), for in a very real sense, I have never left.

Because of the length of time involved here, there are many people who must be acknowledged. Many of the same individuals thanked in my masters thesis from the University of Arkansas (Davidson 1999a), must again be recognized here, since this work has directly evolved out of my thesis. Of course, my parents are still my parents, and arguably, to them I owe everything. When I was quite young, my mother gave me a love of reading, and I learned kindness mainly through her example. Certainly much of the trajectory and character of my life can ultimately be traced to my father. It was he who imparted rare knowledge to me at a very young age. By the time I started kindergarten I could play a passably good game of chess, sketch a schematic of an electromagnet, and recite Kipling’s “Law of the Jungle” and “Danny Deever” from memory. In the same breath as my parents, I would also like to acknowledge a personal debt of gratitude I owe to the late W. L. Sibley, a very close friend of my family since circa 1940. Having known W. L. since birth, he was literally like a second father to me. He encouraged me in my early pursuits of poetry (and literature in general), and at critical times in my life, gave me words of advice that I still hold dear today. “Van Du Unc, Tuc’wa.” Farewell, old Friend.

I gratefully acknowledge the Texas Department of Transportation for their full support and funding of the Freedman's Project, and for allowing the graves to be exhumed archaeologically instead of by mechanical removal (as was proposed early on in the process). As to the personnel on the Freedman's Cemetery Project (1991-1995), those I owe the heaviest debt are Keith and Cindy Condon. Cindy served as the Principal Investigator of Physical Anthropology for the Freedman's Cemetery Project from its inception to the close of excavations in 1994. Dr. Keith Condon, then a professor at UT Southwestern Medical School, trained all of the field archaeologists in excavation procedures, performed all of the dental analyses, and oversaw the preliminary write up of the technical report in 1994 and 1995. Together, Keith and Cindy formulated all of the protocols and paperwork utilized for the Freedman's Project, both field and laboratory. Of course, the Freedman's crew members did an excellent job at an often times difficult task. The quality of the data is a testament to their good work. Specifically, I would like to thank my friends and fellow Freedman's alumni – Joy Becker, Victoria Owens, Dan Kysar, and Rolando L. Garza, for their support. In fact, it was Rolando who in the winter of 1991, suggested that I apply for a job at Freedman's Cemetery; a suggestion, in retrospect, I'm glad I followed.

The staff of the J. Erik Jonsson Central Library (the main branch of the Dallas Public Library), in the Texas History, Genealogy and United States Patent Office departments were patient and ever helpful. I spent many weeks utilizing their records. I would also like to thank Cindy Smolovik and staff at the Dallas City Hall Records Department, as well as Paula Stevens, at the Dallas County Administration Building. I

could not have accomplished what I did with the archival record, without access to the materials provided by you and your staff. In the same vein, I would also like to thank Melba Westbrook and the staff of the Sparkman-Hillcrest Funeral home, for allowing me access to the George Washington Loudermilk daybooks and other records. Research was also conducted at the Library of Congress, the University of Delaware special collections library, and the Hagley and Winterthur Museums (Delaware). These institutions held a wealth of information on the funeral industry of the 19th century, and without access to these rare coffin and coffin hardware catalogues I simply could not have created the Freedman's burial chronology for my masters thesis, or identified and assigned wholesale costs to the coffin hardware recovered from Freedman's Cemetery for this dissertation.

As to the Dallas community at large, I would like to personally thank the descendants, and specifically Donald Payton, Dr. Robert Prince, and the late Dr. Emerson Emory (Dr. Emory died January 28, 2003). These three good men often came by the cemetery while excavations were ongoing, to offer insight and encouragement. I would especially like to thank Dr. Prince, for his unflinching support of the original Freedman's project, and for his published history of Black Dallas (1993).

My graduate work at the University of Arkansas was supported by many people, but especially my advisor and committee members; Dr. Robert C. Mainfort (chair), Dr. Jerry Rose and Dr. George Sabo. Additionally, friends at the Arkansas Archeological Survey must be thanked – Lela Donat, Jerry Hilliard, Randy Guendling, and Mary Kwas. Of my fellow grad students, I would especially like to thank Jamie Brandon, a close friend whom I met during my time in the masters program at the University of Arkansas,

who was also a colleague and fellow Ph.D. student at the University of Texas at Austin. We have shared many interests and research projects over the past 7 years, and together engineered two archaeological field schools (2001 at the Van Winkle Saw Mill site in Arkansas, and 2002 at the Cole House on Juliette Street in downtown Dallas).

Dr. Maria Franklin, my graduate advisor at the University of Texas, aided me in many ways, and in our years together provided me with a thorough grounding in the history and theoretical issues of the Africa Diaspora. She has always looked out for my best interests, put up with my semi-reclusive ways, and has been a good friend in the process. My doctoral committee members – Sam Wilson, James Denbow, Stephen Hoelscher, and Robert Mainfort (at the University of Arkansas) – taught me a great deal through their courses, and for this alone I owe them thanks. Their service on my doctoral committee was exemplary, and much appreciated. My wife’s parents, Jim and Kriste Rees, supported the two of us in many ways, not the least of which by feeding us innumerable suppers over the past two years.

Finally, I would like to thank my bride, Lydia Iris Rees, who married me (May 31, 2003), just as I was beginning the last big push to finalize my data and write my dissertation. Even as she assisted me materially by digitizing many of the figures in this work, Lydia also put up with a great deal of my idiosyncrasies. Towards the end of this process I became essentially nocturnal (a habit learned in youth, from my father); I would often begin writing about ten at night, ending only after morning’s light. My at times rather unorthodox “writing regimen” was not exactly encouraged, but was always, somehow, understood by her; “And now good morrowto our waking souls.”

MEDIATING RACE AND CLASS THROUGH THE DEATH EXPERIENCE: POWER
RELATIONS AND RESISTANCE STRATEGIES OF AN AFRICAN-AMERICAN
COMMUNITY, DALLAS, TEXAS (1869-1907)

Publication No. _____

James Michael Davidson, Ph.D.

The University of Texas at Austin, 2004

Supervisor, Maria Franklin

African-Americans in Dallas, Texas of the 19th and early 20th centuries had to mediate such massive societal structures as race and class. Although numerous survival strategies were likely at play within Dallas's African-American community, the primary framing device of this work is the death experience. In particular, two aspects are examined; economic advancement gauged through consumerism and expressed through elaborate mortuary display (e.g., mass produced coffin hardware) and spirituality, as measured through the retention of community derived "vernacular" belief systems. These aspects of the total burial complex are simultaneously complimentary and opposite, and can be viewed within W.E.B. Dubois's concept of "double consciousness." The means by which this analysis is achieved is through the Freedman's Cemetery Archaeological Project, which was an interdisciplinary study conducted in Dallas, Texas,

in the early 1990s. This project was the largest historic cemetery removal project, to be treated archaeologically, ever conducted in the United States. Its focus was Freedman's Cemetery, the primary place of burial for the African-American community of Dallas between 1869 and 1907. The first measure examined is elaborate mortuary display in the form of coffin hardware, which can be viewed as an expression of the desire for equality. Such behavior is resistant to the dominant ideology (which believed African-Americans to be racially and economically inferior), but it is a resistance that is carried out within the dominant system. The second measure is the vernacular, an alternative set of symbols that stood at times in opposition to the dominant society's mass produced coffin trimmings and wealth display, and expressed an internal set of beliefs considered to be traditional within African-American society. These vernacular folk traditions involved placing material objects within a coffin or the grave shaft, including plates, bottles (primarily medicinal), spoons, and other objects that potentially would have been handled by the person immediately prior to death. Ultimately what is examined is the push/pull of the African-American community of Dallas, on the one hand fighting against the stereotype applied to them by whites through economic advancement and consumerism, while simultaneously struggling against the loss of a unique cultural identity.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables	xiv
List of Figures	xvii
Chapter 1: Introduction	
Introduction	1
The Freedman’s Cemetery Project	3
Historical Background of Race in Dallas	12
Consumerism and Spirituality in the Death Experience: Resistance Strategies from Within and Outside of the Dominant Ideology	31
Closing Remarks	39
Chapter 2: The Cultural Landscape of Dallas’s Cemeteries (circa 1841-1970)	
Introduction	41
The Communal Period (1841-1855)	44
The Early Municipal Period (1856-1872)	52
Enslavement and Emancipation	56
Post Reconstruction to the Beginnings of “Jim Crow” (1873-1901)	63
From Jim Crow Days to the Civil Rights Period (1901-1970)	72
Chapter 3: Social Identity and Social Death	
Mortuary Theory: The Search for Status	101
Treatment of the Dead during Enslavement in Africa and the Middle Passage	109
Treatment of enslaved African and African-American Deaths in the Americas	
Early treatment of the Dead: Caribbean Burial Practices	110
Treatment of the Dead in Pre-Emancipation United States	112
The National Beautification of Death Movement	118
The Death Experience as Resistance	124
Mitigating Factors affecting Mortuary Displays	
The Ability to Control for Time: the Freedman’s Burial Chronology	128
Other Mitigating Factors	130

A Desire for Elaboration	131
Ability to Manufacture Goods	132
Availability/Logistics of These Goods	134
Local Source of Availability (rise of the profession of undertaking)	134
Ability to Purchase Goods (Socioeconomics)	142
Chapter 4: “To Provide A Proper Burial”:	
An economic study of the Freedman’s Cemetery Burials	
Resistance Strategies from within the Dominant Ideology:	
Economic Advancement and Consumerism	143
Gauging Economics: An Introduction	
Previous Socioeconomic Studies in Historical Archaeology	155
Previous Socioeconomic Analyses of Historical Mortuary Data	157
Mitigating Factors for Economic Study of Historical Burials	170
Burial Insurance	171
Denial of traditional Life Insurance and the rise of Fraternal Order/Secret Societies	173
History of Fraternal Orders in Dallas	176
Fraternal Burial Insurance in the Day Books	185
Evidence of Fraternal Insurance in G. W. Loudermilk Records	192
Evidence of Fraternal Insurance in Peoples Undertaking Co Records	197
Fraternal Order Evidence from the Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery	200
Fraternal Society/Mutual Aid Insurance Membership	
Costs and Funeral Benefits	203
“Out of Pocket” Payment for Funeral Expenses	209
Burial Expenses undertaken by private individuals not related to the family	212
Indigent Burials: Expenses undertaken by the city or county of Dallas	215
Wealth Display expended upon a funeral not accounted for in the Archaeological Record	223
Preservation/Taphonomic Factors	226
Comparatives to Freedman’s Cemetery Economic Analysis	229
Calculating Coffin Hardware Costs: Methods	230
Discussion of Cost Analysis	233
Age as a Factor in Elaborate Mortuary Display	246
Cost Trend Comparisons between the Archaeological and Archival	262
Intersite Cost Comparisons	267
Conclusions	275

Chapter 5: The Socioreligious realm: Spirituality as Resistance	
Introduction	279
African Burial Practices	282
Vernacular Surface Decorations	285
Grave Inclusions: an Historical Overview	294
Rationale for placing objects in the coffin with the deceased	295
Grave Inclusions at Freedman’s and other historic cemeteries	297
Grave Inclusion Analysis	329
Ceramic vessels in Graves: Plates, etc.	339
Bottles in the Graves	345
Unmodified Coins in the Graves	350
Cost Analysis of Burials with Core Elements of Spirituality	360
Chapter 6: Conclusions	376
Appendix A: Coffin Hardware Primer and Nomenclature	394
Appendix B: Calculating the Cost for the Freedman’s Coffin Hardware	430
Appendix C: Amended Freedman’s Cemetery mortuary hardware database	480
Appendix D: Freedman’s Cemetery mortuary hardware database with Estimated Wholesale Hardware Costs	589
Appendix E: Freedman’s Cemetery Personal Effects/Grave Inclusions Database	734
Appendix F: G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907)	799
Appendix G: Peoples Undertaking Co Day Book (1907-1910)	821
Appendix H: Ed C. Smith Funeral Home Day Books	898
Bibliography	908
Vita	943

LIST OF TABLES

Chapter 1

1-1	Examples of other African-American Cemeteries investigated archaeologically	10
1-2	Key Events in Dallas, Texas that affected African-Americans	16
1-3	Examples of Assaults In Dallas County Against Freedmen during Reconstruction (1865 through 1868)	21
1-4	Hangings/Lynchings of African-Americans in Dallas (1853 - 1910)	25

Chapter 3

3-1	Coffin Hardware Catalogue elaboration through time (by # of pages)	123
3-2	Incremental Control over the Dead within Dallas's African American Community	132

Chapter 4

4-1	Selected Listing of Previous Historic Cemetery Excavations	158
4-2	All Known African-American Fraternal and Sororital Orders in Dallas (1876-1910)	180
4-3	Earliest Known Entries of African-American Funerals in a Dallas Funeral Home Day Book (Ed C. Smith: 1883-1884)	186
4-4	All Known Entries of African-American Funerals in Ed C. Smith Day Book No 3 (1887)	189
4-5	Earliest <i>known</i> entries for African-American Fraternal Order or Burial Society Funerals in the Ed C. Smith Day Books	191
4-6	All Funerals with Burial Insurance noted in G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907)	193
4-7	Costs of Dallas's African-American Funerals with and without Burial Insurance in the Archival Record	197
4-8	Burial Insurance for all Men with known ages at death (Peoples Undertaking Co: 1907-1910)	199
4-9	All Burials with Evidence of an association with a Fraternal or Sororital Order	201
4-10	Schedule of Monthly Payments in Knights of Pythias Lodge, 1905	205

4-11	Weekly Payments and Benefits of the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co., Richmond, VA (1906)	207
4-12	Loudermilk Funerals paid for in cash, at the time of the funeral event (1902-1907)	210
4-13	Source of Burial Expenses (i.e., race) paid to G. W. Loudermilk (1902-1907)	213
4-14	Kinds of goods or services available from a funeral home (circa 1907)	223
4-15	Comparison of costs for Coffins (hex boxes) and Caskets (rect boxes)	227
4-16	Summary of Mortuary Hardware Costs (Wholesale)	234
4-17	Rate of Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove, without any associated coffin hardware	244
4-18	Summary of Estimated wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Subadults	247
4-19	Summary of Estimated wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Adult Women	248
4-20	Summary of Estimated wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Adult Men	250
4-21	Total Funeral Costs for All Adult Women with known ages at death (18 and older)	263
4-22	Total Funeral Costs for All Adult Men with known ages at death (20 and older)	264
Chapter 5		
5-1	All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery Early Period (1869-1884)	299
5-2	All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery Middle Period (1885-1899)	301
5-3	All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery “Pre-1900” Period (1869-1899)	303
5-4	All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery Late Period (1900-1907)	304
5-5	Artifacts from Freedman’s Cemetery Representing Core Elements of Spirituality (see text for sources)	312
5-6	All Grave Inclusions at Freedman’s Cemetery with Interpretative Categories	313
5-7	Burials Associated with Pierced Coin Charms at Freedman’s Cemetery (N=15)	320

5-8	All Historic Cemetery Excavations examined for Evidence of Grave Inclusions (N=45)*	323
5-9	Historic Cemetery Excavations with Grave Inclusions (N=23)	332
5-10	All Historic Cemetery Excavations with Grave Inclusions representing “Core Elements of Spirituality” (N=20)	334
5-11	All Burials associated with Plates, Saucers, and shallow bowls	337
5-12	All Burials associated with Bottles	347
5-13	All Burials associated with unmodified coins	351
5-14	All Burials associated with a single Shoe on the lid or in coffin	357
5-15	All Other Forms of Graves Inclusions at Other Cemeteries	358
5-16	Costs of Middle Period Burials with Grave Inclusions expressing Core Beliefs	365
5-17	Costs of Late Period Burials with Core symbols of Vernacular Grave Inclusions	367
5-18	Wholesale Coffin Costs for Late Period Burials with “Personal Effects”* (see Figure 5-5)	370
Chapter 6		
6-1	Major Black Occupation Categories in Dallas, Texas	378
6-2	All Known or Presumed Black Owned Businesses	379

LIST OF FIGURES

Chapter 1

- 1-1 Freedman's Memorial Park marker, erected on site by Dallas Parks Department, after the cemetery's conversion to a city park 4
- 1-2 Extent of excavations at Freedman's Cemetery 5

Chapter 2

- 2-1 Location of Dallas's principal 19th century cemeteries 45
- 2-2 Freedman's Cemetery, shown here as the "colored cemetery," in relationship to adjacent cemeteries 64

Chapter 3

- 3-1 Number of Patents issued by the U. S. Patent Office for Coffins, Caskets, and Associated Hardware 122
- 3-2 Average size of Coffin and Coffin hardware catalogues by decade 123

Chapter 4

- 4-1 Summary of Adult Funeral Costs for African-Americans in G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907) 196
- 4-2 Summary of Total Funeral Costs for all African-Americans in the Peoples Undertaking Co Day Book (1907-1910) 198
- 4-3 Source of Cash Payments for African-American Funerals performed by Loudermilk Funeral Home (1902-1907) 211
- 4-4 Racial Identity of Individuals paying for African-American funerals at G. W. Loudermilk Funeral Home (1902-1907) 214
- 4-5 Comparison of Casket Costs to Total Cost of Funeral (Peoples Undertaking Co; 1907-1910) 224
- 4-6 Cost of the Coffin/Casket as a percentage of the total cost of the Funeral (Loudermilk Day Books; 1902-1907) 225
- 4-7 Average Mortuary Hardware Costs in Freedman's Cemetery (Early, Middle Late Periods) and Cedar Grove Cemetery 235
- 4-8 Rate of Graves exhibiting Vaulting at Freedman's Cemetery (by Time Period) 237
- 4-9 Percentage of Burials without any coffin hardware 245

4-10	Freedman's Cemetery Subadult Hardware Costs by Time Period and Age at Death Cohorts	251
4-11	Adult Women's Average Hardware Costs by Age at Death Cohorts	252
4-12	Adult Men's Average Hardware Costs by Age at Death Cohorts	252
4-13	Comparison of Subadult Hardware Costs at Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove	253
4-14	Late Period Average Hardware Costs by Sex and Age at Death	258
4-15	Summary of Late Period Men's Mortuary Hardware Costs, with and without evidence for Fraternal Order Association (1900-1907)	261
4-16	Average Funeral Costs for Black women in Dallas, TX (1902-1910)	262
4-17	Average Funeral costs for Black men in Dallas, TX (1902-1910)	263
4-18	Average Coffin Hardware Costs at Freedman's Cemetery Late Period and two contemporary cemeteries	270
4-19	Coffin Hardware Costs at Freedman's Cemetery Middle Period and other cemeteries	271
4-20	Estimated wholesale costs of coffin hardware and tombstones for the Eddy and Becky Wright Cemeteries (Davidson 2004c)	276
Chapter 5		
5-1	Rates of Burials Associated with all Grave Inclusions at Freedman's Cemetery, Dallas, Texas (excludes clothing or jewelry elements)	361
5-2	Rates of Grave Inclusions associated with "Core Elements of Spirituality" at Freedman's Cemetery (by time period)	363
5-3	Average coffin hardware costs of Middle Period Burials (1885-1899) with Grave Inclusions representing Core Symbols of Spirituality	366
5-4	Average coffin hardware costs of Late Period Burials (1900-1907) with Grave Inclusions representing Core Symbols of Spirituality	367
5-5	Average Hardware Costs for Late Period Burials with and without "Personal Effects" (see Table 5-18)	370
Chapter 6		
6-1	Comparison of Mortuary costs for women with and without Osteo- arthritis (DJD) in the Shoulder/Elbow during the Late Period (1900-1907)	380

6-2	Comparison of Mortuary Costs for adult women with and without Osteoarthritis (DJD) in the Lumbar Vertebrae during the Late Period (1900-1907)	381
6-3	Comparison of Average Mortuary Hardware Cost between Burials with and without Dental Work in the Late Period (1900-1907)	382
6-4	Overall Funeral Costs for African-Americans between Cemeteries and Funeral Homes in Dallas Texas, 1902-1910	389
6-5	Comparison of Burial Costs with and without Perforated Coin Charms in the Late Period (1900-1907), Freedman's Cemetery, Dallas, TX	391

“The right of life carries with it the right to the means of living, and all statutes or efforts that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong and unjust and under advancing civilization must give way and let truth and equity prevail”

(from the Declaration of Aims of the “Colored Non-Partisan Club” in Dallas, formed to preserve and promote the necessity of responsible voting)
(Dallas *Daily Times Herald* March 27, 1891)

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

In this dissertation I will examine how African-Americans in Dallas of the 19th and early 20th centuries mediated such massive societal structures as race and class through the death experience, which in the sense of how survivors treated the dead, creates in an abstract form a summation of each individual’s life. The means by which I will achieve this view is through data derived from the Freedman’s Cemetery Archaeological Project, an interdisciplinary study conducted in Dallas, Texas, in the early 1990s. This study was the largest historic cemetery removal project, to be treated archaeologically, ever conducted in the United States. Its focus was Freedman’s Cemetery, the principal burial ground for the African-American community of Dallas between 1869 and 1907, a critical period spanning the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras (Condon et al. 1998; Davidson 1999a; Peters et al. 2000).

While satisfying a basic human need, elaborate mortuary display at Freedman’s Cemetery, in the form of coffin hardware, can also be seen as an expression of the desire for mainstream, middle class life, and aspirations of equality, i.e., individual and

community salvation through consumerism, as in the work of Paul Mullins (1999a). Such behavior is actually resistant to the dominant ideology (which believed African-Americans to be racially and thus economically inferior), but it is a resistance that is carried out within the dominant system. Certainly Dallas's African-American community made great strides economically after the Civil War, forming the nucleus of a small and vibrant middle class.

However, even as some elements of Dallas's African-American community were buying into the middle class dream, in part as expressed through elaborate funerals for their deceased loved ones, there was another level of behavior that was spiritually based and that was definitely not contained within the American (read "white") mainstream. This religious spirituality was a creolization of both African and African-American derived cultural traditions. This behavior was actually resistive to and outside of the dominant ideology, and found material expression through grave inclusions and unique methods of marking the surfaces of graves.

These aspects of the total burial complex are simultaneously complimentary and opposite, and both can be viewed within the concept of "double consciousness" formulated by W.E.B. Dubois in his seminal 1903 work, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1996:364-365):

...the Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world, – a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, – an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being

torn asunder.

Ultimately what will be examined in this dissertation is the push/pull of the African-American community of Dallas, on the one hand fighting against the stereotype applied to them by whites through economic advancement and consumerism, while simultaneously struggling against the loss of a unique cultural identity.

The Freedman's Cemetery Project

The Freedman's Cemetery Project was necessitated by the expansion of North Central Expressway (U.S. Highway 75) through downtown Dallas, which was in the planning stages in the 1980s. In December 1985, during a routine pedestrian cultural resources survey along North Central's right of way, a Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT) archaeologist discovered an unusual city park with a large concrete sign that read (in part), "Freedman's Memorial Park, A Public Cemetery" (Figure 1-1).

While plans for the widening of North Central Expressway were being formalized, the Southland Corporation had already broken ground on what was to become their new corporate headquarters, City Place Tower. Originally conceived as two twin towers, connected over North Central Expressway by means of an elevated causeway, only the single tower, along the eastern side of North Central, actually was constructed (Dooley 1988:19, 22-23).

Due to an error in planning, however, City Place Tower was built approximately 15 feet too close to the existing roadways of North Central Expressway, even though



Figure 1-1 “Freedman’s Memorial Park” marker, erected on site by the Dallas Parks Department after the cemetery’s conversion to a city park in 1965.

plans were already in place for the expressway’s expansion to the east. Due to this error, and the impossibly high cost of razing the newly constructed 40 story structure, the needed right-of-way was forced to shift to the west. This meant intruding into the portion of Freedman’s Cemetery converted into a city park. Later research revealed that previous highway building efforts undertaken in the 1940s had paved over nearly an acre of the cemetery (Davidson 1999a). It should be noted that at the time of TxDOT’s initial cultural resources assessment the actual four acre extent of Freedman’s Cemetery had yet to be established (McMillan 1991)

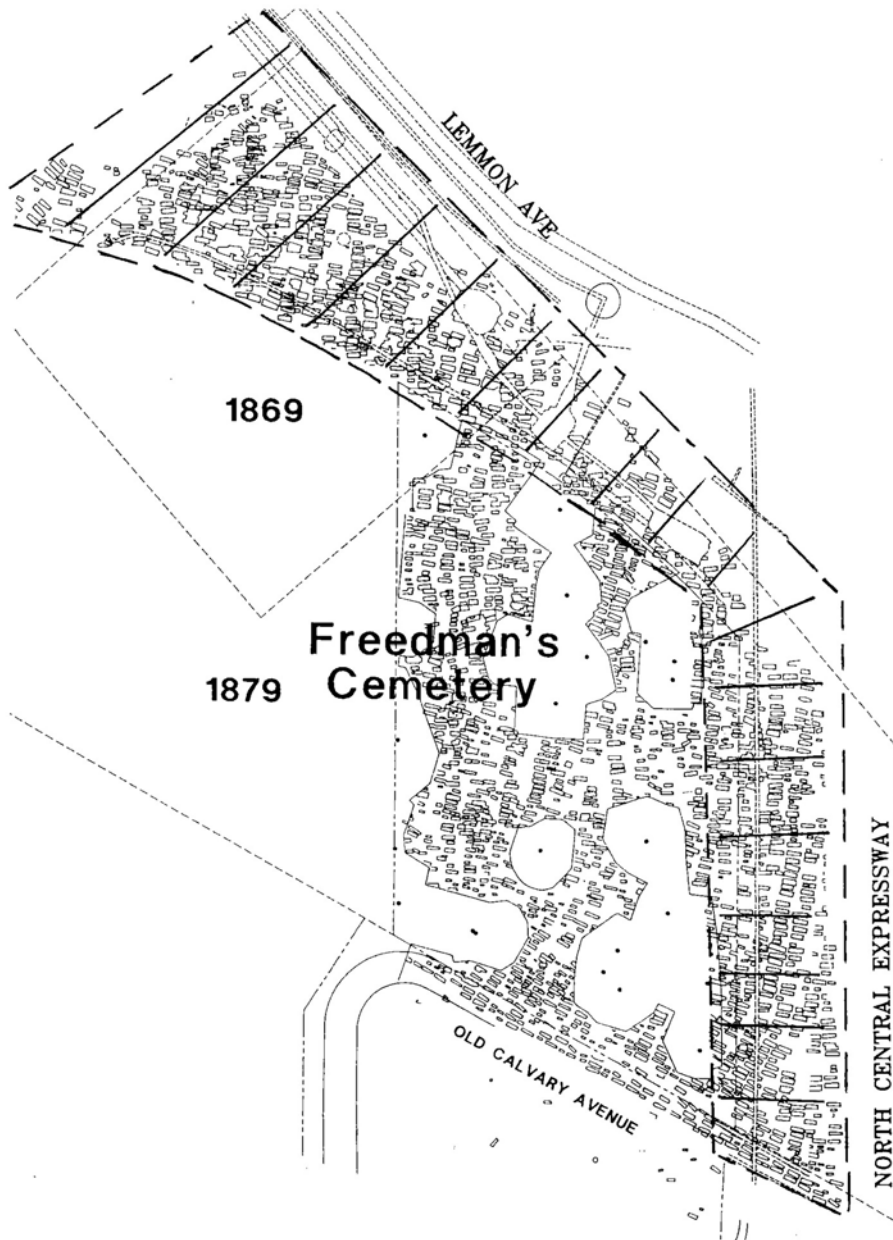


Figure 1-2 Extent of excavations at Freedman's Cemetery (outlined in heavy, dotted line)

The discovery of Freedman's Cemetery and the dawning realization that the highway expansion would severely impact it, initiated the interaction of several entities on the local, state, and federal levels, as well as private individuals. Interested parties included TxDOT, the City of Dallas (initially through the Dallas Park Board), Black Dallas Remembered, Inc. (the local Black historical society), the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association, the FDIC, Southland Corporation (the parent company of 7-11), and various community members including those who claimed to be descendants of individuals interred at Freedman's Cemetery (e.g., Dr. Robert Prince, Dr. Emerson Emory, and Donald Payton).

To mitigate the effects of highway expansion, the Freedman's Cemetery Archaeological Project was formed by TxDOT. Between November 1991 and August 1994, excavations within Freedman's Cemetery encompassed nearly an acre (.95 acre) and resulted in the exhumation, documentation, and analysis of 1150 burials (containing the remains of 1157 individuals); – nearly 1200 men, women, and children who had lived and died a century ago (Condon et al. 1998). None of the graves were marked with dated tombstones, so the identities as well as the dates of interment for these nearly 1200 individuals were unknown. Formulating the history of the cemetery and the individual burial chronology were crucial first steps in the process of unlocking the potential of the Freedman's data. This chronology was documented in my M. A. thesis (Davidson 1999a), a massive document that set the stage for the present work.

I was one of the first five archaeologists hired to work on the project. When I initially saw the cemetery, on March 10, 1992, its appearance was far from inspiring; it

was part vacant lot and part playground, part construction site and part archaeological excavation. An ugly and at times quite spindly chain link fence had been placed around the property. Several strands of barbed wire had been strung atop this, ostensibly to keep trespassers out. To avoid violating local city laws, however, at the last minute the barbed wire was placed jutting into the compound, not outward, as if to keep the dead, and perhaps the archaeologists, in.

The cemetery was bounded to the north by Lemmon Avenue, a six lane mini-highway, while the frontage road of North Central Expressway skirted its entire east side. The small, two lane Calvary Avenue originally marked the cemetery's southern boundary, but was closed and declared abandoned by the city during the project's early stages. Surrounded by highways, the din of traffic was nearly constant, and at times the stench of automobile exhaust dizzying. Since almost an acre of Freedman's Cemetery lay under existing roadways, the sounds of heavy machinery cutting, pounding, and dropping large concrete blocks were always with us, even as we attempted to exhume the dead of a century ago.

The "living" community of Freedman's Cemetery itself, namely the archaeologists working on the project, occupied three large trailers on property immediately to the south of and contiguous to the cemetery. This land, purchased by the city of Dallas, would later be utilized as reburial space for all of the graves exhumed during the investigation. These three trailers served as our main office, our crew work area and lunch room, and one trailer served as a combined photography studio and human osteology lab. By the end of the project, three more trailers would be added to the

compound. One became the photography lab/studio, while another served as combined storage space for the exhumed burials within their reburial boxes, as well as office space for the project's chief photographer, Suzanne O'Brien. The third trailer was entirely dedicated for storage of reburial boxes containing the transferred grave contents, where they awaited transportation to the morgue facilities at the University of Texas Southwestern Medical School.

The community surrounding the cemetery was a strange mixture of ostentatious new wealth and decrepit urban decay. The gleaming (and still half empty) City Place Tower, headquarters to the Southland Corporation, stood across the Expressway to the northeast, while to the south of Freedman's lay empty lots where houses had once stood. This was the State Thomas Historical District, a portion of the former North Dallas Freedman's Town and the community the cemetery had once served. But the houses were gone, bulldozed away, while the street signs, sidewalks and driveways that lead to nowhere remained. Now these same vacant lots hold quickly built condominiums that charge exorbitant rents. In the best Disneyland fashion, they display facades that attempt (and ultimately fail) to mimic 19th century architectural styles, as if to somehow justify the historical district designation. To the east of Freedman's Cemetery was Roseland Homes, the World War Two era housing project that in its day was labeled progressive, but was in the 1990s called dangerous, drug infested, and in need of the wrecking ball, which came true in 2002 when virtually all of Roseland Homes was razed (Davidson 2004a).

Freedman's Cemetery had originally been composed of four acres. Through a

series of unscrupulous land sales by numerous parties, including the city of Dallas (Davidson 1999a:65-77, 98; see also Chapter 2), this had been whittled down through the years to 1.22 acres. It was this acreage that in 1965 had been simultaneously condemned and transformed by the city council into a city park, complete with playground equipment and picnic tables atop unmarked graves (Davidson 1999a:76).

Oddly, Freedman's Cemetery and the excavations that went on there continuously over the course of three years have either been ignored or slighted by other researchers. In his insightful review article on African-American burial practices, Ross Jamieson (1995) is seemingly unaware of Freedman's Cemetery, though admittedly this is an early piece, written while excavations were ongoing. In a current review of critical race theory and community-based archaeological projects, however, Terrence Epperson (2004) discusses the two First African Baptist Church (FABC) cemetery projects in Philadelphia, as well as the African Burial Ground in New York City, but ignores Freedman's altogether. Neither is the Freedman's Cemetery Project given any mention in Thomas Crist's (2002) essay on mortuary archaeology's relevance to the public, although Crist does detail aspects of "the usual suspects" (i.e., both FABC cemeteries and New York's African Burial Ground). Similarly, J. W. Joseph's review of cultural resource management's (CRM) contribution to our knowledge of African-American archaeology contains a section on cemeteries, which also utterly fails to mention the Freedman's Cemetery Project (Joseph 2004:24).

In his excellent review article on African-American bioarchaeology, Michael Blakey does acknowledge Freedman's Cemetery's existence, but limits his discussion of

Freedman’s to just three lines (Blakey 2001:414), even though the number of individuals exhumed from Freedman’s (N=1157) is essentially equal to the combined number of individuals from the African Burial Ground and 12 other excavations of African-American cemeteries investigated since 1978 (N=1158) (see Table 1-1).

Blakey suggests that the level of analyses of the skeletal material during the Freedman’s Cemetery Project was less than ideal, and: “...far less than was allowed for the African Burial Ground” (Blakey 2001:414).

On the contrary, except for invasive studies involving the destruction of bone (e.g., histological thin section analyses of long bone cortical thickness, or for DNA analysis), which were not performed due to the community’s wishes, the protocols created for – and the resulting data collected from – the Freedman’s osteological analysis used standard osteological methods (e.g., osteometrics, collection of non-metric traits, and extensive odontological analysis) and collected volumes of data (e.g., a minimum 14 page skeletal analysis form; 4 page dental analysis form) on the largest African-American skeletal population yet excavated in North America (Condon et al. 1998). In all, the combined paper documentation for the Freedman’s Project was massive; each burial

Table 1-1: Examples of other African-American Cemeteries investigated archaeologically

	Project	Temporal Range	Location	# of individuals exhumed	Reference
1	African Burial Ground	1720-1794	New York	408	Blakey 2001
2	Oakland Cemetery	1866-1884	Georgia	17	Blakely and Beck 1982
3	First Cemetery (New Orleans)	1721-1789	Louisiana	32	Owsley et al. 1985

4	Catoctin Furnace Cemetery	1790-1840	Maryland	35	Burnston and Thomas 1981
5	First African Baptist Church (8th and Vine)	1823-1842	Pennsylvania	140	Parrington et al. 1989
6	First African Baptist Church (10th and Vine)	1810-1822	Pennsylvania	85	McCarthy 1997
7	Elko Switch Cemetery	1850-1920	Alabama	56	Shogren, et al. 1989
8	Bellwood Farm Cemetery	1840-1900	Virginia	6	Bowden and Blake 2000
9	Spartanburg County, S. C. 38Sp105	1870-1910	South Carolina	15	Joseph et al. 1991
10	Redfield Cemetery	1875-1930	Georgia	80	Braley and Moffat 1995
11	Ridley Cemetery	1885-1940	Tennessee	49	Buchner et al. 1999
12	Cedar Grove Cemetery	1900-1915	Arkansas	80	Rose 1985
13	Sam Goode Cemetery	circa 1850? - 1917	Virginia	155	Joseph et al. 2000
Total Number of Individuals from the 13 cemeteries				1158	
Freedman's Cemetery (all burials)		1869-1907	Texas	1157	Condon et al. 1998

generated a minimum of 29 pages of data. These included a one page field record form; six plus pages of Burial Recovery forms; a minimum of three pages of artifactual/historical analysis forms, 14+ pages of skeletal analysis and four pages of dental analysis forms. This *in toto* resulted in the collection of an estimated *minimum* of 33,553 pages of primary documentation. This is the equivalent of approximately 67 reams or 330 pounds of paper. Additionally, all artifactual and skeletal materials were extensively photo documented by an on site staff of five photographers, who shot 6,071 rolls of film during the course of the project, or 185,340 negatives.

When Dr. Blakey says that the amount of skeletal research conducted at Freedman's was "limited," perhaps it is more accurate to say that *common knowledge* of

Dallas's Freedman's Cemetery and the associated North Dallas Freedman's Town district may be "limited" at present. It may be one of the best kept secrets in historical archaeology, but the record does exist, and the long process of exploring and presenting this incalculable treasure has begun (e.g., Condon et al. 1993; Hoffman et al. 1993; Condon et al. 1998; Davidson 1999a; Davidson 1999b; Peter et al. 2000; Davidson 2002; Davidson et al. 2002; Davidson 2003; Davidson 2004a; Davidson 2004b; and this current work).

Historical Background of Race in Dallas

When the Dallas Parks Department took possession of what was left of Freedman's Cemetery in 1965 for conversion into a city park, city parks employees dumped about a foot of sterile fill dirt across the entire 1.22 acres, ostensibly to smooth out the depressions of the graves and obscure the last vestiges of folk funerary markers that still covered the site. By burying the dead once again, the Dallas Parks Department attempted to transform the site from the sacred to the profane, from the spiritual to the mundane. One could say they were trying to mask the city's shameful past in regard to Freedman's with a final attempt to cover up an open wound that would not heal, a grievous wound inflicted upon the community, both living and dead, by white real estate speculators as well as the city of Dallas. Ultimately this attempt did not work. Freedman's Cemetery would not stay buried, although with the grass reestablished, along with the 20 live oak trees that covered the remaining acre, it was a prettier site than perhaps it had been.

Masking the past in Dallas – instead of coming to terms with it – is hardly a new strategy by any means, and the lessons learned at Freedman’s Cemetery through the archaeology of the early 1990s must continually be re-learned, it seems. In February 2003, as I was in the process of writing this chapter, a repugnant and racist past entered the present again in downtown Dallas. At the Dallas County Records Building adjacent to the now infamous Dealy Plaza and the Texas School Book Depository, someone finally noticed what had apparently been in plain sight for years – above two of the drinking fountains, on the first and second floors, faint but still readable “WHITES ONLY” signs were etched into the marble walls. Decades after the Civil Rights movement ended segregation and the doctrine of “separate but equal” in this country, in Dallas County, the signs still remained. Years ago county workers had been instructed to buff the signs away, but no matter how hard they tried, the ghostly images haunted the walls. They cannot easily be removed from the walls, because the marble blocks are integral with the walls. In a very real way, they are the walls. And so to mask the signs, they were covered with metal plates years ago, but for some reason, recently the metal plates were removed, exposing the signs to public view for the first time in years.

While researching Freedman’s Cemetery and the African-American community that it once served, off and on over the last 12 years I have spent literally weeks of my life in the Dallas County Records Building, collecting land deeds, finding old names, old maps of the cemetery and the former Freedman’s Town. In the process, I have drunk from numerous water fountains in the building. I was there to research wrongs committed within the ideology of racism, to unmask this past — and I was myself blind

to the obvious. I never once noticed where these signs were covered up, I didn't even stop to consider that given Dallas's past and the age of the building, they had to have been there, under those nondescript metal plates. All I had to do was open my eyes.

Dallas was a city suffering from amnesia, and the Freedman's Cemetery Project, in a small but measurable way, changed that. Like the "Whites Only" sign, what was once covered up was revealed, and revealed in a way that it can never be forgotten. Freedman's Cemetery was a revelation. Like an Old Testament prophet, the cemetery spoke to us in symbols and signs, and in flesh and blood and bone. Undoubtedly, Freedman's is the heart and core metaphor for the Black Experience in Dallas, and in the following chapters, it certainly serves as a proxy to measure success and at least a surface "assimilation," but it also measures resistance and self determination, the ability to maintain a community integrity under enormous pressures to conform to the dominant (and white) ideology.

So how did we come to this, and what were the forces that served to create Freedman's Cemetery and to allow its desecration and decline? How did race and class evolve in the city, from Emancipation to the present day? To understand the data from the graves at Freedman's Cemetery presented in the following chapters, it is first necessary to establish the historical context for Dallas. Not the names and dates of famous dead white men, but the ways in which the social constructs of race and class were articulated within Dallas's society at its founding in the 1840s; how these concepts impacted and affected the lives of black men and women and children; and how these same concepts evolved with the changes wrought by Civil War, Emancipation, Hopes for

Equality, and the rise of Jim Crow with a fully codified “Separate but Equal” doctrine. A long awaited vindication of civil rights, acted out while excavations were ongoing at Freedman’s Cemetery, will also be examined.

This brief outline is by no means meant to serve as an exhaustive history. Chapter 2 presents additional historical background from a landscape perspective. Rather, my purpose here is to present a framework by which the analysis of Freedman’s Cemetery and the individual burials might be understood within the local contexts. Table 1-2 gives a brief outline of events, or framing devices, that illustrate for that particular moment, the mood or consensus regarding race in the city. It is certainly not inclusive of all important events, but instead it serves to pinpoint and illuminate small moments that illustrate the evolving view of race.

Dallas came into existence in November 1841, when a bachelor Tennessean by the name of John Neely Bryan built a single rough-hewn cabin perched on the east bluff of the Trinity River (Holmes and Saxon 1992:39). By 1856, the town was little more than a toy village, with only 350 citizens, primarily farmers and their families (McDonald 1978:10). Strictly by the numbers, slavery in Dallas County was a minor but undeniable part of antebellum life. In 1850, or nearly 10 years after the town’s founding, county wide there were only 207 enslaved African-Americans, out of a total population of 2743

Table 1-2: Key Events in Dallas, Texas that affected African-Americans

Event	Date	Source*
The Freedman's Bureau is established in Dallas	March 1867	Smith 1989
The Ku Klux Klan arrives in Dallas, and posts ominous warnings around the town, demanding of its member violent acts with "the knife and pistol..." and dyeing "...your hands red with the blood of your victims."	April 1868	Saxon and Holmes 1992:59
In creating the Bird's Eye View of Dallas in 1872, the artist (Herman Brosius) left out the entire North Dallas Freedman's Town, depicting an open and unmodified prairie where it would have stood.	1872	Reps 1976
Allen Huitt, the first African-American brought to Dallas County, served as an early blacksmith, and was celebrated for his services to the community in Dallas's second city directory. Huitt was described as "...a very valuable personage to the pioneers... Old Allan still lives in Dallas County, a venerable and respected citizen"	1875	Butterfield and Rundlett 1875:8
"Conductor Easton, of the Central railroad, was arrested here by a deputy United States marshal yesterday, he was charged with a violation of the civil rights bill, nearly one year ago. He is charged with refusing seats in the ladies car to some negro women. The trial will take place in the United States court at Tyler, at an early day."	May 18, 1878	DWH
"The best informed citizens of North Dallas say that it is not at all improbable that one of the new wards will send a colored man as representative in the city council. It is said they hold the balance of power in one of the wards."	July 21, 1888	DTH
Blacks and whites join together at Labor Hall, with the white labor union members urging black members to join them in their strike. Dallas's African-Americans do so, presenting a united labor front for the first time.	May 6, 1891	DTH
"...over one hundred of Dallas' leading colored citizens assembled in New Hope Baptist church to perfect the organization of the Literary society..." "The following subject will be discussed at the next meeting, Resolved, "That woman should have equal rights with man."	March 11, 1891	DTH
"The colored people of Dallas endorse separate coach law, and are opposed to its repeal. The colored man has no kick coming on that law, and where the discrimination comes in has not yet been discovered..." (From an editorial written by a white journalist)	August 19, 1891	DTH
a political meeting of black men to form a delegation to send to the state convention in Houston, vote to endorse the Separate Coach Law.	August 19, 1891	DTH
Local black physician, Dr. Mackey, "...objects to the separate coach law, but that ebony-hued statesman, Melvin Wade, says that it is a most wise measure, and will keep white dudes, old and young, at a respectful distance from Afro-Americans of the more gentle persuasion. That was a crushing blow beneath the belt of the white kicker against the separate coach law."	September 4, 1891	DTH

<p>“The other day, on a crowded Oak Cliff train, a society belle of the colored gentry was surrounded by male and female members of her race. She had a glib tongue, was autocrat of the crowd, and the rich flavor of the extract of cinnamon in her immediate vicinity showed her to be an artist in economic perfumery. ‘There is only one objection to Oak Cliff,’ she said, “and that is the absence of the separate coach law, which compels us to ride sitting next to all kinds of people.” The white man sitting near her, who was the inspiration of the remark, quietly moved to another seat at the next station.”</p>	September 7, 1891	DTH
<p>Thirty black men form a bicycle club, and boast that two of them will be “record breakers.”</p>	July 20, 1893	DTH
<p>One year after the Supreme Court case, <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>, codified the “Separate but Equal” doctrine nationally, the city of Dallas dedicated a gigantic Confederate Memorial in the City Park, depicting life size statues of Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Albert Sidney Johnson.</p>	April 27, 1897	Butler 1989
<p>“Melvin Wade, the colored orator, was yesterday entertaining a crowd on the street. He said: ‘I am not going to this war. I am an Afro-American, and not an American, and this, I am told is a fight of the Americans. Besides, the politicians are most shamefully abusing the patriotism of the youth and innocence of the country, for the purpose of creating an excuse to issue a few more bonds to satisfy the greed of the rich men. Father Abraham Lincoln found greenbacks to be good enough to run a sure-enough war on. But, the latter day saints must have gold bonds. The United States ought to be ashamed of making war on a poor little old, defenseless nation like Spain.’”</p>	May 8, 1898	DTH
<p>An Article entitled “A Slave is Paid for” describes how a debt that was owed since 1860, involving the sale of a slave, was finally paid in 1900.</p>	January 7, 1900	DTH
<p>The superintendent of the black school system, Mr. Harlee, speaks of the upcoming state Fair “Colored Day, “stating that the “program has been prepared with a view of showing the rapid advance of our people along higher lines of intelligence, etc”</p>	Sept 26, 1900	DTH
<p>Booker T. Washington comes to Dallas, and addresses the African-American Community during the “Colored Day” at the State Fair.</p>	Sept 26, 1900	DTH
<p>White and Black Female Prisoners in County Jail Separated</p>	Dec. 28, 1900	DTH
<p>the “KKK” organization held a Ball (colors were red and white)</p>	Jan 8, 1901	DTH
<p>A newspaper article on the slums of Dallas, describes the African-American slums as; “The white people of ill repute are angels of light compared with the negroes, who sink to the very lowest depths of human degradation and misery. The negro saloons at night are fearsome sights, filled as they are with black reprobates who never had in their lives any thought above their own filthy beings.”</p>	Nov 11, 1901	DTH
<p>“Koon Kreek Klub” formed in Dallas; described as social and hunting association</p>	Jan 21, 1902	DTH

A comic Strip, entitled “Dat Bad Pickaninny”, has black caricatures stealing watermelon, fighting with razors.	July 6, 1902	DTH
“An Operatic Colored Comedy Company of 60 People, The Smart Set...” comes to Dallas and puts on a show for whites (and presumably blacks).	Dec 13, 1903	DTH
Dr. B. R. Bluitt, Dallas’s first Black surgeon, broke ground on the first Black Hospital in Dallas	Dec. 30, 1904	DTH
A. J. McCauley, a black lawyer, publishes a letter in the <i>Times Herald</i> , bitterly protesting the treatment of blacks at the hands of white “rowdyism” that was actually brutal assault	Dec. 25, 1905	DTH
A. J. McCauley, the black lawyer, publishes a second letter in the <i>Times Herald</i> just days later, complaining that he was assaulted by 20 whites with “snow balls” and severely injured.	Jan 23, 1906	DTH
“Jim Crow” Separation of Races on Dallas’s Street Cars began enforcement	Jan 2, 1906	DTH
Free Reading Room to be established by Black women, for the African-American community	Feb. 7, 1906	DTH
A black owned restaurant was vandalized by white teenagers, written up as “humorous good fun”	Nov 25, 1906	DTH
At the request of “colored citizens,” the Dallas City Council bans the stage play, “The Clansman,” from performing at the Dallas Opera House.	Nov 27, 1906	Dallas City Council Minutes
Statewide statute instituting a Jim Crow law for the separation of blacks and whites on the state’s streetcars and railways.	June 5, 1907	DTH
A fundamental change in the method by which city council members are chosen robs minorities of ability to vote for representatives who serve their interests. Declared unconstitutional in 1991.	1907	(Hill 1996)
At the request of NAACP and concerned black citizens, Dallas’s Mayor has the film “Birth of a Nation” (based on the racist novel, <i>The Clansman</i>), banned from being shown in the city.	1919	(Prince 1993:72)

DWH (Dallas Weekly Herald)

DTH (Dallas Times Herald)

FWG (Fort Worth Gazette)

(or 7.5%) (Smith 1985:18-22). The county’s economy was based almost exclusively in agriculture, with wheat and some cotton the predominant crops. There were virtually no large “plantation” sized holdings in the county. Instead, slave holders in Dallas County were predominantly middling farmers. For example, of those owning slaves in 1850, 70% claimed only between one to three slaves. Most slaves worked as either servants or

field laborers, and from the 1860 slave schedules, it is clear that at least with small slave holders (i.e., those possessing only one or two slaves), many housed their slaves with them in a single residence. Thus, the living quarters of Dallas slaves were often either alongside those of whites, or were actually within white households (Smith 1985:20).

The most dramatic antebellum event to hit the little town of Dallas occurred in 1860, when the entire business district burned to the ground in what was supposedly part of a greater slave rebellion. In 1861, not long after Abraham Lincoln was elected President, Dallas County, along with the majority of Texans, voted to secede from the Union (Prince 1993-17-20).

Of all the Confederate states, word of the war's end came last to Texas, when at the port city of Galveston news of the surrender at Appomattox reached the state on June 19, 1865. It was on this date that Emancipation officially came to Texas (Greene 1973:18). Ironically, although Dallas County never saw a battle or even the hint of federal troops during the war (Prince 1993:20), the immediate post war Reconstruction period was an extremely brutal time, with Freedmen and women often the targets of violence. Table 1-3 gives just a handful of cases reported to the Freedman's Bureau, and these episodes represent a bare minimum of the true depth and breadth of the violence against blacks. Even extreme cases, such as those involving rape and murder, may never have even been reported. Nor was violence common only to North Central Texas. James Smallwood, in his study of Black Texans during Reconstruction, documents dozens of similar cases throughout the state (Smallwood 1981). To stop or at least document these struggles, the Freedman's Bureau arrived in Dallas in March, 1867, when William H.

Horton set up his offices there (Smith 1989). Despite the federal presence of the Bureau and a small number of Union troops stationed in the town, violence against both black freedmen and Unionists continued seemingly unabated, including 13 murders in 1867 alone (Smith 1989:25; see also Table 1-3).

In the first official act to counter the emancipation of the area's enslaved population, Dallas's city council quickly passed in the Fall of 1865 a Vagrants Ordinance that specifically targeted freedmen and their families, with the express purpose of discouraging blacks from settling within the boundaries of the town's jurisdiction (Davidson 1999a:22-23) (see Chapter 2 for a more detailed discussion of this). Despite these strictures, Dallas still became a mecca for blacks in North Central Texas, with literally hundreds, if not thousands, arriving in the vicinity of the town during Reconstruction (McDonald 1978:17). Instead of settling in Dallas proper, however, African-Americans formed a series of Freedman's Towns that ringed Dallas's city limits. The largest of these was "Freedman's Town," later known as North Dallas Freedman's Town. Within the broad boundaries of this black settlement, Freedman's Cemetery would be established in 1869 (Davidson 1999a:18-29).

The local newspaper, the Dallas *Weekly Herald*, as the only paper in the town, was called upon to publish official notices of the Freedman's Bureau and Reconstruction government, such as a notice establishing the basic powers of the Bureau (Dallas *Weekly Herald* April 18, 1868). When not forced to publish pro-black notices, the *Herald* took it upon itself to publish several vicious and bitterly satirical pieces that openly attacked African-Americans. For example, on January 27, 1866, the Dallas *Weekly Herald* printed

Table 1-3: Examples of Assaults In Dallas County Against Freedman during Reconstruction (1865-1868)*

Date	Description of Assault (verbatim period terms and description)
August 1865	George W. Baird, former Dallas city councilman, tied Charity (a black woman) to a log and inflicted 100 lashes on her, because she dared to protest the continual rapes inflicted upon her daughter by a servant of Baird's.
February 1867	William Petit assaulted with intent to kill Andrew Johnson (colored). Petit had sworn he would kill him the first opportunity.
June 30, 1867	Thomas Greene assaulted with intent to kill George Bledsoe (colored). Bledsoe was shot for refusing to halt when ordered by Greene.
January 31, 1867	William Petit (white), assault with intent to kill A. Jackson (colored).
July 3, 1867	An unknown white person assaulted with intent to kill Hardin (colored). He was met on the highway and shot.
August 25, 1867	Robert Duvall (white), assault with intent to kill an unknown colored person. The freedman was shot for not taking off his hat to him on the street, and has since died. Duvall called on the county judge and boasted of what he had done; but they failed to arrest him.
January 1868	An unknown person murdered Charles Mack (colored). Shot on the public highway.
January 1868	An unknown person murdered John Ferguson (colored). Was shot and killed, through a crevice in the wall, while sitting at his fireside playing with his child.

*(derived from Smith (1989), and Freedman's Bureau Reports; on microfilm, Dallas County Library, Dallas, TX).

a satirical poem entitled, "Song of the Freedman," which describes in first person narrative the misery of a freedman who sings a chorus of "happy emancipation," even as the song's verses grow increasingly bleak:

I think last night, as I tried to sleep
 Upon the muddy ground,
 While de rain was drippin' on my head,
 And the wind was whizzin' round,
 I'd like to hab my light food fire
 And my cabin back again
 For de wedder's gettin' berry cold
 Out here in all dis rain.

But den I'se done wid rake and hoe.
Dis am de juberlee;
De rain may come, de wind may blow,
but bress de Lord I'se free.

It was against this backdrop of violence and institutionalized racism that blacks in Dallas voted for the first time in 1868. Further, the local voter registration board, composed of one Union man and one local African-American, denied the vote to anyone who would not swear in favor of black voting rights, with the result that African-American voters outnumbered whites in an election that decided how the state constitution would be re-written (Holmes and Saxon 1992:58-59). With a forced loss of voting and other rights, albeit temporary, the general consensus of Dallas's white citizenry seemed to be one of simple endurance; when the occupation was over, African-Americans would quietly be returned to a subservient position within Dallas society. As a sign of things to come, the same year that Black voters trumped local white interests, the Ku Klux Klan arrived in Dallas. On April 11, 1868, a number of notices were posted throughout the town, which threatened that the KKK would reek a "... harvest of death..." on their enemies, with their members instructed to "dye your hands red with the blood of your victims" (Holmes and Saxon 1992:59).

For all intents and purposes, Reconstruction ended in Dallas in November 1872, with the holding of the first general elections since military rule had been imposed (Cochran 1966:221). The Freedman's Bureau also closed nationally in 1872 (Bergman 1969:271). Local whites who had endured the Federal occupation now had a free hand to rein in any black freedoms they saw fit to curb. Whatever rights, such as the ability to

vote, blacks gained during Reconstruction were operating on borrowed time and did not stand without the backing of armed Federal troops.

Reconstruction came to a close with the restoration of local (and white) political autonomy, with recently freed blacks once more relegated to a relatively powerless and subservient position. Simply put, the previously known paternalistic model of race relations, as practiced by whites over blacks, had been largely restored by the mid 1870s. In the usual contradiction of race, with the restoration of white paternalism, an 1875 history of the town contained a glowing description of the county's first black citizen, Allan Huitt. Despite the incontrovertible fact that Huitt had been a slave, and even after freed was still considered racially inferior, Huitt was praised for his valuable work as a blacksmith and was described as "...a very valuable personageand a venerable and respected citizen" (Butterfield and Rundlett 1875:8).

Even after Reconstruction, some federal laws beneficial to blacks were sometimes enforced. For example, a conductor on the Houston and Texas Central Railroad, who had denied some black women seats in a ladies car, was charged in Federal court with violating "... the civil rights bill" (Dallas *Weekly Herald* May 18, 1878). This enforcement of federal law was more likely the exception, rather than the rule. After Reconstruction, without the power to directly challenge the very real loss of political and legislated freedoms, freedmen and women had to find other ways to chip away at the white viewpoint — namely an inherent social and racial inferiority — regarding them. One fundamental way to extend the limits of their freedoms was through economic advancement.

By 1872 and the quiet end of Reconstruction the first railroad arrived in the city, bringing with it an immediate windfall measured both as a huge increase in population as well as the commerce that helped fuel it. In 1873, one year after the H & T C Railroad had come to Dallas, a second railroad, the Texas & Pacific, rolled into the booming town (Holmes and Saxon 1992:137). Undoubtedly, many of the new jobs created in Dallas during this time were taken by freedmen and women. Some worked for the railroads directly, such as J. Bershea, who in 1875 was employed as a brakeman on the Houston and Texas Central, while others found work in the boom town economy of Dallas, as laborers, porters, and domestics (Butterfield and Rundlett 1875).

Probably almost immediately after the tracks were laid down by the Houston and Texas Central, the settlement of Stringtown began, so described because this Black enclave consisted of small and simple shotgun houses, “strung out along the raised grade” of the railroad track. The railroad line itself was not often called by its full name of the Houston and Texas Central, but rather, it and the dirt road that paralleled it were simply called Central Avenue, or more often, Central Track (McDonald 1978:179). Central Avenue would in the late 1940s be transformed by TxDOT into North Central Expressway, the highway responsible for paving over the entire eastern portion of Freedman’s Cemetery (Davidson 1999a:77-91).

In the 19th century, everyday acts of oppression – which occurred at every level – socially, economically, physically, emotionally – were punctuated by occasional episodes of outright terror, acted out by whites against blacks through violent attacks, rapes, and even lynchings. At least 10 known lynchings and quasi-legal hangings of

Table 1-4: Hangings/Lynchings of African-Americans in Dallas (1853 - 1910)

Year	Name	Tried and Convicted in Court of Law	Lynched by Mob	Accused of	Disposition of Body	Source
1853	Jane Elkins	yes		Murdering Mr. Wisdom (master)	Buried on site of hanging, but "resurrected" for use as medical cadaver	"An Execution in Early Days" (DTH May 14, 1905)
1860	Pat Jennings		Yes	Leading a slave revolt; burning the town of Dallas	Buried on site of hanging, on banks of Trinity River; bodies were plowed up when T & P Railroad put in trestle bridge.	Davidson 1998a
1860	Sam Smith		Yes	" " "	" " "	Davidson 1998a
1860	"Uncle" Cato		Yes	" " "	" " "	Davidson 1998a
1876	Wesley Jones	yes		rape	unk	"Must Go To The Gallows" (DTH July 17, 1891)
1878	Adam Thompson	yes		robbery and murder	unk	"Must Go To The Gallows" (DTH July 17, 1891)
1881	Allen Wright	yes		murder	unk	"Must Go To The Gallows" (DTH July 17, 1891)
1887	unkn man		yes	assaulting a white woman	unk	"Must Go To The Gallows" (DTH July 17, 1891)
1892	Henry Miller	yes		fatally shooting a policeman	Buried in Freedman's Cemetery in coffin	"The Gallows: Henry Miller Executed" (DTH July 28, 1893)
1910	Allan Brooks	no	yes	assaulting a white child	Buried in Woodland Cemetery, at city expense	Peoples Undertaking Co 1907-1910 Day Book

African-Americans occurred in the city throughout the 19th and early 20th century (Table 1-4), from the earliest days of Dallas in 1853, to the murder of Allan Brooks in 1910.

In contrast, the first white man convicted of a crime and sentenced to death by hanging did not occur until 1891, despite the fact that between 1885 and 1890 alone, at least fifty whites had either been accused of, or convicted of murder. Most were acquitted of the charges, or the findings were later nullified by a judge (*Dallas Times Herald*, July 17, 1891; *Dallas Times Herald*, January 17, 1891).

The last known lynching in Dallas was inflicted upon Allen Brooks, who was thrown out of a second story window and lynched in downtown Dallas by an angry white mob in 1910. A photograph of the jubilant crowd, and Brook's body hanging from the Elk's "Welcome to Dallas" sign on Main Street, was transformed into a popular penny postcard. After the lynching, people fought over souvenirs from the grisly event, including Brook's clothing (McDonald 1978:91; Williams and Shay 1991:45, 48-50).

Even with these disparities of justice, for Dallas as for much of the country, the 1880s and early 1890s actually saw the expansion of some black rights and a greater tolerance of their presence and achievements than had been displayed in the 1870s, however ultimately false this promise of equality would later come to be (Woodward 1974:72). For example, in 1888 a report in the *Dallas Times Herald* announced it likely that a black man would be voted onto the city council, all with no fanfare or outrage (see Table 1-2). Perhaps more importantly, in the early 1890s blacks and whites worked together in Dallas's local labor unions, even sharing the same Labor Hall for their meetings. In 1891, striking whites urged blacks to join them in the picket lines, which

they did eagerly, presenting a solidarity in class and race that ten years before or even ten years after, would have been all but impossible (Dallas *Times Herald* May 6, 1891).

Unfortunately, this united labor front in 1891 would be one of the last times that blacks and white would openly mix together until the 1960s. Instead, the fragile inroads to equality that African-Americans created with extreme diligence and patience in the 1870s and 1880s eroded and collapsed in the early 1890s, due to a multiplicity of causes. C. Vann Woodward, one of the preeminent American historians on race, puts it this way; “If the psychologists are correct in their hypothesis that aggression is always the result of frustration, then the South toward the end of the ‘nineties was the perfect cultural seedbed for aggression against the minority race. Economic, political and social frustrations had pyramided to a climax of social tensions” (Woodward 1974:81). In retrospect, if a single event or year can serve as the tipping point to mark that moment when African-Americans began to slowly lose those freedoms they had so dearly struggled for since Emancipation, that moment would have to be the year 1896. This was the year that the Supreme Court Case, *Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided, which upheld the segregation laws for railroad cars nationally, and handed down the “separate but equal” doctrine for the country generally, which came to be known euphemistically as “Jim Crow” laws. The doctrine of segregation would serve as the benchmark that would define American race relations in the 20th century (Woodward 1974:71).

Ironically, only a year after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision, which served as the beginning of a system that systematically robbed African-Americans of their rights, Dallas dedicated on April 27, 1897, an elaborate Confederate Memorial on the grounds of

Dallas's City Park (now known as Old City Park) (Butler 1989:31-33). Dallas's Confederate Memorial is an imposing monument containing, among other representations, life-size statues of the principal architects of the Confederacy — Jefferson Davis, Robert E. Lee, Albert Sidney Johnston, and Stonewall Jackson. Such monuments were hardly unique to Dallas. Rather, literally thousands of these county, state, and often Federally-funded pieces of “public art” were erected between 1880 and the 1930s. As addressed by other researchers, such monuments were often more about creating and maintaining modern segregation than they were about celebrating the South's lost cause (Savage 1997). Dallas's Confederate Memorial was built to remember those who fought and gave their lives for the Confederate cause; a cause that, stripped of its ideology of “states rights” or other hollow rhetoric, ultimately was about the oppression of an entire people — those of color. To this day, it stands.

As throughout the country, the implementation of Jim Crow laws in Dallas occurred soon after the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. For example, in 1900 the city council announced that in the city's jails, black and white women would no longer be housed together. Instead, separate black and white cells would be outfitted (Dallas *Times Herald* December 28, 1900). The biggest symbol of segregation came in 1906, when the local Dallas street cars began to enforce a Jim Crow seating ordinance, with blacks forced to sit in the backs of streetcars, and to even give up their seats to whites when the cars became too full (Dallas *Times Herald*, January 2, 1906).

Even with these new oppressions, there were inconsistencies in regard to the city's racist doctrines. In 1906, when the traveling production of the play *The Clansman*

wanted to perform at the Dallas Opera House, local African-American leaders appealed to the Mayor and City Council to ban it from the city. This play was actually an adaptation of the racist novel *The Clansman, An Historical Romance of the Ku Klux Klan*, published by Thomas Dixon, Jr. in 1905. The request of black community leaders was granted (Dallas City Council Minutes Series 1, Vol. 32, p. 355; November 27, 1906). Years later, when the 1915 D. W. Griffith film, *The Birth of a Nation*, based on the same racist novel by Dixon, played throughout the country, local black civil leaders successfully petitioned to have the film banned from Dallas (Prince 1993:72).

Although this brief historical outline was meant only to cover the period during which Freedman's Cemetery was open and receiving interments, or between 1869 and 1907, the African-American struggle for equality and basic human rights continued into the 1990s. For example, although little known outside a handful of historians and the elders within Dallas's African-American community, even into the mid 20th century extreme violence against African-Americans was commonplace in Dallas. As black families attempted to move out of the extremely overcrowded black neighborhoods of North Dallas, West Dallas, and Mill Creek (Schutze 1986:10-11), and into predominately white neighborhoods, a series of terror events, in part in the form of dynamite bombings of black homes, occurred throughout the 1940s and 1950s (Schutze 1986:9-1-19, 29).

Despite these isolated episodes of terror, however, Dallas never experienced the race riots that plagued other large cities during the 1960s. In stark contrast to the violence experienced in the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, or similar riots in Detroit, Dallas's civil rights struggles were relatively peaceful and received little press (Williams

and Shay 1991:97). In summary, then, the city never really has had to face the hard truths of its racist past, even though atrocities had been committed in Dallas every bit as horrible as those which occurred in elsewhere in the South (e.g., Low and Clift 1981:241-264).

Even as the Freedman's Cemetery Project was beginning to get under way in 1990, issues of race and class, in the way the political process worked in the city, were being played out in the courts. Two African-American men, Roy Williams and Marvin Crenshaw, were protesting against Dallas's city council structure, which had its council members elected at large and not from geographically bounded areas. Both men argued that this process unfairly disenfranchised minority voters. This system of "at large" city council seats had been established in 1907, which was the very year that Freedman's Cemetery closed (Hill 1996:8-10). Williams and Crenshaw brought a federal voting rights suit against the city, and on March 28, 1990, in a 248 page opinion, a U.S. District Court judge ruled that the city's method of electing city council representatives was inherently racist. The judge ordered it abolished, to be substituted for a single member district plan as soon as possible. On May 6, 1991, the U.S. Justice Department rejected a compromise plan put forth by the majority white city council. Finally, the November 1991 election guaranteed that African-American and Hispanic communities would have city council representatives that would serve their interests in the affairs of the city (Williams and Shay 1991:140-166).

In the affairs of Freedman's Cemetery, as people were going to the polls in November 1991 to vote in a racially fair city council election for the first time ever, the

first burial, Burial 41, was being exhumed by project archaeologists (on November 26, 1991). I was hired onto the project and moved to Dallas three months later, on March 10, 1992. Three years later, on May 6, 1995, Dallas elected Ron Kirk its mayor, the first African-American to ever hold that position in the city (www.texasmonthly.com/archive/ronkirksep95.php).

Consumerism and Spirituality in the Death Experience: Resistance Strategies from Within and Outside of the Dominant Ideology

The Freedman's data are truly voluminous, and literally dozens of dissertations following many avenues of research could be written. Although I will examine several key issues, this study is holistic in nature, weaving many diverse threads into a single fabric involving the issues of race and racism, class and spirituality. This is achieved through a delineation of the power relations present in 19th century Dallas, and most importantly, the agency and specific resistance strategies of the African-American community towards the dominant ideology.

In the preface to his innovative work in Annapolis, Maryland, Paul Mullins states that he is examining: "... the relationship between race and materialism by investigating African-American consumption between 1850 and 1930.... I probe how consumption was fundamentally structured by race and racism" (Mullins 1999a:v). To achieve his goal, Mullins explored several aspects of African-American consumer culture of the late 19th and early 20th centuries - political campaign souvenirs, patent medicines and cosmetic products, and such seemingly mundane objects as ceramic figurines and other

forms of bric-a-brac.

Mullins' fundamental premise is basic to this dissertation, but with a radically different approach. Instead of examining consumerism through "bric-a-brac" recovered on domestic sites, my framing device is the death experience of the 19th and early 20th centuries, where traditional "core" belief systems collided with a large scale and pervasive set of symbols, modes of behavior, and all but irresistible economic dictates – termed by previous researchers as "The Beautification of Death Movement" – all percolated through a system structured by and for the dominant society that was inherently (if at times unconsciously) racist and classist in nature (Bell 1990).

In a mortuary context (and especially at Freedman's Cemetery), the problem of recognizing distinct patterns in African-American consumerism and the material culture of the physical grave was surmounted, for several reasons, the primary one being that the treatment of the dead, for any people, is a fundamental and highly conservative set of beliefs. Despite the brutality of the Middle Passage and centuries of enslavement in the Americas, vestiges of African derived or influenced belief systems demonstrably survived (see Chapter 5). Further, for Freedman's Cemetery the social identity and race/ethnicity is known at the offset. With the social construction of race in the 19th century, anyone who self identified as "black" or African-American, upon their death would have been interred within the bounds of Freedman's Cemetery. Additionally, anyone who was labeled by the authorities (e.g., city health officer), the funeral directors, or the greater community of Dallas, as black, would also have been sent to Freedman's for burial.

At the very beginning of the archaeology of the African Diaspora in the 1960s and 1970s, researchers began with the premise that given a shared set of cultural traditions and belief systems, a material culture assemblage distinctive to Africans and their descendants would be revealed (Fairbanks 1972; Baker 1980; Orser 1990:122-124). Instead, only subtle distinctions (at best) could be drawn between Euroamerican and African-American material assemblages in most instances.

So how to examine the effects of these same social constructions archaeologically in the burials from Freedman's Cemetery, to demonstrate how these constructs affected the societal framework of Dallas as well as impacted the lives of individuals? In a way, this is perhaps more easily said than done, because one cannot examine "race" in a vacuum; it is modified by other factors, primarily economics, class/status. Charles Orser (1999) argues that understanding the *material* relationships between such social constructions as race, class, and ethnicity is the greatest challenge currently within historical archaeology. Material goods alone cannot pin one down to race, and perhaps not even class. So how does one dig up race? As a simple starting point, by recognizing that racism was a primary context through which those in the past, and who created the archaeological record, lived. Even if those in the past were not actively racist, they were to a greater or lesser extent passively racist, because from birth to death they were immersed and enmeshed within a racist society. Given a racist hegemony, resistance to this ideology is also a given (Babson 1990).

With race – as imposed by others – and race – as social identity, as a cultural heritage derived from ones family, friends, and community – defined a priori, it is then

possible to approach the burial assemblages with foreknowledge, and tease out two distinctly different artifact assemblages associated with the burials. The first assemblage consists of commercially produced and purchased mortuary hardware and burial container; the second, specific grave inclusions that clearly reflect vernacular belief systems that were definitely not part of mainstream white society. The former gives us a measure – in real dollars – of the desire and ultimately the ability and competence of blacks to participate in the national Beautification of Death Movement, using a set of symbols with multiple meanings, yes, ranging from a straightforward wealth display, to sentimentality and ultimately religious convictions, but all within a system defined and dictated by the dominant white society.

The second measure is the vernacular, an alternative set of symbols that stood at times in opposition to the dominant society's mass produced coffin trimmings and wealth display, and expressed an internal set of beliefs considered to be traditional within African-American society, and almost certainly African in origin. Ultimately whether or not any of these practices were really a retention of beliefs derived from Africa is irrelevant, as the African-American community of the 19th century certainly believed these practices to be old, traditional, and for the most part, unique to those of African ancestry.

While these alternative set of symbols are great in number and form, there are two related aspects with a material component that can be observed archaeologically (although the underlying belief for these practices may be all but identical): surface markers and inclusions within the coffin or physical grave. The surface expression

consists of unique grave markings, predominately composed of sea shell or other kind of shell (e.g., fresh water mussel), ceramics (i.e., plates, bowls, cups, saucers, pitchers, etc.) and glass elements (i.e., bottles, pressed glass vases, pitchers, etc.), but also can take the form of bric-a-brac or even everyday objects used by that person in life. Ernest Ingersoll, a white contributor to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, described a black cemetery in Columbia, South Carolina as it existed in 1881, in the following vivid detail (Ingersoll 1892:68-69):

When a negro dies, some article or utensil, or more than one, is thrown upon his grave; moreover it is broken.... Nearly every grave has bordering or thrown upon it a few bleached sea-shells of a dozen different kinds, such as are found along the south Atlantic coast. Mingled with these is a most curious collection of broken crockery and glassware. On the large graves are laid broken pitchers, soap-dishes, lamp chimneys, tureens, coffee cups, sirup jugs, all sorts of ornamental vases, cigar boxes, gun-locks, tomato cans, teapots, bits of stucco, plaster images, pieces of carved stone-work from one of the public buildings destroyed during the war, glass lamps and tumblers in great number, and forty other kitchen articles. Chief of all these, however, are large water pitchers; very few graves lack them.

Such surface grave markers are known throughout the South, as discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Unfortunately, much of the above ground surficial evidence at Freedman's Cemetery for these vernacular folk traditions was destroyed through the multiple desecrations the cemetery suffered since the 1920s. The original ground surface for the majority of graves was impacted through the construction of road beds over them, with this original surface often stripped away in the process. Commensurate with these destructive processes, the once extant commercial stone grave markers were purposely removed and maliciously broken up to serve as aggregate road bed fill within the old Calvary Avenue in the 1920s. Despite these severe disturbances, however, a few intact

vernacular surface markers were observable during excavations.

More important to this work, however, are the vernacular folk traditions that involved placing material objects within a coffin or the grave shaft itself, and it is these objects that if originally present, were always recovered and documented. These include plates and shallow bowls or saucers, bottles (primarily medicinal), spoons, and other objects that potentially would have been handled by the person immediately prior to death. I refer to these kinds of objects as representing the “Core Elements of Spirituality.” While there might be any number of motivations that compelled some family members to place these kinds of objects in the coffin or casket, or atop the lid of the burial containers, early 20th century accounts of these practices are relatively consistent: “A Negro believes that the departed has the power to haunt all objects which his body has touched” (Puckett 1926:99); “An Alabama Negro says, ‘Unless you bury a person’s things with him he will come back after them’” (Puckett 1926:103); “One Mississippi Negress tells me that to keep the deceased from coming back again, the cup and saucer used in the last illness should be placed on the grave. The medicine bottles are placed there also – turned upside down with the corks loosened so that the medicine may soak into the grave” (Puckett 1926:104).

In this study, mortuary data will be examined at different scales. First, the scale is broad and landscape based, as presented within a detailed diachronic study of the cultural landscape of Dallas through key aspects of the city’s numerous cemeteries. In Chapter 2, I chart the city’s changing viewpoints regarding class and race, demonstrating how race and class were mediated through historical events and how these views can be read in the

landscape of the living community as well as the landscape of the dead.

After the landscape has been “decoded,” and it has been demonstrated that mortuary data is clearly structured by and reflective of contemporary views of race and class, the resolution of analysis changes to the individual by examining the burials themselves. Chapter 3 serves as background to these analyses, giving the underpinnings of modern mortuary theory, some of the forms of burial treatment in Africa prior to enslavement, early forms of mortuary expressions in the Americas during slavery, and what strongly influenced the treatment of the dead within African-American culture after Emancipation – the national Beautification of Death movement defined and dictated by the dominant ideology.

Although numerous survival strategies to combat racism were likely at play within Dallas’s African-American community, in particular these aspects of the mortuary data will be examined: economic advancement gauged through consumerism (as expressed through elaborate mortuary display; i.e., beautification of death) and spirituality (i.e., retention of community derived belief systems). These aspects of the total burial complex are simultaneously complimentary and opposite, and both can be viewed within the Dubois’s concept of “double consciousness” (1996:364-365).

Chapter 4 presents an overview of socioeconomic studies in historical archaeology in general (see Stine 1990 for a discussion of the term “socioeconomics”), and then specifically for historical burials. With this accomplished, I outline the mitigating factors that had to be addressed or at least acknowledged in such a study, and then document the procedures by which I assigned wholesale costs – first to individual

coffin hardware elements, then total hardware costs to all of the burials. A vital part of this consumer analysis is its diachronic aspect, charting the changing burial elaborateness through time. Additionally, comparisons are made of burial costs at Freedman's Cemetery to three other burial datasets: Cedar Grove in southwest Arkansas (Rose 1985), the Vardeman Cemetery in Kentucky (Davidson 2004d.), and finally, the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries, two rural graveyards excavated by the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 2001 (Davidson 2004c).

J. W. Joseph (2004), in a recent review of CRM's contribution to African-American archaeology, makes an important point regarding applying measures of socioeconomics developed to assess variables in mass produced Euroamerican material goods: "The outcome of these studies have been two fold: emphasizing African-Americans impoverished socioeconomic status within Euroamerican economy and society, and measuring African-American assimilation as seen in part by the assumed acceptance by African-Americans of the Euroamerican socioeconomic structure and cultural ideals" (Joseph 2004:19). Suffice it to say, that is not what is being attempted here; my analysis is not based on a simplistic single variable – wholesale costs.

Rather, this summary cost is interpreted through the social milieu of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and gauges not only the costs of the graves but also ultimately, the increasing ability of African-Americans to express their desires, of the deceased and the bereaved. Further, this economic study does not stand alone, but rather its counterpoint is a measure of an alternative mode of spirituality and social relations with the dead that was African derived, and expressed through specific forms of grave inclusions. Chapter

5 explores this other side of the coin; material elements of the graves that are not economically based, nor couched within the dictates of the dominant white ideology, but rather standing in opposition to it.

Chapter 6 presents my conclusions. In it, I summarize the preceding chapters, and attempt to reconcile the two conflicting points of view, to make some sense of the disparities of ideology that were visible materially in the graves. To better understand the findings from Chapters 4 and 5, in my conclusions quality of life measures will be briefly examined and correlated with both the economics of the graves and those specific burial practices that document the spirituality of the community. To measure “quality of life,” I document key aspects of health through the voluminous skeletal data (e.g., osteoarthritis) (Davidson et al. 2002). In Chapter 6, I will correlate health proxies with burial costs to document in concrete ways which burials demonstrate a true higher quality of life, and which burials only mimic high status with a mortuary display purchased only through a lifetime of working 12 hour days in relative poverty.

Closing Remarks

Prior to emancipation, enslaved African-Americans experienced and participated in burial treatments that ranged from virtually non-existent to simply adequate. These burial treatments were a creolization of specific beliefs and customs derived from dominant West African cultures, grafted onto a predominantly Christian belief system. Regardless of their form, however, within the world of the enslaved strictures were commonly placed on how they could bury and mourn their dead. All of this changed

after Emancipation. African-Americans mitigating the Death Experience in Dallas at Freedman's Cemetery, founded in 1869 during Reconstruction, were largely free from the prohibitions that had been forced upon them in the past. There were no longer any strongly dictated or stringently enforced rules of conduct forced upon blacks by the dominant white power structure. Rather, there were instead a complex set of symbols, displays, and rules of conduct, now loosely termed the Beautification of Death movement, that were created by and for white society – rituals created for internal consumption, in part to make social (and perhaps even racial) distinctions between themselves and other elements of society that were visible for all to see, and even emulate if individuals outside of this exclusive club so chose.

It is hoped that in this work, the proper framing devices have been chosen to examine race and its consequences in the lives, and the deaths, experienced in Black Dallas of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These are not the only windows into this state and these consequences, but they are perhaps key ones. I also hope that this work rises to the challenge recently outlined by Orser (1999), and examines past concepts of racism, as well as the outcomes of such concepts on the lives of actual individuals. At the least, I will have delineated the means by which the past African-American population of Dallas demonstrated agency by formulating and implementing resistance strategies against such racist concepts as an inherent economic, cultural and even spiritual inferiority. In sum, two key elements of Dallas's African-American community are explored diachronically: agency as filtered through race, class and spirituality.

“...Besides this the place is grown up with underbrush, high weeds, wiregrass, sunflowers, bramble bushes and vines which materially assist time and decay to obliterate all traces of the graves. No fence encloses the plot of ground and horses, cows and other animals are free to roam at will through this cemetery...”

(From a description of Freedman’s Cemetery
published in the *Dallas Times Herald* September 24, 1906)

CHAPTER 2

The Cultural Landscape of Dallas’s Cemeteries (circa 1840-1970)

Introduction

Past social relations can be charted and delineated with many different methods and with multiple resolutions. One avenue available is through the dead themselves. The dead as social actors, although retained within the mortuary realm, might also speak to us of the social milieu, attitudes, and life experiences that died with them and their generation. Chapter 1 established the outlines of the politics of race and class that existed in Dallas from its founding in the 1840s into the 20th century. This chapter will examine these past social relations through mortuary data on a community wide scale, with major divisions of race, class and religion the criteria of interest. After it has been established that the mortuary realm can serve as a mirror of past relations paralleling the living community, the framing device will next change to the individual and different subdivisions within the African-American community in Chapters 4 through 6.

Since the 1960s, studies of historic cemeteries have been ongoing in many fields of the social sciences. One early classic study, by Deetz and Dethlefsen (1971), charted the changing styles of 18th and early 19th century tombstone decorative motifs. Their results persuasively indicated that the evolution of motifs was not random, but rather reflected the changing American viewpoint concerning death. Mortuary behavior on the whole is non-random. Further, custom and ritual concerning the dead are highly codified. Although inherently stable and resistant to change, the treatment of the dead is never an entirely static one; rather, it evolves even as society changes through time (Saxe 1970; Binford 1971; Tainter 1978) (see Chapter 3 for a brief discussion of current mortuary theory).

Specifically for studies regarding the cemetery as cultural landscape, one of the earliest codified and explicitly made observations was by W. Lloyd Warner in his book, *The Living and The Dead* (1959), which was echoed one year later by the sociologist Frank W. Young in his article, “Graveyards and Social Structure” (Young 1960), and in 1967 by Fred Kniffen (1967). All three authors argue what may seem obvious now – that cemeteries reflect the social structures of the living community that created and maintained them, depicting such social divisions as race, class, religion, family, and demographic patterns (e.g., age and sex). These early efforts have been granted greater and greater credence as more studies have been completed. For example, into the 1970s and 1980s cemeteries continued to be viewed as “miniaturizations and idealizations of larger American settlement patterns” (Francaviglia 1971:501) and that the “... world of the dead could be a microcosm of the world of the living” (Ames 1981:641). This is not

a new or novel means of ordering social relations. In Medieval and post-Medieval England, social status within the community dictated where interment could occur, with royalty or well propertied individuals interred within the floor of the church, the upper classes buried in the south sides of churchyards (an area which was sunnier), with the poor laid to rest to the north of the church (Pearson 1999:14) .

Ian Brown, in a 1993 cultural landscape study of a New England cemetery, offers that while the study of material culture can often be limiting, because objects can be easily be stripped of their context, cultural landscape studies offer one advantage in that the landscapes and their environment are still in place (Brown 1993:141). This observation is equally applicable to this chapter's analysis of Dallas's cemeteries as cultural landscapes, as well as the later chapters' analyses of mortuary hardware and grave inclusions. As observed in the cemeteries of a city, when society's treatments of the dead change, the motivating forces behind such actions often will most strongly reflect current viewpoints regarding not the dead, but rather the living. The social milieu, the cohesiveness of, or divisions within, a community, the way groups within a community view themselves and one another, and ultimately the past viewpoints of the living towards the living, often times ironically speak most clearly from their treatment of the dead (Jupp 1997:1-17).

Within this chapter, the past cultural landscape of Dallas will be explored, using the city's cemeteries as a mirror to document the social dynamics of its people. That is, such factors as the rationale behind their founding, their location spatially, and the exclusive or inclusive nature of cemeteries, all should mirror the past community's

evolving viewpoint regarding not only death, but also the perceived differences of race, social class, and religion. For this analysis, four temporal periods have been delineated, each corresponding to a significant change within the living community of Dallas that has parallels within the treatment of the dead.

The first period is termed Communal, and spans from the founding of the town of Dallas in 1841 until 1855, the year prior to when Dallas was first incorporated. The next period is the Early Municipal, which begins in 1856 and continues up to 1872, when Reconstruction ended locally for Dallas; a year that also marks the coming of the first railroad to the town. The third interval is termed the Post Reconstruction (to “Jim Crow”) period, which begins in 1873 and ends at the close of the 19th century. The final interval is termed the Modern Period, and spans from 1901 to circa 1970.

The Communal Period (1841-1855)

The village of Dallas was founded by John Neely Bryan, a native of Tennessee, who built the first crude cabin along the banks of the Trinity River in November 1841 (Holmes and Saxon 1992:39). During its formative years, the town was slow to grow. As late as 1856, the year of the town’s incorporation, Dallas could boast a population of only 350 souls. From the town’s founding up to circa 1856, the community was composed primarily of farmers and their families (McDonald 1978:10).

Slaves were present in the Dallas area, but represented only a fraction of the total population. In 1850, the entire County of Dallas included only 207 enslaved African-Americans, out of a total population of 2743 (7.5%). Most slave holders came to Dallas

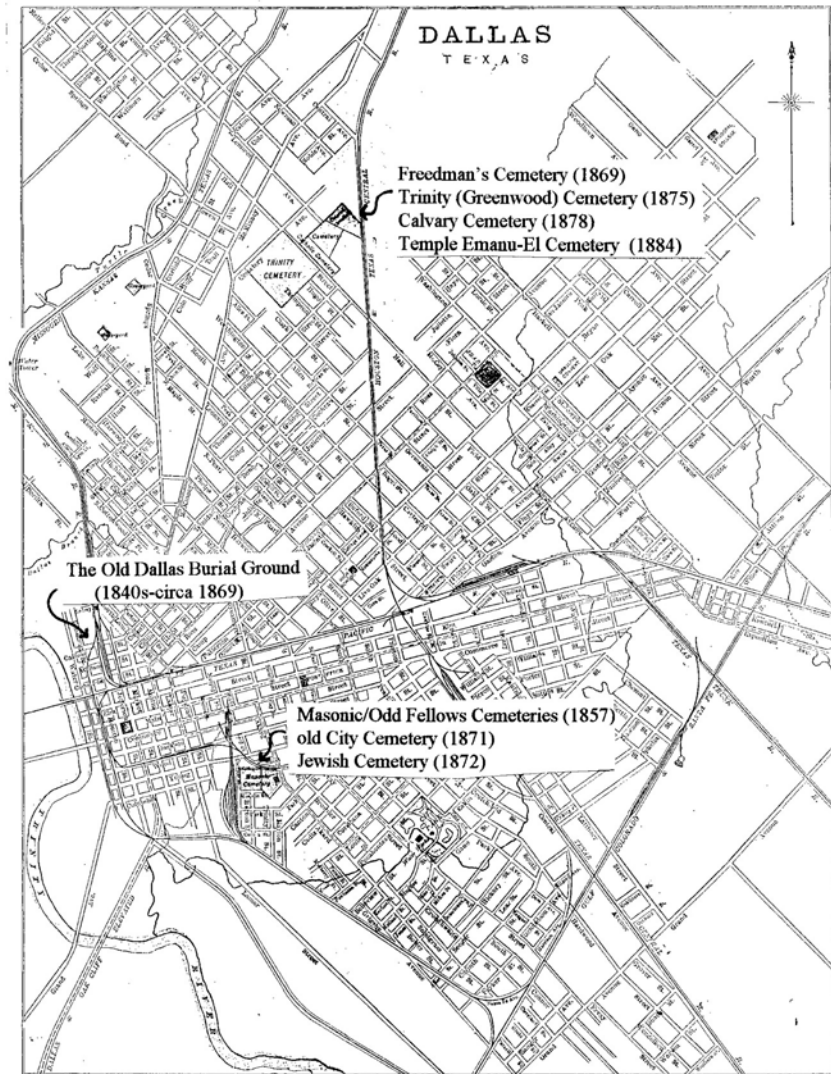


Figure 2-1 Location of Dallas's principal 19th century cemeteries (from 1900 George F. Cram Atlas, Chicago, IL)

from the border states of Tennessee and Kentucky (Smith 1985:18-22).

The community composition of both the town and county of Dallas, from its inception up to the late 1850s, would seem a remarkably homogenous one; the occupations and the place of origin for many of its inhabitants, were, for all intents and purposes, the same. This homogeneity is also reflected in the burial of the dead. The first public burying ground in the village of Dallas was the Old Burial Ground, established by either John Neely Bryan himself or by others within the community with at least his tacit approval (Davidson 1998a).

While there were small family cemeteries scattered throughout the countryside in the vicinity of Dallas, the Old Dallas Burial Ground was the only communal cemetery serving the needs of the town. The founding date of the Old Burial Ground is unknown, although it probably was established in an impromptu manner in the early 1840s, and only when the first death in Dallas precipitated its necessity. While the burying place was for everyone's use, it still remained the private property of first Bryan and later, Alexander and Sarah Cockrell (Davidson 1998a).

The property containing the Old Burial Ground was located on the extreme northwestern boundary of the town limits and along the bluff overlooking the Trinity River – an out of the way place entirely suitable for a cemetery (Figure 2-1). Though situated along the boundary of the town, the Old Burial Ground still lay a mere six blocks due north of the Dallas County Courthouse (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, Volume D, p. 698; McDonald 1978:6).

Dallas's first burial ground was communal, and contained the graves of both rich

and poor, slave and slave owner alike. Although the internal structure of the Old Dallas Burial Ground is unknown, the slave burials were probably relegated to one portion or corner of the cemetery. This pattern of a communal, yet segregated burial ground was not uncommon in the ante-bellum South (Roediger 1981). An example can even be seen locally in the cemetery founded in Hord's Ridge (later known as Oak Cliff), Dallas's small sister community located across the Trinity River. The old Oak Cliff Cemetery was begun in 1846 as a communal cemetery, but was divided along racial lines (Minutaglio and Williams 1990:21).

Interestingly, the Old Dallas Burial Ground apparently was never associated with any one church or religious organization. Although Dallas was overwhelmingly Protestant, there were still variations within this faith, including Baptist, Methodist, and Presbyterian. While the few community churches that sprang up in Dallas in the early 1840s were non-denominational, as early as 1846, these non-denominational churches broke apart and more formal churches affiliated with Methodist, Baptist, and Presbyterian groups began to form. Catholicism was unknown in Dallas until about the mid-1850s, and the first Mass wasn't celebrated in the town until 1859. A Jewish presence in Dallas was not known until circa 1871 (Rogers 1965:295-297).

The salient point regarding the early years of Dallas is that the only public cemetery to be found within the small town was an entirely communal one, despite the fact that there were individuals within the community who held differing religious beliefs. Additionally, the precepts of slavery, a practice present in the Dallas area and fervently believed in, preached that blacks were racially and morally inferior to whites,

though blacks and whites lived side by side, constantly in each others company and at times living under the same roof (Woodward 1974:14). Nevertheless, despite religious and racial differences, all members of the community were considered, at least within the community's mortuary program, to be a part of a single entity. This reflects a general pattern of "internal segregation" that was common in America during the 17th through 19th centuries, where a single bounded space was used for interments of different subdivisions within the community whole – subdivisions such as black and white or enslaved and free – though the groups were segregated and divided within this single space (Kruger-Kahloula 1994:133-135).

This does not mean to imply that all burials created during this period were equitable; as there were differences in life, so too in death. Certainly within this single mortuary system, social differentiation could still have been both present and readily apparent, expressed through the utilization of elaborate burial containers and grave markers, public wealth displays (such as wakes), and formal spatial patterning within the cemetery. Angelika Kruger-Kahloula (1994:137) points out that before emancipation, white slave holding families sometimes interred beloved slaves at the feet of or beside the white patriarch and his biological family, so that the paternalism and social order practiced in life would be recapitulated in death.

It can be demonstrated that the old Dallas Burial Ground was perceived by the townspeople as an extension or mirror of the living community, as any transgressions against the community, whether perceived or real, could warrant a punishment not only on the individual in life, but additionally upon the individual in death, by excluding

interment within the Old Burial Ground.

For example, the graves of three African-American men are historically known to have been located in the vicinity of, yet clearly outside, the Old Dallas Burial Ground. These men were Uncle Cato, Pat Jennings, and the Reverend Sam Smith, the enslaved African-Americans who in July 1860 stood accused of burning the town of Dallas, and who were subsequently lynched by an angry white mob. The bodies of the three murdered men were buried on top of the bluff overlooking the Trinity River, near the gallows where they were hanged (Greene 1973:16; Prince 1993:17-19; Davidson 1998a).

The area in which they were interred, along the Trinity River bluff where Pacific Avenue begins, is only three blocks south of the Old Burial Ground (Jones and Murphy 1878; Davidson 1998a). Perhaps their bodies were purposely buried in an area near the Old Burial Ground, but still isolated from the graves of the community and specifically their own people, as the final punishment of their alleged crimes.

Additional evidence of an exclusion of burial can be seen with the first person ever executed in Dallas County. In 1853, Jane Elkins, an enslaved African-American woman, was tried and convicted of murdering her master, Mr. Wisdom. She was hung before a crowd of several hundred persons, the gallows erected on the same point on the landscape that would later become the Masonic Cemetery. While the body of Jane was interred on the spot, that night members of the "...medical fraternity resurrected her body..." for the grisly purpose of serving as a medical cadaver (*Dallas Times Herald* May 15, 1905; Rogers 1965:92; Prince 1993:10). The dominate white community's perception of the matter would seem to have been that as a result of her actions, she was

no longer regarded as part of the community, as her brief burial and subsequent resurrection so clearly reflects.

In this vein, there is an even starker reminder of the punishments that could be meted out when transgressions against the racist and paternalistic ideology of slavery occurred. Anthony Bewley was a white Northern Methodist minister who was believed responsible for preaching abolitionist views to both enslaved African-Americans and a handful of sympathetic whites in Dallas during the summer of 1860. But Bewley was accused of something even worse than spreading abolitionist dogma. Local Dallasites believed that Bewley and his confederates had helped stage the failed slave insurrection against the local populace (mentioned above), one concrete result of which was the burning to the ground of the business district of Dallas on July 8, 1860, as well as surrounding towns (e.g., Denton) (Reynolds 1993).

In the aftermath that followed, at least 30 men, both black and white, were lynched throughout North Texas in the belief that they were co-conspirators. Although Bewley was tipped off and fled with his family to southwestern Missouri, he was caught by a posse and returned to Fort Worth (the place of his former residence), and promptly lynched only hours later from a large pecan tree on the night of September 13, 1860. His body was buried in a grave (without the benefit of "...shroud or coffin") so shallow that his knees stuck up through the earth. Three weeks later, Bewley's body was exhumed by unknown parties, the flesh stripped from the bones, and his skeleton placed atop the roof of a local storehouse, ostensibly to bleach them. White children would sneak on top of the roof, and play games with the preacher's bones. His skeletal remains remained there

until the close of the Civil War, where they were rediscovered (having been forgotten in the excitement of the war), and presumably buried at this time (Reynolds 1993).

Remember that the three black slaves who were accused of being ringleaders in the slave insurrection and burning of Dallas in July 1860 – Uncle Cato, Pat Jennings, and the Reverend Sam Smith, despite their perceived high crimes against the community – were still afforded a Christian burial, though importantly, were excluded from a normative burial with their own people in the Old Dallas Burial Ground (Greene 1973:16; Prince 1993:17-19; Davidson 1998a). The even more horrible desecration of the body of the white North Methodist minister (with his very bones allowed to lie in the sun and become transformed into children’s macabre playthings) for the very same crime can be explained within the paternalistic view of slavery (Genovese 1976:3-7; Herskovits 1990:1-2).

Within this world view, enslaved African-Americans were seen as the equivalent of children (both socially and mentally), and so their crimes could be partially forgiven in that they, with the minds of children, were easily lead astray by the abolitionist views of Anthony Bewley, among others. As a white man, on the other hand, Bewley was the social equal of Dallas’s ruling elite. Any crime committed by Bewley was a betrayal from a peer within their own class; within a paternalistic ideology, such a crime had to be dealt a punishment commensurate to the transgression against its very core.

The Old Dallas Burial Ground, like any other cemetery, was not merely a simple and expeditious disposal area for corpses. Rather, despite its impromptu beginnings, it was a highly formal and symbolic space, wherein were laid in a communal fashion, the deceased loved ones of the living community. The pattern of burial exhibited between

1841, the year of Dallas's founding, and circa 1856, the year of its incorporation, can be termed Communal, operating within a frontier pattern, with a single cemetery, or community of dead, mirroring the single Dallas community.

The term frontier pattern seems especially apt, since the village of Dallas was truly formed within a frontier setting. The initial settlers resided in log cabins, wore clothes of homespun cloth, weathered occasional Indian raids, and even hunted buffalo (Holmes and Saxon 1992:38-48). The cemetery is an extension of this frontier setting, as it was founded long before the municipal government itself was even formed.

The Early Municipal Period (1856-1872)

The second stage or pattern of development in Dallas is termed the Early Municipal, stretching from 1856, when the town was incorporated, until 1872, when the first railroad arrived in the town (Holmes and Saxon 1992:127). The mortuary system was modified during this period, from the previously known Communal pattern, to one exhibiting increased divisiveness within the community, involving socioeconomic, racial as well as religious divisions. The Early Municipal period is marked by an increase in population, a growing sophistication, and a more codified municipal government. Some aspects of these elements can be directly traced to the dissolution of the Reunion colony.

La Reunion was a colony composed of Europeans, almost entirely Swiss and French, who arrived in the Dallas area in the spring of 1855. The Reunion colony formed as a utopian socialist society based on the writings of Fourier, and was located some three miles to the west of the little town of Dallas (Greene 1973:18; Holmes and Saxon

1992:286-290). Although the colony was to be almost exclusively agriculturally based, the colonists themselves were not farmers, but rather principally composed of high minded professionals and artisans, including physicians, tailors, shoemakers, jewelers, naturalists, watchmakers, stone masons, and weavers, to name but a few. Largely stemming from an almost total ignorance in the practices of agriculture, combined with the vagaries of Texas climate and soils, the colony began to fail almost immediately. The disintegration of La Reunion began by 1857 and was essentially complete by 1860. Some of the colonists returned to Europe, but a sizable number remained in the North Texas region. By 1860, about half of the colonists, some 160 in number, had become citizens of the town of Dallas (Rogers 1965:81-84).

This was an incredible boost to the little town, both in terms of population, as well as the numbers and variety of professions practiced by the colonists. With the formal incorporation of the town of Dallas in 1856 and the infusion of 160 members of European elite from the failed La Reunion colony a year later, Dallas had become much more cosmopolitan. As a result, the formerly cohesive community became increasingly stratified. This change is mirrored in the mortuary realm.

While the Old Burial Ground seems to have been used by certain portions of the community as late as 1869 or 1870, the first of Dallas's cemeteries was no longer patronized by elements of the white elite after circa 1857, with the establishment of two private cemeteries in the small town, the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries (Figure 2-1). These two fraternal cemeteries were not created to replace the earlier Burial Ground, but rather to serve a niche within the community distinct from that served by the old

communal burial ground since its founding (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas; April 6, 1857, Vol. F, pp. 26-27).

The new cemeteries were exclusive, chartered specifically to admit only those individuals who constituted elements of the Dallas social elite (i.e., members of the Odd Fellows and Masonic lodges, and their immediate families). Fraternal orders and secret societies were a very important aspect of nineteenth century American life. Membership in one or more lodges brought a certain social distinction, especially in what was at best a frontier setting. In essence, membership in one or more of these societies defined class and helped establish the political and social pecking order within the community (Ferguson 1937). The first Masonic lodge in Dallas was formed in January 1849, while the Odd Fellows were organized on July 4, 1854 (Carlisle 1994:4).

Given the fact that the Masonic lodge was in operation for eight years prior to the founding of the Masonic Cemetery, it is an almost forgone conclusion that at least one or more lodge members (or immediate family members) died prior to the cemetery's founding date. Indeed, although it is known from deed records that the Masonic Cemetery was not actually formed until 1857, the earliest stone in the cemetery marks the grave of Elizabeth McPherson, who died in 1853 (Carlisle 1994:24). It is likely that this grave was originally interred within the Old Dallas Burial Ground, and was only later moved to the Masonic Cemetery some time after its founding.

This new impetus for cemetery creation was not based solely on the necessity of a place of interment for the dead, for this role within the community was already being served quite readily by the Old Burial Ground. Rather, the formation of the fraternal

order cemeteries in the late 1850s was grounded, at least in part, upon the perceived necessity of a few community members, of creating or better defining class distinctions within the community. Such class or status differentiation was not necessary when Dallas was an unincorporated village of farmers, but when this same village became a town, a power elite was devised to fill those newly created positions of mayor, aldermen, and other municipal officials.

It is abundantly clear that Masons filled many of the pivotal roles in the early Dallas government. The man who drew up the town's charter was Nat M. Burford, a Mason (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas: Vol. F, pp. 26-27; Cochran 1966:217). From the town's incorporation in 1856 until the end of the Civil War, Dallas knew six mayors, at least half of whom are positively known to have been members of the Masonic lodge, and the remaining office holders may well have been – Dr. Samuel B. Pryor (known to be member from Masonic minutes) John M. Crockett (buried in Masonic cemetery), Isaac C. Naylor, Dr. A. D. Rice, John M. Crockett (known to be member from Masonic minutes), and Thomas E. Sherwood (Cochran 1966:217-219; Carlisle 1994:16-32; Tannehill Lodge Minutes, AF & AM, Dallas Texas, 1854-1865).

After the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries were established, two types of cemeteries were now in place to serve the small town's needs. The “noble dead” of what constituted Dallas's elite class would henceforth be buried in the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries, while the poorer whites, paupers, and enslaved African-Americans would continue to be buried, as they had since the town was founded, within the Old Burial Ground.

Interestingly, the creation of a social division, as witnessed in the Dallas mortuary program, can also be seen in other local communities at the same time. In Garland, a small farming community to the east of Dallas, members of the Knights of Pythias fraternal order founded a separate cemetery for their own use in 1857, the same year as the Masons and Odd Fellows in Dallas (Anonymous 1987).

Enslavement and Emancipation

The slave holders in Dallas County were mostly middling farmers; in 1850, seventy percent of slave owners in Dallas County owned only between one to three slaves. Most slaves worked as either servants or field laborers, and from the 1860 slave schedules, it is clear that at least with small slave holders (i.e., those possessing only one or two slaves), many housed their slaves with them in a single residence. Thus, the living quarters of Dallas slaves were often either alongside those of whites or actually within white households (Smith 1985:20).

Slavery was paternalistic in nature, and the reasoning ability of enslaved African-Americans, as well as their place within white society, almost without exception was regarded as analogous with children (Genovese 1976:3-7; Herskovits 1990:1-2). This predominate Anglo viewpoint regarding blacks, as well as the fact that most enslaved African-Americans lived either with or very near their white masters, was directly mirrored in the burial practices of Pre-Emancipation Dallas. The old Dallas Burial Ground was communal; it was here that the graves of African-American slaves were interred, within the same cemetery as their enslavers (Davidson 1998a; Davidson 1998b).

In the years immediately following Emancipation, however, an abrupt change is witnessed. The next division that can be seen in the Dallas mortuary program is a racial one, with the founding of Freedman's Cemetery, an exclusively black graveyard. On April 29, 1869, Sam Eakins, acting as spokesman for the fledgling community of Freedman's Town, purchased one acre of land for cemetery use for the sum of twenty five dollars. The cemetery was called Freedman's Cemetery (Figures 2-1, 2-2) (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, April 29, 1869, Vol. L, pp. 240-241; Davidson 1999a:20-22).

A principal factor contributing to the location of Freedman's Cemetery was grounded in the racism and extreme intolerance felt by whites towards recently freed African-Americans. A freedman community, known as Freedman's Town, had sprung up in the vicinity of Dallas soon after June 19, 1865, the day Emancipation came to Texas, and the location of the cemetery was within the widest boundaries of this settlement. Actually, Freedman's Town proper was only one of several communities of recently freed slaves that had begun to slowly form after Emancipation, all precipitated by actions of the dominate Anglo community (McKnight 1990:13, 23).

To counter the threat that Dallas's white community leaders saw as the influx of undesirables taking up residence in their town after the close of the Civil War, chief among them newly freed slaves, a series of ordinances were passed by the Dallas City Council and published in the local newspaper on November 25, 1865, just four months after Emancipation (Dallas *Weekly Herald*, Nov. 25, 1865). One of the major ordinances passed by the city council and published in the *Weekly Herald* concerned "Vagrants." Its

intention was one aimed directly at Freedmen, as the second point of its Section 1, which defines those individuals who would be considered Vagrants, makes perfectly clear:

All able bodied Freedmen, or other free persons of color, who have abandoned the service of their former masters or employers, for the purposes of idleness; or who are found loitering or rambling about, or idly wandering around the streets or other public place, or having no permanent residence or employment.

The penalties for being judged a vagrant could be rather severe:

Sec. 4. Whosoever shall be found guilty of being a vagrant; within the meaning of this ordinance, shall be fined in any sum of not less than three, nor more than one-hundred dollars for the first offense, and for each conviction the minimum penalty shall be increased three dollars, and the Mayor shall enter judgment for such fines and cost.

Upon conviction of the charge of vagrancy, in addition to the fine, a Freedman was required to put up a bond not to exceed five hundred dollars. If he were unable to post a bond ensuring his continued good behavior, or if he defaulted in any way, he would be subject to immediate arrest, confinement, and forced to “be kept at work on the streets without compensation, until such security is given, not to exceed six months.”

The implementation of a Vagrants Ordinance specifically targeting Freedmen was a common response by many Texas cities to Emancipation (Barr 1996:53). Nonetheless, during the difficult years of Reconstruction, for an African-American to merely step foot within the city limits of Dallas was to run the risk of being labeled a “vagrant” and face de facto slavery for up to six months at a time. Very likely as the direct result of the Vagrancy statutes, freedmen who migrated towards Dallas in search of work did not take up residence within the corporate limits of Dallas in large numbers, but instead settled around its periphery, probably venturing into town only when the necessity outweighed

the risk.

Freedman's Cemetery was founded at the height of Reconstruction. While political control was largely in the hands of local whites, for much of the time the actual officials holding office were only appointees, dictated by Federal troops. Throughout this period, at various times acts of violence were commonplace between blacks and whites, and animosity was always high (see Table 1-2 for specific instances of violence). The first county elections in which African-Americans were able to vote occurred in 1868, with the freedmen going to the polls through a protective line of Black Federal troops, even as many whites were denied the right to the vote as a result of having declared themselves to be against Negro suffrage. The same year that Blacks first exercised the franchise, 1868, also marked the arrival of the Ku Klux Klan to the town (Holmes and Saxon 1992:58-59).

The patronizing and paternalistic relationship that had previously existed between blacks and whites in Dallas County had been significantly altered with Emancipation. Additionally, during the years of Reconstruction, the previously known domestic arrangements, where blacks and whites had often lived together in close proximity, were either severely curtailed or ended.

Both conditions that had formerly allowed whites to view enslaved African-Americans as a part of the community (e.g., submissive and residing within the community), and thus allow their burial in the communal Old Dallas Burial Ground, were now lacking. When the Old Burial Ground was closed to further interments circa 1869, the formal attributes of the new cemetery founded to replace it within the Black

community reflected these changes.

First, Freedman's Cemetery's very location was dictated by the self imposed isolation of the town's freedman population. Second, the timing of the cemetery's founding in 1869 would seem to have been dictated in part by events of the previous year, with blacks voting for the first time, which stirred up even greater white animosity towards freedmen than had previously been known.

The Old Burial Ground, the first cemetery in Dallas, seems to have been closed to further interments by circa 1869 or 1870; at the very least, by 1869 a fundamental change had taken place in the final disposition of the dead in Dallas. This change can be witnessed in three key events. The first event is seen in the pages of the *Dallas Weekly Herald*, where notices by both the Masonic and Odd Fellows lodges were posted. Both notices forbade the interments of any bodies in the fraternal cemeteries other than those of Masons, Odd Fellows, or their immediate families (*Dallas Weekly Herald*, March 27, Aug. 7, 1869; Nov. 19, 1870; December 2, 1871).

The pairing of identical notices suggests that the two lodges were working in concert towards the same goal; i.e., the exclusion of unwanted burials. Each saw the immediate threat of undesirable (e.g., non Mason or Odd Fellows) burials occurring, even as the only other cemetery in town, the Old Burial Ground, was becoming inaccessible. The second critical event of 1869 was the establishment of Freedman's Cemetery. The final event of 1869 suggestive of the Old Burial Ground's end as an active cemetery is first witnessed in a simple two line editorial announcement placed in the *Dallas Weekly Herald* in November, 1869, "We understand a public cemetery is to be purchased by the

city” (Dallas *Weekly Herald*, November 27, 1869). City Council Minutes do not record such a topic being addressed until January 11, 1870, where a petition from concerned citizens regarding the purchase of a city cemetery was read by the mayor to the assembled city council (City Council Minutes, Dallas, Texas: Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 13; January 11, 1870).

Finally, on December 30, 1871, the Council succeeded in purchasing land adjoining the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemetery for use as a public cemetery (Figure 2-1) (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, Dec. 30, 1871, vol. P, p. 84). Incredibly, it took the Dallas City Council two years just to purchase the land needed for the new city cemetery, subsequent to its receipt of the petition from concerned citizens. The tardiness of the Council to act on such a proposal, especially one so easily satisfied by the simple purchase of cleared land was almost certainly the product of the political unrest Dallas suffered during Reconstruction.

The city aldermen serving during this period were not true elected officials, but rather were solely appointed by General J. J. Reynolds, the Union Army commander in charge of the Reconstruction government for the state. Keenly illustrating the disruption and instability experienced by this Reconstruction government, of a city council consisting of only five aldermen, four resigned during the period when the issue of a public cemetery was being addressed (Cochran 1966:54-55).

This new city cemetery was created along the northeastern boundary of the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries, and so was contiguous with them (Figure 2-1). With the entire town of Dallas to choose from, in addition to the surrounding countryside,

town officials still selected property adjacent to these two fraternal cemeteries. As yet there were no laws or burial ordinances in place regarding the parameters of cemetery placement or expansion, and so the location was not a legislated necessity. Though the reasoning behind the city council's choice in the matter may have been spurred by pragmatic factors, it may have also been a subconscious or at least unspoken feeling of reuniting the greater Anglo community against the perceived threat created by the emancipated freedmen, a social group at antipodes with the dominant paternalistic social structure. By 1872, while there were quite formal divisions placed between the "elite" and the common man, the fraternal order and city cemeteries were still contiguous. This accretion or clustering of cemeteries would be added to that same year.

The first Jewish community of any size arrived in Dallas by circa 1872, with the coming of the railroads. Though small in number, Dallas's Jewish community was principally composed of rich and influential businessmen, most notably the Sangers, of the department stores Sanger Brothers and later, Sanger-Harris (Rosenberg 1978:13-43; Holmes and Saxon 1992:178). The first cemetery to be founded exclusively on religious grounds in Dallas was the Jewish cemetery, created in 1872. Acreage for the Jewish Cemetery had been carved out of the City Cemetery, and so now there four contiguous cemeteries in the immediate vicinity, though all served differing socioeconomic or religious groups (Figure 2-1) (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, June 14, 1872, vol. R, p. 182).

Post Reconstruction to the beginnings of “Jim Crow” (1873-1901)

The next major period of Dallas cemetery creation began only four years after the founding of the Jewish Cemetery. Prior to the establishment of Freedman’s Cemetery, and save for the aforementioned Old Dallas Burial Ground, all of Dallas’s cemeteries came to be located together along the eastern periphery of the town, a group that included the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries, the old City Cemetery, as well as the Jewish Cemetery (Carlisle 1994:7-8). Interestingly, this accretive pattern would be recapitulated only a few short years later, in the area north of Dallas city limits.

While Freedman’s Cemetery was the first burial ground to be located north of Dallas and outside of the town’s municipal limits, it was not to be the last. Rather, its founding began a trend of cemetery creation and expansion that would not end until the mid-1880s (Figures 2-1, 2-2). The first burial ground after Freedman’s to be located north of the town was Trinity Cemetery, a private and ostensibly Protestant cemetery founded in June 1875 by William H. Gaston (a local banker, city alderman and entrepreneur), William H. Thomas, and Asa W. Morton, one of the town’s only undertakers (*Dallas Daily Herald*, June 29, 1875).

Yet another cemetery was created just two years after Trinity, in 1878, when the city of Dallas and William H. Gaston entered into a land swap. A five acre tract along the southern boundary of Trinity Cemetery was deeded to the city for the establishment of a white pauper cemetery, in exchange for title to the old municipal cemetery to the south (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, August 29, 1878, vol. 42, p. 385). Trinity Cemetery changed its name to Greenwood Cemetery, and the funding for its continued

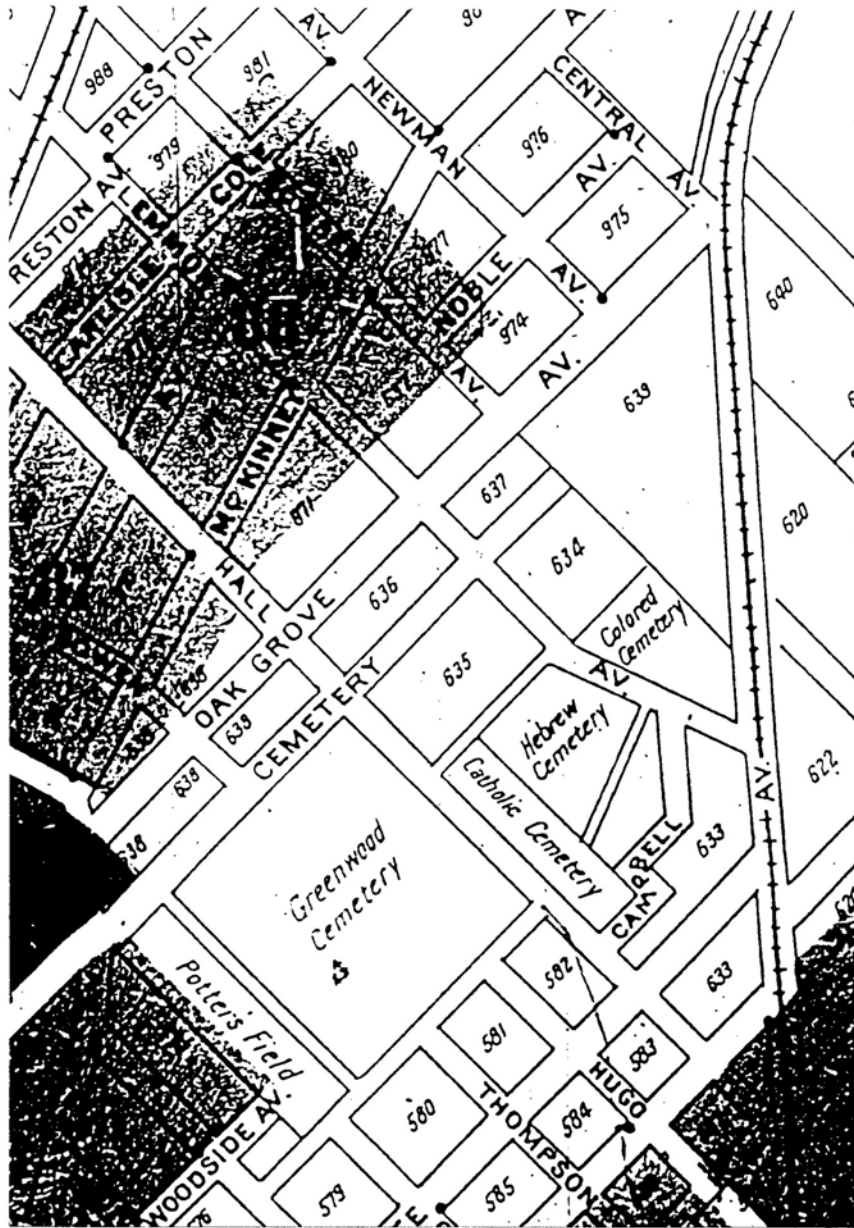


Figure 2-2 Freedman's Cemetery, shown here as the "colored cemetery," in relationship to adjacent cemeteries (from 1905 Sanborn Insurance Co. Map, Dallas, TX)

upkeep to the Greenwood Cemetery Association on May 25, 1896 (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, May 25, 1896, Vol. 203, pp. 551-552).

Soon after Trinity was established, yet another cemetery, Calvary, was placed in that same area north of Dallas. Calvary Cemetery, now known as Old Calvary, was founded on January 16, 1878. As with all of the cemeteries created during this period, Calvary served only a very narrow class or portion of the population, inasmuch as it was Catholic. Calvary Cemetery is located immediately opposite Trinity Cemetery, along the north side of Hall Street and less than a block south of Freedman's Cemetery (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, Jan. 16, 1878, Vol. 39, p. 134).

In 1879, Freedman's Cemetery began its expansion from one to four acres, with the purchase of three additional acres on April 12, 1879. The last payment on this land occurred on May 14, 1884, when the deed was finally filed and the transaction completed (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, Oct. 26, 1879, vol. 66, pp. 475-476). Securing additional property for Freedman Cemetery's future needs could not have been better timed, as by 1884 and the filing of the deed, yet another cemetery was created in its immediate vicinity. Temple Emanu-El, the primary Jewish congregation of the town purchased, on December 4, 1884, property adjoining the catholic Calvary Cemetery along its northern boundary and immediately to the south of Freedman's Cemetery (Deed Records, Dallas County, Texas, Dec. 3, 1884, vol. 70, pp. 493-494).

With the establishment of Emanu-El Cemetery in 1884, five distinctly different cemeteries were now located north of the town of Dallas, each contiguous with the other save for the divisions imposed by Hall Street and the old Lemmon Avenue (later Calvary

Avenue), with each serving a distinct, separate clientele. Reasonably well-to-do Protestants were interred in Trinity, the good Catholics laid to rest in Calvary, the Jews in Emanu-El Cemetery, all the Anglo poor were quietly disposed of in the City Pauper Cemetery, hidden behind Trinity, and finally the entire African-American community was interred together in Freedman's Cemetery.

In Dallas, the pattern of cemetery creation first exhibited within the city limits, with the establishment of distinctly independent though contiguous cemeteries, was not only recapitulated to the north of the town during the 1870s and into the early 1880s, it was intensified. The divisions created in the cemetery grouping north of the town were multi-faceted ones, based upon race, religion, and socioeconomic levels.

This re-creation and intensification of the earlier Dallas mortuary pattern of separate yet contiguous cemetery tracts is perhaps one of the most interesting aspects of this period. Again, as with the case of the city's founding of the old municipal cemetery contiguous with the Masonic and Odd Fellows cemeteries, a pragmatic or functionalist rationale to account for this phenomena is not forthcoming.

Since Trinity Cemetery was the first burying ground after Freedman's Cemetery to be established in the area, it will be discussed at length. Certainly the community needed a new cemetery at this time, as Dallas's population had increased from 1200 in 1871, to somewhere between 2000 and 10,000 by 1875, depending upon the source. The little three acre municipal cemetery founded by the town in 1871 was likely not up to the challenge incurred by this huge population increase (Kimbal 1927:43; Holmes and Saxon 1992:62).

Although the perceived need for Trinity Cemetery may have been an accurate one, this explains only its existence, not its physical location. As with the municipal cemetery established in 1871, with all of Dallas and much of the surrounding landscape in which to found Trinity Cemetery, the fact remains that it was established only one city block south of Freedman's Cemetery, the black graveyard created in 1869.

What was the rationale behind Trinity's placement, especially with regard to its proximity to Freedman's? Certainly, at least one aspect reflects a known trend. During the nineteenth century, there was a national movement towards the creation of new types of cemeteries. Beginning along the east coast within the increasingly urban environments of the early nineteenth century, there was a movement away from the burial of the dead in cramped city "graveyards," and towards interment in rural or garden "cemeteries," invariably some distance removed from the living population (Harris 1977:103-111). There were actually two specific forms of the modern cemetery. The first was the "rural or garden cemetery," with the Romantic Movement's emphasis on rural and bucolic, wooded, natural and unplanned in appearance, although this "unplanned" appearance was often actually a carefully and artificially created landscape. The beginning of the rural or garden cemetery as phenomena dates to the early 19th century. In Europe, the earliest known garden cemetery dates to May 21, 1807, when the cemetery Pere-Lachaise was founded outside of Paris, France (Ragon 1983:97-98). In the United States the rural "garden" cemetery has been dated to the early 1830s, with the establishment of Mt. Auburn Cemetery, outside of Boston, Massachusetts, on September 24, 1831 (Farrell 1980:99-102).

The second form of cemetery, the “lawn or park” cemetery was similar to the rural or garden form, in that it was removed from the city, but differed by its use of landscape. The space in a lawn cemetery was not heavily wooded and overly natural or unspoiled in appearance, but was rather a consciously created space, with open meadows and subtle vegetation (e.g., bushes, shrubs). Towering gravestones were few, and most often the grave markers lie flat and are unobtrusive. Lawn cemeteries became increasingly common and popular after the Civil War, and were the most common form of new cemetery by the end of the 19th century (Farrell 1980:115-117).

This national cemetery movement is reflected locally; Trinity Cemetery patterned itself as a rural or garden cemetery. It was located approximately one and a half miles north of the Dallas city limits, in what was still a fairly rural landscape. Trinity exhibited another hallmark of the rural cemetery movement, inasmuch as it was a private commercial venture, and so was not officially sanctioned by any municipality or religious organization (Farrell 1980:99-145).

At first it might seem especially odd that just after the end of Reconstruction, Trinity Cemetery, a private venture designed for an exclusively white and predominately Protestant clientele was still established just a few hundred yards away from a cemetery for freedmen. Rather, it may be seen that the timing of these events is suggestive, in and of itself, of the underlying rationale.

During the years of Reconstruction, animosity towards blacks was very high, perhaps reaching its zenith by 1868, just a few months prior to the founding of Freedman’s Cemetery. By the time of Trinity Cemetery’s founding, however, the

political and social climate in North Texas had changed to a marked degree. For all intents and purposes, Reconstruction had ended in Dallas in November 1872, a time that saw the first general elections since military rule had been imposed (Cochran 1966:221). It was also in 1872 that the Freedman's Bureau ceased to exist (Bergman 1969:271). Without the backing of armed Federal troops, local blacks, by attempting to exercise their voting rights (or indeed most of the rights that had been granted them during Reconstruction), would have run considerable personal risk. State wide, Reconstruction ended during the years of 1875 and 1876, when the Texas State Constitution was rewritten and ratified by white Democrats, who rejected outright the previous constitution framed by a Republican dominated Congress in 1869 (Barr 1996:70-71).

It is, of course, entirely possible that the location of Trinity Cemetery was chosen for mainly pragmatic reasons inherent in the nature of everyday land procurement. But it is important to note that at the time of Trinity's founding, the proximity of the land to the black Freedman's Cemetery would not have necessarily been viewed as an impediment to its primary goal, or particularly detrimental towards its value as commercial cemetery property. That is, the simple proximity of this preferred site to the Freedman's Cemetery would not have been negatively viewed, with either reluctance or revulsion on the part of the local white majority, as fueled by feelings of overt racism or animosity. Rather, the overwhelming animosity engendered in the tumultuous Reconstruction period had been somewhat mitigated by the restoration of local (and white) political autonomy. Simply put, the previously known paternalistic model of race relations, as practiced by whites over blacks, had by the time of Trinity's creation in the mid 1870s, been largely restored.

In contrast, the new residential patterns created by blacks during Reconstruction, with the majority residing within any number of Freedman's Towns around the periphery of Dallas, was only somewhat altered. By the close of Reconstruction, although many blacks moved back into white areas of municipal Dallas, to toil as servants or at other low paying service industry jobs (e.g., washer women), the majority of the community remained in exclusively Black enclaves (McDonald 1978:118,146).

The pattern that had been known when blacks and whites were interred together within the Old Burial Ground, bespeaking of paternalism, was only partially restored, and in a more strained and less ingenuous way. With this uneasy peace made between the two groups by circa 1875, the founding of Trinity Cemetery very near, but importantly not contiguous to, Freedman's Cemetery that same year, can be seen to reflect this new social reality.

In regard to other sociological trends exhibited during this final period, the founding of a formal pauper cemetery by city officials in 1878 is, at least partially, a pragmatic result of the large population increases Dallas experienced in the late 1870s. With greater and greater numbers of transients in the city, the necessity of such a facility is unquestionable, though its mere presence also illuminates another window into the mind-set of city officials.

Although nearly all of the observations made here have been regarding specific aspects of cemetery creation, the converse can also reveal contemporary perceptions. While the Dallas City Council went to some trouble and expense by creating a five acre pauper cemetery in 1878, this potter's field was exclusively white. By their actions (or

rather their lack of action) in not creating a black parallel, the city's viewpoint regarding blacks would seem to suggest that Freedman's Cemetery, the only black cemetery serving the entire African-American community, was considered to be essentially one large potter's field. Whatever the reason, whether through simple lack of foresight or an all too reasoned view that blacks as a group were no better or worse than paupers, the end result is unarguable – nineteenth century Dallas never bothered to set aside a separate city pauper cemetery for Blacks. By default, then, the entirely privately owned cemetery of Freedman's became the final resting place for all of Black Dallas, rich and poor. This perceived white viewpoint regarding Freedman's in the 1870s can actually be directly witnessed in turn of the century newspaper accounts, which often refer to Freedman's as the "old cemetery for Negro paupers" (e.g., *Dallas Times Herald*, June 22, 1906).

After the founding of Trinity Cemetery, which with its 30 acres of enclosed grounds could have been considered a precedent to follow, the creation of additional cemeteries in the area soon occurred. The formation of cemeteries that exclusively served a single religion, it could be argued, was as an obvious and natural division, a direct and understandable correlation between a mortuary division, and a distinction known in life. The Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians, all laid to rest together within the Old Burial Ground were still off-shoots of Protestantism. Overall, their differences were comparatively slight. Other religions, however, actually have quite specific mandates regarding the treatment of the dead. For example, Catholic faith dictates that their dead lie within consecrated ground – something that only a Catholic priest sanctifying a Catholic cemetery could create (Jupp 1997:10).

From “Jim Crow” Days to the Civil Rights Period (1901-1970)

The founding of Freedman’s Cemetery in 1869 can be interpreted in various ways: an early act of self determination by freedmen and women; a simple act of necessity; and one of the first formal and most enduring symbols of segregation on Dallas’s cultural landscape. By most criteria, Freedman’s Cemetery was a “graveyard” and not a “cemetery.” Although the two terms are often used interchangeably (like the terms coffin and casket), strictly speaking they are referring to two distinctly different phenomena. A graveyard is a less codified area for burial of the dead; it is often urban, surrounded by homes and other aspects of the living society, it is often overgrown with natural vegetation, and it has little in the way of formal landscaping or other beautifying aspects. Burials are often interred without any inherent order, and overcrowding is common (Ames 1981:642). The “cemetery” (from the Greek word for sleeping chamber), however, differs in that it is usually rural, orderly, landscaped, with distinct divisions between family plots, social groupings, stillborns, and paupers (Ames 1981:642).

The need to create a beautiful space for the final resting places of their loved ones was something that was deeply felt within Dallas’s black community. On the evening of March 6, 1891, a meeting of Black Dallas’s community leaders took place in a court room at City Hall for the purpose of discussing what should be done with Freedman’s Cemetery. Two separate accounts of this meeting are available— from the *Dallas Times Herald* and the *Dallas Morning News*— and though each is written in a mocking and mildly contemptuous tone, the articles provide details and a window upon the events of

the early 1890s that would otherwise be unobtainable.

Ostensibly, the meeting was convened to form a club to raise funds towards two goals: to beautify Freedman's Cemetery, in part by building a fence around the property, and to purchase additional cemetery land. Silas Pittman, one of the cemetery trustees mentioned by name in the 1879 Freedman's Cemetery Deed, opened the meeting.

Melvin Wade, a well known figure in local politics from the days of Reconstruction (Hill 1996:35), next addressed the crowd and in so doing graphically described what he saw as the prevailing conditions at Freedman's Cemetery in 1891 (*Dallas Times Herald*: March 7, 1891): "...that in the cemetery it looked as if the dead people had been hauled out on the cars, pitched off and covered up just anywhere and in any position that they struck the ground. He said it was customary for the dead to be laid away with their heads to the west but in this cemetery headstones faced every point of the compass."

Since no photographs of Freedman's Cemetery are known from the entire 39 year period in which it was an active burial ground, this early verbal description is valuable in and of itself. It should be noted, however, that despite Mr. Wade's perception of the matter, archaeological excavations revealed that in actuality the graves were nearly all in rough but clearly distinguishable rows, and all were invariably aligned east to west, though this pattern may have been much less discernable from the ground surface.

The majority of graves were marked and decorated by such things as simple wooden slabs at the head and feet, and the surfaces of the graves were themselves often mounded with dirt, or covered by low and amorphous mounds of freshwater mussel and sea shells. Additional markers included broken plates and bowls, marbles, dolls and

other toys, glass vessels and such objects as pressed glass kerosene lamp bases. The overall effect of these markers would have been a jumble and a seemingly patternless chaos, at least as viewed from above. What vagaries of burial alignment and placement that existed at Freedman's Cemetery can largely be traced to the fact that the cemetery never had the luxury of a sexton until its final year of operation, and so there was a certain inevitability to the crowding of some graves together, and a few burials at any given time were likely to intrude into earlier graves. All this was apparent from our excavations, and seems to be at least in part of what Melvin Wade is speaking.

Wade and others suggested the organization engaged in raising money for the cemetery be named "The Dallas Citizens Club" and that George Fuqua be appointed its permanent chairman, two ideas that met with no resistance. Marcellus Clayton Cooper, the town's (as well as the state's) first Black dentist, newly returned from Meharry Medical School, in Nashville, Tennessee, was appointed as secretary (Barr 1996:95). A committee on rules and by-laws was next appointed, comprising such notable Black community leaders as John Wesley Ray (principal and schoolteacher), John Starks (a barber, school teacher, publisher, and later still an undertaker), as well as Messrs. Lowry, Moore, Silas Pittman, Cicero Wiggins, and McLin. Though an argument between Reverend Carson and Melvin Wade, among others, broke up the meeting before anything substantive was accomplished, another meeting was scheduled for March 20 (Dallas *Morning News*; Dallas *Times Herald*: March 7, 1891).

On March 20, 1891, the "Cemetery Club" met again in the auditorium of the City Hall, though with only eight members in attendance. Due to this light turnout, the

meeting was immediately canceled. One of those attending explained to the reporter for the *Morning News* that the lack of attendance was likely due to the upcoming elections (Dallas *Morning News*; March 21, 1891).

Meanwhile, perhaps spurred to action by the African-American community's attempts to purchase additional cemetery property for the burial of their dead, an ordinance was hurriedly passed by the Dallas City Council on March 6, 1891, (a day prior to the first cemetery club meeting) that declared it illegal to purchase or utilize property within the city limits of Dallas for the purposes of establishing a cemetery. Further, no existing cemetery in the city could increase its size or extend its borders, although a waiver could at least in theory be granted by the City Council (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Series 1, Vol. 7, pp. 215-216). Since it was unlikely that the Council would grant such a request from the Black community, any new cemetery established by them would therefore have to be outside the corporate limits of the city.

From the beginning of efforts in 1891, it would take another 10 years for community leaders of Black Dallas to raise the necessary capital to found an entirely new, privately owned Black cemetery. The next known record of the organization appears on January 13, 1900, in the pages of the weekly Dallas *Express*, one of the principal Black newspapers of the state. Serendipitously, this issue of the Dallas *Express* is the only extant pre-1919 copy of the paper. By 1900, the group previously known as the Dallas Citizen's Club apparently was known as the "Laboring Men's Club." Under the title, "Laboring Men's Meeting," the *Express* article reported that, "Thursday night a large number of men met at Odd Fellows hall and held another meeting, for the purpose

of raising money to procure a new cemetery. The committee reported, but was instructed to report finally next Thursday night, on a suitable location. \$58 was raised, making a total of over \$100 now on hand.”

This “suitable location” was to later become known as Woodland Cemetery (sometimes referred to as Woodlawn in early documents), located approximately two miles to the southeast of the circa 1900 Dallas city limits. The signatories on the deed for Woodland Cemetery were the trustees for the Laboring Men’s Colored Club, comprising G. W. Fuqua, Silas Pittman, Sam Miller, S. R. Johnson, H. Starkes, John P. Starks, Coleman Long, R. W. Lightner, T. H. Routh, J. T. Hill, and J. W. Ray. Some of these men had been members of the original Cemetery Club founded ten years earlier. The property, five acres in all, was purchased from J. L. Ross on January 25, 1901, for the sum of eight hundred dollars, of which four hundred was paid at the deed’s signing. The deed was filed for record on October 30, 1901 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 272, pp. 466-468). The newly founded Black cemetery, Woodland, was not the first cemetery to be established in the area, but rather lay only a few blocks east of Oakland Cemetery, a private white burial ground founded in 1892 and designed as a lawn park in the latest fashion of the period (Anonymous 1893).

With the establishment of Woodland Cemetery, the African-American community of Dallas was making a clear class conscious distinction. The new cemetery was created as a modern lawn or park cemetery, in the popular style of period (e.g., Farrell 1980:115-117), and its location, adjacent to the white Oakland Cemetery, suggested a direct correspondence or equivalency. The 1901 founding of the new black cemetery only a

few hundred yards away from the newly (1891) created white cemetery, also reflects a recapitulation of earlier events. As discussed above, Freedman's Cemetery was placed nearly 2 miles outside of Dallas during Reconstruction (demonstrating the separation of the black community from the greater community), but the creation of Trinity Cemetery, the private white cemetery, one block away from Freedman's, showed an at least partial restoration of the paternalistic pattern that had existed before Emancipation.

Freedman's Cemetery and the newly created Woodland Cemetery differed not only in their forms (the old graveyard vs. the new lawn cemetery), but even their names were radically different; Freedman's Cemetery was the name given to the site by the black community, but early on it was known as the Negro or Colored Cemetery, or even at times the Negro Pauper Cemetery (e.g., *Dallas Times Herald* June 22, 1906). Both of these terms, the community's term of Freedman's, or the dominant society's Negro/Colored were obviously highly racialized. Woodland Cemetery was not; its name is actually an homage to earlier well known rural cemeteries, including the original Woodland Cemetery in Cleveland, Ohio, founded in 1843 and officially named Woodland ten years later (<http://www.woodlandarboretum.org/history.htm>; <http://www.rootsweb.com/~ohclecem/woodlandhistory.html>).

However, whites in Dallas racialized Woodland Cemetery almost immediately. The earliest known reference to Woodland Cemetery in the death records is on January 23, 1902, with the death of Gilbert Lemon, who died of heart disease at the age of 42 (see Appendix F). Lemon was interred by George Loudermilk, the white undertaker who was the second most popular funeral home among African-Americans (after Peoples

Undertaking, the black funeral home), and he notes the place of interment as “The *New Colored Cemetery*” (emphasis added). The deed for the purchase of Woodland Cemetery was filed at the county courthouse on October 30, 1901, and so only three months later, the earliest known reference to the cemetery is by the racialized term “New Colored,” not by the proper name given to it by the black cemetery club or the greater black community (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 272, pp. 466-468). With the founding of Woodland Cemetery and the newly coined term “New Colored” assigned to it, Freedman’s Cemetery became known as the “Old Colored Cemetery,” to keep the place of interment distinct in official records.

In Randall McGuire’s (1988) study of the Broome County cemeteries in upstate New York, he analyzed changing tombstone styles and other changes made to the cemetery landscapes from the early 19th century to the 1980s, and discovered patterns that broadly match those found in Dallas’s cemetery landscape. In the earliest graves, the Broome County cemeteries display symbols (e.g., tombstones) that mask or deny any inequality between individuals (corresponding to the Old Burial Ground), while the late 19th and early 20th century graves display great differences in wealth and glorify personal achievements in the time of a rise in capitalism, industrialism, and ultimately Social Darwinism as a means to explain or naturalize these differences. Finally for Broome County, mid to late 20th century graves again fail to differentiate in any great way status or socioeconomic differences between individuals (McGuire 1988:457-458).

Around the time of Woodland Cemetery’s founding, the Dallas City Council and the County Commissioner’s Court were entering into the joint purchase of property for

the purposes of establishing pauper burial grounds; significantly, for the first time to include a section for Black indigents. The first indication of the council's intention to create a new pauper cemetery dates to February 27, 1900, when the Public Grounds and Buildings Committee reported that 17 acres of suitable land for cemetery purposes were located directly east of the State Fair Grounds and available for immediate purchase at one hundred dollars an acre (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 462).

Though the Public Grounds Committee approved the property without reservations and their recommendation was accepted without debate, the city never purchased this tract. A later communication from the County Commissioners, dated March 25, 1901, seemed the more viable option (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, pp. 6-7):

The Undersigned members of Commissioners Court of Dallas County, represent that there is a need of a place for burial of paupers and that about thirteen acres of land near Oakland Cemetery can be purchased for that purpose for \$1200.00 -and we submit you (the) following proposition, viz: That Dallas County will pay \$600.00 on purchase of said land if Dallas City will pay \$600.00 and that all paupers in the City and County may be buried on said lands...

A report from the Special Committee for the City immediately followed and wholeheartedly endorsed the County's proposition for joint purchase of cemetery property (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 7). And so, on May 17, 1901, a deal was struck by the County and the City with J. A. and Mattie Crawford, the tracts' owners, whereby each governmental body would enter into separate deed agreements for six acres of a twelve acre tract, for the total sum of \$1200 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 265, pp. 208, 475).

With this 1901 purchase, a new pauper cemetery had been created on paper, though not in fact. On the day these deeds were filed, the city and county between them became the owners of 12 acres of isolated and likely overgrown land two miles east of Dallas and adjoining the back of Oakland Cemetery, with no access to the property by road or even right-of-way. It would take the forced closure of Freedman's Cemetery, some six years and several court orders later, before this pauper cemetery would be more than just a vacant lot.

Meanwhile, despite the opening of Woodland Cemetery in late 1901, Freedman's Cemetery continued to receive the lion's share of burials from the Black community. Only ten deaths were unambiguously recorded for burial at Woodland Cemetery in 1902, its first year of operation, and a total of only 81 interments recorded for Woodland between its beginning in 1902 and July 26, 1907 (City Death Records, Vital Records Department, Dallas, Texas).

One possible reason behind a preference for Freedman's Cemetery can be traced to the simple fact that Freedman's was an entirely free cemetery; burial at Woodland Cemetery required the purchase of at least an individual plot ranging in price from \$5.00 to \$10.00 (Ed C. Smith Collection, Dallas Public Library; G. W. Loudermilk Day Books, 1902-1907, Sparkman Hillcrest Funeral Home; Peoples Day Books, 1907-1910, 1915, African-American Museum). Freedman's also had the weight of history and tradition behind it, wherein rested the ancestors for the entire Black Dallas community from the turbulent days of Reconstruction forward. With the establishment of Woodland Cemetery, an unnamed element within the Black community considered it time for

Records Department, Dallas, Texas). This number also is largely confirmed from excavations at the cemetery. The truth is that by 1902, while Freedman's Cemetery was close to being full, it was not entirely so. True, the only pristine portions of the cemetery lay along its eastern border, abutting the right-of-way for the Houston and Texas Central Railroad (or as it was known by the turn of the century, Central Track). Other large, relatively empty areas entirely suitable for additional burials, however, were located along the site's northern periphery, a fact that did not go unnoticed by Dallas's undertakers or their grave diggers.

Unfortunately, since this northern portion included the original First Acre from 1869, the area had seen continuous (though intermittent and haphazardly placed) interments since Freedman's founding. Additionally, the pristine, empty areas between graves often would have been very difficult to pinpoint with precision, stemming largely from the type and manner of grave decoration in vogue, and alluded to above. From the ground surface, as Melvin Wade pointed out in 1891, it would have appeared as though the burials had been buried in every direction of the compass. This crowding of graves along the northern boundary of Freedman's, as witnessed through the TxDOT excavations, created the not uncommon phenomena of stacked burials, where interments dug into and disturbed earlier graves. It was in part due to this common practice of stacking after the turn-of-the-century that finally led to Freedman's closure.

The Sanitary Committee unanimously agreed that burial at Freedman's Cemetery must end, and requested that the city health officer stop issuing permits. All well and good, except that this order apparently was ignored by all parties involved – city health

officer, the undertakers, grave diggers, and most of all, the Black community of Dallas. From the city records alone, which are known to be incomplete, at least 695 burials occurred at Freedman's after the Sanitary committee's condemnation of the site, and a fair portion of these were indigents, buried at city expense by James Dunn, Broussard, Beard, and Company, or later still Donovan Company, all white undertakers who during this time held the pauper burial contracts with the city.

Although the summer of 1902 saw the initial attempt to close Freedman's Cemetery, with first the petition and then a report that were both immediately ignored, Freedman's status as an active burial ground would remain unchanged and unchallenged for three years. On June 6, 1905, a Dallas *Times Herald* article declared that Mayor Barry was earnestly attempting to close Freedman's Cemetery once again.

To Bury in New Cemetery Effort Being Made to Have Negroes Make Change

An effort is being made to induce the management of the negro burying ground, which is located near Hall street, adjoining the Jewish cemetery, to refrain from burying any more corpses there. One reason assigned is that the cemetery is almost entirely occupied and is not practical to bury any more dead there. The negro population have a new grave yard south of the city and is situated near Oakland Cemetery. It is understood that Mayor Barry has taken up the matter (sic), with a view of inducing the negroes to refrain from using the old burying grounds.

The new cemetery referred to above was of course, Woodland, the privately owned Black cemetery located east of Oakland and well outside the city's limits. Now three years after its founding, Woodland was seen by the Black community as a legitimate alternative to Freedman's, though Freedman's still received the vast majority

of Black burials. What Mayor Barry did not seem to comprehend in 1905 is that if Freedman's was condemned as he requested, and immediately replaced by Woodland as the primary burial ground for Black Dallas, it was highly unlikely that the owners of Woodland (in essence the community in 1905) could be persuaded to allow the city to bury its significant number of Black paupers at no cost. The city certainly would not want to pay ten dollars a plot for the privilege, on top of the charge already being extracted from the city's coffers by the undertaker James Dunn for coffin, shroud and grave digging.

Five years after its purchase by Dallas City and County governments, the tract of land proposed for use as a pauper cemetery had not received improvements of any sort, and still consisted of a vacant lot. In fact, on March 14, 1905, Mr. Rodney A. Aldrich, sexton for Oakland Cemetery (Dallas City Directory 1909), petitioned the city for use of the City Pauper Grounds, as they conveniently abutted against Oakland. Presumably, Mr. Aldrich wanted to utilize the grounds as a staging area for funerals at Oakland. The Council ruled two weeks later that it was the Mayor's discretion to rent out the property as he saw fit (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 30, pp. 518, 528).

Again, as witnessed from the city death records and additionally through evidence gained from archaeological investigations, Mayor Barry's 1905 request of the Black community to refrain from interring any more bodies at Freedman's Cemetery was patently ignored, just as it had been in 1902. It would take another year, and newspaper articles published over the course of the next summer, decrying the unsanitary conditions prevailing at the site, before words finally prompted action in the matter.

The first of these summer articles appeared on June 22, 1906 (*Dallas Times Herald*), and described the desperately crowded conditions present at Freedman's Cemetery, urging the City Council to act:

**Potter's Field Is Needed
Old Cemetery For Negro Paupers Filled To Overflowing
More Land Needed
City Council Asked to Make Provision For the Burial of Bodies**

From reports which have been received from the undertakers of Dallas and from various other sources the potter's field, in which all the negro paupers are buried, is so full at this time that it is impossible to find room in which to dig a new grave.

It is expected that this matter will be brought up at the next meeting of the council at which time it is probable that this body will be asked to take up the matter of purchasing more land on which to locate the burial grounds.

According to one undertaker, when asked about the matter this morning, the conditions prevailing at this place were brought to the attention of the city council but they took no action on the matter. The potter's field for the negroes is located alongside of the Central railroad near the other graveyards, and just north of where the North Belt car line crossed this railroad track.

There are several acres in this plot but negroes have been buried here for years and there is hardly a place two feet wide and six feet long in which to dig a grave. Conditions prevailing in the white potter's field are also deplorable, but there is yet room in which to bury a few bodies.

Although the Dallas City Council was specifically addressed by name in hopes of bringing action to the matter, the official minutes of this body immediately following the article's publication reveal absolutely no mention of Freedman's or its many problems. Thus ignored, the status quo of Freedman's reigned still. On August 12, 1906, yet another article was published in the *Times Herald*, this time detailing the number and condition of each cemetery located within as well as nearby the city of Dallas. Freedman's Cemetery is described as being "in about the same condition as is the City Cemetery," the white pauper cemetery located behind Greenwood Cemetery (formerly

Trinity). And the condition of the city pauper cemetery, as described in the article, was bleak indeed:

In the City cemetery, or potter's field, where the city's dead are buried, no record is kept of the number buried. In fact a number of graves of two years standing have no mark to indicate that it was once a grave. On several occasions when the grave digger starts to open up a grave for the body of some one who has just passed away he sometimes has to dig in several places before he can find a clear piece of ground. Often in digging a grave he is compelled to stop and cover up the hole he has made because he finds it has been used for the same purpose some time before.

From the founding of Woodland Cemetery at the close of 1901, the end for Freedman's Cemetery always seemed imminent, though somehow each year Freedman's continued to avoid being closed. By late summer 1906, however, the increasingly poor and wholly unsanitary conditions experienced at Freedman's Cemetery finally chanced to be heard by the mayor directly, and from a source that could not easily be ignored. The true beginning of the end for Freedman's Cemetery started on September 17, 1906, explicitly documented in a lengthy *Times Herald* article, given below in its entirety:

Mayor Takes Prompt Action Negro Cemetery in Dallas Closed by His Order

Complaint is Made

Claims That Burying Ground is Now Filled- Special Officer to Patrol the Grounds

If an order made by Mayor Curtis P. Smith this morning holds good, no more negro bodies can be buried within the corporate limits of the city of Dallas. Bodies are now being interred in the old negro cemetery in North Dallas at the rate of two or three in one grave. The sexton of the Jewish cemetery, adjoining the negro cemetery on the west, called on Mayor Smith this morning and requested him to take steps to remedy the trouble immediately.

An order was made by Mayor Barry some two years ago prohibiting the interment of any more bodies in the negro cemetery, but it seems that it has been ignored. Every lot in this cemetery, it is claimed, was taken some time ago, and bodies are now being buried in old graves, making two and in some cases, three bodies in a grave.

A city ordinance passed some years ago provides against the laying out of any more burial grounds in the city or increase in size any of the present ones. This will necessitate the establishing of another cemetery outside the city limits. Bearing upon this matter the mayor sent the following letter to Chief Sanitary Inspector A. S. DeLee:

September 17, 1906. Mr. A. S. DeLee. Chief Sanitary Inspector. Dear Sir: Complaint has been made to me that negroes are burying bodies in the negro cemetery adjoining the Jewish cemetery, and I have been informed that under the former administration this was ordered stopped. The owners of the Jewish cemetery and the property owners adjoining the negro cemetery claim that the negroes are now burying two or three bodies in one grave, thus creating an intolerable nuisance, and such state of affairs is absolutely against the sanitary laws of this city. I desire that you immediately investigate that matter and promptly prosecute the guilty parties. As this is an extraordinary case, I would instruct you to employ a watchman to remain on duty at the negro cemetery during the day for one week, or until the council can make arrangements to take this matter in hand. You will make this selection at once and send the man to me and I will issue him a commission as a special policeman. You will also notify each of the undertaking establishments that this practice of burying any more bodies in the negro cemetery must be stopped, and if it is not stopped use the necessary means to make the stop. Respectfully,

Curtis P. Smith, Mayor

Acting on the sanitary officer's recommendation, J. P. Clark was appointed a special policeman to see that the order against burying bodies in this cemetery is carried out. Mayor Smith states that he will bring the matter before the council at its next meeting and endeavor to have the penalties made such that the order will not be violated. Every undertaker in the city will be advised of the order and warned against violating it.

The complaint made by Robert Young, the sexton of Emanu-El Cemetery (Dallas City Directory 1906), elicited a swift and dramatic response, especially as compared to prior attempts to close the site. Apparently complaints were lodged not only from Young, but also from several prominent citizens who were attending a funeral at Emanu-

El Cemetery on September 17 (*Dallas Morning News*; September 18, 1906). Calls to action, especially from such highly placed voices as the Jewish business community, could not be ignored.

While the actions of Mayor Smith regarding the Freedman's Cemetery problem were meted out immediately following the complaint received from the sexton for the Jewish Cemetery (among others), it was not until Tuesday, September 25, 1906, that the mayor officially addressed the Dallas City Council with a formal letter detailing his actions and additional proposals (*Dallas City Council Minutes*; Series 1, Vol. 32, p. 259).

This letter is reproduced below in its entirety:

– Communication from the Mayor –
To the Honorable City Council:

Gentlemen: - I am informed that the plat of ground in the northern part of the City, known as the colored cemetery ground, is occupied to its full capacity by dead bodies, and to permit any further interment at this place will create a nuisance and be detrimental to the health of this city. This cemetery is bounded on the north by Bowser avenue, on the south by Lemmon avenue, on the East by a street 40 feet wide, its boundary and the H. & T. C. R. R. right-of-way, and on the west by a 20 foot alley. The tract of land comprises 4 acres. There is a 40 foot street according to the City Block Book between the Hebrew cemetery and the colored cemetery. Under the present conditions, this street does not exist.

I would recommend that the said 4 acres of ground designated on the block book as colored cemetery be condemned as a public nuisance and that no more bodies be permitted to be interred therein, and that the Trustees of said cemetery, to-wit:- T. Watson, A. R. Griggs, S. Peterman, Frank Reed, A. Wilhite, A. Boyd and George English be notified by the City Secretary of this action of the City Council, and instructed to procure another piece of ground should they desire to inter any more dead bodies or permit same to be done.

I would also recommend that the Chief of Police be instructed, by the City Secretary to see that this order of the City Council is strictly complied with, and to notify the Police Department to arrest and prosecute to conviction any and all persons found hereafter interring dead bodies in the 4 acres above mentioned. I would also recommend that the City Engineer be instructed to stake off Lemmon avenue to a width of 40 feet between the Hebrew cemetery and Squire Campbell's

addition on the south and said 40 acres on the north from the H. & T. C. right-of-way on the east to the 20 foot alley to the West.

I will further state that upon ascertaining the facts, I ordered said colored cemetery closed on account of being a public nuisance, and placed a special policeman upon the ground at a compensation of \$2.50 per day to prevent any further interments in said cemetery, and I respectfully ask that my action in the premises be ratified and confirmed by the City Council. I do not think that it will be necessary to continue further the services of this special officer after instructions have been delivered to the Chief of Police in (?)... premises.

I herewith submit a plat furnished me by the City Engineer showing the location of this 4 acres of ground, together with the names of the Trustees of said colored cemetery.

Curtis P. Smith, Mayor
– Adopted –

Mayor Smith met with former mayor Bryan Barry on the afternoon of the 17th, at which time Barry reminded his successor of the property owned by the city adjoining Oakland Cemetery, specifically purchased and set aside as a pauper burying ground. While the city had obtained the property in 1901, on the afternoon of September 17, 1906, embarrassingly, it seems city officials could not locate the deed or even produce proof of the tract's existence (*Dallas Times Herald*; September 18, 1906).

The next morning, on September 18, Mayor Smith convened a meeting with representatives from both Peoples Undertaking Company (at the time, the first and only Black undertaker in the city), as well as with Mr. Donovan of the Donovan Undertaking Company, whose firm at the time held the pauper burial contract with the city. Although there were five undertaking firms serving Dallas by 1906, between the two of them Donovan and Peoples were responsible for nearly all of the interments made at Freedman's.

The only thing that seems to have been accomplished by this meeting with Mayor Smith was a temporary continuance in the issuing of permits for pauper burial, though this was hardly a show of largess on the part of the mayor (*Dallas Times Herald*; September 18, 1906). In reality, Mayor Smith had little or no choice in the matter. At the time, there was simply no other place in which to bury the Black indigent dead.

A week following the formal complaint made by the sexton for Emanu-El, a follow up article on the cemetery was published in the *Times Herald* (September 24, 1906), containing a detailed description of Freedman's Cemetery. As with that offered by Melvin Wade at the Cemetery Club's meeting in 1891, without the luxury of photographs, this description serves up the best picture of the physical conditions prevailing at Freedman's Cemetery at the time of its writing:

INTERMENT OF NEGRO BODIES
Conditions Existing at the Cemetery in North Dallas

BURYING PLACE FILLED
Municipality Has Used It For the Past Twenty-Five Years -
Action is Expected Soon

So much has appeared in the press recently regarding the conditions of the city cemetery for negroes that an inspection of this plot of ground was made the other day by a reporter for the purpose of writing up the places as the conditions deserved. The plot of ground which covers about five acres is located on North Central avenue about a block from where the North Belt car line crosses the central railroad on State street. For twenty-five years or more this cemetery has been used by the negroes as a place in which to inter their dead and as no record has ever been kept as to how many bodies have been placed therein it is not known how many have been buried there. This land was purchased by the city as a negro burying ground and the municipality has absolute control over it.

Cemetery is Filled

No doubt the full capacity of the place has already been overrun and an examination developed the fact that graves have been dug crosswise of one another, but this cannot be blamed on the undertakers or grave diggers for the simple reason that no records are kept and as most of the negroes buried here never have more than a wooden slab to mark their graves, which soon decay, all location of the old graves are lost track of. Besides this the place is grown up with underbrush, high weeds, wiregrass, sunflowers, bramble bushes and vines which materially assist time and decay to obliterate all traces of the graves.

No fence encloses the plot of ground and horses, cows and other animals are free to roam at will through this cemetery. It is true that some few graves or lots are enclosed in neat fences of wood which serves to show that some of the relatives of those buried here are making an effort to keep their last resting places sacred. The claim is made that a great stench arose from the cemetery and that the entire atmosphere was contaminated by odors from this cemetery.

When the matter was first reported to Mayor Smith, there was a considerable odor apparently came from the cemetery. When the guard sent out to keep any more bodies from being buried in this place was inspecting the cemetery the other day he ran across the decaying and rotting remains of a dozen or more chickens. The city authorities were notified and the dead animal wagon was sent out and removed these twelve or fifteen dead chickens and about ten or fifteen more that was (sic) found in the strip of weeds adjoining this cemetery on the south. This had a very healthy effect on the atmosphere of that vicinity and people who reside in the near neighborhood of the cemetery state that much of the offensive odor that prevailed has almost entirely disappeared. One thing which causes a slight stench to arise from the burying grounds, however, is the fact that much of the vegetation is decaying, the cemetery not having been cleared off in years and as a result matted grass, weeds, leaves, and other stuff which would naturally gather in a place of this character is beginning to decay on account of the extra rainy summer which has been followed by a couple of weeks of hot sunny weather.

One or two bodies have been buried in this place since Mayor Smith issued his order not to allow any more bodies buried there. A grave was already dug for the reception of a body when the order was issued and the mayor gave permission for the remains to be interred in this cemetery. Since that time one or two more bodies have been buried there on orders from the mayor as the relatives of the deceased persons could not secure any other place in which to inter the dead. It is expected that this matter will come up at the next session of the council and some other burying place provided.

No more bodies should be allowed to be buried in this cemetery and a fence should be placed around the plot of ground contained in the graveyard. The weeds, grass and underbrush should then be removed and kept removed and it is not believed that there will be any more complaint from this place.

Meanwhile, a week had passed since Mayor Smith began the process of finding an alternative to Freedman's Cemetery, and city officials had yet to locate the deed for the six acres purchased for this purpose in 1901. This astounding lack of success was reported by the *Times Herald*, with the caveat that if the existence of this mystery tract could not be produced, city officials would proceed to purchase yet another five or ten acres in the vicinity of Oakland Cemetery towards the same end (Dallas *Times Herald*; September 25, 1906). A week later, it was reported in the *Times Herald* that confirmation of the city's ownership of the tract adjoining Oakland was still pending, though on the following day the *Times Herald* finally was able to report that the land did indeed belong to the city (Dallas *Times Herald*; October 1 and 2, 1906).

With the deed to the six acre tract behind Oakland Cemetery finally and firmly in the hands of city officials, it might have seemed that the establishment of the new pauper cemetery was an imminent event. Such was not to be the case. During the time of Freedman's Cemetery's condemnation and the preparations for the new pauper cemetery pending, the municipal government of Dallas was simultaneously undergoing a profound change. Dallas community and business leaders were in the process of re-writing the city's charter, exchanging the former system of a mayor and aldermen elected from individual wards, for a commission based system, where the commissioners were elected-at-large, a process which would ultimately rob minorities of representation from its creation until 1991 (see Chapter 1) (Hill 1996:8-9). All attention was focused upon this

massive restructuring of city government, and almost none given to the immediately pressing, though politically minor, matter of Black graveyards.

The day after Christmas, 1906, Mayor Smith announced that negotiations with property owners possessing land adjoining the new pauper cemetery had been ongoing for some time, but as yet had failed to persuade the sale of property for the establishment of a road to the city's tract. Smith stated that if these negotiations continued to be fruitless, the city would be forced to condemn the property, in essence to implement eminent domain procedures upon the needed right-of-way land. Meanwhile, though Freedman's Cemetery stood condemned, bodies continued to be interred within the old burial ground through the granting of special permits by the mayor (*Dallas Times Herald*, December 26, 1906).

Finally, ten months after the process began with Freedman's condemnation, a *Times Herald* article announced:

**New City Cemetery Formally Opened
Plenty of Room Provided for Burial of City's Poor**

Mayor S. J. Hay, Commissioner Doran, J. M. Strong and Undertaker Donovan took a trip out to the new city cemetery located adjoining the east side of Oakland cemetery, early this morning and officially announced that the cemetery was opened to the public. The ground, which is comprised of some six acres, was surveyed and divided, one-half to be used for whites and the other half for negroes.

This new pauper cemetery initially was referred to in the death records by area undertakers as New City to differentiate it from the old City Cemetery, the white pauper burial ground located behind Greenwood Cemetery. On October 11, 1911, a special committee reported to the Dallas City Council that the old Anglo pauper cemetery behind

Greenwood was completely filled and that any additional dead must instead be interred at the New City cemetery, abutting Oakland. The report goes on to state that, “So far burials in this last named cemetery have been without reference to any system either for white or colored persons...,” meaning that the system of internal division within the burial ground, at least in regards to race, had never been accomplished (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 2, Vol. 5, p. 236). Hence, in a four year interval between 1907 and 1911, the graves of black and white indigents were at times likely laid side by side one another, even as Jim Crow laws were being codified locally and throughout the South. In 1916, yet another city burial ordinance was passed, in part, to officially name the New City cemetery, Mount Auburn. The name change the city pauper cemetery experienced in 1916, was keeping in line with the use of proper names, instead of mere descriptives that had previously been employed, e.g., pauper cemetery (for the old city pauper cemetery), Negro cemetery (for Freedman’s), and so on. It was named in homage of the original Mount Auburn Cemetery, founded outside of Boston, Massachusetts in 1831 as one of the first of the rural cemeteries in the United States (French 1975; Dallas City Ordinance Books; Ordinance No. 154, March 27, 1916).

Freedman’s Cemetery was founded during the height of Reconstruction and served the African-American community of Dallas as its primary burial ground for some 39 years. That came to an end on July 26, 1907. One immediate result of Freedman’s closure can be seen in the finalized Dallas City Charter of 1907, a document long debated at the city charter convention even as Freedman’s Cemetery lay condemned. Explicitly written into the 1907 charter was the municipal government’s right “to regulate burial

grounds... and to condemn and close burial grounds and cemeteries in thickly settled portions of the city, and when demanded by the public interest or public health...,” a specific power lacking in previous city charters or ordinances (Charter of the City of Dallas, Article II, Section 5, Subsection 1., 1907: 18).

By the summer of 1907, Freedman’s Cemetery lay closed, its future uncertain. Although no longer an active burial ground, Freedman’s still retained a great intrinsic value. The cemetery embodied the emotional core of the African-American community. Certainly Freedman’s Cemetery was never truly forgotten or “abandoned” by this community, but while the cemetery was still valued, as the years passed the more practical concerns of daily living seem to have dimmed its memory for many. Indeed, even while Freedman’s was still in active use in 1906, the description of its overgrown grounds, vividly rendered in the *Times Herald* article quoted above, paints an overall scene of a wild state, suggesting some inadvertent neglect. As the *Times Herald* article makes clear, many individual graves were methodically and reverently cleaned and cleared away of grass and weeds. Still, on the whole the cemetery suffered, due in large part to the simple fact that Dallas’s African-American community simply did not possess the resources necessary for its upkeep. The new black cemetery, Woodland, created expressly to replace Freedman’s, required care and upkeep as well.

Save for a single issue from 1900, copies of the newspaper the *Dallas Express* do not exist prior to 1919, and so it is unknown if any prior community clean-up efforts ever were focused on either Freedman’s or Woodland Cemeteries. In the 1920s through 1940s, however, a series of articles noted that there were on again and off again efforts on

the part of the black community to clean up and maintain Woodland Cemetery (Dallas *Express* March 12, 1921; April 9, 1921; June 4, 1921; January 26, 1924; February 16, 1924; March 8, 1924; May 24, 1924; July 5, 1924).

Even while the black community focused their efforts into beautifying and maintaining Woodland Cemetery in the 1920s, over at Freedman's Cemetery an act of utter inhumanity was being acted out. The small road known as Calvary Avenue (originally known as Lemmon Avenue), the street that forms the southern boundary of the cemetery, was originally dirt. With the same mayoral decree given to officially condemn Freedman's Cemetery on September 25, 1906 (as quoted above), then Mayor Smith ordered this street widened from an original unknown width, to a new width of 40 feet (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 32, p. 259). In the widening process, its newly defined boundaries overlaid a small number of graves interred along the southern border of the cemetery. This was the first adverse physical impact Freedman's Cemetery would experience; a travesty, to be sure, but an inadvertent one. What happened next was deliberate, and far worse.

Calvary Avenue was originally dirt, or perhaps slightly improved with gravel; it would finally be paved in the early 1920s. In use into the 1980s, this roadway was later closed and declared abandoned by the City of Dallas during the initial stages of the Freedman's Project in 1990. While exploring beneath Calvary Avenue (looking for blank areas suitable for possible reburial space), the street's old asphalt and concrete roadbed was pulled up using heavy machinery. Lying just beneath these paving materials were literally hundreds of broken tombstone fragments, having been placed there during

the initial paving of the road, in the 1920s.

This time corresponds with one of the darker chapters in American history, when a newly reformulated Ku Klux Klan appeared on the scene, and from circa 1920 through 1929 held real political power nationally as well as locally in Dallas. At their height of power in 1923, the Dallas Klan claimed a membership of 13,000, estimated to account for every one in three adult white men in the city. Voters knowingly placed Klan candidates into office at the county and city level, and known Klan members included two district attorneys, "... the sheriff, the police commissioner, the police chief, judges..." among others (Payne 1997:18-26).

Think what must have happened in Freedman's Cemetery that day – standing tombstones would have been dragged from their original positions marking graves, broken up, and thrown along the road bed, to act as fill to lift the road for better water run off. This atrocity was a total disregard for basic humanity, and further, has an eerie analogue with Nazi Germany. As a symbolic means of subjugation, the Nazis often robbed Jewish tombstones from local cemeteries, broke them up into smaller fragments, and then used the pieces to pave the roads that marked the entrance to numerous death camps, including Auschwitz Concentration Camp, where literally millions of people of Jewish ancestry, as well as all others deemed unworthy by the Nazis, were brutally murdered between 1942 and 1945 (Czech 1990:xv-xx; Lehr 1996).

The disregard for basic human decency that marked the initial act of desecration in Dallas is perhaps understandable in the context of its time. At least the motivations of the city works department who paved the road in the 1920s can be seen as couched in a

racist view of supposed white superiority, and black subjugation and humiliation. What is more ambiguous are the actions of the highway department archaeologists who uncovered evidence of this atrocity in the initial probe of the site in the late 1980s. When the pavement was pulled up on Calvary Avenue, and the literally hundreds of tombstone fragments were revealed, the highway department simply covered them over again with soil, as if exposing this past wrong would be too much to bare.

What the destruction of essentially all the standing tombstones at Freedman's Cemetery did was alter the cultural landscape of Dallas's cemeteries on a fundamental level. This desecration attempted to erase Freedman's from view, to transform Freedman's 4 acres from a burial ground containing the remains of an estimated 5000 African-Americans into a blank canvas and potential commercial real estate, available for whatever purpose. The removal of these stones seemingly did just that; in 1927, the cemetery's last trustees, Dock Rowen and William H. Griggs (the son of one of the original 1879 trustees), lost the deed to Freedman's to white businessmen when a loan using the cemetery as collateral was not repaid (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 759, pp. 537-540).

The loss of Freedman's Cemetery in 1927 marked the beginning of an elaborate chain-of-title, the purpose of which was likely to confuse the title or status of the property; the cemetery was sold whole or in part no less than 16 times in a very unscrupulous manner. The end result of this process was that 2.78 acres of Freedman's Cemetery were either paved over or were sold to the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery as a possible area of expansion, while the remaining 1.22 acre intact portion of Freedman's

was eventually quit-claimed to the city and converted into a city park in 1965 (for a detailed analysis of the selling of Freedman's Cemetery, see Davidson 1999a:65-77; 98)

By the mid-1920s, essentially two decades had passed since Freedman's Cemetery had last served the Black community as an active burial ground. With the series of articles published in the *Dallas Express*, it would appear that during this period most efforts of Dallas's African-American community were focused on the day-to-day needs of Woodland Cemetery, with little or no active attention paid to Freedman's. Perhaps with Freedman's desecration, the psychological wounds suffered by the African-American community were so great that as a coping strategy they concentrated all their efforts into maintaining Woodland, and perhaps avoided facing the tragedy that had befallen the graves of their loved ones. Additionally, the "legal" loss of ownership of Freedman's Cemetery in 1927 might have made access to the site ambiguous. Ironically, Woodland Cemetery, the cemetery founded to replace Freedman's, later would suffer much the same fate as its progenitor.

Although the cemetery association, founded in the early 1920s to raise funds towards the upkeep of Woodland Cemetery, was still functioning into the late 1940s (*Dallas Express*: November 16, 1946; March 22, 1947), by the late 1960s the grounds had fallen into nearly complete disarray. Just as Freedman's Cemetery had been condemned and taken over by the city of Dallas in 1965, by 1970 Woodland Cemetery likewise lay condemned. In September 1970, City Manager Scott McDonald proposed the conversion of both Woodland and Hillside Cemeteries into city parks (Hillside Cemetery, created in 1924, was contiguous to Woodland). Though its grounds were in poor shape, Woodland

Cemetery was still receiving an occasional new burial even as it was being condemned by the Dallas City Council (Dallas *Times Herald*: September 24, 1970). In October 1970, the Dallas City Council approved the proposal of creating city parks out of Woodland and Hillside Cemeteries, the cost of their maintenance estimated at \$30,000 annually (Dallas *Times Herald*; October 13, 1970).

Woodland (and later Hillside) Cemetery was conceived of as a modern lawn park cemetery, and by its location as equivalent to the white Oakland Cemetery. But by the late 1960s it had apparently failed to maintain a sufficiently large sinking fund to maintain and provide upkeep to the cemetery grounds. Again with a certain equivalency, Oakland Cemetery, the white only lawn park cemetery founded in 1892, has recently become as financially insolvent as Woodland Cemetery did in the 1960s (Stowers 2001).

Clearly, the past cultural landscape of Dallas, as read through both the cemeteries of the city and the events contemporary to their day, often eerily and paradoxically mirrors the once held viewpoints of society towards the living. While differential treatment of the dead, as by various religious groups, can be easily explained as just another dictate of the faith, the most revealing, and at times startling differences discovered in this study were ones based not within religion, but rather stemming from socioeconomic and racial differences. As the village of Dallas grew first to become a small town, and again to become a small city, the community that comprised it grew and changed as well. This change, from communal to segregated, on economic, racial, and finally on religious grounds, was perhaps, all too inevitably reflected in the treatment of the dead.

“... no race of people who did not respect their dead ever amounted to anything.”

(Statement attributed to Reverend Holloway, a black preacher
at a citizen’s meeting to improve the condition of Freedman’s Cemetery)
(Dallas *Times Herald* March 7, 1891)

CHAPTER 3

Social Identity and Social Death

Mortuary Theory: The Search for Status

Death – and the treatment of the dead – is fundamental to any society. The core beliefs of religion, spirituality, and the existence and progress of the soul, all culminate and are distilled in the death experience and the ritual acts that are employed to mitigate this experience for both the survivors, and the departed. While the death experience is an intensely personal and spiritual one, the politics of the dead have implications for the living society that extent far beyond this personal level.

Most archaeological mortuary theory has been grounded in prehistoric, non-state level societies. This theoretical basis was formulated by “processual school” archaeologists in the 1960s and 1970s, as a challenge to the formerly widespread belief that relatively little information could be derived from burial data beyond documenting a belief in the supernatural, basic descriptions of grave goods, and an extremely simplistic view of past social structure (Childe 1945). Two major contributors towards a reappraisal of mortuary data were Arthur Saxe (1970), and Lewis Binford (1971).

Both researchers attempted to bridge the gap between the observed patterns found

in mortuary behavior, and the underlying type and level of complexity of the social systems which created such behavior. Both emphasized “middle range” theory, which used ethnographic observations of living cultures to help bridge the gap from the present to the past, so that inferences from material remains of past behaviors might be made. Both Saxe and Binford were attempting to determine the relationship between a past mortuary program and the social complexity of the group who created it; to formulate hypotheses that could aid in determining the “why” of specific mortuary practices. Gaining insight into the “why” would go a long way in answering an important underlying question – what particular form of societal group was in essence the creator of the phenomena observed archaeologically? Towards such goals, ideally both hoped to articulate hypotheses that were sufficiently general so as to be applied to any class of data.

Binford’s 1971 paper on mortuary practices was specifically designed to challenge those formerly held beliefs of archaeologists as to the inconsistency, and hence the general unreliability, of burial customs. Binford vehemently disagreed with Alfred Kroeber’s premise (1927), that the mortuary behavior of prehistoric or “primitive” peoples were more likely the result of whim and fancy, that data derived from mortuary contexts were not an accurate reflection of the culture that created it, and therefore couldn’t be used to say anything meaningful about that culture. In refuting Kroeber, Binford employed ethnographic data (instead of archaeologically derived data), so that there would be some certainty of the mode of subsistence. Binford’s conclusion was that subsistence did play an important role in determining mortuary behavior, strongly

implying that prehistoric mortuary data could also reveal important aspects of the society which created it (Binford 1971).

Saxe's dissertation followed much the same line of thought as Binford's, for many of the same reasons. Mortuary data was patterned, and a careful study of this patterning could result in a better understanding the culture behind it. Like Binford, the underlying goal of Saxe's work was the ability to determine social complexity through an examination of burial data (Saxe 1970:1). Towards this goal, Saxe formulated eight hypotheses which he tested using data derived, again, from ethnographic sources, with varying degrees of success. In particular, Saxe's hypothesis Number 8 was most successfully demonstrated by Saxe (1970) and other researchers (Goldstein 1980). Hypothesis No. 8 concerns itself with the creation and maintenance of cemeteries ("formal disposal areas"), by corporate groups, as one means to legitimize their rights to crucial resources or territory, when in competition with other groups for these same resources (Saxe 1970:119; Pearson 1999:30).

Many archaeologists, eager to realize the full potential of mortuary data, took the hypotheses of Saxe and the very basic hypothesis of Binford and applied them to prehistoric burial samples, sometimes without fully realizing (or at least acknowledging) that first – these hypotheses had been formulated around ethnographic data, and second – and more importantly, that as a whole they were largely unproven. John O'Shea points out the great boom in mortuary studies that immediately followed the work of Saxe and Binford, much of it attempting to derive the level of social complexity implicit behind the creation of the mortuary sample (O'Shea 1984:2-3). While Binford and Saxe showed the

potential of mortuary data to examine social and political systems, they did not provide precise and proven instructions for unlocking that potential.

As more archaeological mortuary studies utilizing these hypotheses found their way into the literature, it became clear that since both Saxe and Binford's original work had been based on ethnography, their direct application to archaeological data presented problems. To better interpret mortuary data, it became necessary to gain a more complete understanding of what variables combined to create the archaeological record. Towards that end, one of the best appraisals of this problem, and one which additionally provides detailed relationships defining archaeological formation processes was formulated by John O'Shea (1984).

O'Shea saw three relationships that, when viewed together, combine to create the archaeological record (O'Shea 1984:23). The first relationship consists of what both Saxe and Binford had wished to derive from their work; "the amount of structure inherent in a society's mortuary treatment." By determining the type and complexity of this structure, it would then be possible to understand the complexity of the societal system which created it. The second of O'Shea's relationships is: "the archaeological formation processes that mediate funerary behavior and potential observable archaeological phenomena." This key relationship is one that was not addressed in the work of Saxe or Binford, since both utilized ethnographic data. However, since it is an axiom that any data derived from archaeological contexts are at best only a subset of the total mortuary ritual employed at the time of burial, this relationship must be taken into account when utilizing such data. The third relationship of O'Shea's is: "the limitations inherent in the

detection and recognition of variability among archaeological phenomena.” This too, was a topic not directly addressed by either Saxe or Binford, but which must be taken into account when interpreting mortuary data.

One underlying assumption in both Saxe and Binford is the concept of the “social persona,” as developed by Ward Goodenough (1965), that in stratified societies, the number of social identities a person has at death largely determines the complexity of his burial treatment. However, some important aspects of mortuary behavior afforded only higher status individuals may never even enter into the archaeological record, and so distinctions that would have been clearly observed from ethnographic accounts might have no correlate in the recovered archaeological remains. Other distinctions of high status which are interred with the dead may be of perishable materials and will not preserve archaeologically, and so too will be completely absent upon recovery of the grave and its contents. The one saving grace to the problem of poor preservation and differential treatment of high or low status burials (which doesn’t even enter the grave), is the fact that many of the symbols utilized by people to denote status, rank, or distinct groups are often redundant, and so only a few need to survive for the pattern to be recognized (O’Shea 1984:29).

The “New Archaeology” of the 1960s brought a critical reappraisal of traditional mortuary interpretations. While some of these “revelations” might seem to us as obvious or simplistic, certainly O’Shea’s 1984 study of the Arikara, Pawnee and Omaha mortuary program during the proto-historic to historic periods is a sophisticated and revealing work, perhaps in large part because of his access to ethnohistorical accounts that helped

flesh out nuances in the social structure of these societies, allowing him the opportunity to define horizontal social positions (e.g., clans and moieties) as well as the more obvious vertical or rank based relationships between individuals and groups (O’Shea 1984).

When historic cemeteries first began to be excavated by archaeologists, the functionalist concepts and processual theoretical framework formulated by Saxe (1970), Binford (1971), and others were borrowed and more or less directly applied to the interpretation of historic mortuary sites (Bell 1994:13). This processual approach in historic mortuary archaeology largely met with failure, however, primarily because of the problematic direct application of theoretical models formulated for much less complex, pre-industrial societies (e.g., Saxe 1970), to data derived from historic cemeteries (Bell 1994:14).

Edward Bell, a major voice within the study of historic cemeteries, outlines two reasons why processual or “functionalist” models are not directly applicable to historic cemetery data: such studies never contextualize the data in the social milieu of its own time, and the types of material culture most often recovered with historic graves (e.g., coffin hardware), are “...not analogous to ‘grave goods’ or ‘status symbols’ encountered in preindustrial societies” (Bell 1994:14). Therefore at least in historic cemetery studies, the quantification of “status,” especially by attempting to measure “wealth” expended upon mortuary display (and the implications of such wealth expenditures), has been much more tentative.

The processual mortuary theories of Binford, Saxe, and Goldstein (among others),

are limiting in several ways, most fundamentally because our knowledge of the social systems from which prehistoric mortuary data is derived is often extremely limited. In fact, Saxe and others are really using mortuary data as a means by which *to infer* a past social system, and relying on middle range theory (i.e., contemporary ethnographic data) as a means of contextualizing these archaeological datasets.

In my analysis of Freedman's Cemetery, I am not using the social system of early historic Hawaii to aid in my interpretation (as done for prehistoric burials of the *Southeastern United States* by Peebles and Kus 1977). Rather, I am using circa 1840-1910 archival information of Dallas's African-American social life and beliefs regarding death and funeral treatment, to inform my interpretations of 1869-1907 African-American burials in Dallas. In many ways, I know the motivations involved and the set of symbols used to communicate them – emotion of loss, sentimentality, wealth, specific religious convictions – of both the dead individual and that of the individual's family and community.

Each burial's mortuary display simultaneously operates on several levels. At its most basic, the mortuary display is a set of symbols for personal, internal consumption, but subconsciously or not, these same symbols, as defined by the dominate ideology, are also simultaneously communicating issues of status, class, and domination/resistance.

As Randall McGuire emphasizes in his study of the Broome County, New York cemetery data (McGuire 1988:435-438), the mortuary theory envisioned by Binford (1971), Saxe (1970), and especially Tainter (1978) and other later practitioners of the New Archaeology saw the physical remains of the mortuary ritual of any past society

directly reflecting the social dimensions of that society. McGuire and other researchers (e.g., Pearson 1982; Hodder 1982) “...rejected the conceptualization of funerary ritual as determined and never determining and instead have located mortuary ritual in the realm of ideology” (McGuire 1988:435-436).

Ideology, as defined by Randall McGuire, is not the sum of all conscious thought and action, a definition that becomes so broad as to be equated with the blanket term, “Culture.” Rather, ideology is “...that subset of culture that originates in the relationship between consciousness and power. This relationship is not given in all times and places, so that specific aspects of culture (beliefs, rituals, basic assumptions, etc.) may be ideologically loaded in one context and not in another” (McGuire 1988:438).

McGuire himself rejects the argument of a dominant ideology as presented by such critics as Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan Turner in their work, *The Dominant Ideology Thesis* (1980). They argue that any analysis or discussion of an ideology only pertains to solidifying, maintaining, or identifying members of the elite class, because non-elites ignore or reject the dominant ideology out of hand. But when dealing with such basic symbols as those engendered and maintained within a shared religion and associated with the Death Experience, non-elites do not totally reject the dominant ideology, although they may rework and reinterpret, manipulate or invert these same shared core symbols as a means of resistance (McGuire 1988:439-440).

This reinterpretation, manipulation and inversion of core symbols occurred in the New World at the earliest stages of the Slave Trade, where enslaved Africans and the descendants, in the Caribbean and American Colonies (later the United States), had to

find new ways to ritualize, honor, and bury their dead, since many of their traditional funeral rites were banned by statute or impossible to perform due to the restrictions placed upon them as a subjugated people. In this context, funerary rituals can certainly be dynamic and “determining,” and are not simply passive and “determined by” the dominant ideology (e.g., McGuire 1988:435-436).

Treatment of the Dead during Enslavement in Africa and the Middle Passage

The delicate and complicated dialogue with the dead that Africans fervently believed and participated in was certainly curtailed and at times almost completely destroyed for those unfortunate enough to be caught up in the Transatlantic slave trade. In these circumstances, the rituals of the Death Experience that would have been the normative practice were virtually impossible to maintain. When slaving gangs entered the interior of the African continent, tens of thousands of Africans at a time were rounded up and forced from their homes, led on a tortuous death march where many died along the trail. In one account from the 1790s, 25% of those captured died before they ever reached the port cities ringing the Gold Coast, and another 15% died in port awaiting shipment to the Americas. For those dying along the way in the interior, their bodies were simply abandoned in the bush; the bodies of those who died while awaiting shipment were heaped in piles in the port cities, later be thrown into the sea. Deaths that occurred on board ships bound for the Americas were also unceremoniously dumped into the ocean (Brown 2002:35-36).

From an African perspective, this failure to properly mediate the Death

Experience left the spirits of the dead restless and potentially dangerous to the living. Even under normal circumstances, the death of an individual created a rupture in the social relations of the living (and the dead). During the slave trade, death on such a massive scale fundamentally disrupted the delicate web of relations that existed between the living and the dead, and added one more fundamental insult to the utter inhumanity that the practice of enslavement fostered on the world (Brown 2002:37). This disruption of the relationship between the living and the dead – that occurred at almost every turn during capture and the Middle Passage – was only partially restored upon their arrival in the Americas, and the rituals employed in the treatment of the dead were substantially altered.

Treatment of enslaved African and African-American Deaths in the Americas

Early treatment of the Dead: Caribbean Burial Practices

In the Americas, control over the dead was manipulated by Euroamericans as a means of power and control over the living enslaved populations. As the historian Vincent Brown (2002) convincingly argues, in Jamaica during the late 18th and early 19th centuries the politics of the living were also mapped onto the dead, and their treatment was dictated as much for political ends (as a means of control) than it was for any religious, spiritual or health concerns. As a means of establishing or reasserting dominance, proper burial was often denied to those enslaved individuals who transgressed against their masters. Even the attenuated and heavily European influenced rituals involved in the burial of the dead were routinely denied as a means of punishment

for crimes perpetrated against white enslavers. For example, to prevent a rash of suicides among his enslaved Africans from spreading, one planter removed one of the suicides' heads and had it placed high atop a pole, by which he forced his remaining slaves to march. This was done to convince them that suicide was not a means of escape back to their homelands, since the head remained in Jamaica, and the body could not return without the head. The practice of displaying a mutilated corpse, and/or threatening to deny a proper burial ritual for individual slaves who committed suicide became commonplace in the Caribbean, and this practice was also employed for those who attempted rebellion or committed lesser crimes against whites (Brown 2002:141-146).

Conversely, in Barbados of the 18th and early 19th centuries, the trappings of European burial practices, such as a wooden coffin and even metal coffin handles (which were a rarity on burials prior to circa 1850 in the United States) were sometimes bestowed by European enslavers upon a favored slave (or one who had converted to Christianity) as a final reward for good behavior. The documentary and archaeological record certainly indicate that not all slaves were buried in coffins, with at least some interred in a simple shroud or without any treatment or covering at all (Handler and Lange 1978:190-192). Fostering a belief in the superiority and desirability of these European burial customs, as a means of control, also likely engendered a real desire on the part of at least a portion of the slave community to emulate as closely as possible white funerals, and thereby hope to gain status in the eyes of the living and perhaps, power and control in the afterlife.

Treatment of the Dead in Pre-Emancipation United States

During enslavement, the abrupt and brutal end of their former life ways affected the culture and social order of African peoples, and it also effected their treatment of the dead. In the United States the ability of enslaved African-Americans to bury their own dead in their own way had been severely compromised or denied, although the desire for a restored relationship with the dead, through ritual acts, was still present. This long suppressed desire was couched within the deeply religious life of African-American peoples. Ceremonies for slave burials were commonly short to non-existent, burial sometimes took place without any sort of container, and graves were commonly unmarked. Proper burial had been denied enslaved peoples, in great part due to the dominant culture's paternalistic view of African-Americans as equivalent to children (at best), and as less than human (at worst). Indeed, at times the burials of enslaved peoples were treated as carcasses to be disposed of as quickly as possible (Rawick 1972-79; Roediger 1981).

Night burials were common, as slaves were often not allowed time off to conduct a funeral during the daylight hours (Rawick 1977 [7] pt. 2:446). One ex-slave informant, Lucy Galloway, who was born in Scooba, Mississippi in 1863, remembered once that an "African" preacher told her how de burried folks in Africy: "Day always buried dem at night. Dey would dig de grave and when night would come dey all carried a torch and followed single file atter de ones totin' de corpse" (Rawick 1977 [8] pt. 3:810). It is unclear if this practice of night funerals was so much African in origin, as it was a practice that evolved early on in enslaved contexts throughout the Southern United

States. Night burials were also described by Caleb Craig, born in 1851 in South Carolina, stating simply that “De funerals were simple and held at night” (Rawick 1977 [2] South Carolina pts 1,2:231).

Burial containers were equally simplistic; John Crawford describes one burial in which “...they morticed out a pine log with a foot adze and lined it with a curzey cloth and put the dead in that” (Rawick [4] pt 3:979-980). Another narrative, by Rachel Adams of Athens, Georgia, finds her complaining bitterly about the simplistic coffins used for slave burials: “If a Nigger died dis mornin’, dey sho’ didn’t waste no time a-putting him right on down in de ground dat bery day. Dem coffins never had no shape to ‘em; dey was just square-sided boxes. Now warn’t dat turrible?” (Rawick 1972 [12] Georgia pt 1:1-5).

Occasionally, more formal (though still home made) coffins were prepared. Manuel Johnson describes coffin making as he remember it: “... de body wuz put in er plain home-made coffin blacked wid blackin’ an’ speerits turpentine” (Rawick 1972 [12] Georgia pt. 1:338-340).

It is difficult to assess the extent of strictures held by whites on black treatment of their dead. Some enslavers apparently allowed formal funerals, with preaching (some by white preachers, or the plantation owner), while others would allow no ceremony save for the digging of the grave. One ex-slave, Squire Irvin, who was born on a plantation near Nashville in 1849, gave a stark view of the treatment of the dead on his former place of enslavement. Mr. Irvin said that: “If a slave died, there wasn’t no funeral held. Two or three of the field hands stopped work to bury him and that’s all there was to that. Didn’t

have no prayer, no song, no nothing” (Rawick 1977 [8] Mississippi pt. 3:1084). This perfunctory treatment of the dead was echoed almost exactly in a narrative from Ruben Laird, born in 1850 near Sardis, Mississippi: “There was no funerals when a slave died. When a death occurred the overseer appointed a detail to take the corpse and bury it. When the task was completed the detail returned to the fields” (Rawick 1977 [8] Mississippi pt. 3:1298). One final example, from Lizzie Norfleet, who was born about a decade before the Civil War, offers that: “If a slave died there wasn’t no Christian burial... All the slaves went to the grave, and from there they went back to work. There wasn’t no song, no prayer, no nothing, over the dead” (Rawick 1977 [9] Mississippi pt. 4:1644).

Very few of the WPA narratives paint a particularly humanistic view of the Euroamerican treatment of slave burials. Most funerals were brief to non-existent, with the burial of the dead not so much a solemn event, as much as a necessary evil to dispose of a corpse as quickly as possible. One narrative is absolutely chilling in its brutality. Mrs. Isabella Jackson, who was born around 1858 and experienced slavery in Louisiana, describes it in vivid detail (Rawick 1972 [7] Oklahoma:153-154):

Don’t nobody know what made the master mad at the old slave - one of the oldest on the place. Anyway, the master didn’t whip him; instead of that he kills him with the gun and scares the others so bad most of ‘em runs off and hides in the woods. The drunk master just drags the old dead slave to the graveyard which is down in the corner away from the growing crops, and hunts up two of the young boys who was hiding in the barn. He takes them to dig the grave. The master stands watching every move they make, the dead man lays there with his face to the sky, and the boys is so scared they could hardly dig. The master keeps telling them to hurry with the digging. After while he tells them to stop and put the body in the grave. They wasn’t no coffin, no box, for him. Just the old clothes that he wears in the field. But the grave was too short and they start to digging some more, but the master stops them. He says to put back the body in the grave, and

then he jumps into the grave himself. Right on the dead he jumps and stomps 'til the body is mashed and twisted to fit the hole. Then the old nigger is buried. That's the way my Mammy hears it and told it to us children. She was a Christian and I know she told the truth.

Such stories bespeak of inhumanity on a massive scale. Yet prior to emancipation, death was one of the few times that enslaved blacks could congregate together in any numbers, and work often did stop to prepare the corpse for burial, build the coffin, and attend and preach the funerals. Funeral events would have been one means by which enslaved Africans and people of African descent could meet in large numbers, not only to grieve but also to exchange all manner of discourse. This fact did not go unnoticed by the dominant society. At New York's African Burial Ground, night burials had originally been commonplace, but after the Revolt of 1712, the number of slaves that could congregate in public together was severely restricted. A city statute was passed that would allow no more than 12 enslaved individuals to attend a funeral, and night funerals were forbidden (Hansen and McGowen 1998:52-53).

It is inarguable that numerous controls were placed over enslaved peoples. After Emancipation, however, African-Americans began to take control over their own lives, as well as control over the treatment of their dead that had formerly been denied them — with emancipation came the freedom to handle the treatment of their dead with dignity.

Perhaps because autonomy over the disposition of the dead was denied for centuries in slavery, after Emancipation assuring a “proper burial” became paramount in the minds of many African-Americans. To illustrate the extent of this need, Booker T. Washington is quoted as saying that, “the trouble with us is that we are always preparing

to die. You meet a white man early Monday morning and ask him what he is preparing to do ... and he is preparing to start business. You ask a colored man ... he is preparing to die” (Roediger 1981:163).

Booker T. Washington’s statement was true even in West Africa of the late 19th century. In Mary H. Kingsley’s book, *Travels in West Africa* first published in 1897 (1965:491), she states that:

To provide a proper burial for a dead relation is the great duty of a negro’s life, its only rival in his mind is the desire to have a burial of his own. But, in a good negro, this passion will go under before the other, and he will risk his very life to do it. He may know, surely and well, that killing slaves and women at a dead brother’s grave means hanging for him when their Big Consul knows of it, but in the Delta he will do it. On the Coast, Leeward and Windward, he will spend every penny he possesses and, on top, if need be, go and pawn himself, his wives, or his children into slavery to give a deceased relation a proper funeral.

These beliefs are echoed by Hortense Powdermaker, a white anthropologist working in 1930s Mississippi: “No Negro in Cottonville can live content unless he is assured of a fine funeral when he dies. Fifteen cents a week and five cents extra for each member of the family will guarantee a hundred-dollar funeral, in which the company agent plays an active part” (Powdermaker 1993:122). Although Powdermaker was speaking about a local observation, in actuality the belief she describes was pervasive throughout African-American culture. Assurance of a “proper burial” became something that had to be established (in part through the founding of mutual aid, burial, and fraternal/sororital societies), for life to have any meaning. Historically, the huge popularity of fraternal lodges among African-Americans was at least in part, due to the death benefits available upon the death of a member. Additionally, burial societies exclusively dedicated to insuring a “proper” funeral were also ubiquitous (Raper

1968:373-381) (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of burial insurance).

Although I have discussed the treatment of the dead in the antebellum South, freedom came to African-Americans in the northeast far earlier. For example, in antebellum Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, virtually all African-Americans had received their freedom by 1790 (Rankin-Hill 1997:50). In the 1980s, archaeological excavations were conducted at two African-American cemeteries in downtown Philadelphia. Both were associated with the First African Baptist Church (FABC), and dated to the early 19th century. Although mortuary hardware prior to 1850 was exceedingly uncommon even in affluent white graves, some of the FABC burials exhibited elaborate mortuary hardware (Parrington 1987; Parrington, et al. 1989). This is a clear demonstration that only a few years after emancipation, African-Americans in antebellum Philadelphia were engaged in the process of creating elaborate mortuary displays, in part by manipulating the very same symbols formulated by and for the white majority population.

Just as in antebellum Philadelphia, African-Americans in the American South after Emancipation were finally able to bury their own dead their own way. Their concept of what was considered a “proper” burial, however, was not derived solely from practices forged in slavery. Rather this concept was profoundly influenced by the practices of mainstream white America — practices which, by the late 19th century, often involved elaborate modes of conduct and considerable economic expense.

The National Beautification of Death Movement

Beginning in the late 18th and early 19th century, mortuary ritual in the United States became increasingly elaborate (and therefore costly) in nature. This behavior was part of a larger social phenomena that has been termed “Death as Beautiful” or the “Beautification of Death” movement (Bell 1994:23,33). The Beautification of Death movement evolved out of Enlightenment thought, which gave importance to the individual, and the Romantic Movement, which emphasized emotion and nature. This movement also was profoundly influenced by the Great Awakening, an evangelical religious movement that gripped the United States in the 18th century (Farrell 1980:23-43; Aries 1981:409-474; Musa 2002:227-302).

By the early 19th century, Death as a subject of thought and “shaper” of culture was truly a dominant force. The historian Carl Bode, in his book, *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861* (Bode 1959, as cited in Saum 1975:30), notes that there were three themes predominate in literature and popular culture during the first half of the 19th century in America; Love, Success, and Death. The forms and symbolic motifs that informed the palate of the 18th and 19th century death experience and mourning rituals were drawn primarily from the classical world, and the Greek, Etruscan, and Roman cultures. In part, what spurred the use of urns, broken columns, pyramids and mausoleums as symbols was the newly emerging field of archaeology, with the 18th and early 19th century excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum (among other sites), exposing thousands of art objects (Schorsch 1976). Within this movement, modes of behavior and elaborate codes of mourning were created and codified, instructing the

widow or widower, as well as related family members, how and when to wear black garments, as well as when other colors might be added to the ensemble (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:412-414).

During the early 19th century, a preoccupation with Death pervaded every aspect of American society, and it is inarguable that The Beautification of Death phenomenon only intensified in the mid to late 19th century. For example, although black was commonly worn as a sign of mourning in the 1840s and 1850s, etiquette books of the period do not codify the custom in rigid rules of behavior. This changed after the Civil War, when multiple books increasingly offered pages of rules for what was and was not acceptable mourning attire and behavior (Pike 1984:56-58). The intensification of the concept of “Death as Beautiful” can also easily be substantiated by examining the material culture of the funeral event (see below), but consider for example, how Death was popularized and evoked in literature, such as in the popular book, *Agnes and the Key of Her Little Coffin* (Anonymous 1857). This 191 page book deals entirely with a father’s loss of his daughter at the age of one year. It is a meditation on her death, and speculation on her condition in heaven, with the key to her coffin (found by the father in his vest pocket after the funeral) transformed over the course of the book from a loathsome reminder of her death to an enduring and comforting symbol of the child eternal. Another popular consolation work, entitled *The Empty Crib: A Memorial of Little Georgie, With Words of Consolation for bereaved Parents*, was written by the Reverend Theodore L. Cuyler, and originally published in 1868.

One of the most popular series of “novels” in the late 19th century – *The Gates*

Ajar (1868), *Beyond the Gates* (1883), and *The Gates Between* (1887) – was written by Elizabeth Stuart Phelps; the “Gates” referred to here are the literal Gates of Heaven. The first book, *The Gates Ajar*, was originally written in 1868, and was a meditation on the death of the female protagonist’s brother, killed in the Civil War. It was one of the best sellers of the post Civil War era, with nearly 100,000 copies printed by just one publisher by 1897 (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

The second book, *Beyond the Gates*, was a description of Heaven from the point of view of the author, in which Heaven actually resembled a small idyllic village. One popular edition of all these works, published in 1897 by Houghton, Mifflin and Company, incorporated on their covers a gold embossed butterfly poised in mid-flight. The butterfly was a common mortuary symbol in the 18th and 19th centuries, representing the Resurrection, immortality and the rebirth of the spirit (Ferguson 1958:2; Harding 1987:152). The butterfly symbol was also incorporated into elements of coffin hardware (e.g., United States Patent Office: U.S. Design Patent No. 2602).

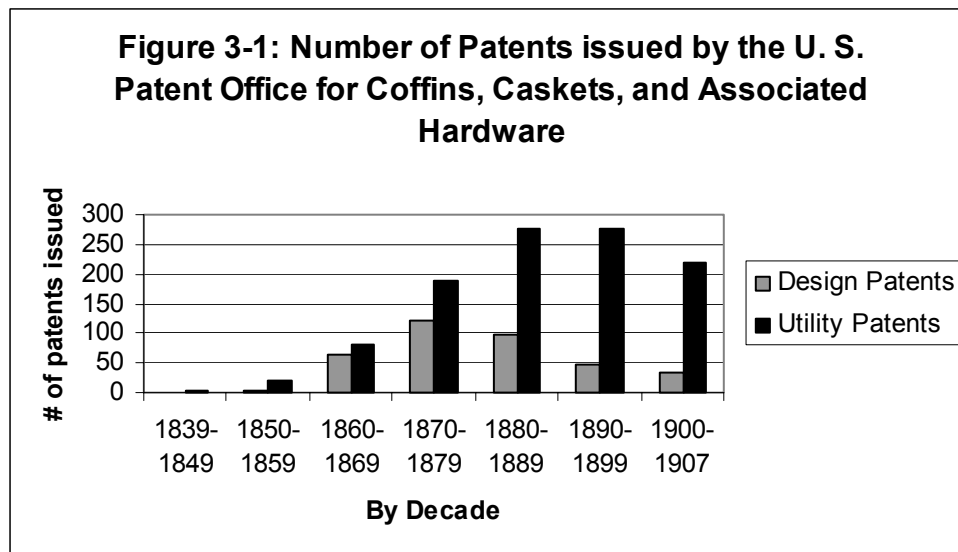
Even the title of the first novel (Phelps 1868), *The Gates Ajar*, was quite literally a common motif on tombstones of the period, with carved naturalistic depictions of large iron gates swung half open, sometimes with a heavenly city on a hill lying beyond the gates, and occasionally with the term “Gates Ajar” carved beneath the graphic. The introduction of the “Gates Ajar” motif on grave markers actually pre-dates Phelps’ first novel by at least 8 years (i.e., 1860), and suggests how motifs and symbols from any aspect of the Beautification of Death movement were fluid and dynamic (e.g., Nutty 1984:59, 65).

While the birth of Enlightenment thought, resulting in the final death of Medievalism, was the fundamental revolution that ultimately created the Beautification of Death as a framework of thought, the engine that pulled this movement into primacy during the 19th century, and created an entire industry to celebrate, beautify, and ultimately negate death, had a different origin – the Industrial Revolution. It has been suggested that rituals, especially those involving something as fundamental as death, intensify during times of societal stress. Certainly massive changes in the social fabric were wrought by Enlightenment thought and the Industrial Revolution (Bell 1990:54-55). Additionally, the intensification of elaborate mortuary display that began in America in the mid-19th century may in part be traced to the social disruptions brought on by *both* the Industrial Revolution and the Civil War (Wilson 1998a). Ironically, the same Industrial Revolution responsible for the social stresses that spurred the need for elaborate mortuary rituals also spawned the manufacturing technologies and ability to supply mass produced mortuary hardware cheaply, thus creating a synergistic effect of cause, demand, and supply all simultaneously feeding upon and sustaining one another.

Another rationale for the promulgation of the Beautification of Death, especially in the material culture of the Funeral event, was competitive display among individuals of different socioeconomic levels, and the cyclical process of burial display put forth by Aubrey Cannon (1989) (see Chapters 4 and 6 for a discussion of Cannon). Although the symbols and means of elaborate mortuary display existed prior to the Civil War, the mid 1860s was a watershed for the design, production, marketing and “creation of desire” of mass produced burial containers, and their associated coffin hardware elements. To

graphically illustrate this point, Figure 3-1 displays the numbers of patents issued by the United States Patent Office (for both designs and utility patents) between 1839 and 1907, grouped by decade.

The rate of patents in the 1860s is a little over 4 times greater than that seen in the 1850s for utility patents (1850-1859, n=19; 1860-1869, n=82), and nearly 16 times greater for design patents (1850-1859, n=4; 1860-1869, n=63). This trend only increases in the 1870s and 1880s, and begins to decline only in the 1890s and early 20th century. Another means to gauge the increasing complexity of mortuary hardware can be found in the wholesale catalogues of manufacturers and suppliers that offered a myriad of coffin trimmings. Figure 3-2 graphs the average number of pages in these catalogues devoted to



coffin hardware and other funerary objects, by decade, spanning 1850 to 1905. The specific catalogues used in this analysis can be found listed in Table 3-1.

Emancipation in 1865 corresponded almost exactly with the beginning of the Beautification of Death movement's climb to its height of popularity in the late 19th

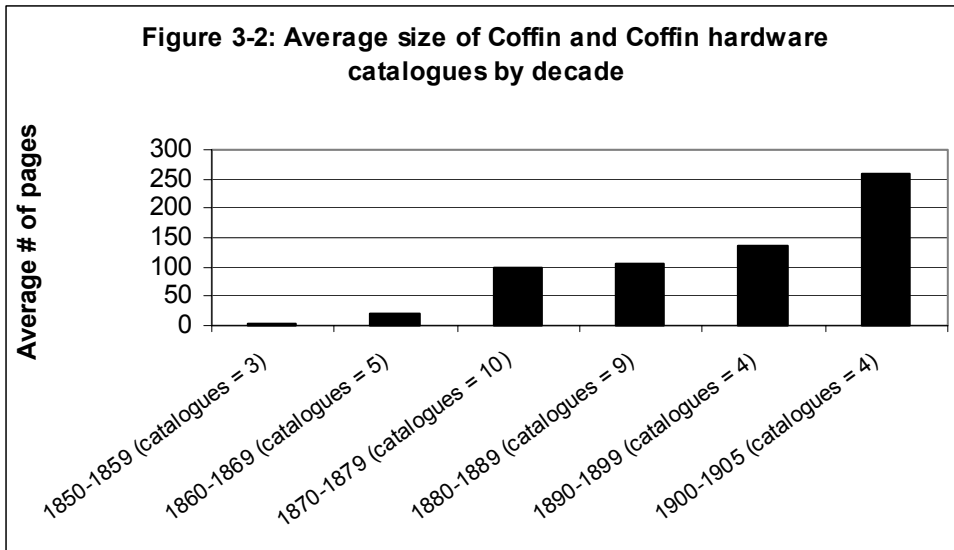


Table 3-1: Coffin Hardware Catalogue elaboration through time, as a measure of size (see Figure 3-2)

COMPANY NAME	# of pages
1853 Peck & Walter	2
1857 Peck & Walter	3
1859 P & F Corbin	4
1861 Sargent & Co	4
1865 Russel & Erwin	7
1866 P & F Corbin	8
1866 Sargent & Co.	27
1867 Crane, Breed & Co	56
1871 Sargent & Co	23
1871 Miller Bro's & Co.	49
1871 Taylor & Co	40
1874 Sargent & Co	42
1874 H E Taylor & Co	172
1875 C. Sidney Norris & Co	72
1877 Crane, Breed & Co.	234
1877 Sargent & Co.	62
1879 H E Taylor & Co	225
1879 Cleveland Burial Case Co	80
1880 Warfield & Rohr	96
1880 Meriden Britannia Co	48
1880 Cincinnati Coffin Co	90
1881 Cincinnati Coffin Co	96

1881 Paxson, Comfort & Co	232
1882 Cincinnati Coffin Co	104
1882 Columbus Coffin Co	67
1883 Cincinnati Coffin Co	110
1883 William Sauter	114
1890 Harrisburg Burial Case Co	85
1890 Warfield & Rohr	141
1891 National Casket Co	131
1896 Chicago Coffin Co.	192
1900 Crawfordsville Casket Co	246
1901 St. Louis Coffin Co	374
1904 Gate City Coffin Co	227
1905 Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	188

century, and the formation of a newly emerging set of mortuary symbols to evoke and mark this philosophy. On the whole, African-Americans were a highly receptive audience to these symbols, perhaps in large measure because they assigned at least the outward appearance of importance and dignity for the death experience, a fundamental countenance that had been denied them during enslavement. Since Freedman's Cemetery was founded in 1869, and closed in 1907, it is possible to examine how the African-American community began to experiment with these mortuary symbols during this embryonic state, and to gauge their growing ability and competence as consumers of mortuary trappings even as their economic means to purchase these same elements was formed during Reconstruction and the immediate post Reconstruction era.

The Death Experience as Resistance

Hegemony is the concept of the basic process of ideological domination and control, as dictated by the ruling elites; ideology in this context is the structuring

argument or set of operational instructions to perpetuate this control. In the death experience, ideology is manifested in ritual, and also in the material culture of death (e.g., coffins, trimmings, etc). Resistance is one lens by which to examine this material culture; in this context, resistance to this white hegemony, defined principally by racism and socioeconomic oppression along particular lines that have easily distinguishable material correlates.

As James C. Scott defines hegemony in his work, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (1985:315);

The central idea behind it is the claim that the ruling class dominates not only the means of physical production but the means of symbolic production as well. Its control over the material forces of production is replicated, at the level of ideas, in its control over the ideological ‘sectors’ of society – culture, religion, education, and the media – in a matter that allows it to disseminate those values that reinforces its position.

Scott is actually critiquing the traditional concepts of hegemony and false consciousness, questioning whether or not these concepts can account for the *inevitable* nature of core aspects of the dominant ideology. In Scott’s words, “The very terms *hegemony* and *false-consciousness* are, after all, a clear admission that culture, values, and ideology cannot be directly read off objective, material conditions” (Scott 1985:317). In further discussing the problematic nature of the hegemony concept, Scott talks about compliance – compliance of the weak to the ideology of the strong, compliance of the underclass to an ideal constructed and dictated by elites. It is this concept of compliance that may have some correlation to measuring resistance in the material culture of the Death Experience. Specifically, Scott says (1985:325):

Compliance can of course flow either from grudging resignation or from active

ideological support. What we should not do, however, is to infer ideological support even from the most apparently faithful compliance. To prove the case for ideological support –for hegemony– one would have to supply *independent* evidence that the values of the subordinate class are in fact largely in accord with those of the dominant elite. Such evidence, to be credible, would have to come from social contexts in which members of the subordinate class were least constrained by power relations.

But “compliance” (as defined by Scott 1985:325), does not mean necessarily mean blind compliance. Rather, he see compliance stemming from two motivations – “...grudging resignation or from active ideological support” (Scott 1985:325).

For African-Americans, mediating the Death Experience after Emancipation became almost overnight a matter of choices, where few or none had been before. Certainly in this time and place (i.e., funerals after emancipation), according to Scott’s own definition of “compliance” to the hegemonic controls of the dominant society, it would be in these social contexts “...in which members of the subordinate class were least constrained by power relations” (Scott 1985:325).

For African-Americans in the late 19th century, I would propose that the matter of compliance within the ideology of the elites – in this case, the Beautification of Death movement – is not a simplistic either/or scenario. Rather, blacks may have peaked behind the curtain, so to speak, and understood the rules of the game all too well. When in this case, where the primary aspect of ideology is enmeshed within the beliefs and symbols of a common religion and associated with the death event, non-elites often do not totally reject the outward trappings of the dominant society (for fear of rejecting the religious systems behind them), although these core symbols may well be reinterpreted or inverted, perhaps almost unconsciously, as a resistive strategy (McGuire 1988:439-440).

Defining at least some of the desires for marking the death experience with an elaborate funeral, coffin or casket, and associated coffin trimmings has been previously explored. Cultural geographer Kenneth Ames (1981:641-642) defines the role and significance of 19th century cemeteries and above ground grave markers as: 1) Specialization and separation of function (to differentiate the old style graveyard with the modern rural cemetery); 2) An emphasis on symbolic and visible manifestations of hierarchical social order; 3) A fascination with variety and height (in reference to markers); 4) The glorification of family and kinship; 5) A search for permanence and the denial of death.

Another set of causes or determining factors to explain elaborate mortuary displays (described as “excessive funeral expenditures”) were described by a study of funerals purchased by the working poor in New York City in the 1903-1905 period as (Gebhart 1928:xx): “(1) Mistaken pride; fear of what the neighbors might think, (2) Desire to ‘do right by’ the dead, (3) Encouragement by unscrupulous undertakers, and (4) The family is in no condition to bargain.”

Although the modes of mortuary expression seen within the Beautification of Death movement were formulated by mainstream white society, certainly the motivations that were underlying this movement were also felt within the African-American community of Dallas. In fact, it can be argued that these motivations were intensified due to the unique heritage of oppression experienced by African-Americans since their arrival in the New World. Specifically for African-Americans, an additional emphasis

lay behind the desire for elaborate mortuary display for their dead — as a form of resistance (whether consciously or unconsciously) against the basic tenets of racism, and a white imposed label of economic and social inferiority.

MITIGATING FACTORS AFFECTING MORTUARY DISPLAYS

The Ability to Control for Time: the Freedman's Burial Chronology

A principal prerequisite for these studies is the ability to control for time. All of the 1150 burials (containing 1157 individuals) recovered from Freedman's Cemetery were undated. Since Freedman's Cemetery was open and receiving interments for some 39 years (1869-1907), before this current study could even be attempted, it was first necessary to establish a precise chronology for the excavated burials. An archival history of Freedman's Cemetery and a fine grained burial chronology were the subject of my M. A. thesis (Davidson1999a), and this work was later adapted for inclusion into the official Freedman's Cemetery archaeological report (Davidson 2000a; Davidson 2000b; Davidson 2000c; Peters et al. 2000).

Two basic and complimentary dating schema were used in the creation of the Freedman's Cemetery chronology. First, an entirely internal chronology was determined, utilizing specific artifacts as time diagnostics, cross-dating, stacked burials (i.e., Law of Superposition), as well as knowledge of land purchase and subsequent utilization (e.g., the spatial patterning of graves). The other dating schema formulated was the establishment of the broad, national trends in coffin hardware innovations and stylistic

motifs, through an exhaustive study of coffin hardware catalogues, trade journals, and all pertinent records of the United States Patent Office. Although extremely time-consuming, this study was a necessary step to advance the knowledge base of 19th and early 20th century mortuary hardware beyond the preliminary studies of Hacker-Norton and Trinkley (1984), Garrow (1987), and others. This knowledge was then applied to the material culture of Freedman's.

One of the results of the chronology created for Freedman's Cemetery was that although every grave was unmarked and hence undated, it was still possible to assign narrow date ranges to virtually all of the recovered burials. From historic records, I was able to establish that Freedman's Cemetery was founded on April 29, 1869, and remained open and received interments up to July 26, 1907. Subdividing this 39 year interval in which the cemetery was in operation, three major (and one minor) time periods were formulated.

The Early Period spans sixteen years, from the cemetery's founding in 1869 until 1884 (n=64 burials; 5.5% of total exhumed). The next period defined for Freedman's Cemetery is the Middle Period, a fifteen year interval stretching from 1885 to 1899 (n=170 burials; 14.8% of total exhumed). The next temporal period is a minor one, termed simply "Pre-1900." This designation was devised to describe those burials that while identified as dating prior to 1900, could not be further subdivided into either the Early or Middle Periods. The "Pre-1900" Period contains 37 burials (3.2% of total exhumed). The final temporal period is termed the Late Period; it covers a relatively short eight year interval between 1900 and 1907, and yet because of the way the site was

impacted (and subsequently excavated), and because of the large population increase in the early 20th century, the Late Period contains the bulk of the exhumed burials. Eight hundred eighty four individuals were assigned to the Late Period, or approximately three quarters of the exhumed burials (n=878; 76.4% of total exhumed) (Davidson 1999a).

For 801 burials of the Late Period, even more refined dating was achieved, reducing the eight year Late Period interval to a single estimated year of interment; for example, Burial 32 has an estimated date of interment of circa 1900. This refined chronology, termed the Late Sequence, is a highly elaborate burial seriation, based on correlating the complex patterning within the mortuary hardware assemblages with the local archival record (see Davidson 1999a for an exhaustive rationale for the Late Sequence).

Of the 1150 burials exhumed during excavations, only one (Burial 1127) could not be more finely dated due to its highly disturbed nature, location within the cemetery, and complete lack of artifacts. Its temporal range is the same as the cemetery as a whole; a 39 year interval spanning 1869 -1907.

Other Mitigating Factors

Once the burial chronology was completed, there were additional mitigating factors for which I had to control or otherwise acknowledge, before I could attempt or interpret burial costs. The criteria necessary for elaborate mortuary display include:

1. **A Desire for Elaboration** (uncertainties in life intensify rituals, bringing about the Beautification of Death movement)

2. **Ability to Manufacture Mortuary Goods** (mass production of material goods available after Civil War)
3. **Availability/ Logistics of these Goods** (transportation of heavy goods by rail and waterway becomes economically viable and thus commonplace)
4. **Local Source of Availability** (rise of the profession of undertaking)
5. **Ability to Purchase Goods** (socioeconomics).

A Desire for Elaboration

As discussed above, within the national Beautification of Death movement, there was a desire to both memorialize the dead, and to simultaneously make death beautiful, to mask its harshness with elaborate codes of conduct and trappings, and to provide a means to channel and control grief along well defined roads of behavior. Within African-American culture, the denial of basic human decency and an almost total loss of autonomy in regard to the treatment of their dead, all helped to foster a desire for elaborate mortuary ritual, within whatever means were available. As discussed above, these strategies were extremely limited prior to emancipation, but greatly expanded when freedom came.

Table 3-2: Incremental Control over the Dead within Dallas’s African-American Community

Time period	Event
Pre-1865	No Real Control over the dead, with slave burials interred with whites in the Old Dallas Burial Ground.
1869	With founding of Freedman’s Cemetery, control over the place of burial is established, but community is extremely limited economically
1870s - 1880s	Control over the manner of burial, though only purchasing trimmings and coffin from white undertaker, not services.
1880s - 1890s	Economic advancement and establishment of burial insurance equates to more elaborate mortuary displays, with actual funerals presided over by Anglo undertakers.
1900	Even greater control over the disposition of the dead, with the founding of Peoples Undertaking Company, the first African-American funeral home in the city.
1902	Founding of Woodland (“New Colored”) Cemetery (a lawn park cemetery): for the first time the primary cemetery for the community was no longer used for pauper burials, displaying clear middle class aspirations.
1913	Final control over all dead, with awarding of pauper burial contract to Peoples Undertaking Co., through legislated Jim Crow laws.

In Texas, news of the war’s end came first to Galveston on June 19, 1865, officially ending slavery in the state, although federal troops did not arrive in Dallas until December 1865 (Greene 1973:18). For Dallas, from a combination of the archaeological and archival records it is possible to demonstrate seven incremental events or stages by which the African-American community displayed agency and thus gained greater control over the mortuary realm, even as they were striving in life for equality, economic advancement, and the maintenance of community integrity. These are summarized in Table 3-2, while specific aspects are discussed in Chapter 2.

Ability to Manufacture Goods

Although coffins were being manufactured locally by individual cabinetmakers

throughout the colonies, the earliest coffin handles used in America seem to have been introduced in the 1700s. These handles were either formally made mortuary specific trimmings (e.g., Rauschenberg 1990:43-44), or utilitarian brass or iron cabinet maker's furniture hardware, directly borrowed from every day life for burial of the dead. An example of utilitarian cabinet hardware utilized for mortuary purposes was recovered from a single burial in Delaware, dated to circa 1780-1820 (De Cunzo et al. 1992:199). An important study of the use of the coffin as burial container in America (Tharp 1996) documents the importation of mortuary hardware from England, primarily in the form of coffin handles, offered for sale in the American colonies as early as 1738, but such trimmings were likely rare, and largely limited to the Northeast (Tharp 1996:81-88, 226; Rauschenberg 1990).

Rather, it was not until the mid-19th century that the United States saw the first mass production of mortuary hardware, with the earliest known illustrated general hardware catalogue, the 1853 Peck and Walter Manufacturing Company catalogue, illustrating different varieties of white metal coffin screws available for purchase (Nelson 1980:viii). The first large, illustrated general hardware catalogue appearing after the Civil War – the Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Company's 1865 offering – contained an impressive 436 pages, seven of which were devoted exclusively to coffin trimmings (handles, screws, screw caps, plaques or plates, escutcheons, and hinges) (Nelson 1980). Mass production of burial containers (i.e., coffins, caskets,) also began in the 1850s, with the introduction of the Fisk metallic burial case in 1849 (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:264). By the early 1870s, the mass production of wooden burial containers was

well established (e.g., Taylor and Co 1871).

Availability/ Logistics of these Goods

Knowing when the manufacture of mortuary goods began in the United States is not enough, if availability was curtailed by the inability to transport these same goods to market. As for Dallas, the town itself was created by John Neely Bryant in November 1841 (Holmes and Saxon 1992:39). Water navigation was not practical along the shallow and muddy Trinity River, so manufactured goods destined for Dallas had to be transported on land, first brought in by oxcart and later by stage, with the first stage coach lines established through Dallas by 1858 (Holmes and Saxon 1992:58).

The first railroad to reach Dallas, the Houston and Texas Central, had its roadway to Dallas completed by June 1872, and on July 16, 1872, the first locomotive pulled into the Dallas station (Kimball 1927:34; Holmes and Saxon 1992:136-137). In 1873, one year after the H & T C Railroad had come to Dallas, a second railroad, the Texas & Pacific, rolled into the booming town (Holmes and Saxon 1992:137). With two rail lines running north and south, east and west, by 1873 Dallas was vitally connected to every major market in the country, with the ability to ship and receive goods at will.

Local Source of Availability (rise of the profession of undertaking)

Mass produced coffin hardware and other mortuary trimmings would conceivably have been available in Dallas by the 1850s (with the establishment of the first stage lines). However, funerals in the first years of Dallas's early history, presided over only by

friends or family members acting as impromptu undertakers, likely would not have required (or had access to) such trappings (Davidson 1998a). Rather, elaboration in death ritual was codified and spurred only with professionalization of the practice of caring for and burying the dead, with the establishment of the profession of undertaking (later known as funeral directing) (Habenstein and Lamers 1955).

While a detailed history of undertaking in Dallas can be found in my masters thesis (Davidson 1999a:100-139), here I will address only the initial establishment of the discipline locally, to pin down when elaborate funerals could have occurred in Dallas through a combination of these two primary factors: a professional class of undertakers demonstrating a desire to offer such elaborations, and a documented ability on their part to supply manufactured mortuary goods.

The earliest burials in what was the frontier village Dallas would have been rather makeshift and impromptu affairs, often without benefit of a coffin or other wooden burial container. The reason for this was simple, inasmuch as there was no easy means in the early 1840s to render raw logs into finished lumber. Ed C. Smith, an early Dallas undertaker, spoke of early burials occurring in Dallas without benefit of a coffin; “In the (18)40’s when death invaded a cabin home the arrangements for burial were simple. Wrapped in a blanket, the dead was consigned to the grave after prayers had been said” (Dallas *Times Herald*; March 15, 1903), a practice echoed by John Billingsly, who came to Dallas in the fall of 1842 (Holmes and Saxon 1992:271).

The first sawmill of any kind built in Dallas dates to 1855 (Payne 1991:27), although the earliest reference to a burial using a wooden coffin in Dallas County dates to

1849. In that year, the Dallas County Commissioner's Court "...Ordered... that JAMES ARMSTRONG be allowed the sum of Eight dollars for making a coffin for JOHN McMILLAN a pauper Issued No. 214" (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County, Texas; February 19, 1849, Book A, p. 40). It is unknown if this burial occurred within Dallas proper, or one of the other communities located elsewhere in the county. Nonetheless, it strongly implies that as early as 1849, or only eight years after the town of Dallas was founded, the finished lumber required to manufacture a coffin, even for an indigent burial, was obtainable if not always readily available.

Broadly speaking, within the United States of the first half of the nineteenth century, the profession of undertaker slowly evolved out of other professions that dealt directly or indirectly with the preparation or burial of the dead. In this way, many carpenters and cabinet makers, called upon by their community to construct coffins for local and immediate use, slowly became more and more involved with the process, until often their earlier profession was supplanted by the new one of undertaking (Habenstein and Lamers 1985:139-155).

The first individual that can be identified in the town of Dallas who performed at least one of the traditional tasks of the undertaker is Andrew M. Moore, where in the Dallas County Commissioner's Court Minutes of December 18, 1854, Moore was paid ten dollars for fashioning a coffin for a deceased prisoner. This entry is the earliest funerary reference known to exist, explicitly for the town of Dallas, within the official records of either the town or county (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County, Texas; December 18, 1854, Book B, p. 18).

As was commonly the case throughout the United States during the nineteenth century, while Andrew Moore may have been called upon to build the occasional coffin or perhaps deal with other aspects of undertaking, in the 1860 Federal Census Moore still identifies himself under the profession of Master Carpenter. Moore's professional life would continue to transform itself through the 1860s, until 1868, when he placed the first official notice in the *Dallas Weekly Herald*, proclaiming the presence of an undertaker within the community.

Undertaking. The undersigned would respectfully inform the citizens of Dallas and surrounding counties that he is prepared with all necessary lumber and other materials for making COFFINS, and has just completed a HEARSE, which will attend all Funerals in which he may be employed. He respectfully solicits the patronage of the public.

A. M. Moore
Dallas, November 14, 1868–

Due to his sometime profession and the fact that he was himself a Mason, Moore was appointed by the Tannehill Lodge as sexton of the Masonic Cemetery (*Dallas Weekly Herald*; November 3, 1869), serving in that capacity until his death by pneumonia on January 25, 1870 (*Dallas Weekly Herald*; January 27, 1870). While Andrew Moore was the first self professed undertaker that Dallas knew, he was soon followed by others. On June 26, 1869, a new advertisement appeared for the first time in the *Dallas Weekly Herald*:

Morton & Jennings,
Carpenters and Builders,
Dallas, Texas

Respectfully inform the citizens of Dallas and surrounding country, that they are prepared to do all kinds of work in their line, and will furnish **Plans** and **Estimates** for all kinds of buildings. Particular attention paid to making **Coffins** at reduced prices. Shop on Still Street, near Morton's residence, North part of town.

A. W. Morton
C. C. Jennings

Little else is known of C. C. Jennings, who soon left the building and undertaking trade to run a boarding house on Commerce Street (Dallas City Directory 1875), but Asa W. Morton, in only a few short years, played a critical role in the establishment of undertaking as a true profession in Dallas.

Asa Morton was born in Kentucky in 1817 (U.S. Census 1870), and with his family immigrated to Dallas by circa 1843 (Dallas *Times Herald*; January 14, 1900). A man of some note within the community, Morton was elected town alderman in 1866 (Cochran 1966:220). As with Moore, as late as 1870 Morton considered himself more cabinetmaker than undertaker, as reflected in the 1870 U.S. Census enumeration. But with the death of Andrew Moore in 1870, Morton was essentially the only professional undertaker left in Dallas, and this circumstance perhaps spurred him to associate more and more with undertaking and less with general carpentry.

On July 5, 1871, A. W. Morton placed a new advertisement in the pages of the Dallas *Weekly Herald*. While his prior posting had concerned itself almost exclusively with general construction, this new notice actually emphasized undertaking:

A. W. Morton,
Cabinet Maker,
Dallas, Texas,

Respectfully informs the citizens of Dallas and the surrounding country, that he is

prepared to do all kinds of Cabinet work, and to repair Furniture in the best manner. All kinds of Jobbing in his line will have prompt and special attention at the Lowest Prices.

Undertaking.

Having provided himself with a HEARSE and all necessary appendages, he is prepared to make Coffins and Undertake the necessary arrangements for Burials with dispatch. Coffins of all sizes kept on hand ready made, with the exception of Trimming, and I can deliver them at one hour's notice, day or night. The patronage of the public, both Town and Country, is respectfully solicited. Shop on Still Street, near my residence, in the North part of town.

A. W. Morton
Dallas July 5, 1871

Certainly by 1873, Morton was the official (and only) undertaker for the town of Dallas, as it was in this year that Morton can be found listed as the town's sole practitioner in the first Dallas City Directory (1873:73), as well as a directory of professions printed in the Dallas *Daily Herald* (September 6, 1873). Additionally, on July 2, 1873, the Dallas City Council finally established the office of city sexton, whose duties included supervising interments for all cemeteries in the town. To this position, A. W. Morton was duly elected (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 217).

For the first years of Dallas, burial of the dead was conducted exclusively by two local sons, Andrew Moore and Asa W. Morton. Both men were slowly transformed from cabinet makers into the role of undertakers by the needs of the town, over the course of several years. The next undertaker the town of Dallas would know, Patrick W. Linskie, was distinctly different, springing full blown into the role; indeed emigrating from New Orleans to Dallas for that expressed purpose.

Patrick W. Linskie was originally from Ireland, born in 1848 in the county of Galway. When just six months old, however, his parents and he immigrated to America and settled in New Orleans, where both parents died from an outbreak of yellow fever. Linskie fought in the Civil War, but at its end returned to New Orleans to begin a career devoted exclusively to undertaking— an occupation he pursued there until 1873, when he moved to Dallas (Anonymous 1892:738). Upon his arrival in the city, Linskie purchased the lot at the corner of Main and Harwood Streets on November 22, 1873, for the not inconsequential sum of 450 dollars in gold, for the construction of his undertaker's establishment (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. T, p. 420; Anonymous 1892:738; Anonymous 1885:107).

Although Linskie had arrived in Dallas and purchased the lot at the corner of Main and Harwood by the end of November, 1873, the first advertisement known for Linskie, the appearance of which likely marks the beginning of his practice in Dallas, occurs on September 12, 1874 (Dallas *Weekly Herald*):

P. W. Linskie,
Undertaker,
Corner Main and Harwood Streets.
Burial Cases and Caskets
and Coffins
of all descriptions always on hand.
Orders from the country attended to at
short notice. Graves dug and lots purchased
in the city cemetery, and a splendid hearse
and carriages furnished for funerals.
A branch office at G. K. Merriwether's, on
Elm Street. Orders by telegraph promptly
attended to.

Patrick Linskie carried such diverse stock as goods from the Metallic Burial Case

Co., of New York (Anonymous 1885:107), and was for a time directly associated with the Crane, Breed & Company, a nationally known manufacturer of coffins, caskets and hearses located in Cincinnati, Ohio. In fact, Linskie borrowed money from Crane, Breed & Co., taking out a deed-of-trust upon his undertaker's shop on August 23, 1875 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. BB, 660-661).

In summary, the first undertaker in Dallas, Andrew Moore, began his trade in the 1850s. Although the first advertisement placed by Moore in the local newspaper states that he has "all necessary lumber and other materials for making Coffins..." (Dallas *Weekly Herald*: Nov 14, 1868), Moore's ready access to formal coffin hardware is difficult to determine from this statement. The first reference to coffin "trimmings" in general appears in an advertisement from A. W. Morton in 1871 (Dallas *Weekly Herald*: July 5, 1871 see above), although this could conceivably be a reference only to interior linings. The first undeniable statement that formal coffin hardware was available for sale in Dallas can be found in 1873, in an advertisement placed by A. W. Morton in the Dallas *Daily Herald* (July 10, 1873): "...Keeps constantly on hand Fisk's Metallic Burial Cases and rosewood coffins and caskets. Also a full supply of Undertakers' Hardware and Inside Linings at wholesale and retail." This date, of 1873, also corresponds to the establishment of the two major railroad lines in Dallas in 1872 and 1873, suggesting that mass produced burial containers, or coffin hardware in any variety and number, may have been practically unavailable until this year.

African-Americans in Dallas found their freedom in the summer of 1865, and Freedman's Cemetery was founded four years later, in 1869. Thus, the first burials

interred in Freedman's would have been ongoing just as the mass production of coffin hardware nationally, easy transportation of goods to Dallas, and formalization of the funeral industry locally, all came together to allow for the possibility of funerals and elaborate mortuary displays in the town of Dallas.

Ability to Purchase Goods (socioeconomics)

In this chapter, I have elaborated upon the basis of mortuary custom practiced in Africa prior to enslavement, the creolization of key elements of African and British/American funeral rituals in the Americas during enslavement, and the milieu of the Beautification of Death movement that African-Americans were confronted with after emancipation. Additionally, I have mapped out at least some of the key criteria required for an elaborate mortuary display (as defined by this movement). The final criterion, the economic means to purchase elaborate funerals, will form the entirety of Chapter 4 (and Appendix B) due to the complexity of the problem.

“There’s just one last favor I’ll ask of you,
And there’s just one last favor I’ll ask of you,
There’s just one last favor I’ll ask of you,
See that my grave is kept clean.”

– “See That My Grave is Kept Clean” (1927)

(Written and recorded by Blind Lemon Jefferson, celebrated blues singer, who lived in
Dallas in the teens and early 1920s)

Chapter 4

“To provide a proper burial”: An Economic Study of the Freedman’s Cemetery burials

Resistance Strategies from within the Dominant Ideology:

Economic Advancement and Consumerism

The consumerism of mortuary displays by African-Americans of the 19th and early 20th centuries may be viewed as a form of individual and community resistance, taking place well within the dominant ideology, following guidelines and dictates of behavior formulated by mainstream American culture. The resistance is one against the white hegemonic view of African-Americans as culturally inferior (as couched within a perceived inherent biological and moral inferiority) and the equivalent of paupers. As documented in Chapter 3, these expressions of mortuary based consumerism were almost certainly also perceived as a means to mitigate the effects of three-hundred years of less than “proper burials.”

During the late 19th and early 20th century period, in general terms consumerism

was perceived as a key means by which Blacks might cast off their white imposed mantle of inferiority and achieve a measure of equality through judicious consumption. Out of a seemingly endless variety of mass-produced goods available for purchase in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, what did a formerly enslaved family choose to own? Conceivably, each individual purchase of food, clothing, plate, and cup, was charged with important and involved meanings, all contested (Stine 1990; Mullins 1999a, 1999b, 1999c, 2001).

After Emancipation but before the solidification of Jim Crow laws of the mid to late 1890s, in the United States there was a brief window in time where at least it appeared that blacks might be allowed to climb their way up the long ladder, from bare freedom to full citizenship. This is perhaps best summed up by W.E.B. DuBois, in his 1933 essay, *On Being Ashamed of Oneself: An Essay on Race Pride* (DuBois 1996:1020);

In the years between emancipation and 1900, the theory of escape was dominant. We were, by birth, law and training, American citizens. We were going to escape into the mass of Americans in the same way that the Irish and Scandinavians and even the Italians were beginning to disappear. The process was going to be slower on account of the badge of color; but then, after all, it was not so much the matter of physical assimilation as of spiritual and psychic amalgamation with the American people.

But of course, African-Americans did not escape their “badge of color;” DuBois was writing in retrospect, of what might have been. Forty years before he wrote these words (in 1933), the promise had already proved to be hollow, the rhetoric just that. When Reconstruction ended, and with the Compromise of 1877 engineering the withdrawal of federal troops from the South, the Redeemers, those white southerners who threw out the carpet bag rule, had consolidated their power throughout the South.

Everyone held their breath to see how things would go for southern freedmen, and at first nothing disastrous occurred. Freedom to ride on railroads, serve on juries, and be served in restaurants on equal footing with whites was commonplace (Woodward 1974:31-43). By the late 1880s and early 1890s, however, these specific rights began to deteriorate under an increasingly intolerant white view regarding blacks, spurred on by many things; by a growing acceptance of the concept of Social Darwinism, by the ideas of pseudo science (through biology and a supposed black physical inferiority), and an increasing level of class consciousness by poorer whites, the last perhaps triggered by the economic depression of 1893. The single year of 1896 has been considered a benchmark that would define American race relations in the 20th century; this was the year that the Supreme Court case, *Plessy v. Ferguson* was decided, which upheld the segregation laws for railroad cars and handed down the “separate but equal” argument for the country generally (Woodward 1974:67-109; Fredrickson 1971:228-282; Fredrickson 1988:166-171; Bergman 1969:316-317).

With the vote, first won by blacks during Reconstruction, taken away from them at various times and places in the 1880s and 1890s, African-Americans concentrated instead along the avenues that remained open to them, such as through economic advancement. This was one of the primary avenues outlined by Booker T. Washington in his famous Atlanta Compromise speech in 1895: forgo political rights, civil rights, and higher education, and focus instead on the accumulation of wealth (through industrial education and largely menial labors) (Woodward 1977:82; DuBois 1996:398-399). During this period, whites on one hand, would point out any infraction of law, any failed

business or any violent crime to reinforce their theoretical house of cards against African-Americans as morally, biologically, and economically inferior, to better justify robbing them of civil and even basic human rights. On the other hand, a growing anger among whites was increasingly spilling over into violent acts, both small and large (e.g., race riots), fueled principally by the ability of blacks to achieve any measure of success, despite impediments thrown in their path at almost every turn (Hale 1998:19-22).

Even before emancipation, blacks used what little money they had – the meager products of their long labors – to purchase mass produced consumer goods, such as fine clothing, in a manner that was very conscious of class and status (e.g., Heath 1999), although even here there were limits set by whites. One early law passed in South Carolina, the Negro Act of 1735, set standards for the kinds of clothing enslaved and free blacks could wear. If a slave or free man was found wearing clothing believed to be above his station, then punishment would be immediate, and the clothing could be taken from them. This law became part of a broader custom for most of the United States up to emancipation. Despite these dictates, enslaved African-Americans commonly wore finery and flaunted these clothes in public, before blacks and whites alike, in a form of resistance (Foster 1997:134-137).

Emancipation did not curb the desire of African-Americans to express wealth and to assume at least the appearance of a higher class, whether true or not, through the consumption and conspicuous display of material goods; rather, it exacerbated it. As pointed out by other researchers (e.g., Mullins 1999b), Jacob Riiss (1971), the socialist minded reporter for the New York *Tribune* of the 1870s and 1880s, described the

contradictions inherent in African-American consumerism in the Five Points neighborhood of New York (Riis 1971:118):

Poverty, abuse, and injustice alike the negro accepts with imperturbable cheerfulness. His philosophy is of the kind that has no room for repining. Whether he lives in an Eight Ward barracks or in a tenement with a brown-stone front and pretensions to the title of "flat," he looks at the sunny side of life and enjoys it. He loves fine clothes and good living a good deal more than he does a bank account.... His home surroundings, except when he is utterly depraved, reflect his blithesome temper.

The poorest negro housekeeper's room in New York is bright with gaily-colored prints of his beloved 'Abe Linkum,' General Grant, President Garfield, Mrs. Cleveland, and other national celebrities, and cheery with flowers and singing birds. In the art of putting the best foot foremost, of disguising his poverty by making a little go a long way, our negro has no equal. When a fair share of prosperity is his, he knows how to make life and home very pleasant to those about him. But even when the wolf howls at the door, he makes a bold and gorgeous front. ...The negro's great ambition is to rise in the social scale to which his color has made him a stranger and outsider, and he is quite willing to accept the shadow for the substance where that is the best he can get.

This changing view of consumption and desire for material goods was apparently almost universal in the late 19th century, regardless of race. In the first decades after the Civil War, the idea of mass production and increasingly common availability of inexpensive consumer goods was widely believed to offer the promise of eradicating class distinctions, and leveling the playing field for all segments of society. Instead, consumption and consumerism accentuated the difference, as countless purveyors of a myriad of styles, materials, and classes of goods attempted to fill every socioeconomic market niche, and to implant the concept of "obsolescence" into the middle class mind-set, where whole classes of otherwise serviceable items arguably could be discarded on the grounds that they were no longer fashionable (i.e., outdated, not outworn) (Abelson

1989:33-34). Even the term “consumption,” as Alan Trachtenberg has observed, originally meant “... destruction (as by fire or disease), of squandering, wasting, using up...,” but by the 1890s this same word had been embraced to describe those essential goods and services purchased in every day life (Trachtenberg 1982:130). As for a solution to the false promise of a coming equality through consumerism that existed briefly in the mid 19th century, the only answer that received much press was to become better consumers. For example, the 19th century economist Simon Patten, concerned about the ever widening cultural gap between the working classes and the elite, did not see revolution or a reordering of society as the path to heal this ever widening rift. Rather, Patten’s solution (written in an 1889 essay entitled “The Consumption of Wealth”) was for working classes to become better and more adept consumers of material goods (Trachtenberg 1982:151).

It was into these 19th century consumer “class wars” that the newly emancipated African-Americans would enter as full-fledged foot soldiers of consumption. Mullins (1999a) illustrates the double edged sword of African-American consumerism as practiced in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. By the first decades of the 20th century, African-Americans were increasingly purchasing such mass produced items as brand name foods, phonographs, silk shirts and bric-a-brac. Whites viewed African-American consumption of these so called luxury goods with increasing concern, and saw such purchases as threats to these socially constructed white middle and upper class symbols of culture and authority. Middle class whites did not see a ten-cent china dog on a mantel, or a silk shirt on the back of a black man; they saw instead an attack on the

symbols of authority and superiority they had so carefully constructed since at least the 18th century – “...the concession of symbolic and utilitarian privileges that were central to consumer citizenship” (Mullins 1999a:155-156).

Within the milieu of eroding civil rights of the 1880s and 1890s, African-Americans were increasingly motivated to participate within the ideologically driven Beautification of Death movement and strive for an equality in death, if not in life. Beyond its obvious religious implications, elaborate mortuary display may also be interpreted as consumerism, acted within a framework of resistance against the dominant culture or ideology, but played out within the very structure of this ideology, following its rules and dictates to the best of their abilities. Although money invested in a death event is not entirely analogous to consumerism in general, there are parallels that cannot be denied.

Elaborateness in mortuary displays, with expensive burial containers, flowers, and grave markers, and their “misuse” by those of lower economic classes is obliquely addressed by W. P. Hohenschuh, author of *The Modern Funeral: Its Management*, published in 1900; “Where people can afford high priced goods, than there is no more extravagance in funerals, than there is in the wearing of fine clothes or jewelry. People who cannot afford it are the ones who are perhaps extravagant, but this should not be charged to the funeral director” (Hohenschuh 1900:369). Hohenschuh’s casting of blame for extravagance that went beyond (or above) ones means (or social status), onto the poor who attempted to manipulate these mortuary symbols, seems to echo the statements levied against African-American consumerism in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

generally.

This view was not a new one. In 1753, a gentleman writing to the paper, the *Independent Reflector*, addresses what he saw as a growing problem in his age; the extravagance of funerals. Writing on the poor's emulation of these extravagances, he states (Livingston 1977:45);

As People in the inferior Stations of Life, are extremely apt to imitate those who move in a more elevated Sphere: it ought to be the Endeavour of the latter to set them the laudable Example of suppressing this fantastical and inconvenient Piece of Luxury. Their Circumstances could not be called in question, and did they retrench all superfluous Articles, it would meet with universal Approbation; because all would agree it was for the Sake of discountenancing so absurd a Custom; and their inferiors tho' they imitated, would not pretend to rival them.

In the trade literature of funeral directors of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, there were several comments that stated, in no uncertain terms, that it was considered improper for the lower classes to have elaborate funerals. For example, in an address of one F. F. Mader, to the Ohio Funeral Directors Association, Mader states that: "If possible, funerals should be held at home. A quiet home funeral seems far more appropriate than the parade made by *a certain class of people...*" (emphasis added), illustrating a subtle contempt, on the part of Mr. Mader, for those who tried to emulate their "betters" (*The Sunnyside* January 1902:17). In the city of Baltimore, Maryland, one funeral director in 1902 described the funerals of the working poor (*The Sunnyside* March 1902:16);

It is often a matter of surprise how the deceased of the humbler classes are given funerals often rivaling those of the wealthiest. The explanation lies in the fact that men of this social strata are members often of a half dozen "benevolent" organizations. Death benefits can be relied on: the lodges send large and gayly-ornamented delegations, which lay their own hack hire, and the result is an imposing exhibition.... Some little superstition, a great deal of pride and a failing

for post-mortem tokens of esteem will make the funeral of the best class the model for all, reforms to the contrary notwithstanding.

A 1927 study by John C. Gebhart, addresses the national trend of rising costs of funerals in the early 1920s and speaks directly to the “Burial Problem Among Negroes” (Gebhart 1928:122-128). The results of Gebhart’s study revealed that blacks, “...particular the poor, strain every effort to provide a showy funeral.” In a 1927 study of Atlanta blacks performed by the Atlanta Urban League, ministers were asked why so many African-Americans had expensive funerals. The reply was that, “People have expensive funerals because they belong to different lodges and instead of using the money in different ways they spend it all for the funeral. There also seems to be a tradition among the poor that money left by the dead is tabooed and that, as far as possible, all of the insurance money left by the deceased should be spent on the funeral” (Gebhart 1928:126-127; though see below for a discussion of this for Dallas). The average cost of a black funeral for an adult in Gebhart’s 1927 study (which spanned 35 states) was \$279.00, while the average cost for an adult white funeral was almost double that, or \$417.24. Although white funerals were clearly more elaborate in the late 1920s, it was noted that blacks, with their lower earning capacity, were actually expending a much greater proportion of their capital on mortuary display than whites (Gebhart 1928:127-128).

While the facile “explanation” for elaborate funerals among the poor may be the proliferation of fraternal burial insurance (as given in both the 1902 and 1927 quotes above), such insurance was only the most expedient means to an end. The ultimate

explanation lies deeper than mere insurance; it is embedded within the *desires* for elaboration. As discussed in Chapter 3, the phenomena of elaborate burials purchased by the working class can be explainable on several levels, and these many motivations can never be distilled into a trite formula or known fully. Regardless, it is useful to view the results, elaborate mortuary displays, as a means of resistance.

The hegemonic view of African-Americans was as biological and social inferiors, and largely economically equivalent to paupers or indigents. To resist this mind set, both within the white world as well as within the African-American community, funds were invested in elaborate mortuary display (money that many could ill afford to spend), to assure a dignity in death that had so often been denied in life. Such agency can be viewed as a public demonstration that members of the African-American community were equal to those of the white majority — fighting racism and the marking of African-Americans as morally, racially, and economically inferior through consumerism and display. In this analysis, such acts of consumption were through the purchase of elaborate funerals, including a coffin with heavily ornamented trimmings in the form of white metal or brass handles, thumbscrews and escutcheons, plaques, and viewing windows

Such behavior is actually resistant to the dominant ideology, but it is a resistance that is carried out *within* the dominant system, an inversion of the usual codes of conduct and symbols that were supposed to mark only those who were racially and economically superior. That mortuary display was *consciously* cognized as a means by which to attack the tenets of racism is unlikely. Rather, complex ritual behaviors (such as providing a

“decent” burial for the dead) always stem from multiple motivations, both conscious and unconscious, and have multiple meanings, both public and private.

African-Americans as a group were not the only underclass who viewed an elaborate mortuary display as a means to redefine social class or status distinctions. Rather, while the elaboration of the death experience was one forged within the dominant ideology, it was primarily constructed at middle class and elite levels of society, as a means to differentiate themselves from the commoner classes. At least as much as African-Americans, working class whites also diligently sought to manipulate these same mortuary symbols in an attempt to create a higher status, or at least, its appearance, for themselves and their loved ones.

S. J. Kleinberg (1977), in a study of mortuary behavior among the white working class of 19th century Pittsburgh, found that their customs mimicked but did not exactly follow middle and upper class rituals. Because of a lack of funds, working class families purchased single burial lots as the necessities of death dictated, and could not often afford formal family plots. The city interred those who could not pay for their funerals in unmarked pauper graves, and such a fate was believed so abhorrent by members of the working class that it was to be avoided whenever possible. The grave stones of working class individuals in Pittsburgh were very plain, when present at all. Of those who died, the most mourned and publicly bereaved were adult men, and it was for these funerals that the most elaborate mortuary displays and commensurate costs were invested. As the principal bread winners, men were perceived as having greater social positions relative to

adult women (Kleinberg 1977).

In this Pittsburgh study, at least as measured by mortuary displays, the least valued were children and especially infants. In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, infants were not really seen as fully formed individuals, at least by the working class. This was largely a defense mechanism, to avoid building emotional attachments in infants that might not live. In 19th century America, many infants did not even receive names until they reached their second or third year, and looked as if they would survive (Uhlenberg 1985:245). In contrast, Vanessa Harding argues that children were not considered somehow less than fully human in her analysis of middle and upper class burial practices in England during the 18th and 19th centuries, because virtually all the cases she examined were afforded at least modest mortuary displays, although these instances only emphasize the gulf that separated these economically secure families from the working poor (Harding 1998:57-58).

In Pittsburgh's working class white households, the deaths of infants received little or no fanfare, with their remains most often interred with minimal expense in special sections reserved for stillborns or very young infants (Kleinberg 1977). This view of infant or stillborn deaths as one requiring minimal expense or fuss was even codified in the instructions printed with the blank day books especially designed for funeral homes at the turn of the 20th century. According to the stated "Funeral Ethics" section of these otherwise blank day books: "Stillborns are buried by the undertaker alone. It is unusual that any of the family attend the interment" (Anonymous 1907).

Gauging Socioeconomics: An Introduction

This chapter will gauge the wealth invested in African-American mortuary display at Freedman's Cemetery, on an individual by individual basis, using an emic perspective. The unit of measure will be a sum of the associated coffin hardware; i.e., the handles, thumbscrews, and other coffin trimmings. These trimmings can be identified through period coffin and coffin hardware catalogues and price lists, and assigned an accurate cost in real, wholesale dollars. To better understand the implications of such a study and to document previous studies of socioeconomics within the field of historical archaeology, a brief overview is necessary.

Previous Socioeconomic studies in Historical Archaeology

The study of socioeconomics (i.e., class or status) is commonplace within historical archaeology. As pointed out by Singleton (1999:2-4), however, specifically within African-American archaeology problems of ethnicity and race have dominated the field, while studies of social class or economics overall have received less emphasis (though see Otto 1984 for an early study of socioeconomics). Singleton believes this is due to a fundamental assumption made, *a priori*, that African-Americans would naturally occupy the lowest tiers of any system of social class (1999:2-4).

While socioeconomic studies may be commonplace in historical archaeology, they are by no means entirely successful. For example, one early economic study by Lynne G. Lewis, of the artifactual assemblage recovered from Drayton Hall, an antebellum plantation house in rural South Carolina, had decidedly mixed results.

Although she included 239,913 different artifacts in her analysis, when she compared her results to other antebellum sites, only a handful of artifact types (predominately ceramics) showed any real correlation with archivally known wealth levels (Lewis 1985:121-140).

Of the initial studies of consumerism in African-American archaeology, one of the most contextualized was conducted by William Hampton Adams and Steven D. Smith, in their analysis of the general store ledger at Waverly Plantation in Mississippi. Adams and Smith compared ledger entries to excavated materials from known families (Adams and Smith 1985). This study is a good example of the meshing of an historical text and archaeological materials. It is not a simplistic correlation of the two kinds of data; rather, the archival data is first contextualized through outside sources and other means. It does, however, equate differences on strictly economic grounds, ignoring the possibility that status or race/ethnicity was a determining factor in consumer choice. It also excludes the possibility, known in some cases, of alternative sources for consumer goods derived from outside this “closed” economic system.

Calculating the cost of *specific* artifact types towards creating a measure of socioeconomics or status is not new to historical archaeology. Perhaps one of the best examples of this type of inquiry is George Miller’s Ceramic Cost Index, where Miller used wholesale price lists to calculate the costs of decorated and undecorated ceramic wares for 19th century America, and applied these costs to archaeological data (Miller 1988; Miller et al. 1994). As compelling as these studies are, even with the best of them, what is being measured is a generalized proxy. My study is quite different. While Miller (1988) was able to apply wholesale costs to archaeologically derived artifacts, in this

analysis of the Freedman's burials, I can go one step further, in that I can calculate very exacting costs in real dollars for recovered archaeological materials, and then assign these costs to a single individual for which we have demographic variables including age, sex, temporal context, and general health measures.

Of paramount importance is that I can control for social context. Mortuary data are on the whole, highly codified. A death event sets into play a whole series of other events, emotions, actions, rituals that all mean something. True, this mortuary display analysis is measuring a real, tangible thing (i.e., costs of hardware), but it is being interpreted here as a social proxy, reflecting a person's status, their social persona (Goodenough 1965).

Previous Socioeconomic Analyses of Historical Mortuary Data

The origins of historic archaeology in the United States have been traced back to the 1930s, with John Cotter's work at Jamestown (Harrington 1994:6). Interestingly, the first formal analysis of *historic* mortuary data derived from an excavated context (thus excluding tombstone studies) can also be traced back as early as 1930, when Shapiro (1930) made a study of European American skulls collected from a disturbed burial ground in New York City. While ground breaking, Shapiro's work can also be seen as something of an anomaly. Serious archaeological investigations of historic cemeteries did not actually begin to occur until the 1970s (see Table 4-1).

One of the earliest such studies occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1978, when 17 burials dating to the 19th century were exhumed from a section of Oakland Cemetery.

These 17 burials were later identified in historic records and through standard osteological methods as African-American (Blakely and Beck 1982). Another early cemetery removal project treated archaeologically and that also contained the remains of

Table 4-1: Selected Listing of Previous Historic Cemetery Excavations

Project	Temporal Range*	“Race”	Location	# of individuals exhumed	Year Excavated	Reference
Brownell Indian Cemetery	1870-1937	Native American	CA	45	1961	Woolfenden 1969
Arthur Patterson Site (41SJ67)	1852-1880	Native American	TX	3	1969	Hsu 1969
Oakland Cemetery	1866-1884	Black	GA	17	1978	Blakely and Beck 1982
Catoctin Furnace Cemetery	1790-1840	Black	MD	35	1979/1980	Burnston and Thomas 1981
Applegate Lake Project (two cemeteries)	1886-1914	White	OR	13	1980	Brauner and Jenkins 1980
Laredo Cemetery	1880-1920	Hispanic	TX	17	1980	McReynolds 1981
Millwood Plantation Cemetery	1860-1920??	Black	SC	266	1980/1981	Orser et al. 1987
Choke Canyon Project (five cemeteries)	1860-1911	White	TX	34	1981/1982	Fox 1984
Cedar Grove Cemetery	1900-1915	Black	AR	80	1982	Rose 1985
Stirrup Court Cemetery	1840-1890	White	Ontario	20	1982	Woodley 1992
McGee Creek Cemetery	1890s-1924+	Native American	OK	16	1983	Ferguson 1983
First African Baptist Church (8th and Vine)	1823-1842	Black	PA	140	1983/1984	Parrington et al. 1989
First Cemetery (New Orleans)	1721-1789	Black	LA	32	1984	Owsley et al. 1985
Morgan Chapel Cemetery	1891-1924	White	TX	21	1984	Taylor et al. 1986
Mount Gilead Cemetery	1832-1890s	White/Black	GA	31	1984	Wood et al. 1986

Mount Pleasant Cemetery (38CH778)	1840-1930	Black	SC	37	1984	Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984
Nancy Creek Cemetery	1850s-1979	Black, White	GA	56	1984	Garrow et al. 1985
Rincon Cemetery	1840s-1935	White, Hispanic	CA	4	1984	Brock and Schwartz 1991
Blackburn Cemetery	1818-1925	Black, White	TN	8	1985	Atkinson and Turner 1987
Uxbridge Almshouse Burial Ground	1831-1872	White, Black, Native American	MA	31	1985	Elia and Wesolowsky 1989
Talbot County (Big Lazar Creek) Cemetery	1825-1900	White	GA	6	1986	Garrow and Symes 1987
Tucker Cemetery	1880-1942	White	TX	16	1986	Lebo 1988
Voegtly Cemetery	1833-1861	White	PA	724	1987	Beynon 1989
Elko Switch Cemetery	1850-1920	Black	AL	56	1987/1988	Shogren et al. 1989
Harvie Family Burying Ground	1825-1894	White	Ontario	15	1988	Saunders and Lazenby 1991
Seven Rivers Cemetery	1873-1899	White	NM	54	1988	Ferguson et al. 1993
Sinclair Cemetery (41DT105)	1850s-1880s	White	TX	16	1989	Winchell et al. 1992
Weir Family Cemetery	1830s-1907	White	VA	24	1989	Little et al. 1992
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Boothill Cemetery)	1870s-1880s	White?	TX	11	1989/1990	Earls et al. 1991
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Coffey Cemetery)	1870s-1880s	White?	TX	2	1989/1990	Earls et al. 1991
Spartanburg County, S.C. 38Sp105	1870-1910	Black	SC	15	1989/1990	Joseph et al. 1991
Spartanburg County, S.C. 38Sp106	1830s-1880s	White	SC	61	1989/1990	Joseph et al. 1991
Sandy Creek Cemetery	1841-1920s	Unknown	GA	13	1990	Garrow 1990
First African Baptist Church (10th and Vine)	1810-1822	Black	PA	85	1990	McCarthy 1997
Phillips Memorial Cemetery	1884-1927	Black	TX		1991/1992	Dockall et al. 1996a
Sussex Cty Cemetery (7S-68)	1752-1799	White	DE	9	1992	LeeDecker et al. 1995

Cross Family Cemetery (Springfield, Illinois)	1829-1849	White	IL	29	1992	Craig and Larsen 1993
Dement Family Cemetery (3CW685) Arkansas	1890; 1896	White	AR	2	1992	Cande 1995
Former Wesleyan Methodist Church Cemetery	<i>1821-1900</i>	White	Ontario	157	1993	Mayer Heritage Consultants 1994
Redfield Cemetery	1875-1930	Black	GA	80	1994	Braley and Moffat 1995
Texas State Cemetery (Confederate)	1884-1951	White	TX	57	1995	Dockall et al. 1996b
Grafton Cemetery	1834-1873	White	IL	252	1995	Buikstra et al. 2000
Cool Branch Cemetery	1800-1830	White	TN	5	1996	Matternes 1998
Fuller Cemetery	1856-1920	White	GA	46	1997	Wilson and Holland 1998
Oliver Family Cemetery	<i>1831-1865</i>	White	VA	11	1997	Wilson 1998c
Pine Ridge Cemetery	<i>1800-1850</i>	White	GA	14	1997	Wilson 1998b
Ridley Cemetery	1885-1940	Black	TN	49	1998	Buchner et al. 1999
Turner Cemetery	<i>1840-1900</i>	White	MS	12	1998	Wilson 1998d
Brunson-Sisson Cemetery (11WI874)	1836-1892	White	IL	19	1998	Cobb et al. 1999
Bellwood Farm Cemetery	<i>1840-1900</i>	Black	VA	6	1998	Bowden and Blake 2000
Dallas Pioneer Cemetery	<i>1884-1920</i>	White	TX	15	1999	Cooper et al. 2000
Elgin City Cemetery (Channing School)	1844-1906	White	IL	12	1999	Kullen et al. 1999
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	1854-1900	White	AR	10	2001/2002	Davidson 2004c
Eddy Cemetery (3CW921)	1870-1900	White	AR	16	2001/2002	Davidson 2004c

*(date ranges in italics are estimated)

African-Americans was the Catoctin Furnace Cemetery, located in Frederick County, Maryland and excavated in 1979 (Burnston and Thomas 1981).

Since the late 1970s, archaeological investigations of historic cemeteries have begun to occur with much greater frequency. Table 4-1 lists both the earliest as well as some of the more recent of these projects. Due to their very nature, virtually all historic cemeteries are excavated under the guise of contract archaeology. As such, these investigations function under the same time and financial constraints common to cultural resource management (CRM) as a whole.

Virtually all research into measuring class or economic status in mortuary archaeology has focused upon above ground evidence, namely detailed analyses of tombstones or grave markers. Most gravestone studies have either been cultural historical or processual in tone, though one of the best of these studies was conducted by Randall McGuire (1988), using a Marxist dialectic based approach to data from an upstate New York cemeteries (see Chapter 2 for brief summary). Lynn Clark (1987) has also examined 19th through mid 20th century tombstones in Broome County, New York, to explore the differences between consumer choices made through ethnicity maintenance and those made through class.

A more recent post-processual study of grave markers is James Garman's (1994) work on 18th century African-American gravestones in Rhode Island. Among other aspects, Garman compared the relative sizes of grave stones of black men, women and children, to white men, women, and children, for three time periods. He reasoned that stone size is likely commensurate with relative cost of the stone. In the 1720-1770

period, the stones of African-Americans, regardless of gender or age at death, were equivalent in size to that of Euroamerican children. Garman interpreted this early pattern as reflecting Euroamerican paternalism regarding the enslaved (1994:80-82). In his middle time period, from 1770-1800, and especially apparent in the last time interval (1800-1830), the trend is one in which race is no longer the primary determinant in stone size; rather, gender and age at death are the primary factors at play. By the 1800-1830 time period, there is an essentially one to one correspondence between black and white tombstones, with men having the largest stones, adult women with somewhat smaller stones, and with children having the smallest stones of all.

Importantly, Garman emphasizes that emancipation for virtually all Rhode Islanders had occurred by 1807. The stones in the earlier periods were most likely paid for by the white enslavers (the names of the masters are often carved into the stones along with the names of the deceased), while stones dating to the 1800-1830 period would have been purchased and erected by blacks themselves. Garman interprets the essentially identical stones marking both black and white graves during this last time period in three ways: standardization and mass production of stones, a seemingly straightforward assimilation (wanting to publicly demonstrate their participation in mainstream society), and a masking strategy, out of fear that whites would identify the graves as black, and therefore leave them open to reprisals due to race riots in nearby Providence (Garman 1994:88).

While a handful of other socioeconomic or status studies of grave markers have been attempted, a survey of over 50 cemetery site reports (spanning 1978 through 1999;

Table 4-1) reveals an extreme reluctance to delve into the study of basic status or socioeconomics based on material culture from excavated burials. Certainly in almost every cemetery site report, the topic of socioeconomics is indeed broached, though usually to state that such a study would be problematic and so not attempted, although at least one 1991 study (Joseph et al. 1991:218-219) did perform a simplistic status measure of the excavated burials by counting the coffin hardware elements associated with each grave. The reluctance on the part of past researchers to delve into socioeconomic studies of mortuary data may in part be traced to their relative lack of knowledge regarding the material culture of the 19th century mortuary realm (e.g., coffin and casket industry, Beautification of Death movement, etc.).

One of the first in depth appraisals of late 19th and early 20th century mortuary hardware was by Deborah Hacker-Norton and Michael Trinkley (1984). This monograph examines a collection of mortuary hardware curated within a general store in rural South Carolina, and importantly, not from an excavated cemetery. Hacker-Norton and Trinkley attempt to address the topic of socioeconomics through a clearly *emic* perspective, assigning wholesale prices to mortuary hardware from period price lists, or extrapolations from such lists (1984:35-39; 50-52). However, since their data are derived from a hardware collection and not from individual graves, no true application was possible.

In their discussion of economics, the topic of status is raised. Hacker-Norton and Trinkley make the distinction between “real” and “ascribed” status. They suggest that real status could be recognized by the presence of expensive mortuary hardware (knowledge of such expense apparently derived from period catalogues and price lists),

and “ascribed” status, where many elements are present, but of a cheaper type (1984:51).

In a contemporary and companion work, Trinkley and Hacker-Norton do directly apply their economic cost schema to data derived from an excavated cemetery in rural South Carolina – the Mt. Pleasant Cemetery (38CH778) (Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984). In so doing, they outline what they felt was evidence of status differentiation, though only on a very simplistic and impressionistic level. This recognition and delineation of status was based on the presence or absence of coffin hardware, and the cost of such hardware as derived from two wholesale price lists (Sargent and Co 1871; Markham and Strong 1865). The resulting cost data are not presented fully, but the authors do state that adult women were more often associated with coffin hardware. They also stress that while not all men had hardware, those that did appeared more elaborate than women’s mortuary displays. They interpreted this pattern as one based on “achieved vs. ascribed” status, with women ascribed a status within society, though at moderate levels, while men achieved or failed on their own merits, reflecting the wide range of no hardware, to mortuary displays greater than all the women.

Of course, the cemetery’s sample size is tiny; a total of 37 burials were identified, and virtually all had been severely disturbed by construction activities, resulting in a known loss of hardware. Additionally, all of the Mt. Pleasant burials were unmarked and undated (save for burial D-4b, interred with a dated nameplate), and so dates of interment were assigned based largely upon associated mortuary hardware. But since status was also entirely derived from the same hardware elements, potential problems arise, mainly due to the lack of context and the very real threat of circular reasoning. The estimated

date range of the cemetery is circa 1840 to 1910 (or greater), which is an enormous and undifferentiated seven decade time span. Burials recovered without mortuary hardware either could be quite early slave burials or late 19th century burials of paupers. As the case of this South Carolina cemetery makes clear, without greater knowledge of temporal context, knowledge of local accessibility to mortuary hardware, or economic levels within the living community, ambiguities in the search for class or “status” cannot be avoided (Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984).

Other pioneering works in both bioarchaeology and the treatment of historic cemeteries as cultural resources include the Cedar Grove Cemetery investigations in Arkansas (Rose 1985) and the Elko Switch Cemetery located in rural Alabama (Shogren et al. 1989). Both sites were unmarked, late 19th and early 20th century African-American cemeteries. The resulting reports only touch on the possibility of using the data to derive a measure of class/status. In his conclusion to the Cedar Grove report, Jerome Rose offers that “Preliminary analysis of the Cedar Grove mortuary behavior revealed the presence of age related status distinctions and a possible economic difference in the Cedar Grove community” (Rose 1985:153-155). Rose’s conclusions, however preliminary, were based on the simple presence or absence and number of coffin hardware elements associated with each burial.

The same conclusions were derived from the analysis of the Elko Switch Cemetery burials. Michael Shogren and his fellow researchers concluded in a two page “Interpretation of Socioeconomics,” that: “A relative socioeconomic scale is not readily apparent for the investigated graves within the Elko Switch Cemetery. Temporal

placement appears to be the primary factor dictating the nature and extent of coffin hardware.” Their conclusions directly echo those of Hacker-Norton and Trinkley’s (1984:51) (cited by them here), when they close with this assessment: “...it appears that quantity, not quality, is at least as much an indicator of status as styles at the Elko Switch Cemetery. Needless to say, an accurate interpretation of socioeconomics is difficult due to the number of variables to be considered within a funeral context” (Shogren et al. 1989:188-190).

One interesting study that is at least tangentially related to this analysis is by William A. Gordon, in his 2003 dissertation, *Coffin Plates and Competitive Display*. Gordon examined 19th and early 20th century engraved coffin plaques or “plates,” predominately from New England, in an attempt to measure status and “competitive display” (Gordon 2003:16-18). However, almost his entire sample was not derived from excavated burials. Rather, Gordon’s primary dataset was obtained from the auction listings of these plaques from the online auction website, Ebay. The source of these plaques can be traced to their original function as parlor memorials, created during the funeral event and then retained for display. Predominately in 19th century New England, it became fashionable to save the plaque from a deceased loved ones’ coffin or casket lid (or perhaps have a duplicate plaque engraved for this purpose), mount it behind glass in a shadow box, along with a piece of the deceased’s hair, or a souvenir from the funeral itself (e.g., ribbons, flowers, etc), and place these memorials in a prominent place within the home (Gordon 2003). Gordon’s study is certainly groundbreaking for its imaginative dataset, but shares the limitations of previous tombstone studies in that it utilizes a single

variable as a measure of status, socioeconomics, or “competitive display.” My own analysis of the Freedman’s Cemetery data examines all of the associated mortuary hardware, and although deriving a single value for estimated wholesale cost, contrasts this economic variable with other associated artifacts representing different worldviews and belief systems, and further examines both a burial’s cost and any associated grave inclusions with skeletal health proxies.

As for the more recent CRM cemetery site reports (Table 4-1), all have essentially avoided the subject of socioeconomics. Discussed in some detail below, only Edward Bell (1994) has explicitly addressed the problems inherent with the search for status and socioeconomics within historic mortuary archaeology, and offers probable solutions to the quandary.

While the historic cemetery CRM site reports reviewed for this study deal with the topic of status and class in an extremely limited manner (if at all), there have been only two published papers that attempt to measure socioeconomic levels, or status, through a cost measure of grave goods. The first such study examines data derived from the Weir Family Cemetery in Manassas, Virginia (Little et al. 1992). The authors contextualize their study with the recognition of two factors derived from the work of Cannon (1989) and Pearson (1982), summarized by Little et al., as: “the cyclical quality of status display as a manifestation of social competition balancing elite innovation and non-elite emulation, and the ideologically charged symbolism of burial ritual” (Little et al. 1992:397).

The differential mortuary displays observed diachronically within the Weir

Family burials were interpreted as principally based upon sentimentality and the social dictates of the “Beautification of Death” movement that gripped the country during much of the Victorian era. Additionally, the perceived decline in burial elaborateness in the last temporal period of the site (1886-1907) is in part interpreted through the theoretical framework formulated by Cannon (1989:447) as an example of: “...a cycle of elite innovation, lower-class emulation, and elite abandonment of particular styles or practices” (Little et. al. 1992:415).

The Weir Family Cemetery study is arguably a nuanced and contextualized exploration of status from mortuary data, and the application of Cannon’s theoretical model regarding a cycle of elite innovation and eventual elite abandonment of key symbols is taken as axiomatic for this study of Freedman’s Cemetery. There is, however, an essential flaw inherent within the work by Little and her co-authors, limiting the veracity of their conclusions – the wealth displays calculated for the individual burials were based only upon a simplistic counting of the number and variety of elements present on the burial container and not their true cost in dollars. While admirably utilizing an *emic* perspective in regards to the social milieu (i.e., the Beautification of Death movement), the researchers’ basic unit of measure with which the rise and fall of this movement was charted was a rather abstracted, *etic* viewpoint.

Perhaps the best example of an *emic* economic study of mortuary data that can be found is Robert C. Mainfort’s analysis of the Fletcher Site, a mid-eighteenth century Native American cemetery located in Michigan (Mainfort 1985). The site represents a burial ground associated with a village of Algonquin speakers, probably Ottawas and

Chippewas. Many of the graves were in rudimentary “coffins” made of wood slabs lining the grave shafts, but no mortuary hardware, in the form of coffin trimmings, was present (Mainfort 1979). Rather, what Mainfort was measuring economically were the large number of 18th century European trade goods such as muskets, axes, silver gorgets, and kettles, among other items, included with the dead. Instead of trying to calculate the cost of these artifacts in 18th century European currency (i.e., pounds or francs), he employed a very innovative *emic* approach to the measure of grave wealth, by instead calculating the equivalent cost of each trade item in the form of exchange used by the native people, namely beaver pelts. Mainfort was able to procure period lists from European fur traders, listing the numbers of pelts for which each item was valued. His conclusions were that some social ranking did exist, and were differentiated in part by the presence and absence, as well as the frequency and type of certain European artifact types (Mainfort 1985:560-562; 576-577).

Clearly, despite much discussion within the archaeological literature regarding the study of “status” and class from burial contexts, very little has actually been attempted. This is largely due to the problematic nature of the subject matter – the overarching problem with the calculation of relative or actual cost of recovered materials, and further attributing significance to it in regard to “wealth” or “status,” is clearly that of *context*. Bell, in his work with the Uxbridge Almshouse burials, recognizes this: “...the unqualified use of status-based interpretative frameworks is not a tenable approach to surviving material vestiges of historical funerary behavior” (Bell 1990:66).

In a later work, Bell (1994) succinctly outlines the many factors that must be

accounted for, when addressing such problematic matters as wealth or status (Bell 1994:15):

chronology in the appearance, supply, demand, and technological development of coffin hardware; availability of burial insurance or the pooling of resources to purchase finer casket or grave marker than might be otherwise be had; consumer preference; ethnic differences in incorporating the objects with funeral rituals; circumstances surrounding the time and place of death; and the constraints of the institution or individuals responsible for burial.

Mitigating Factors for Economic Study of Historical Burials

In Chapter 3, I presented the primary mitigating factors that would have determined the desire and ability of African-Americans in Dallas to participate in the national Beautification of Death movement, as well as the timing of this participation.

These criteria are repeated here:

1. **A Desire for Elaboration** (uncertainties in life intensify rituals, bringing about the Beautification of Death movement)
2. **Ability to Manufacture Goods** (mass production of material goods available after Civil War)
3. **Availability/ Logistics of these Goods** (transportation of heavy goods by rail and waterway becomes economically viable and thus commonplace)
4. **Local Source of Availability** (rise of the profession of undertaking)
5. **Ability to Purchase Goods** (socioeconomics).

While the first 4 criteria were briefly addressed in Chapter 3, it is the final factor, the ability to purchase elaborate mortuary displays, which will be make up the remainder of this chapter. However, before a detailed cost analysis of the burials can be accomplished, there are additional mitigating factors involving the procurement of a

funeral event that must be controlled for:

Burial Insurance (fraternal/sororital, mutual benefit, formal life insurance); **“Out of Pocket” Payment for Funeral Expenses** (where insurance is lacking); **Burial Expenses undertaken by Private Individuals not related to the Family** (e.g., white families or employer); **Correctly identifying Indigent burials** (interments whose burial expenses are paid for by the city or county); **Wealth display expended upon a funeral not accounted for in the archaeological record** (e.g., carriages, hearse, etc); **Preservation/Taphonomic Factors** {i.e., what is not accounted for in a calculation of mortuary hardware cost: the burial container (hardwood vs. softwoods), expensive linings, etc.}.

These mitigating factors are given below, and a national and local (i.e., state or Dallas focused) overview of each problem is addressed.

Burial Insurance

Historically, the huge popularity of fraternal lodges among African-Americans was at least in part, due to the funeral benefits available upon the death of a member. Additionally, burial societies exclusively dedicated for insuring a “proper” funeral were also ubiquitous (Raper 1968:373-381). Newbell Niles Puckett has this to say of burial societies and fraternal order insurance in the Southern United States of the 1920s: “The Southern Negro has much the same notion, paying dues to a lodge all his life or going head over heels into debt to see that he and his relations are laid away in style. No matter

what the press of work may be, a funeral is always more important” (Puckett 1926:87-88).

The first black fraternal order/secret society founded in the United States was a masonic lodge; a black man named Prince Hall formed the African Lodge No. 459 on September 12, 1784, in Boston, Massachusetts. This warrant and charter was sought from and granted by the Masons in England, as white Masonic associations in the United States refused to grant such a warrant to a black group (Work 1913:274; Low and Clift 1981:395). Although the first black lodge in the country was a Masonic lodge, there were other organizations, termed “beneficial” or “mutual aid” societies that also have an early founding in America.

The first mutual aid society was created in 1787 in Philadelphia, formed by Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, as well as other blacks who had been members of the predominately white St. George’s Church in that city, but who left due to discrimination from white church members. This group formed the “free African Society,” whose purpose was to “aid the needy” by providing a sick benefit for those who were temporarily put out of work due to illness, and to provide funds for burial to avoid a pauper’s grave (Pollard 1980). While these are specific needs that were addressed by this and other beneficial societies, the ultimate rationale behind their founding has been described as one of “racial uplift” (Pollard 1980:230);

The beneficial society... was developed in response to a burning desire for racial uplift in antebellum America. Indeed, racial improvement was the flip-side of Afro-America’s unquestioned priority: abolition. Blacks recognized that only as they bettered themselves would their position augur well for emancipation, and through exemplary conduct they would force society to recognize them as worthy of liberty.

In this one statement, it is apparent that the rationale for the founding of these beneficial societies, and their early emphasis on providing funds to cover the cost of funerals for members, have the same ultimate motivation; by displaying competence to a hostile white world, using their own symbols and customs, it was hoped that acceptance and equality would eventually be the result.

Denial of traditional Life Insurance and the Rise of Fraternal Order/Secret Societies

While self formed mutual aid societies and fraternal orders were common in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, African-Americans were purposely discriminated against by national life insurance companies. In 1881, the two largest insurance agencies in the United States, Prudential Life Insurance Company (of Newark, New Jersey) and Metropolitan Life Insurance Company (of New York City), began refusing to insure blacks, or at the very least instituted the practice of reducing the amount of death benefits paid out to blacks (compared to the full rate given to whites). This rationale was in large part based on an extensive study of African-American mortality rates derived from “...Civil War medical history, state health reports, census statistics, and comparative mortality experience of large cities,” with the conclusion essentially that blacks were dying in far greater numbers than whites, and at younger ages, and therefore could not be insured on an equitable basis with whites (Haller 1970:247-248). Another factor that made life insurance companies reluctant to sell policies to African-Americans was that as a group they had greater rates of lapsation of payment, and: “...southern whites were

reluctant to write policies with companies that accepted Negro risks, ‘not from race prejudice, but because they do not believe insurance of the two races on equal terms to be equitable’” (Haller 1970:248).

Specifically for the Prudential Life Insurance Company, beginning on March 28, 1881, the policies written for adult African-Americans paid, on the death of the insured, exactly 1/3 less than for a white policy holder, despite the fact that the weekly fees for blacks remained the same as for whites. For policies written for children, the amounts paid out remained the same as for whites, but the weekly fees were increased by five additional cents. Although some states in the North and Northeast (e.g., Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Minnesota) passed non-discrimination laws in the attempt to force these companies to accept black risks on equal terms with whites, the insurance companies counteracted much of the good these laws attempted to do by refusing to pay commissions to insurance agents who insisted on writing policies for blacks (Haller 1970:249).

The major American insurance companies used the scientific principles of statistics and (unfortunately) the emerging science of anthropology to justify these practices. Frederick L. Hoffman, a racist historian and statistician employed by Prudential Life, even argued that the “Negro race” in America would eventually become extinct due to their inherent physical and mental inferiority: “Like the Indian, the Negro would surely disappear, for every race has suffered extinction wherever the Anglo-Saxon had permanently settled.” This view was not unique to Hoffman, but was echoed to a greater or lesser extent, by white physicians across the country. Even in Dallas, the local

physician Dr. E. T. Easley, writing in 1875 for the medical journal, *American Medical Weekly*, on the perceived declining health of African-Americans, assigned a cause to this decline; "...the immediate emancipation of the Southern negro was the most deplorable event in the history of that unhappy race" (Haller 1970:256- 258).

As late as the 1940s, life insurance companies were still routinely discriminating against African-Americans; over 40% refused to even accept black policyholders, over 20% begrudgingly accepted (but certainly did not solicit policies from blacks), while only 10% openly sold life insurance policies to African-Americans, though all were sold at greater costs or for a lesser death benefit than whites paid (Haller 1970:260-261).

One true insurance company that operated in Dallas and offered coverage to African-Americans was The Southern Mutual Benefit Association of Texas. In the January 13, 1900 issue of the *Dallas Express* (the only extant pre-1919 copy of the local black paper), an advertisement for this company states that this firm (*Dallas Express* January 13, 1900):

... under the efficient management of Mr. H. Sheffield, Jr., headquarters in this city, is one of the few organizations just now in Texas which is doing our people any real lasting good. Its sick and death benefit features and its policy of paying insurance while you live, are arrangements which will strike every man with favor who is earnestly looking to better his condition. A person sick, is paid merely upon his physicians certificate, while one who dies, is paid in time to meet the burial expenses. Think of it – by paying 25 cents per week one receives \$5.00, during sickness and should they die \$50.00 is provided at once for burial.

Although this firm was clearly a strictly insurance based firm, the company's business prospectus used language that suggested a fraternal order. Referring to itself, it proclaims "It is a Fraternity which is Fraternal...." Its primary service began with the following statement: "The Objects are to promote mutual aid and fraternal love..." (*Dallas Express*

January 13, 1900).

This particular company, unlike many of the time that were shaky financially and often failing, was a reputable concern, though it apparently was not a black owned business (which is implied in its business prospectus published in the *Express*). In fact, the first totally Black owned insurance company in Texas, The American Mutual Benefit Association, was not founded until circa 1919, by one of Southern Mutual's early black employees, William N. Nickerson, Jr. (The Handbook of Texas Online <http://www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/NN/fnifp.html>).

African-American based benevolent and fraternal/secret societies flourished during this period, in part in direct response to this denial of such basic services as access to life insurance. For Dallas, since there were no free blacks residing in the town prior to Emancipation, the earliest that such organizations could theoretically exist is 1865 or later.

History of Fraternal Orders in Dallas

Fraternal societies were a very important part of African-American life in Dallas, from their founding in the 1870s and 1880s, well into the 1930s. These societies were a means through which African-Americans could establish economic stability, encourage the pooling of resources, and create a social refuge and a place of belonging within an often hostile white world. Fraternal societies also were a source of pride amongst African-Americans, because they were at times, highly visible displays of economic and social competence that a white populace could not easily avoid (Frazier 1957:374-376).

This was just as true in Dallas, as it was nationally. For example, parades (and even funeral events) would proceed down public streets, to the view of all. In 1889, the Odd Fellows held a convention in Dallas, and formed one of the first large parades of a fraternal society held in the city (August 9, 1889, Dallas *Daily Times Herald*):

The parade this morning of the colored Odd Fellows, who are holding a session in this city, was in every way a creditable affair. The route of the procession lay along Elm and Main streets, which were lined with colored people to witness the spectacle. There were two bands in the parade, a large number of members on foot and in carriages and colored citizens in vehicles brought up the rear. The paraders in brilliant regalia and uniforms, with splendid banners denoting the lodges to which they were attached, made up a procession of which they have reason to be proud. This has been a gala day with the negroes. They have been congregated on Sycamore street and in the vicinity of the city hall as thick as bees.

Another source of African-American pride in Dallas that was created through fraternalism can be traced to the Pythian Temple, a three story office building and meeting hall for the local Knights of Pythias lodges. The Pythians engaged the services of William Sydney Pittman, a noted black architect and the son-in-law of Booker T. Washington, to design this edifice. It was built at 2547 (now 2551) Elm Street (i.e., Deep Ellum), with construction spanning 1913-1915. The building housed the headquarters for the Knights of Pythias, but would also come to contain most of the professional men within Dallas's African-American community, including in 1917 Dr. Benjamin Bluit (physician and surgeon), Dr. Marcellus Clayton Cooper (dentist), and Ammon. S. Wells, esq. (attorney) (1917 Dallas City Directory). This building has thus far successfully avoided the wrecking ball, and stands today (Prince 1993:68-69).

To achieve a more complete understanding of the pervasiveness and impact of

fraternal insurance in Dallas's African-American community, I have researched and assembled limited histories of the major African-American lodges operating within the city of Dallas from the 1870s to 1910.

Additionally, for specific individuals and fraternal/sororital insurance, three sources were examined. For information on burials dating prior to 1900, there are data available (though somewhat limited) for evidence of fraternal or secret society burial insurance contained within the Ed C. Smith funeral home collection (on file, Dallas Public Library). This collection consists (in part) of undertaker day books that extend back to 1883, and contains references to African-American deaths and payments made by these fraternal lodges (see Appendix H).

For the turn of the century Late Period (1900-1907), greater and more detailed information is available. These data are derived from undertaker day books from both the predominate Anglo (G. W. Loudermilk) as well as the only African-American undertaker of the period, the Peoples Undertaking Co. Peoples Undertaking Co's earliest extant day book spans the 1907-1910 period. While this day book overlaps with interments made at Freedman's Cemetery for only a few days (July 1 through July 20, 1907), it is an invaluable source of the cost of funerals for the years immediately following Freedman's Cemetery's closure (i.e., July 26, 1907; Davidson 1999a:60).

I have created detailed computer databases of both the George Loudermilk Day Books and the Peoples 1907-1910 day book. These databases include the total cost of each funeral, at times an itemized breakdown of costs for each service, and often the source of the payment, which could be a fraternal order, family, or friends. The

Loudermilk day books appear in Appendix F, while the Peoples day book is given in its entirety in Appendix G. Since Peoples Undertaking Company was the only African-American undertaker in operation in Dallas during the time span of Freedman's Cemetery, its records are especially pertinent. While the majority of these records postdate Freedman's Cemetery's life as an active burial ground, they should suffice as a proxy for the missing years, at least in regard to the rates of participation of these lodges, and amounts paid by them for mortuary display. Supplementing these local records, I have relied upon the early 20th century histories of the three major African-American lodges in the United States: the Odd Fellows (Brooks 1971), the Masons (Grimshaw 1903), and the Knights of Pythias (Williams et al. 1917).

All known fraternal orders and mutual benefit societies in operation in Dallas in the early 20th century, as well as their founding dates (when known) are given in Table 4-2. This list is derived primarily from the Loudermilk and Peoples day books. Since published accounts of Dallas's black lodges are very scant, it is considered to be the most comprehensive accounting available.

Of the major lodges, the earliest created within Dallas's African-American community was the Masons; the Paul Drayton Lodge No. 9 was founded in 1876 (Wicks 1993). The first African-American Odd Fellows lodge, Dallas Union Lodge No. 1940, was founded in the city on March 10, 1879 (Dallas City Directory 1880:41), while the first black Knights of Pythias lodge, St. Luke No. 1, was formed in March 1880 (Williams et al. 1917).

Table 4-2: All Known African-American Fraternal and Sororital Orders in Dallas (1876-1910)

(listing primarily derived from 1907-1910 Peoples Day books)

Specific Lodge	General Society	Specific Lodge Founding Date locally (nationally)	General Society in Dallas	Earliest extant reference locally	Source*
BIB of K #3	Benevolent Independent Band of Kindred	unk	unk	1892	DTH May 23, 1892
BIB of K #6	Benevolent Independent Band of Kindred	unk	unk	1892	DTH May 23, 1892
BLIPU of A (labor union)	Building Laborer's International Protective Union of America	1891	1891	1891	1891-92 Dallas City Directory
Queen Thelma No. 1 Court of Calanthe	Court of Calanthe	1898	1898	na	Wicks 1993
Pride of Texas Eastern Star	Eastern Star (Masonic)	unk	unk	1891	DTH Dec 5, 1891
Ada Chapter #4 Eastern Star	Eastern Star (Masonic)	unk	unk	1891	DTH Dec 5, 1891
Comet Lodge #3134, GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	1889	1879	na	DTH May 17, 1892
Dallas Union Lodge # 1940, GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	March 10, 1879	1879	na	Brooks 1902
East Dallas Lodge GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	post 1892	1879	na	Brooks 1902
J.Z. Lodge GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	post 1892	1879	na	Brooks 1902
Metropolitan GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	post 1892	1879	na	Brooks 1902
Oak Cliff GUOOF	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	unk	1879	1894	Ed C. Smith Day book

Oriental Lodge GUOOF #3499	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	April 20, 1892	1879	1892	Brooks 1902
W.Dallas Lodge GUUOF 6446	Grand United Order of Odd Fellows	post 1892	1879	na	Brooks 1902
Anneta Court H of J	Heroines of Jericho (Masonic)	unk	unk	1909	Peoples
HHR of Paris	House Hold of Ruth (Odd Fellows)	Oct 8, 1883	1882	1883	Brooks 1902
House Hold of Ruth # 687	House Hold of Ruth (Odd Fellows)	Oct 14, 1890	1882	1890	Brooks 1902
House Hold of Ruth # 818	House Hold of Ruth (Odd Fellows)	circa 1893	1882	na	Lodge is # 818; the last dated lodge (in Brooks 1902) is #808, formed Dec. 14, 1892.
House Hold of Ruth #238	House Hold of Ruth (Odd Fellows)	Feb 13, 1882	1882	1882	Brooks 1902
Crystal Palace	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1910	Peoples
Crystal Tabernacle #149	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1908	Peoples
Eureka #18 (Tabernacle) Knights & Daughters of Tabor	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1907	Peoples
Mt. Horeb Tabernacle #3	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1908	Peoples
Silver Spray Knights & Daughters of Tabor	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1909	Peoples
St. George K of T #112	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1908	Peoples

Pearl Rose Tabernacle No. 34	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1909	Peoples
Sweet Violet Tabernacle	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1909	Peoples
Wilmer Tabernacle, Knights of Tabor #30	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	1871 (nationally)	unk	1909	Peoples
Western Beauty 137 K&D of T	Knights and Daughters of Tabor????	1871 (nationally)	unk	1908	Peoples
Algiers K of P #44	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Artesia K of P #60 Marlin Tex	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Emanuel Lodge K. of P.	Knights of Pythias	post 1880	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Irvin K of P	Knights of Pythias	post 1880	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Liberty #40 K of P Lancaster	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Mantone K of P #282	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Oak Cliff Lodge 46 K of P	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
Pride of West K of P #12	Knights of Pythias	May 1, 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
St. Charles K of P	Knights of Pythias	post 1890	1880	na	DE Jun 7, 1924
St. Luke #1 K of P	Knights of Pythias	March 1880	1880	1880	Williams et al. 1917
Abiff AF & AM # 61	Masons	post 1876	1876	post 1876	1884 Dallas City directory
Metropolitan AF & AM	Masons	post 1876	1876	post 1876	1884 Dallas City directory
Paul Drayton AF & AM	Masons	1876	1876	1876	1884 Dallas City directory
New Hope U.B.F.	United Brothers of Friendship	1854 (nationally)	unk	1880	DDH Sept 1, 1880
Wright Lodge U.B.F.	United Brothers of Friendship	1854 (nationally)	unk	1880	DDH Sept 1, 1880

Universal Royal Family	Universal Royal Family	unk	unk	1910	Peoples
Universal Royal House	Universal Royal House	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Ebenezer #6	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Elizabeth Court	Grand High Court Heroines of Jericho	June 30, 1884	na	na	Wicks 1993
Golden Rule Court	unk	unk	unk	1907	Peoples
Leading Star Court	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Diamond Crown	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Bell of Dallas 267	unk	unk	unk	1910	Peoples
Lilly of Valley 163	unk	unk	unk	1909	Peoples
Moland	unk	unk	unk	1907	Peoples
Pearl Rose	unk	unk	unk	1909	Peoples
Pride of Oak Cliff 237	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Queen Elizabeth	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Queen of May #3	unk	unk	unk	1909	Peoples
Rising Sun	unk	unk	unk	1907	Peoples
Rose Bud	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Silver Fleece & Leaf	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
Silver Fleece 260	unk	unk	unk	1908	Peoples
St. Mary	unk	unk	unk	1909	Peoples
Union Star	unk	unk	unk	1907	Peoples
W.E. Ewing Camp WOW	Woodmen of the World	1901 (nationally)	unk	1908	Peoples
Green Bay K. of T.	Knights and Daughters of Tabor????	1871 (nationally)	unk	1907	Peoples
St. Clara SMT	Sisters of the Mysterious Ten (United Brothers of Friendship)	1854 (nationally)	unk	1880	DDH Sept 1, 1880
St. Frances SMT	Sisters of the Mysterious Ten (United Brothers of Friendship)	1854 (nationally)	unk	1880	DDH Sept 1, 1880
St. Clara Saucy...? (SMT???)	Sisters of the Mysterious Ten (United Brothers of Friendship)	1854 (nationally)	unk	1880	DDH Sept 1, 1880

DDH (Dallas Daily Herald newspaper)

DTH(Dallas Times Herald newspaper)
DE (Dallas Express newspaper)
Peoples (Peoples Undertaking Co 1907-1910 day book)

All of these lodges were specifically for men, but there were women's branches as well. The Order of the Eastern Star (a women's Masonic group) was formed nationally on August 10, 1874, in Washington, D.C. (Brown 1997:15). Founding dates for individual Eastern Star lodges in Texas and specifically for Dallas are not known, but by January 20, 1890, there was a Grand Lodge formed in the state, which by necessity required the presence of 6 subordinate lodges (Brown 1997:15-16, 212).

The women's auxiliary for the Knights of Pythias, known as The Order of the Court of Calantha, was first formed in Dallas in 1898; this specific "court" was known as Queen Thelma (Wicks 1993). The women's division of the Odd Fellows, known as The Household of Ruth, was also active in Dallas, with the earliest known reference to it locally dating to 1882 (Brooks 1902).

In the day books, the number of lodges that a single individual could typically claim membership could range from one to a maximum of three. For example, in the 1907-1910 Peoples Undertaking Co day book, N. G. Whitehead, who died on January 26, 1908 (Record No. 97), was a member of three separate lodges, each paying a death benefit: the "Pride of The West" Knights of Pythias Lodge, the Benevolent Independent Band of Kindred Lodge No. 6, and the Odd Fellows Dallas Union Lodge No. 1940. Mr. Whitehead's funeral expenses amounted to \$186.00, the entire sum of which was paid for by the three lodges.

A regional Odd Fellows meeting, convened in Dallas in 1889, gives us some idea of the wealth expended on funerals (as well as other aspects of benevolence), and as seen by the predominately white readership of the *Times Herald*, a dollars and cents tally of African-American investment in life and death matters (August 6, 1889, Dallas Daily *Times Herald*):

The district lodge of colored Odd Fellows is in session in the city hall, Mayor Connor extending a welcome as per programme which was published yesterday and creditably carried out. During nine years of existence, the lodge has relieved 2186 members, buried 185, relieved 165 widows and 180 orphans. It has paid out for the sick, \$17,517.45, to widows, \$2,500, to orphans, \$200, for funerals, \$8,645.80, for charity, \$3,803.50. The lodge owns property valued at \$22,560.

Of the 185 individuals buried by the Odd Fellows lodge in the district containing Dallas between 1880 and 1889, the total amount paid for their funerals was \$8,645.80, or an average of \$46.73 per person. It is interesting to compare this to the costs paid for African-American mortuary displays specifically in Dallas during this same decade (see Tables 4-3, 4-4).

Fraternal Burial Insurance in the Day Books

The earliest known extant funeral day book for Dallas is from the Ed C. Smith Funeral Home (see Appendix H for a listing of the Ed C. Smith holdings at the Genealogy Department, Dallas Public Library). Referred to here as Day book No. 1, it dates from August 1, 1883 to January 3, 1885, and contains 298 pages. Typical of most day books, it contains a day by day accounting of all business conducted by the firm, including both sales and purchases. Any proper funeral would have its expenses broken

down into coffin, grave digging, grave lot purchase, embalming, etc., but most sales are just merchandise, such as coffins or other mortuary related items sold directly to individuals without providing a proper funeral service or “undertaking.” Table 4-3 gives all known references to African-Americans in the Ed. C. Smith Day book No. 1, for the years 1883-1884, the last two years of Freedman’s Early Period.

Although it has been established that commercially manufactured coffins, as well as mass produced coffin hardware, was commonly available in Dallas at least by 1873 (see Chapter 3), it is obvious from Table 4-3 that as late as the *early* 1880s, African-Americans in Dallas were simply not fully participating in the national Beautification of Death movement, likely precluded by a lack of funds. Blacks are sometimes mentioned in these early day book entries, but rarely by name; “negro to buy coffin” is a typical entry. Rarely will an African-American purchase a funeral, with expenses broken down. Most are simply buying the coffin from Smith and that is all. Twenty-three of the 34 entries (or 68%) were for black indigents, buried at county expense, first for the paltry sum of \$3.00 in 1883, which was raised to \$4.50 in early 1884. Of those 11 instances where blacks paid for their own funeral expenses, the amounts expended on mortuary

Table 4-3: Earliest Known Entries of African-American Funerals in a Dallas Funeral Home Day Book (Ed C. Smith: 1883-1884)

Date	Name*	County Pauper	Merchandise or services purchased	Amount
August 30, 1883		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro Woman	\$3.00
October 2, 1883		y	Dallas County – To Burial Colored Child	\$3.00
November 16, 1883		y	Dallas County – To Burial of Negro Woman	\$3.00
November 19, 1883		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro (Hopsital)	\$3.00

March 8, 1884	Norton	y	Dallas County – To Burial Colored (Norton)	\$4.50
April 27, 1884		y	Dallas County – to Burial Negro	\$3.50
April 27, 1884		y	Dallas County – to Burial Negro	\$4.50
June 6, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial of Negro Woman	\$4.50
June 15, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro (Hopsital)	\$4.50
June 29, 1884		y	To Burial of Negro for Dr. Carter	\$4.50
August 7, 1884		y	Dallas County – to Burial Negro	\$4.50
August 24, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro Man	\$4.50
August 31, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro (Hopsital)	\$4.50
September 13, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial of Negro (coronor)	\$4.50
September 20, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial Negro (Hopsital)	\$4.50
September 22, 1884		y	Dallas County – to Burial Negro	\$4.50
September 28, 1884		y	Dallas County – To burial of Negro Child	\$4.50
October 28, 1884		y	Dallas County – To burial of Negro Child	\$4.50
October 31, 1884		y	Dallas County – To burial of Negro Child	\$4.50
November 13, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial of negro girl (Hospital)	\$4.50
November 13, 1884		y	Dallas County – To burial of Negro Child	\$4.50
December 26, 1884		y	Dallas County – To Burial of Negro Woman	\$4.50
December 30, 1884		y	Dallas County – To burial of Negro Child	\$4.50
August 6, 1883			Negro Child to Burial (by Cash)	\$6.50
August 16, 1883			Negro To Coffin	\$5.00
August 31, 1883			Negro To Coffin (by Cash)	\$7.00
September 17, 1883	R. B. Arthur (for Negro)		To Case & Box (\$12.00), Grave (\$2.50)	\$14.50
September 17, 1883	George Bow (colored)		To Coffin (\$16.00), Grave (\$4.00), Hearse (\$10.00)	\$30.00
December 26, 1883			Petty Cash Sales – Negro To Coffin	\$6.00
January 24, 1884			Petty Cash Sales – Negro To Coffin	\$3.50
April 8, 1884			To Coffin and Box Negro	\$17.50
June 24, 1884			Petty Cash Sales – Negro To Coffin	\$5.00
November 28, 1884			To Burial of Negro	\$11.50
December 26, 1884			Petty Cash Sales – Burial of Negro Woman	\$3.50

*(these individuals are almost always individuals paying for funeral expenses, not the deceased)

display ranged from \$3.50 (less than what the county was expending on a funeral event), to a maximum of \$30.00, an amount which paid for a coffin, grave digging, and a hearse. The average expense for a death event in 1883-1884 was only \$10.00.

In Smith's earliest extant day book, there is no mention of burial insurance of any

sort. This may be an omission on the part of the person who entered the day to day transactions into the day book, but with the amount of precision afforded the entries as a whole for this time period, this seems unlikely. Rather, in 1883 and 1884, there does not appear to have been any burial insurance from a fraternal or burial society used for a funeral, at least from the Ed C. Smith funeral home, though during this period, there were only two undertakers in the city (Patrick Linskie and Ed C. Smith; see Davidson 1999a:134). Perhaps this is to be expected, since the first African-American lodges were formed in Dallas between 1876 and 1880 (see above), or only between 3 and 7 years before these earliest day book entries.

For 1887, or the very beginning of Freedman’s Middle Period (1885-1899), I have transcribed every known African-American entry in the Ed. C Smith Day Book No. 3. These results are given in Table 4-4. Even though this listing from 1887 is only 3 and 4 years removed from the earliest entries examined (Table 4-3), the differences are quite remarkable. People are referred to as individuals, and not as anonymous “Negros.” Significantly, the race of individual entries is not typically given. Therefore, to identify African-American funerals in 1887, I had to refer to the 1887-88 Dallas City Directory to determine the race of each individual given in the day book.

Table 4-4: All Known Entries of African-American Funerals or other entries in Ed C. Smith Day Book No 3, for 1887

Date	Name*	Merchandise or services purchased	Amount	Notes (from 1887 Dallas City Directory)
Feb 7	John Moody	Coffin and Box	\$20	John Moody worked at Ferdinand Michel’s Brick

				Yard (residence at 925 Houston)
Feb 10	W. C. Roberts	Coffin (\$7.00), Grave (\$2.50), 1 carriage (\$3.50)	\$13	W. Carter Roberts was a porter for Blankenship and Blake Co (a Drygoods Company)
Feb 18	Duffie Meeks	1 No. 0 2 ft. Coffin	\$5.00	Duffie Meeks was a day laborer who lived at the corner of Alamo and Ashland in 1887
Feb 25	W. T. Shepherd	Coffin and Box	\$6.00	Washington Shepherd was a porter.
Mar 10	Aaron Cobb	Coffin and Box (\$20.00), Hearse (\$10.00), 1 Carriage (\$3.50)	\$33.50	Aaron Cobb lived on southside of Cochran, between Burford and Boll
Mar 19	J. M. Brockman	Coffin and box (\$20.00), Hearse (\$10.00)	\$30.00	James Brockman was a day laborer, lived on Lamar, south of the creek.
Mar 20	Alonzo Crawford	Coffin and Box (\$6.00), Grave (\$2.50), 1 Carriage (\$3.50)	\$12.00	Alonzo Crawford lived at 212 Camp, between Griffin and Sycamore
April 2	Mack Henderson	Coffin and Box (\$20.00), Hearse (\$10.00), Grave (\$5.00), 1 Carriage (\$3.50)	\$38.50	Mack Henderson was a day laborer, who lived on north side of Sutton, between Henry and Crowdus
April 16	Arthur Baker	Coffin and Box (\$30.00), Hearse (\$10.00), 1 Carriage (\$3.50)	\$43.50	Arthur Baker, and his father Jeremiah Baker, were blacksmith's (J. Baker & Son), with their shop on the southside of Camp between Lamar, Griffin
April 19	George Fuqua	Coffin and Box	\$27.50	George Fuqua was a porter for Sanger Brothers (dept. store); he lived on the southeast corner of Fuqua Street and Huffman.
April 21	Ross Raines	Coffin and Box (\$10.00), Carriage (\$3.50)	\$13.50	Ross Raines was a day laborer, who resided at 927 Commerce, between Ervay and Sycamore.
April 30	George Fuqua	Coffin and Box	\$10.00	George Fuqua was a porter for Sanger Brothers (dept. store); he lived on the southeast corner of Fuqua Street and Huffman.
May 14	I. W. Waters	Coffin (\$6.00), Grave (\$2.50), 1 Carriage (\$3.50)	\$12.00	Isaac W. Waters was a day laborer, living on the southside of Sutton, between Crowdud and Duncan.

May 20	Alf Sparks	Coffin and Box (\$20.00), Hearse (\$10.00), 2 Carriages (\$7.00)	\$37.00	Aldred (sic?) Sparks worked for Hugh Brothers (food manufactueres, etc), and lived on southside of Juliette Street, between Burford and Boll.
July 8	Robert Patton (for Gabe Lundy)	Coffin and Box (\$20.00), Hearse (\$10.00)	\$30.00	Robert Patton was a brickmason, who lived at 1622 Williams, between Sherman and Henry Streets. Gabriel Lundy was a daylaborer who lived on the west side of Cochran, between Hall and the H&TC Ry.
July 27	Martin Watson	Coffin and Box (\$8.00), Grave (\$2.50)	\$10.50	Martin Watson was a daylaborer, who lived on northside of Juliette Street, between Burford and Boll.
Aug 6	J. R. Smith (col'd wks T&P Depot)	Coffin and Box	\$10.00	James Smith was a truckman at Missouri and T& P Railway Freight Depot; resided at 603 Bryant, between Good and Boll.
Oct 13	S. P. Miller	Coffin and Box (\$10.00), Grave ((2.50)	\$12.50	Spencer P. Miller was a day laborer, who lived on the southside of Runnels, between Preston and H&TC Ry.
Dec 10	Bettie Cole	Coffin and Box (\$20.00), Grave (\$5.00)	\$25.00	Bettie Cole worked as a live in domestic for Thomas L. Marsalis (a wholesale grocer).

*(note these individuals are almost always the ones paying for the funeral expenses, and not the deceased).

In all, there were 19 individuals who could be identified as African-American. Of these, the majority (or 68%) are purchasing goods and services beyond the coffin itself. These services include grave digging, the rental of a hearse, and a carriage for the mourners. Funeral expenses ranged from \$5.00 (for a child's coffin) to \$43.50 (for a funeral that included a coffin, outer box, hearse, and carriage). The average funeral expense in the 1887 records was \$20.50, or an increase of more than twice that seen just 3 years before (i.e., 1883-84, with an average cost of \$10.00).

I also examined the other extant day books from the Ed C. Smith funeral home in

the Dallas Public Library, for the years 1888 through 1907, specifically looking for references to African-American funerals and fraternal orders (Appendix H). Table 4-5 lists the earliest known black funerals paid for with fraternal order insurance.

Table 4-5: Earliest *known* entries for African-American Fraternal Order or Burial Society Funerals in the Ed C. Smith Day Books*

Date	Name*	Lodge	Merchandise or services purchased	Amount
March 19, 1894	H. A. Boswell & William Moore	Oak Cliff Lodge #3389 G.U.O.O.F.	To coffin and box	30.00
May 5, 1894		Band of Kindred	to coffin and box (\$27.50), Hearse (\$5.00), Embalming (\$10.00), Robe (\$5.00)	47.50
August 26, 1894	for J. Brockman	Comet Lodge #3134 G.U.O.O.F.	to coffin and box (\$27.50), Hearse (\$10.00), Grave (digging) (\$5.00), Care of Body (\$5.00), carriage (\$3.50) (reduction of \$2.50)	48.50
February 22, 1895	Frisby Wilburn	Pride of the West Lodge # 12 K. of P.	To hearse (\$10.00), 3 carriages (\$9.00), grave (digging) (\$5.00)	24.00
June 11, 1895	per S. C. Gates, for Ollie Chatmun(?)	Band of Kindred No. 6	to coffin and box (\$27.50), Hearse (\$10.00), 10 carriages (\$30.00), Robe (\$3.50)	71.00

*(earlier entries may exist, but if present, must have been entered between 1887 and 1894)

In the Ed C. Smith day books, the earliest known reference to an African-American funeral event paid for with fraternal or burial society insurance was in 1894, with the Odd Fellows lodge in Oak Cliff (Dallas's sister city) paying for a \$30.00 funeral. It is certainly possible that there were even earlier fraternal order insurance burials than these, that were missed during my examination of these records, but there certainly were not any in 1887 and 1888, as I photocopied every page of Day Book No. 3, and have scanned these pages on multiple occasions, line by line. Any earlier references would by necessity, then, had to have occurred between 1887 and 1894.

By the Late Period (1900-1907), Ed. C. Smith interred relatively few black burials. Between January 1, 1902 and July 26, 1907, Smith's funeral home handled only 50 black funerals, and it is not possible, due to how these burials were noted in Smith's day book entries, to determine how many of these were interred in Freedman's Cemetery. Further, none of these records specify any fraternal or other kinds of burial insurance (Davidson 1999:406-407).

Evidence of Fraternal Insurance in G. W. Loudermilk Records

The African-American death records collected from the Loudermilk Day books span the dates of January 16, 1902, through October 26, 1907, and contain 240 entries, of which 23 (or 9.6%) had some sort of burial insurance noted (Appendix F).

Of these 240 funerals, for 239 it was possible to determine the age of the individual (when the age at death was given), or from other criteria it was possible to designate three distinct age categories: adult (18 or older), adolescent (11 to 17 years), or subadult (0 to 10 years). In all, 126 of the funerals were for adults, aged 18 or older. Of these 126 adults, 22 have notations documenting the payment of the funeral by insurance of one sort or another: either fraternal/sororital insurance (n=21), or industrial insurance (N=1) (see Table 4- 7). This means that at least from the predominate white funeral home, 17.5%, or nearly 1 out of 5 of the adults, had some sort of insurance. For the 21 adult funerals with fraternal/sororital insurance, their ages span 25 to 85 years, and thirteen of these are women (or 62% of all Loudermilk fraternal insurance funerals). Of

Table 4-6: All Funerals with Burial Insurance noted in G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907)

Fraternal or Sororital Insurance (Odd Fellows, Masons, etc)

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	Sex	Age at Death	Casket Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Cemetery
1	28	1902	1	25	Elliot	Emma	consumption	f	41	\$32.00	\$74.00	house keeper	Lillie White Court # 1	old
1	37	1902	2	4	Coleman	Mary, Mrs.	heart disease	f	50	\$30.00	\$64.00	cook	Eureka Tabernacle # 18	old
1	38	1902	2	19	Walker	Mattie	Bright's Disease	f	85	\$30.00	\$60.00	cook	Eureka Tabernacle # 18	old
1	74	1902	3	14	Johnson	Pinkie	Endocarditis	f	38	\$45.00	\$83.50	house keeper	Household of Ruth # 238	woodland
1	79	1902	3	18	Turner	Sam Jr.	consumption	m	36	\$30.00	\$54.00	laborer	K of P Pride of West lodge	Henderson, TX
1	100	1902	4	16	Hicks	Clay?	dysentery	f	43	\$30.00	\$62.00	cook	Royal House Temple # 115	old
1	188	1902	6	28	Fletcher	Ellen Mrs.		f	61	\$115.00	\$185.00	house keeper	Lillie White Court # 1, Court of Calantha, Household of Ruth #238	old

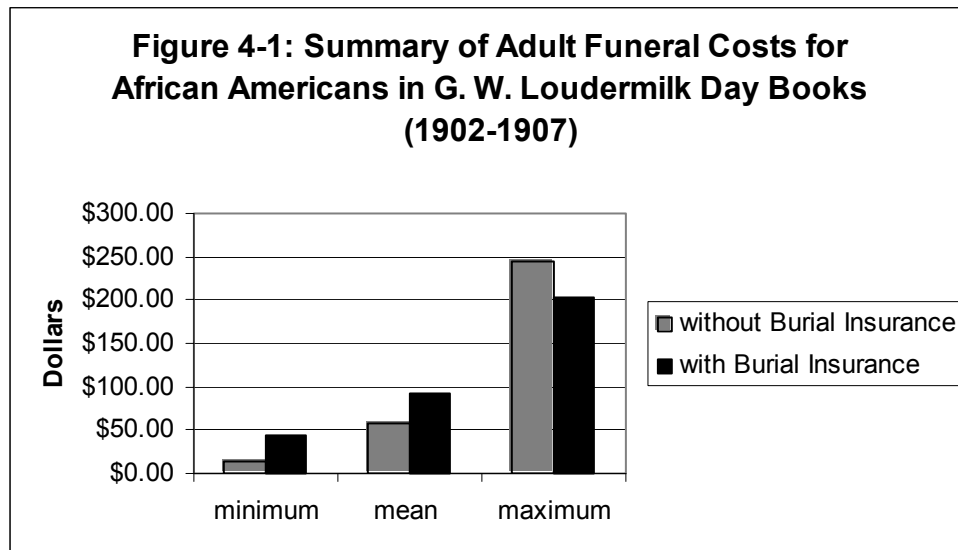
1	202	1902	7	15	Ketchum	Annie Raines	heart failure	f	40	\$30.00	\$58.00	house wife	Pearl Rose Tabernacle # 34	woodland
1	261	1902	9	15	Buscal	Samuel O.	consumption	m	39	\$115.00	\$156.00		St. Luke # 1	woodland
2	29	1902	12	7	Lunde	Margarette	old age	f	60	\$30.00	\$56.00	cook	Mt. Horab Tabernacle # 3	old
2	44	1902	12	25	Flourney	Bertha	consumption	f	25	\$30.00	\$71.00	house wife	Pearl Rose Tabernacle # 34	old
2	151	1903	4	22	Walker	L. W.	appendicitis	m	44	\$115.00	\$184.00	restaurant keeper	Comet Lodge Odd Fellows #3134, Paul Drayton Mason Lodge	woodland
2	274	1903	9	6	Smith	Jim	bilious fever	m	43	\$30.00	\$64.00		K of P Pride of West lodge	woodland
3	59	1903	11	23	Franzier	Flora Francis	heart disease	f	44	\$60.00	\$126.50	house wife	Household of Ruth #687, Mosaic Templar? #710	woodland
3	138	1904	2	12	Mitchell	Amy	consumption	f	38	\$30.00	\$60.00		Mt. Horab Tabernacle # 3	woodland
3	276	1904	6	9	Booth	Mrs. Gussie	consumption	f	26	\$62.00	\$152.00	house wife	Queen Thelma Lodge # 1	woodland

3	511	1905	2	20	Howell	Tobe	pneumonia	m	49	\$59.00	\$112.50		Odd Fellows #1940, Mason's Abiff Lodge # 61	woodland
4	94	1905	8	13	Severe	Annie		f	44	\$30.00	\$60.00	house wife	Leading Star # 7 Lodge	old
5	36	1906	12	26	Briscoe	Harry		m	57	\$30.00	\$60.00	laborer	B.I.B. of K	(none)
5	109	1907	3	7	Smiles	Alfred	nephritis	m	62	\$125.00	\$202.50		Odd Fellows Union Lodge #1940	woodland
5	199	1907	5	29	Jones	Coleman		m	32	\$22.50	\$60.50	laborer	(Lodge-specific order not given)	old

Industrial Insurance or Mutual Benefit Insurance

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	Sex	Age - Years	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Cemetery
1	95	1902	4	2	Wade	Jessie J.	consumption	m	15	\$40.00	\$65.00	school boy	"insurance" (specific company not given)	old
4	178	1905	10	15	Matthews	Sallie	consumption	f	54	\$18.00	\$44.50		American National Insurance Co	old

the 126 adult funerals performed by Loudermilk, there was only one adult, Sallie Matthews (aged 54 years), who was insured by an industrial insurance company: the American National Insurance Company. Ms. Matthews was not the only industrial life insurance in the Loudermilk day books, however. Rather, there was a single individual younger than 18 who had insurance of any kind; Jessie Wade was 15 years old when he died (Table 4-6). Access to funeral insurance accounted for greater funds expended on mortuary display (illustrated in Figure 4-1).



For example, in the Loudermilk records from 1902-1907, out of the 126 adults, average costs for a funeral without insurance of any kind was \$56.74, while a funeral with insurance averaged nearly twice as much, or \$93.18. (Figure 4-1; Table 4-7; see also Appendix F).

Table 4-7: Costs of Dallas’s African-American Funerals with and without Burial Insurance in the Archival Record

G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907) (adults only)*

Funeral Costs	#	minimum Cost	average Cost	maximum Cost
without Burial Insurance	108	\$15.00	\$56.74	\$244.00
with Burial Insurance	18	\$44.50	\$93.18	\$202.50

Peoples Undertaking Co Day Book (1907-1910) (all records)*

Funeral Costs	#	minimum Cost	average Cost	maximum Cost
without Burial Insurance	477	\$0.00	\$40.94	\$315.00
with Burial Insurance	123	\$12.50	\$80.69	\$245.00

***Notes:**

In the Loudermilk records, this sample (N=126) consists of adults only (18 or older). In the Peoples records, age at death was often omitted. Only 144 records (or 24%) had ages, while an additional 108 records had estimated ages (i.e., adult, subadult), so the total number of records (N=600) is used here.

Evidence of Fraternal Insurance in Peoples Undertaking Co Records

Peoples Undertaking Co was the first black funeral home in Dallas, founded in 1900 (Davidson 1999a:116-117). The earliest extant day book from this firm dates from July 1, 1907, to June 23, 1910 (on file African-American Museum, Dallas, Texas; see also Appendix G). It contains 600 records, of which 123 (21%, or one fifth) of the funerals have some sort of death benefit paying for all or most of the funeral costs (from fraternal orders or women’s lodges, and much less commonly, industrial life insurance).

Unlike the Loudermilk records, the Peoples 1907-1910 day book often did not record the age at death of the deceased, and it was often difficult to discern a general age

range. In all, only 134 out of the 600 records had an age at death given (or approximately 1/5 of the records), while for an additional 108 it was possible to assign an estimated age range based on other criteria: adult (18 or older), adolescent (11 to 17), or subadult (birth to 10 years).

Of the 600 Peoples records, 122 were designated as adults (i.e., 18 or older). Of this number, 37 (or 30%) had some sort of fraternal/sororital or industrial insurance, a rate nearly twice that seen in the adults interred by Loudermilk (i.e., 17.5%).

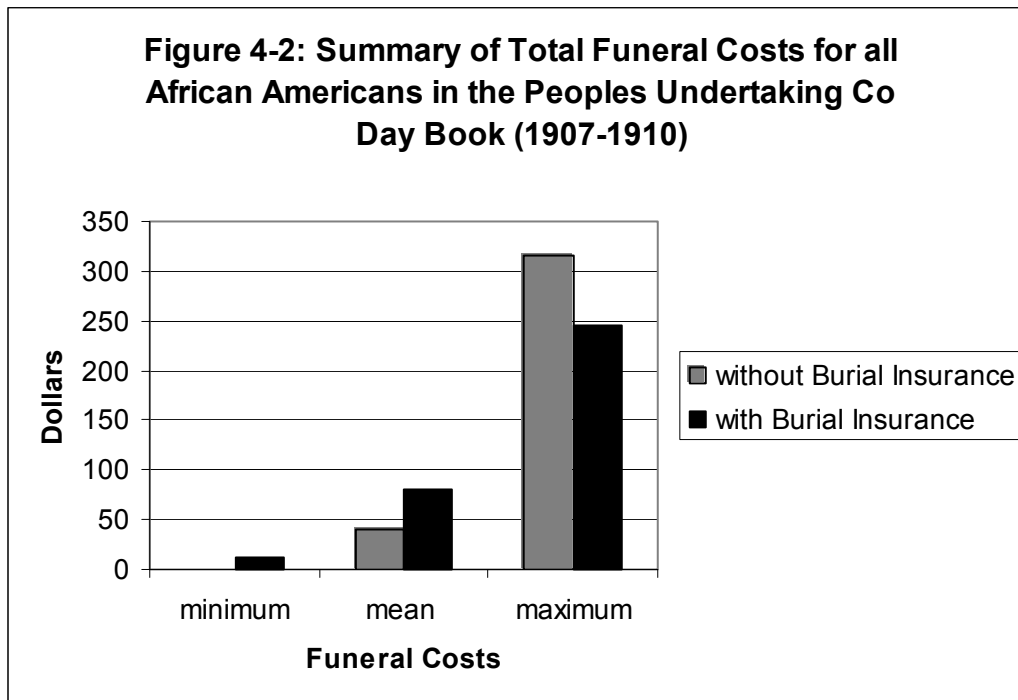


Figure 4-2 summarizes the differences in costs between burials with and without insurance (see also Table 4-7). Using the entire Peoples Day book sample (N=600), the average cost of a funeral without insurance was \$40.94, while the funerals with insurance averaged twice that, or \$80.69. The youngest individual with a funeral paid for by

fraternal insurance was 20 years of age (Record No. 414, Ben Penn, who died on August 5, 1909). His funeral was minimal, however, amounting to only \$20.00. This was much less than the average costs of a funeral with burial insurance (\$80.69). Of those with ages given, the oldest individual with fraternal insurance was Elizabeth Welch who died on March 31, 1910, at the age of 61 (Record No. 538); Mrs. Welch had a funeral conducted by Peoples in the amount of \$110.00.

For the three individuals with industrial life insurance (American National Life), one was 4 years old (Emma Jones; Record No. 385), one was 38 years old (Timmie Armstrong; Record No. 488), while the third individual's age was not discernable (Abbie Williams; Record No. 385).

To determine how age affected access to fraternal insurance, I examined the funerals of men with known ages at death in the Peoples day book (N=29). The results are given in Table 4-8.

Table 4-8: Burial Insurance for all Men with known ages at death (Peoples Undertaking Co: 1907-1910)

#	Age Range	# with insurance	# w/o insurance	% with insurance	
2	18 to 19.9	0	2	0	
7	20 to 29	2	5	28.60%	
5	30 to 39	2	3	40%	
6	40 to 49	3	3	50%	
9	50 to 60+	0	9	0	
Total	29	18 to 60+	7	22	24.10%

The two individuals under 20 did not have any insurance, while of men in their 20s, 2 out

of 7 (or 28.6%) did have some form of death benefit from a fraternal order. The percentage of men with funeral benefits increased as the individuals in the sample got older, with half of the men in their 40s (3 out of 6) with burial insurance, although for the nine men over the age of 50, none had any evidence of burial insurance from a fraternal order or any other source.

Fraternal Order Evidence from the Burials at Freedman's Cemetery

Direct material evidence of participation in fraternal lodges was recovered from graves at Freedman's Cemetery (see Table 4-9). Seventeen burials are identified with participation in one of the fraternal/sororital orders, including the Knights of Pythias (two burials), Masons (three burials), Odd Fellows (seven burials), the Benevolent Independent Band of Kindred (or the B.I.B. of K.) which was a local Dallas lodge (Burial 1196), and the Knights of Tabor and Daughters of the Tabernacle (two burials). One local African-American labor union, the Building Laborer's International Protective Union, is identified in a single burial (Burial 1234). This labor union is known to have paid for funeral expenses during this period (e.g., Peoples Day Book No. 1; Record No. 547, Price Thomas, who died on April 13, 1910). One interment, Burial 833 (an adult male), had a fragmentary metal pin and cloth badge recovered over his left chest, identical in location and form to the badges of the Knights of Pythias, as recovered from two other burials. While an exact identification of Burial 833's fraternal order was not possible, the evidence is strong enough that it does represent membership

Table 4-9: All Burials with Evidence of an association with Fraternal or Sororital Order

Burial #	Time Period	Late Sequence	Estimated Year of Death	Age at Death	Description	Total Wholesale Hardware Cost	Fraternal Order Type	Associated Artifact
1287	M		1885-1899	23.8	adult IM	\$0.72	Masons	cuff links
1196	L	643	1906	42.6	adult F	\$4.18	Band of Kindred	small pin (engraved B of K)
1234	L	624	1905	26.3	adult M?	\$4.42	Building Laborer's International Protective Union	cloth ribbon/metal badge
205	L	462	1904	96	empty box (adult)	\$8.17	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	Ladies of the Tabernacle pin
818	L	546	1905	98	adult I	\$7.62	Knights and Daughters of Tabor	partial plaque
418	L	669	1906	29.2	adult IM	\$8.13	Knights of Pythias	metal pin, cloth badge
1422	L	744	1907	43.1	adult M	\$7.86	Knights of Pythias	metal pin, cloth badge
232	L	597	1905	41.4	adult M	\$10.54	Masons	coffin plaque
242	L	588	1905	37.4	adult M	\$8.16	Masons	cuff links
199	L	418	1903	20.7	adult IM	\$8.67	Odd Fellows	lapel pin and coffin handles
328	L	220	1902	38.4	adult M	\$6.31	Odd Fellows	lapel pin
356	L	223	1902	50	adult M?	\$4.54	Odd Fellows	pin
385	L	238	1902	27.8	adult M?	\$8.43	Odd Fellows	lapel pin
879	L	365	1903	39.2	adult M	\$6.50	Odd Fellows	coffin handles
1080	L	372	1903	47.6	adult M	\$6.27	Odd Fellows	coffin plaque
1451	L	59	1900	34.7	adult M	\$6.47	Odd Fellows?	coffin plaque
833	L	429	1903	99	adult IM	\$6.51	Probable Fraternal Order (unknown)	remains of metal pin/badge at left breast

in one of the lodges, and is included in this discussion.

The possible identification of one fraternal order, the Ancient Order of Workmen (Burial 100), in the initial analysis of the Freedman's Cemetery materials (Owens 2000:432), is excluded here. This tentative identification was based entirely on the presence of an anchor shaped stickpin associated with Burial 100, the anchor being one symbol associated with the Ancient Workmen order. But this symbol was also a generic one, appearing on numerous jewelry elements in the late 19th and early 20th century (e.g., in the 1895 E. V. Roddin & Co jewelry catalogue; reprinted as Roddin 1971:147). There is no evidence (either in Dallas or elsewhere) that black members were allowed entry into any white Ancient Order of Workmen lodges (the order was founded by whites in 1868; Landis 1904), and no evidence for any exclusively African-American version of the Ancient Order of Workmen founded independently of the white order (e.g., Work 1913:268-279).

Of the 17 Freedman's burials exhibiting evidence for membership in a fraternal/sororital order or labor union (a membership that would have helped defray at least some funeral costs), 16 were interred during the Late Period. The sole exception is Burial 1287, a Mason who was interred during Freedman's Middle Period, or sometime between 1885 and 1899. This seems to correspond with what is known archivally. Although the first lodge was founded in 1876 in Dallas (e.g., the Masons), the earliest known archival reference to a fraternal lodge paying for a funeral event dates to 1894, with the majority of archival references corresponding with the 1900-1907 Late Period.

The number of adult males in the Late Period is 233, while the number of men with evidence for membership in the Masons, Odd Fellows, etc., recovered archaeologically is only 13, representing just 6% of the total number. The number of women in Freedman's Late Period is 232, while the number of adult women associated with evidence for membership in a sororital order is only 1, accounting for less than 1% of all women. Archival evidence indicates that adult funerals utilized burial insurance from these lodges in large numbers, ranging from almost 1/5 (or 17.5%) of funerals in the Loudermilk records, to about 1/3 (or 30%) of the sample of identifiable adult funerals in the Peoples Undertaking Co day book. Unarguably, the archaeological record simply does not accurately reflect the true extent of burial insurance within the community, and without access to this highly detailed archival data, it would have been impossible to accurately gauge anywhere near its true extent in mitigating the Death experience. A detailed analysis of the cost of these fraternal/sororital burials, and their comparison to the Freedman's burials overall, can be found below.

Fraternal Society/Mutual Aid Insurance Membership Costs and Funeral Benefits

In any discussion of fraternal and mutual aid insurance and its impact in the community, it is necessary to gather some idea as to who would be covered, what were the costs such policies would entail, and what sort of death benefit would be paid out in the event of the member's death.

The fraternal order societies, such as the Masons, as part of their monthly dues, offered a death benefit. In a few instances, there are well documented costs and benefits. For example, in 1906, the Masonic lodges in the South levied a monthly payment of one

dollar a month from its members, and paid a \$500.00 death benefit after five year's time (DuBois 1907:112). In 1905, the Knights of Pythias lodges had a variable payment scale, dependant upon the age of the member (see Table 4-10). These rates began at the age of 19 with only 45 cents a month, with the maximum monthly payment – for anyone 43 years old – of \$1.05 (DuBois 1907:124). The amount of dues and funeral benefits received from the Odd Fellows, the other major African-American lodge of the period, are not known, but are presumably similar to the Pythians.

Customarily, these death benefits would have been paid out only upon the death of a lodge member in good standing, and not upon the death of a relative of a lodge member. Note, however, that of all the records in the Loudermilk and Peoples day books, there is one funeral (Record No. 381 in the Peoples Day book) of an unnamed “Infant” who died on June 23, 1909, whose costs was paid for by two lodges: the Band of Kindred (BIBofK) and the Queen of the May #3. Except for this curious inconsistency, both the local archival record of funerals as well as what is known of fraternal/sororital orders nationally clearly deny death benefits to non-members, and membership was only for adults.

Especially for children, but also for men and women who chose not to join fraternal/sororital societies, without access to fraternal order insurance there were other options, such as state or national life insurance companies, and mutual aid societies. As briefly discussed above, because of the discriminatory nature of many national life insurance companies, however, African-Americans more often chose to join mutual benefit societies that offered a death benefit (DuBois 1907). The sheer number and

**Table 4-10: Schedule of
Monthly Payment in
Knights of Pythias Lodge,
1905***

*(derived from DuBois 1907:124)

Age	Amount
19	\$0.45
20	\$0.45
21	\$0.50
22	\$0.55
23	\$0.55
24	\$0.55
25	\$0.60
26	\$0.60
27	\$0.60
28	\$0.65
29	\$0.65
30	\$0.70
31	\$0.70
32	\$0.70
33	\$0.75
34	\$0.75
35	\$0.80
36	\$0.80
37	\$0.85
38	\$0.90
39	\$0.90
40	\$0.95
41	\$0.95
42	\$1.00
43	\$1.05
44	\$0.80
45	\$0.80
46	\$0.95
47	\$0.85
48	\$0.85
49	\$0.90
50	\$1.00

	Death Benefit
In case of death during first year	\$100

In case of death during second year	\$200
In case of death during third year	\$300
In case of death during fourth year	\$400
In case of death during fifth year	\$500

variety of these societies makes a true accounting of them almost impossible. This is the assessment of W. E. B. DuBois, in his 1907 study entitled, *Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans* (which was 12th in the series of studies of “Negro Problems” conducted by Atlanta University and sponsored by the Carnegie Institution) (DuBois 1907:92);

No complete account of Negro beneficial societies is possible, so large is their number and so wide their ramification. Nor can any hard and fast line between them and industrial insurance societies be drawn save in membership and extent of business. These societies are also difficult to separate from secret societies; many have more or less ritual work, and the regular secret societies do much fraternal insurance business.

An idea of the kinds of rates charged and benefits awarded to members of the mutual benefit societies can be seen in the practices of the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co., of Richmond, Va. As detailed by DuBois (1907:107), this Richmond company:

...began business by operating only the combination policy, but has for the last three years operated in addition a straight life policy, with both an Infantile and an Adult Department. Members between 12 months and 60 years pay 5 to 25 cents per week; sick benefits from \$1.25 to \$6; death benefits from \$12.50 to \$75, The benefits vary with the age of the member and the premium paid. Members received in the straight life from 10 to 60 years; benefits paid from \$500 down, varying with the age and premium paid.

Table 4-11 duplicates the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company’s schedule of weekly payments, assessed by age, and the amount of Death Benefit available. Importantly, these societies were a means by which African-Americans could obtain life insurance policies for their children. But notice the age limitations given in Table 4-11 – coverage

Table 4-11: Weekly Payments and Benefits of the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co., Richmond, VA, 1906 *

*(Derived from DuBois 1907:107)

Weekly Premiums	Ages– Years	Sick benefits	Death benefits
5 cents	Mos. 12 to 40	\$1.25	\$20.00
5 cents	Yrs. 41 to 50	\$1.00	\$12.50
5 cents	Yrs. 51 to 60	\$0.75	\$10.00
10 cents	Mos. 12 to 40	\$2.50	\$40.00
10 cents	Yrs. 41 to 50	\$2.00	\$25.00
10 cents	Yrs. 51 to 60	\$1.50	\$20.00
15 cents	Mos. 15 to 40	\$3.75	\$45.00
15 cents	Yrs. 41 to 50	\$3.00	\$37.50
15 cents	Yrs. 51 to 60	2 25	\$30.00
20 cents	Mos. 18 to 40	\$5.00	\$60.00
20 cents	Yrs. 41 to 50	\$4.00	\$50.00
20 cents	Yrs. 61 to 60	\$3.00	\$40.00
25 cents	Mos. 18 to 40	\$6.00	\$75.00
25 cents	Yrs. 41 to 50	\$5.00	\$60.00
25 cents	Yrs. 51 to 60	\$3.75	\$45.00

only began at 12 months, or one year of age. These policies would not cover newborns, or infants younger than one year old. This exclusionary practice (which was probably commonly, if not universally, applied) is almost certainly due to two factors, both interrelated: a high infant mortality rate and the custom (probably dictated by the former)

of treating stillborn and very young infant deaths as customarily receiving less than formal funeral treatment (e.g., Anonymous 1907; Kleinberg 1977). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, infant mortality rates were extremely high, and this was especially the case for black Americans. In 1900, the odds of a black child dying before the age of five was over twice as high as for a white child (Preston and Haines 1991:94-95).

This high infant mortality rate could be seen in the burials exhumed at Freedman's Cemetery. In a detailed analysis of the health of Dallas's African-American community through the Freedman's skeletal remains, it was possible to establish a very high infant mortality rate that occurred in the Reconstruction and immediate Post-Reconstruction era, and also to document this rates decline; during Freedman's Early Period (1869-1884), the percentage of individuals under the age of one year was 34.4% of the total Early Period burial population. This rate had declined by the Late Period (1900-1907), to just under a quarter of the Late Period dead (23.6%) (Davidson et al. 2002:233).

Since anyone with enough time and forethought can purchase burial insurance incrementally over several years, if not decades, of life, even while living a life of relative poverty, the wealth expenditure measured by the cost of the burial container and its hardware elements may not be a mirror of true economic advancement. However, one way to partially circumvent this problem would be to observe the material culture associated with the burials of infants and stillborns.

From the rates and coverage given for the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Co., of Richmond, Virginia (taken as typical for the period, as detailed in DuBois 1907:107),

burial insurance coverage began only at the age of one year, and did not cover newborns or infants younger than one year. Therefore, mortuary displays for infants from birth to one year, would have been directly paid for by immediate family members, representing a clear out-of-pocket expense that would more accurately reflect the ability of an individual or family's ability to expend funds on an unexpected tragedy. The rates of subadults under one year of age given elaborate mortuary displays are discussed in detail below. Suffice it to say here, this was much more of an option in Dallas's booming cash economy, and not evident at all in Freedman's primary comparative, the rural Cedar Grove Cemetery in southwest Arkansas (Rose 1985). Within this early 20th century sharecropping tenant community, a cash poor economy simply did not allow for sufficient funds to provide mortuary displays for infants. Of the 23 subadults at Cedar Grove one year of age or younger, only two had minimal coffin hardware, and even this was in the form of white metal dummy screws, which by the early 20th century was an archaic and all but obsolete type of coffin trimming (Rose 1985; Davidson 1996).

“Out of Pocket” Payment of Funeral Expenses

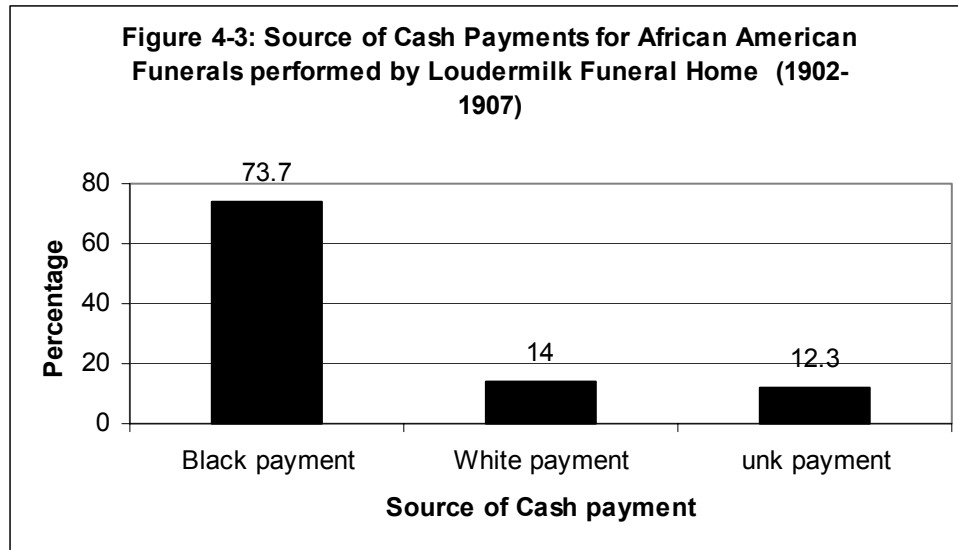
For individuals without access to, or for those who did not have the foresight to employ burial insurance, there were two basic options: allow the city to bury the deceased in a pauper's grave, or to pay for any funeral expenses out of pocket. During the time Freedman's was open, not everyone, whether white and black, had cash available to pay for funeral expenses directly out of pocket. Instead, the funeral homes were amenable to having funeral expenses paid for on installment plans, if the family was

deemed trustworthy, had a verifiable and steady job, or could offer up something as collateral for the funeral. Weekly or monthly payments were accepted by both Peoples and Loudermilk, as evidenced from their day books. A detailed appraisal of the methods of payment, their somewhat erratic methods and timing of payments, in toto would entail a dissertation length study in and of itself. However, the most common methods of securing a funeral were to have an employer sign a note or otherwise vouch for a individual's character and ability to pay, or for a representative of the deceased's family to sign the note. Without insurance or cash, the other method used to secure an elaborate funeral was to offer something up as collateral. For example, as security for the \$55.00 funeral expenses of Phillip Leach, who died on April 14, 1905, the family signed a mortgage on a wagon and team of horses (G. W. Loudermilk Day books; Day Book No. 3, Record No. 565). For the funeral costs of Willard B. Masterson (who died on June 30, 1906), two horses were mortgaged (G. W. Loudermilk Day Books; Day Book No. 4, Record No. 456).

Still, from the Loudermilk day books, it was possible to document that between January 16, 1902, and October 26, 1907, some 57 funerals were paid for in cash on the day of or immediately following the funeral event (see Table 4-12; Figure 4-3).

**Table 4-12: Loudermilk Funerals (1902-1907)
paid for in cash, at the time of the funeral event**

#	Source of Payment	%
42	Black payment	73.7
8	White payment	14
7	unk payment	12.3
57	total	100



This accounts for 23.8% of the total number of black funerals presided over by Loudermilk during this period, which is an impressive number considering the cost for many of these events. Costs for these cash funerals ranged from a low of \$4.00 (for a stillborn infant) to a high of \$110.00 (the latter for the funeral of Pearl Hooper, who was shot and killed by her lover Tucker Harris in 1907). The average cost of a funeral, paid for in cash, was \$31.39.

In some cases, it is possible that some of these costs may have later been recouped by the family through insurance payments, but the point made here is that these costs were very clearly paid out of pocket at the time of the funeral, before any insurance money would have been disbursed to the family, demonstrating a real economic stability and pool of wealth (savings, etc.) in these instances. Of these 57 funerals paid for in full and in cash at the time of the event, 73.7% were paid for entirely by immediate family members or other African-Americans within the community. Fourteen percent of the

cash funerals, in contrast, were paid for by white employers or other interested parties who were clearly white. An additional 12.3% of the cash funerals had an unknown source of payment (Figure 4-3). This last distinction, the race of the individual purchasing the funeral event, is a criteria discussed below.

Burial Expenses undertaken by private individuals not related to the family

With any death event, it was at least possible that individuals other than family members paid for some or all of the funeral costs. In such cases, the mortuary display observed and recorded during excavations at Freedman's Cemetery may reflect the *status* of the individual, but not their class. This possibility seemed especially pertinent with some of the funerals recorded in the G. W. Loudermilk day books.

G. W. Loudermilk, the white funeral home that was the second most popular among the African-American community of Dallas (after the black funeral home, Peoples), interred a total of 229 individuals between January 16, 1902 and July 26, 1907. Of this number, 148 were buried in Freedman's Cemetery. During excavations in the early 1990s, in order to explain the reasoning and motivations for blacks in Dallas to chose to patronize a white funeral home over a black funeral home, I speculated that many of these funerals were ordered and paid for by the deceased's white employers. In a cursory analysis of the day book entries, this hypothesis seemed to be the case for at least some live-in domestics (or other servants) dying in the homes and in the employ of whites, leaving no next of kin to accept the body or responsibility for funeral payments.

To establish the true extent of funeral payments outside the individual or

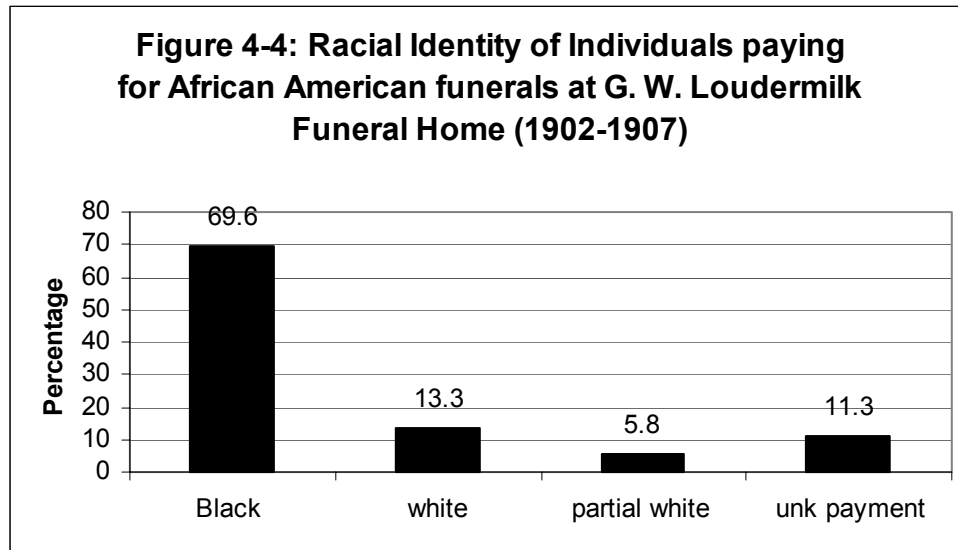
immediate family, Loudermilk’s day books were examined in detail. If an individual’s name was given as the source of payment, and it was not recognizably a family member (lacking the same surname, etc.), then the name was checked against the pertinent year of Dallas’s city directories (published between 1902 and 1907) to establish the relationship, if possible, and especially to establish the race of the individual (in the directories, white is assumed, whereas blacks are designated with a “C” in parentheses, for “colored”). The source of payment was scored with the following choices: black payment exclusively, white payment exclusively, partial funeral payment by whites, and unknown source of funeral payment. The results can be seen in Table 4-13, Figure 4-4, and Appendix F.

Table 4-13: Source of Burial Expenses (i.e., race) paid to G. W. Loudermilk (1902-1907)

Payment Form	#	%
Black	167	69.6
white	32	13.3
partial white	14	5.8
unk payment	27	11.3
total	240	100

Of the 240 funerals presided over by George Loudermilk between January 16, 1902, and October 26, 1907, 32 (or 13.3%) were paid entirely by white individuals, usually discernable as employers. Additionally, another 14 funerals (5.8%) had partial payments by whites. Given this, the vast majority of funerals did have payments that

originated from within the black community (N=167; or 69.6%), either from fraternal insurance or from individuals. These individuals were usually immediate family members, although in some cases it was not possible to determine the relationship



between the deceased, and the individual paying for the funeral.

So does the knowledge that some mortuary displays recovered archaeologically do not reflect the deceased or his family's socioeconomic level, but rather, an outside party in the white community, have any bearing or affect the outcome of this analysis? Although this variable had to be established, its true measure is extremely slight, at best. From his extant day books, we have records of 240 African-American funerals presided over by George Washington Loudermilk, but this number accounts for every black funeral, including individuals interred in cemeteries other than Freedman's. Rather, Loudermilk interred (between January 16, 1902 and July 26, 1907; the closure date of

Freedman's) a lesser number, or some 158 individuals, at Freedman's Cemetery. Of this lesser number, only 20 funerals were interred in Freedman's Cemetery by Loudermilk that also were entirely paid for by a white employer or other interested party. Out of the 878 interments that were exhumed archaeologically and dated to the Late Period (1900-1907), potentially the number of funeral events paid for by whites amounts to only 2%. In the final analysis, this number is not significant. In fact, it is possible that although a white employer or other interested party is recorded as having paid for the funeral, they may have served only as the go between for the deceased's family, or might be paying for the deceased's funeral expenses using burial insurance or other black generated funds that are not clearly demarcated in the day books.

Indigent Burials: Expenses undertaken by the City or County of Dallas

With previous attempts at socioeconomic analyses of historic burials, there was always the possibility of circular reasoning. If chronological assignment and status/class measures are both based on coffin hardware, then burials recovered without mortuary hardware either could be quite early slave burials, or late 19th century burials of paupers (e.g., Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984). With the chronology I created for Freedman's Cemetery (see Davidson 1999a), however, the complete lack of mortuary hardware associated with burials did not deter their proper temporal assessment, thus allowing for an accurate temporal *and* socioeconomic determination that does not fall pray to this kind of circular reasoning.

The identification of indigent or pauper burials, interred at city or county expense, was codified for the Late Period (1900-1907). Out of the 878 burials in the Late Period, 104 were designated as Indigents, or 11.8% of the total (Davidson 1999a:398; 411). Additionally, the available death records for the Late Period, covering the years 1900 through 1907, were entered into a database (N=1433 burials) (see Davidson 1999a). Although this database is an extremely valuable tool, it does not provide answers to every question. In this case, the number of indigents buried at city or county expense cannot be precisely known from these records because they contain only basic demographic information (e.g., age, sex, cause of death, place of burial), and not individual funeral costs. Despite this, it is still possible to estimate the number of indigent African-American burials interred during Freedman's Late Period. Burials that are clearly indigents, interred at city or county expense, can be identified in 99 cases, since Freedman's Cemetery is described in these instances as the "Colored Pauper, Potters Field Negro," or similar designation that accurately assigns the death to an indigent category.

Additionally, it is possible to identify indigent burial exhumed archaeologically, in part by a comparison to the archival record. During the 1900-1907 Late Period it was established that the firms of James Dunn, and then later Broussard, Beard & Company and Patrick Donovan, all held the pauper burial contract with the city, and interred all African-Americans who were labeled as indigents during this same period (Davidson 1999a:124-130). The remaining three funeral homes – Peoples Undertaking (the black funeral home), George W. Loudermilk, and Ed. C. Smith – interred paying customers

(and not indigents). This was established because none of them held the indigent burial contract with the city or county during this period, and from their day books we know the costs and source of payment for each funeral they oversaw.

The way indigent burials were treated in Dallas evolved through time, and some key elements are pertinent to this discussion and are recognizable archaeologically. Although the town of Dallas was first incorporated on February 2, 1856 (Cochran 1966:51), the earliest extant records pertaining to the city council date to September 19, 1868, or some 12 years after incorporation (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 1), while the first extant ordinance passed by the council on the matter of death and cemeteries dates to March 12, 1873. This ordinance established the office of city sexton, whose duties would include procuring death certificates for every individual dying within the city limits, maintaining a register of deaths that would include the place of burial, and finally that “the city sexton shall receive the sum of fifteen dollars, out of the city treasury, for each and every pauper burial by him: which shall include coffin and all other expenses” (City Ordinance Books, Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 39, 55-56).

Unknown individuals, such as transients or recent arrivals to the city, sometimes died within the municipality of Dallas. Lying in the city morgue and unclaimed by friends or family, these individuals were presumed to be indigents and given a pauper burial at city expense. So too, when poor blacks who were residents of Dallas died without family or the means to pay for a proper burial, the city paid for the cost of box and grave. From the inception of undertaking in Dallas in the early 1870s, Anglo mortuary firms held a monopoly on pauper burials, obtaining the contracts for the burial

of indigent persons through both the city and county.

Only three years after the passage of the 1873 ordinances, the city council apparently realized they had overestimated its ability to pay the rather substantial sum of \$15 per indigent burial, and in an emergency session on April 15, 1876, passed an amendment to the ordinance lowering this rate to \$10 per body (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 291).

The first election of the office of city sexton was held on July 2, 1873, with only two nominees, John Lafferty and Asa W. Morton, the town's only undertaker. Needless to say, Morton was duly elected to the post (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 217). Between 1873 and 1883, the office of City Sexton was variously held by A. W. Morton, Patrick Linskie, Ed C. Smith, and Ranzil H. Rodgers (Davidson 1999a:100-133) (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 2, pp. 83, 99, 111, 132, 136-137).

When election time came around again in 1882, there was no mention made of the matter of city sexton. Finally, on April 21, 1883, the Mayor addressed the matter of the burial of the pauper dead, querying just whose duty it now was. Mayor Cabell's request was referred to the Sanitary Committee, who reported back to the City Council on May 1, 1883: "The Committee on Hospital report in reference to burying Paupers that there is an arrangement between the City and the County that the County shall bury all paupers, and your committee sees no reason why the agreement should be amended" (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 4, pp. 179,185).

Dallas County Commissioner's Court records show that between 1883 and 1899, undertakers holding pauper contracts with the county included Ed C. Smith, P. W.

Linskie, Loudermilk and Miller, and James Dunn. In particular, the 1895 contract between the undertaker team of Loudermilk and Miller is given in explicit detail, and pertinent elements are excerpted below (Dallas County Commissioner's Court Minutes; Book 7, p. 196, Feb. 20, 1895):

...said undertakers agree to furnish 1st a neat coffin, stained and varnished, neatly lined. 2nd, to furnish the grave... The coffin is to be of cypress or poplar (and) **to be in coffin shape** (emphasis added). Said undertakers agree to furnish coffin for \$2.50 without robe and burial.

While it put an effective end to the official office of city sexton, the 1882 "arrangement" between city and county officials in regard to the pauper dead would be rescinded and shirked by the county on occasion, most notably in 1900, when city and county governments seemingly almost came to blows over the burial of single Black child (Davidson 1999:127-129) (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes; Book 6, p. 277, August 18, 1893; Book 9, p. 143, July 10, 1900).

On July 10, 1900, Dallas County Commissioners handed down an edict, stating that no more paupers were to be buried at county expense. James Dunn, the Dallas undertaker who almost seemed to specialize in the indigent burial trade, was duly given the order to cease and desist (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes; Book 9, p. 143). This action on the part of county officials sparked intense debate within the city government as to what was to be done to counter this declaration (Davidson 1999a:128-129; Dallas *Times Herald*, July 15, 1900).

The eventual result of this fiasco was the re-emergence of the position of official city undertaker to fulfill a pauper burial contract with the city of Dallas. Towards this

goal, on September 23, 1901, bids were submitted to the City Council's Finance and Records Committee by three prominent local undertakers: Ed C. Smith & Brothers, George Loudermilk, and James E. Dunn (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 286). On the following day, the Council entertained the merits of each (Dallas *Morning News*, September 24, 1901), the details of which are given verbatim below:

Bids for burying city paupers were opened, read, and referred as follows: G. W. Loudermilk – Box shaped coffin, and necessary furnishings, with interment, \$3 per corpse; with “coffin-shaped” coffin, \$3.75; robe \$1 extra. Ed C. Smith & Brothers – Stained pine box, etc., \$3 per corpse. J. E. Dunn & Co. – Pine coffin, opening and filling grave and conveyance to same, without cost to the city and with the payment of one cent to the municipality for every pauper buried.

The details of this contract are extremely important, in regard to specific attributes of some graves observed archaeologically at Freedman's. The morphology of burial containers is a vitally important attribute, with temporal as well as economic implications. Further, in the 19th and early 20th centuries the terms, “coffin” and “casket,” were precisely defined referents, and as such were not interchangeable. Strictly speaking, “coffin” refers to a hexagonal shaped burial container, while a “casket” is, most generally, a rectangular shaped box.

What the details of the three bids are saying is that Loudermilk was willing to utilize either a simple, rectangular box (i.e., “box shaped” coffin), or, at a slightly higher cost, a hexagonal shaped box (termed a “coffin” shaped coffin). The Ed C. Smith funeral home only offered to supply a rectangular box as burial receptacle, while James E. Dunn & Company, the firm that actually received the contract, stated that a “coffin,” or rather a hexagonal shaped container, would be utilized.

Generally speaking, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the hexagonal coffin

form was becoming increasingly limited in terms of variety and, hence, was utilized most often in less expensive burials, and in decreasing frequency overall. Presumably, Dunn held to the letter of his contract with the city, and used hexagonal shaped burial containers in burying the city's pauper dead. When James Dunn retired from the funeral trade on September 17, 1904, he sold his funeral home business to the firm of Broussard, Beard, & Company, which was already established in Beaumont, Texas. This funeral home also inherited the city's contract for indigent burials, though by 1906, Patrick J. Donovan, who had been an employee of both Dunn and Broussard and Beard, had founded his own funeral home and had been awarded the city's pauper burial contract (Davidson 1999a:113-115; Dallas *Times Herald* Sept 18, 1904).

In interring African-American indigents, the hexagonal coffin form would have been used by Dunn at Freedman's Cemetery, and are identifiable archaeologically, representing a correlation of the archaeological record with the archival, and an identification of many of the paupers interred by James Dunn between 1901 and 1904 (Davidson 1999a).

On October 28, 1901, or only a month after the pauper burial contract had been awarded to James Dunn & Company, Peoples Undertaking Company, the Black funeral home, made a formal request with city officials to be allowed "to bury the colored paupers." This matter was referred to the Finance and Records committee, which apparently ignored the request entirely (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 319).

In summary, it was possible during the Freedman's Cemetery excavations to

identify burials that were interred as indigents by city or county expense. By examining both the Dallas City Council Minutes and the records of the Dallas County Commissioner's Court, it is evident that the paupers interred at city or county expense *never* included mortuary hardware or trimmings of any kind, consisting only of single coffins (without an outer box), occasionally lined (Davidson 1999a:124-130).

It was also possible to avoid the trap of circular reasoning that has bedeviled previous historic cemetery analyses, and accurately assign burials without mortuary hardware to their correct temporal range (i.e., Early, Middle or Late) through the following criteria: associated nail types (i.e., cut or wire); associated temporal diagnostic artifacts (e.g., clothing and personal effects); the Law of Superposition (i.e., stacking); and knowledge of land purchase and subsequent use (e.g., the First Acre of 1869 and the subsequent 1884 Land purchase). My M. A. thesis (Davidson 1999a) explains the burial chronology in exhaustive detail. To briefly summarize pertinent aspects here, each burial's spatial loci and associated temporal diagnostics were especially crucial in the identification of indigent burials and their assignment to the Late Period (as opposed to Middle Period burials without hardware).

The temporal diagnostic artifacts that help define burials without hardware as Late Period paupers include the ubiquitous nail (with wire nails being introduced into mortuary context in the late 1890s, or by convention, circa 1900), and artifacts such as an 1897 quarter (Burial 563), safety pin type 1DIV (patented on January 14, 1896; with Burial 568), and safety pin type 1HI (Patented on February 13, 1900; with Burial 815) (Davidson 1999a:375-377; 445).

Wealth display expended upon a funeral not accounted for in the archaeological record (e.g., carriages, hearse, etc.)

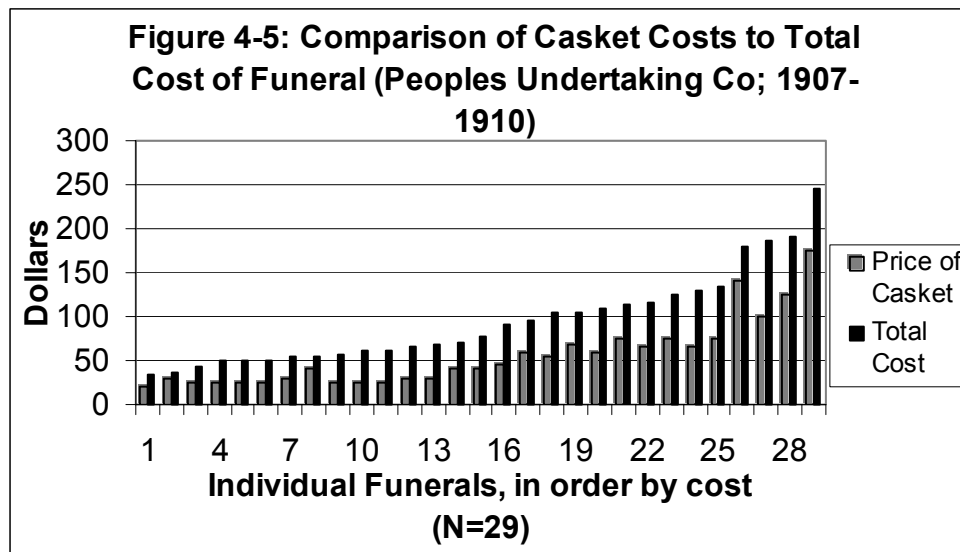
From death records derived from undertaker day books, the total cost of each funeral is given. By varying degrees of completeness, this bill is often itemized. Table 4-14 lists the items or services that could be routinely purchased as part of the total funeral.

Table 4-14: Kinds of goods or services available from a funeral home, circa 1907
(Anonymous 1907)

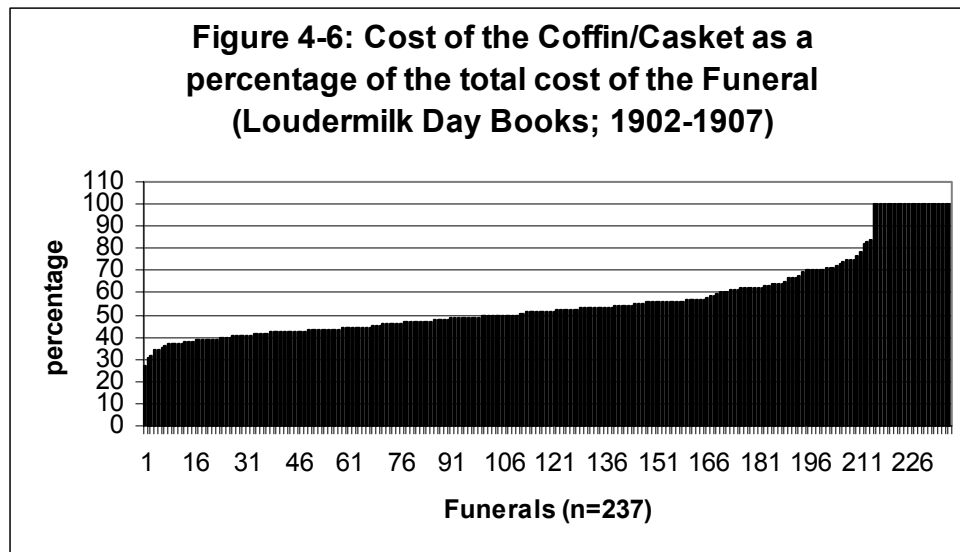
Item or Service
Casket or coffin
metallic lining
Outside box
Grave Vault
Burial Robe
Burial Slippers and Hose
Engraving Plate
Embalming the body
Embalming Fluid
Washing and dressing the corpse
Shaving the corpse
Keeping body on ice
Disinfecting Rooms
Use of Catafalque and Drapery
Use of folding chairs
Use of Candelabrum
Candles
Gloves
Crape
Number of Carriages hired
Hearse

Wagon deliveries
Death Notices in newspapers
Flowers
Outlay for Grave Lot
Opening Grave
Shipping charges
Removal Charges
Cremation charges

While the Peoples 1907-1910 day book contained spaces for all of these items, many of the individual funerals are less than complete, with often only the summary costs entered. For 29 funerals, however, the cost of the burial container, in addition to the total cost of the funeral, is given. The ratios of coffin costs to total funeral costs for these 29 funerals are given in Figure 4-5. On average, the coffin or casket amounted to just over half of the total cost of the funeral (i.e., 56.6%).



From the Loudermilk day books, out of the 240 funerals conducted in the 1902-1907 interval, 237 had both the cost of the burial container and the total cost of the funeral recorded. In calculating the percentage of the total funeral cost that the burial container made up, it was immediately apparent that the results are virtually identical to the Peoples records (see Figure 4-6). On average, the coffin/casket sold by Loudermilk amounted to 56.35% of the total funeral, an essentially identical correspondence with the 56.6% of the costs in the Peoples day book. Therefore, in most instances the cost of the burial container and its associated coffin hardware would reflect a cost that would be about half of the total cost of the funeral.



Preservation/Taphonomic Factors {i.e., what is not accounted for in a calculation of mortuary hardware cost: the burial container (hardwood vs. softwoods), expensive linings, etc.}

Obviously, of all the objects that enter the archaeological record with the burial, the coffin or casket often was the most costly. It has been noted by previous researchers that the kinds of woods used in the manufacture of the burial container, mainly hardwood versus soft woods, would constitute a primary economic measure of the wealth expended upon mortuary display (Joseph, et al. 1991:218; Orser et al. 1987:413). It is this fact, and the inability to determine wood species (due to preservation factors), that seems to have served as a common excuse for the lack of socioeconomic grave studies generally. It is true that wood preservation in historic burials is generally so poor that stylistic variables of the burial container, indicative of greater or lesser costs, usually cannot be observed. In most cases, only the shape of the burial container can be known with certainty. Additionally, wood species identification is often not performed, due to poor wood preservation, budgetary limitations, or both. At Freedman's Cemetery, wood species identification (differentiating between hardwoods or softwoods) was performed for only 4.4% of the burials (N=51), and all were softwoods (pine or basswood; see Dering 2000).

While all of the identified examples were softwoods, it is likely that at least some hardwood coffins were interred at Freedman's Cemetery. Hardwood burial containers were generally more expensive, but other factors, such as the form of the burial container, could also determine its cost. Although I could not use wood species as a cost variable, since the shape of the burial container was usually discernable, I did provisionally

consider form as a cost variable. Table 4-15 gives the costs of either hexagonal shaped boxes (i.e., coffins) or rectangular boxes (caskets), in 1881 and 1901. Ultimately, I rejected coffin form as a variable, since in certain circumstances, the costs were clearly equivalent.

**Table 4-15:
Comparison of costs for Coffins (hex boxes) and Caskets (rect boxes)**

**Wholesale costs of
walnut coffins and
caskets in 1881 (W.
L. Lockhart)**

Length (feet-inches)	Coffin	Casket
2-0	\$2.41	\$5.00
2-3	\$2.73	\$5.62
2-6	\$3.05	\$6.25
2-9	\$3.37	\$6.88
3-0	\$3.68	\$7.50
3-3	\$4.00	\$8.12
3-6	\$4.32	\$8.75
3-9	\$4.64	\$9.38
4-0	\$5.45	\$10.00
4-3	\$5.91	\$10.62
4-6	\$6.36	\$11.25
4-9	\$7.05	\$11.88
5-0	\$10.00	\$15.00
5-3	\$10.00	\$15.00
5-6	\$10.00	\$15.00
5-9	\$10.00	\$15.00
6-0	\$10.00	\$15.00
6-3	\$10.00	\$15.00
6-6	\$10.00	\$15.00

**Retail costs of “gloss
white” coffins and
caskets (with glass) in
1901 (St. Louis Coffin
Co)**

Length (feet-inches)	Coffin	Casket
2-0	\$7.00	\$12.00
2-3		\$13.00
2-6	\$7.50	\$13.00
2-9		\$15.00
3-0	\$8.00	\$17.00
3-3		\$18.00
3-6	\$9.00	\$19.00
3-9		\$20.00
4-0	\$10.00	\$22.00
4-3		\$23.00
4-6	\$11.00	\$24.00
4-9		\$25.00
5-0	\$17.00	\$35.00
5-3	\$17.00	\$35.00
5-6	\$17.00	\$35.00
5-9	\$17.00	\$35.00
6-0	\$17.00	\$35.00
6-3	\$17.00	\$35.00
6-6	\$17.00	\$35.00

For example, although one class of coffins and caskets displayed very different costs, this was not always the case. In the suggested retail price list for the St. Louis Coffin Company catalogue for 1901, the retail cost for one style of adult-sized hexagonal shaped coffin was only between \$30.00 and \$35.00 (untrimmed) (St. Louis Coffin Co n.d.:20, 32). However, a rectangular casket with canted corners (termed the “octagonal end” casket in catalogues), covered in cloth and with a viewing window, also cost \$35.00 retail in 1901 (St. Louis Coffin Co 1901; St. Louis Coffin Co n.d.). Since an example of the newer and more “trendy” form of burial container, in this case an octagonal casket, could be purchased for the same price (and from the same manufacturer) as one of the more elaborate hexagonal coffins available in 1901, the use of burial container form cannot be used as a cost variable without knowledge of additional criteria, which are lacking at present. To at least partially mitigate this loss of data, from my research into aspects of the mortuary industry, I have been able to differentiate between the relative cost of certain types or classes of coffins or caskets that can be recognized despite taphonomic factors. I am referring here to different forms of viewing windows; namely static or sliding (see Appendices A and B for a discussion and definition of these terms).

Just as the cost of the coffin has a well established ratio to the total cost of the funeral, averaging just over half the total funeral costs (as discussed above; see also Figure 4-5, Figure 4-6), it seems apparent that the type and cost of the coffin hardware attached to any container would be of an equivalent value to the coffin or casket. Cheap swingbail handles would not be found on an *elaborate* rectangular casket, and conversely, costly short bar coffin handles would not as a rule, be found on the cheapest

hexagonal coffins.

In summary, then, despite these problems I believe that for the purposes of a socioeconomic study of the Freedman's Cemetery burials, I can make the assumption that the relative cost of coffin handles and other trimming elements is in direct proportion to the cost of the burial container itself. Thus, a *relative* comparison between burials at Freedman's Cemetery will likely not be affected by avoiding the calculation of the cost of the burial container as well.

Comparatives to Freedman's Cemetery Economic Analysis

One of the first applications of an *emic* perspective in regard to the calculation of wholesale costs of recovered mortuary hardware was conducted in 2000 by the author on the Vardeman Cemetery, a family graveyard in rural Kentucky in use from the mid nineteenth to mid 20th centuries (Davidson 2004d). This basic schema was next applied to burials recovered from both the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries in rural Crawford County, Arkansas (Davidson 2004c). These studies have established the basic criteria by which costs were applied to the interments at Freedman's Cemetery.

The Vardeman Cemetery, as well as the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries will be used as comparatives for the Freedman's Cemetery datasets. Additionally, for use as a comparative in this study, I have calculated the wholesale coffin hardware costs of individual burials exhumed at the Cedar Grove Cemetery in southwest Arkansas (Rose 1985). It would have been useful to make comparisons between the Freedman's

Cemetery burial costs to additional cemeteries, but only these sites had data sets that I created, or were accessible to me (in the case of Cedar Grove). It is discouraging that with the great number of cemetery sites excavated archaeologically in the United States (e.g., Table 4-1), virtually none of the resulting reports of investigations were sufficiently detailed to create a complete cost analysis of the associated coffin hardware. Either the frequency of occurrence is not given or there is not a complete accounting of the types of hardware associated with each burial.

This is especially unfortunate in the case of the Pioneer Cemetery excavations in 1999 in Dallas, which represents a middle class white population estimated by the project researchers to have been interred between 1880 and 1910. In all, 8 subadults and 7 adults were exhumed archaeologically, but the resulting report does not give a complete accounting of the associated mortuary hardware elements, thus making it impossible for me to assign wholesale costs to individual elements of coffin hardware, so as to generate a total wholesale cost for individual burials (Cooper et al. 2000).

Calculating Coffin Hardware Costs: Methods

Of the 1150 burials and burial containers (containing 1157 individuals) exhumed during excavations at Freedman's Cemetery, 38 have been excluded from this analysis. Those excluded consist of all 37 individuals assigned to the "Pre-1900" Period (dating from 1869-1899) and the single burial (Burial 1127) that could not be assigned to any of the 4 temporal periods defined in the Freedman's chronology (Davidson 1999a:16; 499). The rationale for excluding the "Pre-1900" Period burials is simple: no diagnostic

mortuary hardware was associated with any of them (one of the reasons why they could not be more finely dated), so a diachronic cost comparison that would include these burials would show a flat line on any curve, due to the nature of the chronology's construction. The single undated burial, Burial 1127, is excluded for the same reason – no hardware, and a sample size of one for a temporal period that spans the maximum dates that Freedman's Cemetery remained open to interments (i.e., 1869-1907) would be of no value. Therefore, a total of 1112 burials, containing 1119 individuals, constitute the sample for the Freedman's Cemetery cost analysis.

In calculating the wholesale costs for each burial, certain conventions were followed. First, with burials clearly exhibiting missing hardware elements, a minimum number of elements was assigned, based on the principal of symmetry. This applied primarily to handles and thumbscrew/escutcheon sets. For example, if a disturbed burial had one associated handle recovered, a minimum number of 4 would have been estimated for the burial. Six (or even 8) handles may have originally been present, but such associations cannot be reconstructed.

Of the 1,112 burials in the cost analysis sample, 457 had to be amended in the hardware database to reflect as accurately as possible the original complement of mortuary hardware that would have been in place at the time of the funeral event (see Appendix C). This meant that 41.1% of the burials actually lost hardware through impacts by previous construction episodes, a later grave impacting an earlier one, or in some cases, hardware may have been lost during exposure and the excavation process.

Once this unpleasant and extremely time consuming feat had been accomplished,

the next step was to assign a wholesale cost to each coffin hardware type, as formally defined in the Freedman's hardware typology. The classes of hardware that entered into cost calculations consist of Handles, Thumbscrews, Escutcheons, Coffin Screws, Caplifters, Caplifter Bases, Plaques, Ornaments, Ornamental Tacks, Viewing Windows (with 1 Viewing Window Latch), selected Iron Closures and Miscellaneous Hardware, and a single type of Hinge (see Appendix A for definitions).

Note that only elements of the coffin or casket (i.e., handles, thumbscrews, etc.) were used to calculate the cost of each interment. Any clothing, jewelry and personal effects associated with the deceased did not enter into the cost of the burial. Although these kinds of artifacts were not uncommon (see Appendix E), it is the wealth expended on a mortuary display within the Beautification of Death movement that is the primary variable of interest.

The technical and tedious task of formulating and presenting the wholesale costs for the Freedman's mortuary hardware is given in Appendix B. Briefly summarized here, to measure the socioeconomic "level" of individual burials (as well as for major gender or age divisions within the total burial sample size), it was necessary to calculate a wholesale cost for each coffin hardware type example as formally defined in the Freedman's mortuary hardware typology. With each grave, the individual hardware costs were then simply added together to derive the summary wholesale hardware cost for the burial.

My ability to assign wholesale costs for coffin hardware was limited only by my access to pertinent archival sources, namely coffin and coffin hardware catalogues. A

complete list of the catalogues consulted for this analysis is given in Appendix B (Table B-1). After the costs of the various coffin hardware elements were calculated, they were summed for each burial. These data are given in Appendix D, while a discussion of demographic and other patterns will be presented below.

Discussion of Cost Analysis

Table 4-16 gives the summary costs for Freedman's Cemetery's three major time periods, broken down by age and sex, with the minimum, maximum, and average wholesale costs for mortuary hardware. Additionally, these same cost variables are given for Cedar Grove Cemetery, the rural African-American cemetery excavated by the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 1982. Since Cedar Grove is African-American, contemporaneous with Freedman's Late Period and only 200 miles away, it represents an excellent comparative to better explore the urban vs. rural environments; the Cedar Grove community was extremely isolated and their economy dominated by cotton tenant farming. The average wholesale costs for the burial are graphically presented in Figure 4-7.

Even at this simplistic and summary level, there are some very interesting trends, the most basic of which was entirely predictable before this analysis began – a continual increase in the elaborateness of mortuary display and investment through time.

During the Early Period, or in the 1870s and early 1880s, there is a very minimal and amazingly consistent mortuary display that is constant across gender and even gross age at death divisions, with the average wholesale cost of coffin trimmings (for all

burials) just 11 cents; even the maximum cost stands at only 42 cents. Certainly mortuary hardware was limited in form (and frequency of occurrence) for the Early Period burials, consisting for the most part of just two types of cheap swingbail handles, coffin screws, and dummy screws (see Appendix B). What is interesting, however, is that this hardware was equally distributed; men and women display identical maximum costs (\$.42), and virtually identical average costs (\$0.16 for men, \$0.15 for women). The wholesale costs for subadults are essentially in line with those of adults; the average cost for all the children is a mere \$0.09, and the maximum expended on a single subadult burial, at \$0.40, is just two cents shy of that for the adults. The basic trend for Early

Table 4-16: Summary of Mortuary Hardware Costs (Wholesale)

(Freedman's Cemetery sample size = 1112 burials, containing 1119 individuals)*

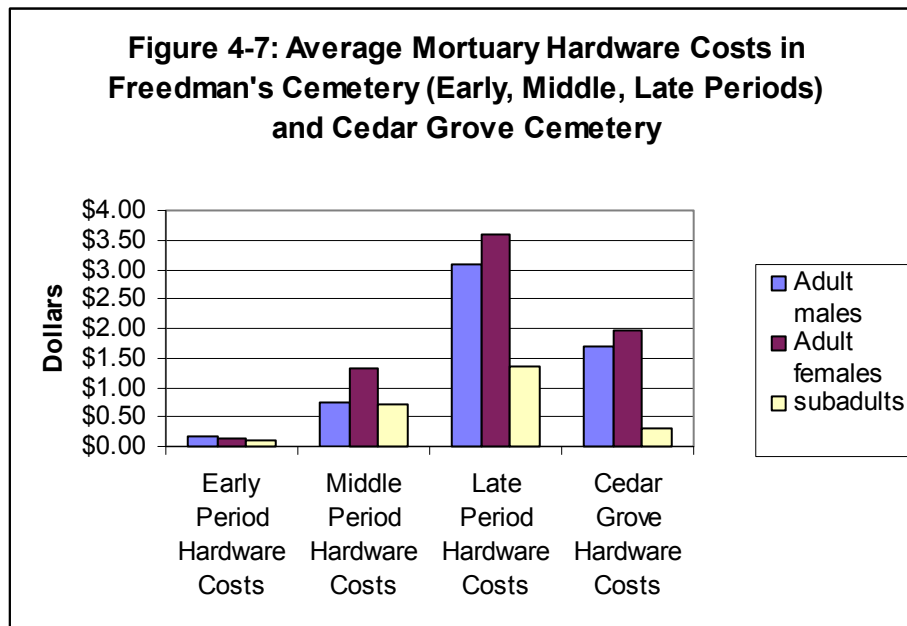
Description	Early Period (1869-1884)		Hardware Costs		
	N	%	Min	Mean	Max
Adult-M	11	17.2	\$0.01	\$0.16	\$0.42
Adult-F	10	15.6	\$0.01	\$0.15	\$0.42
indet. Adult	2	3.1	\$0.07	\$0.22	\$0.36
Subadults	41	64.1	\$0.00	\$0.09	\$0.40
Total	64	100	\$0.00	\$0.11	\$0.42

Description	Middle Period (1885-1899)		Hardware Costs		
	N	%	Min	Mean	Max
Adult-M	38	22.2	\$0.00	\$0.76	\$4.32
Adult-F	32	18.7	\$0.00	\$1.32	\$4.95
indet. Adult	10	5.8	\$0.00	\$0.59	\$2.62
Subadults	91	53.2	\$0.00	\$0.70	\$4.03
Total	171	100	\$0.00	\$0.82	\$4.95

Description	Late Period (1900-1907)		Hardware Costs		
	N	%	Min	Mean	Max
Adult-M	233	26.4	\$0.00	\$3.09	\$13.38
Adult-F indet.	232	26.2	\$0.00	\$3.61	\$11.41
Adult	91	10.3	\$0.00	\$3.17	\$8.49
Subadults	328	37.1	\$0.00	\$1.34	\$9.35
Total	884	100	\$0.00	\$2.59	\$13.38

Description	Cedar Grove (1900-1915)		Hardware Costs		
	N	%	Min	Mean	Max
Adult-M	15	18.8	\$0.00	\$1.70	\$4.02
Adult-F indet.	21	26.2	\$0.21	\$1.98	\$4.40
Adult	0	0
Subadults	44	55	\$0.00	\$0.29	\$3.97
Total	80	100	\$0.00	\$1.00	\$4.40

* {Burial 1127 and the "Pre-1900" Period (N=37) are not represented, due to a complete lack of mortuary hardware and ambiguous dating}.



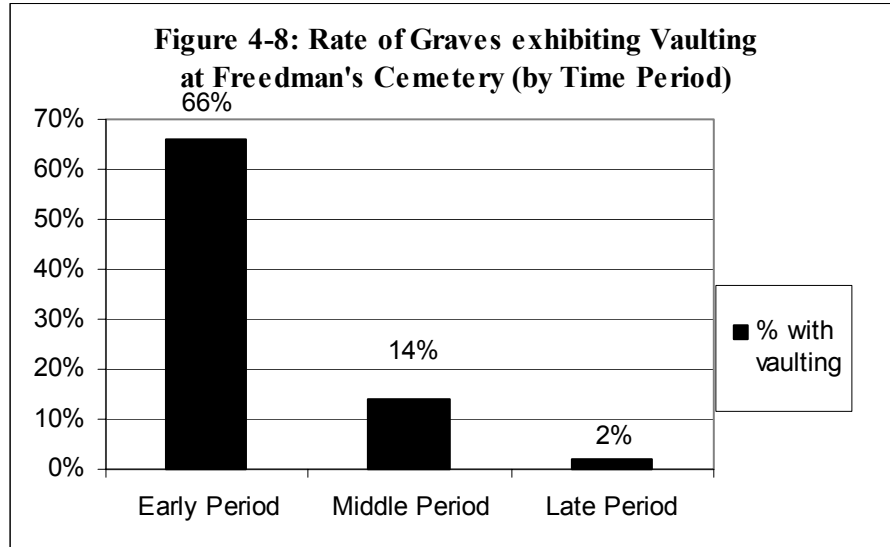
Period burials is one of minimal mortuary displays (at best), and an equality of costs regardless of gender or age categories (Table 4-16; Figure 4-7).

The Middle Period burials, of the mid 1880s and 1890s, stand in stark contrast to those of the Early Period in their elaboration, and subsequent cost. Also for the first time, there is a measurable difference seen across both age and gender divisions. The average wholesale mortuary display costs of the Middle Period men, at 76 cents, is nearly five times the average cost of the men interred during the Early Period (\$0.16). The average cost for Middle Period women, at \$1.32, is even more disproportionately greater than their counterparts interred just a few years earlier during Freedman's Early Period. The women interred during the Middle Period (with an average cost of \$1.32) have a mortuary display that is some nine times more expensive than the Early Period women. For the children in the Middle Period, their average wholesale hardware costs is very close to the Middle Period men's, at 70 cents, or almost eight times greater than their counterparts in Early Period (with just \$0.09).

During the time that the Middle Period spans, or between 1885 and 1899, it can be demonstrated that African-Americans in Dallas experienced social conditions that reflected a marked improvement than that experienced during the Reconstruction and immediate post Reconstruction era, when the graves in the Early Period were interred. These improved social conditions equated to a greater number of jobs (with a commensurate stability in wages), an increased ability to purchase homes (Davidson 2004a), and apparently, the means and desire to spend much greater amounts on mortuary displays for their deceased loved ones.

But all things are not equal; unlike the Early Period, where an essential “equality of poverty” pervaded the graves, there is instead a significant disparity between the wholesale costs of men and women during the Middle Period. The average wholesale cost of a man’s coffin hardware was \$0.76, while the average cost of hardware associated with women during this same period was \$1.32, or almost twice as much as the men. Even when one looks at the most elaborate burial, for the men and women, the discrepancy remains, however attenuated; the most costly women’s grave in the Middle Period is \$4.95, while it is \$4.32 for the men (see Table 4-16).

One measure that also demonstrates a marked disparity in source and implied cost of the primary expenditure of any funeral, namely the coffin or casket, can be seen in the number of burials that exhibited Vaulting in the Early and Middle Periods (Figure 4-8).



To create a vaulted grave, a wide primary grave shaft is dug to a depth of approximately three or four feet; at the bottom of the primary grave shaft is dug a more

narrow secondary shaft, into which the coffin or casket will be placed. The secondary shaft (or niche), termed the vault, is dug just deep and wide enough to receive the box. This secondary shaft is then completely covered over with boards, typically loose transverse planks, to protect the coffin. This prevents the grave fill dirt from falling directly atop the lid of the coffin during back filling of the grave, an unpleasant mental image (and sound) to the bereaved. The phenomena of vaulted burials has also been referred to as “grave arches” in the literature (Bell 1994:352; Crissman 1994:116; see also Appendix A, this work).

Although the ultimate origins of vaulting are at present poorly understood, a similar practice is described in a circa 1890 English manual on coffin manufacture (Plume n.d.:103). In it, the author, Sable Plume, speaks of something called a “coffin board,” describing it as:

The ‘coffin board’ and its use will probably be unknown to many. It is a board made to cover the coffin entirely, and it is laid on the top after the coffin is in the grave, so that the earth falls on it instead of direct on the coffin. The idea is to make it more convenient when the grave has to be re-opened to receive a second coffin.

Although different in terminology and failing to mention a secondary grave shaft, Plume’s description of the “coffin board” is consistent with a vaulted lid in the United States, and may suggest that the idea for the vaulted grave might have originated in the British Isles.

In the United States, the earliest documentation of vaulting within the archaeological literature can be traced to Swauger (1959), who examined seven exhumed graves in Pennsylvania that were estimated to have been interred during the 1800-1825

period. Possibly the earliest known example of a vaulted grave in the United States was excavated at Jamestown, Virginia, in 1999. Burial 4 at Jamestown, containing the remains of an adult male, is believed to have been interred sometime between 1750-1780 (based on associated artifacts), and this grave displayed a secondary shaft that was hexagonally shaped to match the form of the burial container (Mallios and Straube 2000:9-12).

A survey of historic cemeteries investigated archaeologically demonstrates that the use of vaulting was widespread in United States during the 19th century, and especially common in the South. For example, vaulted burials were present in the 19th century burials exhumed at the Oakland Cemetery in Atlanta, Georgia (Blakely and Beck 1982:188), the Elko Switch Cemetery in rural Alabama (Shogren et al. 1989), and the Cool Branch, Ridley, and Blackburn Cemeteries in Tennessee (Matternes 1998; Buchner et al. 1999; Atkinson and Turner 1987).

At Freedman's Cemetery, vaulting was employed on over half of all the Early graves (at least 42 out of 64 cases; or 66%), but decreased to only 14% by the Middle Period (1885-1899), or just 23 out of 170 cases. In the most recent burials exhumed at Freedman's Cemetery, dating to the 1900-1907 Late Period, vaulting was rare (2%; 19 out of 878 cases). The commonplace presence of vaulting in the earliest burials (i.e., those dating to the 1869-1884 period) is suggestive of either locally produced coffins (in some cases probably home made), severely limited economic resources, or both. It also does suggest a certain amount of care and respect taken, since it is much more difficult and time consuming to calculate the exacting dimensions necessary to fit a coffin into a

secondary shaft or niche, and then dig such a shaft.

As discussed above, the earliest extant day books from a Dallas funeral home (Table 5-3) date to 1883 and 1884, or the very end of the Early Period. These records list very few African-Americans purchasing goods or services. During this period, it is possible that due to a lack of funds or a distrust of white undertakers, blacks were crafting home made coffins within their own community. Although vaulting is a social custom, it also serves a utilitarian purpose, offering greater protection to the coffin and its contents. In this way, it serves roughly the same function as a modern steel or concrete vault. However, the “vaulting” on early burials could also be rendered redundant at best (if not obsolete) by the presence of an outer box or casket shipping crate. By the late 19th century, commercially manufactured coffins and caskets were commonly shipped great distances by train in sturdily constructed wooden crates.

For example, in 1887 Ed C. Smith routinely purchased coffins in large numbers from the Louisville Coffin Company (of Louisville, Kentucky), and by 1900 Dallas undertakers routinely imported coffins from St Louis (Mound Coffin Company, F. C. Riddle & Bros Casket Co., St. Louis Coffin Company), New Orleans (Orleans Casket Company), Atlanta (Gate City Coffin Company), and Memphis (Memphis Coffin Company), among other cities. The crates in which the coffins arrived were nearly always buried with the individual, to provide added protection to the inner coffin and hence the body (Habenstein and Lamers 1985:193).

In summary, coffin complexes employing two boxes are suggestive of elevated economic circumstances, since their combined presence strongly implies commercial

manufacture of the coffin or casket. Conversely, burials that consist of single boxes and vaulting suggest a relative poverty, and a locally or handmade coffin. The huge disparity between the rates of vaulting in the Early and Middle Periods, combined with an equally great disparity of investments in the Death experience documented archivally and archaeologically for the Early and Middle Periods (e.g., Tables 4-3, 4-4, 4-16), all suggest that the primary reason why the Early Period graves are so poor is a simple lack of funds to participate in the national Beautification of Death movement, not an ignorance of the movement or a lack of desire on their part.

The primary social infrastructure that allowed African-Americans to participate in the investment of elaborate mortuary displays for their loved ones were the various fraternal and sororital lodges that offered, at least for their adult members, a death benefit. However, the founding dates of the major lodges in Dallas span 1876 (Masons), 1879 (Odd Fellows) and 1880 (Knights of Pythias), and at least by early 20th century rules, it took as long as five years for a death benefit to mature and become available to the member (see above). If men and women joined these lodges in any numbers immediately after the time of their formation, then theoretically the earliest that a sizable death benefit could have been available would have been 1881 for the Masons, to as late as 1885 for the Pythians. These dates skirt the very end of the Early Period, and mark the beginning of the Middle Period. Remember that the earliest documented African-American funeral in Dallas utilizing fraternal insurance dates to no earlier than 1887, and definitively to 1894, showing a lag between the lodges' formation and a disbursement of funds for mortuary displays (see Table 4-5).

The Late Period at Freedman's Cemetery represents those burials interred between 1900 and 1907, the year the cemetery closed. Of all those laid to rest at Freedman's, it would be presumed that those of the Late Period would be the most elaborate, which is obviously true. Late Period wholesale costs are essentially double that seen in the Middle Period for the subadults (\$1.34, in contrast to \$0.70), and almost three times greater for adult women (\$3.61, versus \$1.32). The adult men easily have the greatest increase in mortuary display, with a level, of \$3.09, which is over four times that seen in their counterparts during the previous period, and nearly 20 times that of the Early Period men. The discrepancy between the costs of men's and women's mortuary displays in the Middle Period, however, continued into the Late Period as well, though at a lesser level overall. The average wholesale costs of hardware for men in the Late Period was \$3.09, while the average cost for women in the same period was \$3.61.

It is interesting to compare the wholesale costs experienced during the Late Period in Dallas, to the rural Cedar Grove community in southwest Arkansas. The burials exhumed at Cedar Grove have been dated to the 1900-1915 period (Davidson 1996), and as such are partly contemporaneous to the 1900-1907 Late Period; but the amount of funds expended on mortuary displays is much less. In Dallas, the men had an average mortuary display of coffin hardware, in wholesale dollars, of \$3.09, while their contemporaries in rural Arkansas expended only half as much (or on average, \$1.70) on their funerals. This discrepancy is seen in the women as well, with the average cost for women in Dallas, at \$3.61, standing at about twice as much as that seen in the women's graves at Cedar Grove. Interestingly, the greater funds expended on women overall, seen

in Freedman's Middle and Late Periods, holds equally true for rural Cedar Grove, although the disparity is less.

Overall, the mortuary hardware costs at Cedar Grove fall far short of the contemporary Late Period at Freedman's, but are in some ways more closely in line with those seen in Dallas in the 1890s, with the Middle Period. Oddly, this is also true of Cedar Grove when overall health proxies are examined. In a comparison of basic health proxies at both Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove, in two important variables – mean age at death and percentage of infant deaths – the Cedar Grove population had levels that more closely matched the Middle Period than the Late (Davidson et al. 2002).

At least as a measure of funds expended on mortuary display, the group at Cedar Grove that by far fared the worst was subadults (i.e., infants and children under the age of around 15 years). The average wholesale cost of coffin hardware for children and infants was only 29 cents, or only 20 cents more than that seen during Freedman's Early Period. Subadults in Freedman's Late Period, in contrast, had mortuary displays that were almost five times greater than their contemporaries some 200 miles east of Dallas.

Before more detailed analyses of those who have mortuary displays are examined, it is also important to consider the numbers of individuals who were interred without any measurable cost at all. The rates of burials without any coffin hardware are given in Table 4-17, and Figure 4-9. Overall, the numbers at Freedman's show a modest level of individuals interred as "paupers," or without any formal coffin hardware, and these rates do decline through time. In all of the three time periods, adult men represent the greatest number of burial lacking trimmings. In the Early Period, three out of 11, or 27%, have

no measurable burial costs, while the rate of men without trimmings during the Middle Period is slightly higher, at 28.9%. This rate falls to 15% in the Late Period. For children and adult women in Dallas, the rates of those without any mortuary display during the Early Period are essentially equal, and measurably less than adult men (20%, in comparison to the men's rate of 27%).

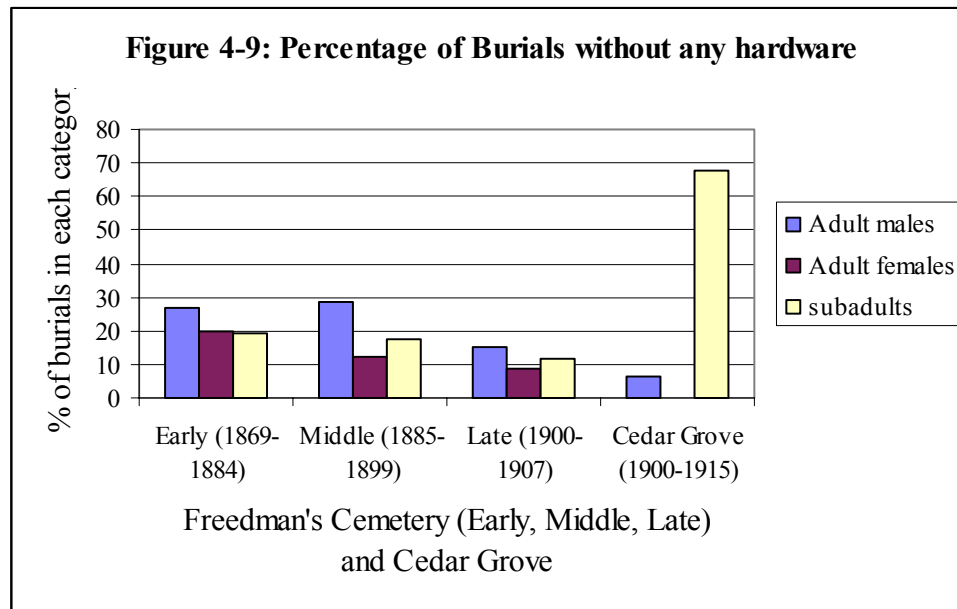
The rates of individuals without any measurable mortuary display in the early 20th century Cedar Grove burials stand in stark contrast to those at Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas. There were no women interred at the Cedar Grove Cemetery without some investment in their mortuary display, however minimal, and only one out of the 15 adult men buried there was interred in a coffin without any sort of trimmings (or 6.7% of all

Table 4-17: Rate of Burials at Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove, without any associated coffin hardware

Description	Early Period (1869-1884)		Middle Period (1885-1899)		Late Period (1900-1907)		Cedar Grove (1900-1915)	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Adult-M	3 out of 11	27	11 out of 38	28.9	35 out of 233	15	1 out of 15	6.7
Adult-F	2 out of 10	20	4 out of 32	12.5	20 out of 232	8.6	0 out of 21	0
indet. adults	0 out of 2	0	1 out of 10	10	11 out of 91	12.1	0	na
subadults	8 out of 41	19.5	16 out of 91	17.6	38 out of 328	11.6	30 out of 44	68
total*	13 out of 64	20	32 out of 170	18.8	104 out of 878	11.8	30 out of 79	38

*(this total represents the number of burials, not individuals)

men). What was remarkably different at Cedar Grove is the number of subadults interred without any coffin hardware – the majority of them, or 68% (30 out of 44). This single measure is perhaps the greatest indication of the difference between the rural tenant farming community of Cedar Grove and the urban cash economy of Dallas.



As noted above, it was virtually impossible to obtain burial insurance for very young children. For example, according to the schedule of weekly payments of the Richmond Beneficial Insurance Company in 1905 (Table 4-11), only children aged one year or older would be issued a policy. Therefore, when death occurred in Dallas for children under age one, families had to pay out of pocket for these expenses. We know from the Loudermilk day books (as discussed above), a complete out of pocket payment for a funeral, even for ones costing over \$100, was not uncommon, with just under 1/4 of Loudermilk's black funerals funded entirely with cash paid out at the time of the funeral (see Table 5-12).

In a cash economy such as Dallas, where working men and women were paid in cash every week or at most, every two weeks, at least a small level of discretionary funds may have been available at any give time and potentially available in the event of an unexpected death. In the cash poor economy of Cedar Grove, where share cropping families had to work their lands without wages, and live on credit up to a year until a crop came through, if it did at all, an unexpected death almost certainly could not be as fully funded.

Age as a Factor in Elaborate Mortuary Display

To better understand the difference that the age-at-death of an individual can have on investment in a mortuary display, the following discussion centers on a series of age cohorts and resulting burial cost sums. Tables 4-18, 4-19, and 4-20 give the minimum, average, and maximum wholesale coffin hardware costs for subadults (in these cases, defined as 0 to circa 15 years), adult women, and adult men at Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove, while the average costs, broken down by age and sex, are graphically presented in Figures 4-10 through 4-12. Note that in the tables for Freedman's Cemetery, the age cohorts are five year intervals (e.g., 20-24.9 years), while the cost charts for the adults (Figures 4-11 and 4-12) structure the data with age cohorts by decade. This was done to better compare the Dallas burials to Cedar Grove, which has a much smaller sample size overall (N=80). In this vein, a modified age at death chart, to better match Cedar Grove's subadult demographic (due to a smaller sample size) is also presented in Figure 4-13.

Table 4-18: Summary of Estimated wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Subadults

Early Period Subadults*

# of burials	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum
5	0 to .09	\$0.01	\$0.05	\$0.10
6	.1 to .49	\$0.04	\$0.05	\$0.08
13	.50 to .99	\$0.01	\$0.14	\$0.40
8	1.0 to 1.99	\$0.01	\$0.08	\$0.20
1	2.00 to 2.99	\$0.11	\$0.11	\$0.11
3	3.00 to 5.99	\$0.00	\$0.06	\$0.12
5	6.0 to 15	\$0.01	\$0.05	\$0.08

*(excludes subadult included with Burial 422)

Middle Period Subadults

# of burials	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum
10	0 to 0.09	\$0.00	\$0.08	\$0.37
16	.1 to .19	\$0.00	\$0.79	\$3.10
16	.2 to .49	\$0.00	\$0.30	\$2.72
16	.50 to .99	\$0.01	\$1.10	\$3.25
15	1.0 to 1.99	\$0.00	\$0.63	\$3.29
8	2.00 to 2.99	\$0.08	\$1.00	\$3.20
4	3.00 to 5.99	\$0.40	\$1.35	\$4.03
5	6.0 to 15	\$0.00	\$0.98	\$3.16

Late Period Subadults*

# of burials	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum
33	0 to 0.04	\$0.00	\$0.30	\$3.37
25	0.05 to .09	\$0.00	\$0.66	\$3.51
36	.1 to .19	\$0.00	\$0.75	\$3.47
59	.2 to .49	\$0.00	\$1.04	\$7.38
55	.50 to .99	\$0.00	\$1.31	\$3.59
41	1.0 to 1.99	\$0.09	\$1.69	\$3.81
23	2.00 to 2.99	\$0.00	\$2.00	\$4.12
27	3.00 to 5.99	\$0.12	\$2.70	\$9.35
13	6.0 to 9.99	\$0.23	\$2.39	\$5.97
14	10 to 15	\$0.80	\$2.35	\$6.97

*(excludes Burial 836, with both adult female and subadult)

*(excludes Burial 141; with both adult female and subadult)

*(excludes Burial 152, exhumed by Grade All)

Cedar Grove Subadults

# of burials	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum
23	0 to .99	\$0.00	\$0.01	\$0.04
11	1.0 to 5.99	\$0.00	\$0.03	\$0.23
5	6.0 to 9.99	\$0.00	\$1.08	\$1.68
5	10 to 15	\$0.04	\$1.42	\$3.97

Table 4-19: Summary of Estimated wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Adult Women

Early Period Adult Females (1869-1884)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
3	14.5 to 19.9	\$0.06	\$0.23	\$0.42	
2	20 to 29.9	\$0.01	\$0.03	\$0.04	
4	30 to 39.9	\$0.01	\$0.13	\$0.39	
0	40 to 49.9	na	na	na	
1	50 to 60+	\$0.22	\$0.22	\$0.22	
0	20 to 60 general*	na	na	na	
Total	10	14.5 to 60+	\$0.01	\$0.15	\$0.42

Middle Period Adult Females (1885-1899)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
2	14.5 to 19.9	\$0.22	\$0.36	\$0.50	
4	20 to 29.9	\$0.18	\$0.59	\$0.87	
18	30 to 39.9	\$0.00	\$1.37	\$4.95	
4	40 to 49.9	\$0.94	\$2.45	\$4.49	
2	50 to 60+	\$0.72	\$2.31	\$3.89	
2	35 to 60*	\$0.00	\$0.00	\$0.01	
Total	32	14.5 to 60+	\$0.00	\$1.32	\$4.95

Late Period Adult Females (1900-1907)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
19	14.5 to 19.9	\$0.00	\$3.19	\$11.25	
19	20 to 24.9	\$0.00	\$3.83	\$8.81	
39	25 to 29.9	\$0.00	\$4.79	\$11.41	
52	30 to 34.9	\$0.00	\$3.32	\$8.87	
43	35 to 39.9	\$0.00	\$3.42	\$8.57	
25	40 to 44.9	\$0.00	\$3.83	\$9.39	
8	45 to 49.9	\$0.24	\$3.67	\$8.09	
7	50 to 60+	\$0.00	\$3.54	\$9.32	
20	20 to 60 general*	\$0.00	\$2.42	\$8.73	
Total	232	14.5 to 60+	\$0.00	\$3.61	\$11.41

Cedar Grove Adult Females (1900-1915)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
4	20 to 29	\$1.22	\$1.34	\$1.45	
11	30 to 39	\$0.21	\$2.05	\$4.40	
3	40 to 49	\$1.19	\$2.23	\$4.18	
3	50 to 60+	\$1.48	\$2.35	\$3.99	
Total	21	20 to 60+	\$0.21	\$1.98	\$4.40

*(the 20-60 and 35-60 age categories were assigned to those individuals that were designated as adults, but could not be more finely aged skeletally)

The average wholesale hardware cost for subadults in Freedman’s Cemetery’s three major time periods are given in Table 4-18 and Figure 4-10. The trend from birth to one year in all three time periods is one of a continual increase in the amount of money spent on a funeral, and this trend (of hardware costs incrementally increasing as age at death increases) is especially true for the turn of the century Late Period. Further, the amounts are not insignificant. For example, in the Late Period, by the time a child was three to six years of age the average amount spent on his coffin/casket hardware was equal to that spent in Dallas on adult men 40 years of age or older (Figures 4-10, 4-12). Interestingly, except for a higher than usual hardware cost for those who died between 0.5 to one year, the Middle Period exhibits a similar trend of ever increasing costs that the Late Period does, including the slight dip in mortuary displays as children move from the three to six year range, to the six to 15 year cohort.

In Freedman’s Early Period, a child’s age at death was a measurable factor in the amount expended on mortuary display, but the differences overall were slight, ranging from a low of five cents (for those at birth to half a year) to an average high of 14 cents

for those who died between half a year and one year of age (Table 4-18).

The overall trend present in the Middle and Late Periods, and even present on an incipient level for the Early, of increased investments in mortuary display as age at death increases, correlates well with two known historical facts, namely a high infant mortality and inadequate life insurance for small children (as discussed above).

Table 4-20: Summary of Estimated Wholesale Costs of Burials at Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove: Adult Men

Early Period Adult Males (1869-1884)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
1	14.5 to 19.9	\$0.41	\$0.41	\$0.41	
0	20 to 29.9	na	na	na	
5	30 to 39.9	\$0.01	\$0.11	\$0.42	
4	40 to 49.9	\$0.01	\$0.12	\$0.23	
1	50 to 60+	\$0.31	\$0.31	\$0.31	
0	20 to 60 general	na	na	na	
Total	11	14.5 to 60+	\$0.01	\$0.16	\$0.42

Middle Period Adult Males (1885-1899)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
3	14.5 to 19.9	\$0.00	\$0.47	\$1.40	
4	20 to 29.9	\$0.00	\$0.42	\$0.94	
15	30 to 39.9	\$0.00	\$0.98	\$4.32	
10	40 to 49.9	\$0.00	\$0.84	\$3.64	
2	50 to 60+	\$0.78	\$0.78	\$0.78	
4	20 to 60 general*	\$0.00	\$0.32	\$0.93	
Total	38	14.5 to 60+	\$0.00	\$0.76	\$4.32

Late Period Adult Males (1900-1907)

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum	
15	13 to 19.9	\$0.00	\$3.23	\$10.71	
6	20 to 24.9	\$1.40	\$7.49	\$10.83	
29	25 to 29.9	\$0.00	\$3.27	\$8.93	
47	30 to 34.9	\$0.00	\$3.76	\$13.38	
36	35 to 39.9	\$0.00	\$3.16	\$8.91	
41	40 to 44.9	\$0.00	\$2.96	\$10.54	
24	45 to 49.9	\$0.00	\$1.74	\$6.70	
18	50 to 60+	\$0.00	\$2.44	\$8.99	
17	20 to 60 general*	\$0.00	\$2.03	\$6.51	
Total	233	13 to 60+	\$0.00	\$3.09	\$13.38

Cedar Grove Males

#	Age Range	Minimum	Average	Maximum
1	13 to 19.9	\$1.22	\$1.22	\$1.22
2	20 to 29	\$1.58	\$2.18	\$2.77
3	30 to 39	\$1.20	\$1.42	\$1.61
7	40 to 49	\$0.00	\$1.84	\$4.02
2	50 to 60+	\$1.35	\$1.39	\$1.42
Total	15 13 to 60+	\$0.00	\$1.70	\$4.02

*(the 20-60 age category was assigned to those individuals that were designated as adults, but could not be more finely aged skeletally)

Figure 4-10: Freedman's Cemetery Subadult Hardware Costs by Time Period and Age at Death Cohorts

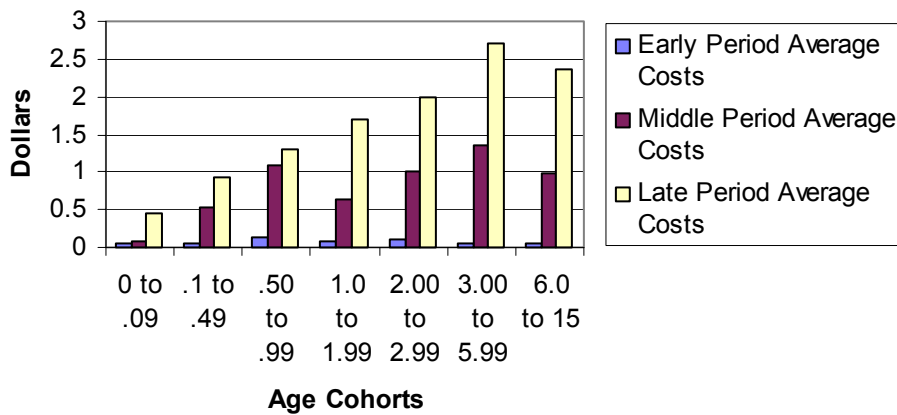


Figure 4-11: Adult Women's Average Hardware Costs by Age at Death Cohorts

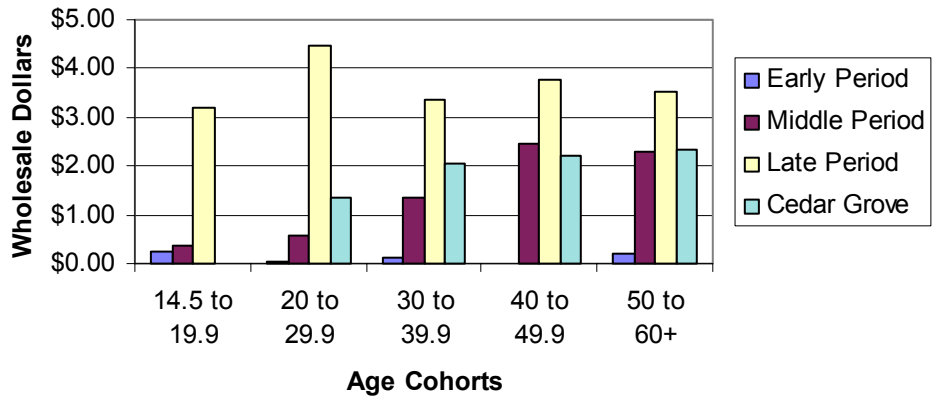
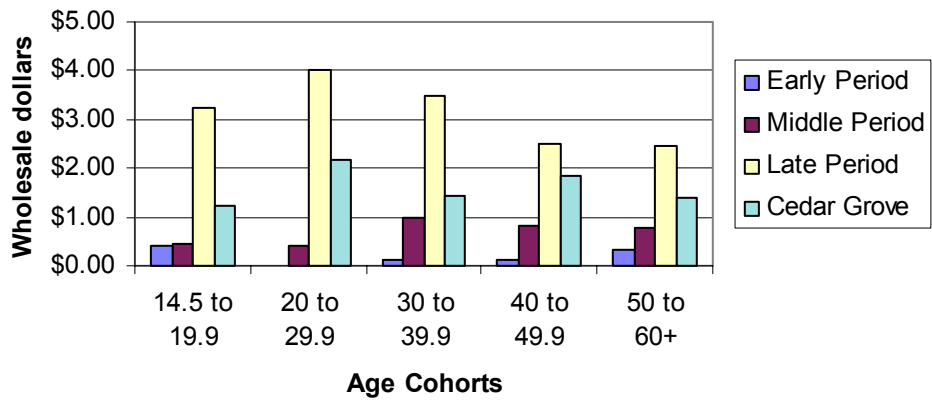
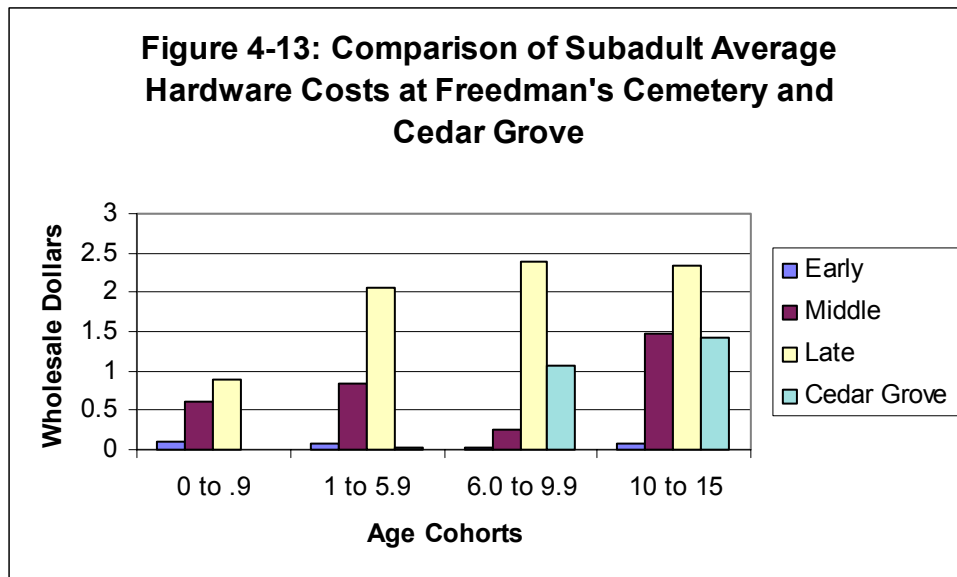


Figure 4-12: Adult Men's Average Hardware Costs by Age at Death Cohorts





Remember that for those children who died prior to one year of age, all of the mortuary display would have constituted a direct out of pocket expense, which was an expense that many in Dallas's African-American community were able and willing to pay, in order to assure a proper funeral.

The huge disparities in coffin hardware costs (or even the mere presence of any hardware at all), that was evident between subadults at Freedman's and Cedar Grove on a gross scale (Figures 4-7, 4-9), are much better understood when this monolithic group is subdivided into different ages (see Figure 4-13). As readily apparent, from the ages of birth to just under six, children received virtually no investment in mortuary display at Cedar Grove. In fact, the average hardware cost for children one year old or less in this early 20th century rural Arkansas community was just one penny (actually, just \$0.003, rounded up), compared to a ten cent investment in Dallas during the 1870s and early 1880s (Early Period), and even the 61 cents expended upon average in Dallas during the

late 1880s and 1890s (Middle Period). Freedman's Cemetery's Late Period (1900-1907), which is contemporaneous with many of the Cedar Grove burials, has an average wholesale coffin hardware cost of 90 cents, or literally 90 times that seen in Arkansas some 200 miles to the east!

For children who died between the ages of three and six, the average wholesale cost at Cedar Grove was a meager three cents, compared to the Late Period's \$2.07. Only when the individuals reach school age, or over the age of six, do they achieve some level of investment in mortuary display in rural Arkansas (6.0-9.9 years = \$1.08; 10-15 years = \$1.42) in amounts that bring them within some level of parity as that seen in Dallas's Late Period, where six to nine year olds had an average hardware cost of \$2.39, and 10 to 15 year olds could boast a similar average cost of \$2.35.

Notice in Table 4-18 that in Freedman's Late Period there are some ages of children who when they died, always had some measurable investment in mortuary display, however minimal. Specifically, ages one to two years, and all children three years of age or older, always had a minimum of coffin hardware, ranging from nine cents for the one to two years, to as high as 80 cents for those aged 10 to 15 years. At Cedar Grove, this guaranteed minimal cost was restricted to only those aged between 10 and 15 years, with a rather low minimum of just four cents (Table 4-18).

Again, parents in the rural Cedar Grove community loved their children just as much as those in Dallas's African-American community, and wanted to mark their death in rituals that showed to the best of their abilities the worth of their children and the loss these deaths created. These measures, in real dollars and cents, clearly demonstrate the

extreme poverty that the people of Cedar Grove experienced in the early 20th century. As Rose (1989) points out in a study of health trends, a series of economic disasters in the late 19th and early 20th centuries left rural communities such as Cedar Grove, never strong to begin with, in near total poverty. Beginning in 1888, a widespread decline in cotton prices impoverished a community that was only just beginning to creep towards self sufficiency and economic freedom. In 1905, the boll weevil descended on Arkansas and effectively destroyed the cotton crops for that year and diminished the crop yields for years to come (Rose 1989:356).

Because the Cedar Grove community was highly isolated, access to the safety net of death benefit insurance, as provided by mutual benefit societies or fraternal lodges, would have been logistically difficult, and the required dues, in hard earned nickels and dimes paid weekly or monthly, hard to come by. The only known lodge that could claim membership in the Cedar Grove community was the Supreme Royal Circle of Friends, or simply the Royal Circle, which was an exclusively black lodge founded in Helena, Arkansas in 1909. Of the five extant tombstones in the Cedar Grove Cemetery, dating between 1917 and 1925, all bore the symbol of the Royal Circle (Watkins 1985:12). These five burials, however, were not among those removed archaeologically, and in the excavated sample, there were no artifacts that could be identified with a known fraternal or sororital society. The excavated burials at Cedar Grove were originally, and somewhat nebulously, dated to a single 1890-1927 period (Rose 1985). This burial chronology was refined in Davidson (1996) to a single fifteen year interval of 1900-1915 that could be at least tentatively subdivided into three five year intervals. Most of the graves exhumed

archaeologically thus would pre-date the founding of the Royal Circle, and there is no artifactual or archival evidence of any active lodge, from any order, in the community prior to 1909.

Just as it was for the Early Period in Dallas, certainly poverty and a lack of accessibility to burial insurance were likely the two primary determining factors to explain the almost total lack of coffin hardware with the children and an attenuated display for the adults. There are other contributing factors. Given a rural environment, constant access to a funeral home or even a general store that had coffins, caskets, and associated hardware might have been difficult, and the choices in such cases very limited. Certainly the coffin hardware recovered at Cedar Grove revealed an extreme monotony in hardware assemblages, in terms of variety and mixing of types. The final factor may be a significant one, in understanding the underlying desire of the community; the rural Cedar Grove population was extremely isolated and not readily exposed to a greater white community, as was the case of a black Dallas surrounded and engulfed by a greater white Dallas. Perhaps engaging in competitive mortuary display, as a means of marking class or status, would have been almost entirely for internal community consumption, and rendered all but redundant in a community composed entirely of “have-nots.” The “Beautification of Death” movement may have arrived in Cedar Grove, but the status driven consumption of these same symbols was not visible. In short, they knew the rules of the game well enough, but hadn’t the economic means to play.

Just as it was for the children, a breakdown in the hardware costs for the adult men and women at Freedman’s Cemetery and Cedar Grove, by decade of birth, is also of

great interpretative benefit. In the Early Period, investment in mortuary displays for adult women was perhaps minimally influenced by age at death, with the greatest investments in the youngest (14.5 to 19 years) and the oldest (aged 50 and older), but the small sample of Early Period women, with only 10 individuals spread out over five age cohorts, makes any apparent trend tentative.

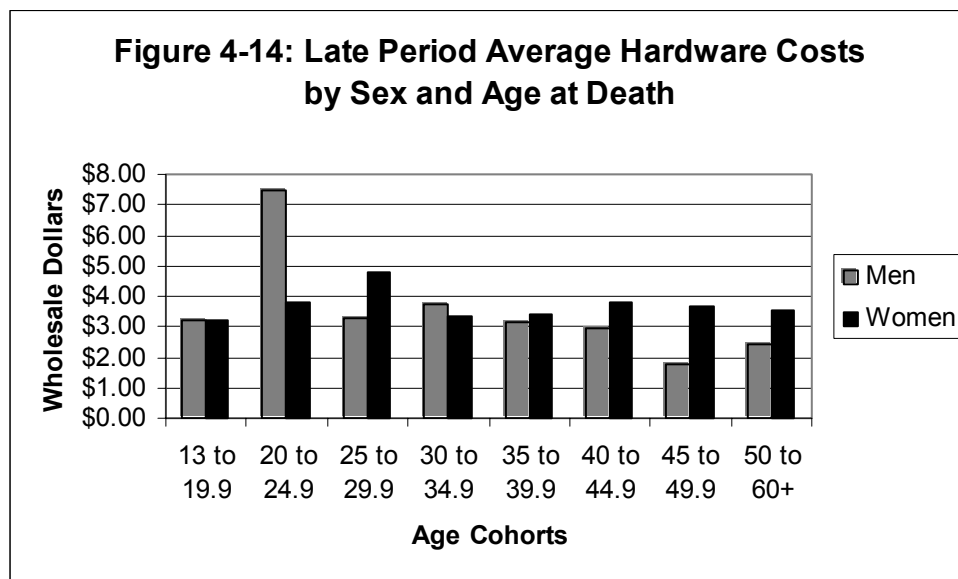
We are on much firmer footing for the Middle and Late Periods at Freedman's (see Table 4-19), where numbers of adult women are large enough for a representative sample (Middle =32; Late=232). The trend in the Middle Period is one of continuous increases in money spent on coffin hardware, from the late teens to the late 40s, with only a very slight decrease from the late 40s, to the 50s and older (from \$2.45 to \$2.31). For men in the Early Period, sample size is again a problem, with just 11 individuals subdivided into five age cohorts, but except for a single, very elaborate mortuary display for a teenager, the trend is one of increasing hardware costs, from an average cost of 11 cents for men in their 30s, and 12 cents in their 40s, to 31 cents for a single man in his 50s (or older) (see Table 4-20).

During the Middle Period at Freedman's Cemetery (i.e., 1885-1899), men have a pattern that is only vaguely similar to the women of the same time; adult males do show a moderate increase in wholesale hardware costs overall, with the average investment of 47 cents in the late teens, and 42 cents in the 20s, doubling to 98 cents for those men who died in their 30s. It is men dying in their 30s that have the highest mortuary hardware costs, on average, with a moderate decline of at most 20 cents for those dying over the age of 50 (see Table 4-20). This trend in men might be explainable by early membership

in the first black fraternal orders of the late 1870s. Older men may not have joined, or if they did join might have died before their full death benefit was reached (normally after five years), while younger men (e.g., 19, early 20s) who were also early lodge members, and who survived into their 30s, would have earned a complete death benefit, likely in the low hundreds in the 1890s.

The Late Period men and women both display a very interesting trend in burial costs. The funerals for both men and women who died in their 20s were the most elaborate, at least as measured in wholesale hardware costs (see also Tables 4-19, 4-20; Figures 4-11 and 4-12).

When the age at death is even more finely subdivided, this trend is magnified. Figure 4-14 displays Late Period men and women hardware costs in five year age at death cohorts. The differences are significant. In the men, the average cost of a mortuary



display for those dying in their late teen years was just \$3.23, which more than doubles for those dying in their early 20s, to \$7.49. This amount, as an average of wholesale hardware costs, is the highest for any age cohort among the Late Period men. For women interred during the Late Period, the highest wholesale hardware costs of any age cohort were experienced by those who died in their late 20s (an average of \$4.79), or a few years older than the men.

These amounts are significantly different than measured for any other age group. For the men, those who died in their early 20s had at least double the amount invested in their mortuary display than any other age group (see Table 4-19). For Late Period women who died in their late 20s, their hardware costs averaged around a dollar more, or approximately 20% greater than the next highest group (i.e., women in their early 20s and women in their early 40s, who each had hardware costs that averaged \$3.83).

So why is there this disparity in costs, for a single age group over all others? The most obvious explanation for this trend is that, for men in their early 20s, having joined a fraternal order at the age of 18 or 19 would at the time of their deaths have had the greatest investment in burial insurance, with the least number of dependants, such as a wife or children. Men in their late 20s, likely married with children by this stage of their life, would have had the same amount of matured death benefit insurance as those in their early 20s, but instead their hardware costs are virtually identical to those who died in their late teens. Remember that when a member of the Odd Fellows, Masons, or even the mutual benefit societies, died, a lump sum cash payment was paid out to the deceased's family, to be used in any way they saw fit. Given no other expenses, debts, or

dependants to care for, all or virtually all of this cash payment could be directed towards the funeral, coffin, and its trimmings. With those men dying in their late 20s, a measurably smaller portion of this total sum could go into the funeral event; some of the money no doubt would have been spent instead on rent, food, and other expenses of daily living and never even entered the grave.

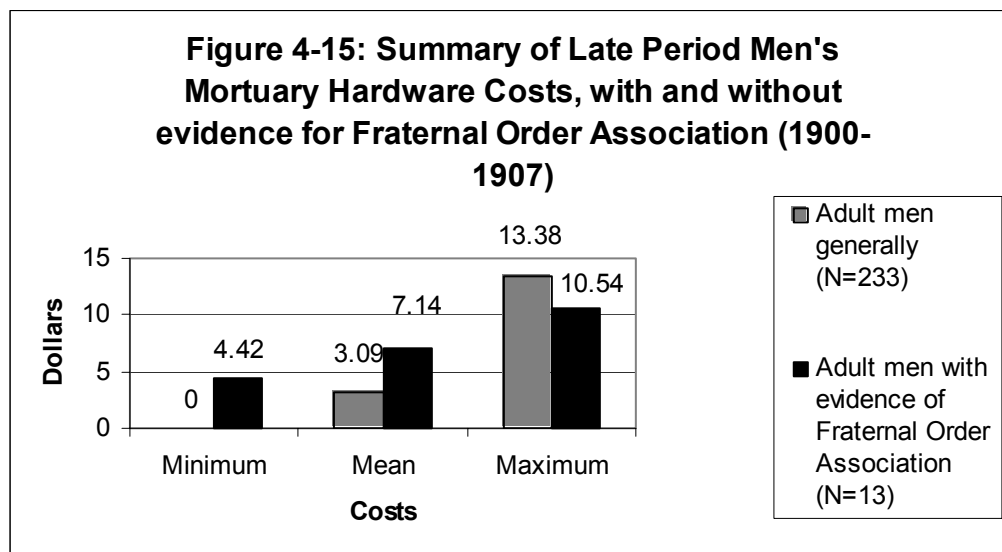
This interpretation is bolstered by knowledge of the local archival record. From the Loudermilk, Peoples, and even the Ed C. Smith funeral day books, it is quite evident that African-Americans in Dallas did not use up every penny of death benefits provided by fraternal lodges in the purchase of elaborate mortuary displays. If the maximum benefit was \$400 or \$500 (as documented above; see also Table 5-10), and membership in more than two or even three lodges paid out two or three times that amount (i.e., \$1000 to \$1500), the funerals in Dallas just don't approach these levels. In the Loudermilk day books dating from 1902 through 1907, the average total cost of a black funeral with burial insurance was \$93.18, and the most elaborate funeral overseen by Loudermilk was \$244.00. In the Peoples Day book from 1907-1910, the average funeral cost with insurance was \$80.69, and the most expensive was \$315.00 (see Table 4-7).

This trend, documented both archaeologically and archivally, directly contradicts the 1927 study conducted by the Atlanta Urban League (discussed above). In 1927, Atlanta ministers were asked why so many African-Americans had expensive funerals. They replied that, "People have expensive funerals because they belong to different lodges and instead of using the money in different ways they spend it all for the funeral. There also seems to be a tradition among the poor that money left by the dead is tabooed

and that, as far as possible, all of the insurance money left by the deceased should be spent on the funeral” (Gebhart 1928:126-127).

Certainly the positive effects of insurance from fraternal orders can be measured in the burials themselves. Table 4-9 lists the 17 burials excavated at Freedman’s Cemetery that had artifacts indicative of membership in the Odd Fellows, Knights of Pythias, Masons, or other fraternal societies. Of these, 16 were dated to the Late Period, or between 1900-1907.

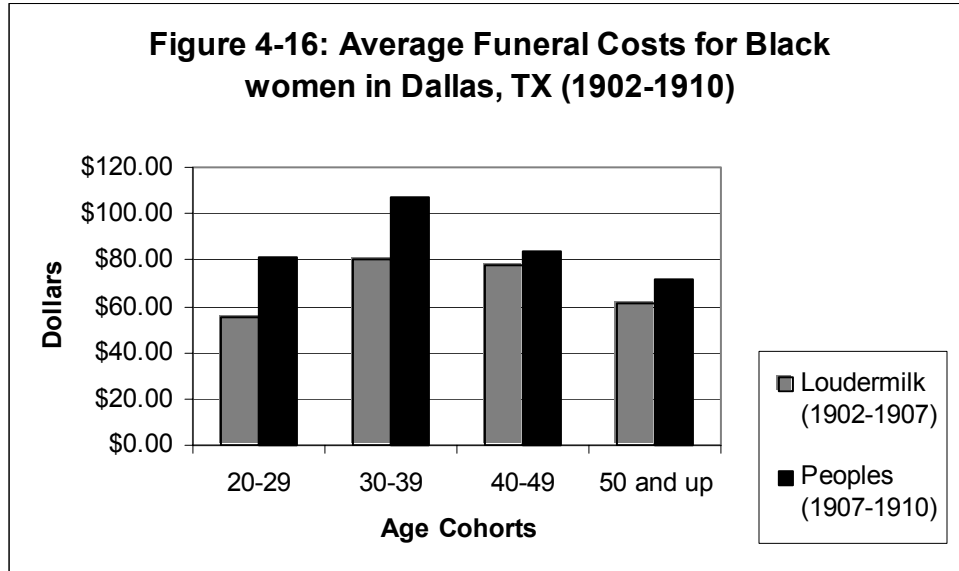
The overall wholesale hardware costs of these Late Period fraternal order burials are given in Figure 4-15, and compared to the costs of Late Period men generally. Certainly the minimum costs are significant, with 15% of all Late Period men interred in a pauper’s grave, in contrast to the minimum fraternal order burials, of \$4.42, which actually ranks higher than all average costs (in the five year age cohorts) save for those dying in their early 20s (Table 4-20). The average costs of the Late Period fraternal order

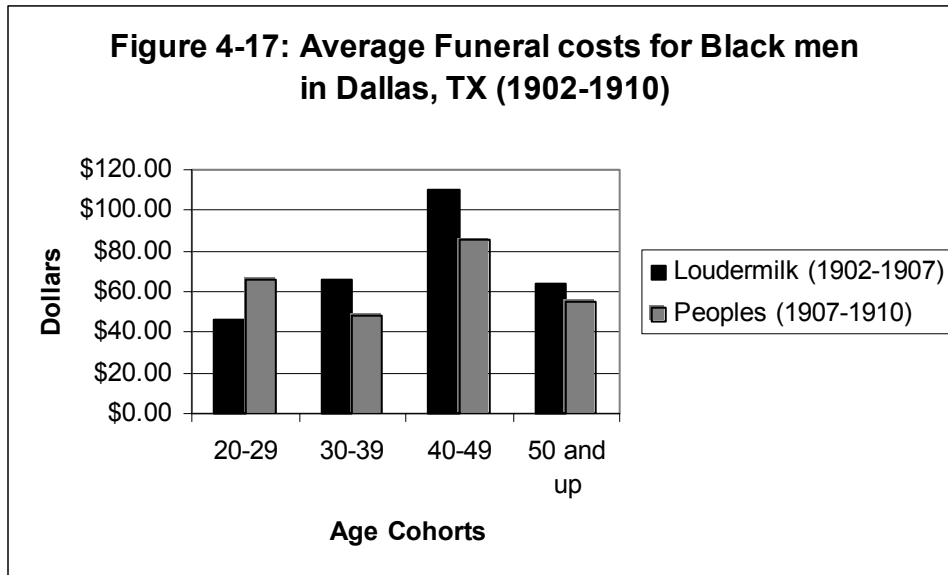


burials, at \$7.14, is over twice as much as the average wholesale hardware costs for the Late Period men generally.

Cost Trend Comparisons between the Archaeological and the Archival

This analysis and discussion of the wholesale costs of coffin hardware, as measurable in the burials at Freedman’s Cemetery in Dallas, have been revealing on several levels. But how do these archaeologically defined trends match up with those known archivally. As calculated from the G. W. Loudermilk and Peoples Undertaking Co day books, spanning 1902 through 1910, the total funeral costs of men and women, arranged by decade of death, are presented in Tables 4-21 and 4-22, and Figures 4-16 through 4-17.





In both the Loudermilk and Peoples records, and with both genders, there is one consistent pattern present – an increase in funeral costs beginning in the 20s, with a peak, and a resulting decline in these same costs. The consistency in both sets of records and with both men and women is remarkable. What does differ is when the peak occurs. For

Table 4-21: Total Funeral Costs for All Adult Women with known ages at death (18 and older)

Peoples Undertaking Co Day Book No. 1: 1907-1910

# of individuals	Age cohort	minimum cost	average cost	maximum cost
4	18 to 19.9	\$35.00	\$45.00	\$51.00
22	20 to 29	\$23.00	\$80.77	\$186.00
6	30 to 39	\$44.00	\$106.92	\$180.00
16	40 to 49	\$0.00	\$83.69	\$245.00
17	50 and older	\$20.00	\$71.41	\$115.00

G. W. Loudermilk Day Books: 1902-1907

# of individuals	Age cohort	minimum cost	average cost	maximum cost
25	20-29	\$21.50	\$55.50	\$152.00
16	30-39	\$35.00	\$80.25	\$244.00
14	40-49	\$47.50	\$78.00	\$198.50
16	50 and older	\$15.00	\$61.53	\$185.00

Table 4-22: Total Funeral Costs for All Adult Men with known ages at death (20 and older)

Peoples Undertaking Co Day Book No. 1: 1907-1910

# of individuals	Age cohort	minimum cost	average cost	maximum cost
7	20 to 29	\$0.00	\$65.43	\$126.00
5	30 to 39	\$25.00	\$48.20	\$101.00
6	40 to 49	\$0.00	\$85.74	\$241.00
9	50 and up	\$25.00	\$54.78	\$100.00

G. W. Loudermilk Day Books: 1902-1907

# of individuals	Age cohort	minimum cost	average cost	maximum cost
13	20-29	\$25.00	\$46.69	\$95.00
11	30-39	\$15.00	\$66.20	\$156.00
9	40-49	\$27.50	\$109.83	\$184.00
15	50 and up	\$27.00	\$63.70	\$202.50

African-American men, the most expensive funerals occur with men who are dying in their 40s; for black women, the peak occurs a decade earlier, for those dying in their 30s. The disparity in funeral costs can be significant, with literally more than twice as much, or over \$50 in difference, depending upon what age you are when you died.

So does this pattern, observed archivally, match that seen in the wholesale hardware costs in Freedman's Late Period? Compare Figures 4-16 and 4-17, which

depict average total funeral costs with the archaeologically derived Late Period sample (measuring wholesale coffin hardware costs) in Figures 4-11 and 4-12. The trend established for the men in Freedman's Late Period is similar overall, but the peak in elaborate mortuary display comes in those dying in their 20s – not in their 40s as observed in the archival sample. So the overall trend is essentially the same, but the timing of the peak in investment is off by two decades. For the women, the pattern is only vaguely similar. The most elaborate funerals in the day books were for those women dying in their 30s, while the burials with the highest coffin hardware costs in the Late Period were for those women dying in the 20s, a decade off in ages at death. Further, the Late Period women's average hardware costs do not continue to decline for those dying in their 30s, 40s, and 50s. Instead, the overall costs do not differ very much for these age cohorts (as much as 42 cents, to as little as 25 cents).

Why should there be any discrepancies between the archaeological and archival? In part, sample size is a fundamental problem. Although the funeral costs and ages at death given in the day books are relative absolutes, their total sample size is actually much smaller than the archaeological. The number of adult women in the Late Period burial sample is 232, which is nearly twice the number (or 41%) of the day book sample (Peoples = 65; Loudermilk = 71). The number of men with known ages in the funeral home day books is a paltry 75 individuals, which is dwarfed by the number of men in the Late Period at Freedman's Cemetery (N= 233), a number three times greater than the archival record (see Tables 4-21, 4-22).

Additionally, only a small portion of the funerals in the day book archival sample

were actually interred in Freedman's Cemetery. Only 34 out of the 71 women in the Loudermilk sample were interred in Freedman's Cemetery; for the men, 26 of 48 were interred in Freedman's. Of the Peoples day book, out of the 96 adults with known ages at death, only 3 women were interred at Freedman's Cemetery. As will be documented in Chapter 6, the place of interment can have a large determining factor in funeral costs, with those buried at Freedman's Cemetery usually displaying less elaborate funerals overall during the Late Period.

One final mitigating factor in the differences in the archival and archaeological patterns must be recognized – the day books represent only a subset of the total African-American population interred in Freedman's Cemetery. George W. Loudermilk and Peoples Undertaking Company both presided over funerals of paying customers only. The significant number of pauper burials that were interred during the Late Period by James Dunn, Broussard, Beard & Co., and Patrick Donovan (see above and also Davidson 1999a), are well represented in the archaeological burial sample, but not accounted for at all in the day books. In the final analysis, the general economic trends defined archaeologically are internally consistent and for the Late Period especially, based on an excellent and direct comparative (i.e., the 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co. catalogue) that is difficult to criticize. The basic trends defined archivally from the funeral day books, of a rise and fall of funeral costs for men and women and dependant upon age at death, are broadly comparable to the Freedman's burial data, but differ most pointedly in the timing and severity of the trend.

Intersite Cost Comparisons

Thus far in the cost analysis, the burials exhumed from Freedman's Cemetery have been compared diachronically, using the site's three major time periods (i.e., Early, Middle, and Late). Additionally, a rural but socially similar burial sample derived from the Cedar Grove Cemetery (Rose 1985; Davidson 1996), located in southwest Arkansas, was used as a primary comparative to Freedman's Late Period. In this way, it was possible to chart how Dallas's African-American community emerged out of slavery in 1865 and relatively quickly began climbing the economic ladder, along the way applying some of this newly acquired capital to embellish the death experience of their deceased loved ones in an increasingly elaborate manner. By the time of Freedman's Late Period, or 1900 to 1907, it was clear that the majority of Dallas's African-American community had achieved some level of economic stability, and had created an infrastructure of fraternalism within their society that materially contributed to their ability to purchase elaborate funerals. The differences in mortuary displays between the Early and Middle Periods were great, but the gulf that separated the Late Period from the Early Period was vast indeed (see Figure 4-7). This remarkable achievement, occurring in just 15 or 20 years, was made all the clearer by comparing Freedman's Late Period burials to the 80 individuals interred in the rural community of Cedar Grove, lying some 200 miles to the east of Dallas. Cedar Grove was composed principally of share-cropping families, cultivating cotton and other commodities (Rose 1985).

The burials in the Cedar Grove Cemetery had mortuary displays, as measured in coffin hardware costs, that lay somewhere between the Middle and Late Periods in terms

of elaborateness and expense, suggesting that even if their desire for elaborate mortuary displays was equitable to that experienced in Dallas, their socioeconomic level and ability to fulfill these same desires was much less. As a counterpoint to Dallas's decidedly urban African-American population, the rural farming community Cedar Grove is invaluable, and since both Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove are African-American cemeteries, we have a rare opportunity to examine what consequences and benefits can be derived from these two different economic environments, which still were composed of extremely similar social groups that shared a common experience and belief system. But how do the economic trends defined at these two cemeteries compare to Euroamerican burials of the same time period? To partially address this question, Freedman's Cemetery will be compared to three white cemeteries: the Vardeman Cemetery (Davidson 2004d) and the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries (Davidson 2004c).

The Vardeman Cemetery, located in rural Kentucky, was an affluent private family cemetery that was in use between 1831 and 1944 (Davidson 2004d). My analysis of the Vardeman Cemetery was the first application of the basic cost analysis schema that was later formulated here for Freedman's Cemetery and Cedar Grove, and the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries near Fort Smith, Arkansas (Davidson 2004c). A total of 69 interments were exhumed from the Vardeman Cemetery. In a burial chronology created by the author, these 69 graves were assigned to 1 of 4 broadly defined time periods – "Pre-1900" (N=42), and three circa 1900 or later temporal intervals: Group 1 Burials (1900-1905; N=6), Group 2 Burials (1900-1920; N=10), and Group 3 Burials (1915-

1950; N=11). The Freedman's Middle Period will be compared to the admittedly broad "Pre-1900" burial grouping, while the Late Period at Freedman's Cemetery will be directly compared to the Vardeman Group 1 and Group 2 post 1900 time periods.

Two additional cemeteries that will be used as comparatives are the Eddy and Becky Wright Cemeteries, excavated in the fall of 2001 by the Arkansas Archeological Survey. The Eddy and Wright Cemeteries were small, rural, Euroamerican burial grounds, and are contemporaneous, dating to the circa 1870 to 1900 time period. Finally, the two sites were less than two miles apart from one another.

The Eddy Cemetery began as a family burying place for the family of Samuel Eddy, who purchased the property in 1873. Although it was expanded to include others not related to the Eddy's by blood, it remained a private burial ground for a single family and later, related individuals. The Becky Wright Cemetery had a very different origin; the property on which it was located began as a Methodist Camp Meeting Ground. This meeting ground was founded in 1854, although it is believed that the first burial began some time later; with the earliest marked grave dating to 1873. The ten individuals who came to be buried there were not seemingly related in any real way; certainly none of the marked graves reveal any blood or marriage ties. Burial here may have been based on religious affiliation, but strangers or people with no other place for interment might also have found it in the Wright Cemetery. The total number of graves was similar; with 16 at the Eddy Cemetery, and 10 at the Wright. Each site had a handful of commercial tombstones; five at the Eddy Cemetery, and three at the Wright. Both the Eddy and Becky Wright Cemeteries will be compared to Freedman's Middle Period, since most of

the burials at these two Arkansas cemeteries date from circa 1880 to circa 1900.

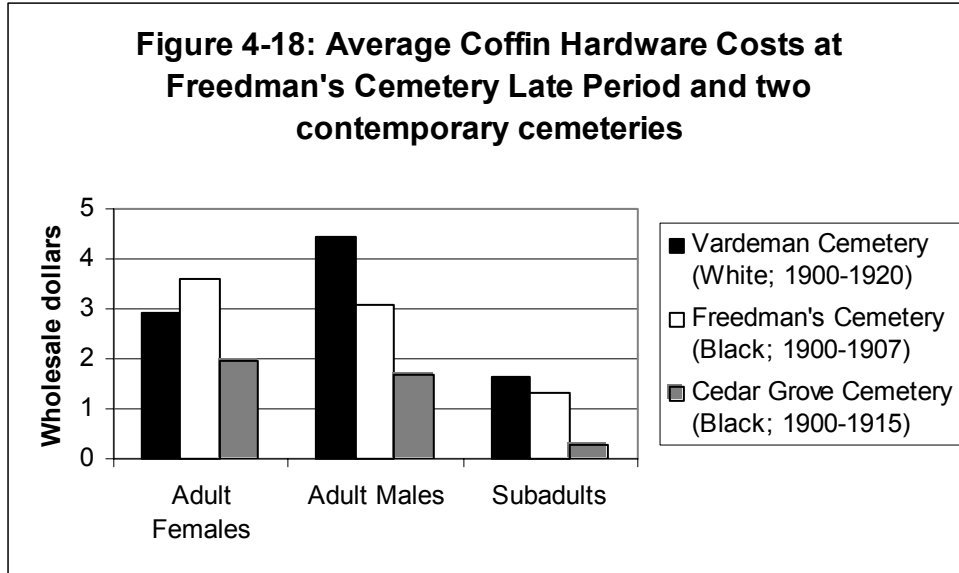
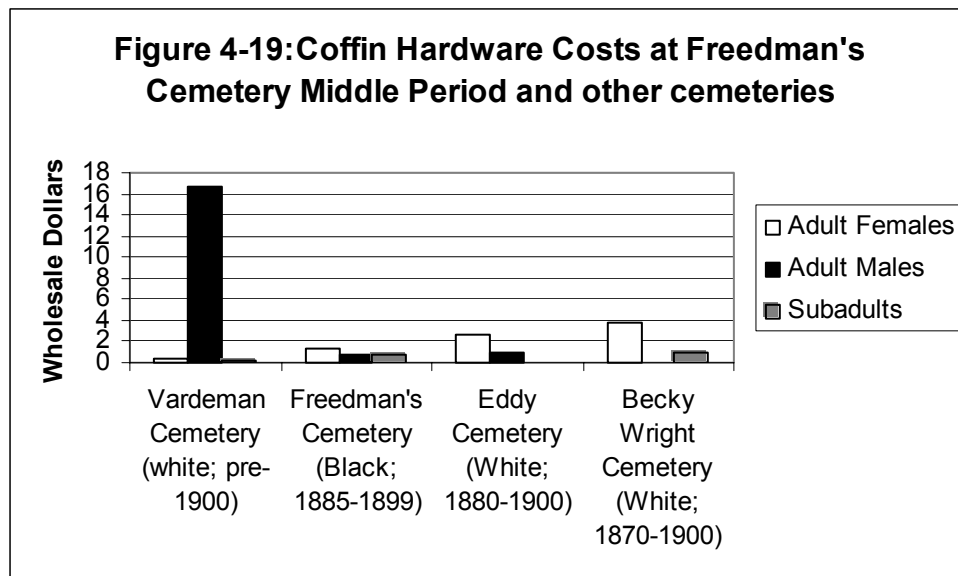


Figure 4-18 gives the average wholesale coffin hardware costs of Freedman’s Late Period (1900-1907), and compares these costs to a combined sample of Groups 1 and 2 from the Vardeman Cemetery (circa 1900-1920), subdivided by gender and gross age and death (i.e., Adult males, Adult females, and subadults). The average hardware costs of Cedar Grove Cemetery are also given. The results are revealing, perhaps most fundamentally in the cost disparities by gender. White men at the Vardeman Cemetery in Kentucky, an affluent family graveyard, had much higher average hardware costs than the women from Vardeman, which is a reversal of a trend that was consistent for the Middle and Late Periods at Freedman’s Cemetery, and additionally for Cedar Grove, where women always had somewhat higher average costs than men.

This trend, apparent in the 1900-1920 burials from Vardeman is especially high in

the “Pre-1900” sample. Figure 4-19 charts the average wholesale coffin hardware costs for Freedman’s Middle Period (1885-1899), and compares them to the “Pre-1900 Burials” from Vardeman, and the Eddy and Becky Wright Cemeteries, all of which are white Euroamerican grave yards and broadly contemporary to the Middle Period in Dallas.



At the rural Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries near Fort Smith, Arkansas, the trend established at Freedman’s Cemetery, of women displaying the highest average hardware costs, is played out with similar price levels. The Vardeman Cemetery, in contrast, still holds to a much higher display for men than for women.

The archaeologically defined economic trends in the burials from Freedman’s Cemetery, with women exhibiting, on average, higher burial costs in the Middle and Late Periods, seems to stand at odds with the conclusions of several studies previously discussed above, such as James Garman’s analysis of 18th century African-American

gravestones in Rhode Island (1994). In part, Garman compared the relative sizes of grave stones of black men, women and children, to white men, women, and children, for three time periods. He reasoned that stone size is likely commensurate with relative cost of the stone. By the time that most blacks had achieved emancipation in the state, or the 1800-1830 time period (Garmon 1994:80-82), there was an essentially one to one correspondence between black and white tombstones, with men having the largest stones, adult women with somewhat smaller stones, and with children having the smallest stones of all.

Additionally, S. J. Kleinberg's (1977) study of mortuary behavior among the white working class of 19th century Pittsburgh found that adult men had the most elaborate mortuary displays and commensurate costs were invested. Kleinberg argued that this was due to the belief that as the primary earners for the household, men were perceived as having greater social positions relative to adult women (Kleinberg 1977).

These trends are consistently inverted at Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, and even at the rural Cedar Grove Cemetery in Arkansas. Women, not men, are the ones who on average, have consistently higher investments in mortuary display, at least as measured in wholesale coffin hardware costs. And these differences are not insignificant. In the Middle Period at Freedman's (or between 1885-1899), women as a group average a wholesale cost nearly twice that of men (see Table 4-16). In the turn of the century Late Period, the differences were less pronounced, but still significant (women's costs were 52 cents or some 15 % greater than the men). At Cedar Grove, the differences in cost by gender were similar to the Late Period in Dallas (28 cents or approximately 15%).

In fact, of the most elaborate and expensive individual mortuary displays of the Middle and Late Periods, and at Cedar Grove, only during the Late Period was a man's greater (\$13.38) than a woman's (\$11.41).

Perhaps this inversion of the usual pattern can in part be traced to the realities of late 19th and early 20th century life, where black women were very commonly employed outside the home, and in many cases were on record as the "head of household" in federal census enumerations. Specifically, during the time of Reconstruction and into the late 1870s, a great deal of animosity was focused upon freedmen by the white majority, likely to the point of excluding many from obtaining or keeping jobs within Dallas (Smallwood 1981). This supposition seems borne out by the 1870 Federal Census manuscript for Dallas. Under the heading of occupation, Smith (1985) found that most African-American men had blank entries. Smith gives three scenarios to explain the lack of stated occupations for African-American males; unemployment, unskilled labor, or carelessness on the part of the enumerator. Importantly, during this same time period African-American women, as a whole, were an exception to the lack of employment within the African-American community. Rather, black women were employed quite commonly as domestics, cooks, and nursemaids in the homes of wealthy whites, as well as domestic and commercial laundresses (Smith 1985).

Additionally, due to the social instability experienced during Reconstruction and for years beyond (with the separation of families and all too common death of husbands), over 30% of African-American women recorded in the 1880 Federal Census were enumerated as heads of households. Thus as much as a third of all African-American

women in Dallas were single parents, faced with the heavy burden of both raising a family and providing in the process, clothing, food and shelter (Engerrand 1978). Is it no wonder, then, that in death black women in Dallas were afforded burial treatments that were commonly reserved for men in other circumstances and social settings?

Even more interesting is the trend that age at death played in gauging how elaborate mortuary displays would be. In the Middle Period, there was an ever increasing level of expenditure on mortuary display from the late teens to the 40s, with only a very slight decline for those women dying after the age of 50. This likely goes hand in hand with black women's larger role in society, as a participant in the greater economy outside the home (i.e., as a wage earner), and the rise of sororital insurance in the 1880s providing an increasing safety net for death benefits (see Figure 4-11). The trend of women's costs by age at death in the following Late Period differs, however, with the greatest amount of wealth expended on mortuary display occurring with women in their 20s, specifically in their late 20s, with those women dying in their 30s or later exhibiting lesser costs overall.

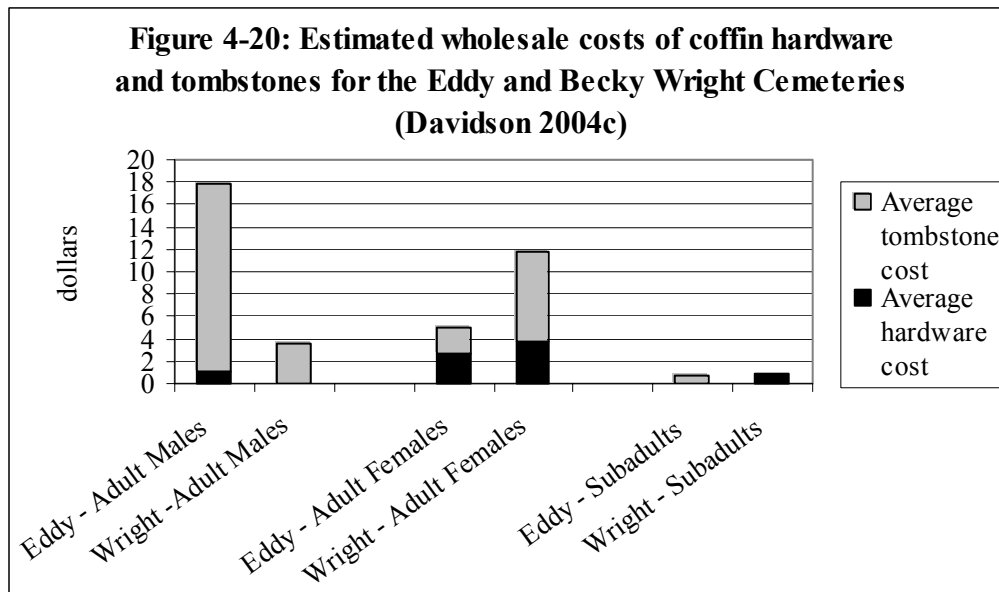
This peak in mortuary investment for women dying in their late 20s might be interpreted as a desire on the part of family and society to especially honor those women who were young mothers and perceived as especially symbolic of family and fertility. This possibility is more compelling when one considers the trend in the day book sample of total funeral costs (Figure 4-16). The highest funeral costs are for those women dying in their 30s, with a significant drop off in funeral costs for those dying in their 40s and later. This drop off seemingly corresponds with an ever decreasing fertility. Alternative

arguments lack the same correspondence with the known parameters of fraternal insurance, combined with the demands of family and dependant children. Young women, in their 20s would have been bearing the most children statistically due to their high fertility, but paradoxically have the highest mortuary displays, belying the argument made for the men (see above), that funeral insurance money would have been siphoned off to pay for the costs of everyday living (food, clothing, rent, etc), leaving less money available for elaborate funerals – not more – as measured archaeologically.

Conclusions

Overall, the similarity in costs between Freedman’s Cemetery and the two rural Arkansas cemeteries during the Middle Period (Figure 4-19), and between Freedman’s Late Period and the white Vardeman Cemetery (Figure 4-18), strongly suggests that, at least as measured in coffin hardware alone, African-Americans in Dallas were functionally competent and achieving levels of investment in mortuary displays that were broadly comparable to whites, at least in rural areas.

The caveat here is that while there is an *apparent* parity of costs in coffin hardware investment and presumably in the burial container and funeral costs as a whole (see above for caveats for these assumptions), what is not being measured are investments in above ground mortuary displays, such as commercial stone markers. Figure 4-20 illustrates the wholesale coffin hardware costs, as summed by gender and age at death, for the Eddy and Becky Wright Cemeteries in Arkansas.



This graph differs from previous measures, however, with the addition of the estimated costs of associated tombstones. From the coffin hardware alone, women interred in the Eddy Cemetery had seemingly greater overall investments in mortuary display, but when the above ground tombstones are added to the equation, the balance is instead tipped towards the men, with a 1/3 greater overall economic investment. In the Becky Wright Cemetery, even with the addition of the tombstones as a variable, women still have a greater overall mortuary investment, but the ratios have been altered and brought into a greater overall parity.

The addition of commercial grave markers introduces a variable that has not been previously considered in this study, since in the case of Freedman’s Cemetery, that aspect of the Death Experience is all but lost to us. Tombstones had been present in Freedman’s, although as described in period accounts (see Chapter 2; e.g., *Dallas Times*

Herald September 24, 1906) they were not the predominant form of burial marker.

Whatever the total number of tombstones were originally, we know that in the early 1920s all of the gravestones were dragged from their former locations marking individual graves, broken up, and used as fill to form the road bed during the initial construction of old Lemmon (later called Calvary) Avenue in a deliberate and racist act.

From period descriptions and from archaeological evidence, the predominant marker form at Freedman's Cemetery was not commercial tombstones, but rather wooden slabs (perhaps at times in the form of wooden crosses), as well as any number of vernacular grave markers, such as glass bottles, broken plates, and various kind of salt and freshwater shell.

As outlined in Chapter 1, in this work there are two simultaneously complimentary and opposite attributes of the burials exhumed from Freedman's Cemetery at play – the commercial and the “home made” vernacular, the mainstream (i.e., white derived) and the alternative or African derived. Both operated simultaneously in the community. The mainstream and commercial has been the primary topic of discussion in this chapter; the white created Beautification of Death movement, and the black community's participation in this movement, was measured here through the cost calculation of mass produced coffin hardware.

Again, as stated in Chapter 1, both aspects of the grave can be viewed through the lens of resistance. In the case of the commercial coffin or casket and associated hardware, it is a resistance that takes place within the dominant ideology, played by a set of rules that African-Americans could not entirely define for themselves, but the code for

which they could and did crack to a remarkable extent. Although regrettably the white cemetery dug archaeologically in Dallas, the Pioneer Cemetery, could not have coffin hardware cost calculations generated for it, due to a lack of proper documentation (see Cooper et al. 2000), from what is discernable from the resulting report of investigations, the material culture of coffin hardware is consistent in style and cost to that interred in Freedman's Cemetery at the very same time.

Certainly many of the conclusions derived from this cost analysis could have been obtained from the archival record, when available. But specifically for Dallas, the extant records, such as the Loudermilk and Peoples day books, are far from complete, and in some fundamental ways do not correspond with what was discovered archaeologically. Arguably, the greatest strength in the Freedman's burial data is that it does not end with these simple cost measures, however compelling some of the resulting trends have been. Through the burials, we can simultaneously examine those elements of burial ritual that did not have an economic correlate easily recorded in "official" records. Chapter 5 will examine the vernacular burial practices that commonly occurred within the burials at Freedman's Cemetery and elsewhere, primarily in the form of grave inclusions. Statistically speaking, relatively few families chose to act out these rituals, but in a community numbering, by the turn of the century, in the literal thousands, who were they?

“You must not think that just because you do not find anything on those graves that the relatives did not put some things in there. It is most likely that they have a number of things buried with the body. I have often, at the burials I have conducted, seen the relatives pour hamper baskets of things right down on top of the coffin before the dirt is shoveled into the grave.”

An observation made by an African-American minister in the Georgia Sea Islands in 1939 (Lawton 1939, as cited in Creel 1988:317).

CHAPTER 5

The Socioreligious Realm: Spirituality as Resistance

Introduction

As documented in Chapter 4, elaborate mortuary display can be seen as an expression of the desire for mainstream life and aspirations of equality — community salvation through consumerism, as in the work of Paul Mullins (1999a; 2001). Certainly Dallas’s African-American community made great strides economically after the Civil War, forming a stable working class and a small middle class. Even if the mass produced coffin trimmings, the costs of which were the principal aspect of Chapter 4, can be argued to be a measure of open compliance to the hegemony of the elite, there was an alternative to these symbols of the dominant that were employed in the graves in Dallas. As some elements of Dallas’s African-American community were buying into the middle class dream (in part, as demonstrated through elaborate funerals for their loved ones), there was another aspect of mortuary behavior that was definitely not within the

American (read white) mainstream — spirituality as expressed largely through African derived belief systems.

The serious consideration of African-American life and culture began in earnest in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Much of this early work focused upon the basic documentation of living practices or folk beliefs (e.g., Puckett 1926; Jackson 1967; Hurston 1995). Out of these miscellaneous collections and observations of African-American culture came two differing perspectives or interpretations, most sharply formulated by two men: Melville J. Herskovits and E. Franklin Frazer.

A student of Franz Boas, Herskovits spent most of his career in anthropology studying African and African-American culture. Herskovits' early work was in physical anthropology, where he (like Boas before him) set about disproving racist notions of a biologically based African inferiority. He even went so far, in an essay published in 1925, to assert that there were no *biological* or *cultural* differences between whites and blacks in the United States (Beamon 2001:44-47), the latter statement he later rejected in his most groundbreaking work, *The Myth of the Negro Past* (1990; originally published in 1941). Here, Herskovits argued persuasively that many elements of African culture did take root in the New World among generations of enslaved peoples, and that some of these beliefs were still retained in America at the time of his writing in the late 1930s and 1940s. These residual elements of African culture were termed "Africanisms" (Herskovits 1990). In stark opposition to this belief was Frazer, who instead believed that due to the trauma and brutality of the Middle Passage and generations of slavery, African belief systems and other customs were not retained by African-Americans

(Frazer 1963). It is now accepted that Herskovits was essentially correct in his assessment; many core elements of African beliefs did survive the horrors of the Middle Passage and slavery (Mintz and Price 1996). Interestingly, in his study of “The Negro Church,” W.E.B. DuBois (1903) had delineated what became Herskovits central premise, some 40 years prior to the publication of *The Myth of the Negro Past* (DuBois 1903:5);

At first sight it would seem that slavery completely destroyed every vestige of spontaneous social movement among the Negroes; the home had deteriorated; political authority and economic initiative was in the hands of the masters, property, as a social institution, did not exist on the plantation, and indeed, it is usually assumed by historians and sociologists that every vestige of internal development disappeared leaving the slaves no means of expression for their common life, thought and striving.

This is not strictly true; the vast power of the Priest in the African State has already been noted; his realm alone – the province of religion and medicine – remained largely unaffected by the plantation system in many important particulars. The Negro Priest, therefore, early became an important figure on the plantation and found his function as the interpreter of the supernatural, the comforter of the sorrowing, and the one who expressed, rudely, but picturesquely, the longing and disappointment and resentment of a stolen people.

With the publication of *The Myth of the Negro Past*, black scholars and intellectuals, who had embraced Herskovits and his writings in the past, more often than not opposed him on the grounds that such beliefs, labeled as “primitive” and “superstitious” in the 19th century, had been used as a rationale for racist attacks and the justification for the solidification of Jim Crows nationally, and that to emphasize these same African derived elements of culture in the 20th century would actually do more harm than good (Beamon 2001:45-46). The entire debate – of the presence or absence, celebration or shame of so called Africanisms that took place in the first half of the 20th century, oddly, seemed to recapitulate the same choices that individuals within black

society of the 19th and early 20th centuries made during the course of their lives.

That is the heart of the matter, the essential core of this chapter, for there were African derived practices, customs and beliefs that were acted out in the Death Experience, in Dallas and throughout the United States. But who within Black Dallas practiced these traditional beliefs, and who did not? Beyond the core beliefs inherent behind them, what were the motivations of those who interred a white ware plate in a coffin, and why was the tradition, widely known throughout all elements of black society, not practiced by individuals from all levels of social class? These questions, and others, will be asked and answered in turn, but first, a brief history of these practices, and something of their origins.

African Burial Practices

Traditional burial practices in Western and Central Africa of the 15th through early 19th centuries were as varied as the cultures and peoples who observed them. And it was this myriad of cultures, languages, and belief systems that were brought over in the slaving ships, carried by enslaved Africans to the Americas. Many of these practices were never documented, and major aspects were almost certainly lost (Mintz and Price 1992).

One means to recover aspects of these lost or fragmented belief systems is through archaeology. Few excavations of burials in Africa from this period, however, have been conducted. One notable exception is Christopher Decorse's work at the African settlement of Elmina, in Ghana. Elmina was an African settlement prior to

European contact, but later was expanded and became the Dutch headquarters in the Gold Coast until the region was ceded to the British in 1872 (DeCorse 1992). Around 200 burials dating from the 1400s to 1873 were excavated. Although formal cemeteries that lie outside of towns exist in Ghana today, burials from this period were instead made almost without exception within house floors. One late 19th and early 20th century account of burial practices in the interior of West Africa (modern day Gabon), still documented this practice; placement of graves was not in formal cemeteries, but more often “... in the street, or in the garden, and sometimes even beneath the earthen floor of the house” (Milligan 1912:150).

Coffins were apparently not used at Elmina (and the settlement was abandoned in 1873); instead bodies were wrapped in a specially prepared cloth and placed directly in the grave shaft. Grave goods, such as *forowa* (ritual vessels made from European sheet brass), beads, ceramics, and tobacco pipes were commonly recovered archaeologically. One 17th century historical account, from the Dutch merchant De Marees, describes the types of grave inclusions, and his belief of the motivations behind them; “All his goods, such as clothes, weapons, Pots, Pans, Stools, Spades and similar chattels which he had used during his lifetime, are brought to the Grave, buried with him and put around the (the body in) the Grave, so as to serve him in the other World in the same way as they did during his life on earth” (DeMarees 1602:182 , as cited in DeCorse 1992:183-185).

Documented burials of people of African ancestry in the Americas, dating prior to the early 19th century, are very rare. The earliest of these, and which have very clear African analogues, are the mortuary studies of enslaved Africans from the Caribbean.

Four burials dating from circa 1720-1750, were excavated in Jamaica in the 1990s (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003). These burials are some of the earliest excavated in the New World, and in some ways bear the greatest correspondence with known West African burials of the 14th through early 19th century. According to Armstrong and Fleischman (2003; citing Brathwaite 1971:216), prior to the 1780s, enslaved Africans in Jamaica were indirectly allowed to practice elements of their native spiritual belief systems, including mortuary practices. These same practices were later suppressed by the British, in part because it was increasingly believed that funerals were being used to plan slave revolts. Perhaps the most distinctive of these practices was the placement of graves not in formal cemeteries, but in the floors of houses or within individual house yards.

Of the 4 burials excavated by Armstrong and Fleischman, all were placed in the floors of individual houses or within the yards of these homes. Further, each of the 4 burials was accompanied by unique personal artifacts: a padlock, folding knife, a crystal decanter stopper, an intact clay pipe, and a carpenter's compass. The lock was believed by local Jamaicans involved with the excavations to have been employed as a means to "keep the duppy down" (i.e., to keep the spirit of the deceased individual from leaving the grave and harming the living). The crystal stopper had been pecked on both sides, suggesting its use as a spiritual object in ritual acts, while the remaining objects were believed to have been personal effects owned by the individual in life (Armstrong and Fleischman 2003:47-49).

The largest burial sample from the Caribbean was investigated by Jerome Handler and Frederick Lange at the Newton Plantation Cemetery in Barbados. In all, 92 burials

dating from the late 18th and early 19th centuries were exhumed (Handler and Lange 1978). These graves date decades later than the 4 graves excavated by Armstrong and Fleischman on Montserrat, and were all contained within a formal graveyard (and not in house floors). Importantly, however, grave inclusions were relatively common, including a shallow redware bowl, clay smoking pipes, metal knives, necklaces, bracelets and anklets (composed of glass beads, cowries, and perforated dog canines), copper wire jewelry (as rings and bracelets), and glass jewels or bangles. Many of these objects almost certainly held spiritual significance for those who died, and the friends and family who interred them with the deceased.

Another enslaved African cemetery excavation, at the Harney site on the island of Montserrat in the Lesser Antilles, was conducted by David R. Watters (Watters 1987; Watters 1994). Despite the disturbed nature of the graves (discovered during a home construction project), artifacts believed to be associated with burials include a 1751 Turlington Balsam of Life bottle and a plain metal disc (Watters 1994:69).

In summary, of the enslaved African graves discussed above, individual graves from each site were found in association with artifacts indicative of spiritual belief systems, or were personal possessions of the deceased individual, or both. Even with the attempted suppression of African beliefs in the early 19th century, core elements of the death ritual were retained.

Vernacular Surface decorations

In the United States of the 19th and early 20th centuries, one aspect of the total

burial complex associated almost exclusively with Southern Blacks, and of apparently African origin, are several forms of unique grave markings, predominately ceramic and glass (both bottles and pressed glass vessel forms). In 19th century French Congo, this phenomenon (and one interpretive rationale to explain them) was described by one white missionary: “Formerly also slaves carried boxes of the dead man’s goods, cloth, hardware, crockery, and so forth, to be laid by the body, which in those days was not interred, but was left on the top of the ground covered with branches and leaves” (Nassau 1969).

One of the earliest descriptions of this practice in the United States dates to antebellum Georgia. Telfair Hodgson, the daughter of a white planter and slave owner from Georgia, described in a 1907 reminiscence the burial of enslaved African-Americans on her father’s plantation during the 1850s: “Negro graves were always decorated with the last article used by the departed, and broken pitchers, and broken bits of colored glass were considered even more appropriate than the white shells from the beach nearby” (Torian 1943:352) (wrongly cited as 1953 and Volume 37 in Blassingame 1972:33-37; Creel 1990:88-89). Mrs. Hodgson was careful to note that a number of her father’s slaves came directly from Africa, and were described by her as speaking nothing but “Gullah” (Torian 1943:352).

In another early description of these grave markers in the United States, dating to 1891 from Columbia, South Carolina, H. Carrington Bolton observed with greater detail than Hodgson the surfaces of graves within a cemetery dedicated to poor blacks. Specifically, Bolton described the display as (Bolton 1891:214):

The numerous graves are decorated with a variety of objects, sometimes arranged with a careful symmetry, but more often placed around the margins without regard to order. These objects include oyster shells, white pebbles, fragments of crockery of every description, glass bottles, and nondescript bric-a-brac of a cheap sort,- all more or less broken and useless. The large number of medicine bottles on some graves has suggested that the bottles once held the medicines that killed the patients.

Bolton was sufficiently inspired to write of these phenomena through his discovery of an article by one E. J. Glave entitled “Fetishism in Congo Land” and published in the *Century Magazine* in 1891. E. J. Glave, who served with Stanley in Africa, described various aspects of so-called fetishism and other aspects of Congo belief systems, including burial customs (Glave 1891). In this article, two graves are illustrated (by way of steel engraving); the first is captioned “A Congo Chieftain’s Grave,” while the second is captioned a “Lower Congo Grave.” The illustration of the Chieftain’s grave was what struck a cord with Bolton; the grave is covered by a large iron kettle, surrounded by ceramic plates and shallow bowls (all placed downwards), with two ceramic jugs standing at the head and feet of the grave, and finally, surrounding the perimeter of the grave are bottles (resembling simple wine bottles), buried neck downwards. The second illustrated grave, of the Lower Congo, shows a crude shelter composed of sticks and grass, covering a grave, the ground surface of which is itself covered with what appear to be ceramic vessels and possibly basketry (Glave 1891).

The Chieftan’s Grave is described by Glave as: “In other localities the natives mark the final resting-places of their friends by ornamenting their graves with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, etc., all of which articles are rendered useless by being cracked or perforated with holes. Were this precaution not taken the grotesque

decorations would be stolen” (Glave 1891:835).

Not to be outdone, the published observation of H. Carrington Bolton (1891), of the Black pauper cemetery in Columbia, South Carolina, spurred Ernest Ingersoll to write to the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, to point out that he had observed the same cemetery some ten years before, and had written of his experience in the New York *Evening Post* in 1881 (February 24, 1881). This letter was reproduced in its entirety in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore*. In it, Ingersoll’s description of the burials is more vivid and offers greater details (Ingersoll 1892:68-69):

When a negro dies, some article or utensil, or more than one, is thrown upon his grave; moreover it is broken.... Nearly every grave has bordering or thrown upon it a few bleached sea-shells of a dozen different kinds, such as are found along the south Atlantic coast. Mingled with these is a most curious collection of broken crockery and glassware. On the large graves are laid broken pitchers, soap-dishes, lamp chimneys, tureens, coffee cups, sirup jugs, all sorts of ornamental vases, cigar boxes, gun-locks, tomato cans, teapots, bits of stucco, plaster images, pieces of carved stone-work from one of the public buildings destroyed during the war, glass lamps and tumblers in great number, and forty other kitchen articles. Chief of all these, however, are large water pitchers; very few graves lack them.

As for the graves of children, Ingersoll says that: “The children’s graves were really pathetic. There you could see doll’s heads, little china wash bowls and pitchers, toy images of animals, china vases, and pewter dishes, indeed everything of that sort that would interest a child” (Ingersoll 1892:68-69). Finally, Ingersoll gives a rationale for this phenomenon (Ingersoll 1892:69):

The negroes themselves hardly know how to account for this custom. They say it is an ‘old fashion.’ In the case of children, and partly in respect to adults, the articles thrown upon the grave are those of which the deceased person was especially fond – the baby’s playthings, for example. As for shells, stone-work, stucco and that sort of thing, they are purely ornamental, as perhaps is all the rest. What the significance of so many cracked pitchers and jugs may be I do not

know. They are found upon graves of all ages. Surely the negro of Columbia does not regard this particular form of earthenware with special admiration or affection.

Another early description of African-American vernacular grave decorations was found in a Dallas *Times Herald* article of 1889 (Aug 24, 1889). It was originally published in the *Cleveland Leader*, and this anonymous article describes a cemetery in Washington, D.C. Because of the article's vivid detail and the fact that it has not been cited previously by modern researchers, I will reproduce the article in its entirety here:

A Negro Custom

Putting Playthings and Medicine Bottles on the Graves of Children

While strolling last Sunday, a little way outside the city limits, near the head of Eighteenth Street, I noticed two carriages filled with colored people entering an enclosure. I saw that it was a cemetery and followed. A stalwart negro took from one of the carriages, a small coffin, and with the ceremony of a short prayer, it was deposited in the earth. Six or eight friends of the dead babe stood with tearful eyes during the few minutes occupied in filling the little grave; then they re-entered the carriages and drove away. Just before leaving, a woman, who I judged to be the bereaved mother, laid upon the mound, two or three infants' toys.

Looking among the large number of graves of children, I observed this practice to be very general. Some were literally covered with playthings. There were nursing bottles, rattle boxes, tin horses and wagons, "Noah's Ark," sets of dishes, marbles, tops, china cups and saucers, slates, picture books in endless variety and number and variety. Many of them had apparently lain there for years, articles of a perishable nature having been almost destroyed by sun and storm. There were very few children's graves which did not have something of this kind on them. On many of the larger graves were pretty vases, statuettes and other articles suitable to more adult years.

Upon inquiry, I was told that this custom is almost universal among the colored people of the south. The sentiment that prompts it readily suggests itself, but it is not quite so easy to understand another feature which I noticed. Upon fully half the small graves, lying or standing, partly buried in the earth, were medicine

bottles of every size and shape. Some were nearly full and all contained more or less of the medicine which had no doubt been used in the effort to ward off the visit of death. The usual number of these on each grave was from one to three, but on one I counted eight. The placing of these bottles is certainly a singular conceit and would seem to border on superstition. Just why they do it, is not clear. I was impelled by curiosity to inquire of two or three negroes about it, but they seemed no better able to explain it than I was. One old woman, who was loitering about the cemetery, said in answer to my question: "I kain't tell ye why, mister, but dey allers does it. When I was a chile I libed down in ole Virginny, an' it was jes' de same dar. I d'no, but mebbe dey t'inks de medisan 'll he'p de chil'en arter deys buried, but I don't see no good in it nohow." This is the nearest approach to an opinion I was able to get. I was inclined to coincide with it, such as it was.

Finally, yet another period reference to burial surface decoration by African-Americans was written up by Susan Showers in 1898 in the *New England Magazine* (Showers 1967). Showers described what she saw while attending a black funeral in the South (the state is not mentioned), saying of the graves in the rural cemetery "There were a goodly number decorated with bits of broken glass and china and old bottles – a survival, I fancy of an old heathen custom brought from Africa, for I have heard the missionaries from Africa allude to it" (Showers 1967:298).

In the early 20th century, such grave markings were given special attention by Newbell Niles Puckett in his seminal work, *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (1926). Puckett describes graves in Mississippi observed first hand and by him or his informants: "One Mississippi Negress tells me that to keep the deceased from coming back again, the cup and saucer used in the last illness should be placed on the grave. The medicine bottles are placed there also – turned upside down with the corks loosened so that the medicine may soak into the grave" (Puckett 1926:104). Puckett also offers, "...here, as all through the Black Belt, broken crockery is used as the chief decoration for Negro

graves” (Puckett 1926:105). Puckett goes on to quote from E. J. Glave’s “Fetishism in Congo Land” (1891), and H. C. Bolton’s description of the black pauper cemetery in Columbia, South Carolina, given above (Bolton 1891).

These identical practices have also been documented in the Gullah speaking peoples of coastal South Carolina. Margaret Washington Creel noted that (Creel 1988:316-317; 1990:88-89):

Among the Gullahs, even for one who ‘died good’ the spirit could not rest if something had been left behind which it desired. Observers noted that Gullahs and other African-Americans placed articles on new graves. These objects were usually personal belongings, broken pottery and porcelain playthings, lighting utensils, objects pertaining to medicine, food, and water.

In the archaeological literature, the earliest research into these phenomena was documented in the early 1970s by John D. Combes (1974). Combes explored the vernacular surface markers within a rural African-American cemetery at the Charles Town Landing Site in South Carolina, noting the presence of sea shells, pressed glass, broken plates (and other forms of ceramic), kerosene lamps, etc. Only one grave was excavated by Combes; it had these kinds of objects marking the surface of the grave, and contained an adult skeleton placed in a coffin, with a penny still in situ in each eye socket (dating from 1870 and 1882) (Combes 1974).

Beginning with simple observations of these phenomena in the late 19th century, anthropologists, historians and cultural geographers of the 20th century have more extensively documented these cultural practices and inferred the belief systems behind them, establishing compelling arguments of a concordance between West and Central Africa and the American South (Jordan 1982:18, 21; Thompson 1983, 1990; Holloway

1990).

Robert Farris Thompson in particular has extensively documented how belief systems and cultural practices of the indigenous peoples of Coastal and Central Africa have been retained by peoples of African descent, through enslavement and freedom in the Americas. Of burial practices, Thompson states unequivocally: “Nowhere is Kongo-Angola influence on the New World more pronounced, more profound, than in black traditional cemeteries throughout the South of the United States” (Thompson 1983:132). Thompson is referring to two distinctly different but inarguably linked things: the physical objects placed on the surfaces of graves (and at times within the burials themselves), and the belief system driving this practice.

According to Thompson, there are several distinct practices. First, there are the last objects touched or used by the dying, which are linked to the soul or spirit of the deceased. Thompson quotes a Kongoleser in describing this belief: “plates and cups and drinking glasses are frequently selected for placement on the surface of a tomb. It is believed that the last strength of a dead person is still present within that sort of object” (Thompson 1983:134).

The second practice is the placement of objects to serve as a metaphor; sea shells on the surface of the grave, or lamps (e.g., kerosene, later, light bulbs) to light the spirit’s way. In the Kongo, the shell stands as a symbol or metaphor for the sea, the whiteness is purity. This belief is echoed by African-Americans in the South (Thompson 1983:135). A final practice is the placement of bottles around the perimeter or atop a grave, perhaps to serve as traps to deflect evil from the spirit of the recently departed, much as bottle

trees were used historically in the Kongo and the American South (Thompson 1983:139-145).

Although most commonly encountered within the Deep South (such as the examples given above), these types of surface decoration have also been documented in Texas. One study dating to the 1940s (Michael 1943) noted all of these specific practices in the North Central Texas area, in and around the towns of Egan, Fort Worth, Denton, Mansfield, and Howe, all of which encircle Dallas. Equally important is that Michael's study, dating to the early 1940s, observed the physical condition of graves that existed only some 30 years after the last interments occurred at Freedman's in Dallas. Among other forms, grave markers consisted of (at Egan) – "bleached sea shells, softly colored glass, doll-heads, medicine bottles, empty Colgate's Tooth Powder cans, broken dishes, and light globes," (and around Denton) – "strewn with fragments of china and kitchen utensils... cups, saucers, syrup jugs, tureens, knives, pitchers, tea pots, egg-beaters, and spoons"; "...mounds decorated with bottles which had contained Sloan's Liniment, Cherry Bark Cough Syrup, Lydia E. Pinkham's Compound and Carter's Little Liver Pills" (Michael 1943:129-132). Both the forms of material culture and the rationale given for their placement were consistent with those given by the previous observations in the Deep South.

At Freedman's Cemetery, such vernacular grave markers did exist, but unfortunately most were displaced or disturbed, due to the decades of neglect the cemetery suffered. Numerous insults from highway construction and paving episodes impacted many of these folk markers, and the introduction of a foot or more of topsoil

into the remaining acre of the cemetery in the 1960s simultaneously helped displace their position and remove them from view. Although it was often difficult to associate these marker elements with individual graves, in a few cases, correlations with surface folk markers and exhumed burials did occur.

Grave Inclusions: An Historic Overview

By contrast, definitive associations can be made with the materials found in the burial container (e.g., ceramic plates, saucers, bowls; medicine bottles) with the deceased, or occasionally placed on the lid of the coffin or casket. The motivations inherent behind these inclusions seem to be largely congruent with those driving the placement of objects on the surface of the grave.

One early slave narrative, published in 1837 by Charles Ball (1837), a formerly enslaved man who experienced slavery in Maryland, Georgia and South Carolina, described the funeral for a child whose parents had both been born in Africa, and the placement of objects within the grave (Ball 1837:265):

...I assisted her and her husband to inter the infant– which was a little boy – and its father buried with it, a small bow, and several arrows; a little bag of parched meal; a miniature canoe, about a foot long, and a little paddle, (with which he said it would cross the ocean to his own country) a small stick, with an iron nail, sharpened, and fastened into one end of it; and a piece of white muslin, with several curious and strange figures painted on it in blue and red, by which, he said, his relations and countrymen would know the infant to be his son, and would receive it accordingly, on its arrival amongst them. Cruel as this man was to his wife, I could not but respect the sentiments which inspired his affection for his child; though it was the affection of a barbarian. He cut a lock of hair from his head, threw it upon the dead infant, and closed the grave with his own hands. He then told us the God of his country was looking at him, and was pleased with what he had done. Thus ended the funeral service.

One ex-slave informant, named Lucinda Davis, who was born around 1848 and owned by a full blooded Creek Indian in the Indian Territory (present day Oklahoma), describes the inclusion of objects in the grave with the body. Ms. Davis remembered that during slavery, at the grave side: “Den dey put de body down in de grave and put some extra clothes in with it and some food and a cup of coffee, maybe” (Rawick 1972 [7] Oklahoma:57).

Of particular interest to objects placed in the grave – either in the coffin itself, atop the coffin lid, or in the grave fill dirt during backfilling of the grave – is this observation recorded by Samuel Lawton, who wrote his 1939 Ph.D. dissertation on the religious life of the South Carolina Gullah. In interviewing a Black minister in the Sea Islands, the minister stated that (Lawton 1939, as cited in Creel 1988:317; Creel 1990:89):

You must not think that just because you do not find anything on those graves that the relatives did not put some things in there. It is most likely that they have a number of things buried with the body. I have often, at the burials I have conducted, seen the relatives pour hamper baskets of things right down on top of the coffin before the dirt is shoveled into the grave.

Rationale for placing objects in the coffin with the deceased

The Reverend Robert Nassau, writing of his experiences in what was then the “Gabun district” of the French Congo of the late 19th century, described in detail funeral practices of the local Congo people. Specifically, Nassau describes the placement of personal objects in the coffin with the deceased (Nassau 1969):

When all these preparations are complete, the corpse is laid in the coffin, and some goods of the deceased, such as pieces of cloth and other clothing, are stuffed

into it for his use in the other world. If the deceased was addicted to smoking, a pipe and tobacco are laid in the coffin, or if accustomed to spirituous drink, some liquor is often placed there, either native palm-wine or foreign rum.

As for motivations given for placing objects in the grave, Blacks in the 20th century South had this to say; “A Negro believes that the departed has the power to haunt all objects which his body has touched” (Puckett 1926:99); “An Alabama Negro says, ‘Unless you bury a person’s things with him he will come back after them’” (Puckett 1926:103); “One Mississippi Negress tells me that to keep the deceased from coming back again, the cup and saucer used in the last illness should be placed on the grave. The medicine bottles are placed there also – turned upside down with the corks loosened so that the medicine may soak into the grave” (Puckett 1926:104).

From Central Alabama in 1925 is this description: “A Gullah negro on the Santee river explained to me that it was their custom to place the last plate, the last glass and spoon used before death on the grave” (Birmingham *News* January 18, 1925) (Derived from website: <http://www.art3st.com/wordprojects/burials-b.html>). In a decidedly similar practice, a cup, knife and fork were described by one researcher in the early 20th century as objects commonly placed on a grave (Brewster et al. 1952:260). In the case of spoons, it is possible that the individual ate their last meal with the spoon, or perhaps was taking medicine via the spoon. In either case, such objects, touched by death, may have been interred with the individual so that they would not taint the living.

One modern study of objects placed in the casket with the body (Elliott 1990) was based on a questionnaire sent to 60 morticians in 11 states. One third of the respondents stated that the typical funeral did not include grave inclusions. For those funerals that did

have inclusions, 85% said that jewelry was the most common form, while 46% noted that personal effects such as lodge pins, bibles, dolls, eyeglasses, and stuffed animals (among other objects), were described as typical by the funeral directors. Objects deliberately placed with the deceased that were described as atypical included food, a deck of cards, radios, and a set of wrenches. The motivations of family members, in placing objects in with the deceased, were also polled. On the questionnaire, their choices were as “an emotional gesture,” “for their value in the afterlife,” “religious implications in the afterlife,” or “other.” Ninety percent described their motivations as based in sentiment and emotion, with only 10% ascribing the objects as having “religious implications in the afterlife” (Elliott 1990:606).

Grave Inclusions at Freedman’s and other Historic Cemeteries

Before I can begin a discussion of grave inclusions – the patterns of their use and their import – at Freedman’s Cemetery and at other sites used as comparatives, it is first necessary to define my terms, because there were a myriad of diverse and unique objects found in the 1150 graves exhumed in Dallas. Excluding clothing elements and coffin hardware, Appendix E is a summary accounting of all of the objects that were recovered with the burials. These artifacts include jewelry (which as a class of objects is not considered here), bottles of different kinds and functions (medicinal, embalming and funeral home related, and perfume), whiteware plates and saucers, pocket knives, walking canes, eye glasses, dice, marbles, a toy cap gun, screwdriver, dolls, wooden matches, as well as other objects. A careful comparison of Appendix E and the various tables and text in this chapter might reveal some discrepancies. This is mainly due to the

omission from this analysis of some artifacts originally assigned to specific burials in the database that were in actuality recovered from the grave shaft fill and were not in direct association with either the lid of the coffin, or its interior.

Further, the two burials interred wearing eyeglasses (or with eyeglasses on their person), both dating to the Late Period (Burials 889, 1112) are not included here in the analysis of Grave Inclusions, since the motivations for their inclusion, like dentures or jewelry, are almost certainly ones operating from a different level of sentiment or desire for the proper display of the body, and not based in spirituality.

Finally, 4 artifacts associated with 4 different burials as the direct result of actions from the undertaker's or funeral home were not considered in this analysis. These objects consist of an embalming tool (i.e., a groove director) inadvertently left in the right armpit of one body (Burial 642), the rubber bulb syringe and tubing identical to ones used to pump embalming fluid from a bottle into the body (Burial 889), and the Bisga embalming fluid bottle believed to have been used by the undertaker to prop up the elbow of the deceased for better display of the body (Burial 1134).

The spiral ratchet screwdriver interred with Burial 65 is believed to have been inadvertently left in the coffin by an undertaker's employee charged with the task of screwing the handles and other coffin trimmings to the coffin. Identical screwdrivers were commonly sold by coffin hardware companies to funeral homes (e.g., Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co 1905:188). I was one of the excavators on this burial, and at the time assumed the screwdriver had been a personal possession of the deceased, so now why do I think otherwise?

When excavations were ongoing during the original Freedman's Project, every

few weeks the skeletal remains that had been exhumed and fully documented were periodically packed up in their reburial boxes for transportation to the nearby UT Southwestern Medical School morgue, where they would await final reburial. During one of these periodic re-boxing of skeletal remains, one of the hammers that was used to nail the lids shut was accidentally laid down inside one of the reburial boxes, and subsequently lost. This loss was not recognized until the entire room-full of “coffins” were nailed shut. Faced with the unpleasant task of opening up and examining literally dozens of small wooden coffins, many stacked to the ceiling, the hammer was considered lost, never recovered, and subsequently was re-buried with one set of remains in the fall of 1994.

Table 5-1: All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery Early Period (1869-1884)

Burial	Age	Sex	Inclusion	Location
1330	39.8	Adult-M	Pocket Knife	rt side, in left hand
1391	0.64	subadult (F)	Rattle	rt side, parallel to humerus

Tables 5-1 through 5-4 list all of the “Personal Effects” or “Grave Inclusions” for the Early, Middle, “Pre-1900” and Late Periods, respectively (see also Figure 5-1). These tables briefly describe specific inclusions and each artifact’s location within the grave. Note that this accounting excludes all clothing elements (such as buttons) and all associated jewelry, which do not enter into this analysis.

Inclusions associated with burials dated to Freedman’s Early Period (1869-1884)

are quite rare, consisting of only one pocket knife (in the left hand of Burial 1330) and one infant's toy in the form of a baby rattle (Burial 1391) (Table 5-1). This means that only 3.1% of the earliest burials exhumed from Freedman's Cemetery had grave inclusions *in any form*.

For the Middle Period (1885-1899), a total of 14 burials have some sort of grave inclusion, out of 170 burials (Table 5-2). That is, 8.2% of the Middle Period burials had inclusions, a number over twice that seen in the Early Period. The kinds of artifacts in the Middle Period also have more correspondence with those kinds of objects described in historical accounts of 19th and early 20th century burial rituals (i.e., plates, bottles, coins, etc.). For the "Pre-1900" Period (1869-1899), only one burial (Burial 1308), out of the 37 assigned to this period had any sort of grave inclusion; Burial 1308 was associated with two Liberty Seated Quarters (Table 5-3), representing a modest 2.7% of all "Pre-1900" Period burials.

Table 5-2: All Grave Inclusions in Freedman's Cemetery Middle Period (1885-1899)

Burial	Age	Sex	Inclusion	Location	2nd Inclusion	Location	3rd Inclusion	Location	4th Inclusion	Location
389	99.00	Adult-M?	pocket knife	rt. abdomen, poss. in left hand						
422	31.00	adult F + subadult 0.10y	saucer (whiteware)	underneath right femur midshaft						
551	2.70	subadult	toy Marble	at base of coffin; rolled off lid						
650	98.00	adult-F	Key	around neck						
657	37.50	adult-M?	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	rt. Side of body (poss. w/shoes)						
658	43.90	adult-I	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	rt side of skull/ over rt. Shoulder						
1026	35.50	adult-F	pocket knife	above rt. Hip, in hand/pocket						
1034	35.40	adult-M?	shallow bowl (ironstone)	underneath right innominate						
1147	44.10	adult M?	Liberty Seated Quarter (1857)	immediately beside skull	Liberty Seated Quarter (1877)	beneath skull				

1307	33.10	adult F?	Liberty Seated Quarter (pre-1866)	unk; upper screen	Liberty Seated Quarter (1876)	beneath chin				
1326	0.00	subadult	medicine bottle	at feet						
1397	18.50	adult F?	medicine bottle	thorax (general)	Doll	thorax (general)	pocket knife	thorax (general)	Coin Purse	thorax (general)
1400	0.80	subadult	toy toilet set (chamber pot, etc)	over right shoulder/ rt. Thorax						

Table 5-3: All Grave Inclusions in Freedman’s Cemetery “Pre-1900” Period (1869-1899)

Burial	Age	Sex	Inclusion	Location	2nd Inclusion	Location
1308	33.4	Adult -M?	Liberty Seated Quarter (1854)	below rt. Shoulder	Liberty Seated Quarter (1854)	from axial skeleton wash

The Late Period, with its vastly greater number of burials (N=878), naturally has the most grave inclusions, by number and in terms of variety, of any of Freedman’s time periods (N=54). Table 5-4 gives the attributes of the 54 burials with grave inclusions. In all, a respectable 6.2% of all burials in the Late Period had some sort of inclusion.

The inclusion of unique effects can be interpreted in various ways, dependant upon the artifact, the individual, and the prevailing social custom. Which of these objects can be considered “spiritual” and reflecting a set of more or less codified belief systems, and which clearly are not? While determining motivations some 100 years or more removed from the funeral event can be problematic, it is probably safe to say that there are three trajectories that account for all of the recovered artifacts: (1) incidental inclusions left on the person of the deceased (e.g., objects retained in a pocket after death, which were not consciously or deliberately placed there); (2) inclusions left in the coffin or casket by the undertaker or funeral home (either deliberately or by accident); (3) objects purposely placed in association with the deceased by surviving family or friends (either in the coffin, on top of the coffin lid, or at the base of the grave shaft adjacent to the burial container).

Table 5-4: All Grave Inclusions in Freedman's Cemetery Late Period (1900-1907)*

*(does not include perforated coin charms; see Table 5-7)

Burial	Age	Sex	Inclusion	Location	2nd Inclusion	Location	3rd Inclusion	Location	4th Inclusion	Location
17	1.90	subadult	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	upper right thorax						
22	34.20	adult M?	"bottle" (tiny cylindrical vial; intact stopper)	in pocket at left elbow						
41	4.36	subadult	toy teacup	wedged between coffin southern wall and shaft						
42	35.20	adult I	spoon	over left upper thorax						
54	41.20	adult M?	pencil	at left hip						
65	30.60	adult M?	Matches	at left hip						
85	5.62	subadult (female)	doll	along left upper arm						
86	28.80	adult M?	pencil	At right hip						
101	0.10	subadult	glass ware	frag. of glass vase on coffin lid						
108	32.50	adult F	Bottle (Hoyt's German Cologne)	along side left humerus	Toiletry set (comb, mirror, brush)	over the distal left humerus				
110	16.60	adult F	doll	along rt. Upper arm						
121	1.40	subadult	rattle	laid over pelvis						

147	9.60	subadult (male)	Bottle (Hoyt's German Cologne)	On coffin lid	marbles (2)	on coffin lid	cap pistol	on coffin lid	Book or Catalog	on coffin lid
158	23.80	adult F?	Dice	right hip (pocket)						
264	43.40	adult IF	coin purse	inside left elbow						
314	7.35	subadult (male)	ceramic (toy teacup)	wedged between coffin southern wall and shaft						
315	1.18	subadult (female)	doll	in crook of rt. arm						
320	14.50	adult F	doll	at right foot						
326	32.20	adult IF	ceramic (miniature teapot)	over lid along southwest corner of box (w/collar stud)						
327	38.90	adult M?	bottle (Platte's Chloride's Disinfectant)	beside foot of coffin, in grave shaft						
331	46.80	adult M	pencil	left side of skull						
343	1.38	subadult (female)	single shoe	atop coffin lid						
347										
358	21.40	adult I	broken whiteware vessels	mustache cup, vase, etc, directly atop coffin lid	milk glass lid to tableware	on coffin lid				
423	45.20	adult M?	Ceramic (Ironstone bowl)	face up, on top of left innominate						

451	1.58	subadult	glass egg (white; for chicken setting)	inside of left knee						
466	14.50	adult M?	Indian Head Penny (1898)	lower body screen						
529	98.00	adult M?	pencil	just west of left hip						
533	31.20	adult F	token	adjacent to both knees						
563	34.50	adult M	Barber Quarter (1897)	lower body screen						
588	28.60	adult M	pencil	inside left elbow,						
600	55.00	adult M	pocket knife	in purse, at left hip/thigh	coin purse	at left hip/thigh				
801	28.80	adult IF	coin purse	upper body wash						
833	99.00	adult IM	Barber Quarter (1895)	lower right abdomen/ right hip						
838	0.15	subadult (female)	bottle (prescription; intact stopper)	at left side of head						
856	4.80	subadult (female)	doll	along left upper arm						
859	19.40	adult I	doll	head at northwest edge of coffin lid						
871	38.20	adult F	pocket knife	in crook of left elbow						

909	0.00	subadult (female)	ceramic (whiteware saucer)	inverted, atop coffin lid, in center of coffin	bottle (clear medicine?)	beside foot of coffin, in grave shaft	bottle (aqua medicine?)	beside head of coffin, in grave shaft		
929	28.70	adult M?	bottle (clear medicine; intact stopper)	over left hip						
1002	33.20	adult M?	Liberty Head Nickels (n=5) [1883 thru 1892)	over left hip	Indian Head Penny (1891); modified dime	over left hip				
1003	6.30	subadult (female)	doll	centered over abdomen, pelvis						
1004	46.20	adult F?	spoon	over left upper thorax						
1042	25.70	adult F	Shield Nickel (1867-1869)	adjacent to left side of skull						
1055	0.18	subadult	bottle (clear medicine; intact stopper)	alongside upper left arm	rubber ear or urethral syringe	alongside upper rt. arm				
1092	37.00	adult F	bottle (aqua cylindrical bulk medicine)	between thighs						
1120	9.00	subadult (female)	bottles (n=5) (clear prescription; intact stoppers)	between lower legs	bottle (Florida water)	between lower legs	doll	over left upper thorax, humerus		
1126	19.00	adult M	broken plate (entire vessel not present)	atop outer coffin lid						

1234	26.30	adult M?	pencil	over right hip						
1285	40.20	adult M?	walking cane	at rt. Hand, alongside hip						
1415	0.43	subadult	Nickel (unk date)	midway, along southern edge of coffin	Nickel (unk date)	unk				
1422	43.10	adult M	pocket knife	in lower screen						
1453	0.58	subadult	marble	on coffin lid						
1484	0.42	subadult	single shoe	atop pelvis						
1486	0.46	subadult	Liberty Nickel (1898)	at cranium	Nickel (unk date)	at cranium				

An example of a probable incidental inclusion, inadvertently left on the body of the person at the time of his death and later interred with him, are the wooden matches found with Burial 65, a man approximately 30 years old at death. He was buried in a pants and suit coat, and the matches were recovered in situ where a coat or pants pocket would have been. They presumably were left in the pocket of the deceased without any calculated forethought. Another type of artifact interpreted as having been inadvertently left on the person of the deceased was the common wooden pencil, associated with six burials, recovered mostly in positions indicative of placement in a coat or pants pocket (Owens 2000:440).

The second class of inclusions consist of those artifacts placed in the coffin or casket by the undertaker at the funeral home, either deliberately or by accident. One example of a deliberate inclusion is the embalming fluid bottle (“Bisga” brand) with Burial 1134, dating to the Late Period. This bottle was deliberately placed in the coffin by the undertaker to help prop up the right elbow, in an attempt to keep the right arm/hand lying in situ across the waist. Its presence illustrates a commonly known practice, as other embalming fluid bottles have been recovered archaeologically with similar placements (e.g., Garrow et al. 1985:45). An example of an *accidental* funeral home inclusion recovered from Freedman’s Cemetery is a type of embalming tool, a fascia needle or “groove director,” almost certainly mistakenly forgotten where it was originally embedded in the right armpit of Burial 642.

The last type of grave inclusion are objects purposely placed in association with the deceased by surviving family or friends (either in the coffin, on top of the coffin lid,

or rarely, at the base of the grave shaft adjacent to the burial container). These range from toys included with a dead child, to medicine bottles, to unmodified coins placed at the head of the deceased. Given the huge variety of artifacts, the motivations determining their placement with the deceased (in or atop the burial container) might have been multi vocal, but two primary ones are pertinent here – basic sentimentality and those operating within specific spiritual belief systems.

As detailed in the modern study of objects placed in the casket with the body (Elliott 1990; discussed above) based on a questionnaire sent to 60 morticians in 11 states, 90% of those who had placed objects in a burial container described their motivations as based in sentiment and emotion, while just 10% ascribed the objects as having “religious implications in the afterlife” (Elliott 1990:606). While these numbers are not given here to imply a one to one correlation with the 19th century mind set, some of the inclusions do seem to fit into the specific categories of sentimentality or spirituality.

From a careful reading of the historical accounts of grave inclusions, certain specific artifact types are repeated over, again and again. The most typical examples are household ceramics (i.e., whiteware bowls, plates, cups, saucers) and medicine bottles. Other objects recovered from burials at Freedman’s and other cemeteries that could be classified with these items include spoons (medicinal, or “last touched by the dying,” or both) and syringes. These kinds of objects are, for the purpose of this analysis, what I have defined as representing “Core Elements of Spirituality” (see Table 5-5).

These objects are not obviously personal (i.e., beloved personal possessions of the

deceased), but rather may be interpreted through historical accounts (see above), as falling into the category or class of objects “touched by the individual prior to their death,” or otherwise spiritually charged or imbued by the spirit of the deceased. As one of Puckett’s informants put it: “One Mississippi Negress tells me that to keep the deceased from coming back again, the cup and saucer used in the last illness should be placed on the grave. The medicine bottles are placed there also – turned upside down with the corks loosened so that the medicine may soak into the grave” (Puckett 1926:104)

Certainly personal belongings, such as dolls or the “toiletory set” recovered from Burial 108 (consisting of a hand mirror, brush, and comb) could all fall within this category, i.e., “the last objects touched by the person prior to death.” I would not vehemently argue against such an interpretation. Instead, I am only suggesting here that in this specific instance, working towards the goal of understanding the parameters and participants of these belief systems, I am only including those elements that are directly mentioned, again and again, in the ethnohistorical accounts of such practices. A broadly cast net would undoubtedly include all inclusions that are recognized as personal effects, but such a haul would likely only muddy the waters or obscure any core pattern present (though see Table 5-18, Figure 5-6, and below for a discussion of the costs of burials with obvious “personal effects”).

**Table 5-5: Artifacts from Freedman’s Cemetery
Representing Core Elements of Spirituality (see text for sources)**

Last Objects Touched by the Dying in Life

Artifact Type	Vessel form	Location	Rationale
Ceramics	Plates, bowls, saucers	on coffin lid, on thorax, on abdomen, over pelvis, under pelvis	last objects touched by the dying, tainted by their death, or captured a portion of their spirit
Bottles (usually excludes perfume)	medicine	usually at feet or between legs; also along arms, thorax	“ “ “
Hard rubber syringe (urethral)	medical supply	by skull	“ “ “
Spoons	table spoon, tea spoon, etc		“ “ “

Artifacts pertaining to Mortuary Specific Rituals

Artifact Type	#	Location	Rationale
Coins (unmodified)	usually 1 or 2	covering eyes, under head, in mouth, in hand, or in pocket	keep eyes closed, pay passage of the soul in afterlife
Shoe placed on Lid of Coffin	1	on lid of coffin	possibly as a trap to capture Satan, to deflect evil from spirit of the deceased

Table 5-6: All Grave Inclusions at Freedman’s Cemetery with Interpretative Categories (sorted by temporal period; excludes Pre-1900 Period)

Time Period	Burial #	Age	Description	Hardware Costs	Vernacular Spirituality (core symbols)	Objects of Possible Vernacular Spirituality	Incidental Objects	Personal Effects	Questionable association (artifact in grave shaft)
L	17	1.90	subadult	\$0.12	Coin (1 nickel at upper chest)				
L	22	34.20	adult M?	\$4.20		Glass vial (in coat pocket)			
L	41	4.36	subadult	\$3.54					toy teacup
L	42	35.20	adult I	\$0.88	Spoon				
L	54	41.20	adult M?	\$6.12			Pencil		
L	65	30.60	adult M?	\$6.05			Matches		
L	85	5.62	subadult (female)	\$4.29				Doll	
L	86	28.80	adult M?	\$8.70			Pencil		
L	101	0.10	subadult	\$3.27					glass ware
L	108	32.50	adult F	\$7.82		Bottle (Hoyt’s German cologne)		brush, mirror, comb	
L	110	16.60	adult F	\$1.68				Doll	
L	121	1.40	subadult	\$0.66				Rattle	
L	147	9.60	subadult (male)	\$0.94		Bottle (Hoyt’s German cologne)		cap gun, marbles, book	
L	158	23.80	adult F?	\$0.01			Dice		
L	264	43.40	adult IF	\$4.10				Coin Purse	
L	314	7.35	subadult (male)	\$0.80					toy teacup
L	315	1	subadult (female)	\$0.91				Doll	
L	320	14.50	adult F	\$3.98				Doll	
L	326	32.20	Adult IF	\$0.00					toy teapot
L	327	38.90	adult M?	\$1.14	medicine bottle				
L	331	46.80	adult M	\$0.94			Pencil		
L	343	1.38	subadult (female)	\$3.60	shoe on lid				

L	358	21.4	adult I	\$7.65					broken ceramics, milk glass
L	423	45.20	adult M?	\$1.57	plate/bowl				
L	451	1.58	subadult	\$1.38		Glass Darning or laying Egg			
L	466	14.50	adult M?	\$10.71	Coin (1898 penny at hip or lower body)				
L	529	98.00	adult M?	\$1.26			Pencil		
L	533	31.20	adult F	\$1.00		Metal Token			
L	563	34.50	adult M	\$0.00	Coin (1897 Quarter at hip or lower body)				
L	588	28.60	adult M	\$1.11			Pencil		
L	600	55.00	adult M	\$0.00				Pocket Knife	
L	801	28.80	adult IF	\$4.90				Coin Purse	
L	833	99.00	adult IM	\$6.51	Coin (1895 Quarter at rt. hip)				
L	838	0.15	subadult (female)	\$0.76	medicine bottle				
L	856	4.80	subadult (female)	\$4.47				Doll	
L	859	19.40	adult I	\$4.54					ceramic doll head
L	871	38.20	adult F	\$3.95				Pocket Knife	
L	909	0.00	subadult (female)	\$0.00	plate/bowl; bottles (2)				
L	929	28.70	adult M?	\$4.67	medicine bottle				
L	1002	33.20	adult M?	\$0.08		Coins (5 nickels, 1 penny, 1 modified dime)			
L	1003	6.30	subadult (female)	\$4.42				Doll	
L	1004	46.20	adult F?	\$2.16	Spoon				
L	1042	25.70	adult F	\$2.10	Coin (1 nickel at head)				
L	1055	0.18	subadult	\$0.53	medicine bottle; rubber syringe				

L	1092	37.00	adult F	\$4.08	medicine bottle				
L	1120	9.00	subadult (female)	\$0.80	medicine bottles (5) perfume bottle (1)			Doll	
L	1126	19.00	adult M	\$5.46					partial ceramic plate
L	1234	26.30	adult M?	\$4.42			Pencil		
L	1285	40.20	adult M?	\$6.95				Walking Cane	
L	1415	0.43	subadult	\$0.79	Coins (2 nickels at side)				
L	1422	43.10	adult M	\$7.86				Pocket Knife	
L	1453	0.58	subadult	\$3.43					toy marble
L	1484	0.42	subadult	\$4.17	shoe on lid				
L	1486	0.46	subadult	\$0.69	Coins (2 nickels at head)				

Time Period	Burial	Age	Sex	Hardware Costs	Vernacular Spirituality (core symbols)	Objects of Possible Vernacular Spirituality	Incidental Objects	Personal Effects	Questionable association (artifact in grave shaft)
M	389	99.00	Adult-M?	\$0.00				pocket knife	
M	422	31.00	adult F + subadult 0.10y	\$0.00	saucer (whiteware)				
M	551	2.70	subadult	\$0.67					toy Marble
M	650	98.00	adult-F	\$0.00		Key			
M	657	37.50	adult-M?	\$0.00	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)				
M	658	43.90	adult-I	\$0.00	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)				
M	1026	35.50	adult-F	\$0.60				pocket knife	
M	1034	35.40	adult-M?	\$0.24	shallow bowl (ironstone)				
M	1147	44.10	adult M?	\$0.72	2 Liberty Seated Quarters (1857; 1877)				

M	1252	29.20	adult F?	\$0.87		perfume bottle			
M	1307	33.10	adult F?	\$0.14	2 Liberty Seated Quarters (pre-1866; 1876)				
M	1326	0.00	subadult	\$0.00	medicine bottle				
M	1397	18.50	adult F?	\$0.50	medicine bottle			Doll, pocket knife, coin purse	
M	1400	0.80	subadult	\$0.34	toy toilet set (chamber pot, etc)				
E	1330	39.8	Adult-M	\$0.01				pocket knife	
E	1391	0.64	subadult (F)	\$0.10				rattle	

While the ceramic vessels and medicinal items are a class of grave inclusion that can easily fall into the category of “Core Elements of Spirituality,” the second major class within this definition are artifacts associated with mortuary specific rituals that occur after the death of the individual; namely the placement of coins with the deceased (either singly or in pairs beneath the head, in the mouth, over the eyes, or placed in the hand), or a single shoe placed atop the lid of the coffin or casket.

Placing a coin or coins with the dead is an ancient tradition, and in the Western World can be traced as early as the Greek and Roman civilizations, with the earliest documented reference to it in the Greek world dating to about 470 B.C. (Merrifield 1989:67; Puckle 1926:51). The belief behind this practice, commonly described by the ancient Greeks as one of paying the ferryman in the underworld to take the soul of the deceased over the River Styx, has an even earlier origin in ancient Egypt as far back as

the third millennium B.C. (Merrifield 1987:67). A reference to this practice in England, published in 1686, but referring to a time in the early 1600s, states that: “When I was a Boy (before the Civil-wars) I heard ‘em tell that in the old times they used to put a Penny in dead persons mouth to give to St. Peter: and I think that they did so in Wales and in the north country” (Britten 1881:159). The practice continued in the British Isles well into the 20th century (McPherson 1929:124). The practice was also well known on the continent of Europe; in early 19th century France, depending upon where death occurred the custom was either placement of the coin in the dead person’s hands or the mouth (Ragon 1983:68). The Chinese also have traditionally placed a single coin in the mouth of the dead (Puckle 1926:51).

Oftentimes there are two coins placed in the grave, and they are found either near the head, or actually still in the eye orbits, where they had been used to hold down the eyes of the deceased (Puckle 1926:51). This practice is likely one of continuity with the original notion of leaving a coin as payment for passage in the afterlife, combined with the utilitarian need of keeping the eyes of the deceased closed during the period the body is lying in state at the wake or funeral. Keeping the eyes in a closed state was vitally important, for there was a common belief, at least as early as the 1820s, that if a corpse’s eyes did not close on their own, then it was a possible sign of a “misspent life” (Opie and Tatum 1989:98). To prevent this dispersion, the eyes were often weighted down with coins to insure that the judgment of all involved with the funeral was that the deceased was a righteous person. One 1881 account from Scotland describes the practice: “When the eyelids did not close, or if they opened a little after being closed, an old penny or

halfpenny piece was laid over the eyes (Gregor 1881:207). Even early to mid 20th century folk belief collections still commonly describe this tradition as a current one (e.g., Montell 1966:85).

John McCarthy (1997:373-376), writing of the burial practices at the two First African Baptist Church (FABC) cemeteries in Philadelphia suggests that a single coin recovered near the head or in the hand of the deceased is an African tradition, and that two coins at the head or in the eye orbits is a European based tradition. McCarthy cites as his authority for this practice among the cultures of West Africa the work of Geoffrey Parrinder (1949), *West African Religion: A Study of the Beliefs and Practices of the Akan, Ewe, Yoruba, Ibo, and Kindred Peoples*, but this work documents 20th century practices, not early 19th century traditions. Given the wealth of documentation of a single coin's use in Europe securely traced back to Greece of the 8th century B.C., and forward into western Europe and the British Isles of the 19th century, it is readily apparent that placing one *or* two coins into a grave are core European traditions. The concept of leaving objects to help the spirit of the deceased on its journey was certainly almost universally employed in past cultures of Western and Central Africa, but the form of the tribute – in this instance, the coin – is of course, European. Instead of the simplistic labeling a single coin as African, and two coins as European, I suggest that the practice in African-American burial traditions almost certainly represents a creolization or blending of European and African beliefs and symbols, of a largely African belief and a European derived symbol of that belief. Certainly the tradition of putting coins on the eyes is documented historically in 19th and early 20th century African-American culture (Puckett

1926:84).

There is also a recorded practice of unknown commonality that while two coins placed over the eyes of the deceased was common, a coin taken from a dead man's eyes was considered very lucky and even magically charged (Emrich 1972:662). It may be in a funeral where coins over the eyes was employed, that family members might have removed one of the pair immediately prior to interment, leaving just one coin for the spirit to pay his or her passage into the afterlife. Thus, the archaeological recovery of a single coin at the head does not necessarily dictate that only one coin was present during the wake and funeral event – only that one coin was ultimately retained by the deceased at the time of interment. Given this, the folklorist Harry Middleton Hyatt (1935:588), working in southern Illinois in the 1930s, documented the practice of placing coins on the eyes of the deceased, with the added warning that it: "...was considered unlucky to remove these coins."

Please note that in this discussion of coins placed with the deceased, I am referring here to unmodified coinage and not to perforated or pierced coins. These modified coins, almost always worn around the neck or ankle (in historic accounts and when recovered in situ), are artifacts that are definitely indicative of spirituality, but specifically non-mortuary in origin and function. Perforated coins were instead objects worn by the individual in life; their function, to protect the individual from harm and in essence, prevent death. A total of 15 individuals were found in Freedman's Cemetery with one or more of these perforated coins (see Table 5-7) (for a detailed analysis of these artifacts, see Davidson 2004b).

**Table 5-7:
Burials Associated with Pierced Coin Charms at Freedman's Cemetery
(N=15)**

Time Period	Burial #	Age Category	Sex	Age	Coin type	Date	Location
Early (1869-1884)	1177	Subadult	F	0.58	Liberty Seated Dime	1842	cranium
Early (1869-1884)	1226	Subadult	F	1.18	Liberty Seated Dime	1853	neck
Pre-1900 (1869-1899)	1340	Subadult	Unkn	1.46	Liberty Seated Half Dime Liberty Seated Dime	1853 1855	neck neck
Middle (1885-1899)	549	Subadult	F	0.7	Liberty Seated Half Dime Liberty Seated Dime	1857 1877	neck neck
Middle (1885-1899)	608	Subadult	Unkn	1.83	Liberty Seated Dime	1857	neck
Late (1900)	32	Adult	F	41.5	Liberty Seated Dime prob. cuprous nickel	1857 ?	cranium cranium
Late (1900)	123	Subadult	Unkn	2.15	Liberty Seated Dime	1853	cranium
Late (1902)	327	Adult	M	38.9	Liberty Seated Half Dime Liberty Seated Half Dime	1860 1857	left ankle feet
Late (1901)	347	Subadult	F	1.95	Liberty Seated Dime	1853	neck
Late (1907)	383	Adult	F	34.5	Liberty Seated Half Dime Liberty Seated Half Dime Liberty Seated Half Dime	1856 1856 ?	neck neck neck
Late (1903)	881	Subadult	Unkn	0.3	Capped Bust Half Dime	1829	neck
Late (1901)	913	Subadult	Unkn	0.87	Liberty Seated Dime	1878	upper thorax
Late (1906)	1114	Adult	F	30.6	Liberty Seated Dime	1840	cranium
Late (1901)	1337	Subadult	Unkn	0.53	Liberty Seated Dime	1876	upper thorax
Late (1902)	1507	Adult	F?	20-60	Liberty Seated Dime Liberty Seated Half Dime	1889 1856	left ankle feet

When a person died while wearing such a coin charm, they were sometimes left on the body, either inadvertently, or perhaps for real fears of removal, since as a magical object used to shield the wearer from harm (such as voodoo or other kind of malevolent magic),

they would have literally soaked up “evil” before reaching the wearer and failing to prevent their death. Rendered essentially toxic, the coin charms may have followed the deceased into the grave if for no other reason than to remove such tainted and potentially dangerous objects from the world of the living (Davidson 2004b:47-48). While perforated coin charms are definitely a creolized folk tradition, with both African and European roots, their creation and use are not grounded in mortuary specific rituals (quite the opposite, actually), and so do not directly enter into the discussion of the rates (or percentages) of grave inclusions at Freedman’s Cemetery. However, their presence, in association with burial costs, will be considered (see Chapter 6).

While there is a wealth of redundant references describing the use of coins in a grave, the phenomenon of placing a single shoe on the lid of a coffin is not well documented archivally, at least from the sources I have explored. In fact, the only reference I have uncovered is an oblique one; in discussing the abundant though often conflicting accounts of placing coins with the body at the time of burial, the early 20th century professor of folklore Alexander Krappe, laments that: “We know far less of the original meaning of the shoe given to the dead man (Totenschuh)” (Krappe 1930:279).

This phenomenon was first documented *archaeologically* at the First African Baptist Church Cemetery (8th and Vine) site in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Archaeologists working in the 1980s recovered a total of 144 burials from the cemetery, which was in use from 1824 to 1841. Six of the exhumed graves had a single shoe placed atop their coffin lids (Parrington 1987; Parrington et al. 1989; McCarthy 1997). Placement of a single shoe or boot on the lid of a coffin might be explained away as an

accident, an incidental object that was in the grave fill when backfilling, except that the “accident” was repeated six times at the FABC cemetery. Further, of the 45 other cemetery projects examined for this grave inclusion analysis (Table 5-8) the same phenomenon has been documented at two other sites: Freedman’s Cemetery in Dallas and the Becky Wright Cemetery in rural Arkansas (Davidson 2004c) (see Table 5-14).

At Freedman’s Cemetery, a single shoe was associated with burials in two instances. Freedman’s Burial 1484, containing the remains of an infant less than one year of age, had an *adult sized* shoe placed with the burial. The excavator’s field notes for Burial 1484 describe the shoe as lying directly over the center of the child’s skeleton, and not on the coffin lid, although due to poor wood preservation this interpretation could be in error. This burial has an estimated date of interment of 1901. The other example of a shoe on a lid of a coffin at Freedman’s is Burial 343, a subadult (1.34 years). The shoe was placed atop the wooden viewing window cover panel of the coffin, which would have positioned the shoe indirectly over the thorax of the child. Burial 343 has been assigned to the Late Period with an estimated interment date of 1900 (Davidson 1999a).

Table 5-8: All Historic Cemetery Excavations examined for Evidence of Grave Inclusions (N=45)*

Project	Temporal Range	Race or ethnicity	Location (by state)	# of burials exhumed	# of individuals exhumed	Grave Inclusions (Y/N)	# of burials with inclusions	% of Burials with inclusions	Reference
Freedman's Cemetery (all burials)	1869-1907	Black	TX	1150	1157	Y	70	6.10%	Condon et al. 1998
Freedman's Early Period	1869-1884	Black	TX	64	64	Y	2	3.10%	Condon et al. 1998
Freedman's Middle Period	1885-1899	Black	TX	170	171	Y	14	8.20%	Condon et al. 1998
Freedman's "Pre-1900" Period	1869-1899	Black	TX	37	37	Y	1	2.70%	Condon et al. 1998
Freedman's Late Period	1900-1907	Black	TX	878	884	Y	54	6.20%	Condon et al. 1998
First Cemetery (New Orleans)	1721-1789	Black	LA	32	32	N	0	0.00%	Owsley et al. 1985
Seville Plantation	1720-1750	Black	Jamaica	4	4	Y	4	100.00%	Armstrong and Fleischman 2003
Catoctin Furnace Cemetery	1790-1840	Black	MD	35	35	N	0	0.00%	Burnston and Thomas 1981
First African Baptist Church (10th and Vine)	1810-1822	Black	PA	85	85	Y	4	4.70%	McCarthy 1997
First African Baptist Church (8th and Vine)	1823-1842	Black	PA	140	140	Y	18	12.90%	Parrington et al. 1989
Elko Switch Cemetery	1850-1920	Black	AL	56	56	Y	2	3.60%	Shogren et al. 1989

Bellwood Farm Cemetery	1840-1900	Black	VA	6	6	N	0	0.00%	Bowden and Blake 2000
Spartanburg County (38Sp105)	1870-1910	Black	SC	15	15	Y	1	6.70%	Joseph et al. 1991
Redfield Cemetery	1875-1930	Black	GA	80	80	Y	9	11.30%	Braley and Moffat 1995
Ridley Cemetery	1885-1940	Black	TN	49	49	Y	2	4.80%	Buchner et al. 1999
Cedar Grove Cemetery	1900-1915	Black	AR	79	80	Y	4	5.10%	Rose 1985
Blackburn Cemetery (later graves: 1,2,3,4)	1900-1925	Black	TN	4	4	N	0	0.00%	Atkinson and Turner 1987
Nancy Creek Cemetery	1850s-1979	Black and white	GA	56	56	Y	1	1.80%	Garrow et al. 1985
Laredo Cemetery	1880-1920	Hispanic	TX	17	17	Y	2	11.80%	McReynolds 1981
Sandy Creek Cemetery	1841-1920s	Unknown	GA	13	13	Y	1	7.70%	Garrow 1990
Sussex Cty Cemetery (site 7S-F-68)	1752-1799	White	DE	9	9	N	0	0.00%	LeeDecker et al. 1995
Cool Branch Cemetery	1800-1830	White	TN	5	5	N	0	0.00%	Matternes 1998
Pine Ridge Cemetery	1800-1850	White	GA	14	14	N	0	0.00%	Wilson 1998b
Blackburn Cemetery (early graves:5,6,8,9)	1818-1850	White	TN	4	4	N	0	0.00%	Atkinson and Turner 1987
Harvie Family Burying Ground	1825-1894	White	Canada	15	15	N	0	0.00%	Saunders and Lazenby 1991
Dallas Pioneer Cemetery	1884-1920	White	TX	15	15	N	0	0.00%	Cooper et al. 2000
Talbot County Cemetery	1825-1900	White	GA	6	6	N	0	0.00%	Garrow and Symes 1987

Cross Family Cemetery	1829-1849	White	IL	29	29	N	0	0.00%	Craig and Larsen 1993
Spartanburg County (38Sp106)	1830s-1880s	White	SC	61	61	N	0	0.00%	Joseph et al. 1991
Weir Family Cemetery	1830s-1907	White	VA	24	24	Y	1	4.20%	Little et al. 1992
Oliver Family Cemetery	1831-1865	White	VA	11	11	N	0	0.00%	Wilson 1998c
Voegtly Cemetery	1833-1861	White	PA	727	727?	Y	22	3.00%	Beynon 1989
Grafton Cemetery	1834-1873	White	IL	246	246?	y	5	2.00%	Buikstra et al. 2000
Brunson-Sisson Cemetery (11WI874)	1836-1892	White	IL	20	19	N	0	0.00%	Cobb et al. 1999
Sinclair Cemetery (41DT105)	1850s-1880s	White	TX	16	16	N	0	0.00%	Winchell et al. 1992
Fuller Cemetery	1856-1920	White	GA	46	46	N	0	0.00%	Wilson and Holland 1998
Seven Rivers Cemetery	1873-1899	White	NM	54	54	Y	2	3.70%	Ferguson et al. 1993
Eddy Cemetery (3CW921)	1870-1900	White	AR	16	16	N	0	0.00%	Davidson 2004c
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	1854-1900	White	AR	10	10	Y	3	30.00%	Davidson 2004c
Tucker Cemetery	1880-1942	White	TX	16	16	Y	1	6.30%	Lebo 1988
Texas State Cemetery (Confederate)	1884-1951	White	TX	57	57	Y	1	1.80%	Dockall et al. 1996
Applegate Lake Project (two cemeteries)	1886-1914	White	OR	13	13	Y	1	7.70%	Brauner and Jenkins 1980

Dement Cemetery (3CW685)	1890; 1896	White	AR	2	2	N	0	0.00%	Cande 1995
Morgan Chapel Cemetery	1891- 1924	White	TX	21	21	N	0	0.00%	Taylor et al. 1986
Choke Canyon Project (five cemeteries)	ca 1860- 1911	White	TX	34	34	Y	1	2.90%	Fox 1984
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Boothill Cemetery)	1870s- 1880s	White?	TX	11	11	Y	1	9.10%	Earls et al. 1991
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Coffey Cemetery)	1870s- 1880s	White?	TX	2	2	N	0	0.00%	Earls et al. 1991
Brownell Indian Cemetery	1870- 1920	Native American	CA	45	45	Y	25	55.60%	Woolfenden 1969
Arthur Patterson Site (41SJ67)	1852- 1880	Native American	TX	3	3	Y	2	67.00%	Hsu 1969
Spitalfields Crypts	1700- 1850	white	Great Britian	987	987	Y	4	0.41%	Reeve and Adams1996

*(excludes Catholic religious paraphernalia; e.g., rosary beads)

The only other known cemetery where this phenomenon has been observed is the Becky Wright Cemetery, where a single shoe was recovered from the coffin lid of Burial 11, where it was lying centered above an adult woman's chest (Davidson 2004c). Even more cemeteries might have originally had shoes placed on coffin lids, but poor preservation of leather (as it lies in direct contact with the soil), in combination with the often too rapid excavation techniques commonly employed in historic cemetery investigations, likely have played contributing factors to their overall rarity archaeologically.

Various interpretations behind this practice have been presented. John McCarthy (1997), writing on the phenomena at the FABC site in Philadelphia, argues that the custom is African derived, and in its practice, these black Philadelphians were consciously *performing* their ethnicity. However, McCarthy does not give any source for his central premise, that this practice, and the presumed belief system inherent within it, is of African origin (save for a less than satisfactory metaphor that only a *single* shoe is offered as a symbol of a journey). From my own reading, I have found no reference to similar practices in Africa, from any time period. However, there are intriguing practices that are Western European in origin, and specifically British Isles – literally a wealth of Western folklore regarding shoes. Shoes have been considered lucky, and at times magically charged objects, since at least the time of the Roman Empire. The authoritative volume, *A Dictionary of Superstitions*, edited by Iona Opie and Moira Tatem (1989) lists 22 major beliefs regarding shoes as magically charged objects (including shoelaces, stockings, etc), with the earliest recorded belief dating to 77 A.D. in

the writings of the Roman scholar Pliny (Opie and Tatem 1989:353). One common practice involved throwing a shoe or shoes at people as they began new journeys, such as at weddings, a practice that was recorded as early as 1546 and which has continued into the 20th century (Anonymous 1859:261-266; Opie and Tatem 1989:351-352; Hazlitt 1965:543-544). Death was (and is) certainly viewed as a journey into an unknown land, so perhaps the placement of a shoe with the dead was to extend a metaphor used for the living, into the afterlife.

Perhaps more pertinent to this discussion, however, are the worn-out shoes and boots that have commonly been found concealed in walls and in chimneys of old houses throughout England and even in the United States, some dating back several hundred years (Merrifield 1987:131-134). This practice is considered one in which the shoe acts as a house charm, protecting its inhabitants from harm. Placing a shoe on a coffin lid might be seen as working in an analogous way. The ultimate rationale for placing a single shoe on a coffin lid might additionally be traced to the actions of John Schorn, the 15th century parish priest of North Marsten in Buckinghamshire, England, who according to legend, once conjured the Devil himself into a boot. It is not entirely clear whether or not the use of a shoe or boot as a means to trap evil originated with Schorn, or if he was simply invoking a commonly recognized symbol of the day, though Schorn's feat was widely known in his own time and was commonly depicted on Christian pilgrim's badges of the period (Merrifield 1987:134-136).

Thus, the boot or shoe may have been viewed as a means to trap or deflect evil. The devil, attracted to the newly dug grave, might theoretically mistake the shoe for the

deceased, because the shoe, being made of the tanned skin of an animal, is in one sense a literal body or corpse, and with the pre-20th century shoes often ill fitting and stiff when new, and only later conforming to the shape of the wearer's foot, the shoe picks up a distinctive and unique character, formed in part by the deceased. In short, it is a wonderful proxy and metaphor for the departed.

While this legend may explain the practice of placing a single shoe with a burial, to trap the Devil before he can steal the soul of the recently departed, how this belief might have been transferred and mapped onto religious life in the 19th century remains unknown. Both the FABC site and Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas were African-American, while Burial 11 at the Becky Wright Cemetery is of European descent, so the belief in shoes as supernatural objects was apparently current in Euroamerican and African-American culture of the 19th century.

Grave Inclusion Analysis

Before examining the practice of placing personal and other kinds of objects into graves at Freedman's Cemetery, it is necessary to contextualize the depth and extent of grave inclusions in the United States generally. Towards this end, a survey of some 45 cemeteries that have been subjected to archaeological investigations was conducted. The results of this survey are given in Table 5-8. This sample includes exclusively African-American cemeteries, as well as Euroamerican, Hispanic, Native American examples, and one burial sample from Great Britain. Note that the percentage or rate of burials with inclusions at these cemeteries refers to inclusions in any form (except for clothing

elements or jewelry). Other cemeteries investigated archaeologically could have been included, but were rejected for various reasons. For example, a handful of cemeteries given in Table 4-1 have not been considered here, because *detailed* information on specific interments was not available. Additionally, there are a few cemeteries subjected to archaeological investigations that would have made excellent comparatives, but even summary data for these sites is limited. The African Burial Ground (Hansen and McGowan 1998) would have been an ideal comparative, but a comprehensive report of investigations has not yet been made public. The Sam Goode Cemetery in southern Virginia, which dates to the late 19th and early 20th century, would also have been a good comparative, but a copy of the report could not be located (Joseph et al. 2000; Joseph 2004:24).

Certainly it is just as important to see where the practice of placing objects with the dead occurred, and where it was rare or absent entirely. Date of interment might seem to be a factor, with some very early burials entirely lacking in inclusions, but this is not entirely true. For example, the 32 burials of enslaved African and African-Americans exhumed from the First Cemetery in New Orleans, dating from 1721-1789 (Owsley et al. 1985) did not have any grave inclusions (save for a single rosary, which was not considered in this analysis), nor did any of the slave burials at the Catoctin Furnace Cemetery in Maryland, which immediately follows its temporally (i.e., 1790-1840) (Burnston and Thomas 1981). In contrast, the 4 contemporaneous burials of enslaved Africans on the Seville Plantation in Jamaica all had at least one grave inclusion. Additionally, although not quantified for this analysis, many of the graves recovered from

the Newton Plantation site in Barbados (Handler and Lange 1978) were found in association with grave goods, such as smoking pipes, copper bracelets and rings, beaded jewelry, etc. Finally, only a few grave inclusions were recovered from the African Burial Ground in New York, such as coins and clay smoking pipes (Hansen and McGowan 1998). The overall disparity of inclusions between the Caribbean and North American graves of enslaved persons of similar dating might stem from greater surveillance of burial practices in New Orleans, New York and Maryland by white enslavers, and a much lesser level of surveillance in the Caribbean examples. It is also possible that given the extremely high death rate and greater continuous importation of enslaved persons in the Caribbean, those graves in Barbados and Jamaica were likely all African born slaves, who maintained very strong and essentially unmodified notions regarding spirituality and death rituals (see Table 5-8).

There is also a dichotomy between burials of enslaved and free African-Americans. The Catoctin Furnace Cemetery in Maryland is at least partly contemporaneous and geographically close to both First African Baptist Church cemeteries in Philadelphia, but it lacks any trace of grave inclusions, while the FABC cemeteries have several burials with grave inclusions; 12.90% of all burials had inclusions at the later site (8th and Vine) and 4.70% of the burials at the earlier cemetery had them (10th and Vine) (Table 5-8).

We are on much firmer footing when discussing grave inclusions in African-American cemeteries that date after Emancipation. At these cemeteries, all of them had at least one burial with grave inclusions of one sort or another. So which cemeteries have

the most inclusions, and what kinds of artifacts are they?

Of the 45 cemeteries examined for the presence or absence of grave inclusions (given in Table 5-8), Table 5-9 lists only those 23 cemeteries that had at least one burial with some sort of inclusion. Further, these cemeteries are listed in the order of the most inclusions, to the least.

Table 5-9: Historic Cemetery Excavations with Grave Inclusions (N=23)
(see Table 5-8 for citations)

Project	Temporal Range	Race	Location	# of individuals exhumed	# of burials with inclusions	% of Burials with inclusions
Freedman's Cemetery (all burials)	1869-1907	Black	TX	1157	70	6.10%
Freedman's Early Period	1869-1884	Black	TX	64	2	3.10%
Freedman's Middle Period	1885-1899	Black	TX	171	14	8.20%
Freedman's "Pre-1900" Period	1869-1899	Black	TX	37	1	2.70%
Freedman's Late Period	1900-1907	Black	TX	884	54	6.20%
Arthur Patterson Site (41SJ67)	1852-1880	Native American	TX	3	2	67.00%
Brownell Indian Cemetery	1870-1920	Native American	CA	45	25	55.60%
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	1854-1900	White	AR	10	3	30.00%
First African Baptist Church (8th and Vine)	1823-1842	Black	PA	140	18	12.90%
Laredo Cemetery	1880-1920	Hispanic	TX	17	2	11.80%

Redfield Cemetery	1875-1930	Black	GA	80	9	11.30%
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Boothill Cemetery)	1870s-1880s	White?	TX	11	1	9.10%
Sandy Creek Cemetery	1841-1920s	Unknown	GA	13	1	7.70%
Applegate Lake Project (two cemeteries)	1886-1914	White	OR	13	1	7.70%
Spartanburg County, S. C. 38Sp105	1870-1910	Black	SC	15	1	6.70%
Tucker Cemetery	1880-1942	White	TX	16	1	6.30%
Cedar Grove Cemetery	1900-1915	Black	AR	80	4	5.10%
Ridley Cemetery	1885-1940	Black	TN	49	2	4.80%
First African Baptist Church (10th and Vine)	1810-1822	Black	PA	85	4	4.70%
Weir Family Cemetery	1830s-1907	White	VA	24	1	4.20%
Seven Rivers Cemetery	1873-1899	White	NM	54	2	3.70%
Elko Switch Cemetery	1850-1920	Black	AL	56	2	3.60%
Voegtly Cemetery	1833-1861	White	PA	727?	22	3.00%
Choke Canyon Project (five cemeteries)	circa 1860-1911	White	TX	34	1	2.90%
Grafton Cemetery	1834-1873	White	IL	246?	5	2.00%
Nancy Creek Cemetery	1850s-1979	Black and white	GA	56	1	1.80%
Texas State Cemetery (Confederate)	1884-1951	White	TX	57	1	1.80%
Spitalfields Crypts*	1700-1850	English	Great Britain	987	4*	0.41%

*(minimum number; an unknown number of burials described as having “pennies over the eyes”

At this summary level of analysis I included the two Native American cemeteries that date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and they overwhelmingly had the most inclusions of any in the sample. While this is not particularly surprising, after these the cemetery that had the most inclusions (as a percentage of the total number of graves in the site) was the Becky Wright Cemetery, a *white* late 19th century burial ground in rural Arkansas (Davidson 2004c). Actually, the number of white cemeteries with grave inclusions (of any form) in some cases exceed the rates seen in several black cemeteries of the same time period. But what form do these inclusions take?

Table 5-10 gives those cemeteries that have inclusions defined as representative of “Core Elements of Spirituality,” and as such are the material correlates of belief systems documented historically (e.g., Pucket 1926, etc.; as discussed above).

Table 5-10: All Historic Cemetery Excavations with Grave Inclusions representing “Core Elements of Spirituality” (N=20)

Project	Temporal Range	“Race”	Location (by state)	# of burials	Plates, etc. (#)	Percentage of plates, etc.	Bottle(s) (#)	Percentage of Bottles	Coins (#)	Percentage of Coins	Shoes on lid (#)	Percentage of Shoes on Lid
Freedman’s Cemetery (all burials)	1869-1907	Black	TX	11 49	5	0.40 %	13	1.10 %	13	1.10 %	2	0.20%
Freedman’s Early Period	1869-1884	Black	TX	64	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0%
Freedman’s Middle Period	1885-1899	Black	TX	17 0	3	1.80 %	3	1.80 %	4	2.40 %	0	0%

Freedman's "Pre-1900" Period	1869- 1899	Black	TX	37	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	2.70 %	0	0%
Freedman's Late Period	1900- 1907	Black	TX	87 8	2	0.20 %	10	1.10 %	8	0.90 %	2	0.20%

First African Baptist Church (10th & Vine)	1810- 1822	Black	PA	85	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	4	4.70 %	0	0.00%
First African Baptist Church (8th & Vine)	1823- 1842	Black	PA	14 0	2	1.40 %	0	0.00 %	8	5.70 %	6	4.30%
Elko Switch Cemetery	1850- 1920	Black	AL	56	1	1.80 %	1	1.80 %	1	1.80 %	0	0%
Redfield Cemetery	1875- 1930	Black	GA	80	1	1.30 %	7	8.80 %	1	1.30 %	0	0%
Ridley Cemetery	1885- 1940	Black	TN	49	1	2.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0%
Cedar Grove Cemetery	1900- 1915	Black	AR	79	1	1.30 %	1	1.30 %	1	1.30 %	0	0%
Nancy Creek Cemetery	1850s -1979	Black and white	GA	56	0	0.00 %	1	1.80 %	0	0.00 %	0	0%
Laredo Cemetery	1880- 1920	Hispanic	TX	17	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	5.90 %	0	0%
Sandy Creek Cemetery	1841- 1920s	Unkn	GA	13	1	7.70 %	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0%
Voegtly Cemetery	1833- 1861	White	PA	72 7	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	18	2.50 %	0	0.00%
Grafton Cemetery	1834- 1873	White	IL	24 6	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	4	1.60 %	0	0.00%
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	1854- 1900	White	AR	10	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	10.00 %
Texas State Cemetery Confederate	1884- 1951	White	TX	57	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	1.80 %	0	0%
Applegate Lake Project (two cemeteries)	1886- 1914	White	OR	13	0	0.00 %	0	0.00 %	1	7.70 %	0	0%
Spitalfields Crypts*	1700- 1850	White	G. B.	98 7	0	0.00 %	1	0.10 %	2*	0.20 %	0	0.00%

*(minimum number; an unknown number of burials described as having "pennies over the eyes")

The kinds of artifacts that fall in this category include ceramic plates (as well as saucers, shallow bowls, etc), bottles, unmodified coins, and a single shoe placed on the lid of the burial container. While Table 5-10 summarizes the rates of these objects in the various cemeteries, Tables 5-11 through 5-14 give the specific burials, form of inclusion, and location in the grave for all of these plates, bottles, coins, and shoes, respectively. Table 5-15 additionally lists the burials that were associated with any of the other forms of grave inclusions that do not fall into one of these 4 key categories.

As demonstrated in Table 5-10, the total number of burials at Freedman's (or in the other cemeteries discussed here) associated with these core elements of spirituality is at best, minimal, so how can it be said that these traditions were really so widespread within black society during the 19th and early 20th centuries? I think that the inclusions placed in the coffin or casket, or on its lid, have a direct correspondence and equivalency with those objects placed on the surface of the grave. The vivid and seemingly countless descriptions of mounds of broken and cracked plates and other ceramic objects, along with the numerous accounts of medicine bottles lying atop of a grave, or half buried along its perimeter, arguably are derived from the same belief. What differs only is the dictates of the particular family, as to whether these objects would be laid in the coffin, on its lid, or used to mark the surface of the same grave; the core belief remains constant throughout these various locations. While these surface expressions are missing from this analysis of Freedman's Cemetery, due to their disturbed nature, their original and once commonplace presence should always be remembered.

Table 5-11: All Burials associated with Plates, Saucers, and shallow bowls

Cemetery	Burial	“Race”	Age	Sex	Date Range	Ceramic vessel	ceramic vessel loci	#	Other inclusions
Freedman’s Middle Period	422	Black	31	adult F + subadult 0.10y	1885-1899	Saucer (white ware)	underneath right femur midshaft	1	
Freedman’s Middle Period	1034	Black	35.4	adult-M?	1885-1899	shallow bowl (ironstone)	underneath right innominate	1	
Freedman’s Middle Period	1400	Black	0.8	subadult (female)	1885-1899	toy toilet set (chamber pot, etc)	over right shoulder/rt. Thorax	4	
Freedman’s Late Period	423	Black	45.2	adult M?	1906	shallow Bowl (Ironstone)	face up, on top of left innominate	1	
Freedman’s Late Period	909	Black	0	subadult (female)	1902	Saucer (white ware)	inverted, atop coffin lid, in center of coffin	1	2 medicine bottles at head; feet
FABC (8th & Vine)	59	Black			1823-1842	Plate (Blue, shell edged muffin)	over abdomen	1	
FABC (8th & Vine)	52	Black			1823-1842	Plate (“Canton” Porcelain Dinner)	over abdomen/pelvis, right side up	1	
Redfield Cemetery	2	Black	adolescent	<i>M</i>	1875-1930	Saucer (white ironstone)	thorax	1	
Ridley Cemetery	4	Black	25-35	F	1875-1895	Saucer (white ironstone)	inverted beneath left innominate	1	

Elko Switch	7	Black	40-60	F	1875-1895	Saucer (white porcelain)	rt. Lower thorax	1	
Cedar Grove Cemetery	70	Black	50+ yrs	F	1900-1915	Saucer (white ware decal)	beneath left innominate	1	Liberty Nickel (1897) in left orbit
Sandy Creek Cemetery	9	unk	unk	unk	1900-1920	Saucer (white ironstone)	at waist	1	

While Table 5-9 undoubtedly documents the fact that many white cemeteries have burials with grave inclusions (i.e., beyond jewelry or clothing elements), when we move beyond a simplistic summary of the presence or absence of inclusions, and examine the specific form of these associated objects, we find instead a very distinctive pattern that does not support this cursory analysis.

Ceramic vessels in the Graves: Plates, etc.

At Freedman's Cemetery and 6 other cemeteries (of the sample of 45 cemeteries examined for this chapter; see Tables 5-10; 5-11), ceramic vessels, in the form of plates, saucers and shallow bowls, were interred with the deceased. Including Freedman's Cemetery, all of the sites were definitively African-American, save for Sandy Creek Cemetery in Georgia, which was an unmarked and racially ambiguous site (Garrow 1990). Many of the vessels were placed in the coffin in such a way that they could not have held any contents, in that they were often inverted, placed beneath the body, or both (see Table 5-11). The ethnohistorical accounts of 19th and early 20th century African-Americans, such as those recorded by Puckett (1926), commonly describe the placement of the last plate, cup, or bowl used the dying person, into the coffin or grave with the dead. The idea behind this tradition was that these common and everyday household ceramics were tainted by the touch of the dying, and were in essence touched by death, resonating with the energy of the deceased. It was best to bury these items with the dead, so that they could not harm the living.

Certainly the presence of these ceramics, in seeming agreement with the collected

folklore accounts, combined with the overwhelming number of African-American cemeteries exhibiting this practice, and their complete lack in white cemeteries, all suggest that the placement of ceramic vessels into a coffin or casket is a predominately African derived tradition. Patrick Garrow (1990), in his excavations at the Sandy Creek Cemetery in Clarke County, Georgia, definitely believed that it was an African derived tradition, since he assigned the cultural/racial category of African-American/black to these unknown burials based only on the presence of grave inclusions and remnants of surface markers in the form of a white ware saucer and broken pressed glassware (Garrow 1990:39, 45).

Was Garrow right, or are there any European or British Isles analogues of this practice known historically or archaeologically? The short answer is, yes, there were British folk traditions that could involve a plate or bowl entering the burial. The archaeologist Ray Fremmer discussed the presence of ceramic plates from burials in Jamaica (Fremmer 1973:58-62). Fremmer states quite unequivocally that ceramic dishes are occasionally found in Christian burials in England, dating to the post Medieval period. He compares this phenomenon in the English burials, however infrequent, with two burials he excavated in Jamaica that each had similar white ceramic plates (actually, one white saltglazed stoneware saucer and a feather edged creamware plate) (Fremmer 1973:59). No less than Ivor Noel Hume has documented a 17th century burial in London interred with a plate dated to circa 1675-1685, although Hume himself believed the practice to be extremely rare, since he had documented literally hundreds of similar burials in London without any ceramic inclusions (Fremmer 1973:59-60).

The interpretation for the phenomenon of the occasional plate in a British burial offered by Fremmer, and entirely logical on its face, is based on the very commonly documented British Isles tradition of placing a plate or bowl containing various granular substances on top of or adjacent to the corpse as it is lying in state or during the wake. References to this practice abound, and differ largely on what kind of substance is in the plate (either ashes, salt, salt and earth, snuff, or coffee), the exact placement of the plate (on the stomach, the chest, or below the body underneath the cooling board), and the rationale for the practice (to prevent bloating, to keep the Devil at bay, etc). For example, there was a custom documented in certain parts of Ireland in the mid 19th century, of placing a plate of snuff on the stomach of the dead. When mourners came to the wake, it was considered proper etiquette to take a pinch of snuff from the body (Anonymous 1859:47). Another account from Scotland, circa 1775, states that a wooden platter, containing salt and earth, unmixed and in equal measure, to symbolize “a corruptible body” (the earth) and the immortal spirit (the salt), was laid directly on the breast of the dead (Fremmer 1973:61). Ashes and salt are described in early 20th century African-American accounts, with the rationale that “...whatever disease the body has goes into the ashes and salt” (Puckett 1926:87).

The most common substance placed in a dish was salt. One folklore collection from the northern counties of England, originally published in 1866, has this to say about the matter of placing salt with a corpse; “... Then she must measure three handfuls of common salt into an earthenware plate, and lay it directly on the breast” (Henderson 1879:53). Several references collected in a single mid-19th century volume (Anonymous

1859:120-121; 174) also refer to the practice of placing a plate of salt on the stomach (or less commonly, the breast) of the dead, or under the coffin or cooling board, in England, Wales, and Scotland. One reference in England even has a parish clerk placing a plate of salt on the stomach of a man who was dying (but not quite dead), to help him “die easier” (Anonymous 1859:120). The preference in these instances was for a pewter plate, which differs from most accounts. Pewter, being shiny and resembling silver, might have been viewed as a helpful (if not entirely necessary) addition to keep witches and other evil at bay, for it is well established in folklore accounts dating back at least to the Middle Ages that a witch cannot bear silver and that only silver bullets can harm or kill a witch or other malevolent figure (Burne 1883:165; Hand 1964:164; Opie and Tatum 1989:357-358).

The usual explanation for the use of salt is a functional one – that it prevents bloating of the corpse – but this a late 19th century rationale for a much older practice, where the salt was used to prevent the devil from harming the recently deceased’s spirit. Salt, as white, was seen as a symbol of purity and in a 1790 account, “...the devil loveth no salt in his meat, for that is a sign of eternity, and used by God’s commandment in all his practices (Fremmer 1973:61). Nearly one hundred years later, the Reverend Walter Gregor, writing of folk lore in northeast Scotland in 1881, states that at the funeral event: “on the breast was placed a saucer or plate containing a little salt, to keep the evil spirits away, because they could not come near Christ’s savior of the earth” (Gregor 1881:207). This custom and belief is carried forward almost verbatim in a description of the practice in early 20th century Scotland (McPherson 1929:124).

Fremmer (1973), in his research into the tradition of placing a plate of salt on a corpse, could find no statement confirming that the plate entered the grave with the deceased, though this almost certainly happened on occasion. Nor did I find a reference to the plate's interment. However, anything that has touched a corpse for a length of time can be seen as tainted by death.

There is a story of some relevance in my own family, pertaining to my great-great-grandfather, G. L. Kight, who worked on a railroad as a station master in the little town of Proctor, Texas, in the early 20th century. A brakeman on the railroad had died up the line, crushed between two cars, and the body was being sent down the line in a special car to his widow.

When the locomotive and car reached Proctor, my great-great grandfather took it upon himself the grim task of "prettying up" the corpse, so that when the body arrived at his final destination, the dead man would look his best for the widow. This meant dressing him in clean clothes, and shaving the dead man with my distant ancestor's own straight razor. The task accomplished, the local doctor, who was on hand to help my great-great grandfather, offered the suggestion that he should discard the razor, since it had touched the dead man, and perhaps had drawn blood. My great-great grandfather placed the razor in a small box and buried it under the front step into the train depot (where presumably it lies to this day, waiting for someone to exhume this rusty instrument and wonder about it all). My ancestor knew that the brakeman had not died of some infectious disease and in fact was only a few hours deceased, and yet readily gave up a personal possession because it had momentarily "touched death."

The tradition of placing salt on a plate with a corpse has been documented in African-American communities, with the variant of ashes and salt also described in early 20th century African-American accounts, with this rationale given by Puckett's black informants (Puckett 1926:87) that: "...whatever disease the body has goes into the ashes and salt." This certainly suggests that the plate used to hold the salt is tainted and cannot simply be put back in the cupboard. Plates used in this funeral ritual in England might have been recycled back to mundane kitchen duties, but in African-American society, its use in a funeral ritual with a dead body has transformed that plate into a spiritually charged and potentially harmful object, presumably fit only for placing in the coffin with the deceased, or on the surface of the grave after the last shovel full of earth has been put into the grave. A point that even more strongly suggests that this occurred is that at times the plate was carried out to the grave side; as described in one account collected by Newbell Niles Puckett (1926:87), the ashes once in a plate on top of the corpse are "...carried to the grave; and at the words, 'Ashes to ashes and dust to dust,' they are thrown into the grave."

In summary, while the use of a platter of salt on a corpse during the wake originated in the British Isles and was brought over to the Americas, where it was continued by people of English descendant, and adopted by some African-Americans at least by the 19th century, it alone does not likely account for all of the plates, saucers, and the like on and within African-American burials, as documented in Tables 5-10 and 5-11. Rather, it is not the salt ritual (or ashes, in some cases) that is the core belief that transfers a simple plate into a grave, it is the underlying belief system, largely African derived, that

object touched by the dying or even the recently dead, were charged with the departing spirit of the deceased, and once it has entered this supernatural state, should follow the body into death. As a 20th century African native, a Kongolese, put it: “plates and cups and drinking glasses are frequently selected for placement on the surface of a tomb. It is believed that the last strength of a dead person is still present within that sort of object” (Thompson 1983:134).

Bottles in the Graves

Although I have read literally dozens of 19th century and earlier folklore collections from the British Isles, I could not find any clearly stated tradition of placing bottles, especially medicine bottles, in the coffin with the body. Rather, this belief seems entirely African-American, and ultimately African derived. The historical accounts given above, such as one black woman from Mississippi told Newbell Niles Puckett (1926:104), likely articulate the rationale responsible for the bottles found in the graves at Freedman’s and elsewhere: “...to keep the deceased from coming back again, the cup and saucer used in the last illness should be placed on the grave. The medicine bottles are placed there also – turned upside down with the corks loosened so that the medicine may soak into the grave” (Puckett 1926:104). The rationale given here for the placement of medicine bottles (and probably even perfume bottles used in the sick room) is identical to that stated for the inclusion of plates, cups, bowls, etc.

As with the ceramic plates, the hypothesis that the practice of placing bottles in the coffin with the dead is an African-American (and ultimately African) practice, is

borne out by the archaeological data. Tables 5-10 and 5-12 give the cemeteries that had bottles recovered from within or in direct contact with the burial container, and all of them are African-American, save for a single medicine bottle recovered from a child's grave (from the 18th or early 19th century) in the Spitalfields crypt excavations in London, England. Further, the use of bottles in the graves is not found in any of the earlier cemeteries, save for a possible bottle associated with a slave burial at the Harney site on Montserrat in the West Indies, a data set not accounted for in Tables 5-8, 5-9, etc., due to the site's highly disturbed nature and problematic artifact associations (Watters 1994).

Most of the smaller black cemeteries had a single bottle associated with one grave, but at the Redfield Cemetery in rural Georgia, seven burials had bottles, with a total rate of bottles in the Redfield Cemetery as a whole standing at 8.80%, or nearly one in ten of the burials with bottles. The rates at Freedman's are much lower, with 13 burials from all of Freedman's Cemetery with bottles (or just 1.1% of the burials).

Table 5-12: All Burials associated with Bottles

Cemetery	Burial	Race	Age	Sex	Date range	Bottle 1	Bottle 1 loci	#	Bottle 2	Bottle 2 loci	#	Other inclusions
Freedman's Late Period	1092	Black	37	adult F	1903	aqua cylindrical bulk medicine bottle	between thighs	1				
Freedman's Late Period	909	Black	0	subadult (female)	1902	aqua medicine? bottle	beside head of coffin, in grave shaft	1	clear medicine?	beside foot of coffin, in grave shaft	1	White ware saucer atop lid
Freedman's Late Period	929	Black	28.7	adult M?	1901	clear medicine bottle with intact stopper	over left hip	1				
Freedman's Late Period	1120	Black	9	subadult (female)	1900	clear prescription bottles with intact corks	between lower legs	5	florida water bottle	between lower legs	1	
Freedman's Late Period	1055	Black	0.18	subadult	1903	clear rect. medicine bottle w/intact stopper	Along side upper left arm	1				rubber urethral syringe

Freedman's Late Period	108	Black	32.5	adult F	1900	Hoyt's German Cologne	along side left humerus	1				
Freedman's Late Period	147	Black	9.6	subadult (male)	1903	Hoyt's German Cologne	on coffin lid	1				
Freedman's Late Period	327	Black	38.9	adult M?	1902	Platte's Chloride's Disinfectant	beside foot of coffin, in grave shaft	1				
Freedman's Late Period	838	Black	0.15	subadult (female)	1900	prescription bottle (cork intact)	at left side of head	1				
Freedman's Late Period	22	Black	34.2	adult M?	1901	tiny cylindrical vial w/stopper	in pocket at left elbow	1				
Freedman's Middle Period	1326	Black	0	subadult (female)	1885-1899	medicine bottle	at feet	1				
Freedman's Middle Period	1397	Black	18.5	adult F?	1885-1899	medicine bottle	thorax (general)	1				
Freedman's Middle Period	1252	Black	29.2	adult F?	1885-1899	perfume? bottle	in crook of right arm	1				
Cedar Grove Cemetery	10	Black	25-29	M	1900-1915	Prescription bottle	pelvis	1				
Elko Switch	1	Black	9-15 months	unk	1916-1920	Prescription bottle		1				Nickels (1901; 1916) in thorax

Nancy Creek	109	<i>Black or white</i>	8-10yrs	unk	1892-1903	medicine bottle	unk	2	perfume bottle	unk	1	
Redfield Cemetery	12	Black	adolescent	M	1875-1930	medicine bottle	rt. Shoulder	1				
Redfield Cemetery	4	Black	elderly adult	M	1875-1930	petroleum jelly jar	feet	1				
Redfield Cemetery	6	Black	Adult	M	1875-1930	Prescription bottle	feet	1	pill bottle	feet	1	
Redfield Cemetery	28	Black	Adult	M	1875-1930	Prescription bottle	hip/knee	1	amber chemical bottle	hip/knee	1	
Redfield Cemetery	32	Black	Adult	unk	1875-1930	Prescription bottle	feet	2	amber bottles	feet	2	
Redfield Cemetery	79	Black	Adult	unk	1875-1930	prob. Medicine bottle	left hip	1				
Redfield Cemetery	46	Black	Adult	unk	1875-1930	probable perfume bottle	left hand	1				
Spitalfields, England	unk	White	Child	unk	1700-1850	medicine bottle (intact stopper)	unk					

Unmodified Coins in the Graves

As discussed above, the practice of placing a coin or coins in the coffin with the dead was once a widespread practice with a great antiquity in the Western world, dating back in Greek culture as early as 470 B.C. (Merrifield 1989:67; Puckle 1926:51), and has been documented in the British Isles as early as early 1600s (Britten 1881:159). The belief continued to be practiced in Great Britain well into the 20th century (McPherson 1929:124).

Unmodified coins, usually at the head or in the vicinity of the hands, have been found in African-American burials (e.g., McCarthy 1997:373-376). While the belief system driving this practice in black society may be ultimately African derived, the specific form of the expression, the coins themselves, clearly has European roots, and this is reflected in the cemeteries that have had coins recovered in association with burials. In all, Table 5-10 and more specifically, Table 5-13, lists a total of five white cemeteries (i.e., Voegtly, Grafton, Spitalfields, Texas State Cemetery, Applegate Lake Project) that had a coin or coins in association with specific individuals, and these cemeteries span the late 18th century (Spitalfields; Reeve and Adams 1993; Cox 1996) to the turn of the 20th century (Texas State Cemetery; Dockall et al. 1996b).

Table 5-13: All Burials associated with unmodified coins
(see Table 5-8 for references)

Cemetery	Burial	Race	Age	Sex	Date range	Coin1	Coin loci	#	Coin2	Coin loci	#	Other Inclusions
Freedman's "Pre-1900" Period	1308	Black	33.4	Adult-M?	1869-1899	Liberty Seated Quarter (1854)	below rt. Shoulder	1	Liberty Seated Quarter (1854)	axial skeleton	1	
Freedman's Late Period	833	Black	99	adult IM	1903	Barber Quarter (1895)	right hip	1				
Freedman's Late Period	563	Black	34.5	adult M	1900-1907	Barber Quarter (1897)	lower body screen	1				
Freedman's Late Period	466	Black	14.5	adult M?	1905	Indian Head Penny (1898)	lower body screen	1				
Freedman's Late Period	1002	Black	33.2	adult M?	1903	Liberty Head Nickels (1883 thru 1892)	over left hip	5	Indian Head Penny (1891); dime	over left hip	2	
Freedman's Late Period	1486	Black	0.46	Sub-adult	1902	Liberty Nickel (1898)	at cranium	1	Nickel (unk date)	at cranium	1	
Freedman's Late Period	1415	Black	0.43	Sub-adult	1901	Nickel (unk date)	midway, along southern edge of coffin	1	Nickel (unk date)	unk	1	
Freedman's Late Period	1042	Black	25.7	adult F	1901	Shield Nickel (1867-1869)	adjacent to left side of skull	1				

Freedman's Late Period	17	Black	1.9	Sub-adult	1900	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	upper right thorax	1				
Freedman's Middle Period	1147	Black	44.1	adult M?	1885-1899	Liberty Seated Quarter (1857)	beside skull	1	Liberty Seated Quarter (1877)	beneath skull	1	
Freedman's Middle Period	1307	Black	33.1	adult F?	1885-1899	Liberty Seated Quarter (1876)	beneath chin	1	Liberty Seated Quarter (pre-1866)	unk; upper screen	1	
Freedman's Middle Period	657	Black	37.5	adult-M?	1885-1899	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	rt. Side of body (poss. w/shoes)	1				
Freedman's Middle Period	658	Black	43.9	adult-I	1885-1899	Shield Nickel (1867-1883)	rt side of skull/ over rt. Shoulder	1				

Cedar Grove Cemetery	33	Black	15 months	unk	1900-1915	Liberty Nickel (1889)	left eye orbit	1	Barber Dime (1907)	unk	1	
Cedar Grove Cemetery	70	Black	50+ yrs	F	1900-1915	Liberty Nickel (1897)	left eye orbit	1				Saucer beneath left innominate
Elko Switch	1	Black	9-15 months	unk	1916-1920	Buffalo Nickel (1916)	thorax	1	Liberty Head Nickel (1901)	thorax	1	Prescription bottle
FABC (8th & Vine)	9	Black			1823-1842	copper alloy coin	right shoulder	1				

FABC (8th & Vine)	17	Black			1823-1842	copper alloy coin	above head	1				
FABC (8th & Vine)	43/71	Black			1823-1842	copper alloy coin	left hip	1	British half Penny (1740-54)	left hip		1
FABC (8th & Vine)	74	Black			1823-1842	copper alloy coin	in mouth	1				
FABC (8th & Vine)	136	Black			1823-1842	large cent (1808-1814)		1				
FABC (8th & Vine)	5	Black			1823-1842	large cent (1808-1838)	right shoulder	1				
FABC (8th & Vine)	37	Black			1823-1842	large cent (1810)	left shoulder	1				
FABC (8th & Vine)	76	Black	6 to 12 months	unk	1823-1842	large cent (1834)	abdomen or pelvis	1				
FABC (10th & Vine)	unk	Black	unk	unk	1810-1822	single coin (not described)	unk	1				
FABC (10th & Vine)	unk	Black	unk	unk	1810-1822	single coin (not described)	unk	1				
FABC (10th & Vine)	unk	Black	unk	unk	1810-1822	two coins (not described)	head or eye orbits	2				
FABC (10th & Vine)	unk	Black	unk	unk	1810-1822	two coins (not described)	head or eye orbits	2				
Redfield Cemetery	44	Black	adult	<i>M</i>	1875-1930	Liberty seated dime (1853)	eye orbit	1	Liberty seated dime (1876)	eye orbit		1

Laredo	5- 1	Hispanic	adult	M	1880-1920	Liberty Nickel (1890)	unk	1				scissors
Texas State Cemetery	43	White	73	M	1907	Indian head Penny (1900)	right thorax	1				
Applegate Lake Project	10	White	unk	unk	1886-1914	Liberty seated half Dollar (1867)	at head	1	Liberty seated half dollar (1871)	at head	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	49	White	Adult	I	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (1833)	pelvis	1				
Voegtly Cemetery	57	White	Adult	I	1848-1861	Large Coronet cent (1848)	eye orbit	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	eye orbit	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	63	White	Adult	F	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (1829)	near scapula	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	near scapula	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	107	White	Sub-adult	I	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	neck area	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	neck area	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	112	White	Adult	M	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	eye orbit	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	eye orbit	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	130	White	Sub-adult	I	1837-1861	Large Coronet cent (1837)	in skull area	1				
Voegtly Cemetery	174	White	Sub-adult	I	1845-1861	Large Coronet cent (1845)	lower coffin area					

Voegtly Cemetery	253	White	Sub-adult	I	1847-1861	Large Coronet cent (1846)	lower jaw	1	Large Coronet cent (1847)	lower jaw	1
Voegtly Cemetery	321	White	adult	M	1853-1861	Liberty \$1 gold piece (1853)	unk	1			
Voegtly Cemetery	348	White	Adult	M	1847-1861	Large Coronet cent (1847)	skull area	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	skull area	1
Voegtly Cemetery	389	White	Sub-adult	I	1833-1861	Canadian 1 Sou coin (unk date)	unk	1	"Millions for Defense" Token (unk date)	unk	1
Voegtly Cemetery	496	White	Sub-adult (less than 1 yr)	I	1853-1861	Large Coronet cent (1852)	lower coffin area	1	Large Coronet cent (1853)	lower coffin area	1
Voegtly Cemetery	513	White	Adult	M	1844-1861	Large Coronet cent (1844)	skull	1			
Voegtly Cemetery	540	White	Adult	F	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	left knee	1			
Voegtly Cemetery	574	White	Adult	I	1833-1861	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	hip	1			
Voegtly Cemetery	590	White	Adult	F	1841-1861	Large Coronet cent (1841)	eye orbit	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	eye orbit	1

Voegtly Cemetery	611	White	Sub-adult (1-5 yrs)	I	1847-1861	Large Coronet cent (1847)	skull area	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	skull area	1	
Voegtly Cemetery	739	White	unk	I	1838-1861	Large Coronet cent (1838)	lower coffin area	1	Large Coronet cent (unk date)	lower coffin area	1	
Grafton Cemetery	19	White	55+	Adult-I	1853-1873	Quarter (1853)	eye orbit	1	Quarter (1853)	eye orbit	1	
Grafton Cemetery	183	White	0-3 yrs	subadult	1841-1873	Dime (1839)		1	Dime (1841)		1	
Grafton Cemetery	138	White	25-35 yrs	Adult-M	1834-1873	nickels (unk date)	eye orbits	2	nickel (unk date)	right pants pocket	1	pencil lead
Grafton Cemetery	154	White	25-35 yrs	Adult-M	1834-1873	penny? (unk date)	left pants pocket	1				
Spitalfields, England	unk	White	unk	unk	1700-1850	an unknown # of burials had "pennies over the eyes"						

Of the cemeteries given in Table 5-8, coins were also found in graves at 6 African-American cemeteries (including Freedman’s), and two of these, both FABC cemeteries in Philadelphia, date to the early 19th century. Further, at least three burials at New York’s African Burial Ground were found in association with coins (some even in the eyes), and this site dates between 1697 and 1795 (Hansen and McGowan 1998:84; Epperson 1999).

To summarize, then, the practice of placing a coin or coins with the dead (either on the eyes, by the head, in the hand, etc) is European derived, but enslaved Africans and African-Americans readily adopted and adapted the tradition, at least by the mid to late 18th century in New York (at the African Burial Ground) and the early 19th century in Philadelphia (at the two First African Baptist Church cemeteries). By the mid 19th century, the practice would have seemed entirely traditional and, likely to African-Americans, viewed as African derived.

**Table 5-14:
All Burials associated with single Shoe on the lid or in coffin**

Cemetery	Burial	“Race”	Age	Sex	Date range	Loci
Freedman’s Late Period	1484	Black	0.42	subadult	1901	single shoe placed atop pelvis
Freedman’s Late Period	343	Black	1.4	subadult	1900	single shoe on coffin lid
FABC (8th & Vine)	66	Black	55	male	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid
FABC (8th & Vine)	46	Black	42	female	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid

FABC (8th & Vine)	81	Black	50	male	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid
FABC (8th & Vine)	90	Black	44	female	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid
FABC (8th & Vine)	105	Black	65	female	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid
FABC (8th & Vine)	144	Black	.30	subadult	1823-1842	single shoe on coffin lid
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	11	White	Adult	female	1890-1900	single shoe on coffin lid

Table 5-15: All Other Forms of Graves Inclusions at Other Cemeteries

(see Table 5-8 for references)

Cemetery	Burial	Race	Age	Sex	Date range	Inclusion	Location
FABC (8th & Vine)	72	Black	6-10	unk	1823-1842	Thimble	upper abdomen
FABC (8th & Vine)	118	Black			1823-1842	toy marble	
Spartanburg County 38Sp105	13	Black	approx. 5 years	F	1870-1910	Doll	
Redfield Cemetery	4	Black	elderly adult	M	1875-1930	liquor flask	
Ridley Cemetery	43	Black	30-40	M	1905-1925	Razor	left side of pelvis
Cedar Grove Cemetery	68	Black	40-49	M	1900-1915	talcum powder tin	at head
Laredo	5- 1	Hispanic	adult	M	1880-1920	scissors	in pelvis
Laredo	7- 1	Hispanic	adult	F	1880-1920	sad iron	at rt foot
Choke Canyon Byrne Cemetery	6	White	25-35	F	1860-1911	scissors	btwn upper chest and left arm

Weir Family Cemetery	3	White	adult	unk		pocket knife	
O. H. Ivie Reservoir (Boothill Cemetery)	8	White	18-19yrs	M	1870s-1880s	snuff box	at left hip
Tucker Cemetery	6	White	old adult	M	1880-1942	pocket knife	upper torso
Seven Rivers Cemetery	14	white	old adult	F	1873-1899	stemmed drinking glass	crook of left arm
Seven Rivers Cemetery	38	White	12-14months	F	1873-1899	Doll	on left side
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	5	White	Adult	M?	1890-1900	spur	at feet
Becky Wright Cemetery (3CW922)	12	White	Subadult	unk	1880-1895	Spoon	middle of body
Sandy Creek Cemetery	9	unk	unk	unk	1900-1920	Razor	unk
Texas State Cemetery (Confederate)	43	White	73	M	1907	Coin Purse	right thorax
Voegtly Cemetery	96	White	Adult	M	1833-1861	metal box	beneath skull
Voegtly Cemetery	189	White	infant	I	1833-1861	toy marble	unk
Voegtly Cemetery	384	White	2-3 yr	I	1833-1861	rattle? (brass bell, bone handle)	unk
Voegtly Cemetery	460	White	juvenile	I	1833-1861	pocket knife	unk
Grafton Cemetery	138	White	25-35 yrs	M	1834-1873	pencil lead	unk
Spitalfields, England	unk	White	unk	unk	1700-1850	boxwood barrel with two teeth	unk
Seville Plantation, Jamaica	SAJ B-1	Black	20-25	M	1720-1750	padlock	over chest
Seville Plantation, Jamaica	SAJ B-2	Black	20-25	M	1720-1750	knife, tobacco pipe	left hand (knife); thorax (pipe)

Seville Plantation, Jamaica	SAJ B-3	Black	17-19	F	1720-1750	crystal decanter stopper	over chest
Seville Plantation, Jamaica	SAJ B-4	Black	40+	M	1720-1750	carpenter's compass	over chest

Cost Analysis of Burials with Core Elements of Spirituality

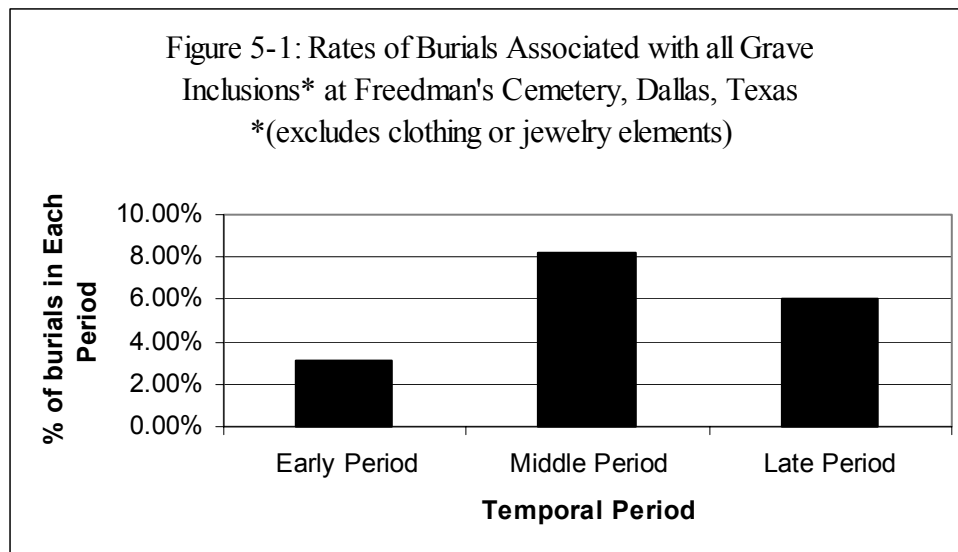
Now that I have demonstrated which of the myriad forms of artifacts served as the core symbols of spirituality in the African-American death experience (at Freedman's Cemetery and elsewhere), and outlined at least in a cursory manner how these artifacts and symbols have linkages to earlier African derived belief systems, the next step in this exploration of spirituality is to reveal just who in Dallas's African-American community invoked these symbols and performed these ritual acts. I want to examine motivations.

We know from the ethnohistorical accounts what the basic rules were that, once set into motion, could account for these material manifestations – all the bottles, plates, shoes, and coins. What I mean by motivations here, is this – not all black Dallasites, by a vast margin, performed these rituals, so what were the motivations, what were the set of conditions or the trigger, if you will, that motivated one family to place a plate in a coffin, when their neighbors, in large numbers, just didn't.

In part, I have structured this entire dissertation as a yin and yang argument, that African-Americans in Dallas either (1), played by the rules of the dominant ideology and “consumed” as elaborate a funeral as they could manage (measured here through mass produced coffin hardware), or (2), chose an alternative course that emphasized specific

ritual acts that were deeply embedded within their own culture. But did those families who invoked these core symbols do so to the exclusion of the dominant ideology's mass produced symbols (which ultimately stood as a proxy of wealth or class), because they had no other means of expressing loss? Was it an issue of poverty that motivated those black men and women who chose to invoke the traditional symbols of death; was it rather a deep seated spirituality, or both?

During the Early Period (1869-1884), or the earliest days of Freedman's Cemetery, when burials were interred during Reconstruction and the Post Reconstruction era, the widespread poverty of most African-Americans living in Freedman's Town and the other impromptu black settlements in the area is directly reflected in the extreme

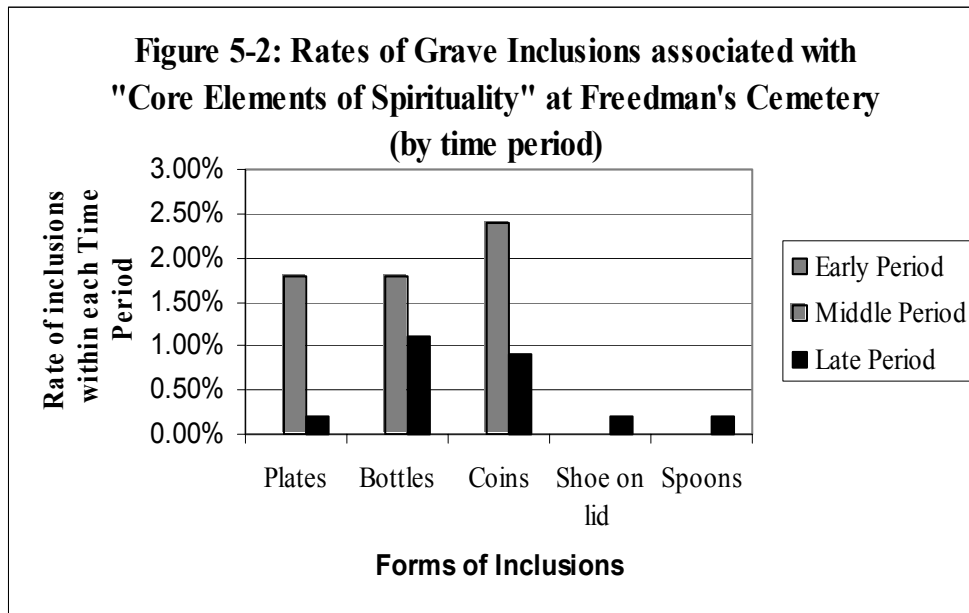


poverty of the graves themselves. Remember, the average hardware cost was just 11 cents, and even the most elaborate burial from Freedman's Early Period had a wholesale hardware cost of just 42 cents (see Table 4-16). And yet, within this poverty, there are no

core inclusions in any of the graves – no plates, bottles, coins, shoes, nothing even similar in form or that could be seen as analogous to these artifact types. The sole burial inclusions from Early Period burials consist of a pocket knife (in the left hand of Burial 1330) and an infant's baby rattle (Burial 1391) (Table 5-1; Figures 5-1, 5-2).

Rather, it is during the Middle Period (1885-1899) that the most grave inclusions are found (14 burials out of 170 burials; see Table 5-2; Figure 5-1). That is, 8.2% of the Middle Period burials had inclusions of one sort or another, a number over twice that seen in the Early Period. Further, the forms of these inclusions include those elements that have been defined (through the ethnohistorical record) as representing core beliefs: three burials with bottles; three burials with ceramic vessels; and four burials with unmodified coins (see Tables 5-10 through 5-13). Overall, these rates of core inclusions are of course greater than the Early Period (which had none), but are also greater than the Late Period.

The Late Period, with its vastly greater number of burials (N=878), naturally has the most grave inclusions of any of Freedman's time periods by number and in terms of variety (N=54). But even given this, as a percentage of the total number of burials, the rate seen in the Late Period (6.2%) is measurably less than that seen in the previous Middle Period (8.2%), and when the rate of *core symbols* of spirituality are examined, this disparity is increased (see Figure 5-2; Table 5-10).



In the Middle Period, 1.8% of the burials had plates or other forms of ceramics, a rate nine times greater than that of the Late Period (i.e., 0.20%). For bottles, the same disparity is there, but with somewhat lesser levels (1.80% in the Middle Period; 1.1% in the Late Period), and this is also true for the presence of unmodified coins in the graves (2.40% in the Middle Period; 0.90% in the Late Period).

From this brief discussion it appears that the most intense demonstrations of these core rituals were acted out during the Middle Period in Dallas, or between the late 1880s and the turn of the 20th century. It was during this period that the African-American community was re-integrated (in a sense) back into the greater white Dallas when the various Freedman's Towns were incorporated into Dallas's city limits, and it was also during the Middle Period that African-Americans formed a stable working class, a small middle class, and also created an infrastructure or support network of fraternal lodges

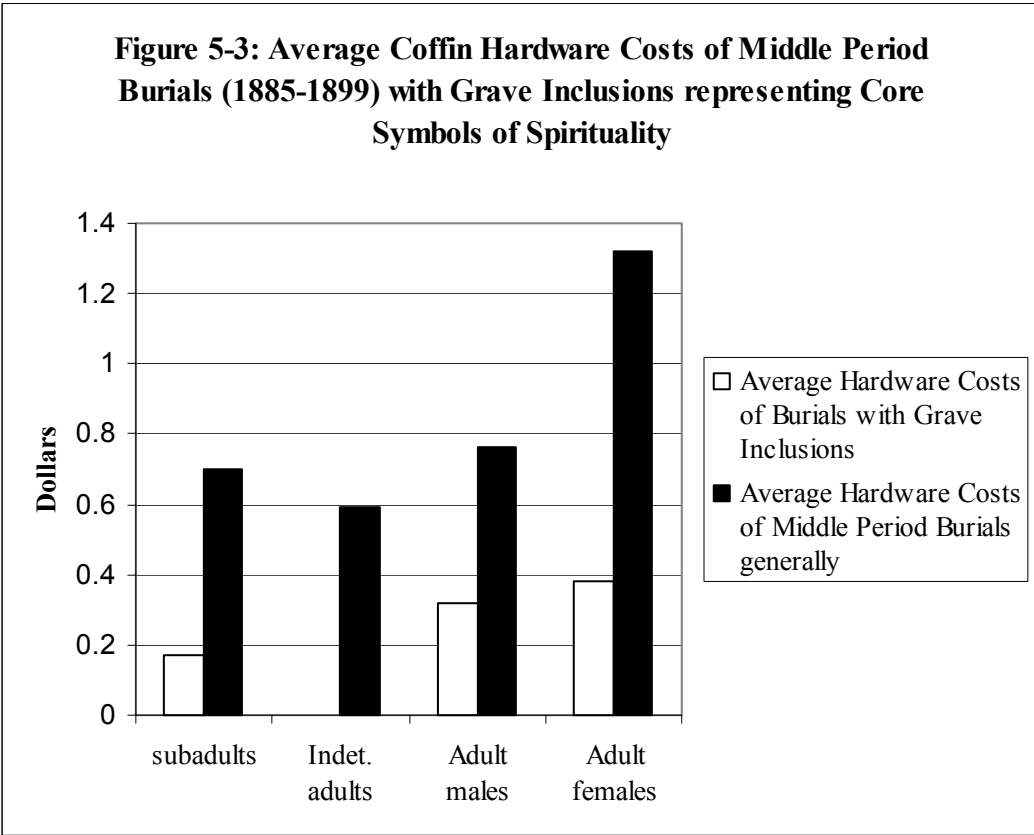
(e.g., Masons, Odd Fellows), in part to mitigate the cost of elaborate funerals (see Chapter 4).

In Chapter 4, I was able to demonstrate that at least as measured by wholesale coffin hardware costs, burials during the Middle Period took a massive leap forward to those seen during the previous Early Period. The most elaborate burial in the Middle Period had a wholesale hardware cost of \$4.95 (compared to just 42 cents in the Early), and the average hardware costs for all burials in the Middle Period, at 82 cents, is almost 8 times more than that seen in the previous Early Period (see Table 4-16). So what are the wholesale hardware costs of burials with core grave inclusions in the Middle Period, and how do they compare to those burials that do not include such objects?

Table 5-16 gives the individual hardware costs for burials associated with core symbols of spirituality in Freedman's Middle Period, while Figure 5-3 charts these same costs, grouped along age and gender lines, and contrasts them with the average costs of burials of the Middle Period generally. The results are quite revealing. There is a vast disparity in wholesale costs, and ultimately the elaborateness of the mortuary display, between those burials with core inclusions and those without these same symbols. For subadults, the average cost of burials with core inclusions is just 17 cents, while those graves without such objects have funeral costs over four times as great (i.e., 70 cents). For adult men, this disparity also holds; the average costs with core inclusions is 32 cents, while the average cost of the Middle Period adult men overall is a little over twice that, or some 76 cents. The contrast is even greater for adult women. Those with core inclusions

**Table 5-16:
Costs of Middle Period Burials with Grave Inclusions expressing Core Beliefs**

Burial	Age	Sex	Inclusion	Wholesale Hardware Cost	
422	31	adult F + subadult	ceramic (whiteware saucer); beneath hip/thigh	\$0.00	
1252	29.2	adult F?	bottle (perfume)	\$0.87	
1307	33.1	adult F?	Coins (at head; quarters - 1876, unk date)	\$0.14	
1397	18.5	adult F?	bottle (medicine); doll; coin purse	\$0.50	Average cost for women with inclusions is 38 cents
1147	44.1	adult M?	Coins (at head; quarters - 1857, 1877)	\$0.72	
1034	35.4	adult-M?	ceramic (ironstone bowl); beneath hip	\$0.24	
657	37.5	adult-M?	Coin {Nickel (1867-1883), rt.side body}	\$0.00	Average cost for men with inclusions is 32 cents
658	43.9	adult-I	Coin {Nickel (1867-1883), at skull}	\$0.00	Average cost for Indet adults is 0
1326	0	subadult (female)	bottle (medicine)	\$0.00	
1400	0.8	subadult (female)	ceramic (toy toilet set; chamber pot, etc)	\$0.34	Average cost for subadults with inclusions is 17 cents



had mortuary displays amounting to an average 38 cents, while all adult women in the Middle Period averaged \$1.32, or over 3 times greater.

This pattern holds for the Late Period, as well. Figure 5-4 contrasts the costs of burials in the Late Period associated with core symbols of spirituality to the average costs for Late Period burials generally (see Table 5-17 for specific costs, burials, and artifact forms).

Figure 5-4: Average Coffin Hardware Costs of Late Period Burials (1900-1907) with Grave Inclusions representing Core Symbols of Spirituality

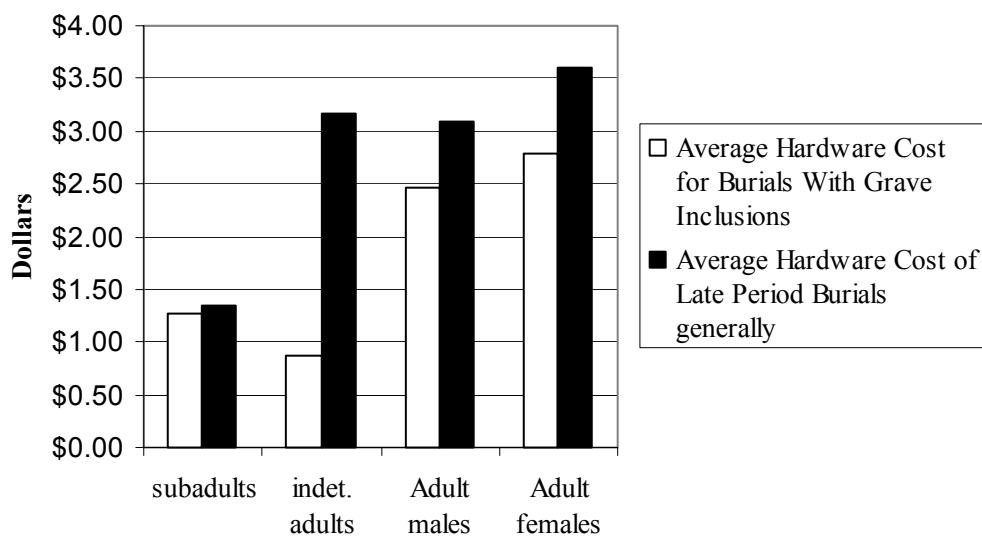


Table 5-17: Costs of Late Period Burials with Core symbols of Vernacular Grave Inclusions

Burial #	Age	Description	Hardware Costs	Vernacular Spirituality (core symbols)
1042	25.70	adult F	\$2.10	Coin (1 nickel at head)
1092	37.00	adult F	\$4.08	medicine bottle
1004	46.20	adult F?	\$2.16	Spoon
				Average cost for Adult Females is \$2.78

42	35.20	adult I	\$0.88	Spoon	Average Cost for Indet. Adults is \$0.88
----	-------	---------	--------	-------	---

327	38.90	adult M?	\$1.14	medicine bottle	Average cost for adult males is \$2.46
929	28.70	adult M?	\$4.67	medicine bottle	
423	45.20	adult M?	\$1.57	plate/bowl	

17	1.90	subadult	\$0.12	Coin (1 nickel at upper chest)	Average cost for all subadults is \$1.27
1486	0.46	subadult	\$0.69	Coins (2 nickels at head)	
1415	0.43	subadult	\$0.79	Coins (2 nickels at side)	
1055	0.18	subadult	\$0.53	medicine bottle; rubber ear syringe	
1484	0.42	subadult	\$4.17	shoe on lid	
838	0.15	subadult (female)	\$0.76	medicine bottle	
1120	9.00	subadult (female)	\$0.80	medicine bottles (5) perfume bottle (1)	
909	0.00	subadult (female)	\$0.00	plate/bowl; bottles (2)	
343	1.38	subadult (female)	\$3.60	shoe on lid	

(This list includes only medicine bottles. It excludes Burials 108 and 146, each associated with Hoyt's German Cologne bottles. It also excludes Burial 22, associated with a glass tube/vial in pocket)

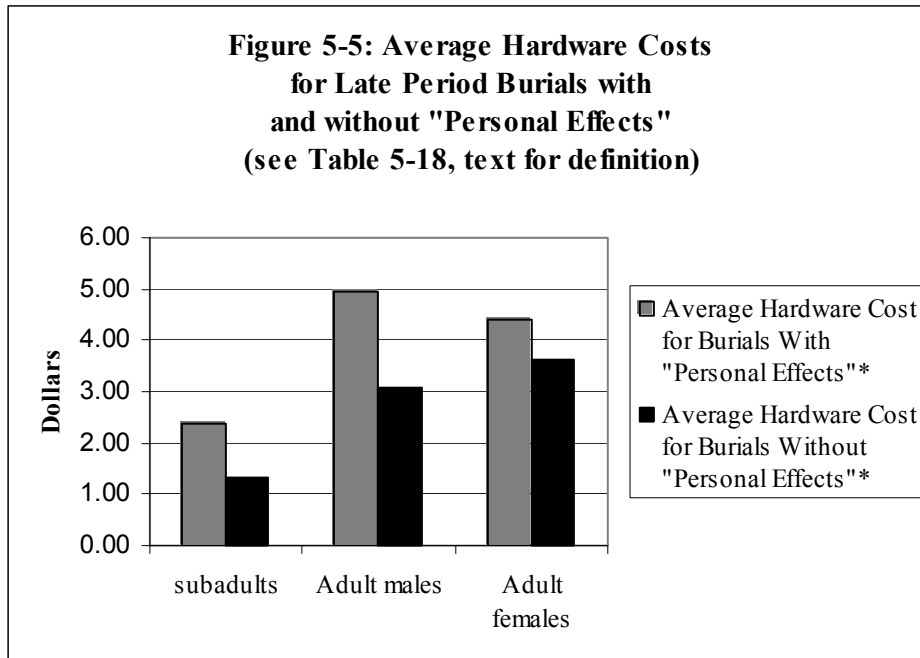
(Finally, to avoid confusion for those who compare this list to the Effects database, two burials (Burials 556 and 1213) listed there only had bottles in the grave fill above the coffin, and not in direct association with the coffin or body)

The disparity of costs between burials with core inclusions and those without these artifact types, seen in the Middle Period, also holds true in the Late Period, though at attenuated levels. As discussed in Chapter 6, however, during the Late Period the

most elaborate burials after January 1902 were being interred in the newly founded Woodland Cemetery, so the highest levels of burial costs are not accounted for in this comparison. If these Woodland burials could be accounted for in this analysis, it is likely that the disparity between mortuary treatments and burial costs seen in the Middle Period graves would hold true in the Late Period, to a greater extent than is expressed in Figure 5-4.

To demonstrate that not all grave inclusions are culturally equivalent, Figure 5-5 (Table 5-18) charts the average coffin hardware costs of burials in Freedman's Late Period interred with grave inclusions defined as "Personal Effects" (see also Table 5-6). These artifacts are not directly associated with core spiritual acts (as demonstrated in the historical accounts above), but instead represent personal items that the deceased almost certainly owned in life (e.g., pocket knives, dolls, walking canes, etc.). The wholesale costs of the burials with these kinds of personal effects are compared to those of the Late Period generally (Figure 5-5; Table 5-18). The results are the opposite of that seen in the cost of burials with grave inclusions representing the core elements of spirituality; the burials interred with Personal Effects have higher hardware costs, on average, than Late Period burials on the whole.

**Figure 5-5: Average Hardware Costs
for Late Period Burials with
and without "Personal Effects"
(see Table 5-18, text for definition)**



**Table 5-18: Wholesale Coffin Costs
for Late Period Burials with "Personal Effects"* (see Figure 5-5)**

Burial #	Age	Description	Hardware Costs	Personal Effects	
108	32.5	adult F	\$7.82	brush, mirror, comb	
110	16.6	adult F	\$1.68	Doll	
320	14.5	adult F	\$3.98	Doll	
871	38.2	adult F	\$3.95	Pocket Knife	
264	43.4	adult IF	\$4.10	Coin Purse	
801	28.8	adult IF	\$4.90	Coin Purse	Average cost of women with personal effects is \$4.41
600	55	adult M	\$0.00	Pocket Knife	
1422	43.1	adult M	\$7.86	Pocket Knife	

1285	40.2	adult M?	\$6.95	Walking Cane	Average cost of men with personal effects is \$4.94
121	1.4	subadult	\$0.66	Rattle	
85	5.62	subadult (female)	\$4.29	Doll	
315	1.18	subadult (female)	\$0.91	Doll	
856	4.8	subadult (female)	\$4.47	Doll	
1003	6.3	subadult (female)	\$4.42	Doll	
1120	9	subadult (female)	\$0.80	Doll	
147	9.6	subadult (male)	\$0.94	cap gun, marbles, perfume bottle, book	Average cost of subadults with personal effects is \$2.36

So what does this all mean? There are no core elements of spirituality in the burials dated to the Early Period, or the oldest African-American burials documented archaeologically in Dallas. Rather, they first appear during the Middle Period and are present, at somewhat lesser levels, in the turn of the century Late Period. One possible explanation for this pattern is that during the Early Period, blacks in Dallas were unified in almost every way imaginable, by church ties, by community – living as they were in the segregated Freedman’s Town. They were unified economically as well, since all were essentially at the bottom of the socioeconomic ladder. There was an equality in poverty that created a sense of community and togetherness. The homogeneity of the Early Period graves, in terms of costs and material goods, certainly attests to this equality. Remember that during enslavement, blacks were interred not in Freedman’s

Cemetery but in the old Dallas Burial Ground (Davidson 1998a), and that their ability to express themselves in the death experience was in part dictated by their white enslavers. What little autonomy that was wrested from white control would still have been expressed under white surveillance. Any pent up desire felt in Dallas's black community to express core traditional, or African derived belief systems as part of rituals acted out in the funeral event, logically should have burst forth in the first burials interred after Emancipation occurred, and our earliest window into these burials are those graves dated to Freedman's Early Period. But instead, these earliest graves stand mute and display none of the artifact types demonstrated historically and archaeologically to be representative of these core belief systems.

During the Middle Period, however, most African-Americans were living in Dallas proper, with some residing within areas of majority white residences (Davidson 2003; Davidson 2004b). Most importantly, some African-Americans were achieving a measure of socioeconomic stability, which was partly expressed through funeral elaboration, as a means to simultaneously mark them as competent and potentially equal to white society, and to differentiate them from their less affluent black neighbors. As societal pressures, as levied by the dominant ideology, to conform to white dictates and customs increased, there was a choice made by some African-Americans to resist this loss of identity by acting out their "culture," their "ethnicity," in part by employing core symbols of spirituality that were in part, African derived.

John McCarthy (1997) has expressed a similar argument in a paper that outlined the differences seen in the numbers and variety of grave inclusions in the two First

African Baptist Church cemeteries in Philadelphia. Since the earliest cemetery (10th and Vine), dating from 1810-1822, had the least number of these core symbols, and the more recent 8th and Vine FABC cemetery (dating between 1823-1842) had the most, McCarthy argued that societal pressures caused these Black Philadelphians to maintain or rather “revitalize” African based cultural practices, as a means of resistance to the domination from greater white society (McCarthy 1997:378). When I originally read McCarthy’s paper, I was a little skeptical of his conclusions, in part because I knew that the “form” (and the material correlates) for at least some of these practices were European, and more specifically British Isles, in origin. I now believe that while some key symbols, such as the coins placed with the dead, or the shoe as a means to trap evil, or perhaps even the plate full of ashes and salt on a dead man’s chest, might have European roots, the underlying belief system that powered their use in African-American culture seems demonstrably African in origin.

Further, McCarthy’s argument was a little too simplistic, in part because it was entirely based on two small cemeteries with a total burial sample size of 225; in contrast, Freedman’s Cemetery has over five times that number. After thoroughly documenting the phenomenon of grave inclusions at Freedman’s Cemetery, and surveying some 45 other cemeteries, there is a better overall sample for viewing the popularity of these kinds of grave inclusions, and an inarguable demonstration that the *core symbols* are associated almost exclusively with African or African-American graves. Finally, the cost analysis of Chapter 4 provides a valuable base line by which to measure the increasing competence of Dallas’s African-American community at manipulating the symbols of the

dominant ideology's Beautification of Death movement (as measured in increasing hardware costs), and a means by which to contrast this measure of the dominant with the alternative symbols of spirituality.

This brief discussion has demonstrated that those families in black Dallas who could afford to participate in such economic elaborations as expensive funerals, also in part, apparently eschewed elements of their heritage, and stood mute to a unique cultural tradition that could be expressed through the evoking of key symbols – interring the last object touched by the dying (bottles, spoons, plates), imparting a means to protect the spirit of the departed (shoes on the coffin lid), or to offer up a means for the deceased's spirit to pay his passage in the afterlife (coins). The most elaborate burials were seemingly culturally neutral, generic, and had none of the objects that would reveal a cultural tradition other than white middle class, the template they were attempting to follow, apparently down to the letter.

For the poorer elements of Dallas's black society, the choice to spend large sums on an elaborate funeral was beyond them, and an attenuated mortuary display was their lot. But it was in these poorer burials that family members also sought to express their grief in traditional forms, and by so doing unconsciously or otherwise, maintained their culture through these expressions. Rarely did the *poorest* of graves have these core inclusions. Rather, it was the lower middle class, the working poor, the one step up from outright poverty that expressed these traditions in the greatest numbers.

During the Early Period, it may not have seemed overly necessary to perform ones culture, but during the Middle and Late periods, when there were increasingly grave

threats to their cultural identity, it seemed for some a necessity to cling to these core beliefs, for what was at stake was a psychological loss of self, a loss of identity.

This pattern of contrasts, between the economically based, mainstream mortuary expressions and the alternative burial traditions, has parallels with a tombstone study conducted by Lynn Clark (1987). Clark examined 19th through mid 20th century tombstones in Broome County, New York to differentiate between consumer choices made through ethnicity maintenance and through class. She framed her analysis of ethnicity using the work of Fredrik Barth (1969). Generally speaking, her findings demonstrated that individuals from higher socioeconomic classes followed the rules and economic dictates of their class, and purchased suitably elaborate gravestones.

Individuals who were not of particularly high status, but had some economic means at their disposal to fund elaborate mortuary displays, purchased stones approaching or the equivalent in costs of those used with high status individuals, in an apparent attempt to publicly aspire to these higher status levels. Finally, those of the lower socioeconomic class, who for whatever reason could not aspire to a high status in death, and so did not buy into these same symbols, followed "... an alternate set of behavioral rules" (Clark 1987:384).

In the case of Freedman's Cemetery, this alternate set of behavioral rules, at least in some instances, was in the form of grave inclusions that represented core elements of spirituality that resonated most strongly within the community. These same core elements included plates, bottles, coins, and the like, all with African roots.

If, when the account is made up between the races, it shall be claimed that he falls short of the result to be expected from twenty-five years of freedom, it may be well to turn to the other side of the ledger and see how much of the blame is borne by the prejudice and greed that have kept him from rising under a burden of responsibility to which he could hardly be equal. And in this view he may be seen to have advanced much farther and faster than before suspected, and to promise, after all, with fair treatment, quite as well as the rest of us, his white-skinned fellow-citizens, had any right to expect (Jacob Riis 1971:119).

(Jacob Riis, summarizing his views on African-Americans in 1880s New York)

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

This dissertation's starting point was an exploration of how African-Americans in Dallas during the 19th and early 20th centuries mediated such massive social structures as race and class through the death experience. The window into these mediations was data derived from the Freedman's Cemetery Archaeological Project (Condon et al. 1998; Davidson 1999a; Peters et al. 2000).

It was reasoned that elaborate mortuary display at Freedman's Cemetery, measured in the form of coffin hardware, could also be viewed as a form of resistance; a resistance carried out against the dominant ideology, but also one that used this ideology's symbols from within. In Chapter 4, it was demonstrated that after Emancipation Dallas's African-American community did make greater and greater investments in increasingly elaborate funerals through time, but how were these increases

tied to economic success?

To obtain a clearer picture regarding the socioeconomic levels of Black Dallas, it is simply not enough to calculate the cost of each burial's mortuary display. The socioeconomic levels of the living community, their actual jobs and relative incomes, must also be calculated if only in a general manner. Towards this goal, I have created three databases from three Dallas city directories. Each corresponds to one of the three major temporal period formulated for the excavated burials.

For the Early Period (1869-1884), the 1875 Dallas city directory was utilized. It was the second directory ever created for the town, and all of the African-Americans listed within its pages were entered into the database (n= 138 names). For Freedman's Middle Period (1885-1899), the 1890 Dallas City directory was chosen. As with the 1875 directory, every African-American listed, along with their associated job was entered into a database (n=3,189 names). The 1909 Dallas City directory serves as the comparative for Freedman's Cemetery's Late Period (1900-1907), and the resulting database of African-Americans contains just over 9000 entries (n=9,434).

The results derived from these three directories are summarized in Tables 6-1 and 6-2. The short answer to how the increases seen in mortuary display costs through time at Freedman's are tied to economic success is a decidedly mixed one. Table 6-1 demonstrates that regardless of time period, most jobs that blacks held in Dallas were predominately entry level, low paying and required heavy labor. For women, the job categories of cook, domestic, and laundress accounted for over 90 percent of all

Table 6-1: Major Black Occupation Categories in Dallas, Texas

Major Men's Occupations	1875 City dir		1890 City dir		1909 City dir	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
	<i>n=91</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>n=2049</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>n=5892</i>	<i>100</i>
porter	8	8.8	235	12.1	831	15.4
teamster	2	2.2	45	2.3	237	4.4
other drivers (express men, etc)	0	0	73	3.8	252	4.7
general day laborers	54	59.3	831	42.8	2194	40.7
combined jobs (total)	64	70.3	1184	57.8	3514	59.6

Major Women's Occupations	1875 City dir		1890 City dir		1909 City dir	
	#	%	#	%	#	%
	<i>N=17</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>N=532</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>N=2724</i>	<i>100</i>
cook	3	17.6	19	3.6	829	30.4
domestic	1	5.9	456	85.7	710	26.1
laundress	12	70.6	21	3.9	1016	37.3
combined jobs (total)	16	94.1	496	93.2	2555	93.7

women, regardless of time period. For men, nearly two thirds had jobs that were classified only as “day laborer” or involved heavy manual laborer. In contrast, Table 6-2 lists the recognizable black owned businesses or black professionals (e.g., doctor). While measurable, compared to the total population the number of black professionals is slight, accounting for just 2.60% and 2.50% in 1890 (Middle Period) and 1909 (late Period), respectively.

How does this equate with the increase seen in burial elaboration and commensurate costs? While annual incomes likely did not substantially increase through time, what did increase was job stability (Davidson 2004a). With a stable income, it was

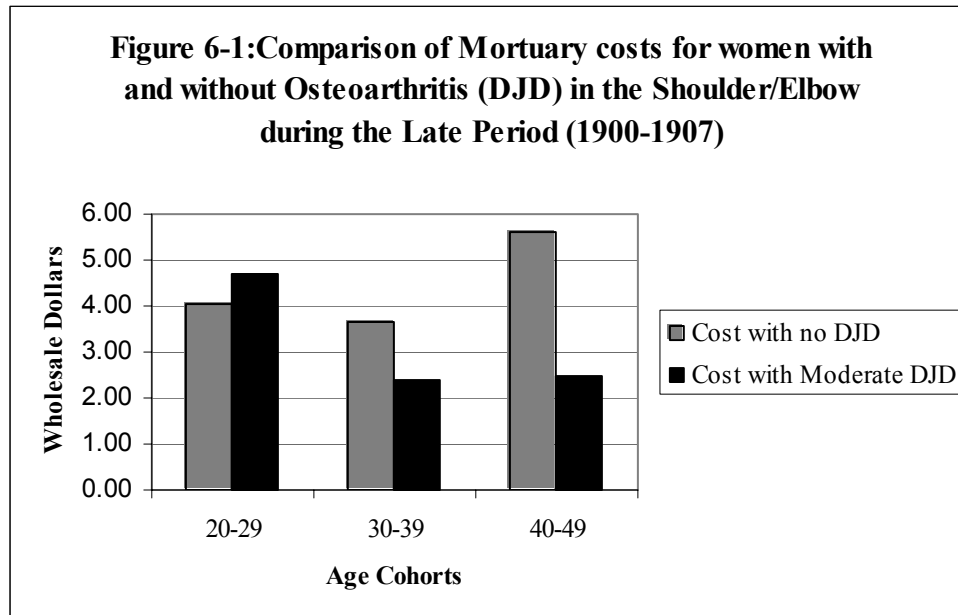
Table 6-2: All Known or Presumed Black Owned Businesses
(derived from the 1875, 1889-90, and 1909 Dallas city directories)

1875		1890		1909	
None known		Landlord/Lady	6	Landlord/Lady	15
		Physician	2	Physician	16
		Blacksmith	6	Blacksmith	1
		Barbershop	16	Barbershop	35
		Grocery store	10	Grocery Store	23
		Restaurant	10	Restaurant	29
		Saloon keeper	7	Saloon Keeper	20
		All Other	26	Attorney	4
Total #	unk	Total # (min)	83	All Other	92
				Total # (min)	235
% of total directory (N=138)	unk	% of total directory (N=3189)	2.60%	% of total directory (N=9434)	2.50%

possible to increase savings, plan for the future, and it also afforded funds that could pay for membership in various fraternal or sororital lodges. Remember that 57 funerals (or almost 1/4 of the total funerals) conducted by the undertaker George Loudermilk were paid for in cash on the day of or immediately following the funeral event (see Table 4-12; Figure 4-3), suggesting a pool of resources to draw from at times of crisis.

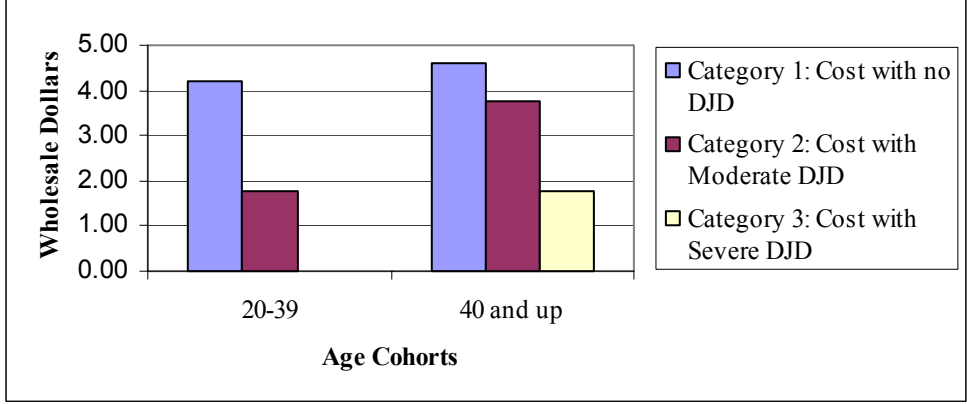
Since many of the occupations held by African-Americans in Dallas were high impact, involved heavy lifting, and required long hours (12 hour days were commonplace; see Davidson et al. 2002), it is important to next examine the costs of these labors, on the physical body, and to see if it was only through much sweat, that an elaborate funeral display was ultimately purchased. Figures 6-1 and 6-2 illustrate the

presence or absence, as well as the severity, of osteoarthritis (or degenerative joint disease; DJD) in adult women, subdivided by age at death cohorts, and charted against coffin hardware costs.



The joints examined in this analysis are the shoulder/elbow (which was the most frequent form of DJD in black women in Dallas), and the lumbar vertebrae (or lower back). The trends are clear and virtually consistent. As women aged (and DJD would have been more prevalent in older women, since it is a progressive condition), those women with no DJD, had the highest coffin hardware costs, while women with moderate DJD had less elaborate funerals, and women with severe osteoarthritis (often involving the fusing of skeletal elements; the sure signs of a lifetime of heavy labor) had the least amount of

Figure 6-2: Comparison of Mortuary Costs for Adult Women with and without Osteoarthritis (DJD) in the Lumbar Vertebrae during the Late Period (1900-1907), Dallas, TX



money invested in a mortuary display. So the increase in mortuary displays in the burials at Freedman’s Cemetery was not all show, and no substance. Rather, the elaborate funerals are, at least from this small aspect of the data, reflective of measurable increases in one of the best proxies of class and status, namely overall health.

Another way to gauge whether or not the trend of increasingly elaborate burials was the result of increased economic success, or only better insurance and coping strategies, is to examine an economic measure that can be derived from the graves that measures disposable income available during the life of the individual. This measure is the presence or absence of dental work, in the form of dentures (full or partial), fillings, and caps/jackets. A total of 24 individuals at Freedman’s Cemetery had dental work in one form or another, and 23 of these individuals date to the Late Period. Only a single burial with dental work dates to the Middle Period. This increase in dental work

corresponds to the arrival of African-American dentists serving the Dallas community in 1894 (Dallas City Directory 1894-95; Barr 1996:95; McKnight 1990).

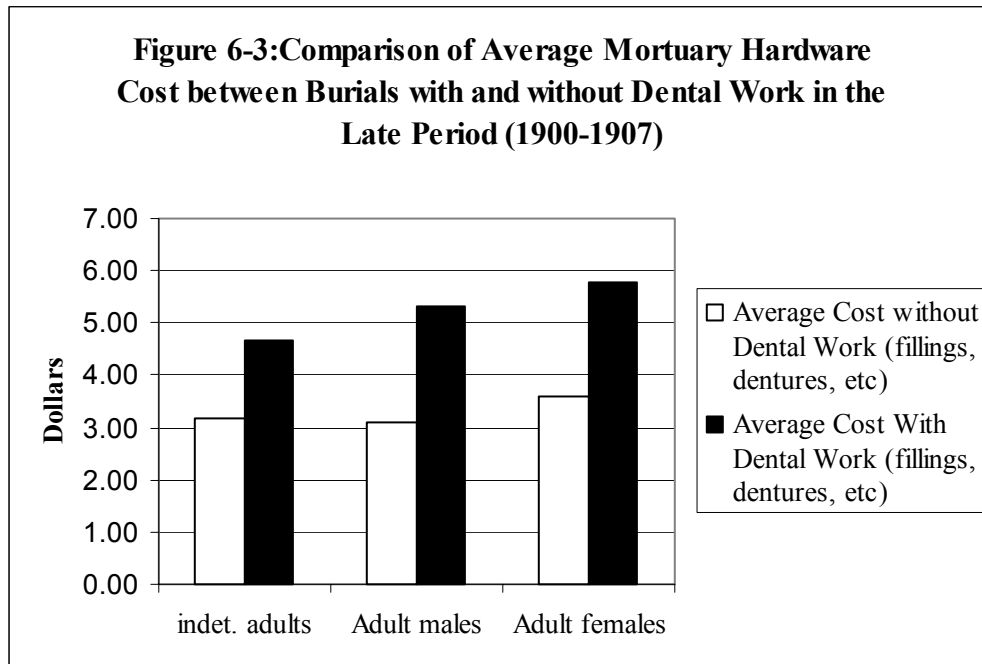


Figure 6-3 illustrates the differences in burial costs in Freedman’s Late Period, between those individuals with dental work of one form or another, and those without the fillings, dentures, etc. The results are consistent and compelling. The individuals with dental work had mortuary displays that were always higher than the cost of those without such dental treatments. For adult men, those with dental work had costs that averaged \$5.33, or almost twice as high as those without dental work (\$3.09). For adult women, the ratios are similar; women with dental work averaged hardware costs of \$5.76, those without the ability to pay for elaborate dental work could only afford, on average,

mortuary displays of just \$3.61. Again, as with the osteoarthritis rates, the dental work suggests that there was a measurable improvement in economic levels in black Dallas through time, and that the increase in elaborate mortuary displays not only reflects better coping strategies (e.g., fraternal insurance), but of some real advances, at least for some African-Americans.

Were those families who chose to purchase elaborate funerals for their loved ones simply assimilating white culture? Was it a one way street? Absolutely not; the burial complex as a whole could be viewed as creolization, a hybrid approach. As O'Shea (1984:29) defined the problem, many important aspects of mortuary behavior never enter into the archaeological record. Many ritual acts simply do not have an enduring material element, such as the preaching at the funeral, the procession, the songs that were sung, the prayers that were offered; these are all lost to us. The coffin hardware might have been mass-produced in Connecticut and indistinguishable from hardware used in a white funeral of the day, but the funeral events, black and white, would have been distinctive and reflective of unique cultures.

Remember that even those burials in Dallas that had grave inclusions termed the "Core Elements of Spirituality" were not stripped bare of Euroamerican defined and created coffin trimmings. Rather, they employed them, at modest levels. In this regard, the combination of these attributes, the European and the African, parallels James Denbow's study of early 20th century Kongolese tombstones along the Congo coast of Central Africa (Denbow1999:419).

Further, even if many African-Americans in Dallas expended large sums for

elaborate mortuary displays, in some cases specific mortuary forms differ from Euroamerican standards. This study has only addressed the issue of cost, not the aesthetics of form for either the hardware or the burial container, and it is here that there are some distinct differences from the nationally dictated Beautification of Death treatments. Although nationally there was a marked decline of hexagonal “coffins” in favor of the rectangular or octagonal shaped “casket” (a trend that began as early as the 1850s), for most of the Late Period (1900-1907) the hexagonal shaped coffin was the predominate form of burial container, with even more hexagonal coffins than seen during the previous Middle Period (Davidson 1999a).

Remember that most of the burials interred during the Late Period were coming from Peoples Undertaking Company, the black funeral home founded in 1900, which would have catered to the wishes of their clients wishes better than the white funeral homes had done. Although hexagonal coffins were often the cheapest form of box available, suggesting a possible cost factor, the hexagonal boxes in Freedman’s Late Period often had coffin hardware, suggesting that funds for alternative forms of burial container were available, if desired. Rather, Blacks may have had a real preference for the hexagonal box form, since it was traditional, and it was this exact form that was often denied them in enslavement.

In the WPA ex-slave narratives, one informant, Rachel Adams of Athens, Georgia, complained bitterly about the simplistic coffins used for slave burials: “If a Nigger died dis mornin’, dey sho’ didn’t waste no time a-putting him right on down in de ground dat bery day. Dem coffins never had no shape to ‘em; dey was just square-sided

boxes. Now warn't dat turrible?" (Rawick 1972 [12] Georgia pt.1:1-5). A reference to changing funeral practices is given in the January 1902 issue of *The Sunnyside*, which was one of the official trade journals of the funeral directors trade. A reporter, asking a leading undertaker establishment if there were any new trends in coffins or shrouds, got this reply: "Well, the styles in caskets do change a little from time to time... principally in the way of trimmings. The old-fashioned coffin, small at one end and larger at the other, is not used much now. The straight, elegant casket has long been in use" (*The Sunnyside* January 1902:11). Bucking a white defined trend, the use of hexagonal coffins in the turn of the century Late Period in Dallas could certainly be viewed as an alternative or inversion of the symbols of the white Beautification of Death movement.

As noted in Chapter 3, McGuire's (1988) Broome County Cemeteries study demonstrated that changes in the dominant ideology were reflected in the tombstone styles and other elements of the cemetery landscapes between 1790 and 1982. The earliest graves have symbols that mask or deny any real inequality within the society (couched in the fundamental Christian belief in humbleness and piety, and a certain equality in death), while the late 19th and early 20th century graves display a wide ranging set of symbols and sizes of monuments that clearly reflect large wealth differences between individuals and groups. The most recent burials, from the mid to late 20th century, show another switch in the symbols, with grave markers of individuals from vastly different socioeconomic backgrounds becoming virtually indistinguishable (McGuire 1988:457-458). The establishment of a set of core symbols within the dominant ideology to distinguish and mark an individual or their family as elite can be

seen not only in surface stone markers in the mid to late 19th century, but also in the burial container and associated coffin hardware.

Aubrey Cannon (1989) has formulated a compelling theory of normative mortuary behavior that is regulated by, or at least punctuated by, cyclical periods of mortuary ostentatiousness created by elites and representing social or economic competence, which then rapidly changes as non-elites copy and successfully imitate these same symbols. With the code of mortuary competence broken, elites change the rules of conduct and thereby change the rules of the game, instituting a different set of symbols emphasizing a simplicity of form and lack of ostentatiousness to mark members of this group as unique in order to maintain clearly definable elite/non-elite boundaries within the dominant ideology (Cannon 1989).

Cannon's model of cyclical mortuary behavior fully accounts for the changes in surface markers in McGuire's cemetery study (1988), in part because it demonstrates that mortuary practices are not necessarily static or slow to change, as is generally assumed by Binford (1971) and Saxe (1970) for non-industrial societies. While belief systems, ritual acts and core symbols may be resistive to change, some elements are much more dynamic in nature. Certainly nothing else can explain the incredible change in the trappings of the physical grave – the burial container and associated coffin hardware – from their simplistic and essentially egalitarian forms prior to circa 1850, to the incredible proliferation of symbols and forms of these same materials in the late 19th and early 20th century (see Chapter 3). Even within these rapidly evolving symbols, core rituals with material manifestations remained constant. For example, placing the body in

an extended supine position, and the alignment of the grave along an east/west axis, with the head to the west, facing east. Importantly, Cannon's theory also explains the change in mortuary hardware trimmings from increasingly elaborate and "busy" in appearance, to the simplistic, sleek, and virtually unadorned burial containers and handles seen in the most elaborate burials by the first decades of the 20th century.

As the mass-production of coffin hardware radically reduced the costs of these one time expensive trimmings, more and more working class Americans, including the African-American community of Dallas could afford to participate in the national Beautification of Death Movement. By the Middle Period, or between 1885 and 1899, a significant portion of black Dallas was "performing" at least a moderate competency in manipulating symbols that had once marked the burials of only affluent members of the dominant society. By the 1890s, with the mortuary etiquette code cracked by the subordinate class, elite graves increasingly rejected these symbols that they had so fully embraced just 20 or 30 years before. For example, at least by the mid 1890s, extension bar handles were the most elaborate coffin handle available (e.g., Chicago Coffin Co 1896; St Louis Coffin Co 1901), but none of the exhumed burials at Freedman's Cemetery had them.

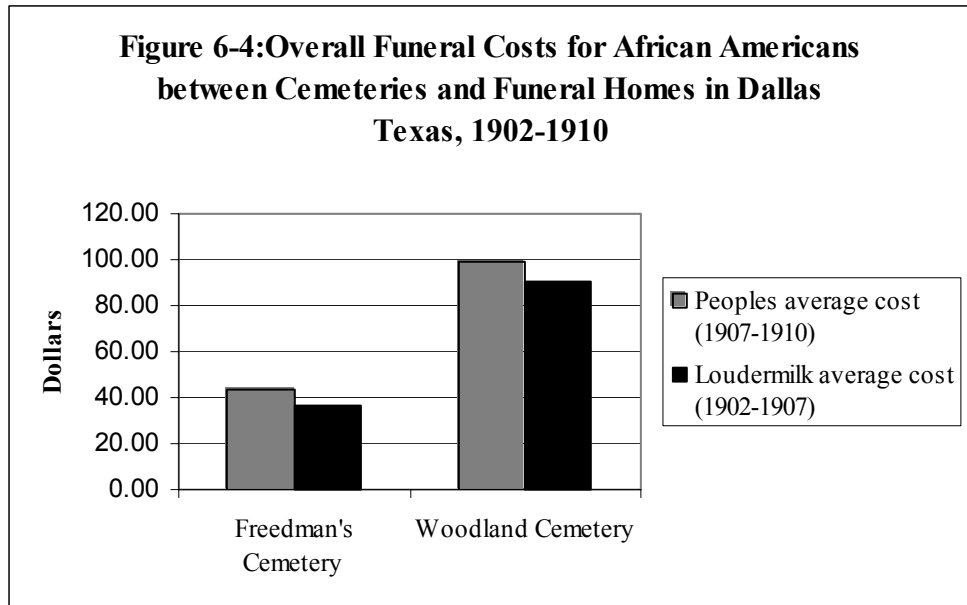
Did African-Americans successfully emulate high status funerals? Yes and no. They cracked the code, but by the time they had done so, the elites had changed the rules and the symbols of status in burial containers and mortuary hardware. Further, despite any individual increase in funds spent on elaborate funerals, their loved ones final resting place, Freedman's Cemetery, was already marked in the white community as a place

where only paupers were interred. The perceived white viewpoint regarding Freedman's as a cemetery of paupers can actually be directly witnessed in turn of the century newspaper accounts, which often refer to Freedman's as just that: the "old cemetery for Negro paupers" (e.g., *Dallas Times Herald*, June 22, 1906). From the offset, blacks were labeled as paupers. No matter how elaborate a funeral they funded for their loved ones, when that last shovel full of earth was tamped down, all of that expense may as well have been money saved, if it was expended to change white viewpoints regarding them, since they were still buried in a cemetery popularly conceived of as a "pauper cemetery."

But in this discussion of success or failure, there is a big caveat. By January 1902, Woodland Cemetery was founded – the "new colored cemetery" where individuals who wished to emulate high status white funerals would likely have been interred. Those burials representing the highest status individuals were almost without exception being interred in the new cemetery that replaced Freedman's – Woodland Cemetery.

As illustrated in Figure 6-4, funeral costs in the daybooks of both Loudermilk and Peoples Undertaking, demonstrate this point very clearly. Those individuals interred by Peoples at Freedman's Cemetery had funeral costs that averaged \$43.75, which was less than half the cost of funerals for individuals interred by Peoples at Woodland Cemetery (\$99.48). This trend in costs was essentially identical for the funerals presided over by the George Loudermilk funeral home. Funerals with final interment at Freedman's Cemetery averaged just \$36.39, while those laid to rest in the newly created Woodland Cemetery cost nearly three times that amount (\$90.14).

Figure 6-4: Overall Funeral Costs for African Americans between Cemeteries and Funeral Homes in Dallas Texas, 1902-1910



Gebhart, in his 1928 study of the modern funeral and cemetery costs, cites a cemetery management treatise that conservatively speaking: “...in an adequately planned cemetery, an average of 620 interments per acre may be provided” (Gebhart 1928:47). Freedman’s Cemetery, in stark contrast, contained approximately twice that many graves per acre (n = circa 1216) (Condon et al. 1998:7). Because Temple Emanu-El, Calvary, and Greenwood Cemeteries were adjacent to, and in the case of Emanu-El Cemetery, contiguous to Freedman’s, the comparisons made between the cemeteries were easily apparent, and the differences totally disparate in terms of economic investment in infrastructure, grounds keeping, and the employment of a sexton to service the day to day needs of the cemetery. The other cemeteries had all of these, Freedman’s had none.

In a very fundamental way, then, no burial at Freedman's could ever truly reflect a high social standing or socioeconomic status, despite any amount paid on an individual funeral, since the grounds themselves would always in the most graphically way possible, demonstrates a community (and implied racial) inferiority, at least by the measure of economics invested in the death experience. Dallas's African-American community was not oblivious to this perception, and even felt it themselves. In 1891, Silas Pittman, one of the original trustees for the cemetery, and Melvin Wade, a prominent local black politician, both described the conditions at Freedman's Cemetery as a disgrace and as a direct reflection of the living black community (*Dallas Times Herald* March 7, 1891). It was only with the creation of Woodland Cemetery in the winter of 1901, that the African-American community had the ability to demonstrate on the greater cultural landscape, a competence in the treatment of the dead that favorably reflected the black community's growing middle class, and approached middle class white mortuary expenditures.

Economically based funeral elaboration, however, was only one side of the equation. Even as some elements of Dallas's African-American community were buying elaborate funerals for their deceased loved ones, there was another level of behavior that was spiritually based and not contained within the dominant system; rather, it stood in opposition to it. This spiritual based behavior, materially visible in the form of specific kinds of grave inclusions (plates, bottles, etc.), was actually resistive to and outside of the dominant ideology.

Just as there are other means to measure economic success (in health proxies, dental work, etc.), it is possible to examine the funeral costs of those who believed in and

actively performed spiritually based acts and rituals. In chapter 5, I discussed the primary measure in this regard – grave inclusions in the form of bottles, plates, etc.; artifact types that are directly tied to mortuary specific rituals. But consider an artifact type that is also a material correlate to a spiritual belief system, but which is not embedded within the Death Experience – perforated coin charms.

Perforated coins, once commonly worn as charms, are actually one of the more common artifact types encountered archaeologically that can be directly linked in historical accounts to spiritual beliefs. The use of coin charms, worn around the neck or ankle, and used to protect the wearer by warding off illness and conjuration (i.e., witchcraft) is well established historically (Puckett 1926; Davidson 2004b).

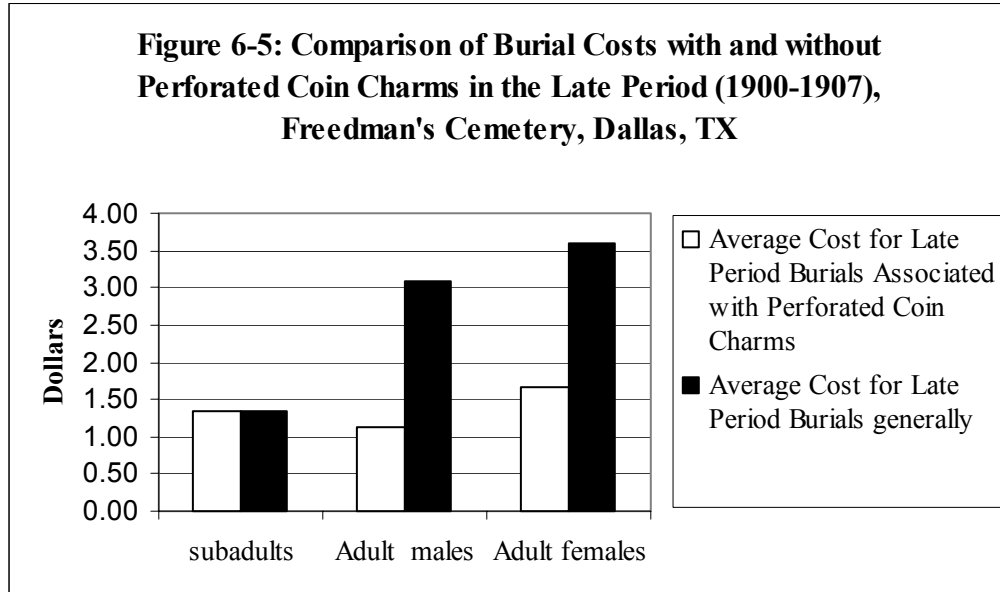


Figure 6-5 gives the wholesale coffin hardware costs for the Late Period, subdivided by age and sex, and compares these costs to those burials associated with perforated coin charms. Just as with the core grave inclusions (i.e., plates, bottles, coins), the wholesale costs of those individuals who, by wearing these coin charms, are marked as participants of vernacular spiritual beliefs systems, exhibit much lower than average costs in the Late Period. For adult men, those with charms had hardware costs that averaged \$1.14, but the average for men in the Late Period generally was over twice that (\$3.09). The same is true for women; those who wore coin charms had burial costs (\$1.67) that were less than half of the women in the Late Period who did not (\$3.61).

Coin charm were employed as a means of protection against conjure, and for the infants wearing dime charms, as a means of preventing natural illness. It was not some primitive superstition; it was only one small element of a total belief system. A belief in conjure did not stand in opposition to Christianity, but instead easily fit within the Christian belief system (Raboteau 1980:276-288). Thus (Davidson 2004b:49):

The people interred within the bounds of Freedman's Cemetery were simply human beings exposed to extreme dangers in life, due in large part to the effects of open racism – limited economic circumstances, high risk of disease and lack of proper health care. It was this loss of control, over one's life and family that fostered an environment conducive to creating a need for an amulet (to serve as a weapon of psychological defense), in an earnest attempt to control the invisible harms that lay all around them.

The same loss of control felt by those who employed coin charms to protect them in life, could also be felt by those families who invoked traditional practices in the death ritual, when they interred with their loved ones, the last plate or bottle touched by the dying, or an old shoe to protect their spirit. As the late 19th century was coming to a

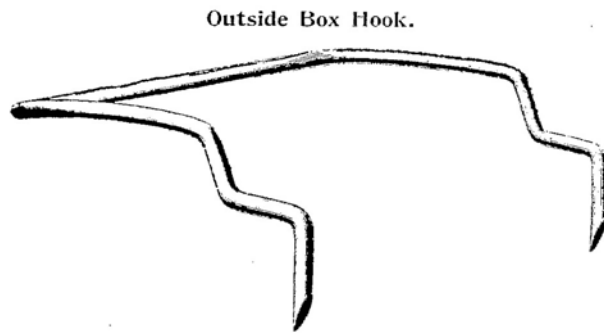
close, and the modern era of the 20th was just beginning, there was undoubtedly excitement for those with the freedom to grasp the opportunities that were all around them, but there was also a palpable fear for many, of change. African-Americans had seen so many changes in their lives, over such a brief span of time, with enslavement, then freedom, the hope of equality, and the almost total destruction of that hope with the reversal of fortune in Jim Crow; the world might have felt a little steadier, if tradition was followed. For those who still dreamed of equality, and took pride in an accomplished and opulent funeral that employed the identical symbols as their white employer, such moments might also have brought a certain calm, for the dying and the survivors of the dead. Black society knew full well that it was a rigged game to begin with, this Beautification of Death, but they still played the game, and they played it well. So which to chose, middle class mortuary displays, or African-derived traditional beliefs? In truth, the choice was rarely a simple either/or proposition, but rather a blending of both worlds, a double consciousness.

Appendix A: A Primer of Coffin Hardware, Coffins, and Caskets

This simple lexicon has been created to aid the reader unfamiliar with the material culture of historic burials of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Arranged alphabetically, and illustrated where appropriate, the major types of coffin hardware and other materials presented here are ones that are commonly encountered when excavating an historic grave (For a more detailed history of specific mortuary hardware, see Davidson 2004c).

N.B. This primer was originally created for a specific historic cemetery investigation (Alan Parkway Village Cemetery, in Houston, Texas). Its audience was primarily the field crews excavating the burials, its intention only that of providing the same terminology of mortuary hardware utilized for Freedman's Cemetery (along with a brief functional and temporal definition), so that future comparisons made between the two sites would be more easily achieved. It was later incorporated into my M. A. thesis (Davidson 1999a) with little alteration. Beyond the origin of the illustrations, no references are included in this work, primarily because of the nature of its creation. All of the points made herein (whether functional or chronological) are based either on my knowledge of the archival record, or the archaeological record of Freedman's Cemetery. It is included with this dissertation to provide terminology, and little else. Due to time constraints, no attempt has been made to edit for content, or otherwise alter this document in any significant way from its form in 1998 and 1999.

Box Hooks - Constructed of iron wire, bent to form an angular “U” shape; box hooks (sometimes called shell hooks) are simple handles that occasionally will be found mounted on the exteriors of outer (or shipping) boxes. Often, the iron wire has been coated with a black enamel (Japanned) finish. They are fairly good time diagnostics, however, dating to the mid-1890s and later. Freedman’s Handle Type 38 is a box hook. It occurs on 9 burials, all dated to the Late Period. Additionally, all 9 burials are also assigned to the Late Sequence, and date between 1904 and 1906.



(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Caplifters- typically composed of cast white metal, caplifters were principally designed to be mounted atop the wooden panel that covers a viewing window. Functionally, they serve the same purpose as door knobs or drawer pulls, a handy means to grasp and remove the panel or VW cover. Beyond functionality, caplifters could be highly decorative, with such motifs known as rose buds, calla lilies, and mourning doves, though simple knob or dome shaped types are perhaps more common.

Occasionally caplifters can be found mounted upon a lid, when no window glass is present. This suggests that although the lid had once been constructed with removable panels, glass was for whatever reason not employed. Caplifters are usually associated with a matching caplifter base, or screw plate, through which the caplifter mounting screw is inserted. Temporally speaking, caplifters are only somewhat diagnostic as a general class of artifact, though certain motifs or designs are temporally well defined. Caplifters become commonplace in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and fade from use in the 1920s.

Caplifter Bases- the decorative screw plate associated with caplifters. As with caplifters, bases are almost always constructed of white metal. (see Caplifters)

CAP LIFTERS.



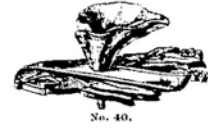
No. 80.



No. 160.



No. 8700.



No. 40.



No. 53.



No. 105.



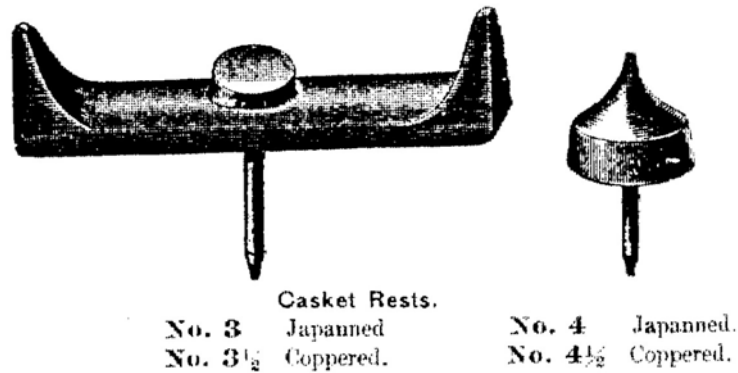
No. 8000.



No. 31.

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Casket Rests- are small, usually conically shaped objects, with a single screw mounted on their bases. Typically constructed of iron, they can have a black enamel (Japanned) finish. These objects were designed to screw into the interior base of an outer coffin box, to serve two basic functions; secure the coffin (or inner box) during shipment, and allow for easy extraction of the lowering straps during burial. Casket rests are good temporal indicators, with at least one form patented in 1891.

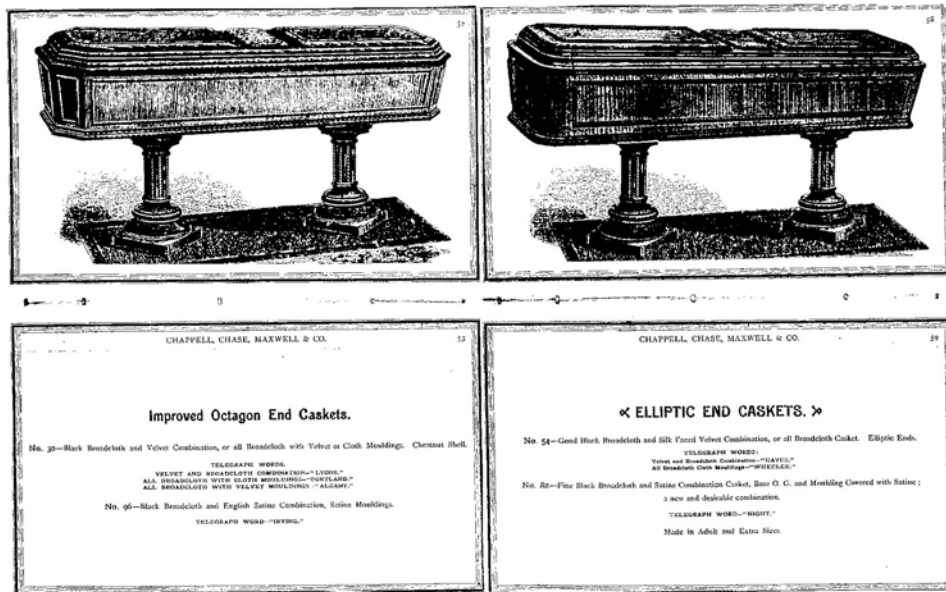


(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Caskets- Though often used as a generic term, one specific definition of a casket is a rectangular shaped burial receptacle; or in variants, a parallel sided box, with rounded (elliptical) ends or canted corners. The Casket remains distinct from a true coffin, which is a six sided or hexagonal shaped box. Note that Octagonal shaped boxes (i.e. rectangular boxes with canted corners), are also referred to as caskets.

True rectangular Caskets do have some time diagnostic potential, as their common use did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. It is important to note, however, that this common introduction date for caskets is best established for the Eastern and Atlantic costal states. From evidence observed at Freedman’s Cemetery, it is likely that in Texas the introduction of rectangular Caskets may have been delayed.

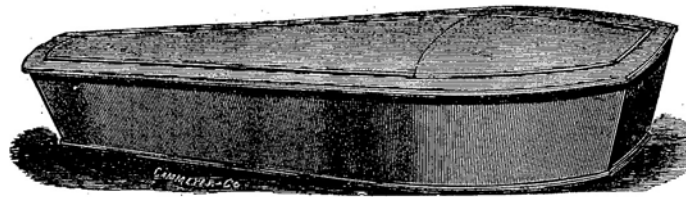
At Freedman’s Cemetery, hexagonal coffins were almost exclusively utilized with adult burials during the Early Period (1869-1884). That is, rectangular caskets utilized in adult burials do not appear until the mid-1880s. It should be noted, however, that the temporal sensitivity of rectangular boxes does not seem to apply to the burials of small children or infants. As established at Freedman’s Cemetery, hexagonal coffins were often shipped in rectangular shipping crates. (see Coffins)



(from 1884 Chappell, Chase, Maxwell & Co Casket Catalogue)

Coffins- Though often used as a generic term for any burial container, a more precise definition would be a six sided or hexagonal shaped box that is widest at its shoulder, and tapers towards the head and feet. True Coffins (i.e., hexagonal boxes) are not the best temporal indicators. Coffins were the normative form of burial container for much of the United States at least from the 1700s until the mid-nineteenth century, when caskets (or

parallel sided/rectangular) boxes were introduced. It is well established, however, that hexagonal coffins continued to be manufactured and utilized into the twentieth century. From historical accounts it is known that hexagonal coffins continued to be used in Dallas into the 1920s. (see Caskets)



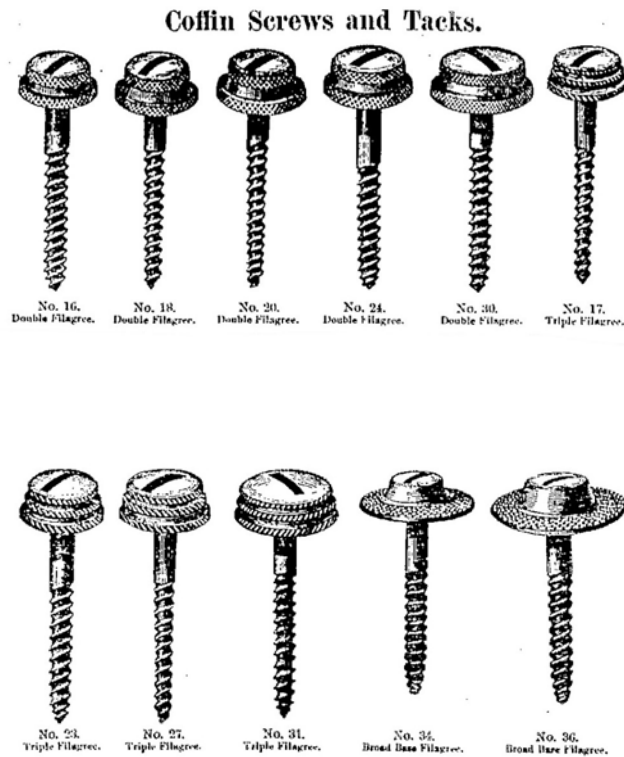
A NEW FLAT TOP COFFIN.

Raised panel, upper part movable, lower part permanent; ends of top and panel oval; moulding around base; of the following woods and numbers, viz.:
No. 5. Whitewood, imitation of Rosewood. (Made to order only.)
" 13. Walnut, plain. (Adult sizes only kept in stock.)

(from 1871 Taylor & Co Catalogue)

Coffin Screws- Consisting of a white metal screw cap solidly soldered atop an iron screw, Coffin screws have a slotted head designed to accept a screw driver for mounting, just like an ordinary iron screw. Minimally decorated, Coffin screws were primarily designed and utilized as a type of lid closure, and are temporally quite early. They were certainly in common use in the 1850s, and were probably available even earlier than that. When mounted upon a coffin lid, coffin screws are usually found in either sets of four (or six), symmetrically arranged with one screw near each corner of the box. If 6 coffin screws are present, the two additional screws are mounted opposite each other at the

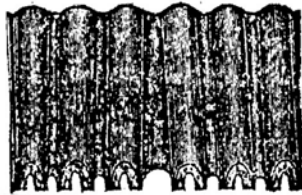
shoulder or waist. Thumbscrews replaced coffin screws as the normative form of lid closure during the 1870s and 1880s. The overall temporal range of coffin screws, however, can be as great as circa 1840-1900; a sixty year interval. (see also Dummy (Coffin) Screws)



(from 1869 Sargent & Co Catalogue)

Corrugated Fasteners- As their name suggests, these fasteners are corrugated strips or short segments of sheet metal, usually made of steel and not much larger than a postage stamp. Corrugated fasteners were designed to join two pieces of wood together, and like nails, were simply driven into wood with a hammer. These fasteners were utilized in the

manufacture of caskets, outer boxes (and occasionally coffins) just after the turn-of-the-century, and when present are commonly located in the corners of the boxes. Excellent time diagnostics, corrugated fastener are still in use today, and can be commonly found in such things as picture frames.



DIVERGENT SAW EDGE
SIX CORRUGATIONS, ALL $1\frac{3}{32}$ INCH
WIDE













(from 1920 Shapeleigh Hardware Catalogue)

Dummy Screws (Coffin Tacks)- this artifact is actually a specific type of ornamental tack. Dummy screws (or coffin tacks) are merely the white metal screw caps from coffin screws, that instead of being mounted on a substantial wood screw, are rather mounted on a small tack shank. As such, these fake screw heads are merely decorative (i.e., they serve no true utilitarian function). Dummy screws were commonly employed in conjunction with coffin screws. Four or six coffin screws would actually serve to seal the coffin lid, and then dummy screws would simply be tacked down along the lid edge, and between the actual screws, giving the appearance that a dozen or more or coffin screws

are present. Dummy screws have essentially the same temporal range as coffin screws, and are rarely utilized with other forms of lid closure, such as thumbscrews.

WHITE METAL COFFIN TACKS.

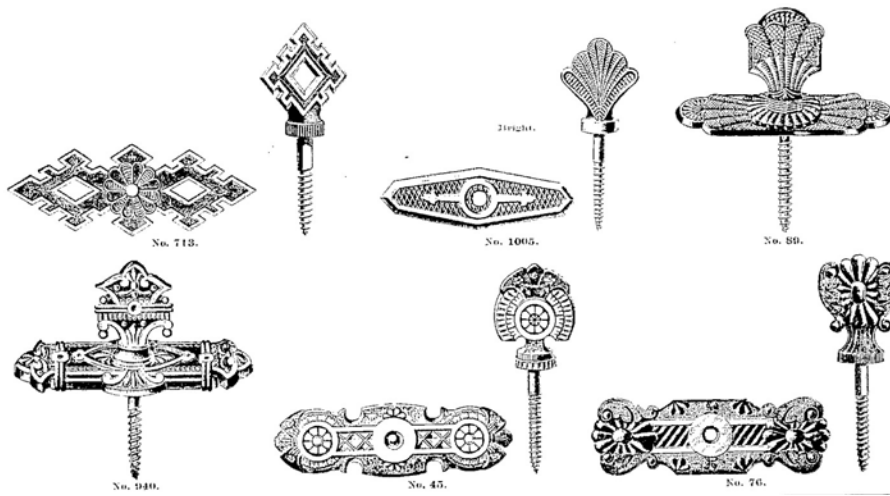
(ENGRAVINGS FULL SIZE.)

			
No. 28, Per gross,	-	-	\$0.45
			
No. 20, Per gross,	-	-	\$0.50
			
No. 24, Per gross,	-	-	\$0.56
			
No. 30, Per gross,	-	-	\$0.70

(from 1865 Markham & Strong Hardware Catalogue)

Escutcheons- the decorative screw plate through which a thumbscrew or coffin screw is mounted, escutcheons as a generic class of artifact have a very wide temporal range (circa 1850-1920+). Although escutcheons commonly had symmetrically placed design motifs molded on their face, with the introduction of thumbscrews in the 1870s, this design motif would, more often than not, mimic or match the design of its paired thumbscrew. In other words, thumbscrews and escutcheons were usually designed and sold as matched sets. Escutcheons are both functional as well as decorative.

They function as stops for thumbscrews, preventing them from being screwed down too deeply and marring the wooden lid. Their primary use, however, would seem to have been a decorative one. While securely held in place when the coffin or thumb screws are screwed down, escutcheons are themselves mounted to the coffin lid by means of small (usually cuprous) tacks, known as escutcheon pins. A small hole at either escutcheon end is where the escutcheon pins were commonly mounted. Some escutcheons are simple, flat disc shapes, but even these discs usually have a single escutcheon pin hole, for affixing it to the coffin lid.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Escutcheon pins- a small, usually cuprous tack or pin, resembling a small nail; these pins are used to affix certain types of mortuary hardware to a coffin or casket. As their name implies, escutcheon pins are commonly employed in attaching escutcheons to coffin lids, but can also be found with plaques and ornaments. As a general rule, however, caplifter bases do not employ escutcheon pins. Occasionally, lining tacks were used instead of escutcheon pins for the same purpose.

Escutcheon Pins.

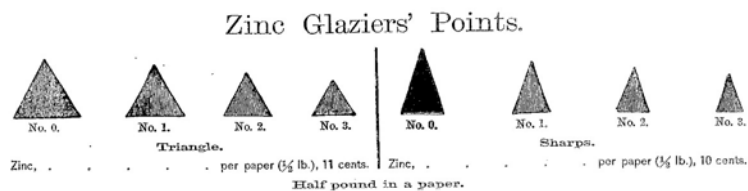


Sizes, $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, 1 in.

In pound or quarter pound boxes.

(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Glaziers points- small triangular-shaped, flat metal pieces, usually composed of tin or zinc. Glaziers points were utilized to wedge or hold a window pane firmly in place within its wooden sash or frame, prior to its being puttied with caulk (or glazing). As such, glaziers points were sometimes utilized in viewing windows found in coffins, and hence may be recovered archaeologically. The mere presence of one or more glaziers points is not time diagnostic (at least based on current knowledge). They are good indicators of the presence of a static viewing window type, however, which is an important observation in and of itself, especially when caulking does not preserve (for a fuller explanation of the static viewing window, see **Viewing Windows**).



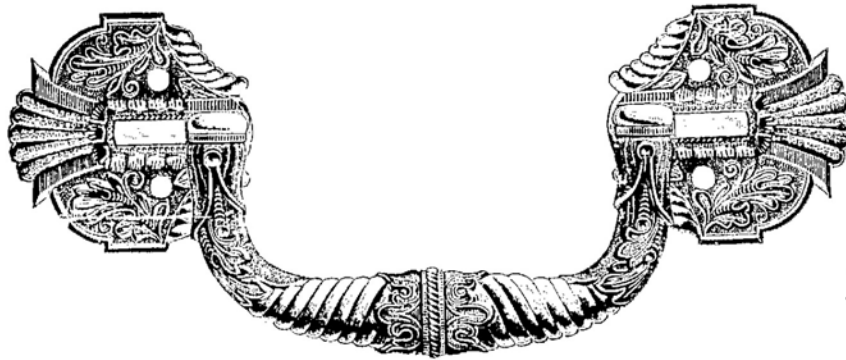
(from 1888 Sargent & Co General Hardware Catalogue)

Handles- as one might assume, handles are commonly mounted on the sides of coffins and caskets, and primarily serve as the means by which the box may be carried when transporting it from the home (or mortuary) to the burial site. There are several basic forms and a huge variety of stylistic types of coffin handles. The differences between these types (and their sub-types) will be elaborated upon below.

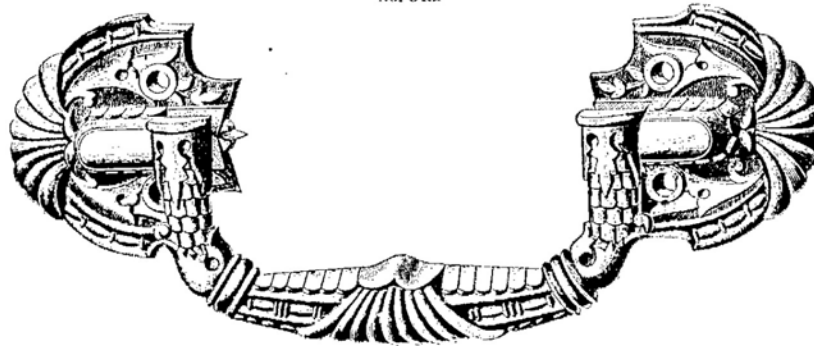
Swingbail handles- come in two basic varieties, single and double lug. Double lug swingbails also have a variant type; the tipped swingbail.

double lug swingbail- defined by its simplicity of form and construction, swingbail handles are composed of three basic elements; two identical lugs and a bail, which forms the gripping portion of the handle proper. The lug is that portion of the handle that is rigidly attached to the coffin by screws, and into which the bail is subsequently mounted. The bail forms the gripping portion of the handle, the shape of which is most often a simple “U,” at the ends of which are two metal pins (of iron or steel wire) solid cast and integral to the bail itself. It is these iron pins on the bail’s ends that are inserted into the lug sockets when the handle is attached to the coffin side.

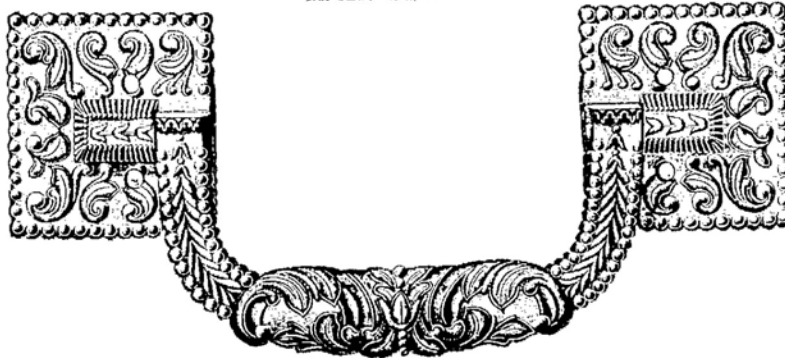
As a general class of artifact, swingbails have an extremely wide temporal range, literally from the 1700s into the 20th century, when they were largely replaced by the short bar handle form, however specific stylistic motifs are more tightly dated.



No. 643.



No. 1267 Iron, Patent.

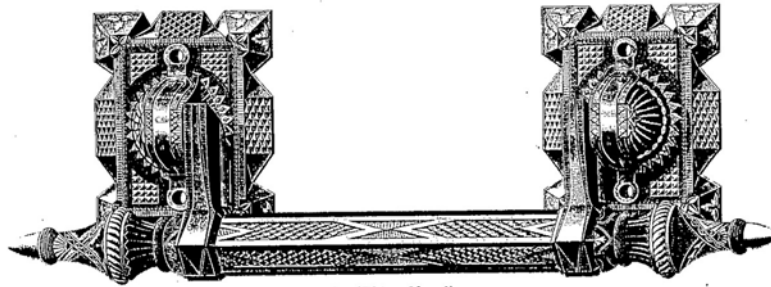


No. 59.

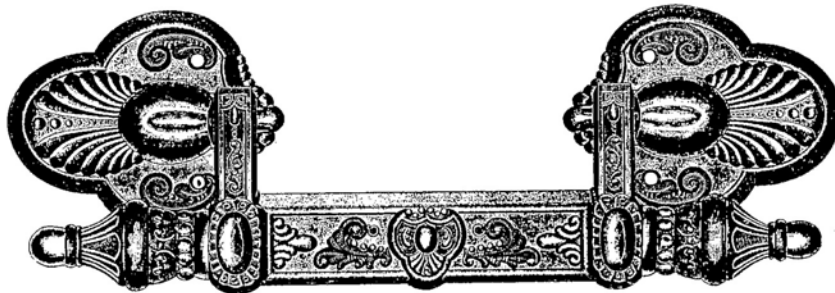
(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Double lug swingbail with tips- a variant of the swingbail, first introduced after the innovation of the short bar handle form in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Essentially,

a tipped swingbail is a handle that in its manufacture and functionality, is exactly like a classic swingbail, but is designed to at least mimic, or superficially look the part of the more expensive short bar. Swingbail handles with these attached tips were usually more substantial in weight than the regular swingbail handles (i.e., involving more metal), and so in pricing did fall somewhere in between regular swingbails and true short bar handles. The temporal range of the double lug swingbail handles with tips, would be something on the order of 1870 to circa 1915, though only a limited number of these styles were available for purchase after circa 1900.



No. 1718 Handle.



No. 25.

(from Paxson, Comfort & Co Catalogue; 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

single lug swingbail- from the 1850s on, the single lug swingbail is most commonly found with children. It is composed of two basic parts; a single lug and a bail. The overall temporal range is quite large for many stylistic motifs in this class of handle. For example, some of the “lamb” handles designed expressly for children were available for at least a hundred years, from the 1850s to the 1950s.



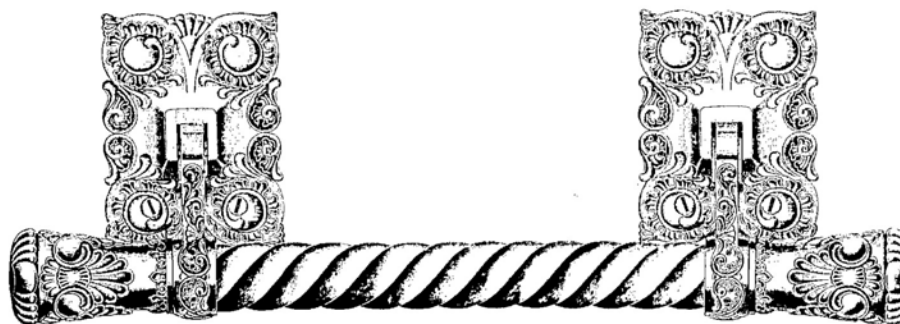
No. 26.



No. 261.

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

double lug short bar- the short bar handle as defined here, is differentiated from the swingbail handle form by several criteria. First, the typical short bar handle is composed of many more and different parts than the swingbail. There are nine parts comprising a typical short bar: two lugs, two lug arms, two separate socket (or fulcrum) pins, a bar (conceivably composed of a variety of materials and forms), and two tips that go on the bar's ends. In some cases, the tips are actually cast with the lug arms as a single, solid piece. While technologically more complex than a swingbail, the short bar handle form makes up for this complexity by being more adaptable in form, and probably sturdier in its weight bearing capacity. Temporally, short bars began to appear with any frequency in the early 1870s, and largely replaced swingbails by the early 1900s, especially on more elaborate and hence more expensive burials.



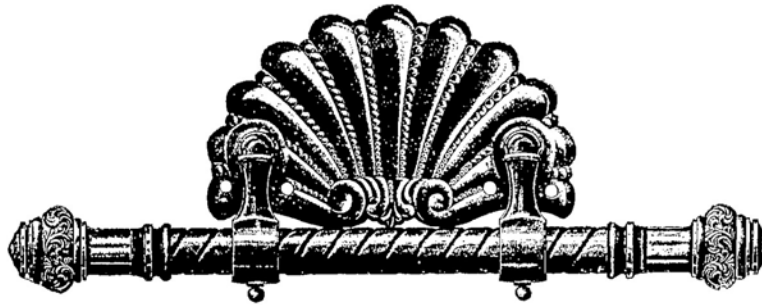
No. 49350 Silver Rope Bar. No. 49351 S.S. Steel Rope Bar.



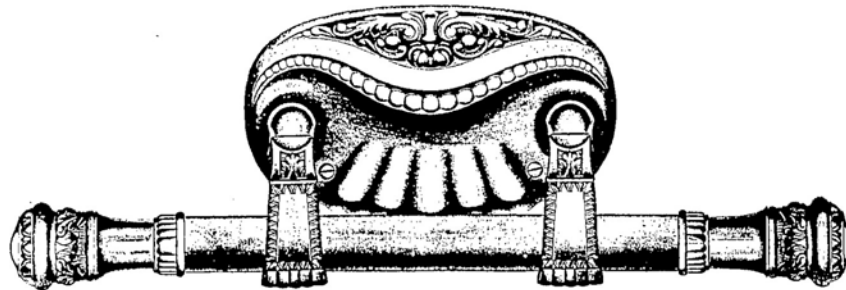
No. 42400 Silver Rope Bar. No. 42401 S.S. Steel Rope Bar

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

single lug short bar- a rarer form than the more common double lug short bar types, sometimes utilized when eight handles are present on a casket. In these cases, single lug short bars are often positioned at the head and feet boards of the coffin or casket. The temporal range is conceivably the same as for standard short bars, from circa 1870 well into the 20th century, though a cursory examination of mortuary hardware catalogues suggests that they really begin to appear with any frequency in the 1890s.



No. 77. All Silver.
No. 365. Black Satin and Silver.

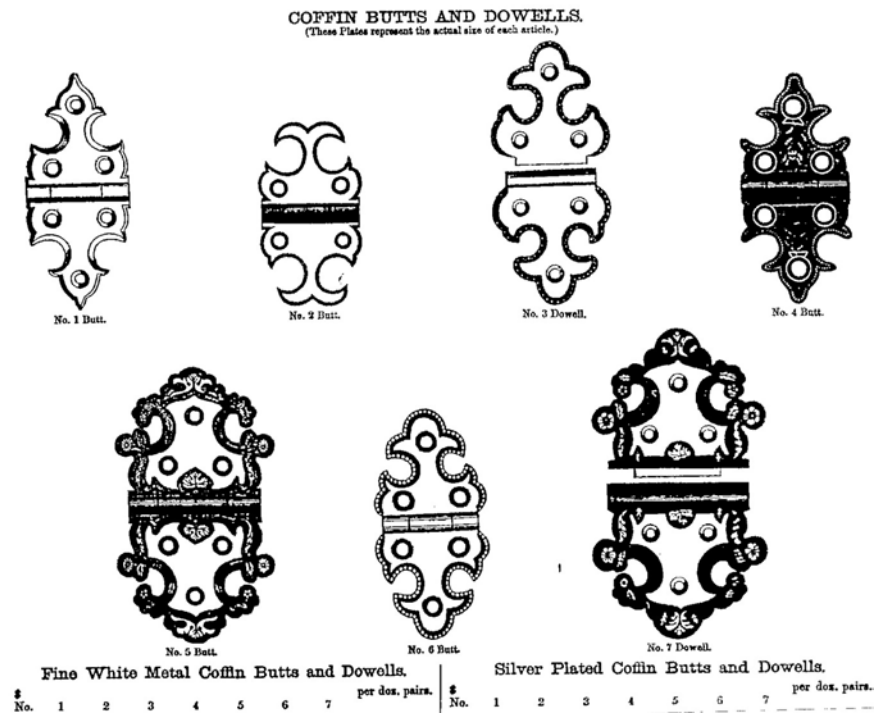


No. 410. Silver Rope Bar.

(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Hinges- coffin hinges of the nineteenth century come in two basic varieties; butt hinges and dowels. Butt hinges are true hinges, much like typical modern-day hinges in design. By this, I mean that butt hinges employ two symmetrical arms (or butts) which are held together by means of a pin, upon which the hinge pivots. Dowels, however, differ in that while there are two symmetrical plates, they lack a pivot pin or the means to attach one. Instead, one plate of the dowel would be mounted on the coffin side, while the other would mount on the coffin lid. The two plates would articulate together through a slot or socket on one of the plates, and a narrow lip on the other. In a very real sense, although

they serve some of the same functions of hinge, dowels are a unique form. The chief advantage of the dowel was that although the lid could be held together for display with the lid either open or closed, the lid could also be entirely and quickly removed from the box by simply lifting up on it sufficiently for the socket to release the lip. Temporally speaking, the use of coffin hinges of any variety is quite early, probably from the 1700s into the 1870s, at which time they begin to disappear from mainstream coffin hardware catalogues.



(from 1865 Russell & Erwin Hardware Catalogue)

Iron Closures (Coffin Lid Latches, etc.)- a catch-all term used during the Freedman's Cemetery excavations to refer to many different kinds of coffin components typically made of iron, and utilized either in the initial construction of the box itself (e.g., see corrugated fastener; also braces, struts, "L" bolts, etc.), or alternatively, used to seal the coffin lid in lieu of thumbscrews. Although often poorly preserved, iron closures (i.e., all iron coffin fittings) can be highly time diagnostic, and hence should be treated with care.

One iron closure in particular should be noted; Freedman's Cemetery Iron Closure Type 1. As crudely sketched below, this closure comes in two varieties. One consists of a solid, flat strip of iron or steel plate - an elongated and tapered triangle in outline, with an iron screw inserted through its widest end, and a pointed tip at its other. The other form of this closure is a looped wire type, in which a heavy steel wire has been bent around the head of an iron screw, with the ends of the wire soldered together to form a single sharpened point. Both forms were used identically in the construction of coffins, and less commonly caskets. They are typically found within the interior corners of coffins, where they were employed to join the two side boards to the head board. Temporally diagnostic, these closures have been recovered at Freedman's Cemetery, as well as the cemeteries of Elko Switch and Applegate Lake.

Freedman's Iron Closure
Type 1-solid strip variety



Freedman's Iron Closure
Type 1-looped wire variety



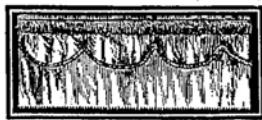
Iron Screws (i.e., plain screws) - plain utilitarian screws were often used in coffin box construction, especially in the outer box/shipping crate. In very cheap (or temporally early) burials, plain iron screws could be used as the primary means to seal the lid, serving as an inexpensive alternative to white metal coffin screws, and, later in time, thumbscrews. Although often difficult to differentiate from nails while in the field, due to their screw threads being obscured in rust and their overall poor preservation, the *in situ* identification of screws can be an important one, especially if a single large screw is found in each corner of the box, and no other means of lid closure is recovered. Of course, utilitarian screws were also utilized to mount handles and other hardware types.

Lining- except in the cheapest of burials, all coffins were once upholstered and then lined in cloth. In some cases, these linings constituted one of the more substantial costs incurred in the purchase of a coffin or casket. Although they rarely preserve archaeologically, the former presence of a lining can be assumed by the recovery of several lining tacks.

TAYLOR & Co., 163 BOWERY, N. Y.

38

HEAD OR INSIDE LININGS.



No. 1. Cashmere,
Satin de Chine, White Silk Fringe and Chenille Gimp.



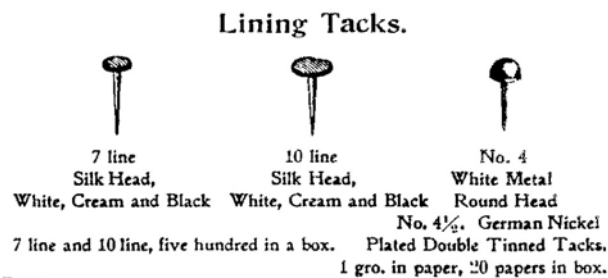
No. 4. Cashmere,
Stamped Satin and White Silk Fringe.
No. 6 is the same, but with White and Black Silk Fringe.

(from 1871 Taylor & Co Catalogue)

Lining Tacks- The primary function of lining tacks was just that, to tack down the lining within the interior of the coffin or casket. Lining tacks could also be used in lieu of escutcheon pins, serving to attach escutcheons to coffin lids. These tacks are very small, and are usually composed of two parts; a short iron shank and in the most common variety, a plain, domed lead head. Often, the iron shank does not preserve or becomes detached from the head of the tack. When this occurs, all that is often recovered is just the more substantial domed, lead tack head. Other varieties of tack could also be in use, especially on the older interments (i.e., pre-1890). Any simple, all steel or iron tacks

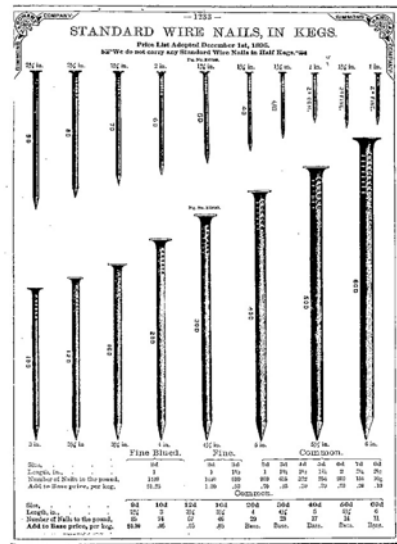
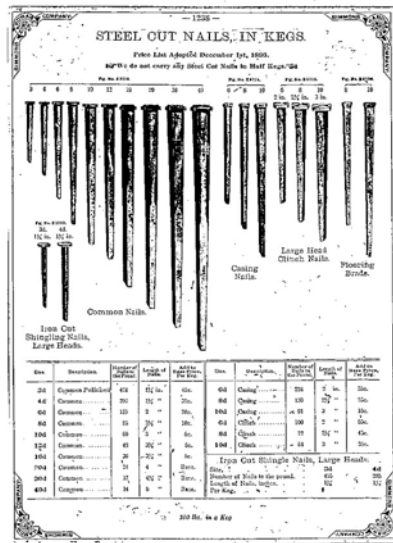
recovered from a burial in any number likely served as lining tacks. As determined at Freedman's Cemetery, the diameter of the typical lead domed tack head is 5 to 6 mm, which is just at or under 1/4 inches. This means that if burial fill is water screened through 1/4 inch mesh, most if not all of the tack heads present on a burial stand a very good chance of being recovered.

The ability to determine whether a coffin or casket was lined is an important observation, as a lining's presence or absence is a basic economic indicator. While tiny fragments of cloth may at times be preserved, especially when lying in direct contact with cuprous coffin hardware, it often is difficult (if not impossible) to distinguish any such fabric as lining, distinctive from clothing remains. The recovery and accurate identification of lining tacks will serve the same purpose, with greater assurance and validity.



(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Nails- obviously, nails were utilized in the construction of coffins, caskets, and outer boxes. The two types or varieties of nails you will likely encounter are square cut and wire. The Cut nail was the nail of choice throughout most of the nineteenth century until the late 1890s, at which time it began to be largely replaced by wire nails. At Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, it was observed that wire nails do not appear on coffins until circa 1900, although cut nails continued to be used haphazardly until circa 1906. In the most general sense, the accurate designation of the types of nails used on any given burial can be the most valuable and basic dating tool available.

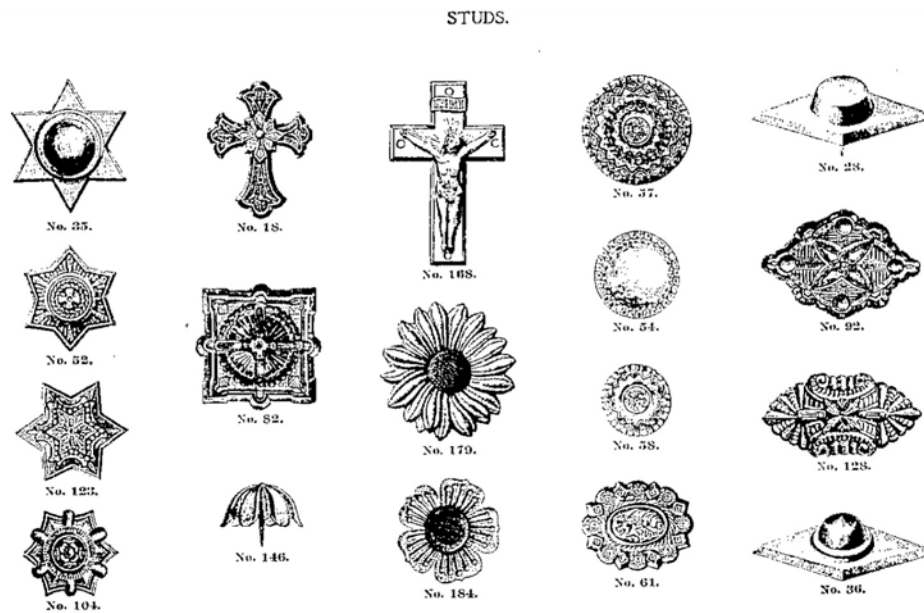


(from 1902 Simmons Hardware Co Catalogue)

Ornamental Tacks- known by a variety of specific terms (dummy screw, coffin tack, stud, diamond tack, etc.), this general class of artifact consists of small, geometric, floral,

or representational ornaments, affixed to a small pin or tack and usually attached to the edge of a coffin lid. Additional locations can include the sides of the coffin itself.

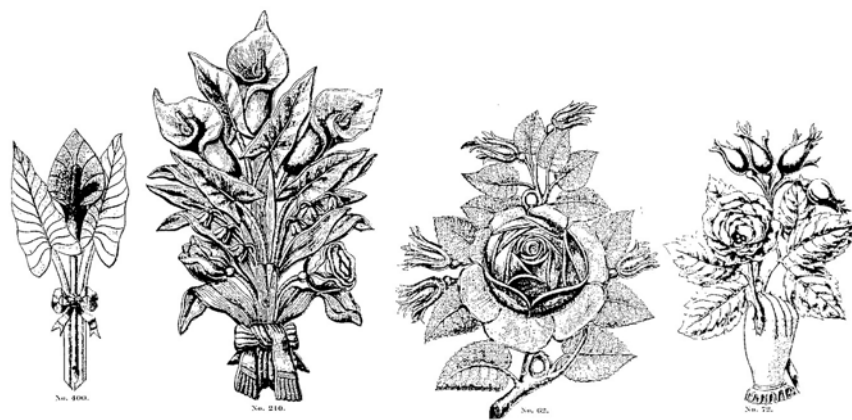
Temporally speaking, the earliest forms of the ornamental tack known are the dummy screw (or coffin tack), and the simple diamond stud, dating to the mid-1800s. Later forms include stars, flowers, crosses, bell shapes, and even lambs. Save for the dummy screws, which were composed of white metal, most ornamental tacks were made of a thin and foil-like struck-up cuprous plate. Temporally, they range from the 1850s (and probably earlier), to circa 1910.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Ornaments- although at times somewhat reminiscent of some ornamental tack types, examples of this class of artifact are larger, usually more elaborate in design, and more substantial in materials and manufacture. Ornaments are always representational, most commonly depicting floral motifs. Specific motifs include Calla lilies, bouquets of flowers, sheaves of wheat, a hand holding a rose, etc.

Other types of ornaments can include such things as fraternal orders symbols (e.g., Masons, Odd Fellows), crosses and crowns, and doves. Like plaques, ornaments are usually large and centrally mounted along the longitudinal axis of the coffin lid, commonly placed directly over the thorax, pelvis, or occasionally over the lower legs of the body. The primary criterion used in distinguishing between ornaments and plaques is that ornaments are just that, purely ornamental, while plaques contain words or phrases, including such factory engraved sentiments as “Our Darling,” Rest In Peace,” and “At Rest.”



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Plaques- this class of artifact is composed of a stamped (copper or tin based) or cast (white metal, pewter, bronze) metal plate, affixed to the coffin lid usually over either the thorax or pelvis. Plaques come in two basic varieties. The first type consists of blanks, ordered from the manufacturer or jobber, upon which were custom engraved the name of the individual, and such niceties as the dates of birth and death.

Perhaps more common in the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, were the factory engraved or stamped plaques, bearing such generic words, phrases, or sentiments as: Father, Mother, Brother, Sister; Our Darling, Our Babe, Our Loved One (for children); At Rest, and Rest in Peace (commonly used with adults). Plaques are normally attached to the coffin lid by means of two or more escutcheon pins. The typical forms of plaques are generally speaking, more or less oval or rectangular, though one popular form variant was the ribbon motif.

Most plaque types preserve quite well archaeologically. Occasionally, however, some thin cuprous or pewter alloyed plaques will be very poorly preserved, and in fact can consist of only metal “dust,” minuscule fragments or just a metallic stain.

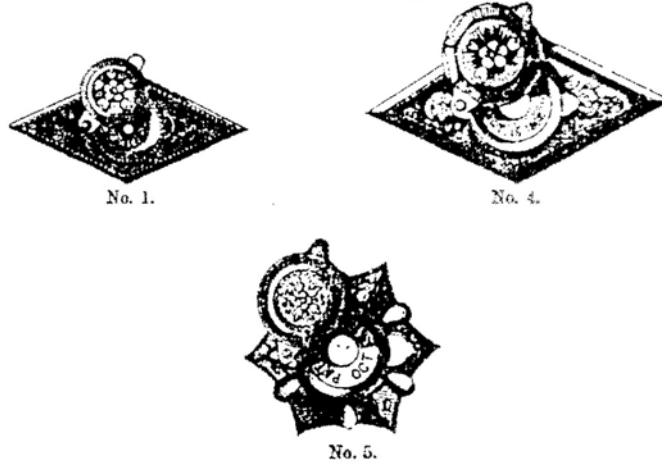
CAST METAL NAME PLATES.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Screwcaps (diamond caps)- an early form of lid closure, screw caps date to the early 1860s and consist of three basic elements: an escutcheon (usually diamond shaped); a simple iron screw that is inserted and screwed down through the escutcheon plate; and a domed, thin metal cap that is mounted on the escutcheon, but which can pivot to cover and hide the screw from view. When poorly preserved, screwcaps are often difficult to distinguish from simple escutcheons being utilized with iron screws. The time period that screw caps were actually in use is likely a very short one (circa 1860-1880).

Diamond Caps.

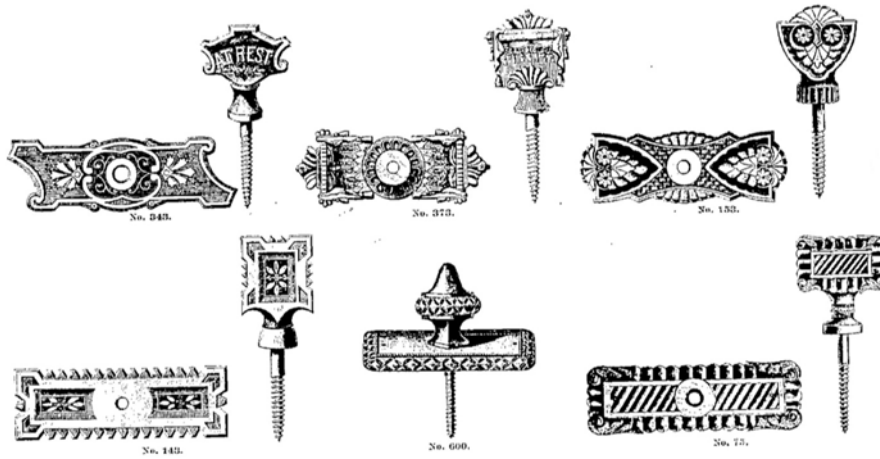


(from 1865 Russell & Erwin Hardware Catalogue)

Shortbars (see Handles)

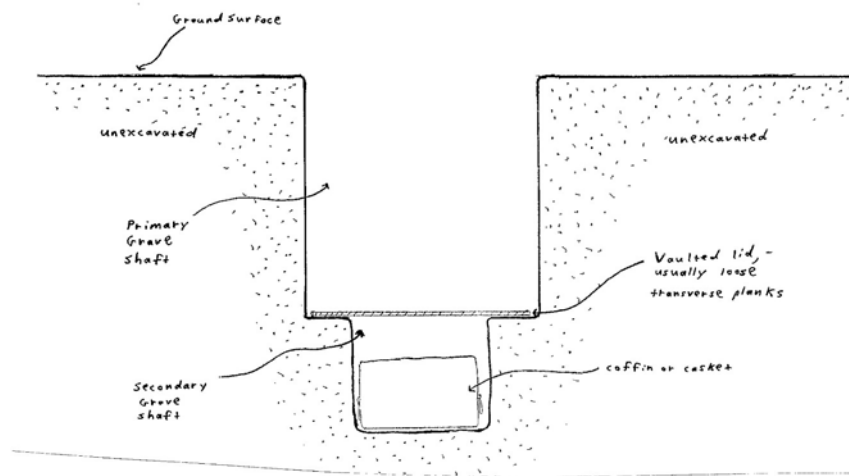
Swingbails (see Handles)

Thumbscrews- the predominate form of lid closure likely to be encountered during excavations. Thumbscrews were introduced as mortuary hardware during the 1870s and became the normative form of closure in the 1880s, replacing the then anachronistic coffin screws. Like the earlier coffin screws, thumbscrews were commonly utilized in sets of four or six, and the escutcheons paired with thumbscrews often form stylistically matched sets. Temporally, thumbscrews were utilized from the 1870s well into 20th century. They were eventually replaced by internally embedded coffin lid latches, which themselves saw an initial introduction into the market place in the mid-1880s.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Vaulting- Vaulting is where a wide primary grave shaft is dug to a depth of approximately 3 1/2 or 4 feet, at the bottom of which is dug a more narrow, secondary shaft, into which the coffin or casket will be placed. The secondary shaft (or niche) is dug just deep and wide enough to receive the box. This secondary shaft is then completely covered over with boards, typically loose transverse planks, to protect the coffin. Its presence is significant, as the use of vaulting can be both a temporal indicator, as well as an indicator of added care or costs.

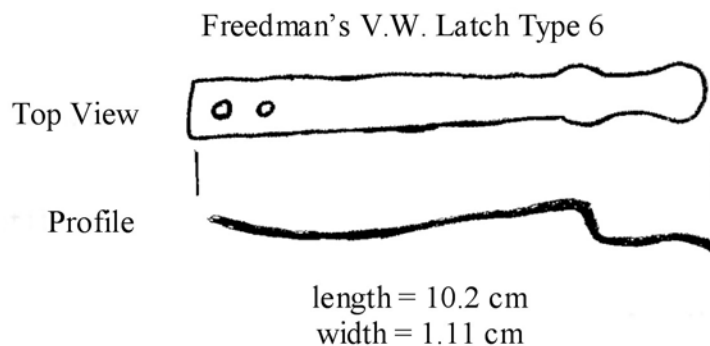


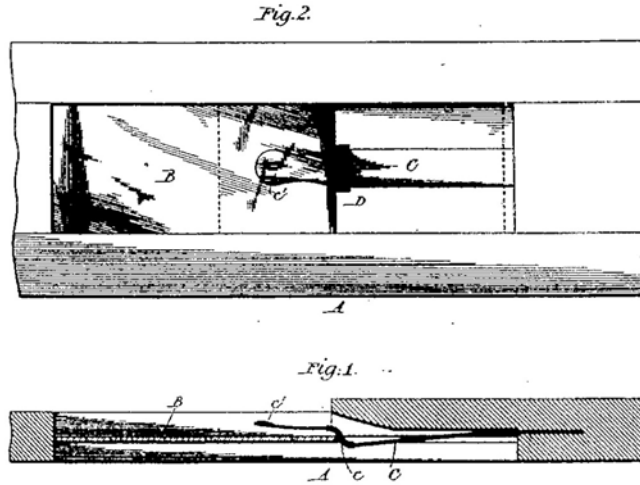
Viewing Windows- to view the dead, coffins and caskets were not infrequently constructed with coffin lids employing sectional or removable panels, often with glass plates or windows. The presence and style of a viewing window are both economic as well as temporal indicators. The specific shapes of viewing windows could be quite varied, but generally they tend to be oval and egg shaped. Temporally later forms are usually larger and rectangular (or otherwise angular).

Viewing windows are actually quite complex, with two general forms present; static or sliding. In static windows, the glass plate has been inserted from the underside (or posterior) surface of the coffin lid, into a cut-out with a rabbeted lip or inset. The glass is then secured in place by means of window putty and glaziers tips, just like a window in a house. Strong evidence indicating that a static window is present would consist of the recovery of window caulking, either an outline of whitish powder or small wedge shaped

fragments of intact caulk, as well as the recovery of one or more glaziers tips, which are small triangular bits of metal, usually made of tin or zinc.

The other type of window is the sliding variety, which means that the glass is inset into a frame, within which it can be slid open and closed freely. The purpose of this was to allow easy access to the body, without having to remove the entire lid. Sliding viewing window complexes are much more elaborate than static windows, and their presence on a burial suggests a much higher cost. Due to poor wood preservation, however, the sliding window is often impossible to detect directly, but one likely indicator of its presence (that does preserve) is a specific form of viewing window latch (Freedman's V. W. Latch Type 6).

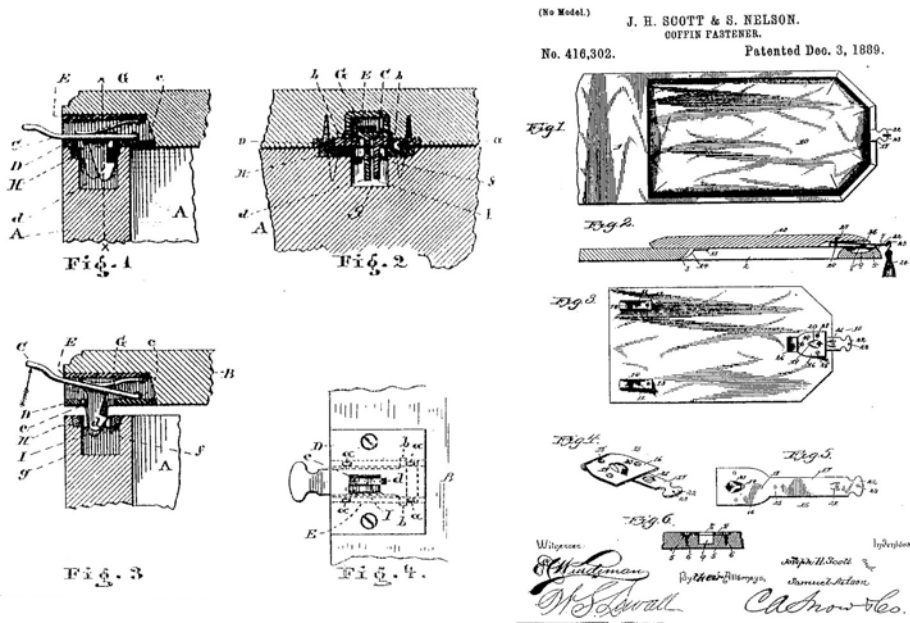




(from 1891 Utility Patent, U.S. Patent Office)

Viewing Window Panel Cover/ Viewing Window Latches- the glass plate of viewing windows, whether static or sliding, is invariably covered by a viewing window panel cover. To secure this cover panel to the coffin lid proper, two means were commonly employed. The less elaborate method consists of typically three (though sometimes four) diminutive thumbscrews and escutcheons (as designed for a child's coffin), that are simply screwed through the periphery of the cover panel, and into the coffin lid itself. The more elaborate means of attaching a viewing window panel cover is with an internally embedded latch, mounted at the head end of the coffin, with the operating

thumb lever accessible under the lid edge. These latches are usually spring loaded, compound closures, and are excellent temporal indicators.



(from 19th Century Utility Patents; U.S. Patent Office)

APPENDIX B:

Methodology for calculating wholesale costs of coffin hardware recovered from Freedman's Cemetery.

To measure the socioeconomic “level” of individual burials as well as for major gender or age divisions within the total sample size, it was first necessary to calculate a wholesale cost for each unique coffin hardware type as formally defined in the Freedman's hardware typology. Only elements of the coffin or casket (i.e., handles, thumbscrews, etc.) were used to calculate the cost of each interment. Clothing, jewelry and personal effects associated with the deceased did not enter into the cost of the burial. Although these kinds of artifacts were not uncommon, it is the wealth expended on a mortuary display within the Beautification of Death movement that is the primary variable of interest.

My ability to assign wholesale costs for coffin hardware was limited only by my access to pertinent archival sources, namely coffin and coffin hardware catalogues. A complete list of the catalogues consulted for this analysis is given in Table B-1. The classes of hardware that entered into these cost calculations consist of: Handles, Thumbscrews, Escutcheons, Coffin Screws, Caplifters (Caplifter Bases), Plaques, Ornaments, Ornamental Tacks, Viewing Windows, Viewing Window Latches, Iron Closures, Miscellaneous Hardware, and a single type of Hinge (see Appendix A for definitions of these hardware types).

In all of the accompanying hardware cost tables, when coffin hardware from

Freedman's Cemetery is described as "Identical" to an example in a particular catalogue, this means that the catalogue example is an exact, one to one match, in terms of size, material type, and form to the recovered hardware element. When exact matches could not be made between recovered mortuary hardware and available catalogues, the best possible match was made, using two kinds of notation: "similar" and "equivalent." If the hardware match was very similar but not identical, the term "similar" was used, while if it was only broadly similar, the term "equivalent" was employed. These matches were based on my knowledge of the attributes of mortuary hardware generally, with each reflecting as best as possible similar tooling, metal type and content, and finally shape and size, all of which should equate to cost.

Additionally, please note that what is being measured and expressed in dollars is the *wholesale cost* of the coffin hardware and related elements. The retail measure for these same elements is not known. However, one study of the rising costs of funerals undertaken in the 1950s stated that "...the markup on the caskets runs from three to six times their cost to the funeral firm" (Bowman 1959:46). While hardware from the 1869-1907 period likely did not approach these inflated levels, it is possible that their retail costs to consumers were perhaps double or triple their wholesale costs incurred by the funeral home.

To accurately reflect Freedman's three major time periods – Early (1869-1884), Middle (1885-1899), and Late (1900-1907) (as defined in Davidson 1999a and described in Chapter 3), the most appropriate archival catalogues were identified to serve as the pricing reference for each time period. By this I mean that to the best of my ability and

with the sources I had, the catalogues utilized in any given instance were either temporally pertinent, or contained an exact match and the date of the catalogue was close to the appropriate Freedman's temporal period (i.e., Early, Middle, Late).

For the Early Period (1869-1884), the kinds of coffin hardware associated with burials include Handles, Coffin Screws, a Screw Cap, Dummy Screws, Escutcheons, Ornamental Tacks, and a Hinge. Wholesale costs for the handles were derived from the Ed. C. Smith 1887 Day Book (see Table B-4 and the discussion of the Middle Period hardware below). Costs of the coffin screws and dummy screws were collected from 5 period catalogues dating from 1879 to 1884 (see Tables B-2 and B-3). The average wholesale cost of \$0.55 per gross for dummy screws was assigned to all examples, while the average wholesale cost of \$1.04 per gross for coffin screws was assigned, regardless of specific type. The archival sources for costs of the escutcheons and ornamental tacks were combined with the Middle Period categories, and can be found in Tables B- 6 and B-9. The single hinge recovered from an Early Period burial had a very similar match in the Sargent & Company 1877 catalogue (page 475, catalogue No. 24), with a wholesale cost of \$.54 per dozen pairs, or a unit price of \$0.05.

For Handle Types dating to the Early and Middle Periods, a unique method of assigning costs was utilized (see Table B-4). Since handle costs differed radically in the period catalogues available for this analysis, the possibility of assigning erroneous pricing was quite real. This problem was ameliorated, however, by relying on a local Dallas archival source: records from the Ed C. Smith Funeral Home.

Ed C. Smith was one of the earliest and most prominent undertakers in 19th

century Dallas; he first joined the undertaking firm of Asa W. Morton in 1876, and went on to form his own business in the late 1870s (Davidson 1999a:108-111). While the Ed C. Smith Funeral Home no longer exists, a major portion of this firm's ledgers, day books, and other funeral records were donated to the Genealogy Department of the Dallas Public Library (see Appendix H). Of all the Day Books and ledgers in the collection, Smith's Day Book No. 3, dating from January 1887 to July 1888, was used to assign hardware costs for the Middle Period.

It is only within this book and the single year 1887 that the everyday purchases of mortuary hardware made by Smith from the Louisville Coffin Company are listed in the minutest detail. Hardware purchases are noted in the following ways: by the specific type of hardware (e.g., handle, thumbscrew, etc.); by catalogue number (which often equates to mold numbers, embossed on the backs of handles and other hardware types); by the quantity purchased; and finally by the price paid for each item. Because of this detail, it was possible to match some hardware types present within the archival record to examples from exhumed burials. That is, elements of coffin hardware purchased by Ed C. Smith in 1887 have been identified as hardware recovered from Freedman's Cemetery and dating to the Middle Period (Davidson 1999a:274-278).

The methodology used here was to identify examples of the major forms of handles in the 1887 Day Book No. 3. Specifically, a double lug swing bail handle (in three size variants; small, medium, and large), a single lug child's "Lamb" handle, and finally, a "tipped double lug swingbail" handle (for definitions of these handle forms, see Appendix A). Once examples of these three handle forms (and appropriate size variants)

were identified, they could serve as proxies by which all handles that had these same basic forms could be priced (regardless of whether or not all of these examples could be exactly identified within the day book).

Specifically, three unique forms and five separate handle types are identified: Freedman's Handle Types 75, 44, and 44.1, 23, and 153, almost all of which are exclusively associated with hardware recovered from Freedman's Middle Period. The three handle types – 75, 44, 44.1 -- are double lug swingbail types and share an identical design motif, each differing only in size. The largest handle is type 75, the intermediate size is Handle type 44, while the smallest of the handles is 44.1. The use of a single handle design employing several varying sizes (typically three), was quite common in the late nineteenth century. The rationale was one combining a frugality of design with the greatest range of variety through size. The largest of the handles would be utilized with adults, the medium sized handles would serve for adolescents or older subadults, while the smallest of the handles would be used on the coffins of small children or infants. Each of these three handle types have mold numbers (1210, 1206, 1204) that correspond to catalogue numbers in Smith's Day Book No. 3, and the three tiered pricing for each type matches the descending scale of sizes (Davidson 1999a:274-278). The prices given for these handles were assigned when Middle Period interments had these specific handle types, as well as in instances where equivalent handles in size and form were in association (See Table B-4).

The second form of coffin handle, the single lug child's Lamb" handle, was identified in Smith's Day Book No. 3 as Freedman's Handle Type 26. This handle is a

single lug swingbail, specifically designed for use with the coffins of young children. It is quite small and employs a lamb/sunburst design motif on its lug. This handle type was found with both Middle (N=6) and Late Period interments (N=7). Again, as with the previous handle types, Handle Type 26 was identifiable in the archival record because of its mold number's correspondence to a handle's catalogue number notation in the Day Book ("260"), and the fact that the associated price, "½ dozen # 260 Handles \$0.75," was commensurate for a handle of this form and diminutive size (Davidson 1999a:276-278).

The third and final form of coffin handle associated with Middle Period burials and identified in Ed. C. Smith's Day Book No. 3 was Handle Type 153. This handle's form is that of an adult sized double lug swing bail, but which differs from Handle Type 75, because its form was specifically made to mimic that of the more expensive short bar handle types which were introduced in the 1870s and 1880s (Davidson 2004c). Although Handle Type 153 was recovered at Freedman's Cemetery on only a single burial (dating to the Late Period; Burial 1181), its mold number ("1715") identically matches a handle type commonly purchased by Ed. C. Smith in 1887, and this form was indeed available for purchase in the 1880s and 1890s.

Except for the handles, the following catalogues or price lists were utilized to assign costs to the Middle Period coffin hardware (i.e., Thumbscrews, Escutcheons, Caplifters (and Caplifter Bases), Plaques, and Ornamental Tacks): Warfield & Rohr 1886; Paxson, Comfort and Company 1881; William Sauter 1883 (price list dating to 1888); Meriden Britannia Co 1880; Sargent & Co 1877; Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882;

Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895. For dummy screws (which are specialized forms of ornamental tacks), an average wholesale cost was calculated from the following catalogues:

Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co 1884; Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co 1886; Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co 1888, and Warfield & Rohr 1893 (see Table B-3).

The coffin hardware associated with the Middle Period were assigned wholesale costs from period catalogues (listed above), and the resulting cost information is presented in the following tables: thumbscrews (Table B-5), escutcheons (Table B-6), caplifters (and some bases) (Table B-7), plaques (Table B-8), and ornamental tacks (Table B-9).

For the Late Period (1900-1907), a single archival source was utilized to assign mortuary hardware costs: the Catalogue No. 4 of the Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Company (of Chattanooga, Tennessee), dating to 1905. The exact dating of the catalogue is important, especially since it roughly dates to the middle portion of the Late Period (1900-1907), but the principal factor in choosing this catalogue as the single source for the Late Period coffin hardware is that it still retains its original price list (which many catalogues of this period do not). There are three authoritative coffin hardware catalogues of this period available for this analysis: the 1901 St. Louis Coffin Company, the 1904 Gate City Coffin Company of Atlanta, Georgia, and the 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Company. While I have complete copies of all three catalogues, only the Chattanooga has its complete wholesale price list.

I do have a small, incomplete price list for the *retail costs* of the coffins and caskets illustrated for sale in the 1901 St. Louis Coffin Co catalogue. This latter price list

is not applicable in assigning wholesale costs to elements of coffin hardware, though it was useful in determining the retail costs differences in the presence or absence (and specific form) of glass viewing windows for burial containers associated with Freedman's Late Period (see below).

Due to the overall poor wood preservation, no attempts were made to assign an estimated cost to the single most expensive element of the burial complex – the coffin or casket itself, or its cloth lining (that would have been present in all but the cheapest burials). This was due largely to the extreme variability of burial containers and their subsequent costs. For example, in the 1901 St Louis Coffin Company price guide, retail prices of wooden coffins could range from \$5.00 to \$225.00. After a century in the ground, the differences between an expensive casket costing over two hundred dollars and a simple 5 dollar pine coffin are extremely subtle in the best of circumstances.

Since most embedded latches or other internal coffin elements were integral in the manufacture of the container at the factory, and were not added after the burial container reached the funeral home, most of these hardware types did not enter into the cost calculations. The exception to this was Iron Closure Type 2 (which functioned as a complex form of lid closure in lieu of thumbscrews, and is suggestive of a more elaborate casket form), and the three styles of casket rests. Casket rests are small, often conically shaped objects, with a single screw or nail mounted on their bases. Typically constructed of iron, these objects were attached to the interior base of an outer coffin box, to serve two basic functions; secure the coffin (or inner box) during shipment, and allow for easy extraction of the lowering straps during burial. Since these elements could have been

added by the local funeral home, their costs were included into the total cost of the appropriate burial (see Table B-17).

The presence or absence of a viewing window was considered as a cost variable. From a price list corresponding to the 1901 St. Louis Coffin Company catalogue, the retail prices of coffins with no windows, with static windows, and with sliding windows, were given for each coffin style. The differences in coffin prices between the presence or absence of a static window was \$5.00 retail, which was reduced to an estimated \$2.50 wholesale cost for this study. The cost of a sliding window variety was \$10.00 more than an identical coffin without a window. This value was reduced to \$5.00 to reflect the estimated wholesale cost for this study. The \$5.00 price differences between the presence or absence of a static viewing window exhibited in the 1901 St. Louis price guide identically matches that seen in the undertaker daybook entries from 1902 to 1907 of George W. Loudermilk, a turn of the century Dallas undertaker.

Despite taphonomic factors of poor preservation, it is usually possible to identify and differentiate between static or sliding viewing windows. In static windows (in wooden containers), the glass plate has been inserted from the underside (or posterior) surface of the coffin lid, into a cut-out with a rabbited lip or inset. The glass is then secured in place by means of window putty and/or glaziers tips, just like a window in a house. The earliest forms of viewing windows would have been static varieties.

The other type of window is the sliding variety, which means that the glass is inset into a frame, within which it can be slid open and closed freely. The purpose of this was to allow easy access to the body, without having to remove the entire lid. The

earliest patent for a sliding viewing window on a burial container dates to November 10, 1868, and was issued to Francis H. Hill of Chicago, Illinois (U. S. Utility Patent No. 83,964).

The sliding type of viewing window is identifiable primarily to the presence of Freedman's Viewing Latch Type 6, which is a spring thumb lever designed to hold the window in place, until it is necessary to slide it open. Another element distinctive of a sliding window is the small drill hole in the viewing window glass, at the top or head end of the window. This was for the placement of a small knob of metal or wood, used to manipulate the window glass and facilitate sliding it open. The attributes that contribute to the recognition of a static viewing window are the lack of these same hardware elements (e.g., V. W. Latch Type 6), and the recovery of window caulking putty or glaziers points, which are small, triangular-shaped tin or zinc objects (stamped out of sheet metal), and inserted into the wood lip of the lid cutout, to hold the glass in place.

After the individual coffin hardware elements were assigned a wholesale cost, it was then necessary to sum each element's individual cost associated with any given burial, to obtain the summary wholesale cost of mortuary hardware for the burials as a whole. These data are given in Appendix D, and are applied to the analysis in Chapters 4 through 6.

Finally, to create a comparative for Freedman's Cemetery, the coffin hardware recovered from Cedar Grove Cemetery (3LA97), a rural African American cemetery in southwest Arkansas excavated by the Arkansas Archeological Survey in 1982 (see Rose 1985), was also assigned wholesale hardware costs. These costs are given in Table 4-18.

A careful comparison of Cedar Grove's original report of investigations (Rose 1985) will reveal discrepancies in the number of coffin hardware types between that report and Table 4-18. This is because a 1996 reappraisal of the original field and lab data, curated at the Arkansas Archeological Survey, discovered additional coffin hardware that were not accounted for in Rose (1985). These data are given in Davidson (1996).

The wholesale price as given in period catalogues is presented in the "cost per gross" or "cost per dozen pairs," etc. When the cost for a single unit was calculated, often the amount was a fraction. In these instances, the amount was rounded up to the nearest penny. In those rare occasions where the wholesale cost of a single example of some coffin hardware element was less than 0.05 cents, the cost was still rounded up to a single penny.

**Table B-1: All mortuary catalogues
(coffins, caskets, hardware) available for analysis (N=102)**

DATE	COMPANY NAME	LOCATION	TITLE OF CATALOG	Repository Library
circa 1797	unnamed	England	unnamed copy book of coffin plates, handles, ornaments, etc. (dated by a 1797 watermark)	Winterthur Museum
1853	Peck & Walter Mfg Co	CT	Price list...	copy in author's collection
1857	Peck & Walter, Sargent Bros.	CT	Cabinet Maker's Hardware	copy in author's collection
1859	P & F Corbin	New Britain, CT	Illustrated Catalogue and price list	University of Delaware
1861	Sargent & Co. (J.B.)	New Britain, CT	Hardware Catalog	copy in author's collection
1865	Russel & Erwin Mfg. Co.	New Britain, Conn	Illustrated Catalog of American Harware of the Russel & Erwin Mfg Co.	Library of Congress
1865	Markham & Strong	E. Hampton, CT	Improved Price List	copy in author's collection
1865	Crane, Breed & Co.	Cincinnati, OH	Wholesale Prices of Plain Cases, Crane's Metallic Burial Casket, etc.	Hagley Museum, Delaware
1866	Corbin, P & F	New Britain, CT	Price List, manufacturers of wrought cast brass...hinges, coffin trimmings...	University of Delaware
1866	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, CT	Prices of Hardware	copy in author's collection
1867	Crane, Breed & Co.	Cincinnati, OH	wholesale pricelist of patent metallic burial cases and caskets, hearses, name plates, etc.	Winterthur Museum
1869	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, CT	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue...	copy in author's collection
1871	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, CT	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.	Library of Congress
1871	H. E. Taylor & Co.	New York, NY	The Undertakers' Guide	Library of Congress

1871 (circa)	Miller Bro's & Co.	Boston, MA	Illustrated catalogue of coffin trimmings	Winterthur
1871	Taylor & Co	New York, NY	Illustrated catalogue of caskets, coffins, shrouds, trimmings, etc.	Library of Congress
1874	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, CT	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.	Library of Congress
1875 (1874)	H. E. Taylor & Co.	New York, NY	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertaker's Sundries	Library of Congress
1875 (circa)	C. Sidney Norris & Co	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue of Coffin Handles and Undertakers' Trimmings	University of Delaware
1876	Meriden Britannia Co	West Meriden, CT	Second 1876 Supplement of Wm. M. Smith's original designs of Casket Trimmings	Author's Personal collection
1877	Crane, Breed & Co.	Cincinnati, OH	Illustrated catalogue of undertakers' goods	Library of Congress
1877	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, CT	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.	Author's Personal collection
1879	H. E. Taylor & Co.	New York, NY	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertaker's Sundries	University of Delaware
1879	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	Price List, June 20, 1879 (hardware)	University of Delaware
1879	Cleveland Burial Case Co	Cleveland, OH	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertaker's Supplies (Cat. No. 1)	Author's Personal collection
1880	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	Reduced Price List; Price List of Hardware and Trimmings (June 23, 1880)	University of Delaware
1880 (circa)	Warfield & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of undertakers' trimmings and cabinet hardware	University of Delaware
1880	Meriden Britannia Co	West Meriden, CT	Illustrated catalogue of Wm. M. Smith's fine silver, bronze, etc Casket trimmings	Winterthur Museum
1880	Cincinnati Coffin Co	Cincinnati, OH	Ninth Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1880	Zanesville Coffin Co.	Zanesville, OH	Illustrated Catalogue	copy in author's collection
1881	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	March 8, 1881, Revised Price List of the Excelsior Coffin and Casket Works.	University of Delaware

1881	Union Casket Co	Boston, MA	Telephonic & telegraphic key and wholesale price list combined, of untrimmed cloth covered caskets	Hagley Museum, Delaware
1881	W.L. Lockhart	East Cambridge, MA	Wholesale Price List of Caskets and Coffins	Author's Personal collection
1881	Cincinnati Coffin Co	Cincinnati, OH	Tenth Annual Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1881	Paxson, Comfort & Co	Philadelphia, PA	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertakers' supplies	University of Delaware
1882	Sunbury Coffin and Casket Works	Sunbury, PA	Wholesale Price List of Untrimmed Coffins and Caskets.	University of Delaware
1882	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	Excelsior Coffin & Casket Works Illustrated Catalogue of ... Burial Cases and Caskets	Author's Personal collection
1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	Cincinnati, OH	Eleventh Annual Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1882	Columbus Coffin Co.	Columbus, OH	Illustrated Catalogue Wood & Cloth Covered Coffins & Caskets, undertakers hardware	Winterthur Museum
1883	Sunbury Coffin and Casket Works	Sunbury, PA	Wholesale Price List of Untrimmed Coffins and Caskets.	University of Delaware
1883	Cincinnati Coffin Co	Cincinnati, OH	Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1883	William Sauter	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue No. 268	University of Delaware
1883	Hazleton Coffin & Casket Co	Hazleton, PA	Illustrated Catalogue of Wood and Cloth covered Burial Cases and Caskets	University of Delaware
1884	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	(Jan 16, 1884) Revised Wholesale Price List of Varnished and Cloth-Covered Burial Cases and Caskets (Excelsior Coffin & Casket Works)	Winterthur Museum
1884	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	(April 15, 1884) Price List of Hardware, robes, Linings, Trimmings, etc. (Excelsior Coffin & Casket Works)	University of Delaware
1884	Chappell, Chase, Maxwell & Co.	Oneida, NY	Illustrated catalogue: Cloth, velvet-covered, and wood finished Burial Caskets	Author's Personal collection

1884	Hawley Bros. Hardware Co.	San Fran, CA	No. 15 Price List & Illustrated Catalog of Hardware & Agricultural Implements	copy in author's collection
1884	Paxson, Comfort & Co	Philadelphia, PA	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of wood, metallic, and cloth covered burial caskets	Hagley Museum, Delaware
1886	Warfield & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	Wholesale Price-List of Coffin and Casket Trimmings, Linings, Robes and Wrappers	University of Delaware
1886	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	(Nov 1, 1886) Revised Price List of Coffin and Casket Hardware (Excelsior Coffin & Casket Works)	University of Delaware
1886	Paxson, Comfort & Co.	Philadelphia, PA	Supp. Catalogue of Undertakers' Hardware	copy in author's collection
1887	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	(Jan 1, 1887) Price List and Telegraph Key of Varnished and Cloth Covered Burial Cases and Caskets	Author's Personal collection
1887	Maryland Burial Case Co.	Baltimore, MD	Price List - Wood coffins & Caskets	copy in author's collection
1888	William Sauter	Baltimore, MD	Wholesale Price List	University of Delaware
1888	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny & Pittsburg, PA	(Feb 1, 1888) Price List of Wrappers, Robes, Linings, Trimmings, Etc.	Author's Personal collection
1888	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co.	Allegheny &Pittsburg, PA	(Feb 1, 1888) Revised Price List of Coffin and Casket Hardware (Excelsior Coffin & Casket Works)	University of Delaware
1889	Boston Casket Co	Boston, MA	Book of Designs	University of Delaware
1890 (circa)	Harrisburg Burial Case Co	Harrisburg, PA	Illustrated Catalogue of Coffins, Caskets, and Undertakers' Supplies	Hagley Museum, Delaware
1890 (circa)	Warfield & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue	Author's Personal collection
n.d. (circa 1890)	W. S. Carr & Co	Baltimore, MD	Price list of Undertakers Hardware, W. S. Carr & Co, manufacturers	copy in author's collection
1891	National Casket Co	New York, etc	Catalogue A	Winterthur

1893	Louisville Coffin Co	Louisville, KY	Price List Wood Burial Cases and Caskets and Cloth covered Caskets	Author's Personal collection
1893	Warfield & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	(Nov 1, 1893) Revised Price-List of Coffin and Casket Hardware, Robes, Linings, and Undertakers' Sundries	University of Delaware
1894	W. D. Wilmarth & Co	Attleboro, MA	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of Coffin and Casket Trimmings manufactured by...	Library of Congress
1895	Belknap, W. B. & Co	Louisville, KY	Importers and jobbers of Hardware (general hardware, with some coffin trimmings)	copy in author's collection
1895 (circa)	Louis J. Lamb (firm)	Attleboro, MA	Catalog of sheet metal coffins and ornaments (with price list)	Author's Personal collection
1895 (circa)	Louis J. Lamb (firm)	Attleboro, MA	No. 2 Price List of Sheet Metal Coffin hardware	Author's Personal collection
1896	Chicago Coffin Co.	Chicago, IL	Pocket Catalogue	Library of Congress
1896	National Casket Co	various	Complete Price List of Burial Robes, Linings, and Miscellaneous Dry Goods	University of Delaware
1900	Durfee Embalming Fluid Co.	Grand Rapids, MI	Durfee Embalming Fluid Company	Author's Personal collection
1900 (circa)	Crawfordsville Casket Co	Crawfordsville, IN	Illustrated Catalogue No. 9 of Coffins, Caskets, Dry Goods, Hardware, etc.	Author's Personal collection
1901	Belknap, W. B. & Co	Louisville, KY	Catalogue No. 29 (general hardware, with coffin trimmings)	copy in author's collection
1901	St. Louis Coffin Co. MFG.	St. Louis, MO	Souvenir Catalog, No. 20. Illustrating Highest Types of Our Art	Library of Congress
1901 (circa)	St. Louis Coffin Co. MFG.	St. Louis, MO	Estimated Undertaker's Selling Prices... (for) Art Book No. 20	Author's Personal collection
1902	Simmons Hardware Co	St Louis, MO	Catalogue No. 421. Builders Hardware (general hardware, with coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1903	Simmons Hardware Co	St Louis, MO	Catalogue No. 443. Builders Hardware (general hardware, with some coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1904	Gate City Coffin Co	Atlanta, GA	Hardware Catalogue G	Author's Personal collection

1905	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	Chattanooga, TN	Catalogue No. 4. Illustrated catalogue of Undertakers' hardware, etc.	Library of Congress
1905	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	Chattanooga, TN	Wholesale pricelist of Undertaker's Hardware, embalming instruments and sundry supplies	Library of Congress
circa 1905?	National Casket Company	various	Catalogue "K" (caskets)	Author's Personal collection
1908	National Casket Company	various	Catalogue "L" (caskets)	Author's Personal collection
1910	National Casket Company	Chicago, IL	Wholesale Price List for Casket Catalogue "L"	Author's Personal collection
n.d. (post 1906)	Dominion Manufacturers, Limited	Toronto, Ontario	Catalogue No. 30 Illustrating Casket Hardware designed & manufactured by....	Private collection
n.d. (circa 1910)	Schmidt Manufacturing Co	Dubuque, IA	Illustrated catalogue of Casket Hardware	Private collection
1910	National Casket Co	Chicago, IL	Wholesale Price List "W": for goods shown in Casket Catalogue "L": Varnished cases, etc.	Author's Personal collection
1911	St. Louis Coffin Co.	St Louis, MO	Catalog No. 22 (coffins, caskets, vaults, hearses)	Author's Personal collection
1911?	Milwaukee Casket Co.	Milwaukee, WI	Casket Catalogue D: Manufacturers & Jobbers of a complete line of....	Library of Congress
1918	Atlantic Coffin & Casket Co.	Rose Hill, NC	Catalogue "B", Wholesale dealers in coffin & casket hardware, linings...	copy in author's collection
1918	Simmons Hardware Co	Philadelphia, PA	Catalogue No. P, complete catalogue. (general hardware, with a page of coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1920	Mound Coffin Company	St. Louis, MO	(unnamed); Contains caskets, robes, linings	Author's Personal collection
circa 1921	Sargent & Co	New Haven, CT	Catalogue No. 17: Casket Hardware, Box Hardware, and Miscellaneous Goods used by Casket Manufacturers...	Author's Personal collection
1923	Minnesota Casket Co	Minneapolis, MN	Catalogue "B", manufacturers of caskets of redwood, resist decay	Author's Personal collection

1924	Mound Coffin Company	St. Louis, MO	Wholesale Price List (for Metal, Cloth and Varnished Coffins; metal linings; funeral dry goods, sundries, etc.	Author's Personal collection
1928	National Casket Company	New York, etc.	Catalog "RC", Covered Caskets	Author's Personal collection
circa 1930s/1940s?	Dottridge Brothers, LTD.	London, England	Wholesale Coffin Furniture & Drapery List (with price list)	Author's Personal collection
circa 1930s/1940s?	Dottridge Brothers, LTD.	London, England	Wholesale Coffin List (with price list)	Author's Personal collection
1930	National Casket Company	New York, etc.	Catalogue "RM", Metal Caskets	Author's Personal collection
1932	Oregon Casket Co	Portland, OR	Catalogue "G"	Author's Personal collection
1947	Parson's Casket Hardware Co	Belvidere, IL	"49th annual edition catalogue (handles, name plates, ornaments, etc)	Author's Personal collection
circa 1950s?	Philadelphia Mfg Co.	Philadelphia, PA	Casket Hardware (n.d., no price list)	Author's Personal collection
1959	Victor Casket Hardware Co	Galesburg, IL	Price List applying to Catalogue No. 6, May 20, 1959 (has box handles, children's handles).	Author's Personal collection
October 1, 1965	Dottridge Brothers, LTD.	London, England	Coffin Furniture (separate illustrations, with price list)	Author's Personal collection

Table B-2: Costs for white metal Coffin Screws

Early Period Pricing

Date	Company	Coffin Screws
1879	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	\$.90 to \$1.00 per gross
1881	Cincinnati Coffin Co	\$1.00 to \$1.20 per gross
1881	Paxson, Comfort & Co	\$.90 to \$1.00 per gross
1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	\$1.05 to \$1.25 per gross
1884	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	\$1.35 per gross

Average price is \$1.04 per gross

Middle Period Pricing

Date	Company	Coffin Screws
1886	Warfield & Rohr	\$1.50 to \$2.75 per gross
1886	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	\$1.35 per gross
1888	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	\$1.35 per gross
1893	Warfield & Rohr	none available for sale
1895	W. B. Belknap & Co	\$1.35 to \$1.50 per gross

Average price is \$1.52 per gross

Table B-3: Costs for white metal Dummy Screws

Early Period Pricing

Date	Company	Dummy Screws
1879	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	50 to 55 cents per gross
1881	Cincinnati Coffin Co	50 to 60 cents per gross
1881	Paxson, Comfort & Co	40 to 55 cents per gross
1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	55 to 65 cents per gross

Average price = 55 cents per gross

Middle Period Pricing

Date	Company	Dummy Screws
1884	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	75 cents per gross
1886	Warfield & Rohr	70 to 75 cents per gross
1886	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	75 cents per gross
1888	Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co	75 cents per gross
1893	Warfield & Rohr	75 cents per gross

Average price = 75 cents per gross

Table B-4: Early and Middle Period Handle Wholesale Costs (derived from Ed. C. Smith Daybook No. 3, 1887)

Handle Type	Shortbar or swingbail	Tipped swingbail	Tip form	Lamb motif	# of burials	Time Period	Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No. (see note below)	Cost per 1/2 dozen pairs	cost per unit
5.1	sw	na	na	na	2	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
5.2	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
26	sw	na	na	Lamb	6	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
44	sw	na	na	na	2	Middle	Identical	63	1206	1	\$0.08
44.1	sw	na	na	na	4	Middle	Identical	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
45	sw	na	na	na	2	Middle	similar	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
51.2	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
53	sw	na	na	na	5	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
74	sw	na	na	na	3	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
75	sw	na	na	na	25	Middle	Identical	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
82	sw	tipped	attached	na	4	Middle	equivalent	147, etc	1715	2.9	\$0.24
83	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
89	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
90	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
91	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
92	sw	na	na	na	2	Early/Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
94	sw	na	na	na	3	Early	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09

98	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
134	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
136.1	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
140	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
143	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
149	sw	na	na	na	3	Middle	similar	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
151	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	similar	63	1206	1	\$0.08
154	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
155	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	Middle	equivalent	147, etc	1715	2.9	\$0.24
157	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
158	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	63	1206	1	\$0.08
160	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
162	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	Middle	equivalent	147, etc	1715	2.9	\$0.24
164	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
165	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	123, etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
167	sw	na	na	na	1	Middle	equivalent	53	1204	0.88	\$0.07
168	sw	tipped	attached	Lamb	1	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
169	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	Middle	equivalent	35, etc.	260	0.75	\$0.06
170	sw	na	na	na	2	Middle	equivalent	123,etc.	1210	1.12	\$0.09
177	sw	tipped	separable	na	1	Middle	equivalent	147, etc	1715	2.9	\$0.24

Notes:

Handle # 1715 is identified as referring to Handle Type 153 in the Freedman's Typology, being sold in 1887 by Ed C. Smith. It represents the average price of a tipped swingbail handle in 1887 in Dallas.
An example of this handle, with this catalogue no., is represented in the 1886 Paxson, Comfort & Co Catalog.

Handle # 1210 is identified as referring to Handle Type 75 in the Freedman's Typology, being sold in 1887 by Ed C. Smith
It represents the average price of an adult sized double lug swingbail handle in 1887 in Dallas.

Handle # 1206 is identified as referring to Handle Type 44 in the Freedman's Typology, being sold in 1887 by Ed C. Smith
It represents the average price of a child sized double lug swingbail handle in 1887 in Dallas.

Handle # 1204 is identified as referring to Handle Type 44 in the Freedman's Typology, being sold in 1887 by Ed C. Smith
It represents the average price of an infant sized double lug swingbail handle in 1887 in Dallas.

Handle # 260 is identified as referring to Handle Type 26 in the Freedman's Typology, being sold in 1887 by Ed C. Smith
It represents the average price of a "Lamb type" infant sized single lug swingbail handle in 1887 in Dallas.

Table B-5: Middle Period Thumbscrew Matches and Wholesale Costs

Thumbscrew Type	# of burials	Time Period	Ed C. Smith 1887 Correlate	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogues	Page	Cat. No.	Wholesale Cost per Gross -- Catalogue	Wholesale Cost per Gross (1887 - Dallas)	cost per unit
14	8	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	7	\$2.15		\$0.02
19	11	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	2	\$2.30		\$0.02
36	30	Middle	No. 9 Thumbscrew	Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	9	\$3.00	\$2.84	\$0.02
				Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	9	\$2.75		\$0.02
37	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	10s	\$3.50		\$0.02
40.1	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	19	\$1.55		\$0.01
45	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	19	\$1.55		\$0.01
49	2	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	13s	\$3.00		\$0.02
57	16	Middle		equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	7	\$3.00		\$0.02
60	19	Middle		Identical	William Sauter 1883 (1888)	79	14	\$3.25		\$0.02
62	8	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	19	\$1.55		\$0.01
63	13	Middle		equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	7	\$3.00		\$0.02
64	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	2	\$2.30		\$0.02
67	4	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	2	\$2.30		\$0.02
68	2	Middle		Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	46	13	\$4.00		\$0.03
68.1	1	Middle		Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	46	11	\$2.75		\$0.02
72	3	Middle		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	7	\$3.00		\$0.02
73	2	Middle		Identical	William Sauter 1883 (1888)	78	3	\$3.25		\$0.02
89	1	Middle		Identical	Sargent & Co 1877	479	541	\$3.07		\$0.02

95	1	Middle		Identical	Sargent & Co 1877	479	531	\$3.07		\$0.02
96	2	Middle		Identical	William Sauter 1883 (1888)	78	7	\$2.75		\$0.02
97	3	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	2	\$2.30		\$0.02
102	1	Middle	No. 6 Thumbscrew	Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	6	\$2.70	\$2.84	\$0.02
103	1	Middle		Identical	Sargent & Co 1877	480	581	\$3.90		\$0.03
105	1	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	36	\$3.25		\$0.02
106	1	Middle		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	16	\$3.00		\$0.02
107	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	9c	\$3.75		\$0.03

Table B-6: Early and Middle Period Escutcheons Matches and Wholesale Costs

Escutcheon Type	# of burials	Time Period	Ed C. Smith 1887 Day Book Correlate	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogue	Page	Cat. No.	Wholesale Cost per gross -- Catalogue	Wholesale Cost per gross -- (1887 Dallas)	Wholesale cost per unit
12	1	Middle		similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	11	\$3.00		\$0.02
15	23	Middle	Thumbscrew Plate No. 9	Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	9	\$2.25	\$2.50	\$0.02
29	2	Middle		similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	4	\$1.05		\$0.01
32	9	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	35R	\$1.85		\$0.01
37	1	Middle		Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	48	16	\$2.00		\$0.01
38	12	Middle		Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	48	9	\$1.37		\$0.01
44	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	19	\$0.90		\$0.01
47	7	Middle		similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	11	\$3.00		\$0.02
56	6	Middle	No. 61 Escutcheon	similar	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	185	61	\$2.00	\$1.50	\$0.01
59	7	Middle		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	187	42	\$0.90		\$0.01
60	8	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	7	\$1.60		\$0.01
61	1	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	19	\$0.90		\$0.01
67	4	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	2	\$1.35		\$0.01
71	4	Middle		Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	46	7	\$2.25		\$0.02
72	4	Early /Middle		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	186	41	\$0.75		\$0.01
73	4	Middle		equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	16	\$2.50		\$0.02
75	4	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	4	\$1.05		\$0.01
76	3	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	3	\$1.05		\$0.01
90	1	Middle		Identical	Sargent & Co 1877	481	430	\$2.25		\$0.02
92	1	Middle		equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	184	13	\$3.00		\$0.02
96	1	Middle		similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	9	\$2.25		\$0.02
97	3	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	14	\$2.25		\$0.02

98	3	Middle		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	14	\$2.25		\$0.02
100	1	Middle		similar	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	66	13	\$3.50		\$0.02
102	5	Middle		equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	186	41	\$0.75		\$0.01
103	1	Early		similar	Sargent & Co 1877	484	78	\$1.50		\$0.01
105	1	Middle		Identical	Sargent & Co 1877	483	21	\$0.98		\$0.01
106	1	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	118	7	\$1.60		\$0.01
108	1	Middle		similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	116	13	\$4.30		\$0.03
Capbase 33	1	Middle		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	15	\$1.10		\$0.01

Table B-7: Middle Period Caplifter Matches and Wholesale Costs

Caplifter Type	# of burials	Includes Caplifter Base	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogue	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
5	5	y	Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	48	none	\$9.00 per gross	\$0.06
7	1	y	similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	58	5R	\$0.85	\$0.07
11.1	1		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	119	4M	\$0.50	\$0.04
20.1	1	y	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	6	\$0.45	\$0.04
21	2		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	119	none	\$0.50	\$0.04
23	1		equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	79	6	\$0.45	\$0.04
29	1		similar	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	1	\$2.75 per gross	\$0.02
30	1		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	181	30	\$1.00	\$0.08
34	1		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	185	4	\$2.75 per gross	\$0.02
52	1		Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	117	4	\$1.05 per gross	\$0.01
54	2		Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	183	1	\$2.75 per gross	\$0.02

Table B-8: Middle Period Plaque Matches and Wholesale Costs

Plaque Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogue	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
5	2	Identical	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	13	101	.75 per gross	\$0.01
36	1	equivalent	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	43	2	\$2.50	\$0.21
57	1	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	75	105	\$5.25	\$0.44
67	1	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	1	\$3.50	\$0.29
70	3	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	2	\$2.50	\$0.21
72	1	similar	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	80	24	\$0.75	\$0.06
73	1	Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	102	514	\$3.50	\$0.29
76	1	equivalent	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	35	26	\$4.50	\$0.38
77	1	equivalent	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	36	25	\$8.00	\$0.67
79	1	equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	102	541	\$3.50	\$0.29
82	2	Identical	Meriden Britannia Co 1880	43	1	\$4.00	\$0.33
86	2	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	2	\$0.75	\$0.06
88	1	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	5	\$0.75	\$0.06
89	1	Identical	Cincinnati Coffin Co 1882	79	2	\$2.50	\$0.21
90	1	Identical	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	174	19	\$1.00	\$0.08

Table B-9: Early and Middle Period Ornamental Tack Matches and Wholesale Costs

Orn Tack Type	Tack form	# of burials	Time Period	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogue	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
5	cuprous flower	1	Middle	similar	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	18	161	1.75 per half gross	\$0.02
11	diamond	1	Middle	similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	120	36	\$0.55	\$0.01
19	large cuprous dome	1	Middle	Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	60	35	\$0.55	\$0.01
21	cuprous floral	2	Middle	equivalent	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	16	137	\$0.85	\$0.01
23	diamond	1	Middle	equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	60	26	\$0.55	\$0.01
33	dummy screw	4	Early/Middle	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
36	diamond	1	Middle	similar	Warfield & Rohr 1886	120	36	\$0.55	\$0.01
37	possible cuprous star	1	Middle	equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	60	48	\$0.50	\$0.01
38	possible cuprous star	2	Middle	similar	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	3	18	\$0.63	\$0.01
39	large cuprous dome	2	Early/Middle	Identical	Warfield & Rohr 1886	60	25	\$1.00	\$0.01
41	cuprous floral	1	Middle	equivalent	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	3	18	\$0.63	\$0.01
42	diamond	2	Middle	equivalent	Warfield & Rohr 1886	120	36	\$0.55	\$0.01
44	cuprous geometric	2	Middle	similar	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	6	42	\$1.20	\$0.01
48.1	small cuprous dome	1	Middle	similar	Louis J. Lamb ca. 1895	9	68	\$0.60	\$0.01
51	dummy screw	1	Middle	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.75	\$0.01
53	dummy screw	1	Middle	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.75	\$0.01
54	dummy screw	2	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
55	dummy screw	2	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
56	dummy screw	2	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
57	dummy screw	3	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
57.1	dummy screw	1	Middle	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.75	\$0.01

58	dummy screw	2	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
59	dummy screw	1	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
60	dummy screw	1	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
61	dummy screw	1	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
62	dummy screw	2	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
63	dummy screw	1	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
67	dummy screw	1	Early	equivalent	various (see Table B-3)	na	na	\$0.55	\$0.01
69	cuprous disc (horse)	1	Early	equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	187	23	\$1.25	\$0.01

**Table B-10: Late Period Handle Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Handle Type	Shortbar or swingbail	Tipped swingbail	Swingbail or bar Tip form	Lamb motif	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen pairs	cost per unit
1	sw	tipped	na	na	1	equivalent	97	198	3.6	\$0.15
2	sw	na	na	na	53	similar	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
2.1	sw	na	na	na	9	similar	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
2.2	sw	na	na	na	2	similar	96	443	2.5	\$0.10
3	sb	na	attached	na	15	Identical	84	8980	8.8	\$0.37
4	sw	na	na	na	4	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
5	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
6	sw	na	na	na	19	Identical	94	68	3.85	\$0.16
7	sw	na	na	na	51	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
8	sw	na	na	na	16	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
9	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
10	sw	na	na	na	24	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
11	sw	na	na	Lamb	4	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
12	sb	na	attached	na	1	similar	84	630	8.35	\$0.35
13	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
14	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	90	654	7.65	\$0.32
15	sw	na	na	na	17	Identical	92	612	5.3	\$0.22
16	sw	na	na	na	12	Identical	93	205	4.6	\$0.19
17	sb	na	separable	na	2	equivalent	66	4082	19	\$0.79
18	sw	na	na	na	28	Identical	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
18.1	sw	na	na	na	7	Identical	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
18.2	sw	na	na	na	8	Identical	96	443	2.5	\$0.10
19	sb	na	attached	na	3	similar	83	5520	8.8	\$0.37
20	hybrid sw	na	na	na	6	equivalent	92	3013	6.8	\$0.28

21	sw	na	na	na	22	similar	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
22	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	97	5017	2.65	\$0.11
23	sw	na	na	Lamb	28	Identical	97	261	2.5	\$0.10
24	sw	na	na	na	49	Identical	95	1267	3.85	\$0.16
24.1	sw	na	na	na	1	Identical	96	1201	2.5	\$0.10
25	sb	na	attached	na	9	similar	86	4500	7.45	\$0.31
26	sw	na	na	Lamb	7	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
27	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
28	sb	na	attached	na	5	equivalent	86	87	8.35	\$0.35
29	sw	na	na	na	4	similar	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
29.1	sw	na	na	na	3	similar	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
30	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	1267	3.85	\$0.16
31	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	Identical	96	47	2.15	\$0.09
32	sw	na	na	Lamb	17	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
33	sw	na	na	na	7	similar	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
34	sb	na	separable	na	2	equivalent	69	1300	15.8	\$0.66
35	sw	na	na	Lamb	7	similar	97	5017	2.65	\$0.11
36	sb	na	attached	na	2	equivalent	85	500M	8.6	\$0.36
37	sw	na	na	Lamb	3	Identical	97	26	2.55	\$0.11
38	wire	na	na	na	9	Identical	175	3 1/2	1.50 per gross	\$0.01
39	sb	na	attached	na	1	similar	84	630	8.35	\$0.35
40	sb	na	separable	na	1	Identical	79	5430	10.85	\$0.45
41	sw	na	na	na	4	Identical	94	3075	4.45	\$0.19
42	sw	tipped	na	na	11	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
43	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	81	4350	9.2	\$0.38
44	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
44.1	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	96	443	2.5	\$0.10
45	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
46	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	92	612	5.3	\$0.22
47	sw	tipped	na	na	10	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
48	sw	na	na	na	4	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16

49	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	equivalent	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
50	sw	na	na	Lamb	6	similar	97	261	2.5	\$0.10
51	sw	na	na	na	3	equivalent	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
51.1	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
52	sb	na	attached	na	1	similar	98	53	11.8	\$0.49
53	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
54	sw	na	na	Lamb	8	equivalent	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
55	sw	tipped	na	na	1	similar	97	92	4.2	\$0.18
56	sw	na	na	na	1	similar	93	69	4.35	\$0.18
57	sb	na	separable	na	2	similar	91	683	6.6	\$0.28
58	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	70	2500	15	\$0.63
59	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	92	612	5.3	\$0.22
60	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	92	612	5.3	\$0.22
61	sw	tipped	na	na	2	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
62	sb	na	attached	na	2	equivalent	86	1318	8.3	\$0.35
63	sw	na	na	na	1	similar	98	32	5.35	\$0.22
64	sw	na	na	na	2	similar	95	643	3.85	\$0.16
65	sb	na	attached	na	4	equivalent	83	5520	8.8	\$0.37
66	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	94	450	4.45	\$0.19
67	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	73	226	13.3	\$0.55
68	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
69	sw	tipped	na	na	1	similar	97	92	4.2	\$0.18
70	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
71	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	86	1318	8.3	\$0.35
72	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	98	32	5.35	\$0.22
73	sw	tipped	na	na	1	similar	97	130	4.3	\$0.18
76	sb	na	attached	na	3	similar	84	630	8.35	\$0.35
77	sw	tipped	na	na	1	Identical	97	92	4.2	\$0.18
78	sw	tipped	attached	na	4	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
79	sb	na	separable	na	1	similar	70	2500	15	\$0.63
80	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	69	1300	15.8	\$0.66
81	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	91	681	6.35	\$0.26

82	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
84	sb	na	separable	na	2	equivalent	70	1224	15.65	\$0.65
85	hybrid sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	92	3013	6.8	\$0.28
86	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	84	8980	8.8	\$0.37
87	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	94	450	4.45	\$0.19
88	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	94	3075	4.45	\$0.19
95	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	67	3000	17.7	\$0.74
96	sb	na	attached	na	3	equivalent	86	87	8.35	\$0.35
97	sw	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	97	198	3.6	\$0.15
99	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1780	13.45	\$0.56
100	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	85	500M	8.6	\$0.36
101	sw	na	na	na	5	similar	94	3075	4.45	\$0.19
102	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	91	402	8.05	\$0.34
103	sw	na	na	na	2	similar	93	205	4.6	\$0.19
104	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	73	226	13.3	\$0.55
105	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	70	2500	15	\$0.63
106	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	73	226	13.3	\$0.55
107	sb	na	attached	na	3	equivalent	86	87	8.35	\$0.35
108	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	97	261	2.5	\$0.10
109	sb	na	attached	na	1	Identical	85	500M	8.6	\$0.36
110	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
111	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1321	13.45	\$0.56
112	sw	na	na	na	1	similar	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
113	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	67	5110	18.15	\$0.76
114	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	97	5017	2.65	\$0.11
115	sw	tipped	separable	na	2	equivalent	102	51	11.5	\$0.48
116	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	69	1408	15.8	\$0.66
117	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	51	11.5	\$0.48
118	sb	na	separable	na	2	Identical	61	A1261	11.95	\$0.50
119	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
120	sb	na	separable	na	1	similar	43	5383PY	16.1	\$0.67
121	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	70	2500	15	\$0.63

122	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	similar	97	261	2.5	\$0.10
123	sb	na	attached	na	1	equivalent	86	87	8.35	\$0.35
124	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	91	683	6.6	\$0.28
125	sw	na	na	na	1	similar	93	205	4.6	\$0.19
126	sw	na	na	Lamb	2	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
127	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1321	13.45	\$0.56
128	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1321	13.45	\$0.56
129	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1321	13.45	\$0.56
130	sw	na	na	Lamb	6	Identical	97	261	2.5	\$0.10
131	sw	tipped	attached	na	5	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
132	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
133	sw	na	na	na	2	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
135	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	51	11.5	\$0.48
136	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
136.1	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	96	543	3.5	\$0.15
137	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
138	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
139	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	77	15	10.95	\$0.46
141	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	69	1408	16.05	\$0.67
142	sw	na	na	na	1	Identical	174	212	1.4	\$0.06
144	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	51	11.5	\$0.48
145	sw	na	na	na	2	similar	93	205	4.6	\$0.19
146	sw	na	na	na	1	Identical	93	205	4.6	\$0.19
147	sw	na	na	na	1	equivalent	95	3330	3.85	\$0.16
148	sb	na	separable	na	2	equivalent	67	5110	18.15	\$0.76
150	sb	na	separable	na	1	Identical	88	72	10	\$0.42
152	sb	na	separable	na	1	Identical	65	5104	10	\$0.42
153	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
156	sw	na	na	na	4	equivalent	95	1267	3.85	\$0.16
159	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	97	5017	2.65	\$0.11
161	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	67	3000	17.7	\$0.74
163	sb	na	attached	na	1	Identical	81	4350	9.2	\$0.38

166	sb	na	separable	na	1	equivalent	72	1321	13.45	\$0.56
171	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
172	sw	na	na	Lamb	1	similar	96	260	1.95	\$0.08
173	sb	na	attached	na	1	Identical	86	1318	8.3	\$0.35
174	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
175	sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	102	718	10.7	\$0.45
176	hybrid sw	tipped	attached	na	1	equivalent	91	683	6.6	\$0.28

**Table B-11: Late Period Thumbscrew Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Thumbscrew Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1	2	similar	161	340	\$5.35	\$0.04
2	27	Identical	159	59	\$4.00	\$0.03
3	9	Identical	158	28	\$3.10	\$0.02
4	1	equivalent	160	77	\$4.10	\$0.03
5	5	equivalent	159	61	\$4.10	\$0.03
6	33	equivalent	159	713	\$3.45	\$0.02
7	39	Identical	159	76	\$4.00	\$0.03
8	28	equivalent	158	163	\$2.60	\$0.02
9	2	equivalent	161	605	\$8.10	\$0.06
10	8	equivalent	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
11	11	similar	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
12	16	similar	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
13	13	equivalent	159	923	\$3.65	\$0.03
14	58	similar	159	713	\$3.45	\$0.02
15	56	Identical	159	89	\$3.65	\$0.03
16	53	Identical	159	45	\$3.95	\$0.03
17	8	similar	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
18	12	Identical	174	55	\$1.25	\$0.01
19	13	equivalent	159	940	\$3.50	\$0.02
20	21	equivalent	160	153	\$4.20	\$0.03
21	11	equivalent	158	1006	\$2.60	\$0.02
22	18	similar	159	59	\$4.00	\$0.03
23	64	equivalent	161	490	\$4.85	\$0.03
24	2	Identical	160	373	\$4.10	\$0.03
25	35	equivalent	158	28	\$3.10	\$0.02
26	28	equivalent	159	923	\$3.65	\$0.03
27	32	Identical	159	1001	\$2.30	\$0.02
28	12	equivalent	158	163	\$2.60	\$0.02
29	12	equivalent	161	997	\$6.80	\$0.05
30	12	equivalent	158	35	\$3.85	\$0.03
31	1	equivalent	161	997	\$6.80	\$0.05
32	8	Identical	158	73	\$3.10	\$0.02
33	3	equivalent	159	59	\$4.00	\$0.03
34	1	similar	158	28	\$3.10	\$0.02
35	1	Identical	155	163	2.15 per doz	\$0.18
36	2	equivalent	159	713	\$3.45	\$0.02

37	2	equivalent	161	523	\$4.45	\$0.03
38	3	similar	159	713	\$3.45	\$0.02
39	1	similar	161	997	\$6.80	\$0.05
40	8	Identical	161	490	\$4.85	\$0.03
40.1	4	Identical	158	500	\$3.10	\$0.02
41	6	Identical	161	5	\$7.30	\$0.05
42	1	similar	158	790	\$4.30	\$0.03
43	2	equivalent	158	28	\$3.10	\$0.02
44	1	equivalent	160	75	\$4.50	\$0.03
45	2	equivalent	158	28	\$3.10	\$0.02
46	1	equivalent	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
47	2	equivalent	158	38	\$3.10	\$0.02
48	11	equivalent	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
49	7	similar	161	490	\$4.85	\$0.03
50	4	similar	158	790	\$4.30	\$0.03
51	6	equivalent	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
52	10	Identical	159	61	\$4.10	\$0.03
53	23	equivalent	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
54	1	Identical	159	940	\$3.50	\$0.02
55	6	equivalent	159	59	\$4.00	\$0.03
56	8	Identical	158	163	\$2.60	\$0.02
58	2	equivalent	158	30	\$3.10	\$0.02
59	2	equivalent	159	76	\$4.00	\$0.03
60	3	equivalent	160	77	\$4.10	\$0.03
61	1	equivalent	156	25	1.65 per doz	\$0.14
64	2	Identical	159	29	\$4.00	\$0.03
65	3	equivalent	158	38	\$3.10	\$0.02
66	1	equivalent	174	55	\$1.25	\$0.01
69	8	equivalent	158	1006	\$2.60	\$0.02
70	1	equivalent	161	1007	\$7.30	\$0.05
71	4	equivalent	158	73	\$3.10	\$0.02
74	2	equivalent	158	38	\$3.10	\$0.02
75	2	Identical	159	713	\$3.45	\$0.02
76	3	equivalent	160	75	\$4.50	\$0.03
77	1	similar	161	523	\$4.45	\$0.03
78	4	Identical	158	50	\$3.65	\$0.03
79	2	similar	158	790	\$4.30	\$0.03
80	1	equivalent	159	59	\$4.00	\$0.03
81	1	equivalent	161	523	\$4.45	\$0.03
82	3	equivalent	158	38	\$3.10	\$0.02
83	1	equivalent	160	570	\$4.65	\$0.03
84	1	Identical	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
85	1	equivalent	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
86	7	Identical	158	790	\$4.30	\$0.03
87	1	equivalent	161	605	\$8.10	\$0.06

88	8	Identical	158	30	\$3.10	\$0.02
90	3	similar	158	50	\$3.65	\$0.03
91	4	Identical	158	69	\$4.65	\$0.03
92	1	Identical	158	133	\$3.10	\$0.02
93	1	equivalent	158	38	\$3.10	\$0.02
94	7	equivalent	158	35	\$3.85	\$0.03
98	1	equivalent	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
99	1	Identical	160	65	\$4.85	\$0.03
100	1	equivalent	160	77	\$4.10	\$0.03
101	1	similar	160	343	\$4.10	\$0.03
104	4	equivalent	159	923	\$3.65	\$0.03
108	1	equivalent	161	753	\$6.45	\$0.05

**Table B-12: Late Period Escutcheon Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Escutcheon Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1	2	Identical	161	340	2.5	\$0.02
2	16	similar	159	76	3.85	\$0.03
3	39	Identical	159	76	3.85	\$0.03
4	14	Identical	158	30	2.2	\$0.02
5	36	equivalent	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
6	20	Identical	159	59	3.45	\$0.02
7	8	similar	160	65	4.7	\$0.03
8	6	equivalent	159	45	3.65	\$0.03
9	13	equivalent	159	29	3.85	\$0.03
10	27	Identical	159	89	2.95	\$0.02
11	5	Identical	165	243	1.1	\$0.01
12	9	similar	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
13	27	Identical	159	45	3.65	\$0.03
14	9	Identical	165	243	1.1	\$0.01
15	23	equivalent	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
16	18	Identical	158	73	2.15	\$0.02
17	24	equivalent	160	153	3.85	\$0.03
18	43	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05

19	3	Identical	160	373	3.15	\$0.02
20	32	equivalent	159	45	3.65	\$0.03
21	38	Identical	159	1001	2.3	\$0.02
22	16	equivalent	158	163	1.7	\$0.01
23	10	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
24	22	similar	161	170	1.7	\$0.01
25	11	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
26	9	equivalent	159	923	3.15	\$0.02
27	41	equivalent	158	73	2.15	\$0.02
28	4	similar	158	73	2.15	\$0.02
29	8	equivalent	161	170	1.7	\$0.01
30	11	Identical	159	45	3.65	\$0.03
31	2	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
32	14	equivalent	159	940	3.65	\$0.03
33	1	equivalent	161	340	2.5	\$0.02
34	3	similar	160	75	5.35	\$0.04
35	1	Identical	155	163	2.15 per doz	\$0.18
36	2	Identical	165	154	1.1	\$0.01
37	2	similar	161	170	1.7	\$0.01
38	40	similar	161	170	1.7	\$0.01
39	5	equivalent	158	73	2.15	\$0.02
40	7	Identical	161	490	3.5	\$0.02
40.1	2	Identical	158	500	2.45	\$0.02
41	5	Identical	161	5	5.35	\$0.04
42	3	similar	158	73	2.15	\$0.02
43	1	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
44	5	equivalent	158	28	2.3	\$0.02
45	12	equivalent	160	343	4.2	\$0.03
46	8	Identical	174	55	1.25	\$0.01
47	28	similar	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
48	1	equivalent	159	169	3.15	\$0.02
49	6	Identical	160	64	4.2	\$0.03
50	1	similar	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
51	1	similar	161	753	7	\$0.05
52	21	equivalent	159	59	3.45	\$0.02
53	1	equivalent	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
54	2	similar	161	490	3.5	\$0.02
55	8	equivalent	160	343	4.2	\$0.03
57	7	Identical	159	61	3.85	\$0.03
58	1	similar	160	600	4.7	\$0.03
59	1	Identical	165	42	1	\$0.01
60	3	equivalent	159	713	3.15	\$0.02
62	6	Identical	158	28	2.3	\$0.02
63	2	Identical	159	29	3.85	\$0.03
64	7	Identical	158	163	1.7	\$0.01

65	3	equivalent	158	163	1.7	\$0.01
66	5	equivalent	158	38	1.7	\$0.01
68	4	equivalent	158	1006	1.7	\$0.01
69	1	similar	160	75	5.35	\$0.04
70	1	equivalent	160	77	3.5	\$0.02
72	1	Identical	165	41	0.9	\$0.01
74	4	equivalent	161	170	1.7	\$0.01
77	1	equivalent	161	605	6.45	\$0.05
78	5	equivalent	159	76	3.85	\$0.03
79	4	Identical	158	50	4.5	\$0.03
80	2	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
81	2	equivalent	158	163	1.7	\$0.01
82	1	similar	158	50	4.5	\$0.03
83	3	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
84	1	equivalent	160	373	3.15	\$0.02
85	6	similar	158	790	4.5	\$0.03
86	1	equivalent	161	997	6.45	\$0.05
87	1	Identical	158	500	2.45	\$0.02
88	4	Identical	158	69	4.35	\$0.03
89	2	similar	159	76	3.85	\$0.03
91	1	equivalent	160	77	3.5	\$0.02
93	1	Identical	158	133	2.2	\$0.02
94	2	Identical	160	65	4.7	\$0.03
95	5	equivalent	158	38	1.7	\$0.01
99	1	Identical	159	923	3.15	\$0.02
101	1	equivalent	161	80	5.5	\$0.04
104	1	Identical	160	343	4.2	\$0.03
107	4	equivalent	161	753	7	\$0.05
109	4	Identical	161	523	3.15	\$0.02
110	1	equivalent	161	753	7	\$0.05
111	1	Identical	160	143	4.15	\$0.03

**Table B-13: Late Period Caplifter Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Caplifter Type	# of burials	Includes Caplifter Base	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
1	8	y	Identical	155	28	2.15	\$0.18
1.1	8	y	Identical	157	29	1.3	\$0.11
2	3	y	Identical	154	17	2.35	\$0.20
2.1	1	y	Identical	154	18	2.15	\$0.18
3	5	y	similar	154	47	2.15	\$0.18
4	8	y	Identical	157	16	1.65	\$0.14
5	26	y	Identical	156	31	1.95	\$0.16
6	20	y	similar	157	34	1.3	\$0.11
7	7	y	similar	156	50	1.95	\$0.16
8	1	no	equivalent	157	67	1.1	\$0.09
9	3	y	similar	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
10	1	no	equivalent	157	34	1.3	\$0.11
11	1	y	Identical	156	50	1.95	\$0.16
11.1	5	y	Identical	156	40	1.6	\$0.13
11.2	3	y	Identical	156	40	1.6	\$0.13
12	7	no	similar	157	227	0.85	\$0.07
13	3	y	similar	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
14	2	y	Identical	156	166	1.65	\$0.14
15	5	y	similar	157	26	1.3	\$0.11
16	5	y	equivalent	156	53	1.7	\$0.14
17	11	y	equivalent	156	50	1.95	\$0.16
18	2	y	Identical	156	12	1.7	\$0.14
19	6	no	equivalent	156	53	1.7	\$0.14
19.1	4	no	equivalent	156	53	1.7	\$0.14
20	3	y	Identical	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
21	2	y	equivalent	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
22	2	y	similar	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
23	1	y	Identical	157	70	2.35	\$0.20
24	9	y	equivalent	156	8700	1.65	\$0.14
25	2	y	Identical	156	19	1.7	\$0.14
27	9	y	similar	157	16	1.65	\$0.14
28	8	y	Identical	156	53	1.7	\$0.14
30	1	y	similar	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
31	1	y	similar	156	166	1.65	\$0.14
32	1	no	equivalent	157	70	2.35	\$0.20
33	1	esc 38	Identical	156	80	1.65	\$0.14
35	1	y	Identical	157	34	1.3	\$0.11

36	3	y	Identical	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
37	2	y	similar	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
38	2	y	similar	157	16	1.65	\$0.14
39	2	no	equivalent	157	34	1.3	\$0.11
40	1	y	equivalent	156	50	1.95	\$0.16
41	1	y	similar	156	25	1.65	\$0.14
42	1	y	equivalent	157	6	1.65	\$0.14
43	1	y	equivalent	157	46	1.3	\$0.11
44	1	y	Identical	157	130	0.95	\$0.08
45	1	y	similar	156	166	1.65	\$0.14
46	1	y	equivalent	154	270	3.2	\$0.27
47	1	y	equivalent	154	270	3.2	\$0.27
48	1	y	Identical	154	47	2.15	\$0.18
49	1	y	equivalent	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
50	4	y	Identical	156	165	1.65	\$0.14
51	1	no	equivalent	157	34	1.3	\$0.11
52	2	y	equivalent	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
53	1	y	similar	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
55	1	y	equivalent	157	30	1.65	\$0.14
56	1	y	equivalent	157	20	1.1	\$0.09
57	1	y	Identical	157	30	1.65	\$0.14

**Table B-14: Late Period Plaque Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Plaque Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
1	6	similar	144	60	2.35	\$0.20
2	27	Identical	144	72	2.35	\$0.20
3	51	equivalent	148	420	5.8	\$0.48
4	39	Identical	169	180	1.1	\$0.09
4.1	3	Identical	169	180	1.1	\$0.09
5	20	similar	169	180	1.1	\$0.09
6	3	Identical	143	90	5.05	\$0.42
7	6	similar	144	163	2.7	\$0.23
8	3	Identical	168	1233	1.1	\$0.09
9	8	Identical	169	207	2.5	\$0.21

10	11	equivalent	141	127	5.95	\$0.50
11	1	equivalent	140	905	6.45	\$0.53
12	16	similar	144	50	2.35	\$0.20
13	2	equivalent	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
14	2	similar	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
15	7	equivalent	144	92	2.7	\$0.23
16	11	Identical	145	70	1.65	\$0.14
17	4	Identical	143	94	4.7	\$0.39
18	13	Identical	170	254	3.4	\$0.28
19	2	equivalent	145	71	1.65	\$0.14
20	1	similar	140	123	10.7	\$0.89
21	1	Identical	170	254	3.4	\$0.28
22	2	equivalent	141	127	5.95	\$0.50
23	15	similar	150	18	1.85	\$0.15
24	1	similar	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
25	1	similar	169	180	1.1	\$0.09
26	3	equivalent	150	18	1.85	\$0.15
27	3	Identical	138	880	6.35	\$0.53
28	12	equivalent	145	2000	1.85	\$0.15
29	1	similar	124	2	10.5	\$0.88
30	2	similar	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
31	1	equivalent	167	195	0.9	\$0.08
32	1	similar	169	207	2.5	\$0.21
33	4	equivalent	148	420	5.8	\$0.48
34	1	equivalent	145	2070	1.85	\$0.15
35	3	Identical	150	18	1.85	\$0.15
36	5	Identical	150	22	3.2	\$0.27
37	2	similar	144	163	2.7	\$0.23
38	2	Identical	169	207	2.5	\$0.21
39	2	equivalent	145	2000	1.85	\$0.15
40	14	Identical	144	92	2.7	\$0.23
41	1	equivalent	144	2	2.7	\$0.23
42	15	Identical	167	195	0.9	\$0.08
43	1	similar	144	163	2.7	\$0.23
44	1	similar	143	5	5.35	\$0.45
45	1	Identical	129	560	11.7	\$0.98
46	1	similar	133	622	12.15	\$1.01
47	1	equivalent	145	902	2.15	\$0.18
48	3	similar	133	622	12.15	\$1.01
49	1	similar	168	253	2.4	\$0.20
50	6	Identical	170	185	1.4	\$0.12
51	1	similar	144	163	2.7	\$0.23
52	4	equivalent	142	100	5.35	\$0.45
53	1	similar	144	163	2.7	\$0.23
54	1	Identical	168	253	2.4	\$0.20
55	1	equivalent	134	630	11.2	\$0.93

56	1	equivalent	171	217	3.4	\$0.28
58	1	equivalent	140	905	6.45	\$0.53
59	2	equivalent	139	1120	4.3	\$0.36
60	1	similar	141	127	5.95	\$0.50
61	1	similar	169	236	0.9	\$0.08
62	1	equivalent	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
63	1	similar	169	236	0.9	\$0.08
64	1	equivalent	136	748	10.85	\$0.90
65	1	Identical	124	479	13	\$1.08
66	2	equivalent	168	1233	1.1	\$0.09
68	3	equivalent	152	77	6	\$0.50
69	1	equivalent	143	5	5.35	\$0.45
71	1	equivalent	145	125	1.85	\$0.15
72	1	equivalent	150	15	1.85	\$0.15
					3.40 per gross	
74	1	Identical	164	166		\$0.02
75	1	Identical	143	5	5.35	\$0.45
78	1	equivalent	145	71	1.65	\$0.14
80	1	equivalent	170	1233	1.1	\$0.09
81	1	equivalent	139	273	4.95	\$0.41
83	1	equivalent	152	77	6	\$0.50
84	1	equivalent	142	100	5.35	\$0.45
85	1	similar	141	127	5.95	\$0.50
87	1	similar	138	605	5.8	\$0.48
91	2	equivalent	145	71	1.65	\$0.14
92	1	equivalent	145	71	1.65	\$0.14

**Table B-15: Late Period Ornament Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)**

Ornament Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
1	3	Identical	167	183	2.70 per gross	\$0.02
2	2	Identical	163	152	1.10 per gross	\$0.01
3	5	similar	149	5	2.35	\$0.20

4	1	Identical	163	178	2.60 per gross	\$0.02
5	6	Identical	149	62	4	\$0.33
6	1	equivalent	149	71	1.45	\$0.12
7	33	Identical	163	172	2.50 per gross	\$0.02
8	not ornament					
9	not ornament					
10	null number					
11	null number					
12	2	equivalent	149	210	4	\$0.33
13	1	Identical	163	193	1.50 per gross	\$0.01
14	4	Identical	148	420	5.8	\$0.48
14.1	1	Identical	148	410	4.85	\$0.40
15	1	equivalent	163	178	2.60 per gross	\$0.02
16	3	similar	149	72	2.15	\$0.18
17	null number					
18	1	similar	149	5	2.35	\$0.20
19	2		163	193	1.50 per gross	\$0.01
20	16	Identical	166	50	0.6	\$0.05
21	3	Identical	149	210	4	\$0.33
22	2	equivalent	163	114	1.00 per gross	\$0.01
23	1	similar	149	5	2.35	\$0.20
24	plaster motif					
25	plaster motif					
26	1	Identical	164	169	2.70 per gross	0.02
27	2	similar	149	71	1.45	\$0.12

**Table B-16: Late Period Ornamental Tack Matches and Wholesale Costs
(Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)***

Ornamental Tack Type	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1	51	Identical	164	133	3.05	\$0.02
2	18	Identical	162	36	1.45	\$0.01
3	1	similar	162	21	0.8	\$0.01
4	6	Identical	163	37	1.45	\$0.01
5	42	Identical	162	184	2.1	\$0.02
6	62	Identical	162	47	0.75	\$0.01
7	4	similar	162	28	1.45	\$0.01
8	2	Identical	162	28	1.45	\$0.01
9	4	Identical	162	123	0.75	\$0.01
10	9	Identical	162	170	0.75	\$0.01
11	7	Identical	162	53	0.75	\$0.01
12	1	Identical	162	52	0.75	\$0.01
13	2	equivalent	163	37	1.45	\$0.01
14	3	equivalent	162	57	0.9	\$0.01
15	1	equivalent	162	47	0.75	\$0.01
16*	1	similar	1172	16	0.95	\$0.01
17	1	Identical	162	146	1.2	\$0.01
19	5	Identical	162	71	1.2	\$0.01
20	2	similar	162	170	0.75	\$0.01
21	12	equivalent	163	121	1.1	\$0.01
22	3	similar	163	125	1.45	\$0.01
24		Identical	163	173	0.75	\$0.01
25	5	Identical	162	53	0.75	\$0.01
26	2	equivalent	162	36	1.45	\$0.01
27	5	Identical	163	216	1.1	\$0.01
28	1	Identical	162	47	0.75	\$0.01
29	6	equivalent	162	21	0.8	\$0.01
30	1	Identical	162	47	0.75	\$0.01
31	5	similar	162	70	1.1	\$0.01
32	1	similar	163	37	1.45	\$0.01
34	5	similar	162	170	0.75	\$0.01
35	2	Identical	162	28	1.45	\$0.01
36	2	Identical	162	22	0.75	\$0.01
39	1	similar	162	30	1.2	\$0.01
40	2	Identical	162	64	1.2	\$0.01
40.1	1	Identical	162	35	1.4	\$0.01

43	1	similar	162	47	0.75	\$0.01
45	3	similar	163	37	1.45	\$0.01
46	2	similar	162	35	1.4	\$0.01
47	3	similar	162	65	0.9	\$0.01
48	24	similar	162	2 1/2	0.95	\$0.01
48.1	1	similar	162	2 1/2	0.95	\$0.01
49	2	similar	162	170	0.75	\$0.01
50	1	similar	163	76	1.2	\$0.01
52	1	similar	162	179	2.1	\$0.02
64	9	Identical	164	160	2.3	\$0.02
65	1	similar	162	170	0.75	\$0.01
66	3	similar	162	88	0.75	\$0.01
68	1	Identical	163	37	1.45	\$0.01
70	1	Identical	162	2	1	\$0.01

*(Orn Tack 16, a dummy screw, was priced using the Simmons Hardware Co 1902 catalogue)

Table B-17: Late Period Miscellaneous Hardware Matches and Wholesale Costs

Hardware Type	# of Burials	Function	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Catalogue	Page #	Cat. #	Price	Unit Price
Iron Closure Type 2	17	Lid Closure	equivalent	Paxson, Comfort & Co 1881	194-195	various	\$3.94 average per dozen	\$0.33
Iron Closure Type 4	1	casket rest	similar	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905	175	4	\$.65 per gross	\$0.01
Misc. Hardware Type 1	8	casket rest	Identical	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905	175	3	\$.95 per gross	\$0.01
Misc. Hardware Type 5	1	casket rest	Identical	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905	175	4	\$.65 per gross	\$0.01

**Table B-18: Cedar Grove Cemetery (3LA97), Lafayette County, AR
Hardware Matches and Wholesale Costs**

(derived from Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co 1905 catalogue)

Handle Type	Shortbar or swingbail	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen pairs	cost per unit
1	sw	1	Identical	94	68	3.85	\$0.16
2	sw	5	similar	94	68	3.85	\$0.16
3	sw	5	equivalent	94	1342	3.85	\$0.16
4	sw	1	similar	94	1342	3.85	\$0.16
5	sw	3	Identical	94	68	3.85	\$0.16
6	sw	15	Identical	94	68	3.85	0.16
7	sw	3	similar	95	643	3.85	0.16
8	sw	3	Identical	95	643	3.85	0.16
9	sb	1	similar	45	4520	10.65	0.44
10	sw	2	Identical (bail)	92	54	4.65	0.19
11	sw	1	equivalent	95	643	3.85	0.16
12	sw	1	Identical	174	211	1.2	0.05
13	sw	1	equivalent	174	242	1.1	0.05

Thumbscrew Type		# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1		2	equivalent	159	76	4	\$0.03
2		2	equivalent	159	923	3.65	\$0.03
3		2	equivalent	158	30	3.1	\$0.02
4		15?	Identical	174	95	1.1	\$0.01
5		5	equivalent	159	64	4	\$0.03
6		2	equivalent	158	163	2.6	\$0.02
7		see Type 3					
8		25	Identical	159	76	4	\$0.03
9		1	equivalent	159	76	4	\$0.03
10		1	Identical	159	1001	2.3	\$0.02
11		2	Identical	174	55	1.25	\$0.01
12		3	equivalent	158	1006	2.6	\$0.02
13		1	equivalent	158	50	3.65	\$0.03
14		1	Identical	158	69	4.65	\$0.03
15		1	similar	158	1006	2.6	\$0.02
Coffin Screw 1		1	similar	na	na	na	\$0.01

Escutcheon Type		# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1 thru 7		various	various	various	na	na	\$0.02

Caplifter Type		# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
1		2	Identical	155	28	2.15	\$0.18
2		4	Identical	154	17	2.35	\$0.20
3		1	Identical	157	16	1.65	\$0.14

Plaque Type		# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per dozen	cost per unit
1		15	Identical	144	92	2.7	0.23
2		3	Identical	144	72	2.35	0.2
3		1	Identical	144	50e	2.35	0.2
5		1	equivalent	various	na	2.35	0.2
6		1	equivalent	140	905	6.45	0.54
7		1	equivalent	135	1190	8.6	0.72
?		3	equivalent	various	na	2.35	0.2
Orn ?		1	equivalent	163	240	2.40 per gross	0.02

Ornamental Tack Type	Form	# of burials	Catalogue Match: Identical, similar or equivalent	Page	Cat. No.	Cost per gross	cost per unit
1	cuprous bell	2	Identical	162	45	1.4	\$0.01
2	dummy screw	7	equivalent	na	na	na	\$0.01
3	cuprous diamond	34	Identical	162	47	0.75	\$0.01

APPENDIX C:

Amended Freedman's Cemetery Mortuary Hardware Database

(used to calculate wholesale costs of burials)

In calculating the wholesale costs for each interment, it was first necessary to establish as best as possible, the original compliment of coffin hardware that had been present at the time of the funeral. For those burials clearly exhibiting missing hardware elements, a minimum number of elements was assigned, based on the principal of symmetry. This applied primarily to handles and thumbscrew/escutcheon sets. For example, if a disturbed burial had one associated handle recovered, a minimum number of four would have been estimated for the burial. Six (or even eight) handles may have originally been present, but such associations cannot be reconstructed.

Of the 1,112 burials in the cost analysis sample, 457 had to be amended in the hardware database to reflect as accurately as possible the original complement of mortuary hardware that would have been in place at the time of the funeral event. This meant that 41.1% of the burials actually lost hardware through impacts by previous construction episodes, a later grave impacting an earlier one, or in some cases, hardware may have been lost during exposure and the excavation process. In this spreadsheet, those hardware counts that have been altered are rendered in italics.

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	TS2NO	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO
1127	?						subadult	0																		
461	E				y		subadult	0.1	vlt?	rect?						cs5	4									
527	E				y		subadult	0.66	vault	rect						is	7									
550	E						subadult	1.13	vault	rect						cs5	4		72	4						
552	E				y		subadult	0.76	vault	hex						is	4									
567	E						subadult	0.55		rect						cs4	4									
569	E						subadult	3.8	vault	hex						cs5	6		72	6						
574	E				y		adult M?	98	vault	hex						cs5	8		foil	8						
578	E				y		adult F?	54.5	vault	hex						cs3	6		foil	6						
599	E				y		subadult (male)	8.07	vlt?	hex						is	4		foil	4						
670	E						subadult	5.6	rect	rect						cs5	4									
687	E				y		subadult	0.7		rect	92	4				cs5	6		72	6						
706	E						subadult	0		?																
711	E						adult F	18	vault	hex	94	4				cs5	6									
1064	E				y		subadult	0.96	vault	hex						cs8	4									
1069	E						adult F	18.5	vlt?	hex						cs7	6									
1073	E				y		adult F	36.8	vault	hex						cs5	6									
1077	E						adult M?	18	vlt?	hex						cs4?	1	cs9	3							
1106	E						adult F?	38.9	vault	hex						is?	2									
1116	E						subadult	83	vault	rect						cs7	6									
1118	E						subadult	0.65	vault	rect						cs7	4									
1119	E				y		adult M?	42.5	vlt?	hex						cs4	4									
1124	E						subadult	0.44		rect						cs5?	1	cs?	3							
1129	E				y		subadult	0		hex																
1148	E						adult IM	41.2	vlt?	hex						is?	3?									
1154	E						adult M	34.5	vault	hex						cs7	6									
1161	E						adult M?	54.7	vault	hex						cs9	4									
1162	E						adult F?	30.2	vault	hex						cs10	4									
1172	E						adult M?	31.8	vlt?	hex						cs4	4									
1176	E						subadult (female)	6.48	vault	hex						is	6									
1177	E						subadult (female)	0.58	vault	hex						cs11	4									
1184	E						subadult (male)	5.89	?	hex																
1201	E						subadult	1.2	vault	hex						is	4		103	4						

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO
1202	E				y		subadult	80		rect?						cs4	4								
1204	E						subadult (male)	1.73	vault	hex						cs5	6								
1226	E						subadult (female)	1.18	vault	hex						cs10	4								
1235	E				y		subadult (female)	11.13	vault	hex						cs?	4		foil	4					
1237	E				y		subadult	1.52		hex						cs13	4								
1241	E						subadult	1.9	vault	hex						is	4								
1243	E						subadult	0	vault	hex						cs11	3	cs12	1						
1247	E						adult M (& 1377)	38.2		hex						is?	3								
1251	E				y		adult F	33.6		hex						cs10	6								
1257	E				y		subadult	0.26		rect?						cs5	4		foil	4					
1263	E				y		subadult	0.86		?						cs7	6								
1265	E						subadult	0	vault	rect						cs5	4								
1266	E				y		subadult	80		hex?						is	4								
1267	E				y		adult M	44.1	vault	hex						cs5	6								
1272	E				y		adult M?	34.8		hex	94	4				cs5	6								
1274	E				y		subadult	0.53	vault	hex						is	4								
1278	E						subadult	0.98	vault	hex						cs5	6								
1279	E						adult F	23.4	vault	hex						is	6								
1281	E				y		subadult	0.62	vault	hex						cs12	4								
1290	E				y		subadult (female)	0		hex															
1291	E						adult F?	25.4	vault	hex						cs7	4								
1300	E						adult I	99	?	hex?	94	4													
1310	E						adult F	16	vault	hex						cs4	3	cs?	3						
1315	E						subadult	0.35	vault	rect						cs4	4								
1330	E				y		adult M	39.8	vault	hex						is	6								
1335	E						subadult	0.64	vault	hex						is	4								
1360	E						subadult (female)	11.56		hex						cs4	6								
1363	E				y		subadult	1.4	vault	hex						is	4								
1391	E						subadult (female)	0.64		hex						cs12	2	cs14	4						
1395	E				y		subadult	1.42		hex						cs4	6								

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
34	L	23	1	1900	y		adult F	23.5	hex	hex	15	6				14	6			foil	6					
35	L	205	4	1901	y		subadult (female)	7.18	rect	rect	13	4				6	4			foil	4					
36	L	22	1	1900	y		adult M	27.5		hex	10	6				14	5			11	5					
37	L	269	5	1902			subadult (female)	2.5		rect						13	4			9	4					
38	L	488	8	1904			adult M?	41	rect	hex?	2	6				2	6			2	6					
39	L	517	8	1904			subadult	0.71	rect	rect	32	4				25	4			27	4					
40	L	21	1	1900			subadult	0.08	rect	rect																
41	L	20	1	1900	y		subadult	4.36	rect	rect	1	4				1	4			1	4			O t1	4	
42	L	253	4	1902	y		adult I	35.2		hex	7	4				14	6			5	6					
43	L	19	1	1900			adult M	39.4		rect	4	6				4	1	5	5							
44	L	785	12	1907			adult F	24.5		rect																
45	L	195	4	1901			subadult	1.56	rect	rect	5	4				6	4			5	4					
46	L	778	12	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	3	6				2	6			3	6			D t3	2	
47	L	777	12	1907			subadult	0.2		rect																
48	L	779	12	1907			subadult	0																		
49	L	786	12	1907			adult M?	39.8	rect	rect	6	6				7	5	8	1	3	2	6	4	N		
51	L	76	2	1900	y		subadult	0.07	rect	rect						14	4			47	4					
52	L	780	12	1907			adult IM	27.7	rect	rect	76	6				ic2	4							C 9	2	
53	L	17	1	1900	y		adult F	34.1	vault	hex	9	4				15	4			10	4					
54	L	781	12	1907	y		adult M?	41.2	rect	rect	118	6				12	6			6	6			D? t8	3	
55	L	274	5	1902			adult I	98		hex	7	6				2	6			10	6			A?	5	1
58	L	15	1	1900			subadult	0.64		rect						14	4									
61	L	48	2	1900			adult F	27.3	hex	hex	10	6				49	6			32	6			D 5	1	
62	L	796	12	1907			adult F?	41.9	rect	rect	8	6				7	6			3	6					
64	L	87	3	1900			adult IM	17.8	hex	hex	61	6				15	6			10	6			E 18	1	
65	L	85	3	1900			adult M?	30.6	hex	hex	47	6				15	6			10	6			G		
66	L	84	3	1900			subadult	0.45		hex						cs2	6									
67	L	374	6	1903			subadult	0	rect	rect?						11	4			78	4					
68	L	83	3	1900	y		adult F?	32.4		rect						49	4									
70	L	169	4	1901			adult IM	24.9	hex	hex	107	6				6	6			45	6			G 37	1	
71	L	47	2	1900	y		adult F?	34.6	hex	hex	10	6				14	6			14	6					
73	L	791	12	1907			adult M?	42.9	hex	hex	3	6				16	6			13	6			N 1	1	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
74	L	13	1	1900			subadult	0.47	rect	rect?	11	4				14	4		12	4						
75	L	789	12	1907			adult F	27.8	rect	rect	12	6				ic2	4						C	2	2	
76	L	11	1	1900			subadult	3.78	rect	rect	14	4				5	4			1	4		B	t19	4	
79	L	82	3	1900			subadult	1.8		hex						47	4		47	4						
80	L	81	3	1900			subadult	0.25	rect	rect	51	4				45	4	rect		44	4					
81	L	343	6	1903			subadult	0.05	rect	rect						20	4			17	4					
83	L	342	6	1903			subadult	0.59	rect	rect						20	4			17	4					
84	L	341	6	1903	y		subadult	0.98	rect	rect						82	4			81	4					
85	L	168	4	1901		static	subadult (female)	5.62	rect	rect	57	4				48	4			45	4		O	t48	4	
86	L	166	4	1901			adult M?	28.8	hex	hex	47	6				41	6			41	6		D	5	1	
88	L	80	3	1900			adult M?	42.7	hex	hex						14	6			12	6					
89	L	257	5	1902			adult I	32.4	hex	hex	7	4				13	6	hex		9	6					
90	L	164	4	1901			adult M?	13.3		rect																
91	L	434	7	1904			subadult (female)	1.44	rect	hex?	55	4				50	4			48	4		O	t51	2	
92	L	258	5	1902			subadult	1.58	rect	hex?	23	4				2	4			49	4		M	t2	2	
93	L	511	8	1904			subadult	0.6	rect	hex	35	4				23	4			25	4		M	t29	2	
94	L	425	7	1903	y		adult IF	37.1	rect	hex	33	4				26	4			14	4					
95	L	469	8	1904	y		adult I	43.4	hex	hex	88	4				30	4			25	4		A	t30	2	
96	L	330	6	1903			adult M	39.4	hex	hex	2	4				26	6			17	6					
97	L	326	6	1902			adult M?	37.02	hex	hex	2	6				20	6			17	6		K	5	1	
98	L	328	6	1902			adult F?	37.6	rect	hex?	7	6				26	6			20	6		N	15	1	
99	L	325	6	1902			adult IM	34.7	rect	rect	2	4				11	4			78	4					
100	L	324	6	1902			adult M?	36.1	hex	hex	7	4				20	6			17	6					
101	L	322	6	1902			subadult	0.1	rect	hex	54	4				20	4			17	4		M	t20	2	
102	L	321	6	1902			adult M?	18	hex	hex	7	6				44	6			43	6					
103	L	320	6	1902	y		subadult	0.69	hex	hex						18	4			46	4					
106	L	323	6	1902			adult IF	29.5	hex	hex	7	6				26	6			20	6		D	14	1	
108	L	90	3	1900	y		adult F	32.5	hex	hex	62	6				15	6			15	6		A	19	1	
110	L	176	4	1901			adult F	16.6	rect	rect	2	6				6	6			5	6					
111	L	49	2	1900			subadult	0	rect	rect																
112	L	50	2	1900	y		adult F	28.8	hex	hex	48	6				42	6			32	6		A	11.1	1	
113	L	93	3	1900			adult IF	37	hex	hex	62	6				40	6			10	6		N	11.2	1	
115	L	52	2	1900	y		adult F	42.5	hex	hex	10	6				14	6			foil	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
116	L	53	2	1900	y		subadult	0.77		rect						14	6			foil	6					
117	L	51	2	1900			subadult	0.45		rect						15	4			foil	4					
118	L	54	2	1900			adult IF	30.2	hex	hex	4	4				14	6			12	6					
119	L	261	5	1902	y		subadult	0.72	rect	rect	23	4				38	4			39	4					
120	L	55	2	1900	y		adult F	40.6		hex						14	6			foil	6					
121	L	403	6	1903	y		subadult	1.4	rect	hex	p42	4				10	4			7	4					
122	L	56	2	1900			adult M	34.1	hex	hex	10	4				14	6			11	6					
123	L	57	2	1900			subadult	2.15	rect	rect	44	4				36	4			15	4					
125	L						adult F?	37.4	rect	rect	43	6				20	6			17	6			E	13	1
126	L	1	1	1900			adult M	28.2	hex	hex?	18	6				14	6			15	6					
127	L	2	1	1900			adult F	45.9	hex	hex	52	6				46	6			15	6			E	11.1	1
128	L	3	1	1900	y		subadult	4.19	rect	rect	23	4				14	4			foil	4					
129	L	417	6	1903			adult M?	42.6	rect	rect	68	6				is?	6			19	6			C		
130	L	4	1	1900	y		subadult	0.3	rect	rect						15	4			foil	4					
131	L	5	1	1900			adult F	51.3		rect																
132	L	6	1	1900			adult M	40.6		rect																
133	L	7	1	1900			adult I	17.6	rect	rect																
134	L	8	1	1900			adult F	32.6	rect	rect	10	4				14	4									
135	L	234	4	1902	y		subadult	0.68	rect	hex	23	4				7	4			17	4			M	t7	2
136	L	793	12	1907	y		adult F	52.7	rect	rect	3	6				ic2	4							C	2.1	2
137	L	72	2	1900			adult IM	98	hex	hex	18	6				15	6									
138	L	9	1	1900			adult M	26.8		rect																
139	L	560	9	1905			subadult	1.7	rect	rect	37	4				33	4			34	4			B	t33	1
140	L	10	1	1900			adult F?	37.1		hex						14	6			12	6					
141	L	465	8	1904			adult F? + subadult 0.20y	35.7	rect	rect	41	6				22	6			foil	6				11.1	1
145	L						adult M?	21.7	rect	rect	58	6				c16	6			51	6			E	17	1
146	L	333	6	1903	y		subadult	0.62	rect	hex						11	4			8	4					
147	L	404	6	1903			subadult (male)	9.6	rect	rect	2.1	4				9	2	10	2	7	4					
149	L	783	12	1907	y		adult F	23.9	rect	rect	8	6				12	6			6	6			N	t8	2
150	L	784	12	1907			subadult	0		rect																
151	L	572	9	1905	y	static	subadult	1.62	rect	hex?	29.1	4				28	4			16	4			M		
152	L	571	9	1905			subadult	80								21	1									
153	L	566	9	1905		static	subadult	0.76	rect	rect	31	4				32	4			16	4			O	t32	2

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
154	L	559	9	1905			subadult (female)	2.8	rect	rect	37	4				33	4			34	4					
155	L	558	9	1905	y	static	subadult	1.45	rect	hex	32	4				c6	4			20	4			M	6	2
156	L	556	9	1905	y		subadult	0.25	rect	rect?	p42	4				28	4			28	4					
157	L	501	8	1904	y		adult F?	32.8	rect	rect	21	4				23	4			foil	4					
158	L	18	1	1900			adult F?	23.8		rect																
162	L	614	9	1905	y		adult I	98		rect	64	4														
164	L	421	6	1903			adult F?	26.9	hex	hex	65	6				53	6			52	6			J	20	1
165	L	313	5	1902	y		adult IM	98	rect?	rect?	7	4				16	4			30	4					
166	L	314	5	1902	y		adult F	23.5	hex	hex	15	6				20	6			17	6			G?	5	1
171	L	613	9	1905	y		adult M	98	indet	indet	19	4				16	4			13	4			?	4	2
173	L						subadult	0.23	rect	hex																
174	L	316	5	1902			adult F	30.5	hex	hex	7	4				20	6			17	6					
178	L	771	12	1907	y		adult F	26.6	rect	rect	8	6				7	6			3	6					
184	L	464	7	1904	y		adult IM	98	rect	rect	63	4				23	6			18	6					
185	L	420	6	1903	y		adult I	98		rect	16	4				10	4			7	4					
190	L	463	7	1904			adult I	21.7	hex	hex	21	6				55	6			26	6			P	12	1
191	L	419	6	1903	y		adult IM	14.9	hex	hex	42	6				26	6			20	6			J	7	1
192	L	318	5	1902	y		adult M?	45.2		rect	15	4				20	4			30	4					
194	L	612	9	1905	y	static	adult I	25.9		rect	24	4				16	4			21	4			?	t21	2
197	L	319	5	1902			adult F	32.2	hex	hex	7	4				20	4			17	4					
198	L	416	6	1903	y		subadult (female)	4.36	rect	hex	22	4				24	4			19	4					
199	L	418	6	1903			adult IM	20.7	hex	hex	115	6				26	6			20	6			J	40	1
200	L	405	6	1903			subadult (female)	4.47	rect	hex?	23	4				26	4			20	4					
201	L	401	6	1903	y	static	adult F	35.8	rect	rect	2	6				10	4			7	4			K	6	3
204	L	611	9	1905	y		adult I	23.7	rect	rect	17	2	3	2		16	4			13	4			?	3	1
205	L	462	7	1904			empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	20	6				52	6			57	6			H?	39	1
209	L	396	6	1903		static	subadult (female)	11.65	rect	hex	2	4				26	6			20	6			A	t86	2
210	L	610	9	1905	y		adult I	98	?	rect	sb	4												?		
211	L	394	6	1903			adult IF	18	rect	rect	2	6				78	5	53	1	52	6			D	6	2
212	L	461	7	1904	y		adult I	98		hex?	20	4				23	4			18	4			?		

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
213	L	460	7	1904	y		adult I	99	hex?	hex?	21	4				23	4		18	4			?			
216	L	393	6	1903	y		adult M?	41.8	rect	rect	2	4				10	4		7	4						
217	L	388	6	1903			adult M	36.7	hex	hex	65	6				53	6		52	6			J			
218	L	387	6	1903	y	static	adult F	32	rect	rect	2	6				53	6		52	6			D?	6	2	
219	L	604	9	1905	y		adult I	97		?	15	4				22	2		2	2			?			
220	L	603	9	1905	y		adult IM	28.2		rect?	24	4				27	4		21	4			?	t28	2	
221	L	602	9	1905			adult F?	34.1	rect	rect	18	6				7	6		3	6						
222	L	459	7	1904	y		adult I	23.2	rect	rect	21	6				23	4		18	4			D	t25	2	
223	L	458	7	1904	y		adult M	99	hex	hex	2	4				23	4		18	4	?	1				
224	L	601	9	1905	y		adult I	99	rect?	hex?	25	4				Ts?	4		Esc?	4			?			
225	L	457	7	1904	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	20	6				23	6		18	6			?	t29	2	
226	L	600	9	1905	y		adult M	47.5	?	hex	21	4				16	4		13	4						
227	L	599	9	1905	y		adult F?	98	rect	hex	18	6				Ts?	4		9	4						
228	L	456	7	1904	y		adult IM	31.9	rect	rect	20	6				23	4		18	4			E	t29	2	
229	L	598	9	1905	y	static	adult M	39.4	rect	rect	24	6				27	2	21	2	21	2	29	4	A	3	1
230	L	452	7	1904	y		adult M?	98		rect?	21	6	38	2		23	4		26	2	27	2	N	8	1	
231	L	449	7	1904			subadult	0.25	hex	hex						22	4		24	4						
232	L	597	9	1905			adult M	41.4	rect	rect	166	6				ic2	2+						C	3	2	
233	L	445	7	1904			adult M?	27.8	rect	rect	21	4				23	4		foil	4						
234	L	444	7	1904			subadult	0.28	rect	rect?	32	4				30	4		25	4						
235	L	596	9	1905	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	3	6				16	6		13	6			N	3	1	
236	L	448	7	1904			subadult	1.02	rect	rect	26	4				30	4		26	4						
237	L	593	9	1905	y		subadult (female)	5.74	rect	rect	21	4				23	4		18	4						
238	L	592	9	1905	y		subadult (male)	12.5	rect	rect	6	4				23	4		18	4						
239	L	591	9	1905			adult I	98	rect	rect	24	6				27	6		21	6			D	9	1	
240	L	443	7	1904	y		adult F	35	rect	hex	21	6				23	4		26	4						
241	L	590	9	1905			adult M	30.1	hex	hex	24	4				30	4		25	4						
242	L	588	9	1905	y		adult M	37.4	hex	hex	28	6				31	6		31	6			N		5 1	
243	L	589	9	1905			adult M	26.6	rect	rect	41	4				16	6		13	6						
244	L	587	9	1905	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	15	6				22	6		2	6			D	5	1	
245	L	584	9	1905	y		adult F	26.4	rect	rect	29	6				26	6		20	6			D	7	1	
246	L	583	9	1905	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	21	6				23	4		18	4						
247	L	582	9	1905			adult F	36.8	hex	hex	106	6	38	1		16	6		foil	6			A	11.2	1	
248	L	581	9	1905			adult M?	46.3	rect	rect	16	6				16	6	18	1	13	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
253	L	454	7	1904	y		subadult (female)	0.82	rect	rect	32	4				23	4			25	4					
255	L	578	9	1905			adult I	98	rect	rect	40	6				35	4	ic2	4	35	4					
256	L	577	9	1905	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	39	6				34	8									
260	L	579	9	1905	y	static	subadult	0.2	rect	rect						8	4			22	4			N t8	2	
261	L	580	9	1905	y	static	subadult	0.93	rect	rect						8	4							N t8	2	
262	L	576	9	1905	y		adult IF	30.7		hex	16	6				13	6			9	6			H 10	1	
263	L	574	9	1905			empty casket (adult)			rect	34	6				ic2	6									
264	L	573	9	1905		static	adult IF	43.4	rect	hex?	33	6				23	6							N 1.1	1	
265	L	552	8	1905	y		adult F	35.4	rect	rect	24	4	38	2		22	4			2	4					
266	L	551	8	1905	y		subadult (female)	4.98	rect	rect	35	4				25	4			27	4					
267	L	550	8	1905	y		adult F?	29.9	rect	hex	33	4				26	4			14	4			K t25	2	
268	L	800	12	1907			subadult	12.5	rect	rect	18	4				12	4			6	4					
269	L	531	8	1904	y		subadult	0.47	rect	rect	102	4				vw/2	2							J 35	2	
270	L	570	9	1905	y		adult IF	34.7	rect	rect	30	6				27	4			21	4					
271	L	569	9	1905	y		adult IM	31.3	hex	hex	24	6	38	1		16	6			foil	6			N 11	1	
272	L	568	9	1905	y		adult I	98		rect	21	4				23	4									
273	L	530	8	1904	y	static	subadult	0	rect	rect?	32	4				25	4			27	4			M t25	2	
274	L	525	8	1904			subadult	0.52	rect	rect?						30	4			27	4					
275	L	527	8	1904	y		subadult	1.06	rect	rect	11	4				25	4			27	4					
276	L	524	8	1904	y		adult F	32	rect	rect		29	6	38	2		23	4		foil	4					
277	L	523	8	1904	y		subadult	0.1	rect	rect						25	4			18	4					
278	L	562	9	1905			subadult	0.66	rect	rect	26	4				33	4			34	4					
279	L	521	8	1904			subadult	0.18	rect	rect	32	4				23	4			18	4					
280	L	520	8	1904			subadult	0.03	rect	rect						23	4			18	4					
283	L	567	9	1905	y		adult IF	17.1	rect	rect	21	4				23	4									
285	L	503	8	1904			subadult	0.57	rect	rect	27	4				25	4			27	4					
286	L	498	8	1904			adult M	47.5	rect	rect	33	6				23	4			26	4			A t25	2	
287	L	506	8	1904			adult F	40.4	hex	hex	36	6				23	6			25	6			J 12	1	
288	L	801	12	1907	y		subadult	0.52	rect	rect						7	4			3	4					
289	L	557	9	1905			adult I	34.8	hex	hex	24	6				23	4			18	4			D t25	2	
290	L	673	10	1906	y		adult M	55.2	rect	rect	25	6				ic2	4							C 4	2	
301	L	165	4	1901			adult F	40.3	hex	hex	7	4				48	6			45	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
302	L	46	2	1900	y	static	subadult	1.5	rect	rect					15	4			15	4			D	t15	4	
303	L	795	12	1907	y		adult M?	55	rect	rect	8	6			19		2	7	6	32		2	3	6		
305	L	45	1	1900			adult M	54.5		rect																
306	L	42	1	1900	y		subadult	0.08		rect					39		4									
307	L	482	8	1904			subadult	0.3	rect	rect	49	4			43	4			42	4						
310	L	413	6	1903	y		subadult	0.08	rect	rect	p42	4			c6	4			24	4						
311	L	95	3	1900			subadult	2.15	rect	rect	23	4			15	4			10	4			D	19.1	3	
312	L				y	static	adult M?	34.6	rect	oct	95	8							77	22			C	32	4	
313	L	484	8	1904			adult I	34.1	rect	rect	96	6			23	6			26	6			E	2	1	
314	L	101	3	1900			subadult (male)	7.35		rect	97	4			77	1	15	4	foil	4?						
315	L	259	5	1902			subadult (female)	1.18	rect	rect	23	4			13	4			9	4						
316	L	284	5	1902			subadult	1.5	rect	rect	23	4			16	4			30	4						
317	L	58	2	1900			subadult (male)	6.63	rect	rect	10	4			49	4			54	4			D	5	1	
319	L	245	4	1902			adult I	99		?																
320	L	226	4	1902	y		adult F	14.5	rect	rect	4	4			7	4			17	4			N	21	1	
321	L	386	6	1903			subadult (female)	2.05	hex	hex	23	4			18	4			46	4						
322	L	111	3	1900	y		adult F	99	hex	hex	136	6			14	6			12	6						
323	L	225	4	1902	y		adult F?	36.4	hex	hex	47	6			19	6			32	6			N	5	1	
324	L	770	12	1907			adult F	24.9	rect	rect	8	6			7	6			3	6			N	t65	2	
325	L	224	4	1902	y		subadult (male)	14.9	hex	hex	7	4			6	4			5	4						
326	L	222	4	1902			adult IF	32.2		hex																
327	L	221	4	1902			adult M?	38.9	hex	hex	66	4			54	6			53	6						
328	L	220	4	1902		static	adult M	38.4	hex	hex	67	6			14	6			5	6			G			
329	L	64	2	1900	y		adult F?	35.6	hex	hex	18	6			14	6			foil	6						
330	L	63	2	1900	y		adult F?	33.7	hex	hex	10	6			14	6			foil	6						
331	L	219	4	1901	y		adult M	46.8	hex	hex	2	4			48	6			5	6						
332	L	236	4	1902			subadult	3.04	rect	hex					cs3	6										
333	L	218	4	1901			adult F	18	hex	hex	7	6			6	6			5	6						
334	L	217	4	1901		static	subadult	1.3	rect	rect	50	4			41	4			41	4			O	16	2	
335	L	310	5	1902			subadult	1.08	rect	hex	23	4			52	4			57	4			O	t52	2	
336	L	216	4	1901	y		adult F?	36.3	hex	hex	2	4			48	6			5	6						
337	L				y		adult F?	26.5	hex	hex	70	6			61	6			58	6			A	22	1	
338	L	273	5	1902			subadult	3.34	rect	rect	57	4			2	4			10	4			B	19	4	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	HAN2NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
341	L	70	2	1900	y		subadult	5.57	rect	rect	23	4					14	4			foil	4					
342	L	390	6	1903			subadult	2.5	rect	hex	73	4					53	4			52	4					
343	L	69	2	1900		static	subadult (female)	1.38	hex	hex	69	4					49	4			15	4			M	t49	2
345	L	260	5	1902	y		subadult	0.49	rect	rect	2.1	4					38	4	4		47	4	4				
346	L	128	3	1901	y		subadult	0.85		rect							15	4			47	4					
347	L	129	3	1901			subadult (female)	1.95	rect	rect	11	4					14	4			15	4					
348	L	196	4	1901	y		subadult (male)	9.02	rect	rect	7	4					6	6			5	6			E	26	
349	L	309	5	1902			subadult	0	rect	rect																	
350	L	200	4	1901	y		adult F?	32	hex	hex	7	6					6	6			5	6					
351	L	212	4	1901			subadult	0.71	rect	rect							41	4			5	4					
352	L	213	4	1901			subadult	0.2	rect	rect							17	4			55	4					
353	L	210	4	1901			adult M?	34.8	hex	hex	47	6					48	6			17	6			E?	21	1
354	L	235	4	1902	y		adult M?	29	hex	hex	109	4					36	6			15	6					
355	L	776	12	1907			adult F?	28.3		rect																	
356	L	223	4	1902	y		adult M?	50	hex	hex?	2	6					6	6			45	6			A?	5	1
357	L	73	2	1900	y		subadult	0.47	rect	hex?	26	4					14	4			foil	4					
358	L	792	12	1907			adult I	21.4	rect	rect	71	6													C	24	2
359	L	74	2	1900	y		adult F?	44.1	hex	hex	48	6					14	6			foil	6					
360	L	201	4	1901	y		adult I	35.6	hex	hex	7	6					14	6			47	6					
361	L	199	4	1901			adult F?	33.9		rect																	
362	L	148	3	1901	y		adult M?	37.4	vault	hex	18	4					15	6			47	6					
363	L	773	12	1907	y		adult F?	35.8	rect	rect	6	6					7	6			3	6			N	t8	2
364	L	78	2	1900			adult F?	37.2	hex	hex	18	6					14	6			12	6					
365	L						subadult	2.1	rect	rect	114	4					85	4			11	4			M	t20	2
366	L	787	12	1907	y		subadult	0.2	rect	rect							8	4	4		72	4	4		D	t8	2
367	L	788	12	1907			subadult	0.35		rect							7	2			foil	2					
368	L	71	2	1900	y		adult IM	99	hex	hex	18	4					15	6			foil	6					
370	L	12	1	1900	y		subadult	2.5	rect	rect	72	4					5	4			foil	4					
371	L	155	3	1901	y		adult F?	47.5	rect	hex?	18	6					15	6			10	6					
383	L	794	12	1907			adult F?	34.5	rect	rect	8	6					12	6			6	6			D	t8	3
384	L	311	5	1902	y		subadult	0	rect	rect?							11	4			8	4					
385	L	238	4	1902	y		adult M?	27.8	hex	hex	42	6					84	6			84	6			A	5	1
395	L	769	12	1907			adult F	26.6	rect	rect	120	6					ic2	4							C		

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
396	L	233	4	1902	y		adult M?	31.5	hex	hex	117	6			7	6			17	6			A			
398	L	237	4	1902	y		adult F?	35	hex	hex	113	6			19.1	6			41	6			A	17	1	
405	L						subadult	0		rect																
408	L						subadult	0	rect	rect																
410	L	207	4	1901			subadult	0.08	rect	rect					20	4			17	4						
411	L	667	10	1906			subadult	0.84	rect	rect	18.2	4			8	3	56	1	62	4						
412	L						adult M	53.6		hex																
413	L	668	10	1906			adult F?	31.6	rect	rect	76	6			64	6			63	6			E	25	2	
414	L	185	4	1901	y		adult M?	54.9	hex	hex	7	6			6	6			5	6						
415	L	446	7	1904	y		adult F?	39.1	rect	rect?	21	6			23	4			foil	4						
416	L	447	7	1904			adult F	29.2	rect	rect	21	4			23	4			18	4						
418	L	669	10	1906			adult IM	29.2	rect	rect	3	6			64	6			63	6			C	4	2	
419	L	672	10	1906			adult F?	28.6	rect	rect	25	6			16	6			13	6			H	1	2	
421	L						adult M	42.9		rect																
423	L	661	10	1906			adult M?	45.2	rect	rect	24	6			16	6			21	6						
426	L	666	10	1906	y	static	adult IF	45.1	rect	rect	24	6			16	6			21	6			D	28	1	
427	L	670	10	1906			subadult	1.85	rect	hex	18.1	4			28	4			28	4						
428	L	675	10	1906			adult M	54.5	rect	rect	78	6			16	6			13	6			D	27	1	
429	L	676	10	1906			adult F?	25	rect	rect	25	6			16	6			13	6			N	27	1	
430	L						subadult	0		rect																
431	L	677	10	1906			adult M	40.9	rect	rect	24	6			27	6			21	6				24	1	
432	L	674	10	1906			adult F?	98	rect	rect	24	6			16	6			21	6						
433	L	671	10	1906		static	adult IF	42.9	rect	rect	24	6			27	6			21	6			D	24	1	
440	L	680	10	1906	y	static	adult F	28	rect	rect	25	6			16	6			13	6			D	28	1	
441	L	678	10	1906			adult F?	36.3	rect	rect?	24	6			16	6			21	6			D	27	1	
442	L	679	10	1906			adult F?	28	rect	rect	24	6			27	6			21	6			D	27	1	
443	L	681	10	1906		static	subadult	3.63	rect	rect	77	4			28	6			16	6			D	1.1	1	
444	L						adult I	25.6		hex																
445	L	682	10	1906			adult F	35.6	rect	rect	24	6			16	6			21	6			A	27	1	
446	L	684	10	1906			adult M?	30.7	rect	rect	79	6			7	6			3	6			C	28	2	
448	L	685	10	1906			subadult	0.82	rect	rect	18.1	4			28	4			28	4						
449	L	738	11	1907	y		adult M	54.2	hex	hex					2	6			6	6						
451	L	513	8	1904			subadult	1.58	hex	hex	81	4			25	4			27	4						
452	L	544	8	1905			adult F?	19	rect	rect	148	6			23	8			18	8			C?	12	1	
458	L	163	3	1901			adult F	33.3	rect	rect	10	4														

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
459	L	329	6	1903	y		adult M	21.8	hex	hex	84	6				26	6		20	6			K	15	1	
460	L	735	11	1907			adult F	25.4	rect	rect	145	4				2	6		6	6						
462	L	687	10	1906			adult M	57.6	rect	rect	76	6				ic2	4							L	25	2
463	L	686	10	1906			adult F	29.2	rect	rect	18	6				7	6		3	6						
464	L						subadult	0.05		rect																
466	L	585	9	1905	y		adult M?	14.5	rect	rect	17	6				26	6		20	6			G	7	1	
467	L	736	11	1907		static	adult F	31.3	rect	rect	8	6				7	6		3	6			A	t8	3	
468	L	114	3	1900	y		adult F	36.8	rect	hex	29	4				15	4		foil	4						
469	L	688	10	1906	y		adult M	41.8	rect	rect	25	6				ic2	6						C	1	2	
470	L	691	10	1906			adult M?	36.7	vault	rect	3	6				13	6		13	6			C	1	2	
471	L						adult F	17.4	vault	hex																
472	L	266	5	1902			adult F	30.6	hex	hex	42	6				13	6		9	6			D	5	1	
473	L						subadult	0.54	rect	hex																
476	L	689	10	1906	y		adult F	27.6	rect	rect	80	6				ic2	4						?	1	4	
477	L						adult I	99		rect																
478	L	690	10	1906	y		subadult	0.2		rect						66	4		foil	4						
479	L						subadult	0.06		rect?																
480	L	693	10	1906		static	adult M	30.3	rect	rect	24	6				27	6		21	6			N	t28	3	
481	L	692	10	1906	y		adult IM	34.8	rect	rect	25	6				16	6		13	6			D	27	1	
482	L	695	10	1906	y	static	subadult	1.02	rect	hex?						8	4		16	4			D	t8	2	
483	L	705	10	1906			adult M?	51.2	rect	rect	24	6				27	6		21	6						
485	L	694	10	1906	y		subadult (female)	3.58	rect	rect	29.1	4				28	4		16	4			A	24	1	
486	L	704	10	1906	y		adult F	19	rect	rect	16	4				16	5 7	1	16	6			N	t8	3	
487	L						adult M (#494 in box)	48.8		hex																
488	L	595	9	1905			adult M?	41.3	hex	hex	85	6				23	6		18	6			I	28	1	
489	L	515	8	1904		static	subadult	0.11	rect	hex?	32	4				29	4		23	4			M	t29	2	
490	L	486	8	1904	y		adult M?	39.8	rect	rect	2	4				2	6		2	6						
491	L						adult M	43.7	vault	hex																
492	L						empty casket (adult)	96	hex	hex	86	6				60	6		70	6			G	31	1	
494	L						subadult in box of #487	0.2																		
495	L	703	10	1906			adult I	35.9	rect	rect	25	6				16	6		13	6			D	4	1	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
496	L	696	10	1906			adult F	27.4	rect	rect	18.1	6				16	6			13	6			t21	1	
497	L						adult F	97		hex																
499	L	697	10	1906	y		adult M	47.1	hex	hex	24	4				16	8			47	8					
504	L	487	8	1904			subadult (male)	11.9	rect	rect	2	2	16	2		2	4			2	4					
511	L	702	10	1906			adult M?	49.4	hex	hex						18	4									
513	L						adult IF	20.65	hex	hex	82	6				70	6			69	6			E 30	2	
514	L						adult M	42.5		hex?																
515	L						adult M	54.5		hex																
519	L						adult M	46.9		hex																
520	L						adult M	41		hex																
521	L	431	7	1903	y	static	adult I	99	hex	hex	28	6				10	6			14	6			O 6	2	
525	L	395	6	1903	y	static	subadult	0.16	rect?	hex?	54	4				53	4			52	4			M c?	1?	
529	L	534	8	1905			adult M?	98	rect?	hex	24	4				23	4			18	4					
530	L	706	10	1906			adult M	17.5	rect	rect	87	6				7	6			3	6					
533	L	359	6	1903			adult F	31.2	rect	rect	2	4				53	4									
540	L	648	10	1906			adult M	42.9	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6					
542	L	698	10	1906	y		adult M	32.4	rect	rect	41	6				75	6			47	6			A t21	3	
544	L	699	10	1906			adult M	41.1	hex	hex	24	4				75	6			13	6					
546	L	409	6	1903			subadult	0		hex	p42	4				74	4			38	4					
553	L	700	10	1906	y	static	adult F?	40.6	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			13	6			D t21	3	
556	L						adult F	23		hex																
557	L						adult F	38		hex																
558	L						adult M (48.90); adult M (42.00)	48.9		hex																
560	L						adult IM	16.3		hex																
561	L						subadult	0.1		rect																
562	L						adult M	47.8		hex																
563	L						adult M	34.5		hex																
564	L	312	5	1902			adult F?	18.5	hex	hex	15	6				16	6			30	6			A 42	1	
568	L						adult F	20		hex																
570	L	407	6	1903			subadult	1.3		hex						69	4			59	4					
571	L						subadult	0.13		rect																
577	L						adult M	45.8		?																
579	L	518	8	1904	y		subadult	0.38	rect	rect	32	4				25	4			27	4					
580	L						subadult	0		rect																

	BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	TS2NO	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO	
	582	L						subadult	0.08		rect																		
	583	L						subadult	0		rect																		
	584	L						adult F	41.4		hex																		
	586	L	406	6	1903	y		subadult	0.16	rect	rect					69		4				68		4					
	588	L	470	8	1904			adult M	28.6	hex	hex	88	4			30	4					25	4						
	589	L						subadult	0		rect																		
	591	L	172	4	1901			subadult	0.56	rect	rect?	23	4			71	4					39	4			O	t71	2	
	592	L						adult F	32		hex																		
	593	L	408	6	1903			subadult	0		rect					69	4					68	4						
	594	L	707	10	1906	y		adult M	50.6	hex	hex	6	6			16	6					foil	6						
	597	L						subadult	0.05		rect																		
	598	L	594	9	1905			adult M	34.2	hex	hex	21	4			23	4					18	4						
	600	L						adult M	55		hex																		
	612	L	139	3	1901	y		adult I	32.6	hex	hex	2	4			14	6					47	6						
	624	L	711	10	1906			adult M	40	rect	rect	3	6			2	6					13	6			D	3	1	
	635	L						adult M	37.2		rect?																		
	642	L	708	10	1906	y		adult I	99		hex					16	6					foil	6						
	643	L						adult F?	98		rect																		
	648	L						subadult	0.1		rect																		
	653	L						adult IM	26		hex																		
	668	L	737	11	1907			empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	145	4			2	6					6	6			D	t93	3	
	669	L						subadult	0.1		rect																		
	672	L						adult M?	99		hex																		
	675	L	107	3	1900			subadult	0.71	rect	hex	23	4			15	4					15	4			M	t15	2	
	679	L	183	4	1901			adult IM	27.8	hex	hex	7	6			6	6					5	6						
	680	L						adult M	52.9		hex																		
	685	L	182	4	1901			subadult	0.4	rect	rect	136.1	4			6	4					5	4						
	686	L	106	3	1900	y		subadult (female)	0.7	rect	hex					15	4					47	4			M	t15	2	
	698	L	105	3	1900	y		subadult	83	rect	rect					15	4					47	4						
	705	L	104	3	1900			adult IM	42	hex	hex																		
	709	L						empty casket (adult)	96		hex																		
	710	L						adult M	49.6		hex																		

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
720	L	94	3	1900			subadult (female)	0.8	rect	rect	26	4				15	4			10	4					
724	L	102	3	1900	y		subadult	4	rect	rect	10	4				14	4			47	4			?	t76	2
726	L	97	3	1900	y		adult AF	98	hex	hex?	10	6				14	6			47	6					
735	L	179	4	1901			subadult	1.3	rect	rect?	5	4				14	4			5	4			D	16	3
736	L	180	4	1901			subadult	0.7	rect	rect	130	4				17	4			55	4					
738	L	281	5	1902	y		adult I	99	hex	hex	15	6				16	6			30	6			D	41	1
739	L	96	3	1900	y		subadult	0.15	vault	rect	122	4				14	4			47	4					
742	L	178	4	1901	y		adult F	32.6	rect	hex?	7	6				41	6			5	6					
746	L						subadult	0		rect																
750	L	175	4	1901	y		adult IM	36.2	hex	hex	2	6				6	6			5	6					
751	L	272	5	1902			adult I	47	hex	hex	7	4				2	6			10	6					
755	L	86	3	1900			subadult	0.05	vault	rect						14	4			44	4					
756	L	174	4	1901	y		adult M	42.3	hex	hex	2	6				6	6			45	6					
757	L	271	5	1902			adult F?	31.1	hex	hex	7	4				13	6			9	6					
758	L	170	4	1901			adult M?	27.9		hex	104	2	105	2		6	6			5	6					
763	L	339	6	1903	y		subadult	0.12		rect						78	4			79	4					
764	L	265	5	1902			adult F?	99	hex	hex	42	6				13	6			9	6			D	5	1
765	L	346	6	1903	y		subadult	0.3	rect	rect	23	4				26	4			20	4			O	t11	2
767	L	480	8	1904			subadult (female)	0.75	rect	rect						25	4			27	4					
768	L	476	8	1904			adult I	99		rect																
769	L	472	8	1904			adult F?	28.6	rect	rect	21	6				23	4			27	4			D	t25	3
773	L	466	8	1904	y		adult M?	34.3	hex	hex	78	6				22	6			2	6			K	5	1
774	L	507	8	1904			subadult	0.24	rect	rect						25	4			27	4					
775	L	471	8	1904	y		subadult	0.1	rect	rect						23	4			18	4					
778	L	264	5	1902			adult F?	37.5	hex	hex	7	6				81	6			9	6					
779	L	338	6	1903			subadult	0.05	rect	hex						82	4			81	4					
780	L	483	8	1904			adult F?	98	hex	hex	99	6				23	6			18	6			D	12	1
781	L	478	8	1904			adult F	39.1	hex	hex	101	6				30	4			18	4			D	36	1
784	L	477	8	1904			adult I	17.8	hex	hex	101	6				23	6			25	6			A	12	1
785	L	495	8	1904			adult I	31	rect	rect	24	6				22	6			2	6					
787	L	493	8	1904			adult M	46.3	rect	rect	101	6				23	4			18	4			D	1.1	1
789	L	516	8	1904	y		subadult	0.67	rect	rect	32	4				25	4			27	4					
791	L	510	8	1904	y		subadult (male)	3.05	rect	hex	35	4				23	4			foil	4					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
794	L	267	5	1902	y		adult M?	33.8	hex	hex	42	4				13	4		9	4			A?	5	1	
795	L	268	5	1902	y		adult I	54.5	hex	hex	7	6				13	6		9	6						
797	L	270	5	1902			empty casket (adult)	96		hex																
798	L	173	4	1901	y		subadult	3.43	rect	hex	2.1	4				71	4		39	4						
799	L	532	8	1904			subadult	0	rect	rect																
800	L	540	8	1905	y		adult F?	52.5	hex	hex	18	4				22	6		2	6						
801	L	499	8	1904	y		adult IF	28.8	hex	hex	21	6				55	6		18	6			A	36	1	
802	L	500	8	1904			adult IM	32.5	hex	hex						23	4		foil	4						
803	L	508	8	1904			subadult	0.05	rect	rect						25	4		27	4						
804	L	514	8	1904			subadult	0.05	rect	rect	32	4				29	4		23	4			O	t29	2	
805	L	489	8	1904			adult IF	34.5	rect	rect	103	6				23	4		18	4			A	t25	3	
806	L	548	8	1905	y		subadult	2.35	rect	rect	108	4				52	4		57	4			M	t23	2	
807	L	549	8	1905	y	static	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	110	4				79	4		82	4			M	t79	2	
808	L	426	7	1903			adult M?	98	rect	rect	16	6				23	6									
809	L	427	7	1903	y		adult IM	42.9	hex	hex	96	6				23	6		24	6			J	6	1	
810	L	490	8	1904	y		subadult	0.25	rect	rect						55	4		27	4						
811	L	491	8	1904	y	static	adult F	32	hex	hex	101	6				30	4		25	4			AD	t30	2	
812	L	492	8	1904			adult IM	34.9	rect	rect	33	6				23	4		18	4						
813	L	502	8	1904			adult I	99	rect	rect	123	6				23	4		18	4			H	12	1	
814	L	799	12	1907			adult F?	28.8	hex	hex	18	6				12	4		6	4			D	44	1	
815	L						adult M + subadult 0.15y	30.6		hex																
816	L	542	8	1905			adult M?	98	rect	rect	24	6				25	7		27	6						
817	L	543	8	1905	y		adult F?	28.1	rect	rect	111	6				ic2	4						E	38	1	
818	L	546	8	1905			adult I	98	rect	rect	20	6				52	6		57	6			E	t83	1	
819	L	547	8	1905	y		adult IM	33.7	rect	rect	6	4				52	4		57	4			D	t55	2	
820	L	533	8	1904			adult AF	98	rect	rect	24	6				23	4		18	4						
821	L	798	12	1907			subadult (male)	9.48	vault	hex						12	4		6	4						
825	L	430	7	1903	y		adult M?	34.5	hex	hex	28	4				23	4		18	4						
826	L	432	7	1904			adult I	34	hex	hex	2	6				23	6		24	6			J	6	2	
827	L	535	8	1905			subadult	2.15	rect	hex	35	4				25	4		27	4						
828	L	536	8	1905			subadult	0.11	rect	hex	32	4				25	4		27	4						
829	L	553	8	1905	y		adult F?	21.5	hex	hex	3	6				16	6		13	6			E	28	2	
830	L	554	8	1905			adult F?	39.7	rect	rect	15	6	38	1		22	6		2	6			D	5	1	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
831	L	435	7	1904			adult IM	28.6	hex	hex	28	4				23	4			18	4			A	t29	3
832	L	433	7	1904			adult AF	97	rect	hex	112	4				51	4			83	4					
833	L	429	7	1903	y		adult IM	99	hex	hex	7	6				22	6			2	6			A	5	1
834	L	428	7	1903	y		adult F?	36.4	hex	hex	16	6				23	6			66	6			HI	6	2
835	L	327	6	1902			subadult (male)	10.52	rect	rect	7	4				78	6			79	6			D	14	1
836	L	331	6	1903	y		adult F? + subadult 0.00y	98	hex	hex	15	6				80	6			41	6			?	13	1
837	L	332	6	1903	y		adult IF	32.8	rect	rect	2	6				11	4			8	4					
838	L	99	3	1900	y		subadult (female)	0.15		rect?	51	4				14	4			47	4					
840	L	344	6	1903	y		adult I	44.5	rect	rect	2	4				53	6			52	6					
841	L	345	6	1903			subadult	1.3		hex						18	4			14	4					
842	L	436	7	1904			adult I	20	hex	hex	2	6				23	6			24	6					
843	L	437	7	1904			subadult	0.28	rect	rect						22	4			2	4					
844	L	555	8	1905	y		adult I	26.7	rect	rect	24	6				23	4			18	4					
845	L	438	7	1904	y		adult AM	33.6	hex	hex	135	4				20	6			17	6			D	t20	2
846	L	347	6	1903			adult M?	98	rect	hex	18	4				26	4			20	4					
847	L	439	7	1904	y		adult I	98	rect	rect	2	2	21	2	96	2	22	2	23	4	18	6		D	17	1
851	L	485	8	1904	y		adult M?	99	hex	hex	2	4				23	4									
853	L	348	6	1903			subadult	0.65		rect																
854	L	349	6	1903	y		adult F?	31	rect	rect	2	4				53	4			20	4			AD	t86	3
855	L	355	6	1903	y		adult IM	33.7		hex						11	4			8	4					
856	L	440	7	1904	y		subadult (female)	4.8	rect	rect	124	4				29	4			23	4			M	t29	3
857	L	441	7	1904	y		subadult	11.5	rect	rect	2	4				23	4			24	4					
858	L	442	7	1904		static	adult M	37.5	hex	hex	142	4	141	6		20	6			91	6			D	t69	3
859	L	468	8	1904	y		adult I	19.4	rect	rect	125	6				23	4			18	4			A	39?	2
860	L	276	5	1902			adult I	34.2		rect																
861	L	356	6	1903			adult F?	23.3	hex	hex	84	6				26	6			20	6			G	13	1
862	L	357	6	1903			adult F	33.3	hex	hex	15	6				19	6			32	6			G?	5	1
863	L	451	7	1904			subadult	0.4	rect	rect?	32	4				22	4			18	4					
864	L	358	6	1903	y		adult IF	35.8	hex	hex	65	6				26	6			20	6			AD	11.1	1
865	L	361	6	1903			adult M?	30.6	rect	rect	2	4				26	6			20	6					
866	L	797	12	1907			subadult	0.21	rect	rect	31	4				92	4			93	4					
867	L	496	8	1904			adult F	15.5	hex	hex	100	6				30	4			25	4					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
868	L	277	5	1902	y		adult IM	35.4	hex	hex	42	6			7	6			10	6			G	o14.1	1	
869	L	280	5	1902			adult AM	28.3	hex	hex	42	6			41	6			10	6			G			
870	L	282	5	1902			adult IF	17.4	?	hex					2	6			49	6						
871	L	473	8	1904	y		adult F	38.2	hex	hex	101	4			30	6			?	1	18	5	A	36	1	
872	L	474	8	1904	y		adult I	99	rect	hex					23	4			25	4						
873	L	362	6	1903	y		adult F?	21.25	rect	rect	7	6			78	6			79	6			A?	15	1	
874	L	455	7	1904			adult IF	99	rect	rect?	103	6			23	4			18	4			A	t55	1	
875	L	453	7	1904			subadult	0		rect																
876	L	363	6	1903			subadult	0.2	hex	hex					18	4			14	4						
877	L	285	5	1902	y		adult IM	41.4	?	rect					13	4										
878	L	286	5	1902		static	subadult	5.63	rect	rect	2.1	4			2	4			55	4			K	t2	4	
879	L	365	6	1903	y		adult M	39.2	hex	hex	115	6			53	6			52	6			A			
880	L	283	5	1902			adult IF	32	hex	hex	7	6			16	6			30	6						
881	L	366	6	1903			subadult	0.3	rect	hex	p42	4			53	4			52	4						
882	L	364	6	1903	y		adult F?	30.3	hex	hex	107	6			11	6			78	6			G	15	1	
883	L	291	5	1902			adult F?	34.1	hex	hex	7	4			2	6			49	6						
884	L	292	5	1902			adult IF	99	hex	hex	7	6			16	6			30	6						
885	L	293	5	1902			adult IF	27.1		rect																
887	L	373	6	1903	y		subadult	8.9	rect	rect	2	4			11	6			78	6			A?	11.1	1	
888	L	375	6	1903			adult M?	99	hex	hex	18	4			100	2	101	4	104	6						
889	L	376	6	1903			adult I	99	hex	hex	131	6			18	6			52	6			D	17	1	
890	L	384	6	1903			adult IM	17.4	rect?	rect?	2	6			24	4			19	4						
891	L	539	8	1905	y		adult I	15.5	rect	rect	15	4			22	4			2	4			?			
892	L	294	5	1902	y		adult IF	33	hex	hex	42	6			2	6			49	6			G	5	1	
893	L	295	5	1902	y		adult F?	39.5	hex	hex	7	6			16	6			30	6						
894	L	298	5	1902			adult IF	17.5	hex	hex	7	4			12	2	2	4	10	6						
895	L	385	6	1903			subadult	1.34	rect	hex	23	4			18	4			8	2	78	2				
896	L	606	9	1905	y	static	subadult	0.2	?	hex	18.1	4			88	4			4	4			AD	1.1	1	
897	L	299	5	1902			subadult (male)	12.2	rect	rect	15	4			2	6			10	6						
898	L	300	5	1902	y		adult IF	98	rect	rect	2	4			11	3	26	3	20	6						
899	L	301	5	1902			adult M	43	rect	rect	132	4			52	4			57	4						
900	L	186	4	1901			adult F?	29.8	hex	hex	42	6			17	6			55	6			E?	5	1	
901	L	112	3	1900			adult F?	37.4	hex	hex	10	6			40	6			40	6						
902	L	302	5	1902	y		adult F	32.1	rect	hex	42	6			26	6			20	6			J	7	1	
903	L	303	5	1902	y		adult F	36.5	hex	hex	7	6			2	6			49	6			A	5	1	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
904	L	304	5	1902			adult M?	52.6	hex	hex	7	4				2	6			49	6						
905	L	400	6	1903			subadult	0.24		rect																	
906	L	306	5	1902			subadult	0.85	rect	rect?	130	4				16	4			30	4						
907	L	192	4	1901			subadult	0.15	rect	hex	126	4				87	4			31	4						
908	L	307	5	1902			subadult	0	vault	rect																	
909	L	308	5	1902			subadult (female)	0		rect																	
910	L	790	12	1907	y		subadult	0	rect	rect						8	4							?			
911	L	121	3	1901	y		adult IF	16.5	hex	hex	127	2	128	1	129	1	40	6			40	6			D	11.2	1
912	L	122	3	1901	y		subadult (male)	2.4	rect	hex?	23	2	130	2		15	4			15	4			M	t76	2	
913	L	187	4	1901			subadult	0.87	rect	rect	50	4				6	4			45	4						
914	L	188	4	1901	y		adult I	42.6	hex	hex	7	6				14	6			5	6			A	7	1	
915	L	189	4	1901			subadult (male)	7.55	rect	rect?	7	4				48	6			45	6			D	43	1	
916	L	519	8	1904	y		subadult	0	rect?	hex?						25	4			27	4						
918	L	194	4	1901			subadult (male)	11.2	rect	hex	7	4				6	6			5	6						
919	L	190	4	1901			subadult	0.12		hex																	
920	L	197	4	1901			subadult (female)	10.46	rect	rect	2	4				48	4			45	4						
921	L	130	3	1901	y		adult IF	15.5	hex	hex	47	6				15	6			10	6			A	5	1	
922	L	131	3	1901	y		subadult (female)	3.3		rect						15	4										
924	L	202	4	1901	y		adult I	36	hex	hex	42	6				17	6			55	6			A	5	1	
925	L	134	3	1901			adult M?	42.3		hex	18	6				14	6			32	6						
929	L	133	3	1901	y		adult M?	28.7	hex	hex	48	6				15	6			10	6			D	37	2	
930	L	782	12	1907	y		subadult	4.5	rect	rect						8	4			foil	4			?	t8	2	
932	L	77	2	1900	y		adult F?	35.5	hex	hex	116	6				5	6			32	6			N	t5	2	
933	L	774	12	1907	y		subadult	0.2		rect						7	2			3	2						
934	L	138	3	1901	y		adult F?	35.1	hex	hex	2	4				14	4			47	4						
935	L	412	6	1903			subadult	0.4	vlt?	rect	26	4				c6	4										
936	L	211	4	1901			subadult	0.64	rect	rect?	50	4				48	4			5	4						
937	L	775	12	1907			subadult	0.01		rect																	
938	L	227	4	1902			adult M?	33.3	hex	hex	2	6				20	6			17	6						
939	L	228	4	1902			subadult	0.25	rect	hex?	119	4				6	4			45	4			M	19.1	2	
940	L	145	3	1901	y		subadult	0.56	rect	rect						?	2										
942	L	149	3	1901			adult F?	32.1	hex	hex	18	4				15	4			10	4						

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
943	L	153	3	1901	y		subadult	1.68	rect	rect						15	4			47	4					
944	L	768	12	1907	y	static	adult F?	34.8	rect	rect	8	6				7	6			3	6			D	t65	3
945	L	156	3	1901			subadult	1.26	rect	rect	23	4				14	4			foil	4					
946	L	157	3	1901			subadult	0.22	rect	rect						40	4			40	4					
947	L	297	5	1902	y		adult F	32.4	hex	hex	7	6				12	6			30	6			G	17	1
948	L	263	5	1902			subadult	1.1	rect	hex	23	4				13	4			9	4					
949	L	340	6	1903			subadult	0.05	rect	rect						82	4			20	4					
966	L	171	4	1901			subadult	0.11	rect	rect	2.2	4				71	4			39	4					
975	L	411	6	1903			subadult	0.28	rect	rect?	54	4				c6	4			24	4					
976	L	305	5	1902			adult M	37.2	rect	rect	2	4				22	4			60	4					
977	L						adult F?	44.8	rect	rect	121	6				9	6			86	6			F	15	1
978	L	609	9	1905			subadult	1	rect	rect						8	4			22	4			D	t8	2
979	L	191	4	1901			subadult	0.05	rect	rect						19	4			32	4					
980	L	772	12	1907		static	subadult	1.17	rect	rect						65	4			65	4			A	t65	2
981	L	132	3	1901		static	subadult	0.6	rect	rect	23	4				15	4			10	4			M?		
982	L	75	2	1900			adult M	33.9		rect																
983	L	494	8	1904	y		adult I	99	hex	hex	24	4														
984	L	479	8	1904			adult I	99	?	?																
986	L	541	8	1905	y		adult IF	15	hex	hex	24	6				23	4			18	4					
988	L	334	6	1903	y		subadult	0.6		hex						18	4			46	4					
989	L	231	4	1902			subadult	0.08	rect	rect	54	4				48	4			17	4					
990	L	137	3	1901	y		subadult	0.15	rect	rect						15	4			47	4					
991	L	232	4	1902	y		adult IM	31.6	hex	hex	47	6				6	4			45	4			D?	7	1
993	L	230	4	1902	y		adult F	38.5	hex	hex	2	6				20	6			17	6					
994	L	475	8	1904	y		adult F	20.1	hex	hex	24	6				23	4			18	4			A	t30	1
995	L	561	9	1905	y		subadult	86	?	?	37	4				25	4									
996	L	368	6	1903			subadult (female)	2.4	rect	rect	23	4				53	4			52	4					
997	L	379	6	1903	y		adult M?	39.4	hex	hex	131	6				26	6			20	6			D	6	3
998	L	154	3	1901	y		adult M?	42.6	hex	hex	133	4				71	6			39	6					
999	L	336	6	1903			adult M?	26.6		hex						18	4			20	2	46	2			
1002	L	335	6	1903	y		adult M?	33.2		hex						18	4			46	4					
1003	L	115	3	1900	y	static	subadult (female)	6.3	rect	rect	10	4				40	4			40	4			B		
1004	L	378	6	1903	y		adult F?	46.2	vault	hex?	131	4				26	6			20	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1005	L	116	3	1900	y		adult F	38.8	hex	hex	10	6				40	6		40	6						
1006	L	351	6	1903			adult M	56.2	hex	hex	131	2	2	2		26	6		20	6			A	6	2	
1007	L	117	3	1900			adult F?	44.8	hex	hex	10	6				15	6		15	6						
1008	L	120	3	1901			adult IM	15.3	hex	hex	147	4				6	4		15	4						
1009	L	119	3	1900			subadult	0.5	vlt?	rect?	26	4				40	4		40	4						
1010	L	127	3	1901			subadult	0		rect						14?	1									
1011	L						subadult	0		rect																
1012	L	103	3	1900	y		subadult	0.46	rect	rect					14	4		44	4							
1016	L	125	3	1901			subadult	0.46	rect	rect					15	4		15	4							
1017	L	118	3	1900			adult M?	18.1	vault	hex					15	6		15	6							
1018	L						subadult	0.09		rect																
1019	L	467	8	1904			adult I	99	?	?													?			
1020	L	126	3	1901	y		subadult	0.51	rect	rect	11	4			14	4										
1021	L	68	2	1900	y		adult M?	40	hex	hex	138	6			15	6										
1022	L	167	4	1901			adult F	27	hex	hex	7	6			41	6		41	6				?	5	1	
1024	L						subadult	0.15		rect																
1027	L	528	8	1904	y		subadult	0.49	rect	hex	32	4			25	4		27	4							
1028	L	605	9	1905			subadult	1.41	rect	rect	18.2	4			88	4		4	4				A	t88	2	
1029	L	337	6	1903	y		adult M	42.8	hex	hex					26	4		46	4							
1031	L	397	6	1903	y		adult F?	42.3	rect?	hex	15	6			51	6		83	6				?	t53	2	
1032	L	370	6	1903			subadult	0.15	rect	rect	p42	4			86	4		20	4							
1033	L	354	6	1903	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	2	6			53	6		52	6				A	t50	2	
1035	L						adult I	18.1		hex?																
1036	L	398	6	1903	y		adult F	30.8	rect	rect	144	6			51	6		83	6				J	46	1	
1038	L	522	8	1904	y		subadult	0.43		rect?	32	4			23	4		18	4							
1039	L	369	6	1903			subadult	0.4	rect	hex	54	4			86	2	90	2	85	4						
1040	L	206	4	1901	y		adult M?	48.2	hex	hex	13	6			6	6		foil	6							
1041	L						adult M + subadult 0.00y	41		hex																
1042	L	208	4	1901	y		adult F	25.7	rect	hex	137	6			6	6		15	6							
1044	L	422	6	1903			subadult (female)	11.53	rect	rect	15	6			53	6		52	6				C	t51	1	
1045	L						adult F?	30.5		rect																
1046	L	575	9	1905	y		adult F	32	rect	rect	34	6			ic2	4										

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1052	L	184	4	1901			adult F?	44.7	rect?	hex?	7	4				6	6			5	6					
1053	L	124	3	1901	y		adult F	44	hex	hex	2	6				15	6			15	6			PH	16	1
1054	L	509	8	1904	y		subadult	2.5	rect	rect	35	4				23	4			18	4					
1055	L	410	6	1903	y		subadult	0.18	vault	hex	p42	4				74	4			38	4					
1056	L	739	11	1907			empty casket (adult)	96	rect	hex	8	6				7	6			3	6					
1058	L						adult F?	39.4		hex																
1059	L	740	11	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	?	hex	6	6				12	4			6	4					
1062	L	710	10	1906	y		adult M?	36.8	?	hex	24	4														
1065	L						adult IM	28.3		rect																
1070	L						adult IF	99	?	?																
1071	L						empty casket (adult)	96		rect																
1072	L						adult M	30.5		hex																
1074	L	725	11	1906			adult M?	38.2		hex																
1075	L	350	6	1903			adult I	99	?	?	2	4												?		
1076	L	317	5	1902			adult F	35.1	hex	hex	2	4	7	2		20	6			17	6					
1079	L						adult M	51.5		hex																
1080	L	372	6	1903			adult M	47.6	hex	hex	78	6				10	6			7	6			A?		
1081	L						adult M	38.2		rect																
1082	L	380	6	1903	y		adult F	22.6	hex	hex	139	6				26	6			20	6			AD	6	2
1083	L	289	5	1902	y		subadult	0.58	rect	hex	54	4				91	4			88	4					
1085	L	663	10	1906	y		adult I	99	rect	rect	64	6				59	6			89	6					
1086	L	383	6	1903	y		adult F?	26.1	rect	hex	2	4				26	4			20	4					
1087	L						subadult	0.1		rect																
1088	L	382	6	1903	y		adult F? & shell concen	25.6	hex	hex	2	6				26	6			20	6			D	6	2
1089	L	352	6	1903	y		subadult	0.1	rect	rect	p42	4				90	4			85	4					
1090	L	381	6	1903			adult M?	34.6	rect	hex	2	4				26	4			20	4					
1091	L	526	8	1904	y		subadult	0.07		rect						30	4			27	4					
1092	L	402	6	1903	y		adult F	37	vault	rect	2	6				10	4			7	4			A	6	3
1093	L	742	11	1907	y		subadult	0.06		rect						7	4			3	4					
1094	L	389	6	1903	y		adult F?	45.2	hex	hex	65	6				53	6			52	6			A?		
1095	L	743	11	1907			subadult	0.13		rect																

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1096	L						adult I	99		rect																
1098	L	741	11	1907	y		subadult (female)	0.08		rect						7	2		3	2						
1100	L	26	1	1900	y		adult M	48.8	rect	hex	10	2	51.1	2		19	4		foil	4						
1101	L						subadult	0.1	vault	rect																
1102	L	147	3	1901			adult F	19	hex	hex	18	6				15	6		47	6						
1103	L	586	9	1905	y		adult IF	97	rect	rect	146	6				15	6		20	6			D	t23	1	
1104	L	242	4	1902	y		subadult	0.58	rect	rect	50	4				6	4		5	4						
1107	L	353	6	1903	y	static	subadult	0.06	rect	hex	p42	4				50	2	86	2	85	4			M	6	2
1108	L	371	6	1903	y		adult M	27.1	hex	hex	78	6				53	6		52	6			G	47	1	
1109	L	730	11	1907	y		adult M?	32.7	rect	rect	6	6				12	6		3	6						
1110	L	731	11	1907			adult M	36.9	rect	rect	8	6				7	6		3	6			E?	t8	2	
1111	L	729	11	1906			subadult	2.9	rect	rect	p42	4				94	4		95	4			A	t3	2	
1112	L	728	11	1906		static	adult M	36.5	rect	rect	53	6				12	6		6	6			A	t8	3	
1114	L	727	11	1906	y		adult F?	30.6	rect	rect	6	4				12	4	7	2	3	6					
1115	L	646	10	1906	y		adult M	26.3	hex	hex	24	6				16	6		13	6						
1117	L	645	10	1906			adult I	55	rect	rect	24	6				27	6		21	6						
1120	L	98	3	1900	y		subadult (female)	9	rect	hex?	10	4				14	4		47	4						
1122	L	716	11	1906			adult F	36.6	rect	rect	6	6				16	6		94	6			A	28	1	
1125	L	715	11	1906			adult M	38	rect	rect	6	6				7	6		3	6						
1126	L	718	11	1906			adult M	19	hex	hex	3	6				16	6		13	6			A	1	1	
1130	L	719	11	1906	y		subadult (female)	4.81		rect	150	6				ic2?	4						J	1	2	
1133	L	726	11	1906	y		adult F?	17.4	rect	rect	6	6				7	6		3	6			A	t3	3	
1134	L						adult M	37.1		rect																
1135	L	732	11	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	8	6				7	6		3	6			D?	t8	2	
1137	L	734	11	1907	y		subadult	0.46	rect	rect						ts	2		6	2						
1139	L	255	4	1902	y		adult F?	47.1		hex						6	6		5	6						
1140	L	563	9	1905			subadult	0.3	rect	hex?	23	4				58	4		60	4			M	6	2	
1142	L	722	11	1906			adult M	35.2	rect	rect	6	6				7	6		3	6			A	t8	2	
1144	L	721	11	1906	y		adult F?	51.5	rect	rect	3	4				13	4		13	4			?	24	1	
1149	L	724	11	1906	y		adult IM	60	rect	rect	118	6				7	6		3	6			A?	t8	2	
1150	L	497	8	1904			adult F?	28.9	rect	rect	148	6				53	6		52	6			E	17	1	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1151	L	545	8	1905	y		adult F?	26.4	rect	rect	36	6	38	2		19	2	29	4	32	2	23	4	C?	38	1
1152	L	414	6	1903			subadult	0	rect	rect	p42	4				c6	4			24	4					
1153	L	717	11	1906	y		adult I	99	?	rect	6	6				7	6			3	5	62	1			
1155	L	512	8	1904			subadult	0.72	rect	hex	35	4				29	4			23	4			M	t29	2
1156	L						subadult	0.1		rect																
1160	L	652	10	1906	y	static	adult M?	30.06	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			13	6			A	t21	3
1163	L	733	11	1907		static	adult F	30.8	rect	rect	6	6				7	6			3	6			A	t94	3
1164	L	152	3	1901			adult IM	38	hex	hex	133	6				15	6			10	6					
1166	L	377	6	1903	y		adult I	97	hex	hex	131	6				53	4			52	4			?		
1167	L	723	11	1906			subadult (male)	12.35	rect	rect	6	6				7	3	12	3	3	6					
1173	L	713	11	1906			adult M?	32.7	rect	rect	161	4				99	6			94	6			K		
1175	L	290	5	1902			subadult	0.12	rect	rect						91	4			88	4					
1178	L	658	10	1906			adult IF	41.7	hex	hex	16	6				52	6			57	6					
1179	L	209	4	1901	y		subadult	5.27	rect	rect	44	4				6	4			15	4					
1180	L	657	10	1906	y		adult F?	41.4	rect	rect	152	6				52	6			2	6			?	48	2
1181	L	89	3	1900			adult F	52	hex	hex	153	6				19	6			32	6			N	5	1
1182	L	88	3	1900		static	adult I	29.8	hex	hex	47	1	61	5		14	6			32	6			?	5	1
1185	L	720	11	1906		static	adult M?	38	rect	rect?	6	6				7	6			3	6			A	t3	3
1187	L	655	10	1906	y	static	adult F?	30.7	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6			A	24	1
1188	L	656	10	1906			adult M	38.2	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6					
1189	L	654	10	1906			subadult	4.61	rect	hex	24.1	4				56	4			64	4			A	24	1
1190	L	649	10	1906		static	adult F?	32.4	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			21	6			AD	27	1
1192	L	641	10	1906			adult F?	98	rect	hex	18	6				27	6			21	6					
1193	L	647	10	1906			adult F	45.2	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6					
1194	L	644	10	1906	y		adult IF	41.4	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			21	6					
1196	L	643	10	1906		static	adult F	42.6	rect	rect	2	6				27	6			21	6			A	22	1
1198	L	640	10	1906	y		subadult (female)	5.83	?	hex	18.1	4				3	4			22	4			A	4	1
1199	L	634	10	1905			adult F?	40	rect	rect	163	6				ic2	4							C	2	2
1200	L	622	10	1905	y		subadult	0.64	rect	rect	18.2	4				56	4			64	4			A	1.1	1
1203	L	617	10	1905	y		adult IF	23.5	rect	rect	156	6				16	6			99	6					
1207	L	256	4	1902	y		adult M	17.5	hex	hex	15	6				6	6			5	6			G	5	1
1211	L	714	11	1906	y	static	adult I	30.1	rect	rect	16	4				16	6			3	6			A	28	1
1212	L	423	6	1903			adult F	40.4	hex	hex	7	6				98	6			101	6			G	20	1
1213	L	198	4	1901			adult M?	48.6	hex	hex	2	6				48	6			45	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1214	L	615	10	1905			subadult	0.12	rect	rect																
1215	L	616	10	1905			adult F?	27	rect	rect	33	4				27	4			18	4					
1217	L	636	10	1905			adult M?	45	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6					
1218	L	660	10	1906			adult F?	24	rect	rect	25	6				16	6			13	6			C	1	1
1219	L	415	6	1903	y		subadult	0.92	vault	rect	54	4				60	4			60	4					
1220	L	662	10	1906			adult F?	29	rect	rect	18	2	33	4		59	4			89	4			D	49	1
1221	L	665	10	1906		static	adult M	45.8	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			21	6			A	28	1
1222	L	664	10	1906			adult F?	35.4	rect	rect	38	2	6	6		26	6			20	6					
1224	L	659	10	1906	y	static	adult M	34.8	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6			A	t56	1
1228	L	653	10	1906	y		subadult (cenotaph)	1.67	rect	hex	18.1	2	18.2	2		3	4			62	4					
1229	L	651	10	1906			subadult (male)	12.85	rect	rect	24	6				16	6			2	6			D?	t21	2
1231	L	650	10	1906	y		adult M?	31.4	hex	hex	20	6				23	6			18	6			D	1.1	1
1232	L	639	10	1906			adult M	20	rect	rect	156	6				27	6			21	6					
1233	L	638	10	1906			adult F?	33.6	hex	hex	24	6				27	6			21	6			A	t88	2
1234	L	624	10	1905			adult M?	26.3	rect	rect	2	6				27	6			46	6			A	50	1
1236	L	621	10	1905			adult M?	30	rect	rect	2	5+	24	.5		16	6			13	6					
1238	L	620	10	1905			adult F	23.4	rect	rect	16	6				27	6			21	6			D	1.1	1
1239	L	618	10	1905			subadult	0.37		hex	18.2	4													50	1
1240	L	619	10	1905	y		subadult	0.07		hex						3	4			62	4					
1244	L	626	10	1905		static	adult M?	33.9	rect	rect	15	6				79	5	90	1	42	6			A	t90	2
1245	L	627	10	1905	y	static	adult M?	18	hex	hex	24	6				27	6			21	6			A	27	1
1246	L	629	10	1905			adult F?	31.3	rect	rect	3	6				16	6			13	6			A	50	1
1248	L	623	10	1905	y		subadult	1.3	?	?	18.2	4				56	4			64	4					
1249	L	630	10	1905	y	static	subadult	0.08	rect	rect	159	4				56	4			16	4			A	51	1
1258	L	749	12	1907			adult M	43.8	rect	rect	3	6				2	6			6	6			D	t94	3
1262	L	635	10	1905			adult F?	48.3	rect	rect	19	6				16	6			13	6			C	4	2
1264	L	360	6	1903			adult IM	20	rect	hex	2	6				53	6			52	6			J		
1269	L	637	10	1906	y		adult F?	36	rect	rect	156	6				27	6			21	6					
1271	L	632	10	1905		static	subadult (female)	11.87	rect	rect	156	6				27	6			21	6			A	50	1
1273	L	633	10	1905			adult I	98	rect	rect	24	6				27	6			21	6					
1283	L	214	4	1901	y		adult F	31.9	hex	hex	7	4				17	6			55	6					
1284	L	215	4	1901			subadult	0.5	rect	hex	122	4				15	4			5	4			M	t15	2
1285	L	275	5	1902			adult M?	40.2	hex	hex	7	6				2	6			10	6			G	5	1

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1288	L	288	5	1902			subadult	0.08	rect	hex	54	4				91	3	50	1	88	4					
1293	L	565	9	1905			adult F	31.8	hex	hex	28	6				60	6			7	6			G	53	1
1294	L	35	1	1900		static	subadult	0.32	rect	hex	44.1	4				1	4			40.1	4			M	t1	2
1299	L	631	10	1905			adult I	98	rect	rect	18	6				27	6			21	6			A	4	1
1301	L	745	12	1907			adult M	33.7	rect	rect	21	6				104	6			107	6					
1302	L	608	9	1905			subadult	0.8	rect	rect	18.1	1	18.2	3		88	4			4	4					
1306	L	746	12	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	21	4				104	4			107	4					
1314	L	244	4	1902		static	subadult	3.86	rect	rect	2.1	4				17	4			55	4			B	19	4
1316	L	296	5	1902	y		adult M	47.4	hex	hex	7	6				16	6			30	6	6		G	captype	1
1322	L	751	12	1907	y		adult M	47	rect	rect	6	6				7	6			3	6					
1323	L	750	12	1907		static	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	6	6				2	6			3	6			A	t94	3
1327	L	529	8	1904			subadult	0.2	rect	rect	32	4				25	4			27	4					
1329	L	392	6	1903			subadult (female)	7.7	rect	hex	2.1	4				53	4			52	4					
1331	L	747	12	1907			adult F?	55	rect	rect	8	4				104	4			107	4					
1337	L	181	4	1901		static	subadult	0.53	rect	hex	130	4				17	4			55	4			M	19	2
1341	L	625	10	1905	y		adult M?	99	rect	rect	2	6				27	6			46	6	6		?	52	1
1345	L	642	10	1906	y		adult M	29.5		rect?	18	6				27	6			21	6					
1351	L	537	8	1905	y		subadult	2.15	rect	rect	35	4				25	4			27	4					
1365	L	752	12	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	3	6				2	6			3	6			C		
1366	L	753	12	1907	y		adult M	29.7	rect	rect						2	6			6	6					
1375	L	712	11	1906			adult M?	40	rect	rect	18	6				16	6			3	6			A	t3	3
1385	L	287	5	1902		static	subadult	2.8	rect	hex	23	4				91	4			88	4			M	t91	2
1386	L	450	7	1904			subadult	0.2	rect	hex						22	4			18	4					
1392	L	748	12	1907	y		empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	21	6				104	4			107	4					
1398	L	391	6	1903	y		adult I	15.1	?	?	2.1	4				53	4			52	4					
1399	L	709	10	1906	y		adult M?	28	rect	rect	16	6				16	6			3	6	6		A	t8	3
1407	L	399	6	1903	y		adult M?	98	rect	hex?	16	4				51	4			6	4					
1409	L	538	8	1905	y		subadult	0.34	rect	rect	32	4				25	4			27	4					
1412	L	754	12	1907	y		adult M?	32.3	rect	rect	8	6				7	6			3	6			A	t32	3
1414	L	243	4	1902			subadult	2.6	rect	rect	2.1	4				6	4			5	4			D	19	3

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1415	L	193	4	1901			subadult	0.43	rect	?	126	4					14	4			foil	4					
1417	L	34	1	1900		static	subadult	0.46	rect	hex	172	4					40.1	4			40.1	4			M	55	2
1418	L	28	1	1900		static	subadult	2.6	rect	rect?	23	4					19	4			32	4			D	56	1
1422	L	744	12	1907	y		adult M	43.1	hex	hex	19	6					2	6			3	6			G	9	2
1425	L	67	2	1900			subadult	1.4	rect	hex							14	4			foil	4					
1428	L	229	4	1902	y		subadult	0.35	rect	rect	119	4					20	4			17	4					
1429	L	757	12	1907	y		subadult	0.11		hex							8	4			16	4					
1430	L	756	12	1907	y	static	subadult	1.2	rect	hex	p42	4					94	4			95	4			A	t8	2
1431	L	758	12	1907		static	subadult	2.15	rect	rect?	29.1	4					28	3	21	1	16	4			A	27	1
1432	L	759	12	1907		static	adult M	39.5	rect	rect	3	4					2	6			6	6			D	t94	2
1434	L	91	3	1900	y		adult F	35.2	rect?	hex	107	6					15	6			10	6			E?	5	1
1443	L						subadult	2.6	rect	hex																	
1446	L	66	2	1900			adult M?	41.4		rect																	
1447	L	683	10	1906			adult F?	35.4	rect	rect	24	6					27	6			21	6			A	24	1
1449	L	760	12	1907			adult M?	44.6	rect	rect	173	4					ic2	4							C	57	2
1450	L						subadult	0		rect																	
1451	L	59	2	1900	y		adult M	34.7	hex	hex	47	6					49	6			110	6			D	t49	3
1453	L	60	2	1900		static	subadult	0.58	rect	hex	26	4					49	4			54	4			M	t49	2
1454	L	146	3	1901			adult F?	42	hex	hex	171	6					15	6			109	6			A	17	1
1456	L	110	3	1900		static	subadult	0.5	rect	hex?	23	4					15	4			15	4			M	t15	2
1457	L	143	3	1901			subadult	0.2	rect	hex							15	4			109	4					
1458	L	140	3	1901			adult F	40.7	hex	hex	10	6					15	6			47	6	38	1			
1459	L	262	5	1902			subadult	0.1	rect	rect?							38	4			5	4				16	2
1460	L	136	3	1901			adult F	36	hex	hex	4	6					14	6			47	6					
1461	L						adult M	19		rect																	
1462	L	135	3	1901			adult M	39.6	hex	hex	18	6					47	6			47	6					
1463	L	65	2	1900	y		adult F	19.5	hex	hex	18	6					14	6			foil	6					
1465	L	141	3	1901	y		adult M?	29.8	hex	hex	10	4					15	6			47	6	38	1			
1466	L	62	2	1900			subadult	0.8	rect	rect?							14	4			foil	4					
1468	L	628	10	1905	y		adult I	38.8	rect	rect	24	6					27	6			21	6					
1470	L	701	10	1906	y		adult M?	44.9	rect	hex?	41	6					108	6			111	6					
1472	L	252	4	1902	y		adult F?	98	hex	hex	7	6					14	6			5	6					
1474	L	142	3	1901			adult IM	34.7	hex	hex	10	6					15	6			109	6					
1475	L	755	12	1907		static	subadult	0.65	rect	rect	p42	4					94	2	8	2	4	4			A	t8	2
1476	L	92	3	1900	y		adult M?	41.4	hex	hex	47	6					15	4			32	4			G	18	1

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1477	L	16	1	1900			subadult	0.8	rect	rect							14	4			foil	4					
1478	L	761	12	1907		static	adult F?	26.7	rect	rect	8	6					7	6			3	6			GN	t32	3
1479	L	61	2	1900	y		adult M?	44.2	hex	hex	48	6					49	6			foil	6					
1480	L	14	1	1900	y		subadult (female)	2	rect	rect?	72	4					14	4			foil	4					
1481	L	100	3	1900			subadult	0.24	rect	rect	51	4					14	4			47	4					
1482	L	144	3	1901	y		adult F?	44.4	hex	hex	174	6					5	6			109	6			G?	17	1
1483	L	150	3	1901	y		adult M	35.2	hex	hex	18	6					15	6			47	6					
1484	L	123	3	1901	y		subadult	0.42	rect	hex?	176	4					15	4			10	4			M	t76	2
1485	L	39	1	1900			subadult	0	vault	hex?							14	4			47	4					
1486	L	278	5	1902	y		subadult	0.46	rect	rect	23	4					7	4			10	4					
1487	L	151	3	1901	y		adult M?	34.9	hex	hex	10	6					15	6			5	6					
1488	L	315	5	1902			adult F?	26.5	hex	hex	7	6					20	6			9	6					
1489	L	762	12	1907			subadult	1.2	rect	rect	2.2	4					69	4			68	4					
1490	L	763	12	1907		static	subadult	0.1	rect	rect	23	4					69	6			foil	6			D	20	1
1491	L	108	3	1900		static	subadult (female)	1.13	rect	hex	130	4					15	4			15	4			M	t15	2
1492	L	109	3	1900			subadult	2.6	rect	rect	23	2	130	2			15	4			15	4			N	t15	3
1493	L	367	6	1903	y		subadult	0.9	rect	rect?	pC	4					53	4			52	4					
1495	L	162	3	1901	y		adult M?	40.7	hex?	hex	7	4					19	6			47	6					
1496	L	248	4	1902	y		subadult (female)	0.25	rect	hex?	23	4					20	4			17	4					
1498	L	765	12	1907	y	static	adult IM	29.2	rect	rect	8	6					12	6			6	6			D?	t8	1
1499	L	158	3	1901	y		adult F?	29.4	hex	hex	10	4					15	6			15	6	38	1			
1500	L	27	1	1900	y		adult M	38.5	rect?	hex	10	6					19	6			14	6					
1501	L	250	4	1902			adult M	33.7	hex	hex	47	6					48	6			45	6			A?	17	1
1502	L	251	4	1902	y		adult IF	99	hex	hex	7	4					14	6			5	6					
1504	L	254	4	1902			subadult	0	rect	rect							14	4			5	4					
1506	L	424	6	1903	y		adult I	99	rect	?	2.1	4													?		
1507	L	249	4	1902	y		adult F?	99	hex	hex	7	6					20	6			17	6					
1508	L	247	4	1902	y	static	adult F	29.8	rect	rect?	175	6					c19.1	6			17	6			?	19.1	3
1509	L	239	4	1902	y		adult IF	54.5		hex							is	4									
1510	L	246	4	1902			adult F?	23.2	hex	hex	7	6					6	6			5	6					
1511	L	240	4	1902			subadult	0.9	rect	rect?	50	4					6	4			5	4					
373	M						subadult	80		?																	

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	TS2NO	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO
374	M				y		subadult	0.5	rect	rect						63	4			foil	4					
375	M						adult M?	99		rect																
377	M				y		adult F?	40.42	hex	hex	75	6				19	6			32	6					
378	M						subadult	0	rect	rect						62	4			61	4					
387	M				y		adult IM	36.9	rect?	rect	74	6				63	6			60	6					
389	M						adult M?	99		rect																
392	M						subadult (female)	5.23	rect	rect	53	4				57	4			59	4					
394	M						subadult (female)	9.9	rect	rect	44	4				57	6			59	6					
407	M						subadult	1.54	rect	rect	44	4				63	4			60	4					
417	M						adult F	26.9	rect	rect	75	6				36	6			15	6					
422	M						adult F + subadult 0.10y	31	rect	hex																
425	M						subadult	7.45		rect																
474	M						adult M?	34	rect	rect	82	6				36	6			15	6			N	23	1
498	M						adult M?	17		rect																
506	M				y		adult IF	44.4	hex	hex	75	6				14	6			47	6					
523	M				y		adult M	35.3		hex						60	6			foil	6					
526	M				y		subadult	2.5	rect	rect						14	4			foil	4					
537	M						adult IF	51.6	hex	hex	75	6				14	6			47	6			N	5	1
545	M						adult M	35.3		rect																
549	M					static	subadult (female)	0.7	vault	hex	90	3	91	1		57	4			73	4			D	t60	2
551	M						subadult	2.7		hex	89	4				72	4			71	4					
565	M						subadult (female)	4.76	rect	rect	151	4				36	4			15	4					
573	M				y		subadult	1.24	rect	rect	44.1	4				60	4			foil	4					
585	M						subadult	0.1	vault	rect																
587	M				y		adult F	17.8	vault	hex						is	4			foil	4					
603	M						adult M?	48.7		rect																
608	M				y		subadult	1.83	rect	hex	83	4				37	4			15	4			C??	??	
616	M						adult F	39.8		rect																
618	M				y		subadult	0.25		rect						36	4									
630	M						subadult	0.38		rect						67	2	68	2	67	4					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	TS2NO	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO
631	M						subadult	0.4	vault	rect							67	4			67	4					
634	M				y		subadult	2.82		rect							c29	4?									
645	M				y		adult F	33.8	rect	hex?	5.1	4					72	6			71	6					
650	M						adult F	98		rect																	
651	M				y		subadult	2.1	rect	rect							36	4									
655	M						subadult	0.54		rect																	
656	M				y		subadult	0.18	rect	rect							73	4			foil	4					
657	M						adult M?	37.5		rect																	
658	M						adult I	43.9		rect																	
659	M						adult M	26.6		rect																	
683	M						subadult (female)	1.06		hex																	
689	M				y		subadult	0.21	rect	rect							57	4			75	4					
691	M						subadult	0.76	rect	rect																	
708	M						subadult	0.49	rect	rect							57	4			76	4			D	21	1
744	M						subadult	0.6	rect	rect	92	4					36	4			foil	4			N	34	2
771	M						subadult	0.54	rect	rect	98	4					19	4			32	4			D	7	1
786	M				y		subadult (female)	2.3	vault	rect							36	4			foil	4					
1025	M						adult IM	25.5		rect																	
1026	M				y		adult F	35.5	rect	rect	134	4					72	6			71	6					
1030	M				y		adult F	39.5	vault	hex	53	4					57	6			73	6					
1034	M				y		adult M?	35.4	rect	rect							36	6			15	6					
1043	M				y		subadult	0.12	rect	rect							36	4	89	1	foil	4			N	t89	2
1049	M						adult I	50.7	rect	rect	140	6					57	6			76	6					
1050	M				y		adult F?	35.5	rect	rect	75	6					60	8			90	8			?	20.1	1
1063	M						adult IM	33	rect	rect	143	4					40.1	6			92	6					
1066	M						adult F?	52	rect	hex	53	6					57	6			59	6					
1105	M						adult F?	38.2	hex	hex	149	6					36	6			15	6					
1123	M						subadult	1.48	vault	rect	44.1	4					57	4			59	4					
1131	M				y		subadult	0.5	rect	rect	51.2	4					14	4			12	4					
1132	M						adult M	38.1	hex	hex							19	6			32	6					
1136	M				y		subadult (female)	12.5	rect	rect	75	4					19	6									
1138	M						adult M?	56.6		hex	75	6					36	6			15	6					

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO	
1141	M						adult M	40	rect?	rect?	75	6				63	6			15	6						
1147	M						adult M?	44.1	rect	rect	75	6				19	6			60	6						
1157	M						adult M	44.5	hex	hex						36	6			15	6						
1158	M						subadult	1.66	vault	hex						is	4			59	4						
1159	M				y		subadult	0.98		hex						63		4									
1165	M						adult M (sub #1289 in box)	48.1	hex	hex						19	6			32	6						
1168	M						subadult (female)	1.65	rect	rect	45	4				14	4			47	4						
1169	M						subadult (female)	1.06		rect						14	2										
1171	M						adult M?	41.5	rect	rect	149	6				95	6			96	6			D	t95	3	
1174	M						adult F	30	hex	hex	75	6				36	6			15	6						
1183	M						subadult	2.07	rect	rect	158	4				45	4			44	4			B	t45	4	
1191	M				y		subadult	2.27	rect	hex	45	4				36		4		15		4					
1195	M				y		subadult (female)	1.92	vault	rect						60		4		foil		4					
1206	M						adult IM	17.5		hex																	
1208	M				y		subadult	0	rect	rect						36		4		47		4					
1210	M				y		subadult	1.06	rect	rect	5.2	4				96		4		97		4		A	t60	2	
1216	M						subadult	0.58	rect	rect						57		4		105		4					
1223	M				y		adult M	42.4	hex	hex	75	6				36		6		15		6					
1225	M						adult F	35.8	hex	hex	82	6				19		6		32		6		N?	5	1	
1227	M				y		adult F	30.7	rect	rect	155	6				19		6		32		6		D?	5	1	
1230	M				y	static	subadult	0.12	rect	hex						36		4		15		2	47	2	M	t62	2
1242	M				y		adult I	99	?	?						96		4		106		4		?			
1252	M				y		adult F?	29.2	rect	rect	75	6				60		4		foil		4					
1253	M						subadult	0.93	rect	rect	157	4				57		4		76		4		A	t57	2	
1254	M					static	subadult (female)	11.4	rect	rect	160	4				68		2	68.1	4	100		6	N	52	2	
1268	M						adult M	31.6	rect	rect?	53	6				57		6		73		6		D	t57	3	
1276	M					static	subadult	2.13	rect	rect	44.1	4				60		4		98		4		DN	t62	2	
1286	M					static	subadult	3.43	rect	hex	162	4				36		4		15		4		M	t36	2	
1287	M						adult IM	23.8	rect	rect	164	2	165	4		67		6		67		6					
1292	M				y		adult F	30.9	vault	hex	154	4				57		6		73		6					

	BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
	1295	M						subadult	0.1	rect	hex	26	4				19	4		32	4			M	t19	2	
	1303	M						adult F?	33.9		rect																
	1305	M						adult M?	36.6		rect																
	1307	M			y			adult F?	33.1	hex	hex					is	6		15	6							
	1318	M			y			adult M?	50.2	hex	hex	75	6			63	6		15	6							
	1319	M						adult I	15	vlt?	rect					57	4										
	1320	M			y			subadult	0.68	vault	rect					103	4		foil	4							
	1321	M			y			adult F?	31.6	rect	rect	75	6			49	6										
	1324	M			y			adult M?	37.3	rect?	rect?	75	6			63	6		15	6				?	11.1	1	
	1325	M						adult F?	27.2		rect	75	4			36	6		102	6							
	1326	M						subadult (female)	0		rect																
	1328	M			y			adult M	40.1	rect	rect	53	4			97	4		foil	4							
	1332	M						subadult	0.12		rect					62	4		102?	4							
	1333	M			y			subadult	0	vault	rect					62	4		foil	4							
	1334	M						subadult	1.13	rect	?					97	4										
	1336	M						subadult	0.1	rect	rect	167	4			102	4		97	4							
	1338	M				static		subadult	0.94	rect	hex	26	4			36	4		108	4				M	t36	2	
	1339	M			y			subadult	1.2	rect	?	26	4			60	4		102?	4							
	1342	M			y			adult M?	33.9	rect	rect	75	6			60	6		foil	6							
	1346	M				static		subadult	1.38	rect	hex	26	4			14	4		15	4				A	t14	2	
	1347	M			y			subadult	11.08	vault	rect	170	4			60	6		foil	6							
	1348	M						subadult	0.15	rect	rect	169	4			60	4		98	4				?	t62	3	
	1349	M			y			adult I	29.5	rect	rect	75	4			60	6		foil	6							
	1350	M			y			adult AF	98		rect					is	4										
	1352	M			y			adult IM	98	rect	rect	170	6			60	6		foil	6							
	1353	M			y			subadult	0.22	hex	hex					63	4		102	4							
	1354	M			y			subadult	0	rect	rect					60	4		foil	4							
	1355	M			y			adult I	98		rect					is	4										
	1356	M						subadult	0.45		rect																
	1357	M						subadult	0.34	rect	rect	169	4			60	4		98	4							
	1358	M						subadult	1.8		rect																
	1359	M						subadult	0.23	vault	hex					36	4										
	1361	M			y			adult M	41.25	rect	rect	74	6			36	6										
	1364	M						adult M	43.3	vault	rect	75	6			63	6		60	6							

BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYPE	HAN3_TYPE	HAN3NO	TS_TYPE	TSNO	TS2_TYPE	TS2NO	ESC_TYPE	ESCNO	ESC2_TYPE	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYPE	CAP_NO
1367	M				y		adult M?	29.5	rect	rect	75	6				36	6			foil	6					
1369	M						subadult	0.12	vault	rect						60	4			97	4					
1370	M						subadult	0.77		hex	26	4				36	4			15	4					
1371	M						subadult	0.2	rect	rect	26	4				36	4			15	4					
1372	M						subadult	0.45		hex																
1373	M						subadult	0.3		rect						106	4			47	4					
1376	M						adult M?	39.3	rect	rect						67	1	57	5	67	5	71	1			
1378	M				y		adult F?	25.6	vault	hex						97	6			foil	6					
1381	M						subadult	3.8	rect	rect	44.1	4				19	4			60	4					
1382	M				y		subadult	1.4		rect						105	4			60	4					
1393	M						adult M?	32.8		hex																
1397	M						adult F?	18.5	vault	rect?	5.1	4				73	6									
1400	M				y		subadult (female)	0.8	rect	rect	168	4				60	4									
1401	M					static	adult F	31.3	hex	hex	82	6				49	6			47	6			N	30	1
1403	M				y		subadult	0.53	rect	rect	136.1	4				60	4			59	4					
1405	M						adult M?	30.35	hex	hex	75	6				63	6			32	6					
1406	M				y		empty casket (adult)	96		hex						c54	2			38	2					
1408	M				y		adult I	99	?	?	75	4														
1410	M				y		adult I	97	vault	rect	74	6				63	6			60	6					
1411	M				y		subadult	0.18		rect						is	4									
1416	M						subadult	0.25	rect	hex																
1419	M						subadult	0.1		rect																
1420	M				y	static	adult F	40.2	hex?	hex?	75	6				63	6			32	6			D	5	1
1421	M						subadult	0.49	vault	rect																
1426	M						subadult	0		rect																
1427	M						subadult	0.3	rect	?						14	4			foil	4					
1433	M				y		adult F?	37.1	vault	hex						107	6			60	6					
1435	M						subadult	0.1	vlt?	hex																
1436	M						subadult (female)	0.65	rect	hex						is	4									
1438	M						subadult	0.15		rect																
1439	M						adult IM	99		hex	149	4														
1440	M						subadult	0.19		hex?																

	BURIAL_#	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Changes Made	VW -- Static or Sliding	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	HAN2_TYP	HAN3_TYP	HAN3NO	HAN3NO	TS_TYP	TSNO	TS2_TYP	TS2NO	ESC_TYP	ESCNO	ESC2_TYP	ESC2NO	WINDOW_TYP	CAP_TYP	CAP_NO
	1441	M						subadult	0		rect																	
	1445	M						subadult	0		?																	
	1448	M						subadult	0		rect																	
	1452	M			y			adult F	49.5	hex	hex	82	6				36	6			15	6			AD	t36	3	
	1455	M						subadult	0.45	rect	rect?						36	4			foil	4						
	1464	M			y			adult I	99	rect?	?	75	4				19	4			60	4						
	1467	M						subadult	0	rect	rect?						63	4			60	4						
	1469	M						subadult	0.1	rect	rect						36	4			15	4						
	1471	M			y			adult F?	38.8		hex	75	6				36	6			15	6	6					
	1494	M						adult F	32.7	hex?	hex						36	6			102	6						
	1513	M			y			adult IM	14.5	rect	rect?	177	4				57	6			59	6						
	403	P						subadult (female)	0		rect																	
	409	P						subadult	81	?	?																	
	435	P						subadult	2.25	vault	hex																	
	566	P						subadult	0.1		rect																	
	662	P			y			subadult	0.54	vault	rect						is	4										
	671	P						subadult	1.56	rect	rect						is	5										
	1037	P						subadult	0.1	rect	rect																	
	1051	P						adult M?	38.5	vlt?	hex																	
	1121	P						subadult	0.1	vault	hex																	
	1143	P						subadult (female)	1.3		rect																	
	1170	P						subadult (male)	7	vlt?	hex																	
	1197	P						adult M?	44.1		hex																	
	1205	P						adult F?	35.4	rect	hex						is?	7										
	1255	P			y			subadult	0.03		hex						is	4										
	1256	P						subadult (female)	5.35	vault	hex																	
	1259	P						subadult	0.1	?	?																	
	1260	P						subadult	0.41		hex						is	1										
	1270	P						subadult	80		?																	
	1275	P						subadult (female)	0.23		hex																	
	1277	P						adult F?	50.4	?	hex						is	5										

Orn Tack1	VW_CAULK	GLAZE_TIP	VW3_NO	VW3	VW2_NO	VW2	VW1_NO	VW1	IRON3_NO	IRON3_TYP	IRON2_NO	IRON2_TYP	IRON1_NO	IRON1_TYP	PLAQ5_TYP	PLAQ4_TYP	PLAQ3_TYP	PLAQ2_TYP	PLAQUE_TYP	CAPBAS4_NO	CAPBAS4_TYP	CAP4_NO	CAP4_TYP	CAPBAS3_NO	CAPBAS3_TYP	CAP3_NO	CAP3_TYP	CAPBAS2_NO	CAPBAS2_TYP	CAP2_NO	CAP2_TYP	CAPBASE_NO	CAPBASE_TYP	BURIAL_#						
																																		582						
																																		583						
																																		584						
																				49														586						
													7	1					o7															588						
																																			589					
																				54															591					
																																			592					
																				5																593				
																				o7																594				
																																					597			
																				56																	598			
																			o7																		600			
																				3																	612			
																				A																	624			
																																						635		
																																							642	
																																							643	
																																							648	
																																							653	
																																							668	
																																							669	
																																							672	
																				A																			675	
																				3																			679	
																																							680	
																				72																			685	
																																								686
																				5																				698
																																								705
																																								709
																																								710

BURIAL_#	CAPBASE_TY	CAPBASE_NO	CAP2_TYPE	CAP2_NO	CAPBAS2_TY	CAPBAS2_NO	CAP3_TYPE	CAP3_NO	CAPBAS3_TY	CAPBAS3_NO	CAP4_TYPE	CAP4_NO	CAPBAS4_TY	CAPBAS4_NO	PLAQUE_TYP	PLAQ3_TYP	PLAQ4_TYP	PLAQ5_TYP	IRON1_TYP	IRON1_NO	IRON2_TYP	IRON2_NO	IRON3_TYP	IRON3_NO	VW1_NO	VW1	VW2	VW2_NO	VW3	VW3_NO	GLAZE_TIP	VW_CAULK	Orn Tack1	
1005														33					1	5														
1006	e24	2	t86	1	e85	1									o7?																	5		
1007															3				1	8														
1008																																		
1009															5																			
1010																																		
1011																																		
1012																																	48	
1016															5																	14		
1017	e38	1																	1	7												?		
1018																																		
1019																																		
1020																																	48	
1021															o5				1?	1													48	
1022	5	1													A				1	8				7	1	6	1	11	1					
1024																																		
1027															16																		5?	
1028	e4	2	45	1	31	1									28																			
1029																																		
1031	e66	2	t86	1	e66	1													7	2														
1032															66																		52	
1033	e66	2	5	1	5	1									o7				7	2	1	3										?		
1035																																		
1036															9				1	4	7	3+		6	2?	1	1						5	
1038																																		
1039															4																			5
1040															A				1	2														
1041																																		
1042															64					1?	1													
1044	7	1													C										6?	1								
1045																																		
1046															18					5	2					5	1							1

	Orn Tack1	VW_CAULK	GLAZE_TIP	VW3_NO	VW2_NO	VW1_NO	VW1	IRON3_NO	IRON3_TYP	IRON2_NO	IRON2_TYP	IRON1_NO	IRON1_TYP	PLAQ5_TYP	PLAQ4_TYP	PLAQ3_TYP	PLAQ2_TYP	PLAQUE_TYP	CAPBAS4_NO	CAPBAS4_TYP	CAP4_NO	CAP4_TYP	CAPBAS3_NO	CAPBAS3_TYP	CAP3_NO	CAP3_TYP	CAPBAS2_NO	CAPBAS2_TYP	CAP2_NO	CAP2_TYP	CAPBASE_NO	CAPBASE_TYP	BURIAL_#				
1151	25	1															69																				
1152																	o24	4																			
1153																																					
1155																	23																				
1156																																					
1160	e74	3															o7																	Y	11		
1163	e95	2																									e4	1							Y	6	
1164																	3																				
1166																	o15?																				
1167																	40																			6	
1173																	6																				
1175																	4																				
1178																	17																			10	
1179																																					
1180	34	2															75																				
1181	5	1	t19	3													B																				
1182	5	1	t14	3	e38	3											A																			Y	?
1185	e95	3															A																			Y	6
1187	17	1	t88	3	e4	3											15	o26																	Y	?	
1188																	12																				65
1189	17	1	t56	2	e64	2											28																			6	
1190	1	1	t32	3	e16	3											12	o20																	Y	11?	
1192																																					64?
1193																	12	o20																			66
1194																	15																				66?
1196	20	1	t88	3	e4	3											12																		Y	66?	
1198	3	1	t3	1	e4	1																															
1199	2	2															17																				
1200	1.1	1	t56	2	e64	2											74																			Y	
1203																	37																				
1207	5	1																																			
1211	19	1	t3	2	e62	2											40																			Y	9
1212	7	1															B																				
1213																	3																				

BURIAL_#	CAPBASE_TY	CAPBASE_NO	CAP2_TYPE	CAP2_NO	CAPBAS2_TY	CAPBAS2_NO	CAP3_TYPE	CAP3_NO	CAPBAS3_TY	CAPBAS3_NO	CAP4_TYPE	CAP4_NO	CAPBAS4_TY	CAPBAS4_NO	PLAQUE_TYP	PLAQ2_TYP	PLAQ3_TYP	PLAQ4_TYP	PLAQ5_TYP	IRON1_TYP	IRON1_NO	IRON2_TYP	IRON2_NO	IRON3_TYP	IRON3_NO	VW1_NO	VW1	VW2	VW2_NO	VW3	VW3_NO	GLAZE_TIP	VW_CAULK	Orn Tack1	
1288														4																			1		
1293	7	1												38												9	1	10	1						
1294	e38	2												5																		Y			
1299	3	1	t88	3	e4	3								o?																		64?			
1301														A																		1			
1302														28						7	1														
1306														1																			1		
1314														81																		Y			
1316	37	1												B						1	5				5	1									
1322																																		1	
1323	e4	3												1																		Y	6		
1327														16																			5?		
1329														80																				68	
1331														1																			1		
1337														78																		Y			
1341	e29	1												40																					
1345																																			
1351														B																				5	
1365														6											9?	1	?	1						6	
1366																																		?	
1375	e16	3												2																				6	
1385	e88	2												A																		Y			
1386														4						7	1														
1392														87																				1	
1398																																			
1399	e64	5	4	1	3	1								40																				25?	
1407														9																				?	
1409														23																				5?	
1412	e22	3												2						7	1												1		
1414														A																					

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1127												
461	2											
527	10											
550	12											
552												
567	15											
569												
574	1											
578	10											
599												
670	1											
687												
706	1											
711												
1064	4											
1069	14											
1073												
1077	20	58	17									
1106												
1116	5											
1118	30											
1119	19											
1124												
1129	4											
1148												
1154												
1161	14	58	13									
1162	35											
1172												
1176												
1177	30											
1184												
1201												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
34												
35												
36												
37												
38												
39	1											
40												
41												
42												
43												
44												
45												
46												
47												
48												
49	1	?	2									
51												
52								4	10	4?	2	
53												
54	3											
55												
58	1											
61	1	?	5									
62	5	?	5									
64												
65												
66	26											
67												
68	1											
70												
71												
73												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
74	8											
75	6											
76	1											
79												
80												
81												
83	1											
84	1	?	1									
85												
86								1	3			
88												
89												
90												
91	2											
92												
93												
94												
95	1											
96												
97												
98	7											
99	3	45?	1									
100												
101												
102												
103												
106	1											
108												
110												
111												
112	1											
113												
115	1											

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
116												
117	1											
118												
119												
120												
121	1											
122	1											
123												
125								3	3			
126	1											
127	1											
128												
129	2											
130	1											
131												
132												
133												
134												
135												
136												
137	1											
138												
139												
140												
141	1	?	4									
145												
146	4											
147	1	2	1	5	1							
149	4											
150												
151												
152												
153												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
213												
216												
217	2	?	1									
218												
219												
220												
221												
222												
223												
224												
225	3											
226	2											
227	1											
228												
229												
230												
231												
232												
233	1											
234												
235												
236												
237	1											
238												
239												
240	1											
241	1	dome	1									
242	1	5	1									
243	3											
244												
245	2											
246	2											
247												
248	1	9	6									

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
341												
342	1											
343	1											
345												
346	1	?	1									
347	1											
348								2	3			
349												
350												
351												
352												
353												
354	15											
355												
356	1	?	1									
357												
358												
359	1											
360												
361												
362	3	20?	2	?	3							
363	6	?	2									
364												
365	6											
366	4	1	1									
367	3	6	7	?	4							
368												
370												
371	1											
383	8	?	5	1	1							
384												
385												
395	1	?	1					5	3			

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
396												
398												
405												
408												
410												
411												
412												
413	1											
414												
415												
416	1											
418												
419	6	?	1									
421												
423	6	11?	1	?	1							
426	4	29	6									
427	9	27	1	28	2							
428	3											
429												
430												
431												
432	1	?	7									
433												
440	2	?	1									
441	8	?	1									
442	7											
443	3		3									
444												
445	6											
446	4											
448	1											
449	8	1	6	?	1							
451								3	8			
452								3	3			
458												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
459	5	22	3									
460	1	2?	6	?	16							
462								4	16			
463	3											
464												
466												
467	6	?	2									
468	1											
469	2											
470	1	?	1									
471												
472								1	3			
473												
476												
477												
478	1											
479												
480	3	?	3									
481	3											
482	3											
483	6	?	1									
485	6	21?	3									
486	5	6?	1									
487												
488	1	?	2									
489												
490												
491												
492	8	?	1									
494												
495	1							4	2			

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
496	9	?	1									
497												
499	1	2?	6	?	4	2	2					
504												
511	8											
513	6							3	9+			
514												
515												
519												
520												
521												
525	1	31	2									
529	1	?	2									
530	3	35?	3	24?	1							
533	1											
540	1											
542	8											
544	6	?	1									
546												
553	13											
556												
557												
558												
560												
561												
562												
563												
564												
568												
570	12	39?	2	?	2							
571												
577												
579	1	5	1									
580												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
720	1	19	2									
724												
726												
735												
736												
738												
739												
742	2+											
746												
750	1											
751												
755												
756												
757												
758												
763	1											
764								1	3			
765	1											
767	3	?	1									
768												
769	1	?	2									
773												
774	1	34	1	?	3							
775	3	?	2									
778												
779	5	?	5+									
780												
781	1											
784												
785												
787	1											
789												
791												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
831												
832												
833	2	?	1									
834												
835	2											
836												
837												
838												
840												
841	1											
842												
843	1											
844												
845	6	?	1									
846	1											
847								3	5?			
851												
853	1											
854	2											
855												
856	1	?	1									
857												
858	1											
859	1	4?	2	6?	2	?	3					
860												
861	2											
862												
863												
864												
865	1											
866	2											
867	1	?	1									

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
868								1	3			
869								1	3			
870												
871	1	?	1									
872												
873												
874	1											
875												
876												
877												
878												
879	1											
880												
881	1	48.1	2									
882	1											
883												
884												
885												
887	2	45	3									
888												
889												
890												
891												
892												
893												
894								1	3			
895	2											
896												
897												
898												
899	2											
900												
901	1											
902	1											
903												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
943	2	1?	1	?	2							
944	4	?	4									
945	1											
946	1											
947												
948												
949	1											
966												
975	1											
976	1											
977												
978	3	6?	3									
979												
980	8	?	1									
981	1	49	7	?	1							
982												
983												
984	1											
986	2											
988												
989												
990	2	48	1	?	1							
991	1											
993												
994	1											
995												
996	1											
997												
998												
999	1											
1002												
1003												
1004												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1005												
1006	2											
1007												
1008												
1009												
1010												
1011												
1012	7	?	3									
1016	3											
1017	1											
1018												
1019												
1020	5	?	1									
1021	1	?	1									
1022												
1024												
1027	1											
1028												
1029	1	?	1									
1031												
1032	1											
1033	1											
1035												
1036	1	?	1									
1038												
1039	1											
1040												
1041												
1042												
1044												
1045												
1046	2											

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1096												
1098	3	1	3	?	1							
1100	1+											
1101												
1102	2											
1103	1											
1104												
1107												
1108												
1109	3											
1110	1	?	1									
1111	6	?	1									
1112	3											
1114	1											
1115	7	?	1									
1117	2											
1120												
1122	3											
1125	1											
1126												
1130								4	14			
1133	2											
1134												
1135	2	?	1									
1137	6	?	1									
1139												
1140												
1142	4											
1144												
1149	4	1	6	?	3							
1150												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1151	6							3	2			
1152	1											
1153												
1155												
1156												
1160	3	?	3									
1163	2											
1164												
1166												
1167	3											
1173								4	5	3	7+	
1175												
1178	13	29	2					3	9			
1179												
1180								4	6			
1181												
1182	2											
1185	5											
1187	3											
1188	1	21	1									
1189	2	27	1									
1190	5											
1192	3											
1193	2											
1194	1	27	7									
1196	2											
1198												
1199								4	8+			
1200												
1203												
1207												
1211	9	?	1									
1212												
1213												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1214	8											
1215	1	?	2									
1217	2											
1218												
1219												
1220	2	?	1									
1221	1	27	1									
1222												
1224	3											
1228												
1229	13											
1231												
1232												
1233	1											
1234												
1236	1	64	1	6?	4							
1238	1											
1239												
1240	7+											
1244	5	6	1	6?	5	?	4					
1245												
1246	2											
1248												
1249												
1258	4											
1262								4	15			
1264	1											
1269												
1271												
1273												
1283												
1284												
1285	1							1	4			

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1288	5	70	5									
1293												
1294												
1299	1											
1301	2											
1302												
1306	2											
1314												
1316												
1322	2	6	3									
1323	2	?	2									
1327	1											
1329	2	5	1									
1331	5											
1337												
1341												
1345												
1351	1											
1365	2	?	3									
1366	20											
1375	5											
1385												
1386												
1392	1	?	1									
1398												
1399	4	?	1									
1407	1											
1409	1											
1412	4											
1414												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1415	8											
1417												
1418												
1422												
1425	1											
1428												
1429												
1430	13	?	1									
1431												
1432	4	10	7	?	1							
1434												
1443												
1446	1											
1447												
1449												
1450												
1451	1											
1453	6											
1454												
1456	5											
1457												
1458												
1459												
1460												
1461												
1462												
1463												
1465	1											
1466												
1468	2	64?	1	?	1							
1470	1	2?	7	?	2							
1472												
1474	1											
1475	11	?	1									
1476												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
1477	1											
1478	6	?	1									
1479												
1480	9											
1481												
1482	1											
1483	1											
1484												
1485												
1486												
1487												
1488												
1489	1											
1490	2	?	3									
1491												
1492	1											
1493	1											
1495												
1496												
1498	1	10	1									
1499												
1500												
1501												
1502												
1504												
1506												
1507												
1508												
1509												
1510												
1511												
373												

BURIAL_#	OT1_NO	Om Tack2	OT2_NO	Om Tack3	OT3_NO	Om Tack4	OT4_NO	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD2	MSC_HAR2NO	Hinge
374												
375												
377												
378												
387												
389												
392												
394												
407												
417												
422												
425												
474												
498												
506												
523	1											
526												
537	1	44	1									
545												
549												
551	1											
565												
573												
585	3	?	5									
587	16	?	1									
603												
608	1											
616												
618												
630	10											

APPENDIX D:

**Freedman's Cemetery Mortuary Hardware Database
With Estimated Wholesale Hardware Costs**

(see Appendix B for how costs were calculated)

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1	\$0.32	L	44	1	1900						subadult	0.27	rect	rect	c/w						
2	\$0.29	L	279	5	1902						subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c						
3	\$0.00	L	37	1	1900						adult M	44.8	rect	rect	c						
4	\$1.90	L	38	1	1900	sw	y				adult I	27.1	hex?	hex?	c	46	6	\$1.32			
5	\$3.49	L	481	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	F	subadult	3.65	rect	rect	c/w	49	4	\$0.32	38	2	\$0.02
6	\$1.74	L	113	3	1900	sw					adult M?	34.8	hex	hex	c/w	29	6	\$0.96			
7	\$0.88	L	177	4	1901	sw					adult I	35.4	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
8	\$3.70	L	36	1	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	N	subadult	6.62	rect	rect	c/w	15	2	\$0.44	59	1	\$0.22
9	\$2.77	L	33	1	1900			static	\$2.50	N	subadult	0.5	rect	hex	c						
10	\$0.00	L	43	1	1900						subadult	0		rect	c						
11	\$0.83	L	241	4	1902	sw					subadult (female)	0.55	rect	rect	c	50	4	\$0.40			
12	\$0.67	L	607	9	1905	sw	y				subadult	0.46		hex	c/w	18.2	4	\$0.40			
14	\$0.58	L	505	8	1904	p42	y				subadult	1	rect	hex	c/w?	p42	4	\$0.32			
15	\$0.12	L	32	1	1900						subadult	1.34	rect	rect	w						
16	\$0.65	L	504	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.1	rect	hex	c	32	4	\$0.32			
17	\$0.12	L	41	1	1900						subadult	1.9	rect	rect	c						
18	\$1.04	L	31	1	1900	sw					subadult	1.1	rect	rect	w	45	4	\$0.60			
19	\$1.55	L	159	3	1901	sw					adult F?	31.2		hex	c	18	6	\$0.96			
20	\$1.49	L	764	12	1907	sw					adult M	44.5	rect	rect?	c	53	6	\$0.96			
21	\$0.51	L	160	3	1901						adult M	26.4			c/w						
22	\$4.20	L	161	3	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	E	adult M?	34.2	hex	hex	c	18	6	\$0.96			
23	\$0.00	L	30	1	1900						adult IM	17.4		rect	c						
24	\$0.00	L	40	1	1900						subadult	0		rect?	c						
25	\$0.00	L	79	2	1900						adult F?	26.4	rect	?	c						
26	\$0.00	L	29	1	1900							22	rect	rect	c/w						
27	\$1.53	L	25	1	1900	sw					adult F?	15.5	hex	hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
28	\$1.52	L	767	12	1907	sw	y				adult I	54.5	hex	hex	c	8	6	\$0.96			
29	\$0.43	L	203	4	1901		y				subadult	1.08	vault	hex	w						
30	\$1.47	L	564	9	1905	sw					adult M	35.2	hex	hex	w	21	6	\$0.96			
31	\$4.22	L	766	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult M?	33.6	rect	rect?	c/w	56	6	\$1.08			
32	\$0.09	L	24	1	1900		y				adult F	41.5		hex	c/w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
33	\$0.94	L	204	4	1901	sw					adult M?	46.8	rect	?	c	7	4	\$0.64			
34	\$1.83	L	23	1	1900	sw	y				adult F	23.5	hex	hex	c	15	6	\$1.32			
35	\$1.03	L	205	4	1901	sw	y				subadult (female)	7.18	rect	rect	c	13	4	\$0.64			
36	\$1.38	L	22	1	1900	sw	y				adult M	27.5		hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
37	\$0.33	L	269	5	1902						subadult (female)	2.5		rect	c/w?						
38	\$1.32	L	488	8	1904	sw					adult M?	41	rect	hex?	w	2	6	\$0.96			
39	\$0.64	L	517	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.71	rect	rect	w	32	4	\$0.32			
40	\$0.00	L	21	1	1900						subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c						
41	\$3.54	L	20	1	1900	swt	y	static	\$2.50	O	subadult	4.36	rect	rect	c/w	1	4	\$0.60			
42	\$0.88	L	253	4	1902	sw	y				adult I	35.2		hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
43	\$1.41	L	19	1	1900	sw					adult M	39.4		rect	c/w	4	6	\$0.96			
44	\$0.00	L	785	12	1907						adult F	24.5		rect	w						
45	\$0.89	L	195	4	1901	sw					subadult	1.56	rect	rect	c/w?	5	4	\$0.64			
46	\$5.36	L	778	12	1907	sb	y	static	\$2.50	D	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	w/c?	3	6	\$2.22			
47	\$0.00	L	777	12	1907						subadult	0.2		rect	w						
48	\$0.00	L	779	12	1907						subadult	0		rect	w						
49	\$4.01	L	786	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult M?	39.8	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
51	\$0.16	L	76	2	1900		y				subadult	0.07	rect	rect	c/w						
52	\$8.93	L	780	12	1907	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult IM	27.7	rect	rect	c/w	76	6	\$2.10			
53	\$0.84	L	17	1	1900	sw	y				adult F	34.1	vault	hex	c	9	4	\$0.64			
54	\$6.12	L	781	12	1907	sb	y	static	\$2.50	D?	adult M?	41.2	rect	rect	c/w	118	6	\$3.00			
55	\$4.40	L	274	5	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	A?	adult I	98		hex	c/w?	7	6	\$0.96			
58	\$0.09	L	15	1	1900						subadult	0.64		rect	c						
61	\$4.43	L	48	2	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F	27.3	hex	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96			
62	\$1.47	L	796	12	1907	sw					adult F?	41.9	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
64	\$5.91	L	87	3	1900	swt		static	\$2.50	E	adult IM	17.8	hex	hex	c	61	6	\$2.70			
65	\$6.05	L	85	3	1900	swt		static	\$2.50	G	adult M?	30.6	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
66	\$0.32	L	84	3	1900						subadult	0.45		hex	c/w						
67	\$0.33	L	374	6	1903						subadult	0	rect	rect?	w/c?						
68	\$0.13	L	83	3	1900		y				adult F?	32.4		rect	c/w						
70	\$7.81	L	169	4	1901	sb		sliding	\$5.00	G	adult IM	24.9	hex	hex	c/w	107	6	\$2.10			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
71	\$1.41	L	47	2	1900	sw	y				adult F?	34.6	hex	hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
73	\$7.96	L	791	12	1907	sb		sliding	\$5.00	N	adult M?	42.9	hex	hex	w	3	6	\$2.22			
74	\$0.76	L	13	1	1900	sw					subadult	0.47	rect	rect?	c	11	4	\$0.32			
75	\$9.08	L	789	12	1907	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult F	27.8	rect	rect	w	12	6	\$2.10			
76	\$6.85	L	11	1	1900	sb		sliding	\$5.00	B	subadult	3.78	rect	rect	c	14	4	\$1.28			
79	\$0.16	L	82	3	1900						subadult	1.8		hex	c						
80	\$1.03	L	81	3	1900	sw					subadult	0.25	rect	rect	c	51	4	\$0.60			
81	\$0.33	L	343	6	1903						subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w						
83	\$0.34	L	342	6	1903						subadult	0.59	rect	rect	c/w						
84	\$0.24	L	341	6	1903		y				subadult	0.98	rect	rect	w						
85	\$4.29	L	168	4	1901	sb		static	\$2.50	O	subadult (female)	5.62	rect	rect	c	57	4	\$1.12			
86	\$8.70	L	166	4	1901	swt		sliding	\$5.00	D	adult M?	28.8	hex	hex	c	47	6	\$2.70			
88	\$0.24	L	80	3	1900						adult M?	42.7	hex	hex	c						
89	\$1.00	L	257	5	1902	sw					adult I	32.4	hex	hex	w	7	4	\$0.64			
90	\$0.00	L	164	4	1901						adult M?	13.3		rect	c						
91	\$3.69	L	434	7	1904	swt		static	\$2.50	O	subadult (female)	1.44	rect	hex?	c	55	4	\$0.72			
92	\$3.49	L	258	5	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	1.58	rect	hex?	c	23	4	\$0.40			
93	\$3.55	L	511	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.6	rect	hex	c/w	35	4	\$0.44			
94	\$1.08	L	425	7	1903	sw	y				adult IF	37.1	rect	hex	c/w	33	4	\$0.64			
95	\$3.68	L	469	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult I	43.4	hex	hex	c/w	88	4	\$0.76			
96	\$1.00	L	330	6	1903	sw					adult M	39.4	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
97	\$4.25	L	326	6	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	K	adult M?	37.02	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
98	\$4.65	L	328	6	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult F?	37.6	rect	hex?	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
99	\$0.97	L	325	6	1902	sw					adult IM	34.7	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
100	\$1.48	L	324	6	1902	sw					adult M?	36.1	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
101	\$3.27	L	322	6	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.1	rect	hex	c	54	4	\$0.32			
102	\$1.92	L	321	6	1902	sw					adult M?	18	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
103	\$0.08	L	320	6	1902		y				subadult	0.69	hex	hex	w						
106	\$4.56	L	323	6	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	29.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
108	\$7.82	L	90	3	1900	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult F	32.5	hex	hex	c	62	6	\$2.10			
110	\$1.68	L	176	4	1901	sw					adult F	16.6	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
111	\$0.00	L	49	2	1900						subadult	0	rect	rect	c/w							
112	\$4.23	L	50	2	1900	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F	28.8	hex	hex	c/w	48	6	\$0.96				
113	\$7.81	L	93	3	1900	sb		sliding	\$5.00	N	adult IF	37	hex	hex	c/w	62	6	\$2.10				
115	\$1.42	L	52	2	1900	sw	y				adult F	42.5	hex	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96				
116	\$0.18	L	53	2	1900		y				subadult	0.77		rect	c							
117	\$0.17	L	51	2	1900						subadult	0.45		rect	c							
118	\$0.88	L	54	2	1900	sw					adult IF	30.2	hex	hex	c	4	4	\$0.64				
119	\$0.76	L	261	5	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.72	rect	rect	c	23	4	\$0.40				
120	\$0.18	L	55	2	1900		y				adult F	40.6		hex	c							
121	\$0.66	L	403	6	1903	p42	y				subadult	1.4	rect	hex	w	p42	4	\$0.32				
122	\$0.83	L	56	2	1900	sw					adult M	34.1	hex	hex	c/w	10	4	\$0.64				
123	\$1.03	L	57	2	1900	sw					subadult	2.15	rect	rect	c	44	4	\$0.60				
125	\$8.11	L				sb		sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult F?	37.4	rect	rect	w	43	6	\$2.28				
126	\$1.48	L	1	1	1900	sw					adult M	28.2	hex	hex?	c	18	6	\$0.96				
127	\$6.21	L	2	1	1900	sb		static	\$2.50	E	adult F	45.9	hex	hex	c/w	52	6	\$2.94				
128	\$0.52	L	3	1	1900	sw	y				subadult	4.19	rect	rect	c	23	4	\$0.40				
129	\$7.85	L	417	6	1903	swt		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M?	42.6	rect	rect	w	68	6	\$2.70				
130	\$0.37	L	4	1	1900		y				subadult	0.3	rect	rect	c/w							
131	\$0.00	L	5	1	1900						adult F	51.3		rect	c							
132	\$0.00	L	6	1	1900						adult M	40.6			rect	c						
133	\$0.00	L	7	1	1900						adult I	17.6	rect	rect	c							
134	\$0.72	L	8	1	1900	sw					adult F	32.6	rect	rect	c	10	4	\$0.64				
135	\$3.22	L	234	4	1902	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.68	rect	hex	c	23	4	\$0.40				
136	\$9.32	L	793	12	1907	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	C	adult F	52.7	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22				
137	\$1.48	L	72	2	1900	sw					adult IM	98	hex	hex	w	18	6	\$0.96				
138	\$0.00	L	9	1	1900						adult M	26.8			rect	c						
139	\$3.40	L	560	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	B	subadult	1.7	rect	rect	w	37	4	\$0.44				
140	\$0.24	L	10	1	1900						adult F?	37.1		hex	c							
141	\$1.84	L	465	8	1904	sw					adult F? + subadult 0.20y	35.7	rect	rect	w/c?	41	6	\$1.14				
145	\$10.83	L				sb		sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult M?	21.7	rect	rect	c/w	58	6	\$3.78				
146	\$0.35	L	333	6	1903		y				subadult	0.62	rect	hex	c/w							

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
147	\$0.94	L	404	6	1903	sw					subadult (male) (amput feet #161)	9.6	rect	rect	w	2.1	4	\$0.60				
149	\$4.08	L	783	12	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F	23.9	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96				
150	\$0.00	L	784	12	1907						subadult	0		rect	w							
151	\$3.50	L	572	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	1.62	rect	hex?	w	29.1	4	\$0.60				
152	\$0.02	L	571	9	1905						subadult excav by gradall	80										
153	\$3.33	L	566	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	O	subadult	0.76	rect	rect	w	31	4	\$0.36				
154	\$0.81	L	559	9	1905	sw					subadult (female)	2.8	rect	rect	w	37	4	\$0.44				
155	\$3.69	L	558	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	1.45	rect	hex	c/w	32	4	\$0.32				
156	\$0.67	L	556	9	1905	p42	y				subadult	0.25	rect	rect?	w	p42	4	\$0.32				
157	\$0.80	L	501	8	1904	sw	y				adult F?	32.8	rect	rect	c/w	21	4	\$0.64				
158	\$0.01	L	18	1	1900						adult F?	23.8		rect	w							
162	\$0.99	L	614	9	1905	sw	y				adult I	98		rect	w	64	4	\$0.64				
164	\$7.89	L	421	6	1903	sb		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult F?	26.9	hex	hex	c/w	65	6	\$2.22				
165	\$1.36	L	313	5	1902	sw	y				adult IM	98	rect?	rect?	c/w	7	4	\$0.64				
166	\$7.11	L	314	5	1902	sw	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G?	adult F	23.5	hex	hex	c	15	6	\$1.32				
171	\$4.73	L	613	9	1905	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult M	98	indet	indet	w	19	4	\$1.48				
173	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.23	rect	hex	c/w							
174	\$1.48	L	316	5	1902	sw					adult F	30.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64				
178	\$1.36	L	771	12	1907	sw	y				adult F	26.6	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96				
184	\$1.63	L	464	7	1904	sw	y				adult IM	98	rect	rect	w	63	4	\$0.88				
185	\$1.00	L	420	6	1903	sw	y				adult I	98		rect	w	16	4	\$0.76				
190	\$4.43	L	463	7	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	P	adult I	21.7	hex	hex	c/w	21	6	\$0.96				
191	\$9.00	L	419	6	1903	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	adult IM	14.9	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70				
192	\$1.60	L	318	5	1902	sw	y				adult M?	45.2		rect	c/w	15	4	\$0.88				
194	\$3.42	L	612	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	25.9		rect	w	24	4	\$0.64				
197	\$1.15	L	319	5	1902	sw					adult F	32.2	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64				
198	\$0.73	L	416	6	1903	sw	y				subadult (female)	4.36	rect	hex	c/w	22	4	\$0.44				
199	\$8.67	L	418	6	1903	sb		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult IM	20.7	hex	hex	c/w	115	6	\$2.88				
200	\$0.73	L	405	6	1903	sw					subadult (female)	4.47	rect	hex?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40				
201	\$4.49	L	401	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	K	adult F	35.8	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96				
204	\$5.24	L	611	9	1905	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	23.7	rect	rect	w	17	2	\$1.58	3	2	\$0.74	

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
205	\$8.17	L	462	7	1904	sb?		sliding	\$5.00	H?	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	w	20	6	\$1.68			
209	\$3.86	L	396	6	1903	sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult (female)	11.65	rect	hex	c	2	4	\$0.64			
210	\$4.42	L	610	9	1905	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	98	?	rect	c/w?	sb	4	\$1.92			
211	\$4.27	L	394	6	1903	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	18	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
212	\$3.94	L	461	7	1904	sb?	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	98		hex?	c/w	20	4	\$1.12			
213	\$3.46	L	460	7	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	hex?	hex?	c	21	4	\$0.64			
216	\$0.88	L	393	6	1903	sw	y				adult M?	41.8	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
217	\$7.57	L	388	6	1903	sb		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult M	36.7	hex	hex	c/w	65	6	\$2.22			
218	\$4.08	L	387	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D?	adult F	32	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
219	\$4.82	L	604	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	97		?	w	15	4	\$0.88			
220	\$3.36	L	603	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult IM	28.2		rect?	w	24	4	\$0.64			
221	\$1.60	L	602	9	1905	sw					adult F?	34.1	rect	rect	w	18	6	\$0.96			
222	\$4.67	L	459	7	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult I	23.2	rect	rect	w	21	6	\$0.96			
223	\$0.99	L	458	7	1904	sw	y				adult M	99	hex	hex	c	2	4	\$0.64			
224	\$4.00	L	601	9	1905	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	rect?	hex?	w	25	4	\$1.24			
225	\$7.39	L	457	7	1904	sb?	y	sliding	\$5.00	?	adult I	98	rect	rect	c/w	20	6	\$1.68			
226	\$1.29	L	600	9	1905	sw	y				adult M	47.5	?	hex	c	21	4	\$0.64			
227	\$1.48	L	599	9	1905	sw	y				adult F?	98	rect	hex	w	18	6	\$0.96			
228	\$7.70	L	456	7	1904	sb?	y	sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult IM	31.9	rect	rect	w	20	6	\$1.68			
229	\$4.00	L	598	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M	39.4	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
230	\$4.47	L	452	7	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult M?	98		rect?	w	21	6	\$0.96	38	2	\$0.02
231	\$0.24	L	449	7	1904						subadult	0.25	hex	hex	c?						
232	\$10.54	L	597	9	1905	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M	41.4	rect	rect	w	166	6	\$3.36			
233	\$1.31	L	445	7	1904	sw					adult M?	27.8	rect	rect	w	21	4	\$0.64			
234	\$0.64	L	444	7	1904	sw					subadult	0.28	rect	rect?	w	32	4	\$0.32			
235	\$5.49	L	596	9	1905	sb	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult I	98	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22			
236	\$0.67	L	448	7	1904	sw					subadult	1.02	rect	rect	w	26	4	\$0.32			
237	\$1.20	L	593	9	1905	sw	y				subadult (female)	5.74	rect	rect	c/w	21	4	\$0.64			
238	\$1.32	L	592	9	1905	sw	y				subadult (male)	12.5	rect	rect	?	6	4	\$0.64			
239	\$4.16	L	591	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult I	98	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
240	\$1.17	L	443	7	1904	sw	y				adult F	35	rect	hex	c/w	21	6	\$0.96			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
241	\$0.98	L	590	9	1905	sw					adult M	30.1	hex	hex	c/w	24	4	\$0.64			
242	\$8.16	L	588	9	1905	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	N	adult M	37.4	hex	hex	w	28	6	\$2.10			
243	\$1.44	L	589	9	1905	sw					adult M	26.6	rect	rect	w	41	4	\$0.76			
244	\$4.62	L	587	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult I	98	rect	rect	w	15	6	\$1.32			
245	\$4.43	L	584	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F	26.4	rect	rect	w	29	6	\$0.96			
246	\$1.34	L	583	9	1905	sw	y				adult I	98	rect	rect	c	21	6	\$0.96			
247	\$6.46	L	582	9	1905	sb		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	36.8	hex	hex	c/w	106	6	\$3.30	38	2	\$0.02
248	\$2.24	L	581	9	1905	sw					adult M?	46.3	rect	rect	c/w	16	6	\$1.14			
253	\$0.64	L	454	7	1904	sw	y				subadult (female)	0.82	rect	rect	w	32	4	\$0.32			
255	\$6.40	L	578	9	1905	sb					adult I	98	rect	rect	?	40	6	\$2.70			
256	\$2.29	L	577	9	1905	sb	y				adult I	98	rect	rect	w	39	6	\$2.10			
260	\$2.90	L	579	9	1905		y	static	\$2.50	N	subadult	0.2	rect	rect	w						
261	\$2.96	L	580	9	1905		y	static	\$2.50	N	subadult	0.93	rect	rect	c/w						
262	\$7.57	L	576	9	1905	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	H	adult IF	30.7		hex	?	16	6	\$1.14			
263	\$6.22	L	574	9	1905	sb					empty casket (adult)	96		rect		34	6	\$3.96			
264	\$4.10	L	573	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult IF	43.4	rect	hex?	w	33	6	\$0.96			
265	\$1.18	L	552	8	1905	sw	y				adult F	35.4	rect	rect	w	24	4	\$0.64	38	2	\$0.02
266	\$0.77	L	551	8	1905	sw	y				subadult (female)	4.98	rect	rect	c/w	35	4	\$0.44			
267	\$3.66	L	550	8	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	K	adult F?	29.9	rect	hex	w	33	4	\$0.64			
268	\$0.96	L	800	12	1907	sw					subadult	12.5	rect	rect	w	18	4	\$0.64			
269	\$7.38	L	531	8	1904	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	subadult	0.47	rect	rect	c/w	102	4	\$1.36			
270	\$1.40	L	570	9	1905	sw	y				adult IF	34.7	rect	rect	w	30	6	\$0.96			
271	\$4.38	L	569	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult IM	31.3	hex	hex	c/w	24	6	\$0.96	38	2	\$0.02
272	\$1.04	L	568	9	1905	sw	y				adult I	98		rect	w	21	4	\$0.64			
273	\$3.37	L	530	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0	rect	rect?	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			
274	\$0.34	L	525	8	1904						subadult	0.52	rect	rect?	c/w						
275	\$0.63	L	527	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	1.06	rect	rect	w	11	4	\$0.32			
276	\$1.16	L	524	8	1904	sw	y				adult F	32	rect	rect	c/w	29	6	\$0.96	38	2	\$0.02
277	\$0.30	L	523	8	1904		y				subadult	0.1	rect	rect	c						
278	\$0.77	L	562	9	1905	sw					subadult	0.66	rect	rect	c	26	4	\$0.32			
279	\$0.79	L	521	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
280	\$0.47	L	520	8	1904						subadult	0.03	rect	rect	c/w							
283	\$1.28	L	567	9	1905	sw	y				adult IF	17.1	rect	rect	c/w	21	4	\$0.64				
285	\$0.65	L	503	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.57	rect	rect	c/w	27	4	\$0.32				
286	\$3.83	L	498	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	47.5	rect	rect	c/w	33	6	\$0.96				
287	\$7.72	L	506	8	1904	sb		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult F	40.4	hex	hex	c/w	36	6	\$2.16				
288	\$0.57	L	801	12	1907		y				subadult	0.52	rect	rect	w							
289	\$3.96	L	557	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult I	34.8	hex	hex	c/w	24	6	\$0.96				
290	\$8.99	L	673	10	1906	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M	55.2	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86				
301	\$1.00	L	165	4	1901	sw					adult F	40.3	hex	hex	c	7	4	\$0.64				
302	\$3.20	L	46	2	1900		y	static	\$2.50	D	subadult	1.5	rect	rect	c/w							
303	\$1.78	L	795	12	1907	sw	y				adult M?	55	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96				
305	\$0.00	L	45	1	1900						adult M	54.5		rect	c							
306	\$0.21	L	42	1	1900		y				subadult	0.08		rect	c							
307	\$0.57	L	482	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.3	rect	rect	w	49	4	\$0.32				
310	\$0.89	L	413	6	1903	p42	y				subadult	0.08	rect	rect	?	p42	4	\$0.32				
311	\$4.12	L	95	3	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	2.15	rect	rect	c/w?	23	4	\$0.40				
312	\$13.38	L				sb	y	static	\$2.50	C	adult M?	34.6	rect	oct	c	95	8	\$5.95				
313	\$8.20	L	484	8	1904	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult I	34.1	rect	rect	c/w	96	6	\$2.10				
314	\$0.80	L	101	3	1900	sb					subadult (male)	7.35		rect	c/w	97	4	\$0.60				
315	\$0.91	L	259	5	1902	sw					subadult (female)	1.18	rect	rect	c/w	23	4	\$0.40				
316	\$0.92	L	284	5	1902	sw					subadult	1.5	rect	rect	c	23	4	\$0.40				
317	\$3.90	L	58	2	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult (male)	6.63	rect	rect	c/w	10	4	\$0.64				
319	\$0.00	L	245	4	1902						adult I	99		?	c/w							
320	\$3.98	L	226	4	1902	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F	14.5	rect	rect	c	4	4	\$0.64				
321	\$0.63	L	386	6	1903	sw					subadult (female)	2.05	hex	hex	c/w	23	4	\$0.40				
322	\$1.48	L	111	3	1900	sw	y				adult F	99	hex	hex	c/w?	136	6	\$0.96				
323	\$5.93	L	225	4	1902	swt	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F?	36.4	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70				
324	\$4.00	L	770	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult F	24.9	rect	rect	c/w	8	6	\$0.96				
325	\$0.80	L	224	4	1902	sw	y				subadult (male)	14.9	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64				
326	\$0.00	L	222	4	1902						adult IF	32.2		hex	c							
327	\$1.14	L	221	4	1902	sw					adult M?	38.9	hex	hex	c	66	4	\$0.76				

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
328	\$6.31	L	220	4	1902	sb		static	\$2.50	G	adult M	38.4	hex	hex	c/w	67	6	\$3.30			
329	\$1.47	L	64	2	1900	sw	y				adult F?	35.6	hex	hex	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
330	\$1.41	L	63	2	1900	sw	y				adult F?	33.7	hex	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96			
331	\$0.94	L	219	4	1901	sw	y				adult M	46.8	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
332	\$0.21	L	236	4	1902						subadult	3.04	rect	hex	c						
333	\$1.68	L	218	4	1901	sw					adult F	18	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
334	\$3.54	L	217	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	O	subadult	1.3	rect	rect	c/w	50	4	\$0.40			
335	\$3.29	L	310	5	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	O	subadult	1.08	rect	hex	w	23	4	\$0.40			
336	\$0.94	L	216	4	1901	sw	y				adult F?	36.3	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
337	\$9.46	L				swt	y	sliding?	\$5.00	A	adult F?	26.5	hex	hex	c	70	6	\$2.70			
338	\$4.65	L	273	5	1902	sb		static	\$2.50	B	subadult	3.34	rect	rect	c	57	4	\$1.12			
341	\$0.52	L	70	2	1900	sw	y				subadult	5.57	rect	rect	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
342	\$1.21	L	390	6	1903	swt					subadult	2.5	rect	hex	c/w	73	4	\$0.72			
343	\$3.60	L	69	2	1900	swt		static	\$2.50	M	subadult (female)	1.38	hex	hex	c	69	4	\$0.72			
345	\$0.76	L	260	5	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.49	rect	rect	w	2.1	4	\$0.60			
346	\$0.22	L	128	3	1901		y				subadult	0.85		rect	c/w						
347	\$0.58	L	129	3	1901	sw					subadult (female)	1.95	rect	rect	c	11	4	\$0.32			
348	\$5.97	L	196	4	1901	sw	y	sliding?	\$5.00	E	subadult (male)	9.02	rect	rect	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
349	\$0.00	L	309	5	1902						subadult	0	rect	rect	w						
350	\$1.68	L	200	4	1901	sw	y				adult F?	32	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
351	\$0.28	L	212	4	1901						subadult	0.71	rect	rect	c/w						
352	\$0.24	L	213	4	1901						subadult	0.2	rect	rect	c/w						
353	\$8.42	L	210	4	1901	swt		sliding	\$5.00	E?	adult M?	34.8	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
354	\$2.10	L	235	4	1902	sb	y				adult M?	29	hex	hex	c/w?	109	4	\$1.44			
355	\$0.00	L	776	12	1907						adult F?	28.3		rect	w						
356	\$4.54	L	223	4	1902	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A?	adult M?	50	hex	hex?	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
357	\$0.71	L	73	2	1900	sw	y				subadult	0.47	rect	hex?	c	26	4	\$0.32			
358	\$7.65	L	792	12	1907	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult I	21.4	rect	rect	w	71	6	\$2.10			
359	\$1.48	L	74	2	1900	sw	y				adult F?	44.1	hex	hex	c/w	48	6	\$0.96			
360	\$1.68	L	201	4	1901	sw	y				adult I	35.6	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
361	\$0.00	L	199	4	1901						adult F?	33.9		rect	c						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
362	\$1.50	L	148	3	1901	sw	y				adult M?	37.4	vault	hex	c/w	18	4	\$0.64			
363	\$4.22	L	773	12	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F?	35.8	rect	rect	c/w	6	6	\$0.96			
364	\$1.47	L	78	2	1900	sw					adult F?	37.2	hex	hex	c	18	6	\$0.96			
365	\$3.31	L				sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	2.1	rect	rect	c/w	114	4	\$0.44			
366	\$2.74	L	787	12	1907		y	static	\$2.50	D	subadult	0.2	rect	rect	w						
367	\$0.25	L	788	12	1907						subadult	0.35		rect	w						
368	\$1.21	L	71	2	1900	sw	y				adult IM	99	hex	hex	c/w	18	4	\$0.64			
370	\$1.24	L	12	1	1900	sw	y				subadult	2.5	rect	rect	c	72	4	\$0.88			
371	\$1.75	L	155	3	1901	sw	y				adult F?	47.5	rect	hex?	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
373	\$0.00	M									subadult	80		?	c						
374	\$0.12	M					y				subadult	0.5	rect	rect	c						
375	\$0.00	M									adult M?	99		rect	c						
377	\$0.94	M				sw	y				adult F?	40.42	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
378	\$0.08	M									subadult	0	rect	rect	c						
383	\$4.27	L	794	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	34.5	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
384	\$0.51	L	311	5	1902		y				subadult	0	rect	rect?	c/w						
385	\$8.43	L	238	4	1902	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult M?	27.8	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
387	\$0.72	M				sw	y				adult IM	36.9	rect?	rect	c	74	6	\$0.54			
389	\$0.00	M									adult M?	99		rect	c						
392	\$0.48	M				sw					subadult (female)	5.23	rect	rect	c	53	4	\$0.36			
394	\$0.50	M				sw					subadult (female)	9.9	rect	rect	c	44	4	\$0.32			
395	\$11.41	L	769	12	1907	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult F	26.6	rect	rect	c/w	120	6	\$4.02			
396	\$8.51	L	233	4	1902	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult M?	31.5	hex	hex	c/w	117	6	\$2.88			
398	\$8.57	L	237	4	1902	sb	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F?	35	hex	hex	c/w	113	6	\$4.56			
405	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
407	\$0.44	M				sw					subadult	1.54	rect	rect	c	44	4	\$0.32			
408	\$0.00	L									subadult	0	rect	rect	w						
410	\$0.38	L	207	4	1901						subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c						
411	\$0.71	L	667	10	1906	sw					subadult	0.84	rect	rect	w	18.2	4	\$0.40			
412	\$0.00	L									adult M	53.6		hex	c/w						
413	\$7.98	L	668	10	1906	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult F?	31.6	rect	rect	w	76	6	\$2.10			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
414	\$1.20	L	185	4	1901	sw	y				adult M?	54.9	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
415	\$1.62	L	446	7	1904	sw	y				adult F?	39.1	rect	rect?	w	21	6	\$0.96			
416	\$1.19	L	447	7	1904	sw					adult F	29.2	rect	rect	w	21	4	\$0.64			
417	\$0.78	M				sw					adult F	26.9	rect	rect	c/w	75	6	\$0.54			
418	\$8.13	L	669	10	1906	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult IM	29.2	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22			
419	\$8.23	L	672	10	1906	sb		sliding	\$5.00	H	adult F?	28.6	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
421	\$0.00	L									adult M	42.9		rect	c/w						
422	\$0.00	M									adult F + subadult 0.10y	31	rect	hex	c						
423	\$1.57	L	661	10	1906	sw					adult M?	45.2	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
425	\$0.00	M									subadult	7.45		rect	c						
426	\$4.09	L	666	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	45.1	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
427	\$1.03	L	670	10	1906	sw					subadult	1.85	rect	hex	c/w	18.1	4	\$0.60			
428	\$6.05	L	675	10	1906	swt		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	54.5	rect	rect	w	78	6	\$2.70			
429	\$7.64	L	676	10	1906	sb		sliding	\$5.00	N	adult F?	25	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
430	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
431	\$1.54	L	677	10	1906	sw					adult M	40.9	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
432	\$1.54	L	674	10	1906	sw					adult F?	98	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
433	\$4.19	L	671	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	42.9	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
440	\$5.47	L	680	10	1906	sb	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F	28	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
441	\$4.31	L	678	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	36.3	rect	rect?	w	24	6	\$0.96			
442	\$4.20	L	679	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	28	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
443	\$3.78	L	681	10	1906	swt		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	3.63	rect	rect	w	77	4	\$0.72			
444	\$0.00	L									adult I	25.6		hex	w						
445	\$4.28	L	682	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	35.6	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
446	\$9.91	L	684	10	1906	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M?	30.7	rect	rect	w	79	6	\$3.78			
448	\$0.92	L	685	10	1906	sw					subadult	0.82	rect	rect	w	18.1	4	\$0.60			
449	\$0.51	L	738	11	1907		y				adult M	54.2	hex	hex	w						
451	\$1.38	L	513	8	1904	sb					subadult	1.58	hex	hex	w	81	4	\$1.04			
452	\$11.25	L	544	8	1905	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C?	adult F?	19	rect	rect	w	148	6	\$4.56			
458	\$0.64	L	163	3	1901	sw					adult F	33.3	rect	rect	w?	10	4	\$0.64			
459	\$9.72	L	329	6	1903	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	K	adult M	21.8	hex	hex	c/w	84	6	\$3.90			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
460	\$1.29	L	735	11	1907	sw					adult F	25.4	rect	rect	w	145	4	\$0.76			
461	\$0.06	E					y				subadult	0.1	vlt?	rect?	c						
462	\$6.43	L	687	10	1906	sb		static	\$2.50	L	adult M	57.6	rect	rect	w	76	6	\$2.10			
463	\$1.55	L	686	10	1906	sw					adult F	29.2	rect	rect	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
464	\$0.11	L									subadult	0.05		rect	c/w						
466	\$10.71	L	585	9	1905	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	G	adult M?	14.5	rect	rect	w	17	6	\$4.74			
467	\$4.05	L	736	11	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	31.3	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
468	\$0.81	L	114	3	1900	sw	y				adult F	36.8	rect	hex	c/w	29	4	\$0.64			
469	\$10.23	L	688	10	1906	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M	41.8	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
470	\$8.16	L	691	10	1906	sb		sliding	\$5.00	C	adult M?	36.7	vault	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22			
471	\$0.00	L									adult F	17.4	vault	hex	w						
472	\$6.35	L	266	5	1902	swt		static	\$2.50	D	adult F	30.6	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
473	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.54	rect	hex	c/w						
474	\$4.32	M				swt		static	\$2.50	N	adult M?	34	rect	rect	c	82	6	\$1.44			
476	\$9.48	L	689	10	1906	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult F	27.6	rect	rect	w	80	6	\$3.96			
477	\$0.00	L									adult I	99		rect	w						
478	\$0.09	L	690	10	1906		y				subadult	0.2		rect	w						
479	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.06		rect?	w						
480	\$4.05	L	693	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult M	30.3	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
481	\$7.71	L	692	10	1906	sb	y	sliding?	\$5.00	D	adult IM	34.8	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
482	\$2.88	L	695	10	1906		y	static	\$2.50	D	subadult	1.02	rect	hex?	c/w						
483	\$1.47	L	705	10	1906	sw					adult M?	51.2	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
485	\$3.69	L	694	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult (female)	3.58	rect	rect	w	29.1	4	\$0.60			
486	\$3.91	L	704	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F	19	rect	rect	c/w	16	4	\$0.76			
487	\$0.00	L									adult M (#494 in box)	48.8		hex	w						
488	\$5.11	L	595	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	I	adult M?	41.3	hex	hex	c/w	85	6	\$1.68			
489	\$3.47	L	515	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.11	rect	hex?	w	32	4	\$0.32			
490	\$1.11	L	486	8	1904	sw	y				adult M?	39.8	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
491	\$0.00	L									adult M	43.7	vault	hex	c/w						
492	\$5.48	L				sb		static	\$2.50	G	empty casket (adult)	96	hex	hex	c/w	86	6	\$2.22			
494	\$0.00	L									subadult in box of #487	0.2									

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
495	\$5.88	L	703	10	1906	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult I	35.9	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86			
496	\$1.57	L	696	10	1906	sw					adult F	27.4	rect	rect	w	18.1	6	\$0.90			
497	\$0.00	L									adult F	97		hex	w						
498	\$0.00	M									adult M?	17		rect	c						
499	\$1.15	L	697	10	1906	sw	y				adult M	47.1	hex	hex	w	24	4	\$0.64			
504	\$0.94	L	487	8	1904	sw					subadult (male)	11.9	rect	rect	w	2	2	\$0.32	16	2	\$0.38
506	\$1.00	M				sw	y				adult IF	44.4	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
511	\$0.12	L	702	10	1906						adult M?	49.4	hex	hex	c/w						
513	\$8.81	L				swt		sliding?	\$5.00	E	adult IF	20.65	hex	hex	c/w	82	6	\$2.70			
514	\$0.00	L									adult M	42.5		hex?	w						
515	\$0.00	L									adult M	54.5		hex	c/w						
519	\$0.00	L									adult M	46.9		hex	w						
520	\$0.00	L									adult M	41		hex	w						
521	\$5.08	L	431	7	1903	sb	y	static	\$2.50	O	adult I	99	hex	hex	c/w	28	6	\$2.10			
523	\$0.19	M					y				adult M	35.3		hex	c						
525	\$3.18	L	395	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.16	rect?	hex?	w	54	4	\$0.32			
526	\$0.12	M					y				subadult	2.5	rect	rect	c						
527	\$0.11	E					y				subadult	0.66	vault	rect	c						
529	\$1.26	L	534	8	1905	sw					adult M?	98	rect?	hex	c/w	24	4	\$0.64			
530	\$1.84	L	706	10	1906	sw					adult M	17.5	rect	rect	w	87	6	\$1.14			
533	\$1.00	L	359	6	1903	sw					adult F	31.2	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
537	\$3.89	M				sw		static	\$2.50	N	adult IF	51.6	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
540	\$1.46	L	648	10	1906	sw					adult M	42.9	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
542	\$4.98	L	698	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M	32.4	rect	rect	c/w	41	6	\$1.14			
544	\$1.03	L	699	10	1906	sw					adult M	41.1	hex	hex	w	24	4	\$0.64			
545	\$0.00	M									adult M	35.3		rect	c						
546	\$0.54	L	409	6	1903	p42					subadult	0		hex	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
549	\$2.96	M				sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult (female)	0.7	vault	hex	c	90	3	\$0.18	91	1	\$0.06
550	\$0.20	E									subadult	1.13	vault	rect	c						
551	\$0.67	M				sw					subadult	2.7		hex	c	89	4	\$0.28			
552	\$0.01	E					y				subadult	0.76	vault	hex	c						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
553	\$4.04	L	700	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	40.6	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
556	\$0.00	L									adult F	23		hex	w						
557	\$0.00	L									adult F	38		hex	c/w						
558	\$0.00	L									adult M (48.90) + adult M (42.00)	48.9		hex	w						
560	\$0.00	L									adult IM	16.3		hex	w						
561	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1		rect	w						
562	\$0.00	L									adult M	47.8		hex	c/w						
563	\$0.00	L									adult M	34.5		hex	w						
564	\$7.09	L	312	5	1902	sw		sliding	\$5.00	A	adult F?	18.5	hex	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32			
565	\$0.48	M				sw					subadult (female)	4.76	rect	rect	c	151	4	\$0.32			
567	\$0.19	E									subadult	0.55		rect	c						
568	\$0.00	L									adult F	20		hex	c/w						
569	\$0.12	E									subadult	3.8	vault	hex	c						
570	\$0.38	L	407	6	1903						subadult	1.3		hex	w?						
571	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.13		rect	c/w						
573	\$0.40	M				sw	y				subadult	1.24	rect	rect	c	44.1	4	\$0.28			
574	\$0.17	E					y				adult M?	98	vault	hex	c						
577	\$0.00	L									adult M	45.8		?	w						
578	\$0.22	E					y				adult F?	54.5	vault	hex	c						
579	\$0.66	L	518	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	0.38	rect	rect	w	32	4	\$0.32			
580	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
582	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.08		rect	c/w						
583	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
584	\$0.00	L									adult F	41.4		hex	w						
585	\$0.08	M									subadult	0.1	vault	rect	c						
586	\$0.38	L	406	6	1903		y				subadult	0.16	rect	rect	w						
587	\$0.22	M					y				adult F	17.8	vault	hex	c						
588	\$1.11	L	470	8	1904	sw					adult M	28.6	hex	hex	c/w	88	4	\$0.76			
589	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
591	\$3.34	L	172	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	O	subadult	0.56	rect	rect?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
592	\$0.00	L									adult F	32		hex	w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
593	\$0.29	L	408	6	1903						subadult	0		rect	w							
594	\$1.32	L	707	10	1906	sw	y				adult M	50.6	hex	hex	c/w	6	6	\$0.96				
597	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.05		rect	w							
598	\$1.28	L	594	9	1905	sw					adult M	34.2	hex	hex	w	21	4	\$0.64				
599	\$0.05	E					y				subadult (male)	8.07	vlt?	hex	c							
600	\$0.00	L									adult M	55		hex	w							
603	\$0.00	M									adult M?	48.7		rect	c							
608	\$0.56	M				swt	y				subadult	1.83	rect	hex	c	83	4	\$0.36				
612	\$1.37	L	139	3	1901	sw	y				adult I	32.6	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64				
616	\$0.00	M									adult F	39.8		rect	c							
618	\$0.08	M					y				subadult	0.25		rect	c							
624	\$5.54	L	711	10	1906	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	40	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22				
630	\$0.24	M									subadult	0.38		rect	c							
631	\$0.19	M									subadult	0.4	vault	rect	c/w?							
634	\$0.08	M					y				subadult	2.82		rect	c							
635	\$0.00	L									adult M	37.2		rect?	w							
642	\$0.44	L	708	10	1906		y				adult I	99		hex	w							
643	\$0.00	L									adult F?	98		rect	c/w							
645	\$0.62	M				sw	y				adult F	33.8	rect	hex?	c	5.1	4	\$0.36				
648	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1		rect	w							
650	\$0.00	M									adult F	98		rect	c							
651	\$0.09	M					y				subadult	2.1	rect	rect	c							
653	\$0.00	L									adult IM	26		hex	c/w							
655	\$0.04	M									subadult	0.54		rect	c							
656	\$0.20	M					y				subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c							
657	\$0.00	M									adult M?	37.5		rect	c							
658	\$0.00	M									adult I	43.9		rect	c							
659	\$0.00	M									adult M	26.6		rect	c							
668	\$3.77	L	737	11	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	D	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	c/w	145	4	\$0.76				
669	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1		rect	w							
670	\$0.05	E									subadult	5.6	rect	rect	c							

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
672	\$0.00	L									adult M?	99		hex	w							
675	\$3.45	L	107	3	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.71	rect	hex	c/w	23	4	\$0.40				
679	\$1.68	L	183	4	1901	sw					adult IM	27.8	hex	hex	c	7	6	\$0.96				
680	\$0.00	L									adult M	52.9		hex	w							
683	\$0.04	M									subadult (female)	1.06		hex	c							
685	\$0.91	L	182	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.4	rect	rect	c/w?	136.1	4	\$0.60				
686	\$2.91	L	106	3	1900		y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult (female)	0.7	rect	hex	c/w							
687	\$0.40	E				sw	y				subadult	0.7		rect	c	92	4	\$0.28				
689	\$0.37	M					y				subadult	0.21	rect	rect	c							
691	\$0.01	M									subadult	0.76	rect	rect	c							
698	\$0.21	L	105	3	1900		y				subadult	83	rect	rect	c/w							
705	\$0.00	L	104	3	1900						adult IM	42	hex	hex	c							
706	\$0.01	E									subadult	0		?	c							
708	\$2.72	M						static	\$2.50	D	subadult	0.49	rect	rect	c							
709	\$0.00	L									empty casket (adult)	96		hex	c/w							
710	\$0.00	L									adult M	49.6		hex	w							
711	\$0.42	E				sw					adult F	18	vault	hex	c	94	4	\$0.36				
720	\$0.64	L	94	3	1900	sw					subadult (female)	0.8	rect	rect	c/w?	26	4	\$0.32				
724	\$3.40	L	102	3	1900	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	subadult	4	rect	rect	c	10	4	\$0.64				
726	\$1.47	L	97	3	1900	sw	y				adult AF	98	hex	hex?	c/w	10	6	\$0.96				
735	\$3.81	L	179	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	1.3	rect	rect?	c/w	5	4	\$0.64				
736	\$0.73	L	180	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.7	rect	rect	c/w	130	4	\$0.40				
738	\$7.30	L	281	5	1902	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	D	adult I	99	hex	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32				
739	\$0.56	L	96	3	1900	sw	y				subadult	0.15	vault	rect	c	122	4	\$0.40				
742	\$1.88	L	178	4	1901	sw	y				adult F	32.6	rect	hex?	c/w	7	6	\$0.96				
744	\$3.06	M				sw		static	\$2.50	N	subadult	0.6	rect	rect	c	92	4	\$0.28				
746	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w							
750	\$1.69	L	175	4	1901	sw	y				adult IM	36.2	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96				
751	\$0.94	L	272	5	1902	sw					adult I	47	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64				
755	\$0.25	L	86	3	1900						subadult	0.05	vault	rect	c/w							
756	\$1.74	L	174	4	1901	sw	y				adult M	42.3	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96				

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
757	\$1.00	L	271	5	1902	sw					adult F?	31.1	hex	hex	c	7	4	\$0.64			
758	\$2.60	L	170	4	1901	sb					adult M?	27.9		hex	c/w	104	2	\$1.10	105	2	\$1.26
763	\$0.25	L	339	6	1903		y				subadult	0.12		rect	w/c?						
764	\$8.73	L	265	5	1902	swt		sliding	\$5.00	D	adult F?	99	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
765	\$3.37	L	346	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	O	subadult	0.3	rect	rect	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
767	\$0.20	L	480	8	1904						subadult (female)	0.75	rect	rect	c/w						
768	\$0.00	L	476	8	1904						adult I	99		rect	w						
769	\$3.86	L	472	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	28.6	rect	rect	c/w	21	6	\$0.96			
771	\$3.03	M				sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	0.54	rect	rect	c	98	4	\$0.24			
773	\$8.49	L	466	8	1904	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	K	adult M?	34.3	hex	hex	c/w	78	6	\$2.70			
774	\$0.22	L	507	8	1904						subadult	0.24	rect	rect	w/c?						
775	\$0.39	L	471	8	1904		y				subadult	0.1	rect	rect	c/w						
778	\$1.80	L	264	5	1902	sw					adult F?	37.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
779	\$0.31	L	338	6	1903						subadult	0.05	rect	hex	c/w						
780	\$7.01	L	483	8	1904	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	98	hex	hex	c/w	99	6	\$3.36			
781	\$4.18	L	478	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F	39.1	hex	hex	c/w	101	6	\$1.14			
784	\$4.37	L	477	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult I	17.8	hex	hex	c/w	101	6	\$1.14			
785	\$1.60	L	495	8	1904	sw					adult I	31	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
786	\$0.12	M					y				subadult (female)	2.3	vault	rect	c						
787	\$4.16	L	493	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	46.3	rect	rect	c/w	101	6	\$1.14			
789	\$0.74	L	516	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	0.67	rect	rect	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			
791	\$0.75	L	510	8	1904	sw	y				subadult (male)	3.05	rect	hex	c/w	35	4	\$0.44			
794	\$4.58	L	267	5	1902	swt	y	static	\$2.50	A?	adult M?	33.8	hex	hex	c/w	42	4	\$1.68			
795	\$1.33	L	268	5	1902	sw	y				adult I	54.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
797	\$0.00	L	270	5	1902						empty casket (adult)	96		hex	w						
798	\$0.85	L	173	4	1901	sw	y				subadult	3.43	rect	hex	c	2.1	4	\$0.60			
799	\$0.03	L	532	8	1904						subadult	0	rect	rect	c/w						
800	\$1.31	L	540	8	1905	sw	y				adult F?	52.5	hex	hex	w	18	4	\$0.64			
801	\$4.90	L	499	8	1904		y	static	\$2.50	A	adult IF	28.8	hex	hex	c/w	21	6	\$0.96			
802	\$0.18	L	500	8	1904						adult IM	32.5	hex	hex	w						
803	\$0.36	L	508	8	1904						subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
804	\$3.51	L	514	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	O	subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			
805	\$4.43	L	489	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult IF	34.5	rect	rect	c/w	103	6	\$1.14			
806	\$3.60	L	548	8	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	2.35	rect	rect	c/w	108	4	\$0.40			
807	\$3.27	L	549	8	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	c/w	110	4	\$0.32			
808	\$1.60	L	426	7	1903	sw					adult M?	98	rect	rect	c/w	16	6	\$1.14			
809	\$7.62	L	427	7	1903	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	adult IM	42.9	hex	hex	c/w	96	6	\$2.10			
810	\$0.27	L	490	8	1904		y				subadult	0.25	rect	rect	c/w						
811	\$4.09	L	491	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	AD	adult F	32	hex	hex	c/w	101	6	\$1.14			
812	\$1.28	L	492	8	1904	sw					adult IM	34.9	rect	rect	c/w	33	6	\$0.96			
813	\$7.78	L	502	8	1904	sb		sliding	\$5.00	H	adult I	99	rect	rect	c/w	123	6	\$2.10			
814	\$4.13	L	799	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	28.8	hex	hex	w	18	6	\$0.96			
815	\$0.00	L									adult M + subadult 0.15y	30.6		hex	w						
816	\$1.22	L	542	8	1905	sw					adult M?	98	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
817	\$10.80	L	543	8	1905	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	E	adult F?	28.1	rect	rect	c/w	111	6	\$3.36			
818	\$7.62	L	546	8	1905	sb?		sliding	\$5.00	E	adult I	98	rect	rect	c	20	6	\$1.68			
819	\$4.07	L	547	8	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult IM	33.7	rect	rect	c/w	6	4	\$0.64			
820	\$1.57	L	533	8	1904	sw					adult AF	98	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
821	\$0.23	L	798	12	1907						subadult (male)	9.48	vault	hex							
825	\$1.72	L	430	7	1903	sb	y				adult M?	34.5	hex	hex	c/w	28	4	\$1.40			
826	\$6.74	L	432	7	1904	sw		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult I	34	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
827	\$0.68	L	535	8	1905	sw					subadult	2.15	rect	hex	c/w	35	4	\$0.44			
828	\$0.75	L	536	8	1905	sw					subadult	0.11	rect	hex	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			
829	\$8.13	L	553	8	1905	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	E	adult F?	21.5	hex	hex	w	3	6	\$2.22			
830	\$4.87	L	554	8	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	39.7	rect	rect	c/w	15	6	\$1.32	38	2	\$0.02
831	\$4.52	L	435	7	1904	sb		static	\$2.50	A	adult IM	28.6	hex	hex	c/w	28	4	\$1.40			
832	\$0.96	L	433	7	1904	sw					adult AF	97	rect	hex	c/w?	112	4	\$0.64			
833	\$6.51	L	429	7	1903	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult IM	99	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
834	\$6.82	L	428	7	1903	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	HI	adult F?	36.4	hex	hex	c/w	16	6	\$1.14			
835	\$3.92	L	327	6	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult (male)	10.52	rect	rect	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
836	\$7.10	L	331	6	1903	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	?	adult F? + subadult 0.00y	98	hex	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32			
837	\$1.20	L	332	6	1903	sw	y				adult IF	32.8	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
838	\$0.76	L	99	3	1900	sw	y				subadult (female)	0.15		rect?	c	51	4	\$0.60			
840	\$0.94	L	344	6	1903	sw	y				adult I	44.5	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
841	\$0.09	L	345	6	1903						subadult	1.3		hex	c						
842	\$1.20	L	436	7	1904	sw					adult I	20	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
843	\$0.53	L	437	7	1904						subadult	0.28	rect	rect	c/w						
844	\$1.30	L	555	8	1905	sw	y				adult I	26.7	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
845	\$5.12	L	438	7	1904	swt	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult AM	33.6	hex	hex	c/w	135	4	\$1.92			
846	\$1.07	L	347	6	1903	sw					adult M?	98	rect	hex	c/w	18	4	\$0.64			
847	\$4.48	L	439	7	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult I	98	rect	rect	c/w	2	2	\$0.32	21	2	\$0.32
851	\$0.76	L	485	8	1904	sw	y				adult M?	99	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
853	\$0.06	L	348	6	1903						subadult	0.65		rect	c/w						
854	\$3.60	L	349	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	AD	adult F?	31	rect	rect	w	2	4	\$0.64			
855	\$0.24	L	355	6	1903		y				adult IM	33.7		hex	c/w						
856	\$4.47	L	440	7	1904	sb	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult (female)	4.8	rect	rect	w	124	4	\$1.12			
857	\$0.92	L	441	7	1904	sw	y				subadult	11.5	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
858	\$7.43	L	442	7	1904	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	37.5	hex	hex	w	142	4	\$0.24	141	6	\$4.02
859	\$4.54	L	468	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult I	19.4	rect	rect	c/w	125	6	\$1.14			
860	\$0.00	L	276	5	1902						adult I	34.2		rect	c						
861	\$7.16	L	356	6	1903	sb		static	\$2.50	G	adult F?	23.3	hex	hex	c/w?	84	6	\$3.90			
862	\$7.26	L	357	6	1903	sw		sliding	\$5.00	G?	adult F	33.3	hex	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32			
863	\$0.73	L	451	7	1904	sw					subadult	0.4	rect	rect?	w	32	4	\$0.32			
864	\$5.59	L	358	6	1903	sb	y	static	\$2.50	AD	adult IF	35.8	hex	hex	c/w	65	6	\$2.22			
865	\$1.30	L	361	6	1903	sw					adult M?	30.6	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
866	\$0.63	L	797	12	1907	sw					subadult	0.21	rect	rect	w	31	4	\$0.36			
867	\$2.52	L	496	8	1904	sb					adult F	15.5	hex	hex	c/w	100	6	\$2.16			
868	\$8.91	L	277	5	1902	swt	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult IM	35.4	hex	hex	c	42	6	\$2.70			
869	\$8.90	L	280	5	1902	swt		sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult AM	28.3	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
870	\$0.36	L	282	5	1902						adult IF	17.4	?	hex	c						
871	\$3.95	L	473	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F	38.2	hex	hex	c/w	101	4	\$0.76			
872	\$0.32	L	474	8	1904		y				adult I	99	rect	hex	c/w						
873	\$4.17	L	362	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A?	adult F?	21.25	rect	rect	c	7	6	\$0.96			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
874	\$4.55	L	455	7	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult IF	99	rect	rect?	c/w	103	6	\$1.14			
875	\$0.00	L	453	7	1904						subadult	0		rect	c/w?						
876	\$0.08	L	363	6	1903						subadult	0.2	hex	hex	c/w?						
877	\$0.12	L	285	5	1902		y				adult IM	41.4	?	rect	c						
878	\$3.75	L	286	5	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	K	subadult	5.63	rect	rect	c/w	2.1	4	\$0.60			
879	\$6.50	L	365	6	1903	sb	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M	39.2	hex	hex	c/w?	115	6	\$2.88			
880	\$1.59	L	283	5	1902	sw					adult IF	32	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
881	\$0.64	L	366	6	1903	p42					subadult	0.3	rect	hex	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
882	\$7.85	L	364	6	1903	sb	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult F?	30.3	hex	hex	c/w	107	6	\$2.10			
883	\$1.00	L	291	5	1902	sw					adult F?	34.1	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
884	\$1.80	L	292	5	1902	sw					adult IF	99	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
885	\$0.00	L	293	5	1902						adult IF	27.1		rect	c						
887	\$3.89	L	373	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A?	subadult	8.9	rect	rect	w	2	4	\$0.64			
888	\$1.05	L	375	6	1903	sw					adult M?	99	hex	hex	c	18	4	\$0.64			
889	\$5.56	L	376	6	1903	swt		static	\$2.50	D	adult I	99	hex	hex	c/w	131	6	\$2.70			
890	\$1.64	L	384	6	1903	sw					adult IM	17.4	rect?	rect?	w/c?	2	6	\$0.96			
891	\$3.62	L	539	8	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	15.5	rect	rect	c/w	15	4	\$0.88			
892	\$8.70	L	294	5	1902	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	G	adult IF	33	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
893	\$1.59	L	295	5	1902	sw	y				adult F?	39.5	hex	hex	c/w?	7	6	\$0.96			
894	\$0.97	L	298	5	1902	sw					adult IF	17.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
895	\$0.73	L	385	6	1903	sw					subadult	1.34	rect	hex	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
896	\$3.52	L	606	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	AD	subadult	0.2	?	hex	w	18.1	4	\$0.60			
897	\$1.27	L	299	5	1902	sw					subadult (male)	12.2	rect	rect	c/w	15	4	\$0.88			
898	\$1.05	L	300	5	1902	sw	y				adult IF	98	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
899	\$1.34	L	301	5	1902	sw					adult M	43	rect	rect	c/w	132	4	\$0.60			
900	\$8.49	L	186	4	1901	swt		sliding	\$5.00	E?	adult F?	29.8	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
901	\$1.75	L	112	3	1900	sw					adult F?	37.4	hex	hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
902	\$8.52	L	302	5	1902	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	adult F	32.1	rect	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
903	\$6.96	L	303	5	1902	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult F	36.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
904	\$1.00	L	304	5	1902	sw					adult M?	52.6	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
905	\$0.00	L	400	6	1903						subadult	0.24		rect	c/w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
906	\$0.79	L	306	5	1902	sw					subadult	0.85	rect	rect?	c/w	130	4	\$0.40			
907	\$0.85	L	192	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.15	rect	hex	c/w	126	4	\$0.32			
908	\$0.00	L	307	5	1902						subadult	0	vault	rect	c/w						
909	\$0.00	L	308	5	1902						subadult (female)	0		rect	c/w						
910	\$2.63	L	790	12	1907		y	static	\$2.50	?	subadult	0	rect	rect	c/w						
911	\$5.56	L	121	3	1901	sb	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	16.5	hex	hex	c/w	127	2	\$1.12	128	1	\$0.56
912	\$3.45	L	122	3	1901	sw	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult (male)	2.4	rect	hex?	c/w?	23	2	\$0.20	130	2	\$0.20
913	\$0.87	L	187	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.87	rect	rect	c/w?	50	4	\$0.40			
914	\$6.63	L	188	4	1901	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult I	42.6	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
915	\$3.97	L	189	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult (male)	7.55	rect	rect	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
916	\$0.35	L	519	8	1904		y				subadult	0	rect?	hex?	c						
918	\$1.36	L	194	4	1901	sw					subadult (male)	11.2	rect	hex	c/w?	7	4	\$0.64			
919	\$0.00	L	190	4	1901						subadult	0.12		hex	c						
920	\$0.88	L	197	4	1901	sw					subadult (female)	10.46	rect	rect	c/w?	2	4	\$0.64			
921	\$5.93	L	130	3	1901	swt	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult IF	15.5	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
922	\$0.12	L	131	3	1901		y				subadult (female)	3.3		rect	c/w						
924	\$8.49	L	202	4	1901	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	A	adult I	36	hex	hex	c/w	42	6	\$2.70			
925	\$1.27	L	134	3	1901	sw					adult M?	42.3		hex	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
929	\$4.67	L	133	3	1901	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult M?	28.7	hex	hex	c	48	6	\$0.96			
930	\$2.93	L	782	12	1907		y	static	\$2.50	?	subadult	4.5	rect	rect	w						
932	\$7.20	L	77	2	1900	sb	y	static	\$2.50	N	adult F?	35.5	hex	hex	c/w	116	6	\$3.96			
933	\$0.30	L	774	12	1907		y				subadult	0.2		rect	w						
934	\$1.28	L	138	3	1901	sw	y				adult F?	35.1	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
935	\$0.87	L	412	6	1903	sw					subadult	0.4	vlt?	rect	c/w	26	4	\$0.32			
936	\$0.69	L	211	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.64	rect	rect?	c/w?	50	4	\$0.40			
937	\$0.06	L	775	12	1907						subadult	0.01		rect	w						
938	\$1.80	L	227	4	1902	sw					adult M?	33.3	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
939	\$3.57	L	228	4	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.25	rect	hex?	c	119	4	\$0.32			
940	\$0.06	L	145	3	1901		y				subadult	0.56	rect	rect	?						
942	\$1.37	L	149	3	1901	sw					adult F?	32.1	hex	hex	c/w	18	4	\$0.64			
943	\$0.26	L	153	3	1901		y				subadult	1.68	rect	rect	c/w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
944	\$4.23	L	768	12	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	34.8	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
945	\$0.80	L	156	3	1901	sw					subadult	1.26	rect	rect	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
946	\$0.30	L	157	3	1901						subadult	0.22	rect	rect	c/w						
947	\$6.96	L	297	5	1902	sw	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult F	32.4	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
948	\$0.79	L	263	5	1902	sw					subadult	1.1	rect	hex	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
949	\$0.30	L	340	6	1903						subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w?						
966	\$0.65	L	171	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.11	rect	rect	c/w	2.2	4	\$0.40			
975	\$0.91	L	411	6	1903	sw					subadult	0.28	rect	rect?	w	54	4	\$0.32			
976	\$0.85	L	305	5	1902	sw					adult M	37.2	rect	rect	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
977	\$7.52	L				sb		static	\$2.50	F	adult F?	44.8	rect	rect	c/w	121	6	\$3.78			
978	\$2.74	L	609	9	1905			static	\$2.50	D	subadult	1	rect	rect	w						
979	\$0.29	L	191	4	1901						subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w						
980	\$2.99	L	772	12	1907			static	\$2.50	A	subadult	1.17	rect	rect	c/w						
981	\$3.30	L	132	3	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	M?	subadult	0.6	rect	rect	c/w?	23	4	\$0.40			
982	\$0.00	L	75	2	1900						adult M	33.9		rect	c/w						
983	\$0.64	L	494	8	1904	sw	y				adult I	99	hex	hex	c/w	24	4	\$0.64			
984	\$0.01	L	479	8	1904						adult I	99	?	?	w						
986	\$1.30	L	541	8	1905	sw	y				adult IF	15	hex	hex	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
988	\$0.08	L	334	6	1903		y				subadult	0.6		hex	w						
989	\$0.83	L	231	4	1902	sw					subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c	54	4	\$0.32			
990	\$0.24	L	137	3	1901		y				subadult	0.15	rect	rect	c/w?						
991	\$5.58	L	232	4	1902	swt	y	static	\$2.50	D?	adult IM	31.6	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
993	\$1.80	L	230	4	1902	sw	y				adult F	38.5	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
994	\$3.85	L	475	8	1904	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F	20.1	hex	hex	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
995	\$0.52	L	561	9	1905	sw	y				subadult	86	?	?	c/w	37	4	\$0.44			
996	\$0.62	L	368	6	1903	sw					subadult (female)	2.4	rect	rect	w	23	4	\$0.40			
997	\$5.92	L	379	6	1903	swt	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult M?	39.4	hex	hex	c/w	131	6	\$2.70			
998	\$0.88	L	154	3	1901	sw	y				adult M?	42.6	hex	hex	c/w	133	4	\$0.64			
999	\$0.13	L	336	6	1903						adult M?	26.6		hex	c/w						
1002	\$0.08	L	335	6	1903		y				adult M?	33.2		hex	c/w						
1003	\$4.42	L	115	3	1900	sw	y	static	\$2.50	B	subadult (female)	6.3	rect	rect	c/w	10	4	\$0.64			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1004	\$2.16	L	378	6	1903	swt	y				adult F?	46.2	vault	hex?	c/w	131	4	\$1.80			
1005	\$1.74	L	116	3	1900	sw	y				adult F	38.8	hex	hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
1006	\$4.44	L	351	6	1903	swt		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	56.2	hex	hex	c/w	131	2	\$0.90	2	2	\$0.32
1007	\$1.74	L	117	3	1900	sw					adult F?	44.8	hex	hex	c/w?	10	6	\$0.96			
1008	\$0.80	L	120	3	1901	sw					adult IM	15.3	hex	hex	c	147	4	\$0.64			
1009	\$0.61	L	119	3	1900	sw					subadult	0.5	vlt?	rect?	c/w	26	4	\$0.32			
1010	\$0.02	L	127	3	1901						subadult	0		rect	c/w?						
1011	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w						
1012	\$0.26	L	103	3	1900		y				subadult	0.46	rect	rect	c						
1016	\$0.32	L	125	3	1901						subadult	0.46	rect	rect	c						
1017	\$0.32	L	118	3	1900						adult M?	18.1	vault	hex	c/w						
1018	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.09		rect	c/w						
1019	\$2.50	L	467	8	1904			static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	?	?	c/w						
1020	\$0.46	L	126	3	1901	sw	y				subadult	0.51	rect	rect	c/w?	11	4	\$0.32			
1021	\$1.49	L	68	2	1900	sw	y				adult M?	40	hex	hex	c/w	138	6	\$0.96			
1022	\$6.93	L	167	4	1901	sw		sliding	\$5.00	?	adult F	27	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1024	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.15		rect	c/w						
1025	\$0.00	M									adult IM	25.5		rect	c						
1026	\$0.60	M				sw	y				adult F	35.5	rect	rect	c	134	4	\$0.36			
1027	\$0.64	L	528	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	0.49	rect	hex	w	32	4	\$0.32			
1028	\$3.43	L	605	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	1.41	rect	rect	w	18.2	4	\$0.40			
1029	\$0.18	L	337	6	1903		y				adult M	42.8	hex	hex	c/w						
1030	\$0.60	M				sw	y				adult F	39.5	vault	hex	c	53	4	\$0.36			
1031	\$4.42	L	397	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult F?	42.3	rect?	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32			
1032	\$0.67	L	370	6	1903	p42					subadult	0.15	rect	rect	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1033	\$4.03	L	354	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1034	\$0.24	M					y				adult M?	35.4	rect	rect	c/w						
1035	\$0.00	L									adult I	18.1		hex?	w						
1036	\$8.87	L	398	6	1903	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	adult F	30.8	rect	rect	c/w	144	6	\$2.88			
1038	\$0.64	L	522	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	0.43		rect?	w	32	4	\$0.32			
1039	\$0.67	L	369	6	1903	sw					subadult	0.4	rect	hex	w	54	4	\$0.32			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1040	\$1.41	L	206	4	1901	sw	y				adult M?	48.2	hex	hex	c	13	6	\$0.96			
1041	\$0.00	L									adult M + subadult 0.00y	41		hex	w						
1042	\$2.10	L	208	4	1901	sw	y				adult F	25.7	rect	hex	c	137	6	\$0.96			
1043	\$2.73	M					y	static	\$2.50	N	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	c						
1044	\$6.97	L	422	6	1903	sw		sliding?	\$5.00	C	subadult (female)	11.53	rect	rect	w	15	6	\$1.32			
1045	\$0.00	L									adult F?	30.5		rect	w						
1046	\$5.60	L	575	9	1905	sb	y				adult F	32	rect	rect	w	34	6	\$3.96			
1049	\$0.93	M				sw					adult I	50.7	rect	rect	c	140	6	\$0.54			
1050	\$3.70	M				sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult F?	35.5	rect	rect	c/w	75	6	\$0.54			
1052	\$0.91	L	184	4	1901	sw					adult F?	44.7	rect?	hex?	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
1053	\$6.68	L	124	3	1901	sw	y	sliding	\$5.00	PH	adult F	44	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1054	\$0.93	L	509	8	1904	sw	y				subadult	2.5	rect	rect	w	35	4	\$0.44			
1055	\$0.53	L	410	6	1903	p42	y				subadult	0.18	vault	hex	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1056	\$1.33	L	739	11	1907	sw					empty casket (adult)	96	rect	hex	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1058	\$0.00	L									adult F?	39.4		hex	w						
1059	\$1.41	L	740	11	1907	sw	y				empty casket (adult)	96	?	hex	w/c?	6	6	\$0.96			
1062	\$0.68	L	710	10	1906	sw	y				adult M?	36.8	?	hex	w/c?	24	4	\$0.64			
1063	\$0.56	M				sw					adult IM	33	rect	rect	c	143	4	\$0.36			
1064	\$0.08	E					y				subadult	0.96	vault	hex	c						
1065	\$0.00	L									adult IM	28.3		rect	w						
1066	\$0.72	M				sw					adult F?	52	rect	hex	c	53	6	\$0.54			
1069	\$0.20	E									adult F	18.5	vlt?	hex	c						
1070	\$0.00	L									adult IF	99	?	?	w						
1071	\$0.00	L									empty casket (adult)	96		rect	w						
1072	\$0.00	L									adult M	30.5		hex	w						
1073	\$0.06	E					y				adult F	36.8	vault	hex	c						
1074	\$0.07	L	725	11	1906						adult M?	38.2		hex	c/w						
1075	\$3.14	L	350	6	1903	sw		static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	?	?	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
1076	\$1.80	L	317	5	1902	sw					adult F	35.1	hex	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64	7	2	\$0.32
1077	\$0.41	E									adult M?	18	vlt?	hex	c						
1079	\$0.00	L									adult M	51.5		hex	w						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1080	\$6.27	L	372	6	1903	swt		static	\$2.50	A?	adult M	47.6	hex	hex	c/w	78	6	\$2.70			
1081	\$0.00	L									adult M	38.2		rect	w						
1082	\$6.08	L	380	6	1903	sb	y	static	\$2.50	AD	adult F	22.6	hex	hex	w	139	6	\$2.76			
1083	\$0.64	L	289	5	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.58	rect	hex	c/w	54	4	\$0.32			
1085	\$1.32	L	663	10	1906	sw	y				adult I	99	rect	rect	c/w	64	6	\$0.96			
1086	\$0.91	L	383	6	1903	sw	y				adult F?	26.1	rect	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
1087	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1		rect	c/w						
1088	\$4.08	L	382	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F? & shell concn	25.6	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1089	\$0.67	L	352	6	1903	p42	y				subadult	0.1	rect	rect	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1090	\$1.00	L	381	6	1903	sw					adult M?	34.6	rect	hex	c/w	2	4	\$0.64			
1091	\$0.20	L	526	8	1904		y				subadult	0.07		rect	c						
1092	\$4.08	L	402	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F	37	vault	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1093	\$0.28	L	742	11	1907		y				subadult	0.06		rect	w						
1094	\$5.31	L	389	6	1903	sb	y	static	\$2.50	A?	adult F?	45.2	hex	hex	w	65	6	\$2.22			
1095	\$0.05	L	743	11	1907						subadult	0.13		rect	w						
1096	\$0.00	L									adult I	99		rect	w						
1098	\$0.22	L	741	11	1907		y				subadult (female)	0.08		rect	w						
1100	\$0.77	L	26	1	1900	sw	y				adult M	48.8	rect	hex	c	10	2	\$0.32	51.1	2	\$0.32
1101	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1	vault	rect	c/w						
1102	\$1.76	L	147	3	1901	sw					adult F	19	hex	hex	c	18	6	\$0.96			
1103	\$4.54	L	586	9	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult IF	97	rect	rect	c/w	146	6	\$1.14			
1104	\$0.65	L	242	4	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.58	rect	rect	c	50	4	\$0.40			
1105	\$1.00	M				sw					adult F?	38.2	hex	hex	c	149	6	\$0.54			
1106	\$0.01	E									adult F?	38.9	vault	hex	c						
1107	\$3.36	L	353	6	1903	p42	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.06	rect	hex	c/w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1108	\$8.54	L	371	6	1903	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	G	adult M	27.1	hex	hex	c/w	78	6	\$2.70			
1109	\$1.58	L	730	11	1907	sw	y				adult M?	32.7	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1110	\$3.90	L	731	11	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	E?	adult M	36.9	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1111	\$3.25	L	729	11	1906	p42		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	2.9	rect	rect	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1112	\$4.08	L	728	11	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	36.5	rect	rect	w	53	6	\$0.96			
1114	\$1.01	L	727	11	1906	sw	y				adult F?	30.6	rect	rect	w	6	4	\$0.64			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1115	\$1.40	L	646	10	1906	sw	y				adult M	26.3	hex	hex	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1116	\$0.11	E									subadult	83	vault	rect	c						
1117	\$1.45	L	645	10	1906	sw					adult I	55	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1118	\$0.34	E									subadult	0.65	vault	rect	c						
1119	\$0.23	E					y				adult M?	42.5	vlt?	hex	c						
1120	\$0.80	L	98	3	1900	sw	y				subadult (female)	9	rect	hex?	c	10	4	\$0.64			
1122	\$4.30	L	716	11	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	36.6	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1123	\$0.40	M				sw					subadult	1.48	vault	rect	c	44.1	4	\$0.28			
1124	\$0.04	E									subadult	0.44		rect	c						
1125	\$1.33	L	715	11	1906	sw					adult M	38	rect	rect	c/w	6	6	\$0.96			
1126	\$5.46	L	718	11	1906	sb		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	19	hex	hex	c/w	3	6	\$2.22			
1129	\$0.04	E					y				subadult	0		hex	c						
1130	\$9.35	L	719	11	1906	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	J	subadult (female)	4.81		rect	c/w	150	6	\$2.52			
1131	\$0.50	M				sw	y				subadult	0.5	rect	rect	c	51.2	4	\$0.28			
1132	\$0.18	M									adult M	38.1	hex	hex	c						
1133	\$4.16	L	726	11	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F?	17.4	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1134	\$0.00	L									adult M	37.1		rect	w						
1135	\$3.91	L	732	11	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D?	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1136	\$0.50	M				sw	y				subadult (female)	12.5	rect	rect	c	75	4	\$0.36			
1137	\$0.23	L	734	11	1907		y				subadult	0.46	rect	rect	w						
1138	\$0.78	M				sw					adult M?	56.6		hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1139	\$0.24	L	255	4	1902		y				adult F?	47.1		hex	c/w						
1140	\$3.45	L	563	9	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.3	rect	hex?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1141	\$0.78	M				sw					adult M	40	rect?	rect?	c/w?	75	6	\$0.54			
1142	\$3.92	L	722	11	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	35.2	rect	rect	c/w	6	6	\$0.96			
1144	\$6.91	L	721	11	1906	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	?	adult F?	51.5	rect	rect	w	3	4	\$1.48			
1147	\$0.72	M				sw					adult M?	44.1	rect	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1148	\$0.01	E									adult IM	41.2	vlt?	hex	c						
1149	\$6.11	L	724	11	1906	sb	y	static	\$2.50	A?	adult IM	60	rect	rect	w	118	6	\$3.00			
1150	\$10.32	L	497	8	1904	sb		sliding	\$5.00	E	adult F?	28.9	rect	rect	w	148	6	\$4.56			
1151	\$9.14	L	545	8	1905	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	C?	adult F?	26.4	rect	rect	w	36	6	\$2.16	38	2	\$0.02

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1152	\$0.90	L	414	6	1903	p42					subadult	0	rect	rect	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1153	\$1.31	L	717	11	1906	sw	y				adult I	99	?	rect	c/w	6	6	\$0.96			
1154	\$0.06	E									adult M	34.5	vault	hex	c						
1155	\$3.59	L	512	8	1904	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.72	rect	hex	w/c?	35	4	\$0.44			
1156	\$0.00	L									subadult	0.1		rect	w						
1157	\$0.24	M									adult M	44.5	hex	hex	c						
1158	\$0.05	M									subadult	1.66	vault	hex	c						
1159	\$0.08	M					y				subadult	0.98		hex	c						
1160	\$3.99	L	652	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	30.06	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96			
1161	\$0.31	E									adult M?	54.7	vault	hex	c						
1162	\$0.39	E									adult F?	30.2	vault	hex	c						
1163	\$3.97	L	733	11	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	30.8	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1164	\$1.74	L	152	3	1901	sw					adult IM	38	hex	hex	c/w	133	6	\$0.96			
1165	\$0.18	M									adult M (sub frag #1289 in box)	48.1	hex	hex	c/w?						
1166	\$5.42	L	377	6	1903	swt	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	97	hex	hex	c/w	131	6	\$2.70			
1167	\$1.58	L	723	11	1906	sw					subadult (male)	12.35	rect	rect	c/w	6	6	\$0.96			
1168	\$0.53	M				sw					subadult (female)	1.65	rect	rect	c/w	45	4	\$0.36			
1169	\$0.04	M									subadult (female)	1.06		rect	c						
1171	\$3.64	M				sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult M?	41.5	rect	rect	c	149	6	\$0.54			
1172	\$0.04	E									adult M?	31.8	vlt?	hex	c						
1173	\$6.24	L	713	11	1906	sb		static	\$2.50	K	adult M?	32.7	rect	rect	w	161	4	\$2.96			
1174	\$1.00	M				sw					adult F	30	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1175	\$0.33	L	290	5	1902						subadult	0.12	rect	rect	w						
1176	\$0.01	E									subadult (female)	6.48	vault	hex	c						
1177	\$0.34	E									subadult (female)	0.58	vault	hex	c						
1178	\$2.04	L	658	10	1906	sw					adult IF	41.7	hex	hex	w	16	6	\$1.14			
1179	\$0.76	L	209	4	1901	sw	y				subadult	5.27	rect	rect	c	44	4	\$0.60			
1180	\$6.19	L	657	10	1906	sb	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult F?	41.4	rect	rect	c/w	152	6	\$2.52			
1181	\$5.99	L	89	3	1900	swt		static	\$2.50	N	adult F	52	hex	hex	c/w	153	6	\$2.70			
1182	\$6.04	L	88	3	1900	swt		static	\$2.50	?	adult I	29.8	hex	hex	c/w?	47	1	\$0.45	61	5	\$2.25
1183	\$3.20	M				sw		static	\$2.50	B	subadult	2.07	rect	rect	c	158	4	\$0.32			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
1184	\$0.00	E									subadult (male)	5.89	?	hex	c							
1185	\$4.23	L	720	11	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	38	rect	rect?	w	6	6	\$0.96				
1187	\$4.24	L	655	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult F?	30.7	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96				
1188	\$1.42	L	656	10	1906	sw					adult M	38.2	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96				
1189	\$3.42	L	654	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	4.61	rect	hex	c/w	24.1	4	\$0.40				
1190	\$4.32	L	649	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	AD	adult F?	32.4	rect	rect	c/w	24	6	\$0.96				
1191	\$0.52	M				sw	y				subadult	2.27	rect	hex	c	45	4	\$0.36				
1192	\$1.26	L	641	10	1906	sw					adult F?	98	rect	hex	w	18	6	\$0.96				
1193	\$1.47	L	647	10	1906	sw					adult F	45.2	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96				
1194	\$1.57	L	644	10	1906	sw	y				adult IF	41.4	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96				
1195	\$0.12	M					y				subadult (female)	1.92	vault	rect	c							
1196	\$4.18	L	643	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F	42.6	rect	rect	w	2	6	\$0.96				
1198	\$3.40	L	640	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult (female)	5.83	?	hex	w/c?	18.1	4	\$0.60				
1199	\$9.39	L	634	10	1905	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	C	adult F?	40	rect	rect	w	163	6	\$2.28				
1200	\$3.23	L	622	10	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult	0.64	rect	rect	w	18.2	4	\$0.40				
1201	\$0.05	E									subadult	1.2	vault	hex	c							
1202	\$0.04	E					y				subadult	80		rect?	c							
1203	\$1.49	L	617	10	1905	sw	y				adult IF	23.5	rect	rect	w	156	6	\$0.96				
1204	\$0.06	E									subadult (male)	1.73	vault	hex	c							
1206	\$0.00	M									adult IM	17.5		hex	c							
1207	\$6.72	L	256	4	1902	sw	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult M	17.5	hex	hex	c/w	15	6	\$1.32				
1208	\$0.37	M					y				subadult	0	rect	rect	c							
1210	\$3.29	M				sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult	1.06	rect	rect	c	5.2	4	\$0.28				
1211	\$4.17	L	714	11	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult I	30.1	rect	rect	w/c?	16	4	\$0.76				
1212	\$6.74	L	423	6	1903	sw		sliding	\$5.00	G	adult F	40.4	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96				
1213	\$1.80	L	198	4	1901	sw					adult M?	48.6	hex	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96				
1214	\$0.08	L	615	10	1905						subadult	0.12	rect	rect	w/c?							
1215	\$1.41	L	616	10	1905	sw					adult F?	27	rect	rect	c/w	33	4	\$0.64				
1216	\$0.23	M									subadult	0.58	rect	rect	c							
1217	\$1.42	L	636	10	1905	sw					adult M?	45	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96				
1218	\$7.60	L	660	10	1906	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	C	adult F?	24	rect	rect	w	25	6	\$1.86				

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1219	\$0.61	L	415	6	1903	sw	y				subadult	0.92	vault	rect	w	54	4	\$0.32			
1220	\$4.38	L	662	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult F?	29	rect	rect	w	18	2	\$0.32	33	4	\$0.64
1221	\$4.24	L	665	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M	45.8	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1222	\$1.84	L	664	10	1906	sw					adult F?	35.4	rect	rect	w/c?	6	6	\$0.96	38	2	\$0.02
1223	\$0.78	M				sw	y				adult M	42.4	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1224	\$4.24	L	659	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M	34.8	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1225	\$4.65	M				swt		static	\$2.50	N?	adult F	35.8	hex	hex	c	82	6	\$1.44			
1226	\$0.13	E									subadult (female)	1.18	vault	hex	c						
1227	\$4.95	M				swt	y	static	\$2.50	D?	adult F	30.7	rect	rect	c/w?	155	6	\$1.44			
1228	\$0.81	L	653	10	1906	sw	y				subadult (cenotaph)	1.67	rect	hex	w	18.1	2	\$0.30	18.2	2	\$0.20
1229	\$4.03	L	651	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	D?	subadult (male)	12.85	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1230	\$2.70	M					y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.12	rect	hex	c						
1231	\$5.14	L	650	10	1906	sb?	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult M?	31.4	hex	hex	w	20	6	\$1.68			
1232	\$1.40	L	639	10	1906	sw					adult M	20	rect	rect	w	156	6	\$0.96			
1233	\$4.13	L	638	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F?	33.6	hex	hex	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1234	\$4.42	L	624	10	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	26.3	rect	rect	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1235	\$0.08	E					y				subadult (female)	11.13	vault	hex	c						
1236	\$1.62	L	621	10	1905	sw					adult M?	30	rect	rect	w	2	5+	\$0.96	24	.5	\$0.00
1237	\$0.10	E					y				subadult	1.52		hex	c						
1238	\$6.71	L	620	10	1905	sw		sliding	\$5.00	D	adult F	23.4	rect	rect	c/w	16	6	\$1.14			
1239	\$0.54	L	618	10	1905	sw					subadult	0.37		hex	w	18.2	4	\$0.40			
1240	\$0.45	L	619	10	1905		y				subadult	0.07		hex	w						
1241	\$0.01	E									subadult	1.9	vault	hex	c						
1242	\$2.62	M					y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	?	?	c						
1243	\$0.04	E									subadult	0	vault	hex	c						
1244	\$5.00	L	626	10	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	33.9	rect	rect	c/w	15	6	\$1.32			
1245	\$4.19	L	627	10	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	18	hex	hex	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1246	\$7.99	L	629	10	1905	sb		sliding	\$5.00	A	adult F?	31.3	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22			
1247	\$0.01	E									adult M (& 1377)	38.2		hex	c						
1248	\$0.52	L	623	10	1905	sw	y				subadult	1.3	?	?	w	18.2	4	\$0.40			
1249	\$3.36	L	630	10	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult	0.08	rect	rect	w	159	4	\$0.44			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
1251	\$0.06	E					y				adult F	33.6		hex	c						
1252	\$0.87	M				sw	y				adult F?	29.2	rect	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1253	\$3.25	M				sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	0.93	rect	rect	c	157	4	\$0.24			
1254	\$3.16	M				sw		static	\$2.50	N	subadult (female)	11.4	rect	rect	c	160	4	\$0.36			
1257	\$0.08	E					y				subadult	0.26		rect?	c						
1258	\$5.42	L	749	12	1907	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	43.8	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22			
1262	\$8.09	L	635	10	1905	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	C	adult F?	48.3	rect	rect	c/w	19	6	\$2.22			
1263	\$0.14	E					y				subadult	0.86		?	c						
1264	\$6.48	L	360	6	1903	sw		sliding	\$5.00	J	adult IM	20	rect	hex	c/w	2	6	\$0.96			
1265	\$0.04	E									subadult	0	vault	rect	c						
1266	\$0.05	E					y				subadult	80		hex?	c						
1267	\$0.06	E					y				adult M	44.1	vault	hex	c						
1268	\$3.37	M				sw		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	31.6	rect	rect?	c	53	6	\$0.54			
1269	\$1.40	L	637	10	1906	sw	y				adult F?	36	rect	rect	w/c?	156	6	\$0.96			
1271	\$4.15	L	632	10	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult (female)	11.87	rect	rect	c/w	156	6	\$0.96			
1272	\$0.42	E				sw	y				adult M?	34.8		hex	c	94	4	\$0.36			
1273	\$1.43	L	633	10	1905	sw					adult I	98	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1274	\$0.01	E					y				subadult	0.53	vault	hex	c						
1276	\$3.20	M				sw		static	\$2.50	DN	subadult	2.13	rect	rect	c/w	44.1	4	\$0.28			
1278	\$0.06	E									subadult	0.98	vault	hex	c						
1279	\$0.01	E									adult F	23.4	vault	hex	c						
1281	\$0.04	E					y				subadult	0.62	vault	hex	c						
1283	\$1.00	L	214	4	1901	sw	y				adult F	31.9	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
1284	\$3.45	L	215	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.5	rect	hex	c/w	122	4	\$0.40			
1285	\$6.95	L	275	5	1902	sw		sliding	\$5.00	G	adult M?	40.2	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1286	\$4.03	M				swt		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	3.43	rect	hex	c	162	4	\$0.96			
1287	\$0.72	M				sw					adult IM	23.8	rect	rect	c	164	2	\$0.18	165	4	\$0.36
1288	\$0.80	L	288	5	1902	sw					subadult	0.08	rect	hex	c/w	54	4	\$0.32			
1290	\$0.10	E					y				subadult (female)	0		hex	c						
1291	\$0.04	E									adult F?	25.4	vault	hex	c						
1292	\$0.60	M				sw	y				adult F	30.9	vault	hex	c	154	4	\$0.36			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1293	\$7.81	L	565	9	1905	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult F	31.8	hex	hex	c/w	28	6	\$2.10			
1294	\$3.31	L	35	1	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.32	rect	hex	c/w	44.1	4	\$0.40			
1295	\$2.98	M				sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.1	rect	hex	c	26	4	\$0.24			
1299	\$4.09	L	631	10	1905	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult I	98	rect	rect	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
1300	\$0.36	E				sw					adult I	99	?	hex?	c	94	4	\$0.36			
1301	\$1.75	L	745	12	1907	sw					adult M	33.7	rect	rect	c/w	21	6	\$0.96			
1302	\$0.76	L	608	9	1905	sw					subadult	0.8	rect	rect	w	18.1	1	\$0.15	18.2	3	\$0.30
1303	\$0.00	M									adult F?	33.9		rect	c						
1305	\$0.00	M									adult M?	36.6		rect	c						
1306	\$1.20	L	746	12	1907	sw	y				empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	c/w	21	4	\$0.64			
1307	\$0.14	M					y				adult F?	33.1	hex	hex	c						
1310	\$0.06	E									adult F	16	vault	hex	c						
1314	\$4.31	L	244	4	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	B	subadult	3.86	rect	rect	c	2.1	4	\$0.60			
1315	\$0.04	E									subadult	0.35	vault	rect	c						
1316	\$6.70	L	296	5	1902	sw	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult M	47.4	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1318	\$0.78	M				sw	y				adult M?	50.2	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1319	\$0.14	M									adult I	15	vlt?	rect	c/w						
1320	\$0.16	M					y				subadult	0.68	vault	rect							
1321	\$0.99	M				sw	y				adult F?	31.6	rect	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1322	\$1.39	L	751	12	1907	sw	y				adult M	47	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1323	\$4.21	L	750	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	A	empty casket (adult) (removed)	96	rect	rect	w	6	6	\$0.96			
1324	\$3.37	M				sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult M?	37.3	rect?	rect?	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1325	\$0.54	M				sw					adult F?	27.2		rect	c	75	4	\$0.36			
1326	\$0.00	M									subadult (female)	0		rect	c						
1327	\$0.64	L	529	8	1904	sw					subadult	0.2	rect	rect	w	32	4	\$0.32			
1328	\$0.48	M				sw	y				adult M	40.1	rect	rect	c/w?	53	4	\$0.36			
1329	\$0.93	L	392	6	1903	sw					subadult (female)	7.7	rect	hex	w	2.1	4	\$0.60			
1330	\$0.01	E					y				adult M	39.8	vault	hex	c						
1331	\$1.26	L	747	12	1907	sw					adult F?	55	rect	rect	w	8	4	\$0.64			
1332	\$0.08	M									subadult	0.12		rect	c						
1333	\$0.08	M					y				subadult	0	vault	rect	c						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost	
1334	\$0.08	M									subadult	1.13	rect	?	c							
1335	\$0.01	E									subadult	0.64	vault	hex	c							
1336	\$0.50	M				sw					subadult	0.1	rect	rect	c	167	4	\$0.28				
1337	\$3.56	L	181	4	1901	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.53	rect	hex	c	130	4	\$0.40				
1338	\$3.00	M				sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.94	rect	hex	c	26	4	\$0.24				
1339	\$0.36	M				sw	y				subadult	1.2	rect	?	c	26	4	\$0.24				
1341	\$3.97	L	625	10	1905	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult M?	99	rect	rect	w/c?	2	6	\$0.96				
1342	\$0.78	M				sw	y				adult M?	33.9	rect	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54				
1345	\$1.20	L	642	10	1906	sw	y				adult M	29.5		rect?	?	18	6	\$0.96				
1346	\$2.96	M				sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	1.38	rect	hex	c/w?	26	4	\$0.24				
1347	\$0.75	M				sw	y				subadult	11.08	vault	rect	c	170	4	\$0.36				
1348	\$3.10	M				sw		static	\$2.50	?	subadult	0.15	rect	rect	c	169	4	\$0.24				
1349	\$0.54	M				sw	y				adult I	29.5	rect	rect	c	75	4	\$0.36				
1350	\$0.01	M					y				adult AF	98		rect	c							
1351	\$0.89	L	537	8	1905	sw	y				subadult	2.15	rect	rect	c/w	35	4	\$0.44				
1352	\$0.93	M				sw	y				adult IM	98	rect	rect	c	170	6	\$0.54				
1353	\$0.12	M					y				subadult	0.22	hex	hex	c							
1354	\$0.12	M					y				subadult	0	rect	rect	c							
1355	\$0.01	M					y				adult I	98		rect	c							
1356	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.45		rect								
1357	\$0.46	M				sw					subadult	0.34	rect	rect	c	169	4	\$0.24				
1358	\$0.00	M									subadult	1.8		rect	c							
1359	\$0.08	M									subadult	0.23	vault	hex	c							
1360	\$0.06	E									subadult (female)	11.56		hex	c							
1361	\$0.88	M				sw	y				adult M	41.25	rect	rect	c	74	6	\$0.54				
1363	\$0.01	E					y				subadult	1.4	vault	hex	c							
1364	\$0.72	M				sw					adult M	43.3	vault	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54				
1365	\$8.05	L	752	12	1907	sb	y	sliding?	\$5.00	C	empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	w	3	6	\$2.22				
1366	\$0.50	L	753	12	1907		y				adult M	29.7	rect	rect	w							
1367	\$0.94	M				sw	y				adult M?	29.5	rect	rect	c	75	6	\$0.54				
1369	\$0.16	M									subadult	0.12	vault	rect	c							

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1370	\$0.40	M				sw					subadult	0.77		hex	c	26	4	\$0.24			
1371	\$0.40	M				sw					subadult	0.2	rect	rect	c	26	4	\$0.24			
1372	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.45		hex	c						
1373	\$0.16	M									subadult	0.3		rect	c						
1375	\$4.19	L	712	11	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	40	rect	rect	w	18	6	\$0.96			
1376	\$0.19	M									adult M?	39.3	rect	rect	c						
1378	\$0.18	M					y				adult F?	25.6	vault	hex	c						
1381	\$0.40	M				sw					subadult	3.8	rect	rect	c	44.1	4	\$0.28			
1382	\$0.12	M					y				subadult	1.4		rect	c						
1385	\$3.53	L	287	5	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	2.8	rect	hex	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1386	\$0.41	L	450	7	1904						subadult	0.2	rect	hex	w						
1391	\$0.10	E									subadult (female)	0.64		hex	c						
1392	\$1.79	L	748	12	1907	sw	y				empty casket (adult)	96	rect	rect	c?	21	6	\$0.96			
1393	\$0.00	M									adult M?	32.8		hex	c						
1395	\$0.06	E					y				subadult	1.42		hex	c						
1397	\$0.50	M				sw					adult F?	18.5	vault	rect?	c	5.1	4	\$0.36			
1398	\$0.80	L	391	6	1903	sw	y				adult I	15.1	?	?	c/w	2.1	4	\$0.60			
1399	\$4.53	L	709	10	1906	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	28	rect	rect	w	16	6	\$1.14			
1400	\$0.34	M				swt	y				subadult (female)	0.8	rect	rect	c	168	4	\$0.24			
1401	\$4.54	M				swt		static	\$2.50	N	adult F	31.3	hex	hex	c	82	6	\$1.44			
1403	\$0.40	M				sw	y				subadult	0.53	rect	rect	c	136.1	4	\$0.28			
1404	\$0.06	E									subadult (male)	11.5		rect	c						
1405	\$0.72	M				sw					adult M?	30.35	hex	hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1406	\$0.06	M					y				empty casket (adult)	96		hex	c						
1407	\$1.18	L	399	6	1903	sw	y				adult M?	98	rect	hex?	c/w	16	4	\$0.76			
1408	\$0.36	M				sw	y				adult I	99	?	?	c	75	4	\$0.36			
1409	\$0.65	L	538	8	1905	sw	y				subadult	0.34	rect	rect	c/w	32	4	\$0.32			
1410	\$0.72	M				sw	y				adult I	97	vault	rect	c	74	6	\$0.54			
1411	\$0.01	M					y				subadult	0.18		rect	c						
1412	\$4.19	L	754	12	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	A	adult M?	32.3	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1414	\$3.95	L	243	4	1902	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	2.6	rect	rect	c	2.1	4	\$0.60			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1415	\$0.79	L	193	4	1901	sw					subadult	0.43	rect	?	c	126	4	\$0.32			
1416	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.25	rect	hex	c						
1417	\$3.42	L	34	1	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.46	rect	hex	c/w	172	4	\$0.32			
1418	\$3.55	L	28	1	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	2.6	rect	rect?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1419	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.1		rect	c						
1420	\$3.38	M				sw	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult F	40.2	hex?	hex?	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1421	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.49	vault	rect	c						
1422	\$7.86	L	744	12	1907	sb	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult M	43.1	hex	hex	c/w	19	6	\$2.22			
1425	\$0.13	L	67	2	1900						subadult	1.4	rect	hex	c/w						
1426	\$0.00	M									subadult	0		rect	c						
1427	\$0.12	M									subadult	0.3	rect	?	c						
1428	\$0.65	L	229	4	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.35	rect	rect	c	119	4	\$0.32			
1429	\$0.43	L	757	12	1907		y				subadult	0.11		hex	w						
1430	\$3.32	L	756	12	1907	p42	y	static	\$2.50	A	subadult	1.2	rect	hex	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1431	\$3.77	L	758	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	2.15	rect	rect?	c/w	29.1	4	\$0.60			
1432	\$4.74	L	759	12	1907	sb		static	\$2.50	D	adult M	39.5	rect	rect	w	3	4	\$1.48			
1433	\$0.24	M					y				adult F?	37.1	vault	hex	c						
1434	\$7.83	L	91	3	1900	sb	y	sliding	\$5.00	E?	adult F	35.2	rect?	hex	c/w	107	6	\$2.10			
1435	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.1	vlt?	hex	c						
1436	\$0.01	M									subadult (female)	0.65	rect	hex	c						
1438	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.15		rect	c						
1439	\$0.36	M				sw					adult IM	99		hex	c	149	4	\$0.36			
1440	\$0.00	M									subadult	0.19		hex?	c						
1441	\$0.00	M									subadult	0		rect	c						
1443	\$0.00	L									subadult	2.6	rect	hex	c/w						
1445	\$0.00	M									subadult	0		?	c						
1446	\$0.01	L	66	2	1900						adult M?	41.4		rect	c						
1447	\$4.13	L	683	10	1906	sw		static	\$2.50	A	adult F?	35.4	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1448	\$0.00	M									subadult	0		rect	c						
1449	\$8.25	L	760	12	1907	sb		sliding?	\$5.00	C	adult M?	44.6	rect	rect	w	173	4	\$1.40			
1450	\$0.00	L									subadult	0		rect	w/c?						

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1451	\$6.47	L	59	2	1900	swt	y	static	\$2.50	D	adult M	34.7	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
1452	\$4.49	M				swt	y	static	\$2.50	AD	adult F	49.5	hex	hex	c	82	6	\$1.44			
1453	\$3.43	L	60	2	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.58	rect	hex	c/w	26	4	\$0.32			
1454	\$8.43	L	146	3	1901	swt		sliding	\$5.00	A	adult F?	42	hex	hex	c/w	171	6	\$2.70			
1455	\$0.12	M									subadult	0.45	rect	rect?	c						
1456	\$3.37	L	110	3	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.5	rect	hex?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1457	\$0.20	L	143	3	1901						subadult	0.2	rect	hex	c/w						
1458	\$1.75	L	140	3	1901	sw					adult F	40.7	hex	hex	c/w	10	6	\$0.96			
1459	\$0.71	L	262	5	1902						subadult	0.1	rect	rect?	c						
1460	\$1.68	L	136	3	1901	sw					adult F	36	hex	hex	c/w	4	6	\$0.96			
1461	\$0.00	L									adult M	19		rect	c/w						
1462	\$1.68	L	135	3	1901	sw					adult M	39.6	hex	hex	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
1463	\$1.47	L	65	2	1900	sw	y				adult F	19.5	hex	hex	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
1464	\$0.48	M				sw	y				adult I	99	rect?	?	c	75	4	\$0.36			
1465	\$0.96	L	141	3	1901	sw	y				adult M?	29.8	hex	hex	c/w	10	4	\$0.64			
1466	\$0.12	L	62	2	1900						subadult	0.8	rect	rect?	c						
1467	\$0.12	M									subadult	0	rect	rect?	c						
1468	\$1.48	L	628	10	1905	sw	y				adult I	38.8	rect	rect	w	24	6	\$0.96			
1469	\$0.16	M									subadult	0.1	rect	rect	c						
1470	\$1.99	L	701	10	1906	sw	y				adult M?	44.9	rect	hex?	c/w	41	6	\$1.14			
1471	\$0.78	M				sw	y				adult F?	38.8		hex	c	75	6	\$0.54			
1472	\$1.68	L	252	4	1902	sw	y				adult F?	98	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1474	\$1.54	L	142	3	1901	sw					adult IM	34.7	hex	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96			
1475	\$3.34	L	755	12	1907	p42		static	\$2.50	A	subadult	0.65	rect	rect	w	p42	4	\$0.32			
1476	\$8.35	L	92	3	1900	swt	y	sliding?	\$5.00	G	adult M?	41.4	hex	hex	c/w	47	6	\$2.70			
1477	\$0.13	L	16	1	1900						subadult	0.8	rect	rect	c/w						
1478	\$4.26	L	761	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	GN	adult F?	26.7	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1479	\$1.47	L	61	2	1900	sw	y				adult M?	44.2	hex	hex	c/w	48	6	\$0.96			
1480	\$1.29	L	14	1	1900	sw	y				subadult (female)	2	rect	rect?	c	72	4	\$0.88			
1481	\$0.85	L	100	3	1900	sw					subadult	0.24	rect	rect	c/w	51	4	\$0.60			
1482	\$8.44	L	144	3	1901	swt	y	sliding	\$5.00	G?	adult F?	44.4	hex	hex	c/w	174	6	\$2.70			

BURIAL_#	Total Wholesale Hardware Costs	TIME_PERIOD	LATE_SEQ	LATE_ROW	YEAR	Handle Form	Changes made	VW -- Static or Sliding	V. W. Cost	WINDOW_TYPE	Description	AGE	OUTER_BOX	INNER_BOX	NAIL_TYPE	HANDLE_TYP	HAN_NO	Handle wholesale Cost	HAN2_TYPE	HAN2NO	Handle 2 Wholesale Cost
1483	\$1.75	L	150	3	1901	sw	y				adult M	35.2	hex	hex	c/w	18	6	\$0.96			
1484	\$4.17	L	123	3	1901	sb	y	static	\$2.50	M	subadult	0.42	rect	hex?	c	176	4	\$1.12			
1485	\$0.16	L	39	1	1900						subadult	0	vault	hex?	c						
1486	\$0.69	L	278	5	1902	sw	y				subadult	0.46	rect	rect	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1487	\$1.74	L	151	3	1901	sw	y				adult M?	34.9	hex	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96			
1488	\$1.80	L	315	5	1902	sw					adult F?	26.5	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1489	\$0.68	L	762	12	1907	sw					subadult	1.2	rect	rect	w	2.2	4	\$0.40			
1490	\$3.31	L	763	12	1907	sw		static	\$2.50	D	subadult	0.1	rect	rect	w	23	4	\$0.40			
1491	\$3.33	L	108	3	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	M	subadult (female)	1.13	rect	hex	c/w	130	4	\$0.40			
1492	\$3.50	L	109	3	1900	sw		static	\$2.50	N	subadult	2.6	rect	rect	c/w	23	2	\$0.20	130	2	\$0.20
1493	\$0.90	L	367	6	1903	pC	y				subadult	0.9	rect	rect?	w	pC	4	\$0.32			
1494	\$0.18	M									adult F	32.7	hex?	hex	c						
1495	\$0.88	L	162	3	1901		y				adult M?	40.7	hex?	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
1496	\$0.73	L	248	4	1902	sw	y				subadult (female)	0.25	rect	hex?	c/w	23	4	\$0.40			
1498	\$4.03	L	765	12	1907	sw	y	static	\$2.50	D?	adult IM	29.2	rect	rect	w	8	6	\$0.96			
1499	\$0.95	L	158	3	1901	sw	y				adult F?	29.4	hex	hex	c/w	10	4	\$0.64			
1500	\$1.41	L	27	1	1900	sw	y				adult M	38.5	rect?	hex	c	10	6	\$0.96			
1501	\$8.49	L	250	4	1902	swt		sliding	\$5.00	A?	adult M	33.7	hex	hex	c/w?	47	6	\$2.70			
1502	\$0.88	L	251	4	1902	sw	y				adult IF	99	hex	hex	c/w	7	4	\$0.64			
1504	\$0.25	L	254	4	1902						subadult	0	rect	rect	c						
1506	\$3.10	L	424	6	1903	sw	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult I	99	rect	?	c/w	2.1	4	\$0.60			
1507	\$1.32	L	249	4	1902	sw	y				adult F?	99	hex	hex	c/w	7	6	\$0.96			
1508	\$7.24	L	247	4	1902	swt	y	static	\$2.50	?	adult F	29.8	rect	rect?	c/w	175	6	\$2.70			
1509	\$0.01	L	239	4	1902		y				adult IF	54.5		hex	c/w						
1510	\$1.68	L	246	4	1902	sw					adult F?	23.2	hex	hex	c	7	6	\$0.96			
1511	\$0.65	L	240	4	1902	sw					subadult	0.9	rect	rect?	c	50	4	\$0.40			
1512	\$0.07	E					y				adult I	20.4		hex	c						
1513	\$1.40	M				swt	y				adult IM	14.5	rect	rect?	c	177	4	\$0.96			

BURIAL_#	Misc. Hardware Wholesale Cost										
	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD	Orn Track 4 Wholesale Cost	OT4_NO	OT4	Orn Track 3 Wholesale Cost	OT3_NO	OT3	Orn Track 2 Wholesale Cost	OT2_NO	OT2
1	\$0.03										
2											
3											
4	\$0.01										
5	\$0.09	15	5	\$0.05	4	4	\$0.04				
6											
7											
8	\$0.01										
9	\$0.01	?	1	\$0.01							
10											
11											
12											
14	\$0.02										
15											
16	\$0.02										
17											
18	\$0.01										
19	\$0.01	?	1	\$0.01							
20											
21	\$0.04										
22	\$0.01										
23											
24											
25											
26											
27											
28	\$0.02	1	2+	\$0.04							
29											
30											
31	\$0.02	10	3	\$0.03							
32	\$0.01										

Misc. Hardware Wholesale Cost	MSC_HARDNO	MISC_HARD	Orn Track 4 Wholesale Cost	OT4_NO	OT4	Orn Track 3 Wholesale Cost	OT3_NO	OT3	Orn Track 2 Wholesale Cost	OT2_NO	OT2	Orn Track Wholesale Cost	BURIAL_#
414													
415													
416	\$0.01												
417													
418													
419	\$0.06	?	1	\$0.01									
421													
422													
423	\$0.06	11?	1	\$0.01	?	1	\$0.01						
425													
426	\$0.04	29	6	\$0.06									
427	\$0.09	27	1	\$0.01	28	2	\$0.02						
428	\$0.03												
429													
430													
431													
432	\$0.01	?	7	\$0.07									
433													
440	\$0.02	?	1	\$0.01									
441	\$0.08	?	1	\$0.01									
442	\$0.07												
443	\$0.03		3	\$0.03									
444													
445	\$0.06												
446	\$0.04												
448	\$0.01												
449	\$0.08	1	6	\$0.12	?	1	\$0.01						
451													3 8
452													3 3
458													
459	\$0.05	22	3	\$0.03									

BURIAL_#	Orn Track Wholesale Cost	OT2	OT2_NO	Orn Track 2 Wholesale Cost	OT3	OT3_NO	Orn Track 3 Wholesale Cost	OT4	Orn Track 4 Wholesale Cost	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	Misc. Hardware Wholesale Cost	
460	\$0.01	2?	6	\$0.06	?	16	\$0.16						
461	\$0.02												
462										4	16		
463	\$0.03												
464													
466													
467	\$0.12	?	2	\$0.02									
468	\$0.01												
469	\$0.02												
470	\$0.01	?	1	\$0.01									
471													
472										1	3	\$0.03	
473													
474													
476													
477													
478	\$0.01												
479													
480	\$0.03	?	3	\$0.03									
481	\$0.03												
482	\$0.03												
483	\$0.06	?	1	\$0.01									
485	\$0.06	21?	3	\$0.03									
486	\$0.05	6?	1	\$0.01									
487													
488	\$0.01	?	2	\$0.02									
489													
490													
491													
492	\$0.08	?	1	\$0.01									
494													

BURIAL_#	Orn Track Wholesale Cost	OT2	OT2_NO	Orn Track 2 Wholesale Cost	OT3	OT3_NO	Orn Track 3 Wholesale Cost	OT4	OT4_NO	Orn Track 4 Wholesale Cost	MISC_HARD	MISC_HARDNO	Misc. Hardware Wholesale Cost
1219													
1220	\$0.02	?	1	\$0.01									
1221	\$0.01	27	1	\$0.01									
1222													
1223													
1224	\$0.03												
1225													
1226	\$0.09												
1227	\$0.01												
1228													
1229	\$0.13												
1230													
1231													
1232													
1233	\$0.01												
1234													
1235													
1236	\$0.01	64	1	\$0.02	6?	4	\$0.04						
1237	\$0.06												
1238	\$0.02												
1239													
1240	\$0.14												
1241													
1242													
1243													
1244	\$0.10	6	1	\$0.01	6?	5	\$0.05	?	4				
1245													
1246	\$0.04												
1247													
1248													
1249													

APPENDIX E:

**Freedman's Cemetery
Personal Effects/Grave Inclusions Database**

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS												
128	L	4.19	S																																																
129	L	42.6	M?																																																
130	L	0.3	S																																																
131	L	51.3	F																																																
132	L	40.6	M																																																
133	L	17.6	I																																																
134	L	32.6	F																																																
135	L	0.68	S																																																
136	L	52.7	F	Y	1																																														
137	L	98	IM																																																
138	L	26.8	M																																																
139	L	1.7	S													Y																																			
140	L	37.1	F?																																																
141	L	35.7	F?																																																
145	L	21.7	M?	Y	1																																														
146	L	0.62	S																			Y																													
147	L	9.6	SM																						Y	Y	Y																								
149	L	23.9	F																																																
150	L	0	S																																																
151	L	1.62	S																																																
152	L	80	S																																																
153	L	0.76	S																																																
154	L	2.8	SF																			Y																													
155	L	1.45	S																																																
156	L	0.25	S														Y																																		
157	L	32.8	F?																																																
158	L	23.8	F?																																																
162	L	98	I																																																
164	L	26.9	F?													Y																																			
165	L	98	IM																																																
166	L	23.5	F													Y																																			
171	L	98	M																																																
173	L	0.23	S																																																
174	L	30.5	F																																																
178	L	26.6	F																																																
184	L	98	IM																																																

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS																	
332	L	3.04	S																			Y																																		
333	L	18	F	Y	1											Y																																								
334	L	1.3	S	Y	2																	Y	y																																	
335	L	1.08	S																																																					
336	L	36.3	F?																																																					
337	L	26.5	F?																																																					
338	L	3.34	S														Y					Y																																		
341	L	5.57	S																																																					
342	L	2.5	S														Y																																							
343	L	1.38	SF	Y	1								Y	2									Y																																	
345	L	0.49	S																																																					
346	L	0.85	S																																																					
347	L	1.95	SF																Y	1			y																																	
348	L	9.02	SM																			Y?																																		
349	L	0	S																																																					
350	L	32	F?																																																					
351	L	0.71	S																																																					
352	L	0.2	S																																																					
353	L	34.8	M?	Y	1											Y?																																								
354	L	29	M?																																																					
355	L	28.3	F?																																																					
356	L	50	M?															Y																																						
357	L	0.47	S																																																					
358	L	21.4	I																																																					
359	L	44.1	F?	Y			1	1					Y?	1																																										
360	L	35.6	I																																																					
361	L	33.9	F?																																																					
362	L	37.4	M?																																																					
363	L	35.8	F?																																																					
364	L	35.8	F?													Y																																								
365	L	2.1	S																																																					
366	L	0.2	S																																																					
367	L	0.35	S																																																					
368	L	99	IM																																																					
370	L	2.5	S																																																					
371	L	47.5	F?																																																					

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS								
478	L	0.2	S																																												
479	L	0.06	S																																												
480	L	30.3	M																																												
481	L	34.8	IM																																												
482	L	1.02	S																																												
483	L	51.2	M?																																												
485	L	3.58	SF																																												
486	L	19	F																																												
487	L	48.8	M																																												
488	L	41.3	M?	Y	1																																										
489	L	0.11	S																																												
490	L	39.8	M?																																												
491	L	43.7	M																																												
492	L	96	X																																												
494	L	0.2	S																																												
495	L	35.9	I																																												
496	L	27.4	F																																												
497	L	97	F											Y?																																	
498	M	17	M?																																												
499	L	47.1	M																																												
504	L	11.9	SM																																												
506	M	44.4	IF																																												
511	L	49.4	M?																																												
513	L	20.65	IF	Y				1			1	Y			2																																
514	L	42.5	M																																												
515	L	54.5	M																																												
519	L	46.9	M																																												
520	L	41	M																																												
521	L	99	I																																												
523	M	35.3	M																																												
525	L	0.16	S																																												
526	M	2.5	S																																												
527	E	0.66	S																																												
529	L	98	M?																																												
530	L	17.5	M																																												
533	L	31.2	F	Y				1																																							

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN_PERF	COIN	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS				
537	M	51.6	IF												Y																											
540	L	42.9	M																																							
542	L	32.4	M																																							
544	L	41.1	M																																							
545	M	35.3	M																																							
546	L	0	S													Y																										
549	M	0.7	SF															Y	2		y																					
550	E	1.13	S																																							
551	M	2.7	S																																							
552	E	0.76	S																																							
553	L	40.6	F?																																							
556	L	23	F																																							
557	L	38	F	Y	1																					Y																
558	L	48.9	M?																																							
560	L	16.3	IM																																							
561	L	0.1	S																																							
562	L	47.8	M																																							
563	L	34.5	M																Y																							
564	L	18.5	F?										Y		2	Y			Y																							
565	M	4.76	SF	Y					1																																	
566	P	0.1	S																																							
567	E	0.55	S																																							
568	L	20	F																																							
569	E	3.8	S																																							
570	L	1.3	S																																							
571	L	0.13	S																																							
573	M	1.24	S																																							
574	E	98	M?																																							
577	L	45.8	M																																							
578	E	54.5	F?	Y				1																				Y														
579	L	0.38	S																																							
580	L	0	S																																							
582	L	0.08	S																																							
583	L	0	S																																							
584	L	41.4	F																																							
585	M	0.1	S																																							

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN_PERF	COIN	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS				
763	L	0.12	S																																							
764	L	99	F?										Y		2	Y																										
765	L	0.3	S																																							
767	L	0.75	SF	Y			1																			1																
768	L	99	I																		Y?																					
769	L	28.6	F?	Y	1											Y																										
771	M	0.54	S																																							
773	L	34.3	M?																																							
774	L	0.24	S														Y																									
775	L	0.1	S																																							
778	L	37.5	F?	Y				1								Y					Y																					
779	L	0.05	S																																							
780	L	98	F?	Y	2																																					
781	L	39.1	F	Y	1																																					
784	L	17.8	I	Y					1							Y?																										
785	L	31	I																																							
786	M	2.3	SF																																							
787	L	46.3	M	Y	1																																					
789	L	0.67	S																																							
791	L	3.05	SM																																							
794	L	33.8	M?																																							
795	L	54.5	I																																							
797	L	96	X																																							
798	L	3.43	S																																							
799	L	0	S																																							
800	L	52.5	F?																																							
801	L	28.8	IF	Y	1																																					
802	L	32.5	IM	Y			1																																			
803	L	0.05	S																																							
804	L	0.05	S																																							
805	L	34.5	IF										Y	2																												
806	L	2.35	S																																							
807	L	0.12	S																																							
808	L	98	M?																																							
809	L	42.9	IM																																							
810	L	0.25	S																																							

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN_PERF	COIN	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS																
811	L	32	F																																																				
812	L	34.9	IM	Y	1																																																		
813	L	99	I																																																				
814	L	28.8	F?	Y		1																				1																													
815	L	30.6	M														Y																																						
816	L	98	M?																																																				
817	L	28.1	F?																																																				
818	L	98	I															Y																																					
819	L	33.7	IM																																																				
820	L	98	AF																																																				
821	L	9.48	SM																																																				
825	L	34.5	M?	Y		1							Y?			Y																																							
826	L	34	I																																																				
827	L	2.15	S																																																				
828	L	0.11	S																																																				
829	L	21.5	F?																			Y	y																																
830	L	39.7	F?																										Y																										
831	L	28.6	IM																																																				
832	L	97	AF																																																				
833	L	99	IM																Y		1																																		
834	L	36.4	F?																																																				
835	L	10.52	SM																																																				
836	L	98	F?																																																				
837	L	32.8	IF																																																				
838	L	0.15	SF																																																				
840	L	44.5	I																																																				
841	L	1.3	S																																																				
842	L	20	I																																																				
843	L	0.28	S																																																				
844	L	26.7	I																																																				
845	L	33.6	AM																			Y																																	
846	L	98	M?																																																				
847	L	98	I																																																				
851	L	99	M?	Y			1															Y?																																	
853	L	0.65	S																																																				
854	L	31	F?																																																				

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS							
855	L	33.7	IM																																											
856	L	4.8	SF																																						Y					
857	L	11.5	S																																											
858	L	37.5	M																																											
859	L	19.4	I	Y	1											Y																									Y					
860	L	34.2	I																																											
861	L	23.3	F?	Y	1								Y	2									Y																							
862	L	33.3	F																																											
863	L	0.4	S	Y	1																																									
864	L	35.8	IF										Y		1																															
865	L	30.6	M?																																											
866	L	0.21	S																																											
867	L	15.5	F										Y	2																																
868	L	35.4	IM																																											
869	L	28.3	AM	Y		1																																								
870	L	17.4	IF																			Y																								
871	L	38.2	F										Y		2																															
872	L	99	I																																											
873	L	21.25	F?																																											
874	L	99	IF																																											
875	L	0	S																																											
876	L	0.2	S																																											
877	L	41.4	IM																																											
878	L	5.63	S																																											
879	L	39.2	M																																											
880	L	32	IF										Y?			Y																														
881	L	0.3	S																																											
882	L	30.3	F?										Y		2																															
883	L	34.1	F?																																											
884	L	99	IF																				Y																							
885	L	27.1	IF																																											
887	L	8.9	S																																											
888	L	99	M?																																											
889	L	99	I																																											
890	L	17.4	IM	Y	1																																								y	y
891	L	15.5	I																																											

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN_PERF	COIN	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS				
892	L	33	IF																																							
893	L	39.5	F?													Y																										
894	L	17.5	IF																																							
895	L	1.34	S																																							
896	L	0.2	S																																							
897	L	12.2	SM																																							
898	L	98	IF	Y								1				Y?																										
899	L	43	M																																							
900	L	29.8	F?										Y	2		Y?																										
901	L	37.4	F?																																							
902	L	32.1	F																																							
903	L	36.5	F	Y	2																		y																			
904	L	52.6	M?																																							
905	L	0.24	S																			Y																				
906	L	0.85	S																																							
907	L	0.15	S																																							
908	L	0	S																																							
909	L	0	SF																						Y																	
910	L	0	S													Y																										
911	L	16.5	IF																																							
912	L	2.4	SM																			Y																				
913	L	0.87	S																Y	1																						
914	L	42.6	I																																							
915	L	7.55	SM																																							
916	L	0	S														Y																									
918	L	11.2	SM																																							
919	L	0.12	S																																							
920	L	10.46	SF										Y	2																												
921	L	15.5	IF																																							
922	L	3.3	SF														Y						y																			
924	L	36	I														Y																									
925	L	42.3	M?																																							
929	L	28.7	M?	Y					1																	Y																
930	L	4.5	S																																							
932	L	35.5	F?																																							
933	L	0.2	S														Y																									

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS																
1,085	L	99	I																																																				
1,086	L	26.1	F?													Y?																																							
1,087	L	0.1	S																																																				
1,088	L	25.6	F?	Y	2											Y																																							
1,089	L	0.1	S																																																				
1,090	L	34.6	M?																																																				
1,091	L	0.07	S																																																				
1,092	L	37	F																							Y																													
1,093	L	0.06	S																																																				
1,094	L	45.2	F?																																																				
1,095	L	0.13	S																																																				
1,096	L	99	I																																																				
1,098	L	0.08	SF																																																				
1,100	L	48.8	M																																																				
1,101	L	0.1	S																																																				
1,102	L	19	F										Y		2	Y																																							
1,103	L	97	IF	Y	1											Y																																							
1,104	L	0.58	S														Y																																						
1,105	M	38.2	F?													Y																																							
1,106	E	38.9	F?																				Y																																
1,107	L	0.06	S																																																				
1,108	L	27.1	M																																																				
1,109	L	32.7	M?																																																				
1,110	L	36.9	M																																																				
1,111	L	2.9	S																																																				
1,112	L	36.5	M																																																				
1,114	L	30.6	F?																Y	1																																			
1,115	L	26.3	M																																																				
1,116	E	83	S																				Y																																
1,117	L	55	I																																																				
1,118	E	0.65	S																				Y																																
1,119	E	42.5	M?																																																				
1,120	L	9	SF										Y	2		Y								Y		Y	2																												
1,121	P	0.1	S																																																				
1,122	L	36.6	F	Y	1																																																		
1,123	M	1.48	S																																																				

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS							
1,124	E	0.44	S																																											
1,125	L	38	M																																											
1,126	L	19	M																																											
1,129	E	0	S																																											
1,130	L	4.81	SF																																											
1,131	M	0.5	S																																											
1,132	M	38.1	M																																											
1,133	L	17.4	F?																																											
1,134	L	37.1	M																			Y																			y					
1,135	L	96	X																																											
1,136	M	12.5	SF																																											
1,137	L	0.46	S																																											
1,138	M	56.6	M?																																											
1,139	L	47.1	F?																																											
1,140	L	0.3	S																																											
1,141	M	40	M																																											
1,142	L	35.2	M	Y		1																																								
1,143	P	1.3	SF																				y																							
1,144	L	51.5	F?																																											
1,147	M	44.1	M?															Y		2																										
1,148	E	41.2	IM																																											
1,149	L	60	IM																																											
1,150	L	28.9	F?	Y	1				1																																					
1,151	L	26.4	F?																																											
1,152	L	0	S																																											
1,153	L	99	I																																											
1,154	E	34.5	M																																											
1,155	L	0.72	S																																											
1,156	L	0.1	S																																											
1,157	M	44.5	M																																											
1,158	M	1.66	S																			Y																								
1,159	M	0.98	S																																											
1,160	L	30.06	M?																																											
1,161	E	54.7	M?																																											
1,162	E	30.2	F?																				Y																							
1,163	L	30.8	F																																											

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS														
1,313	P	1.32	S																																																		
1,314	L	3.86	S																																																		
1,315	E	0.35	S																																																		
1,316	L	47.4	M																																																		
1,317	P	0.49	S																																																		
1,318	M	50.2	M?	Y				1																																													
1,319	M	15	I	Y				1																																													
1,320	M	0.68	S																																																		
1,321	M	31.6	F?																																																		
1,322	L	47	M																																																		
1,323	L	96	X																																																		
1,324	M	37.3	M?																																																		
1,325	M	27.2	F?																																																		
1,326	M	0	SF	Y				1															y			Y																											
1,327	L	0.2	S																																																		
1,328	M	40.1	M																																																		
1,329	L	7.7	SF																																																		
1,330	E	39.8	M																																																		
1,331	L	55	F?										Y	2																																							
1,332	M	0.12	S																																																		
1,333	M	0	S																																																		
1,334	M	1.13	S																																																		
1,335	E	0.64	S																																																		
1,336	M	0.1	S																																																		
1,337	L	0.53	S																Y	1																																	
1,338	M	0.94	S																																																		
1,339	M	1.2	S																																																		
1,340	P	1.46	S																Y	2				Y?																													
1,341	L	99	M?																																																		
1,342	M	33.9	M?																																																		
1,344	P	0.82	S																																																		
1,345	L	29.5	M																																																		
1,346	M	1.38	S														Y																																				
1,347	M	11.08	S																																																		
1,348	M	0.15	S																																																		
1,349	M	29.5	I																																																		

BURIAL	PERIOD	AGE	SEX	RING	RING_GOLD	RING_SILV	RING_COPP	RING_IRON	RING_FACET	RING_COMP	RING_BONE	RING_CELL	FARRING	EAR_HOOP	EAR_DANGLE	LACE_PIN	BIB_PIN	FRAT_PIN	COIN	COIN_PERF	COIN_NONP	SHOE	BEAD_NECK	BEAD_OTHER	BOOK	BOTTLE	BRACELET	BULL_CASE	BUTT_COVER	BUTT_SET	CANE	CELL_CF_CL	COIN_PURSE	CUFF_HOLD	DEC_COMB	DICE	DOLL	EMBALM	EYEGLOSS																		
1,438	M	0.15	S																																																						
1,439	M	99	IM	Y								1																																													
1,440	M	0.19	S																																																						
1,441	M	0	S																																																						
1,443	L	2.6	S																																																						
1,445	M	0	S																																																						
1,446	L	41.4	M?																																																						
1,447	L	35.4	F?																																																						
1,448	M	0	S																																																						
1,449	L	44.6	M?																																																						
1,450	L	0	S														Y																																								
1,451	L	34.7	M																																																						
1,452	M	49.5	F	Y	1		1									Y																																									
1,453	L	0.58	S														Y																																								
1,454	L	42	F?																																																						
1,455	M	0.45	S																																																						
1,456	L	0.5	S														Y					Y																																			
1,457	L	0.2	S																																																						
1,458	L	40.7	F	Y	1				1							Y																																									
1,459	L	0.1	S																																																						
1,460	L	36	F	Y	2																																																				
1,461	L	19	M	Y					1																																																
1,462	L	39.6	M																																																						
1,463	L	19.5	F																																																						
1,464	M	99	I																																																						
1,465	L	29.8	M?																																																						
1,466	L	0.8	S																																																						
1,467	M	0	S																																																						
1,468	L	38.8	I																																																						
1,469	M	0.1	S																																																						
1,470	L	44.9	M?																																																						
1,471	M	38.8	F?													Y																																									
1,472	L	98	F?																																																						
1,474	L	34.7	IM	Y					1																																																
1,475	L	0.65	S																																																						
1,476	L	41.4	M?																																																						

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL
38																														
39																														
40																														
41																	Y													
42												Y																		
43																														
44																														
45																														
46																														
47																														
48																														
49																														
51																														
52																														
53																														
54																				Y										
55																														
58																														
61																										Y				
62																														
64																														
65																								Y						
66																														
67																														
68																														
70																														
71																														
73																										Y				
74																														
75																														
76																														
79																														
80																														
81																														
83																														
84																														

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL
85																														
86																				Y										
88																														
89																														
90																														
91																														
92																														
93																														
94																														
95																														
96																														
97																														
98																														
99																														
100										Y																				
101																										Y				
102																														
103																														
106																										Y				
108																							Y							
110																														
111																														
112																														
113																														
115																														
116																														
117																														
118																														
119																														
120																														
121															Y															
122																														
123																														
125											Y																			
126																														
127																														

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL
128																														
129																														
130																														
131																														
132																														
133																														
134																														
135																														
136																														
137																														
138																														
139																														
140																														
141																														
145																														'essie' on ring
146																														
147																								Y						
149																														
150																														
151																														
152																														
153																														
154																														
155																														
156																														
157																														
158																														
162																														
164																														
165																														
166																														
171																														
173																														
174																														
178																														
184																														

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
185																													
190																													
191																													
192																													
194																													
197																													
198																													
199																													
200																													
201																													
204																													
205																													
209																													
210																													
211																													
212																													
213																													
216																													
217																													ring w/inscription
218																													hand holding envelope
219																													
220																													
221																													
222																													
223				Y																									
224																													
225																													
226																													
227																													
228																													
229																													
230													Y																
231																													
232																													
233																													
234																													

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES
235																												
236																												safety pin w/beads on it
237																												
238																												
239																												
240																												
241																												
242																												masonic cufflinks
243			Y																									
244																												
245																												
246																												
247																												
248																												
253											Y																	
255																												
256																												
260																												
261																												
262																												
263																												
264																												
265																												
266																												
267																												
268																												
269																												
270																												
271																												
272																												
273																												
274																		Y										
275																												
276																												
277																												
278																												

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL		
279																																
280																																
283																																
285																																
286								Y																								
287																										1	Y					
288																																
289																																
290								Y																								
301																																
302																																
303																																
305																																
306																																
307																																
310																																
311																																
312																																
313																																
314																	Y															
315																																
316																																
317																																
319																																
320																																
321																																
322																																
323																																
324																																
325																																
326																	Y															
327																																
328																																
329																																
330																											Y					
331																					Y											

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES
332																												
333									Y?																			
334																												beads on shoes
335																												
336																												
337																												
338																												
341																												
342																												
343									Y																			
345																												
346																												
347																												
348																												
349																												
350																												
351																												
352																												
353						Y?																						lace/lapel pin?
354																												
355																												
356																												
357																												
358													Y													Y		
359																												
360																												
361																												
362																												
363																												
364			?1																									
365																												
366																												
367																												
368																												
370																												
371																												

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	RATTLE	SCREWDRIE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES		
373																															
374																															
375																															
377																															
378																															
383																															
384																															
385																															
387																															
389												Y																			
392																															
394																															
395																															
396																															
398								Y																						victoria chain	
403																															
405																															
407																															
408																															
409																															
410																															
411																															
412																															ceramic frag in fill
413																															comb tine in fill
414																															
415																															
416																															
417																															
418																	Y										Y			misc items in fill	
419																															
421																															
422			1										Y																		
423												Y																			
425																															
426																															
427																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
428																															
429																															
430																															
431																															
432																															
433																															
435																															
440																															
441																															
442																															
443																															
444																															
445									Y?																						
446																															
448																															
449																															
451																											Y				
452									Y																						
458																															
459																															
460																															
461																															
462																															
463																															
464																															
466																															
467																															
468									Y																						
469																															
470																										Y					
471																															
472																															
473																															
474																															
476																															
477																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL		
478																																
479																																
480																																
481																																
482																																
483																																
485																																
486																																
487																																
488																																
489																																
490																																
491																																
492																																
494																																
495																																
496																																
497																																
498																																
499																										Y						
504																																
506																																
511																																
513																										1						
514																																
515																																
519																																
520																																
521																																doll in fill
523																																
525																																
526																																
527																																
529																						Y										
530																																
533																																Y

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
537																															
540																															
542																															
544																															
545																															
546																															
549																															
550																															
551																								Y							comb tine in fill
552																															
553																															
556																															
557																															
558																															
560																															
561																															
562																															
563																															
564																															
565																															
566																															
567																															
568																															
569																															
570																															
571																															
573																															
574																															
577																															
578																															
579																															
580																															
582																															
583																															
584																															
585																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL		
586																																
587																																
588									Y																							
589																																
591																																
592																																
593																																
594																																
597																																
598								Y																								
599																																
600																	Y															
603																																
608																																
612																																
616																																
618																																
624																																
630																																
631																																
634																																
635																																
642																																fascia needle/director
643																																
645																																
648																																
650																										Y						
651																																
653																																
655																																
656																																
657																																
658																																
659																																
662																																
668																																bottle in fill

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENCIL	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
763																														
764									Y			Y																		
765																														
767																														
768																														
769				Y																										
771																														
773				Y																										
774																														
775																														
778																			Y											twisted wire name pin
779																														
780																														
781																														
784																														
785																														
786			1																											
787																						Y								
789																														
791																														
794																														
795																														
797																														
798																														
799																														
800																						Y?								
801																														
802																														
803																														
804																														
805																														
806																														
807																														
808																														
809																						Y								
810																														

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
811																													
812			Y																										
813																													
814																													
815			Y									Y																	porc may be fill
816																													
817																													
818																													metal plate w/'333'
819																													
820																													
821																													
825																													
826																													
827																													
828																													
829																													
830																													
831																													
832			1																										
833			Y	Y														Y?											
834			Y																										
835																													
836																													
837			1																										
838																													
840																													
841																													
842																													
843																													
844																													
845																													
846																													
847																													
851																													
853																													
854																													

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
855																													
856																													
857																													
858																													
859																													doll on top of coffin
860																													
861																		Y											
862																													
863																													
864																													
865																					Y								suit coat
866																													
867																				Y?									
868																													
869																													
870			Y															Y											jersey pin 'js' monogram
871		?1									Y						Y												
872																													
873																													
874											Y																		
875																													
876																													
877																													
878																													
879																													
880																													scarf clip ?
881																													
882																													
883																													
884			Y																										
885																													
887																													
888																													
889																													bulb syringe
890																		Y											
891																													

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
892			2																									monogram on stud 'iHn'	
893																													
894																													
895																													
896																													
897																													
898																													
899																													
900																													
901																													
902																													
903																													
904																													
905																													
906																													
907																													
908																													
909													Y					Y											'B' on stick pin
910																													
911			1																										
912																													
913																													
914																													
915																													
916																													
918																													
919																													
920																													
921																													
922																													
924																													
925																													
929																													
930																													
932																													
933																													

NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
								Y?																					934	
																														935
																														936
																														937
																														938
																														939
																														940
																														942
																														943
																														944
																														945
																														946
																														947
																														948
																														949
																														966
																														975
																														976
																														977
																														978
																														979
																														980
																														981
																														982
																														983
																														984
																														986
																														988
																														989
																														990
																														991
																														993
																														994
																														995
																														996
																														997

initials 'RG' & 'J'

NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
																													998	
																														999
																														1,002
																														1,003
											Y																			1,004
																														1,005
																														1,006
																														1,007
																														1,008
																														1,009
																														1,010
																														1,011
																														1,012
																														1,016
																														1,017
																														1,018
																														1,019
																														1,020
																														1,021
																														1,022
																														1,024
																														1,025
																	Y													1,026
																														1,027
																														1,028
																														1,029
																														1,030
																	Y													1,031
																														1,032
																														1,033
																	Y													1,034
																														1,035
																														1,036
																														1,037
																														1,038
																														1,039

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
1,040																													
1,041																													
1,042																													
1,043																													
1,044																													
1,045																													
1,046																													
1,049																													
1,050																													
1,051																													
1,052				Y																									
1,053																													
1,054																													
1,055																			Y									Eureka rubber syringe	
1,056																													
1,058																													
1,059																													
1,062																													
1,063																													
1,064																													
1,065																													
1,066																													
1,069																													
1,070																													
1,071																													
1,072																													
1,073																													
1,074																													
1,075																													
1,076																													
1,077																													
1,079																													
1,080																													
1,081																													
1,082			2																										
1,083																													

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
1,085																													
1,086																													
1,087																													
1,088			1																										'D. KING' on ring
1,089																													
1,090																													
1,091																													
1,092																													
1,093																													
1,094																													
1,095																													
1,096																													
1,098																													
1,100																				Y									
1,101																													
1,102																													
1,103																													
1,104																													
1,105																													
1,106																													
1,107																													
1,108																													
1,109																													
1,110																													
1,111																													
1,112																													
1,114																													
1,115																													
1,116																													
1,117																													
1,118																													
1,119																													
1,120									Y																				beads w/ doll
1,121																													
1,122																													
1,123																													

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
1,124																															
1,125																											Y				
1,126																		Y													
1,129																															
1,130																															
1,131																															
1,132																															
1,133																															
1,134																															Bisga embalming fluid
1,135																															
1,136																															
1,137																															
1,138																															
1,139																															
1,140																															
1,141																										Y					
1,142																															
1,143																															
1,144																															
1,147																															
1,148																															
1,149																															
1,150																															
1,151																															
1,152																															
1,153																															
1,154																															
1,155																															
1,156																															
1,157																															
1,158													Y																		
1,159																															
1,160																															
1,161																															
1,162																															
1,163																															

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENCIL	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	RATTLE	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
1,164																														
1,165																														
1,166																														
1,167																														
1,168										Y																				monogram 'MW'
1,169																														pin w/greek inscription
1,170																														
1,171																														
1,172																														
1,173																														glass shoe
1,174																														
1,175																														
1,176																														
1,177																														
1,178																														
1,179																														
1,180																														
1,181																														
1,182																														pen holder
1,183																														
1,184																														
1,185																														
1,187																														
1,188																				Y										scarf holder
1,189																														
1,190																														
1,191																														
1,192																														doll in fill
1,193																														
1,194																					Y									
1,195																														
1,196																														Band of Kindred
1,197																														
1,198																														
1,199																														doll in fill
1,200																														

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
1,201																															
1,202																															
1,203																															
1,204																															
1,205																															
1,206																															
1,207																															
1,208																															
1,210																															
1,211																															
1,212																															
1,213																															
1,214																															
1,215																															
1,216																															
1,217																															
1,218																															
1,219																															
1,220													Y																		shell in fill
1,221													Y																		shell in fill
1,222																															
1,223																															
1,224																															
1,225																															
1,226																															
1,227																															
1,228																															
1,229																															
1,230																															
1,231																															
1,232																															
1,233																															
1,234																				Y											'BLIPU'
1,235																															
1,236																															
1,237																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL
1,238																														
1,239																														
1,240																														
1,241																														
1,242																														
1,243																														
1,244																														
1,245																														
1,246																														
1,247																														
1,248																														
1,249																														
1,251																														
1,252																														
1,253																														
1,254																														
1,255																														
1,256																														
1,257																														
1,258																														
1,259																														
1,260																														
1,262																														
1,263																														
1,264																														
1,265																														
1,266																														
1,267																														
1,268																														
1,269																														
1,270																														
1,271																														
1,272																														
1,273																										Y				
1,274																														
1,275																					Y									

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
1,276																													
1,277																													
1,278																													
1,279			5	Y																									leather ornament
1,280																													
1,281																													
1,282																													
1,283																													
1,284																													
1,285																													
1,286																													
1,287																													
1,288																													
1,290																													
1,291																													
1,292																													
1,293																													
1,294																													
1,295																													
1,296																													
1,297																													
1,298																													
1,299																													
1,300																													
1,301																													
1,302																													
1,303																													
1,304																													
1,305																													
1,306																													
1,307			1						Y		Y																		
1,308																													
1,309																													
1,310																													
1,311																													
1,312																													

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
1,313																															
1,314																															
1,315																															
1,316																															
1,317																															
1,318																															
1,319																															
1,320																															
1,321																															
1,322																															
1,323																															
1,324																															
1,325																															
1,326																															
1,327																															
1,328																															
1,329																															
1,330																		Y													
1,331																															
1,332																															
1,333																															
1,334																															
1,335																															
1,336																															
1,337																															
1,338																															
1,339																															
1,340																															
1,341																															
1,342																															
1,344																															
1,345																															
1,346																															
1,347																															
1,348																															
1,349																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL	
1,350																															
1,351																															
1,352																															
1,353																															
1,354																															
1,355																															
1,356																															
1,357																															
1,358																															
1,359																															
1,360																															
1,361																															
1,363																															
1,364								Y																							
1,365																															
1,366																															cork
1,367																															
1,369																															
1,370																															
1,371																															
1,372																															
1,373																															
1,374																															
1,375																															Doll in fill
1,376																										Y					
1,378																															
1,380																															
1,381																															
1,382																															
1,385																															
1,386																															
1,391																															Y
1,392																															
1,393																															
1,394																															
1,395																															

	NOTES	VEST_CHAIN	VASE	TRIM	TOY_GUN	TOKEN	TOILET_SET	TIE_TACK	TIE	SYRINGE	STICK_PIN	SPOON	SHELL	SCREWDRIVE	RATTLE	PUZL_COIN	PORC_VESS	POCK_KNIFE	PENDANT	PENCIL	PEN HOLDER	NECKLACE	MATCHES	MARBLE	LAPEL_PIN	KEY	JEWELRY	HAIR_PIN	GLASS_EGG	BURIAL
1,438																														
1,439							Y?																							
1,440																														
1,441																														
1,443																														
1,445																														
1,446																														
1,447																														
1,448																														
1,449																														
1,450																														
1,451																														
1,452																														
1,453																								Y						marble on lid
1,454																														
1,455																														
1,456																														
1,457																														
1,458																				Y										
1,459																														
1,460																														
1,461																														
1,462																										Y				
1,463																														
1,464																														
1,465																														
1,466																														
1,467																														
1,468																														
1,469																														toy saucer in fill
1,470																														
1,471																														
1,472																														
1,474																														
1,475																														
1,476																										Y				

	BURIAL	GLASS_EGG	HAIR_PIN	JEWELRY	KEY	LAPEL_PIN	MARBLE	MATCHES	NECKLACE	PEN HOLDER	PENCIL	PENDANT	POCK_KNIFE	PORC_VESS	PUZL_COIN	RATTLE	SCREWDRIVE	SHELL	SPOON	STICK_PIN	SYRINGE	TIE	TIE_TACK	TOILET_SET	TOKEN	TOY_GUN	TRIM	VASE	VEST_CHAIN	NOTES	
1,477																															
1,478																															
1,479																															
1,480											Y																			monogram 'PIA'	
1,481																															
1,482																															
1,483																															
1,484																															
1,485																															
1,486																															
1,487																															
1,488																															
1,489																															
1,490																															
1,491																															
1,492																															
1,493																															
1,494																															
1,495																															
1,496																															
1,498																															
1,499																															
1,500																															
1,501																															'Keith's cuff holders'
1,502																															
1,504																															newspaper
1,506																															
1,507																															poss. button set
1,508																															
1,509			1																												dress trim
1,510																															
1,511																															
1,512																															
1,513																															

APPENDIX F:

G. W. Loudermilk Day Books (1902-1907)

**(derived from original day books,
on file at the Sparkman-Hillcrest Funeral Home, Dallas, TX)**

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
1	11	1902	1	16	Linley	Hannah	organic heart disease	unk	y			F
1	15	1902	1	17	Baker	Infant of Collins Baker	Inanition	n			y	
1	21	1902	1	19	Armstrong	Russell	pneumonia	n	y			M
1	27	1902	1	23	Gilbert	Lemon	valvular heart disease	y	y			
1	28	1902	1	25	Elliot	Emma	consumption	n	y			F
1	35	1902	2	4	Walden	Marie	locked bowels	n			y	F
1	37	1902	2	4	Coleman	Mary, Mrs.	heart disease	n	y			F
1	38	1902	2	19	Walker	Mattie	Bright's Disease	n	y			F
1	40	1902	2	6	Arnold	Lillie	consumption	n		y		F
1	50	1902	2	11	Carter	Will	pneumonia	y	y			M
1	53	1902	2	17	Jedkins	Jonathan Henry	pneumonia	y?			y	m
1	54	1902	2	19	Sandridge	Alonzo	interception of bowels	n	y			m
1	55	1902	2	17	Collins	Dennis	double pneumonia	n	y			m
1	66	1902	2	17	Sapp	Estella Mary	stabbed in heart	unk		y		f
1	73	1902	3	13	Green	Bennie	pneumonia	y			y	m
1	74	1902	3	14	Johnson	Pinkie	Endocarditis	n	y			f
1	79	1902	3	18	Turner	Sam Jr.	consumption	n	y			m
1	82	1902	3	18	Leeler	Carl W.	dropsy	n			y	m
1	88	1902	3	20	Long	Alberta		unk			y	f
1	94	1902	3	31	Marshall	Rollan J.	pistol shot	partial	y			m
1	95	1902	4	2	Wade	Jessie J.	consumption	n		y		m
1	100	1902	4	16	Hicks	Clay?	dysentery	n	y			f
1	101	1902	4	16	Collins	Infant of Charles Collins	premature birth	n			y	
1	103	1902	4	16	Collins	Mary	childbirth	partial	y			f
1	108	1902	4	25	Cardine	Luther	consumption	partial	y			m
1	113	1902	5	2	Brown	J B	spasms	y			y	
1	116	1902	4	18	no name	no name	consumption		y			
1	123	1902	5	13	Yancer	Thad	acute hepatitis	partial		y		m
1	142	1902	5	26	Mitchell	Lucy	consumption	unk	y			f
1	145	1902	5	29	Smith	George		partial	y			m
1	152	1902	6	3	Wargon??	Mission??	consumption	n		y		?
1	162	1902	6	12	Thorn	Margarette	colitis	n			y	
1	167	1902	6	17	Donnelly	Jennie Mrs.	old age	y?	y			f
1	177	1902	6	24	Cooper	Francis Hearne	consumption	n		y		
1	180	1902	6	25	Blandy	Lettie		n			y	
1	181	1902	6	26	Howard?	Corrie	consumption	n	y			
1	186	1902	6	29	Siegler	Mary Ellen		y			y	f
1	188	1902	6	28	Fletcher	Ellen Mrs.		n	y			f
1	198	1902	7	12	Jackson	Lya???	teething	n			y	

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
1	202	1902	7	15	Ketchum	Annie Raines	heart failure	n	y			f
1	205	1902	7	20	Thompson	Candar Mrs.		n	y			f
1	213	1902	7	24	Graham	Cleo	consumption	n			y	f
1	228	1902	8	7	Wagoner	Clara Bell		n			y	f
1	233	1902	8	5	Jackson	Gertrude	consumption	y		y		f
1	259	1902	9	9	Coleman	Lucile	malarial fever	y			y	f
1	261	1902	9	15	Buscal	Samuel O.	consumption	n	y			m
1	263	1902	9	18	Jackson	Mollie		partial	y			f
1	272	1902	9	26	Douthit	Herman		n			y	m
1	275	1902	9	27	Jeffrey	Mrs. Annie	acute peretonitis	unk	y			f
2	3	1902	10	29	Dunham	Delia	cancer	n	y			f
2	6	1902	11	3	Baker	Infant of Collins B.		n			y	
2	7	1902	11	3	no name	no name		unk	y			
2	29	1902	12	7	Lunde	Margarette	old age	n	y			f
2	36	1902	12	14	Stegall	Robert	gunshot	n	y			m
2	44	1902	12	25	Flourney	Bertha	consumption	n	y			f
2	64	1903	1	10	Hendricks	Harry		n			y	m
2	66	1903	1	11	Walker	Peyton W.	heart trouble	partial	y			m
2	67	1903	1	11	Burrus	Dr. A. J.	RR Accident	n	y			m
2	70	1903	1	13	Spikes	Mrs. Anna	general dropsy	unk	y			f
2	73	1903	1	14	Gilmore	William	uremia	n	y			m
2	84	1903	1	28	Daughtery	Richard	pistol shot	n	y			m
2	93	1903	2	12	Ellison	Infant		n			y	
2	100	1903	2	18	Rains	Ophelia		n			y	f
2	104	1903	2	26	Rains	Infant of Henry Rains		n			y	
2	126	1903	3	29	Hicks	Infant of Douglas Hicks		n			y	
2	129	1903	4	3	Mercer	Infant of Ida Mercer	miscarried	y?			y	
2	151	1903	4	22	Walker	L. W.	appendicitis	n	y			m
2	166	1903	5	2	Cannard	Georgia	consumption	y		y		f
2	173	1903	5	11	Knighten	Tom	inflammation of the liver	n	y			m
2	202	1903	6	8	Allen	Johnetta		n			y	f
2	205	1903	6	15	Wade	Albert	tuberculosis	n		y		m
2	210	1903	6	17	Hicks	Adella	consumption	n	y			f
2	225	1903	7	3	Johnson	Nellie	consumption	n		y		f
2	231	1903	7	8	Weens	Clara Belle		n			y	f
2	237	1903	7	11	Dunn	Eliza		n	y			f
2	238	1903	7	11	Walker	Katie		y	y			f
2	242	1903	7	18	Bailey	Mrs. Dora		partial	y			f
2	248	1903	7	27	Davis	Infant of Mitchell Davis		n			y	

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
2	268	1903	8	27	Jackson	Francis		partial?	y			
2	271	1903	9	2	Armstead	Infant of Walter Armstead	still born	unk			y	
2	274	1903	9	6	Smith	Jim	bilious fever	n	y			m
2	298	1903	9	29	Johnson	Maggie	lockjaw	n			y	f
2	300	1903	10	3	Foster	Julia	dropsy	n	y			f
3	15	1903	10	17	Higginbotham	Priscilla	tuberculosis	n	y			f
3	22	1903	10	24	Johnson	James	shock from burns	n			y	m
3	42	1903	11	3	Bohannon	Rose	cholera Infantum	n			y	f
3	50	1903	11	12	Leonard	Martha	consumption	partial	y			f
3	59	1903	11	23	Franzier	Flora Francis	heart disease	n	y			f
3	60	1903	11	25	Leaper	Rena	consumption	partial?		y		f
3	64	1903	11	24	Boswell	Lois C.	cerebral spinal meningitis	n			y	f
3	88	1903	12	23	Wilkerson	Infant of Calvin Wilkerson		n			y	
3	118	1904	1	23	Webster	Jane	heart trouble	unk	y			f
3	138	1904	2	12	Mitchell	Mrs. Amy	consumption	n	y			f
3	143	1904	2	14	Johnson	John A.		y	y			m
3	151	1904	2	18	Lee	Willie	tuberculosis	n	y			m
3	153	1904	2	20	Anderson	Sam Claiborne		n			y	m
3	157	1904	2	24	Luckey	Mrs. Amanda	operation	n	y			f
3	178	1904	3	16	Reed	Everett	consumption	n	y			m
3	184	1904	3	23	Giles	Mrs. Permetter	tuberculosis	n	y			f
3	185	1904	3	23	Pleasant	Myrtle	consumption	n	y			f
3	211	1904	4	16	Jones	Abraham	dropsy	n	y			m
3	219	1904	4	21	Howard	Buie??	consumption	n	y			f?
3	227	1904	4	29	Still	Rowena	consumption	y	y			f
3	245	1904	5	21	Clarke	Sidney		n		y		
3	269	1904	6	4	Ross	Rubie	consumption	y	y			f
3	274	1904	6	7	Westley	Marelda	consumption	n	y			f
3	276	1904	6	9	Booth	Mrs. Gussie	consumption	n	y			f
3	280	1904	6	12	Turner	Washington	paralysis	n	y			m
3	293	1904	6	27	Johnson	Parler?	consumption	n	y			f?
3	307	1904	7	23	Clark	Mrs. Eliza	consumption	n	y			f
3	314	1904	7	27	Cooper	J. B.	dropsy	n	y			m
3	317	1904	7	28	Price	Lee	consumption	n	y			m
3	333	1904	8	13	Johnson	Allen		n	y			m
3	341	1904	8	27	Foster	Pearl	consumption	n	y			f
3	359	1904	9	19	Roberts	Margaret Haan	summer complaint	n			y	f
3	363	1904	9	21	Weathers	William		n	y			m
3	375	1904	10	10	Buckner	Infant of Ida Buckner	Inanition	n			y	

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
3	380	1904	10	15	Gable	Infant of Ethel Gable		n			y	
3	381	1904	10	18	McGruder	Blanche		n			y	f
3	411	1904	11	13	Ware	Lewis	spasmodic colic	n			y	m
3	418	1904	11	23	Simmons	Infant of Jim Simmons	premature birth	n			y	
3	423	1904	11	28	Jessie	Elmer A.		n			y	m
3	424	1904	11	29	Jefferson	Infant of Rubbie Jefferson	premature birth	y			y	
3	436	1904	12	12	Chandler	Oleatha	pneumonia	unk			y	f?
3	437	1904	12	12	Ware	Thomas	heart failure	n			y	m
3	446	1904	12	16	Williams	Georgie	typhoid fever	n		y		
3	450	1904	12	20	Brownrigg	Mamie	typhoid fever	unk			y	f
3	451	1904	12	21	Jones	Berieline		y			y	
3	454	1904	12	26	Jones	Pilar	paralysis	y	y			f
3	481	1905	1	25	Jones	Nelson	consumption	y	y			m
3	511	1905	2	20	Howell	Tobe	pneumonia	n	y			m
3	539	1905	3	20	Houts	Jessie	consumption	unk	y			m
3	543	1905	3	25	Ward? (or Hurd?)	Henrietta	consumption	n	y			f
3	552	1905	4	4	Thomas	Rose	heart disease	n	y			f
3	558	1905	4	8	Pauldo	Cornelia and infant	consumption	y	y			f
3	559	1905	4	9	Jessie	Lillie May		n			y	f
3	565	1905	4	14	Leach	Philipp	tuberculosis	unk	y			m
3	567	1905	4	14	Wilcox	Henrietta	gunshot accident	partial	y			f
3	568	1905	4	15	Smith	Infant of Lane Smith	still born	n			y	
3	585	1905	4	29	Robinson	Infant of Sam Robinson	intestinal obstruction	n			y	
3	587	1905	4	30	Blackman	Mary Etta	convulsions	n			y	f
3	605	1905	5	17	Holley	A.	typhoid fever	y			y	
3	no # given	1904	11	10	Minor	Richard	hydrocephalas	n			y	m
3	no # given	1904	9	14	Dunn	Lucille	pneumonia	n			y	f
4	2	1905	5	21	Jessie	Roy	typhoid fever	n		y		m
4	7	1905	5	25	Ray	Ambrasrer??	dysentery	unk			y	m?
4	30	1905	6	11	Turner	Infant of Elnora Turner	still born	n			y	
4	32	1905	6	11	Long	Margaret B.	tuberculosis	unk			y	f
4	53	1905	7	3	Smith	Roderick		n			y	m
4	62	1905	7	10	Jones	Esther	tuberculosis	unk		y		f
4	64	1905	7	10	Jamerson	Earnest	cholera Infantum	n			y	m
4	73	1905	7	27	Jones	Willie		partial			y	m
4	84	1905	8	5	Malone	Jimmie		y			y	m
4	94	1905	8	13	Severe	Mrs. Annie		n	y			f
4	153	1905	9	25	Jackson	Lula	dropsy	y	y			f
4	173	1905	10	13	Johnson	Elizabeth	pernicious fever	n	y			f

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
4	178	1905	10	15	Matthews	Sallie	consumption	n	y			f
4	184	1905	10	21	Bogel	Burt	consumption	unk	y			m
4	187	1905	10	28	Linscomb	Louis Edward	Inanition	unk			y	m
4	200	1905	11	8	Riley	Lulane	starvation	n			y	f
4	206	1905	11	17	Edwards	Mattie	consumption	n	y			f
4	209	1905	11	18	Cumby	Pauline	tuberculosis	unk	y			f
4	221	1905	12	1	Simmons	Infant of James Simmons	premature birth	n			y	
4	222	1905	12	2	Hart	George		unk	y			m
4	225	1905	12	6	Williams	Effie		unk		y		f
4	229	1905	12	10	Graves	Augusta	consumption	n		y		f
4	250	1905	12	28	Shampirl	Carmen A.		n			y	f
4	253	1905	12	30	Jessie	Willie		n			y	
4	268	1906	1	8	Watson	Mrs. Turner	consumption	y	y			f
4	285	1906	1	18	Armstrong	Lorena	menenigitis	n			y	f
4	303	1906	2	10	Walker	Charles		n			y	m
4	312	1906	2	15	Bailey	Ella	burns	n	y			f
4	319	1906	2	24	Banks	Tam??		n			y	
4	324	1906	2	27	Wilson	William	old age	y	y			m
4	327	1906	3	5	Harris	Martha	consumption	unk	y			f
4	349	1906	4	2	Robertson	Infant of Ollie Robertson		y			y	
4	366	1906	4	28	Linscomb	John		unk		y		m
4	380	1906	5	12	Davis	Lucien	pneumonia	n	y			m
4	381	1906	5	13	Derman	Sam	br.....?	n			y	m
4	417	1906	6	2	Cook	Hellen	teething	n			y	f
4	418	1906	6	3	Jones	Ruben	consumption	unk	y			m
4	428	1906	6	11	Jones	Infant of Wash Carwill & Rena Jones		n			y	
4	456	1906	6	30	Masterson	Willard B.	typhoid fever	n			y	m
4	481	1906	7	22	Blackman	Norma	consumption	n	y			f
4	482	1906	7	23	Jackson	Stonewall		n	y			m
4	495	1906	8	6	Thomas	Armanta		n			y	f
4	503	1906	8	16	Ware	Sidney		n			y	
4	512	1906	8	29	Cooper	Mary	heart failure	n	y			f
4	541	1906	9	26	Hardwick	Roxie Hayes	tuberculosis	y	y			f
4	543	1906	9	27	Durman	Isaac	dropsy	n	y			m
4	546	1906	10	1	Miller	Kalaph	stabbed	n	y			m
4	548	1906	10	1	Loftis	Mary	uterine cancer	n	y			f
4	565	1906	10	19	Culberson	Jim		unk	y			m
4	no # given	1906	5	5	Hawkins	Charles	locked bowels	n	y			m
4	no # given	1905	8	15	Harrison	Rastus	heart disease	n	y			m

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
5	9	1906	11	28	Anderson	Mrs. Ann		n	y			f
5	16	1906	12	8	Atkins	Ollie		n	y			
5	29	1906	12	27	Nash	Irene		y			y	f
5	36	1906	12	26	Briscoe	Harry		n	y			m
5	49	1907	1	7	Hooper	Pearl	pistol shot	n	y			f
5	52	1907	1	12	Johnson	Edna	dropsy	n	y			f
5	53	1907	1	12	Abbernathy	Reuben	dropsy	n	y			m
5	95	1907	2	23	Graham	Vinnie?	pneumonia	n			y	
5	108	1907	3	6	Pleasant	Georgia Ann	cancer	n	y			f
5	109	1907	3	7	Smiles	Alfred	acute nephritis/dropsy	n	y			m
5	118	1907	3	12	Hooper	Samuel	appoplexy	n	y			m
5	130	1907	3	28	Boswell	Mrs. Carmelia L.		n	y			f
5	131	1907	3	31	Lacy	Della	appendicitis	n		y		f
5	145	1907	4	15	Lewis	Annie Pearl	paralysis	n			y	f
5	149	1907	4	17	James	Benjamin		n				?
5	165	1907	4	28	Pickard	Harry Jr.		n			y	m
5	166	1907	4	29	Robinson	Infant of Alfred Robinson		n			y	
5	171	1907	5	1	Dodson	Millie		n	y			f
5	178	1907	5	7	James	Teresa		n			y	f
5	186	1907	5	15	Avatt	Ann		n	y			f
5	193	1907	5	20	Choice	Ned	gunshot	n		y		m
5	199	1907	5	29	Jones	Coleman		n	y			m
5	211	1907	6	8	Brown	Mose	consumption	n	y			m
5	218	1907	6	14	Black	Lorenza		n			y	f
5	222	1907	6	15	Randen	J. C.		partial			y	
5	223	1907	6	15	Thompson	Roosevelt	bronchitis	n			y	m
5	230	1907	6	19	Devereaux	Infant of J. G. Devereaux		n			y	
5	231	1907	6	19	Moore	Infant of A. J. Moore	still born	n			y	
5	237	1907	6	25	Smith	Chasie	burned to death	n	y			f
5	250	1907	7	2	Morgan	Susie	pureperal? fever	n		y		f
5	251	1907	7	4	Smith	Infant of Ben Smith	supressing urine	n			y	
5	253	1907	7	6	Brownlee	Allen	accident from fall	y	y			m
5	258	1907	7	14	Lamar	Mrs. Julia	dropsy	unk	y			f
5	261	1907	7	16	Jones	Georgie		y		y		f
5	294	1907	8	10	Godsey	Hattie		n	y			f
5	302	1907	8	12	Williams	Eva	consumption	n	y			f
5	321	1907	8	30	Reed	Infant of Helen Reed	premature birth	n			y	
5	327	1907	9	3	Fair	Dora		n	y			f
5	330	1907	9	4	Tucker	Pearl May		y			y	f

Day Book	Record No.	Year	Month	Day	Deceased Last Name	Deceased First Name	Cause of Death	White Payment?	Adult	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult (0-10)	Sex
5	343	1907	9	21	Roney	Tom	tuberculosis	n	y			f
5	364	1907	10	7	Shepard	Zela?	knife wound	n	y			f?
5	392	1907	10	26	Massey	Fay Bert	chronic diarreah	n			y	f
5	395	1907	10	26	Ramis	R. C. Jr.	bronchitis	n			y	m
5	no # given	1907	10	14	Lynch	Seaborn	consumption	n		y		
5	no # given	1907	8	1	Casall	Mandy		y	y			f

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age - Months	Age - Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
1	11	41	11	30	\$22.50	\$53.50	cook	Thos Power	
1	15			2	\$5.00	\$8.00		Collins Baker	
1	21	24			\$22.50	\$57.50	laborer	Robinson Armstrong	
1	27	42	1	13	\$26.50	\$62.50	laborer	Ella Gilbert et al	
1	28	41	0	7	\$32.00	\$74.00	housekeeper	Lillie White Court # 1 and Mrs. G. Buscal	y
1	35	0	0	6	\$7.50	\$10.50		Allen walden	
1	37	50	2	2	\$30.00	\$64.00	cook	Eureka Tabernacle # 18 , Mrs. Day	y
1	38	85	0	15	\$30.00	\$60.00	cook	Eureka Tabernacle # 18 , Mrs. C. W. Day	y
1	40	16	2	26	\$35.00	\$68.00	school girl	Mrs. J. R. Smith 707 Washington Ave	
1	50	22	0	0	\$22.50	\$35.50	laborer	Jal Turner & A. Moore	
1	53	1	11	24	\$17.50	\$29.50		B. W. Douglas	
1	54	26	11	2	\$21.50	\$39.00	waiter	Jennie Sandridge	
1	55	36	11	22	\$20.00	\$43.00	waiter	Jessie Collins	
1	66	17	10	14	\$16.00	\$46.25		Jonothan Dean	
1	73		4	0	\$7.50	\$16.00		Robert Green	
1	74	38	5	19	\$45.00	\$83.50	housekeeper	Household of Ruth # 238 & T. J. johnson	y
1	79	36	6	17	\$30.00	\$54.00	laborer	K of P Pride of West lodge	y
1	82	5	0	1	\$11.00	\$14.00		Edmond Edwards	
1	88	6	0	1	\$13.00	\$15.50		E. L. Brown	
1	94	22	10		\$22.50	\$55.00		Josh Hudson & Thomas Marshall	
1	95	15	10		\$40.00	\$65.00	school boy	son of Melvin Wade	insurance
1	100	43	1	2	\$30.00	\$62.00	cook	Royal House Temple # 115	y
1	101			1	\$5.00	\$8.00		Charles Collins	
1	103	37	4	24	\$30.00	\$72.00	housewife	Charles Collins & Sister Mary Bernard	
1	108	29			\$15.00	\$31.00		Fannie Cardine & W. m. San..... Mgr Arlington hotel	
1	113		5	2	\$5.50	\$11.50	child	W. F. ferguson @ M, K & T Rr	
1	116	29	5	0	\$15.00	\$31.00		W. W. Strickland, Dan Washington, etc.	
1	123	12	6	1	\$16.00	\$39.50		Peggie Blanch	
1	142	23			\$15.00	\$41.00		Caroline Faney? @ Pacific Ave	
1	145	28			\$22.50	\$52.50	laborer	Maggie Smith & Dr. T. L. Westerfield	
1	152	17			\$15.00	\$40.00	cook	Reverend Russell & Yvonne Walker	
1	162		6	14	\$10.00	\$21.50		George Thorn	
1	167	89			\$22.50	\$53.00		Mrs. John Martin 367 Bryan St.	
1	177	12	6	14	\$22.50	\$58.50		Dan Cooper	
1	180		9		\$8.50	\$17.50		Will Blandy	
1	181	21	5		\$15.00	\$27.00		Peggy Blanch & Thomas Rainey	
1	186	8			\$14.00	\$35.00		H. T. Mercier & Edder siegler	
1	188	61			\$115.00	\$185.00	housekeeper	Lillie White Court # 1, Court of Calantha, Household of Ruth #238	y
1	198	1	6		\$9.50	\$18.50		M... Jackson &	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age - Months	Age - Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
1	202	40			\$30.00	\$58.00	housewife	Pearl Rose Tabernacle # 34	y
1	205	80			\$30.00	\$61.25	housekeeper	Henry Thompson	
1	213	4	1		\$11.50	\$11.50	child	Jane Perry & Ed Smith (Col.)	
1	228	6	1	1	\$16.00	\$36.00		Jonothan B. & J. W. Wagoner	
1	233	11			\$25.00	\$48.00		J. B. Hyde M.D., and Lucy Miller	
1	259		11	18	\$6.00	\$10.00		Ben Ablan	
1	261	39			\$115.00	\$156.00		Mrs. Samuel O. Bruscal (St. Luke # 1)	y
1	263	27		7	\$22.50	\$48.50	housekeeper	sid Parker	
1	272		5	6	\$12.00	\$21.00		Joe Pope	
1	275	26	1	6	\$16.50	\$34.00	cook	J. W. Duncan	
2	3	43	4		\$135.00	\$198.50		Estate of Delia Dunham	
2	6		1	3	\$5.50	\$8.50		Collins Baker	
2	7				\$21.50	\$39.50		Ed Hooper	
2	29	60	1	6	\$30.00	\$56.00	cook	Mt. Horab Tabernacle # 3	y
2	36	34			\$17.50	\$44.00	laborer	Sarah Garner Saloon@ South Lamar	
2	44	25			\$30.00	\$71.00	housewife	Pearl Rose Tabernacle # 34	y
2	64	9			\$16.00	\$38.50		F. W. Hendricks	
2	66	42			\$23.50	\$54.00	porter	Hardy Manson??, S. f. Ford	
2	67	68			\$17.50	\$57.50	doctor	Mrs. Worthington & City National Bank	
2	70	42			\$40.00	\$70.00	housewife	Abe Collins	
2	73	26			\$32.50	\$95.00	waiter	Clinton Freeman	
2	84	27			\$16.50	\$39.00	farmer	Charles Daughtery	
2	93			infant	\$7.00	\$10.00			
2	100	1	8		\$7.50	\$7.50		Henry Rains	
2	104		1		\$6.50	\$6.50		Henry Rains	
2	126		3	21	\$12.00	\$22.50			
2	129			0	\$5.00	\$8.00		Robert Butler	
2	151	44			\$115.00	\$184.00	restaurant keep	Comet Lodge Odd Fellows #3134; Paul Drayton Mason Lodge	y
2	166	16	4	4	\$50.00	\$96.00		Mr. C. A. Keating	
2	173	60	8	11	\$60.00	\$119.50		Will King Mayfield Lumbar Co	
2	202		2	10	\$8.00	\$15.00		Sam Allen	
2	205	15			\$37.50	\$61.50		Robert Wade	
2	210	20			\$37.50	\$60.50		Douglas Hicks	
2	225	17			\$22.50	\$48.50		George Johnson	
2	231		14		\$15.00	\$29.00		J. A. L. Weens	
2	237	35			\$25.00	\$51.55		Sam Johns	
2	238	39			\$23.00	\$54.40		Jonothan Gilbert	
2	242	43			\$22.50	\$54.00		John Dean W. H. Thomas @McKinney Ave	
2	248			3	\$7.00	\$14.00		Mitchell Davis	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age - Months	Age - Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
2	268	33			\$18.00	\$22.00		Willie Jackson	
2	271			1	\$5.00	\$5.00			
2	274	43			\$30.00	\$64.00		K of P Pride of West lodge	y
2	298			14	\$6.00	\$9.00		Maggie Johnson (aunt of child)	
2	300	44	2	1	\$21.50	\$48.50	housewife	Mr. Haynes & Dr. Rowan	
3	15	22			\$22.50	\$57.50		Louis Higginbotham	
3	22		subadult		\$9.00	\$21.00		George Johnson	
3	42		2	15	\$7.50	\$10.50		Harry Bohannon	
3	50	23		10	\$21.50	\$40.50	housegirl	George Leonard & William Watson	
3	59	44	0	7	\$60.00	\$126.50	housewife	P. E. Frazier (Household of Ruth #687; Mosaic Templar? #710)	y
3	60	17			\$30.00	\$57.00		Flowers and Johnson	
3	64	1	7	13	\$15.00	\$15.00		L. C. Boswell	
3	88		11	28	\$9.00	\$9.00		Calvin Wilkerson	
3	118	55			\$15.00	\$15.00		Charles West	
3	138	38	4		\$30.00	\$60.00		Mt. Horab Tabernacle # 3 & Sam Ford	y
3	143	60	1	17	\$35.00	\$66.50		Johnson & Burch	
3	151	32	11		\$35.00	\$58.00	bartender	Eliza Nurf??	
3	153			2	\$6.50	\$10.50		Will Anderson and George Johnson	
3	157	40			\$50.00	\$88.00		Locke Luckey	
3	178	27	1		\$22.50	\$50.50	laborer	Tennie? Reed	
3	184	22	2	7	\$22.50	\$45.50	cook	Will McCullough	
3	185	22	9	4	\$15.00	\$21.50		Georgie Ann Pleasant & Will Johnson	
3	211	65			\$21.50	\$49.00	farmer	W. E. Jones	
3	219	24			\$22.50	\$48.50	cook	Dora Jackson	
3	227	24	5		\$35.00	\$63.00		Wm Still	
3	245	15			\$22.50	\$22.50		George Clarke	
3	269	25			\$25.00	\$67.00		Emily Herbert	
3	274	50			\$32.50	\$51.00		Lula M. and Leda Westley	
3	276	26	11	18	\$62.00	\$152.00	housewife	Queen Thelma Lodge No. 1	y
3	280	83	1		\$16.50	\$38.00	farmer	G. w. Turner	
3	293	33			\$22.50	\$46.50		Mr. Johnson, Ollie Johnson	
3	307	20	7		\$16.00	\$44.00		Mrs. Eliza Clakr	
3	314	43	11		\$25.00	\$55.00	laborer	Mrs. J. B. Cooper	
3	317	47	5	17	\$16.00	\$27.50	laborer	Mattie Thompson and Mrs. Lee Price	
3	333	24			\$16.50	\$30.50	laborer	Scott Jessie	
3	341	28			\$17.50	\$41.50		James Middleton @210 Watkins Ave	
3	359	1	7	25	\$9.00	\$16.00		Annie Roberts	
3	363	42			\$17.50	\$51.50	porter	Henry Smith	
3	375			6	\$7.00	\$10.00		James Buckner	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age- Months	Age- Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
3	380			6	\$7.00	\$10.00		Dick gable	
3	381			9	\$6.50	\$6.50		M. T. McGruder	
3	411			7	\$7.00	\$10.00		Lewis Ware	
3	418			0	\$5.00	\$5.00		Jim Simmons	
3	423		6	2	\$8.50	\$15.00		Elmer Jessie	
3	424			0	\$6.00	\$6.00		John Dean	
3	436		2	9	\$12.00	\$23.00		Charles Cooper	
3	437		4		\$8.00	\$12.00		Sam Ware	
3	446	14	6	19	\$20.00	\$42.00		Henry Williams	
3	450	6	5	24	\$16.00	\$37.50		Will Brownrigg	
3	451		6		\$5.00	\$12.00		Will Caruth and Hayes Jones	
3	454	53	6		\$22.50	\$53.00	cook	H. M. Hardie	
3	481	21	11	14	\$16.00	\$25.00		Jim Smith	
3	511	49			\$59.00	\$112.50		Odd Fellows #1940 and Mason's Abiff Lodge # 61	y
3	539	35			\$25.00	\$50.00	laborer	Haas and Brown	
3	543	26			\$25.00	\$58.00		John H. Hurd and Lon Graham	
3	552	33			\$17.50	\$45.00	housewife	Charles Thomas	
3	558	23			\$17.50	\$25.00	housekeeper	Elex Pauldo	
3	559	5	3	1	\$16.00	\$41.00		Jessie Bros.	
3	565	54			\$30.00	\$55.50	plasterer	Nelson Williams	
3	567	39			ukn	\$40.50	servant	Maggie Watson and Sam Watson	
3	568			0	\$7.00	\$10.00		Sam Smith	
3	585			4	\$5.00	\$5.00		Sam Robinson	
3	587	1	8		\$10.00	\$20.00		John Blackman (father of deceased)	
3	605		3	3	\$18.00	\$49.00		Milton Daniels	
3	no # given		5	7	\$8.00	\$15.00			
3	no # given		3	24	\$7.00	\$14.00		John Dunn	
4	2	11			\$19.00	\$42.00		Jessie Bros.	
4	7	1	2	10	\$16.00	\$41.00		Percy Ray?	
4	30			0	\$7.00	\$7.00			
4	32				\$16.00	\$33.50		Liddie Long	
4	53	2	1		\$10.00	\$17.00			
4	62	12			\$20.00	\$39.00		Jessie Bros.	
4	64		10	13	\$10.00	\$13.00			
4	73	1	2	22	\$9.00	\$12.00		Geff Jones	
4	84			1	\$7.50	\$10.50		Sullivan (son of James Malone)	
4	94	44	6	14	\$30.00	\$60.00	housewife	Leading Star # 7 Lodge Mrs. Belle Reynolds	y
4	153	25	2		\$27.50	\$50.50	housewife	Albert Jackson	
4	173	61			\$18.00	\$46.00		Johnson	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age - Months	Age - Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
4	178	54			\$18.00	\$44.50		Carrie King (American National Insurance Co.)	insurance
4	184	36			\$15.00	\$15.00		James Dixon	
4	187		6	11	\$8.00	\$11.00		Bettie Linscomb @ W. R. Smith's (251 Park Ave)	
4	200		3	8	\$8.00	\$18.00		Ed Reilley	
4	206	19	8		\$18.00	\$48.00	cook	Ben Wade	
4	209	21			\$35.00	\$68.00		Mrs. Armstrong	
4	221			1	\$4.00	\$4.00		James Simmons	
4	222	28			\$15.00	\$34.00	? Mark??	
4	225	17	1		\$18.00	\$38.00	housewife	Will Williams	
4	229	13			\$18.00	\$18.00		Graves	
4	250		3	17	\$8.00	\$12.50		Ben Slaughter and Henry Shapiro	
4	253	0	5		\$9.00	\$16.00		J. E. Jessie	
4	268	32			\$20.00	\$35.00		Turner Watson	
4	285	4	11		\$30.00	\$65.00		Armstrong	
4	303		4	2	\$8.00	\$18.50		W. H. Morgan and Chas., Walker	
4	312	22	0	2	\$35.00	\$52.50		Sam? Bailey	
4	319		2		\$6.00	\$13.00		Tom Banks	
4	324	80			\$20.00	\$39.00	laborer	Gill Wilson	
4	327	40			\$30.00	\$47.50		M. T. Harper -- Undertaker in Terrell TX	
4	349		2	9	\$7.50	\$14.00		Bodza Johnson	
4	366	17			\$18.00	\$18.00		Horace Daniels	
4	380	40			\$45.00	\$79.00	laborer	O. Dimmett???	
4	381		4	2	\$8.00	\$23.00		William Dearman	
4	417		9	9	\$9.00	\$19.50		C. L. Cook	
4	418	36			\$20.00	\$43.00		Mr. L. O. Daniels	
4	428		3	18	\$8.00	\$15.00		Wash Corwell	
4	456	6		19	\$14.00	\$38.00		Henry Bell	
4	481	25	3		\$35.00	\$62.50	housewife	John Blackman	
4	482	55			\$15.00	\$34.00	laborer	John Coleman??	
4	495	1	2	21	\$9.00	\$18.00		H. V. Thomas	
4	503		5	13	\$8.00	\$15.00		Sam Ware	
4	512	60			\$30.00	\$67.00	housewife	W. C. George	
4	541	39			\$35.00	\$62.50		Jonothan Griffin	
4	543	59			\$25.00	\$43.50	farmer	J. D. Daniels	
4	546	35			\$27.50	\$58.50	laborer	Wm? Mansfield	
4	548	34			\$20.00	\$49.00		Elmer? Jessie	
4	565	54			unk	\$32.50	farmer	J. H. Furneaux	
4	no # given	48			\$17.50	\$31.50	laborer	Mrs. Charles Hawkins	
4	no # given	68			\$16.50	\$34.00	wood worker	R. H. Harrison	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age - Months	Age - Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
5	9	65			\$18.00	\$33.00		Sampson Sanders and Mr. Gener...?	
5	16	32	10		\$27.50	\$67.80		Mary Jones and Georgia Dooley	
5	29	1	6		\$9.00	\$12.00		James Winterman	
5	36	57			\$30.00	\$60.00	laborer	B.I.B. of K	y
5	49	20			\$55.00	\$111.00		Tammie? Hooper	
5	52	20			\$30.00	\$70.00		Loretta Finney	
5	53	96			\$27.00	\$27.00		Henry Abernathy	
5	95	2			\$12.50	\$12.50		George Graham	
5	108	62			\$30.00	\$70.00		Hattie	
5	109	62			\$125.00	\$202.50		Odd Fellows Union Lodge #1940	y
5	118	60			\$50.00	\$97.00		Tammie? Hooper	
5	130	36			\$175.00	\$244.00	school teacher	Prof. W. A. Boswell	
5	131	17			\$25.00	\$45.00	housewife	Henry Lacy	
5	145	3	1	6	\$12.00	\$12.00		Clarence Pickens and Southwestern Irons & Metal Co	
5	149				\$12.00	\$23.00		Turner James	
5	165	0	1	15	\$12.50	\$24.50		Harry Pickard Sr.	
5	166		2	10	\$8.00	\$8.00		Alfred Robinson	
5	171	20	2	12	\$18.00	\$28.00	scholar	Haley Dodson	
5	178	0	4	0	\$8.50	\$15.50		Turner James	
5	186	46			\$45.00	\$75.00	housewife	Lincoln Paint & Color Co, J. Q. Starks, etc	
5	193				\$20.00	\$45.70	laborer		
5	199	32			\$22.50	\$60.50	laborer	S. & J. Johnson, S. P. Williams, J. H. Bradshaw (Lodge-unnamed)	y
5	211	25			\$20.00	\$62.50	laborer	Hardy Brown	
5	218	0	5	24	\$8.00	\$15.00		William Black and Jim Ragsdale	
5	222	1	1	11	\$8.50	\$15.50		George Randon and James Neely Bryant	
5	223		8		\$8.00	\$15.00		Ike Thompson	
5	230	0	0	10	\$7.50	\$9.00		J. G. Devereaux	
5	231	0	0	0	\$6.50	\$6.50		R. J. Moore	
5	237	36	0	0	\$30.00	\$75.00	washwoman	Nelson Menefield	
5	250	15	3	18	\$42.50	\$84.00		Will Blackwell	
5	251	0	0	5	\$7.50	\$10.00		Ben Slaughter	
5	253	34	3	21	\$55.00	\$146.25		Allen Brownlee	
5	258	40			\$32.50	\$76.50	housewife	Will Thompson	
5	261	16			\$22.50	\$40.50		Mr. O. H. Harris	
5	294	33			\$22.50	\$53.50		Georgie Dooley	
5	302	73	1	9	\$22.50	\$51.50		Geo W Williams	
5	321	0	0	0	\$5.00	\$5.00		Mrs. Helen Reed	
5	327	32			\$115.00	\$206.50	housewife	W. L. Fair	
5	330	0	4	10	\$7.00	\$15.00		Jonothan Dean and Mrs. W. H. Thomas	

Day Book	Record No.	Age - Years	Age- Months	Age- Days	Coffin Cost	Total funeral Cost	Occupation	Funeral Charged To	Frat Order
5	343	36			\$25.00	\$60.00		Mr. W. R. Haynie	
5	364	22			ukn	\$26.00		Mrs. Mattie Conner	
5	392				\$12.50	\$26.50		Faye B. Massey	
5	395	3	1	0	\$12.50	\$45.50		R. C. Ramis Sr.	
5	no # given	17			\$45.00	\$80.00		Peter Lynch	
5	no # given	50			\$32.50	\$74.25		Georgie Casell	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
1	11	6-0 Style B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	15	2-0 a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	21	5-9 B	Mound Coffin Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	27	5-9 #2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		woodland	Yes	WP	walnut casket
1	28	6-3 #2	Richmond Casket Co		old	Yes	WP	
1	35	2-0 #1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	37	6-0 #2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	38	5-6 #2	Richmond Casket Co.		old	Yes	WP	walnut casket
1	40	5-9 Pk #25	Orleans Mfg Co.		woodland	Yes	WP	
1	50	6-0 B	Mound Coffin Co.	yes	Maple, TX	Yes	WP	
1	53	3-0 #4 Gloss white glass	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	54	6-0 B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	Paris, TX	Yes	WP	
1	55	5-9 B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	66	5-6 # A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	73	2-3 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	74	6-0 # 9 1/4	Orleans Mfg. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
1	79	6-0 # 2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		Henderson, TX	Yes	WP	Bar handle # 3550
1	82	3-6 # A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	88	4-0 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	94	6-0 B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	Jonesville, TX	Yes	WP	
1	95	5-9 # 26 Pk case	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	100	5-9 # 2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	101	2-0 # a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old			outer lid only, no box
1	103	6-0 # 2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	108	6-0 # a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	113	2-6 # a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	116	5-9 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
1	123	4-6 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	142	5-6 a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
1	145	5-9 # B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	152	5-6 a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	162	2-6 casket white	Richmond C Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	167	5-9 B	F C Riddle & Bros	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	177	5-6 # 1 1/2 cut top PK	F C Riddle & Bros		old	Yes	WP	
1	180	2-3 # 00	N C Co		old	Yes	WP	
1	181	5-9 # a	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	186	4-6 # a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	188	6-3 # Round End plain Black B. C.	Richmond Casket Co		old	Yes	WP	
1	198	2-9 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
1	202	6-3 # 2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		woodland	Yes	WP	
1	205	6-0 # 2	Dalton, Ga		woodland	Yes	WP	
1	213	3-6 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	228	4-0 # 5 white plain no glass	Richmond Casket Co		old	Yes	WP	
1	233	5-6 # PK Cut Top	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
1	259	2-6 # a	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	261	6-0 # O. C.(?) F Draped Blk cloth	F C Riddle & Bros		woodland	Yes	WP	
1	263	5-9 B	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
1	272	2-6 No 28	N C Co		old	Yes	WP	
1	275	6-3 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	Mexia, TX	Yes	WP	
2	3	5-9 Octa Black broad cloth fringed drape	F C Riddle & Bros		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	6	2-3 #	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
2	7	5-9 # B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old			
2	29	5-9 %5	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
2	36	6 ft A	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
2	44	6 ft No 2 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
2	64	(none)	(none)		woodland			
2	66	(none)	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
2	67	6-3 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
2	70	6 no 9 3/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		Gainsville, TX	Yes	WP	
2	73	6-3 No 2 1/4	N C Co		Calvert, TX	Yes	WP	
2	84	6 ft A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
2	93	(none)	(none)		old			
2	100	3 ft.	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
2	104	(none)	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
2	126	(none)	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
2	129	(none)	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
2	151	6-3 Octagen 3 F. D. Cloth	C E Lewis		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	166	6 ft 7144 P K	National Casket Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	173	6 ft.	N C Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	202	2	(none)		(none)			
2	205	(none)	(none)		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	210	6-0 # 2 white varnish	Memphis (J E D & Co)		old			coffin from Dunn
2	225	5-9 B	(none)	yes	old	Yes	WP	metallic lining noted
2	231	2/9 Gloss white no glass	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
2	237	6-3 B	(none)	yes	(none)			
2	238	5/9 B (Dunn & Co)	(none)	yes	(none)			coffin from Dunn
2	242	5-9 B	(none)	yes	old	Yes	WP	
2	248	2 ft. No.0	Memphis Coffin Co		old	Yes	WP	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
2	268	5-9 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
2	271	(none)	(none)		old			(box & grave 5.00)
2	274	6-3 no. 2 1/2	National Casket Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
2	298	2-3 # 0	New Orleans Mfg Co		old	Yes	WP	
2	300	5-9 B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	woodland	Yes	WP	
3	15	6 ft. Cut top P. K.	National (Casket Co.)		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	22	3 ft. No 0 (coffin circled on form)	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	Coffin circled
3	42	2 ft. 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	50	5-6 B	Orleans Mfg Co	yes	old	Yes	Unk	outerbox/homemade
3	59	5-9 no. 19	N. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	60	5-9 No 2 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	64	3 ft. No. 4	Orlean (Mfg Co)		Oak Cliff	Yes	WP	
3	88	2-6 No 0	National Casket Co		Forney	Yes	WP	
3	118	5-9 A	N C Co	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
3	138	5-9 # 2 1/4	National C Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	143	# 2 1/4	National C Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	151	6 ft. No. 2	Mound Coffin Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	153	2-6 No. 0 Black	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	157	6-0 No. 9 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	178	5-9 B	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	184	5-6 # B	(none)	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	185	(none)	(none)		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	211	6-0 B	St. Louis C Co	yes	shipped to LA	Yes	WP	
3	219	6/0 B	Orleans (Mfg Co)	yes	old	Yes	Pine	
3	227	5-9 # 2	M P Co (?)		old	Yes	WP	
3	245	5/9 style B	(none)	yes	(none)	Yes	Pine	
3	269	5-9 P K Case	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	274	5-9 #	(none)		(none)			
3	276	6-0 #23 O K Casket	M. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	280	5-9 # A	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	293	5-9 # B	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	307	5-9 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	314	6-3 # 1 1/2	M C Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	317	6-0 a	N C Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	333	6-3 a	Memphis	yes	old	Yes	WP	
3	341	5-9 # 9 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	359	2-6 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	363	5/9 A	Orleans Mfg Co.	yes	old	Yes	WP	6 Handles+AB86
3	375	2-0 # D 1/2	M C Co		old	Yes	WP	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
3	380	2 ft. # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	381	2 ft. no 1/2	(none)		Honey Springs	Yes	WP	
3	411	2 ft. # 1 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co.		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	418	(none)	(none)		"city"	Yes	Wp?	
3	423	2- no 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	424	G.W.L. Case	G. W. L. (loudermilk)		old	Yes	WP	Price includes grave
3	436	3 ft. # 4 Gloss White with glass	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old	Yes	WP	
3	437	2-3 # 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		(none)	Yes	WP	
3	446	5-9 # 0 Cut Top	Griffith C Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	450	4-0 # 1 1/2 Plain white fo? glass	Rich C Co.		old	Yes	WP	
3	451	2-3 (nothing else)	(none)		old	Yes	WP	
3	454	6-3 B	Kregal C Co	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
3	481	5-9 No A	St. Louis Coffin Co	yes	(none)	Yes	WP	
3	511	6/0 St. Louis same as M. 106 Panel ? sides	St. Louis Coffin Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
3	539	5-9 # with glass	Orleans Mfg Co.		Leavenworth, KA	Yes	WP	
3	543	5/9 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old	Yes	WP	
3	552	5/9 # 0 1/4	Orleans Mfg Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	558	5/9 0 1/4	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
3	559	4/0 # 1 1/2 G. W.	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
3	565	6 ft. # 2 1/4	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
3	567	5/9 B	Memphis	yes	old	Yes	Cyp	outer box-cypress
3	568	2/0 # 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old	Yes	Pine	
3	585	2/0 # 1	G. W. L. (loudermilk)		old			price includes grave
3	587	2/9 # 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		Longview, TX			
3	605	3/3 # 1 1/2 G W	Orleans (Mfg Co)		woodland			
3	no # given	2-3 # 0	Mound C Co		old	Yes	WP	
3	no # given	2-0 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
4	2	4/6 # 1 1/2 G W	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
4	7	2/6 # 4	Orleans (Mfg Co)		woodland?			
4	30	1/9 0.0	(none)		old			price includes grave
4	32	4/0 # 1 1/2 G. W.	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
4	53	3 ft. # 1 1/4	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
4	62	5/0 # 1 1/2	National C Co		old			
4	64	3/0 # 1 1/2 Gloss White	Orleans (Mfg Co)		woodland			
4	73	2 ft. # 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
4	84	2/0 - # 1 1/2	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old			
4	94	5/9 (casket is marked out, so it's a coffin)	National C Co	yes	old			
4	153	6/3 # 1 1/2	Cleveland Cas...		old	Yes	WP	
4	173	5/9 # 1 1/2 1	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
4	178	5/6 #	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	184	5/9 # a	Gate City Co. Co	yes	woodland	Yes	WP	
4	187	2/3 # 1/2 (?)	Orleans (Mfg Co)		old	Yes	WP	
4	200	2/0 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co.		old	Yes	WP	
4	206	6-0 # 0	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	209	5/6 B 1/2	Gate City C Co.	yes?	old	Yes	WP	
4	221	Homemade	(homemade)		old			
4	222	6/0 # A	Gate City	yes	(none)			
4	225	5/9 # 1	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	229	5/6 # 1	M. C. Co		(none)	Yes	WP	
4	250	2/3 # 0 White	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	253	2/6 # 0 White	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	268	5/0 # 1	M. C. Co		Jacksonville, TX	Yes	WP	
4	285	4/0 # P K Comet	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	303	2/3 #	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	312	5/9 # 2	M. C. Co		Blooming Gro, TX	Yes	WP	
4	319	2/3 # 2 (...?) -Damaged-	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	324	5/9 # 1	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	327	5/6 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Terrell, TX	Yes	WP	6 Handles
4	349	2/0 # a Gloss White	Cleveland, Tenn	yes	old	Yes	WP	
4	366	5/9 # 1	Cleveland C Co		Simon, TX	Yes	WP	
4	380	5/9 # 320 R	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	381	2/6 # A White	Cleveland Coffin Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
4	417	2/6 # 0	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	418	6/0 # 0 # 1	Cleveland		old	Yes	WP	
4	428	7 3 # 0 (???????)	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	456	3/0 # A	Gate City C. Co	yes	Bremmond, TX	Yes	WP	
4	481	5/9 # 2 1/4	M. C. Co		Longview, TX	Yes	WP	6 Handles
4	482	6/3 A	M. C. Co	yes	old	Yes	WP	
4	495	2/0 # 0 White	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	503	2 ft. # 0	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	512	(none)	Cleveland C Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	541	5-6 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Shreveport, LA	Yes	WP	
4	543	5-9 # 2	(none)		Terrell, TX	Yes	WP	
4	546	6-0 1 1/2	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	548	5-6 # 1	M. M (?) Co		(none)	Yes	WP	
4	565	6/0 #	(none)		old?			
4	no # given	6/3 # 0	Cleveland Coffin Co		old	Yes	WP	
4	no # given	5/9 # 0 1 (casket marked out, coffin circled)	Cleveland Tenn(??)	yes	woodland			

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
5	9	5/6 (...?)	Mr. L Roberson		Sulphern Sprngs,TX	Yes	WP	
5	16	5/6 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Woodland	Yes	WP	
5	29	2/6 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	36	5/9 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		(none)	Yes	WP	
5	49	5-9 White P K	M. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
5	52	5/9 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
5	53	5-9 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Caruth Cemetery	Yes	WP	
5	95	3/0 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co		Oak Cliff	Yes	WP	
5	108	5/6 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Queen City	Yes	WP	
5	109	6/0 (nothing else)	St. Louis		woodland	Yes	WP	
5	118	6/0 # 8	M. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
5	130	(none)	(none)		woodland	Yes	WP	6 handle- 2 on end
5	131	# 1 1/4 Cut Top	Mound Coffin Co		Jonesville, TX	Yes	WP	6 handle, met. lining
5	145	3/6 # 1 1/2 Gloss White	Mound Coffin Co		"colored"	Yes	WP	
5	149	none	(none)		(none)			
5	165	2/0 # 10	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	166	2/3 # 1 1/3 Gloss White	M. C. Co		Oak Cliff	Yes	WP	
5	171	5/9 - A	St. Louis Coffin Co	yes	Crosby, TX	Yes	WP	
5	178	2/3 # 1 Gloss White	Mound Coffin Co		"colored"	Yes	WP	
5	186	5/9 Oct End, varnished	Tenn Coffin & Cas. Co		"colored"	Yes	WP	
5	193	5/9 # 1 1/4	M. C. Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	199	5/9 # 0 Cut Top	Kregal C Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	211	6/3 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		old	Yes	Unk	outer box homemade
5	218	2/3 # 0 Gloss White	Mound Coffin Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	222	2/6 O White	M Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	223	2/3 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	230	2/0 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Simon, TX	Yes	WP	
5	231	2/0 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		Oak Cliff	Yes	WP	No handles
5	237	6/0 # 1 1/2	Kregal Casket Co		old	Yes	WP	
5	250	5/9 P K	B Tennessee??		old	Yes	WP	
5	251	2/0 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co		"colored"	Yes	WP	
5	253	5/9 # 42	Kregal		Marshall, TX	Yes	WP	
5	258	5/9 #	Tenn C & C Co		old	Yes	Wp?	
5	261	5/6 #	Kregal C Co		old			
5	294	5/9 #	Cleveland C Co		New City	Yes	WP	
5	302	5/9 # 1 1/2	Cleavans Mfg Co		New City	Yes	WP	
5	321	2/0 "lace"???	(none)		New City	Yes	WP	price includes grave
5	327	6/0 #	M. C. Co		woodland	Yes	WP	
5	330	2/0 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co		New City	Yes	Wp?	

Day Book	Record No.	Coffin or Casket Size and Style	Coffin or Casket Manufacturer	Hex	Cemetery	Outer Box	Outer Box Material	Comments
5	343	5/9 # 0 Cut Top	Kregal Casket Co		City	Yes	WP	
5	364	5/9 Plul Oct????	St. Louis		Miller Cemetery	Yes	WP	
5	392	2/6 # 1 1/2	Orleans Mfg Co		New City	Yes	WP	
5	395	3/0 # 1 1/2	M. C. Co		New City	Yes	WP	
5	no # given	5/9 Crepe B	M. C. Co	yes?	New City	Yes	WP	
5	no # given	5/9 -	Kregal Casket Co		woodland	Yes	WP	

APPENDIX G:

Peoples Undertaking Company Day Book (1907-1910)

**(original on file, African-American Museum of Life and Culture,
Fair Park, Dallas, TX)**

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
001	7/1/1907	George	Simpson	m	86			y			Diabetes	Laborer	M		
002	7/2/1907	Janie	Perry	f	50			y			Dropsy		M		
003	7/3/1907	Very	Lewis	unk	19			y			Acute Dysentery		S		
004	7/3/1907	Sallie	Brooks	f	40			y					M	y	
005	7/3/1907	Clarice	Taylor	f	01	04				y	Cholera Infantum				
006	7/4/1907	Zurel	Granbury	unk										y	
007	7/4/1907	Albert	Galloway	m	16					y	Tuberculosis		S		
008	7/5/1907	Margaret	Nobles	f	42			y			Dropsy		M		
009	7/6/1907	Lucy	Anderson	f				y			Heart Failure		M	y	
010	7/9/1907	Madeline	Smith	f	10					y	Tuberculosis		S		
011	7/10/1907	Rosa	Vinson	f	33			y			Tuberculosis		M		
012	7/11/1907	N.E.	Sampson	unk	55			y			Tuberculosis		M		
013	7/17/1907	Grace	Huntington	f	19			y			Tuberculosis		S		
014	7/20/1907	Ellen	Crittenden	f	64			y			Dropsy		M		
015	8/4/1907	Janie	Wilson	f											
016	8/14/1907		(none)	unk											
017	8/15/1907	Mrs.	Harris	f											
018	8/15/1907	Martha	Page	f											
019	8/16/1907	Lucy	Anderson	f											
020	8/18/1907	Martin	Williams	m											
021		Joe	Pierson	m										y	
022	8/19/1907	Lallie	Givens	f											
023	8/20/1907	Jane	Graham	f											
024	8/20/1907	Sarah	Taylor	f										y	
025	8/26/1907	Beatrice	Taylor	f											
026	8/25/1907	Will	Perry	m										y	
027	8/26/1907	Nevada	Lacy	unk											
028	9/1/1907	Infant	(Winford)	unk	01	01				y					
029	9/2/1907	Ben	Reed	m											
030	9/2/1907	Fannie	Pruett	f											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
031	9/6/1907	Jessie	Collins	unk							Tuberculosis		S		
032	9/6/1907	H.C.	Crawford	m											
033	9/7/1907	Pinkie	Middleton	unk											
034	9/7/1907	Lucy	Fuqua	f											
035	9/8/1907	John	Robinson	m										y	
036	9/10/1907	Oscar	Jenkins	m											
037	9/15/1907	P.	Ridge	unk											
038	9/20/1907	Curtis	Hugle	m											
039	9/22/1907	Ada	Sales	f											
040	9/24/1907	Charlotte	Avery	f											
041	10/1/1907	Infant of	Cole, Will	unk						y					
042	10/6/1907		(none)	unk											
043	10/7/1907	Thurston	Fannie	f?											
044	10/11/1907	Minnie	Curry	f											
045	10/11/1907	Allie	Boyd	f										y	
046	10/16/1907		(none)	unk											
047	10/19/1907	Mrs.	Fields	f											
048	10/19/1907	Seay	Hardin	f?											
049	10/22/1907	Will	Givens	m											
050	10/23/1907	Harriett	Holmes	f											
051	10/26/1907	Aquilla	Jackson	f										y	
052	10/27/1907	Ella	Wilson	f											y
053	10/29/1907	Ella	McGrew	f										y	
054	11/3/1907	William	Jones	m										y	
055	11/5/1907	John	Haynes	m	31			y			Gun shot wound				
056	11/7/1907	Ulyses	Sherley	m											
057	11/8/1907	Annie	Davy	f											
058	11/7/1907	Infant	(Miller)	unk						y					
059	11/12/1907	Jake	Brown	m											
060	11/13/1907	Ludie	Cannon	unk											
061	11/19/1907	Will	Browning	m										y	
062	11/22/1907	J.H.	Henry	unk											
063	11/23/1907	Matilda	Price	f											
064	11/23/1907	Margaret	Kelly	f											
065	11/23/1907	Stell	Green	f											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
066	11/28/1907		(none)	unk											
067	11/30/1907	Rachael	Richardson	f											
068	12/3/1907	Ann	Wilson	f											
069	12/10/1907	Gracy	Hines	f										y	
070	12/12/1907		Smith	unk											
071	12/13/1907	Lee	Bowles	m										y	
072	12/15/1907	Infant	(Robinson)	unk						y					
073	12/15/1907	Infant	(Brown)	unk						y					
074	12/15/1907	Alf	Boyd	m											
075	12/17/1907	Holmes	Booth	m										y	
076	12/18/1907	Nettie	Allen	f											
077	12/24/1907	George	Ellis	m										y	
078	12/25/1907	Mary	Hussay	f											
079	12/25/1907	Jane	Osborne	f											
080	12/29/1907	Ira	Clark	m											
081	12/31/1907	Jessie	Wade	unk											
082	1/1/1908	Hannah	Mack	f										y	
083	1/1/1908		(none)	unk											
084	1/4/1908	Frank	Rushes	m											
085	1/4/1908	Robert	Doans	m											
086	1/5/1908	Robert	Mayes	m											
087	1/6/1908	Shall	Boggus	m							Pneumonia			y	
088	1/7/1908	Ida	Hendricks	f										y	
089	1/7/1908	Mattie	Barnett	f	11				y		Gun Shot				
090	1/12/1908	Raymond	Lockhart	m											
091	1/12/1908	Charlie	Sodus	m										y	
092	1/18/1908	Rebecca	Richard	f											
093	1/20/1908	Ellen	Dixon	f											
094	1/20/1908	Infant	(Davis)	unk						y					
095	1/21/1908	W.C.	Staples	unk										y	
096	1/22/1908	Frank	Fobb	m											
097	1/26/1908	N.G. (C.?)	Whitehead	m				y				Merchant		y	
098	1/26/1908	Abe	Andrews	m										y	
099	1/26/1908	David	Woodard	m											
100	1/26/1908	B.D.	Wright	m										y	

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
101	1/27/1908	Rachel	Bowens	f											
102	1/28/1908	Sallie	Johnson	f											
103	1/28/1908	Lulu	Andrews	f											
104	1/30/1908	Nannie	Sims	f											
105	1/31/1908	F.P.	Merrell	m										y	
106	2/2/1908	Herot?	Hughes	unk											
107	2/4/1908	Gabe	Taylor	unk										y	
108	2/4/1908	Sindy	Presley	f											
109	2/5/1908	Bettie	Mason	f											
110	2/6/1908	Virgil	Smith	m										y	
111	2/7/1908	Ruth	Dixon	f											
112	2/9/1908	Dora	Smith	f											
113	2/9/1908	John	Bowens	m										y	
114	2/9/1908	Infant	(Moore)	unk						y					
115	2/10/1908	M.H.	Holloway	m										y	
116	2/11/1908	Clara	Bledsoe	f											
117	2/16/1908		(none)	unk											
118	2/20/1908	Billy	Woods	m										y	
119	2/21/1908	J.	Jackson	unk											
120	2/23/1908	Hudson	Miles	m											
121	2/28/1908	George	Daugherty	m											
122	2/29/1908	Maggie	Johnson	f											
123	2/29/1908	John K.	Miller	m				y			Pneumonia	Porter	M	y	
124	2/29/1908	Dan	Cates	m											
125	3/2/1908	Ed	Gamble	m											
126	3/5/1908	Robert	Livingston	m											
127	3/5/1908	Spencer	Rhodes	m											
128	3/9/1908	Lorenda	Cowan	f											
129	3/9/1908	Harriett	Clinton	f											
130	3/11/1908	Lula	Washington	f											
131	3/12/1908	Charlie	Brown	m											
132	3/12/1908	Hamilton	Barrett	m											
133	3/15/1908	Susan	Perry	f											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
134	3/16/1908	Lulu	Mottell	f											
135	3/16/1908	Joe	Bumbry	m											
136	3/16/1908	Lu	Coleman	unk											
137	3/18/1908	Mattie E.	Crawford	f											
138	3/23/1908	Albert	Green	m											
139	3/24/1908	Joe	Mason	m										y	
140	3/26/1908	Humphrey	Miller	m										y	
141	3/29/1908	Mattie	McKnight	f											
142	4/1/1908	Charles	Bradley	m											
143	4/3/1908	Robert	Travino	m										y	
144	4/4/1908	Thurman	Broomfield	m											
145	4/4/1908	Etta	Maddox	f											
146	4/5/1908	Maggie	Jackson	f											
147	4/8/1908	Rebecca	Love	f										y	
148	4/8/1908	Rose	Sampson	f											
149	4/8/1908	Clarinda	Robinson	f											
150	4/10/1908	Infant	(White)	unk						y					
151	4/13/1908	Infant	(Gilmore)	unk						y					
152	4/12/1908	Infant	(Clark)	unk						y					
153	4/14/1908	Infant	(Belcher)	unk						y					
154	4/16/1908	Gracy	Hubbard	f											
155	4/24/1908	Blunt	Jackson	m											
156	4/28/1908	Infant	(Baker)	unk						y					
157	4/28/1908	Hilda Bell	Thomas	f											
158	4/28/1908	Mary	Finney	f											
159	4/30/1908	J.J.	Smith	unk											y
160	5/5/1908	Winston	Lincoln	m											
161	5/6/1908	Fanny	Dunn	f										y	
162	5/6/1908	Sandford	Pollard	m										y	
163	5/7/1908		Simmons	unk											
164	5/7/1908	Mrs.	Hill	f											
165	5/7/1908	Lula	Wilburn	f											
166	5/9/1908	James	Perry	m										y	

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
167	5/13/1908	Nancy	Brooks	f											
168	5/12/1908	E.	Young	unk											
169	5/13/1908	Wood	Jones	m											
170	5/17/1908	Hattie	Pickard	f											
171	5/16/1908	Infant	(Bolden)	unk						y					
172	5/19/1908	Ora	King?	f											
173	5/19/1908	Infant	(Hamilton)	unk						y					
174	5/20/1908	Infant	(Dr. Runyon)	unk						y					
175	5/21/1908	Infant	(Edwards)	unk						y					
176	5/25/1908	Infant	(Elliott)	unk						y					
177	5/30/1908	Infant	(Humphrey)	unk						y					
178	6/1/1908	Nannie	Moore	f										y	
179	6/3/1908	Callie	Crutchfield	f											
180	6/3/1908	Charley	House	m										y	
181	6/6/1908	Mollie	Davis	f											
182	6/6/1908	Infant	(Wall)	unk						y					
183	6/6/1908	Infant	(Douglass)	unk						y					
184	6/10/1908	A.G.	Jenkins	unk											
185	6/11/1908	Annie	Williams	f											
186	6/12/1908	Mattie	Pruett	f											
187	6/14/1908	Bettie	McGraw	f											
188	6/17/1908	Terama	Hightower	f										y	
189	6/22/1908	Infant	(Collins)	unk						y					
190	6/20/1908	Grace	Taylor	f											
191	6/22/1908	Infant	(Williams)	unk											
192	6/23/1908	Infant	(Brooks)	unk						y					
193	6/23/1908	Bud	Middling	m											
194	6/24/1908	Infant	(Sparks)	unk						y					
195	6/25/1908	Infant	(Johnson)	unk						y					
196	6/26/1908	Sealy	Guy	unk											
197	6/29/1908	Ella M.	Crittenden	f										y	
198	7/4/1908	Edma	Banks	f										y	
199	7/4/1908	Infant	(Bunkly)	unk						y					

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
200	7/6/1908	Ed	Cecil	m											
201	7/10/1908	Infant	(Forley)	unk						y					
202	7/13/1908	Johnnie	Baker	m											
203	7/14/1908	Susan	Patton	f											
204	7/14/1908	Jessie	Robinson	unk											
205	7/16/1908	Willie Mae	Thomas	f											
206	7/18/1908	Winnie	Pollard	f										y	
207	7/19/1908	Infant	(Lee)	unk						y					
208	7/21/1908	Joe	Walker	m											
209	7/21/1908	John	Evans	m										y	
210	7/22/1908	Infant	(Lewis)	unk						y					
211	7/23/1908	Sarah	Ricks	f										y	
212	7/26/1908	John	Coy	m										y	
213	7/27/1908	C.	Daniels	m										y	
214	7/30/1908	Infant	(Sanders)	unk						y					
215	7/28/1908	Sam	Lacy	m										y	
216	8/8/1908	Nannie	Ming	f											
217	8/15/1908	Infant	(Howard)	unk						y					
218	8/11/1908	Carrie	Sims	f											
219	8/12/1908	Charles	Risby	m											
220	8/15/1908	Maddie	Hunter	f											
221	8/15/1908	Abner	Taylor	m				y				Minister	M		
222	8/18/1908	N.C.	Carter	m										y	
223	8/21/1908	Mrs. P.	Bullock	f										y	
224	8/22/1908	Mary	McKelly	f										y	
225	8/27/1908	Albert	Brown	m											
226	8/30/1908	Julius	Sutton	m							Cut				
227	9/1/1908	G.	Williams	unk											
228	9/2/1908	Laura	Hartsfield	f											
229	9/8/1908	Eliza	Payne	f											
230	9/12/1908	Infant	(Malone)	unk						y					

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
231	9/12/1908	James	Sims	m											
232	9/13/1908	Pink	Smith	unk											
233	9/14/1908	Lina	Hill	f											
234	9/19/1908	Leonard	Boggus	m									y		
235	9/21/1908	Willie	Scott	m											
236	9/22/1908	Sallie	Boyd	f											
237	9/25/1908	Georgia	Roberts	f											
238	9/25/1908	Lawrence	Hight	m											
239	9/26/1908	Mary	King	f											
240	10/1/1908	Henrietta	Griffin	f											
241	10/1/1908	Charles	Newby	m										y	
242	10/2/1908	Infant	(Taylor)	unk						y					
243	10/3/1908	Gussie	Higginbottom	f											
244	10/8/1908	Haywood	Thomas	m											y
245	10/9/1908	Laura	Sharpe	f											
246	10/7/1908		(none)	unk											
247	10/10/1908	Infant	(McGruder)	unk						y					
248	10/13/1908	Robert	Nickols	m											
249	10/14/1908	Laura	Jackson	f											
250	10/14/1908	P.	Preston	unk											
251	10/15/1908	J.	McLain	unk											
252	10/20/1908	W.A.	Adkins	m										y	
253	10/21/1908	Allie	Lockhart	f											
254	10/22/1908	Charles	Davis	m											
255	10/23/1908	Frank	Williams	m											
256	10/30/1908	Lucile	Price	f											
257	10/28/1908	Lillie	Jones	f											
258	10/30/1908	Infant	(Griffin)	unk						y					
259	10/22/1908	Infant	(Curry)	unk						y					
260	11/2/1908	Ellen	Smith	f											
261	11/2/1909	Charley	Webb	m											
262	11/13/1908	Bettie	Hooks	f											
263	11/13/1908	Sam	Jones	m										y	

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
264	11/14/1908	Henry	Smith	m										y	
265	11/15/1908	Nancy	Bradley	f											
266	11/16/1908	Laura	Walker	f											
267	11/15/1908		(none)	unk											
268	11/21/1908	Emma	Sparks	f											
269	11/24/1908	William	Barrow	m											
270	11/27/1908	Lizzie B.	Wendle	f											
271	11/29/1908	William	Rhodes	m										y	
272	11/30/1908	Foot of	Kemp, Amanda	na											
273	12/4/1908	Fanny	Bryant	f											
274	12/4/1908	amputated leg	Leg	na											
275	12/6/1908	Robert	Bridgewater	m											
276	12/8/1908	Janie	Hooks	f										y	
277	12/8/1908	Infant	(Smith)	unk						y					
278	12/5/1908	Mattie	Record	f										y	
279	12/12/1908	Rev.	Taylor	m				y				Minister		y	
280	12/12/1908	Love	Collins	f											
281	12/14/1908	Infant	(Bluitt)	unk						y					
282	12/14/1908	Annie	Reeves	f											
283	12/14/1908	Jennie	Davis	f											
284	12/17/1908	Thomas	Hughes	m										y	
285	12/21/1908	Hardy	Ervin	m										y	
286	12/23/1908		(none)	unk											
287	12/24/1908	Isabella	Murrell	f											
288	12/25/1908	Infant	(Pinckney)	unk						y					
289	12/25/1908	Jemina	Lister	f											
290	12/27/1908	Infant	(Hodge)	unk						y					
291	12/27/1908	Matilda	Hames	f										y	
292	12/28/1908	A.T.	Gray	unk											
293	1/2/1909	Infant	(Johnson)	unk						y					y
294	1/3/1909	Angeline	Allen	f											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
295	1/4/1909	Roberta	Allen	f											
296	1/16/1909	Eva	Crump	f											
297	1/17/1909	Jube (?)	Brown	m										y	
298	1/23/1909	Saphronia	Evans	f											
299	1/23/1909	Jessie	Tar	unk											
300	1/26/1909	Foot amputated	(Dr. Bluitt)	na											
301	1/26/1909	Lucy	Watson	f											
302	1/27/1909	Robert	Perkins	m											
303	1/27/1909	Navada	Smith	m											
304	1/29/1909	Fronie	Wylie	f?											
305	2/3/1909	Infant	(Carter)	unk						y					
306	2/3/1909	Infant	(Toliver)	unk						y					
307	2/3/1909	Ike	Love	m											
308	2/3/1909	Hattie	Clemons	f											
309	2/3/1909	Sam	Thomas	m?											
310	2/5/1909	Infant	(Edwards)	unk						y					
311	2/5/1909	Mrs.	Robinson	f										y	
312	2/8/1909	Mrs.	Toliver	f											
313	2/8/1909	Eugene	Spikes	m											
314	2/8/1909	J.	Alexandria	unk											
315	2/11/1909	Virgie	Green	unk											
316	2/15/1909	Will	Madox	m										y	
317	2/15/1909	Frank	Jackson	m											
318	2/15/1909	Jessie	Edwards	unk											
319	2/15/1909	Infant	(Bartee)	unk						y					
320	2/17/1909	Infant	(Everett)	unk						y					
321	2/18/1909	Infant	(Montagu)	unk						y					
322	2/19/1909	George	Bonner	m											
323	2/22/1909	Infant	(Guest)	unk						y					
324	2/22/1909	Infant of	Williams, Della	unk						y					

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
325	2/22/1909	Daisy Mae	Moore	f											
326	2/24/1909	Infant	(Ward)	unk						y					
327	2/25/1909	Dacey	Harley	f											
328	2/17/1909		(none)	unk											
329	2/28/1909	Charlie	Wade	m											
330	3/2/1909	JJ	Sparks	m										y	
331	3/3/1909	Abe	Johnson	m											
332	3/3/1909	Ollie	Coates	m											
333	3/3/1909	Bill	Car	m											
334	3/3/1909	Sallie A.	Holsey	f											
335	3/5/1909	Sherman	Metz	m											
336	3/10/1909	Luvenia	Johnson	f											
337	3/12/1909	Willie	Williams	m										y	
338	3/16/1909	Infant	(Paris)	unk						y					
339	3/16/1909		(none)	unk											
340	3/28/1909	Infant	(Anderson)	unk						y					
341	3/24/1909	Eva	Sykes	f											
342	4/2/1909	Adeline	Thomas	f										y	
343	4/2/1909	Alice	Roundtree	f										y	
344	4/3/1909	Arthur	Caviness	m											
345	4/6/1909	Adam	Wright	m											
346	4/6/1909	Infant	(Jackson)	unk						y					
347	4/10/1909	Katie	Jones	f										y	
348	4/17/1909	Jemima	Taylor	f											
349	4/19/1909	Ida	Bertrand	f											
350	4/21/1909	Ulta	Ricketts	unk											
351	4/24/1909	Nancie	Cole	f											
352	4/28/1909	Gash	McCoy	unk											
353	4/29/1909	Infant	(Talley)	unk						y					
354	5/2/1909	Infant	(Tipps)	unk						y					
355	5/3/1909	Henrietta	Washington	f										y	
356	5/3/1909	O.	Harris	unk											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
357	5/3/1909	Robert	Winn	m										y	
358	5/5/1909	Infant	(Myers)	unk						y					
359	5/5/1909	Genevieve	Cooper	f										y	
360	5/6/1909	Kizzie	Henry	f										y	
361	5/8/1909	Onis	Parker	unk											
362	5/12/1909	Louis	Cruell	m										y	
363	5/12/1909	Callie	Mayes	f											
364	5/14/1909	Henry	Boswell	m											
365	5/29/1909	Mrs. MJ	Taylor	f											
366	5/29/1909	Infant	(Brown)	unk						y					
367	5/29/1909	Infant	(Hunt)	unk						y					
368	5/29/1909	Berry	Blankenship	m											
369	6/1/1909		(none)	unk											
370	6/1/1909	Rufus	Brockman	m											
371	6/9/1909	Will	Smith	m											
372	6/10/1909	Annie	Gaines	f										y	
373	6/12/1909	Clem	Hill	m											
374	6/12/1909	WH	Robinson	m										y	
375	6/13/1909	Jack	Sanders	m										y	
376	6/18/1909	Infant	(McCune)	unk						y					
377	6/18/1909	Archie	Cole	m											
378	6/20/1909	Susan	Victory	f											
379	6/21/1909	Sargent	White	m										y	
380	6/21/1909	Infant	(Smith)	unk						y					
381	6/23/1909	Infant	(none)	unk						y				y	
382	6/26/1909	Infant	(Hill)	unk						y					
383	6/26/1909	Infant	(Shuman)	unk						y					
384	6/27/1909	Solomon	Banks	m											
385	6/28/1909	Abbie	Williams	f										Insurance?	
386	6/29/1909	Cris	Lyons	unk										y	
387	6/30/1909	Annie	Scott	f											
388	7/5/1909	Amanda	Harris	f	59			y			Liver & kidney		M		
389	7/5/1909	Sallie	Adkerson	f				y					M		y
390	7/4/1909	Laura	Swan	f				y					M		y

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
391	7/6/1909	John Henry	Dixon	m	01	02				y	Carbolic acid				
392	7/8/1909	George	Fane	m	30			y			Burning		S		y
393	7/10/1909	Mary	Cooper	f	23			y			Malaria fever		M		
394	7/10/1909	Infant	(Hoopers)	unk						y					
395	7/10/1909	Godfrey	Perrin	m			09			y					
396	7/12/1909	Amos	Norris	m											
397	7/4/1909	Addie	Sanders	f	41			y			Heart failure				
398	4/7/1909	Infant	(Armstead)	unk		06	11			y					
399	7/8/1909	Louis W.	Lawless	m	42			y					M		
400	7/10/1909	Lizzie	Lacy	f											
401	7/10/1909	Mattie	Drake	f	49			y					M	y	
402	7/10/1909	Mattie	Watson	f										y	
403	7/14/1909	Sarah	Cross	f											
404	7/17/1909	D.	Nobles	m	49			y			Gun shot			y	
405	7/16/1909	Maurice	Grantree	f										y	
406	7/22/1909	Infant	(Warfield)	unk						y					
407	7/24/1909	Fred	Boswell	m											
408	7/24/1909		(none)	unk											
409	7/24/1909	Elsie	Jones	unk	56			y							
410	7/24/1909	Ella	Hines	f											
411	7/28/1909	Infant	Tina Ford	unk	03	06				y					
412	8/4/1909	JB	Ware	unk	39			y			Tuberculosis			y	
413	8/4/1909	Laura	White	f	51			y							
414	8/5/1909	Ben	Penn	m	20			y					S	y	
415	8/6/1909	Granville	Cole	m	01					y			S		
416	8/6/1909	Infant	(Carpenter)	unk			02			y			S		
417	8/7/1909	CL	Curtis	unk		11	06			y					
418	8/16/1909	Jane	Hall	f	55			y			Septicemia		M		
419	8/17/1909	Rachel	Mitchell	f	22			y					S		
420	8/23/1909	Wash	Kinsey	m	63			y							
421	8/24/1909	Gilbert	Range	m				y				Waiter	M	y	
422	8/29/1909	Hannah	Hammond	f							Appendicitis				
423	9/4/1909	Mrs. CB	Conner	f	41			y					M		

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
424	9/4/1909	Mrs.	Lee	f				y			Tuberculosis		M	y	
425	9/5/1909	Dora	Childress	f	23			y							
426	9/7/1909	Infant	(Davis)	unk						y					
427	9/7/1909	Alma	Lee	f											
428	9/8/1909	Hattie	Sparks	f							Tuberculosis		S		
429	9/9/1909	Matilda	Johnson	f									S	y	
430	9/10/1909	Annie	Barrett	f	23			y						y	
431	9/11/1909	Infant	(Steele)	unk						y					
432	9/12/1909	Infant	(Calhoun)	unk		01	07			y					
433	9/12/1909	Lina Mae	Jackson	f	01	02				y	Cholera Infantum				
434	9/15/1909	Carrie	Ceasar	f	19			y							
435	9/16/1909	Amos	Teal	m											
436	9/20/1909	Mary Jane	Cooper	f	77			y							
437	9/21/1909	Velma	Smith	f	17				y						
438	9/26/1909	Polly	Warren	f	84			y							
439	9/28/1909	Mary	Kellar	f		01	14			y					
440	9/28/1909	Infant	(Miller)	unk						y	S.B.				
441	10/4/1909	Florence	Caviell	f	23			y			Gunshot wound	teacher	S	y	
442	10/5/1909	Infant	(Cooper)	unk		08				y					
443	10/6/1909	Charley	Emory	m	08					y	Lockjaw				
444	10/7/1909	Ruby	Williams	f	08					y					
445	10/8/1909	Lonnie	Jackson	m	22			y					S		
446	10/17/1909	Infant	(Thompson)	unk		02				y					
447	10/21/1909	Viola	Jackson	f	40			y			Tuberculosis		M	y	
448	10/21/1909	Frank	Comer	m	24			y							
449	10/21/1909	Carrie	Brown	f	50			y						y	
450	10/22/1909	Ellen	Coates	f	59			y			Heart failure		M		
451	10/2/1909	Mrs. M.	Miller	f										y	
452	11/2/1909	William	Golden	m	45			y						y	
453	11/6/1909	Wesley	Broady	m	87			y					M		
454	11/7/1909	Ann	Gordon	f											y
455	11/11/1909	Infant	(Boswell)	unk						y					
456	11/16/1909	America(?)	Brooks	m?	55			y							

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
457	11/18/1909	Walter	Mathews	m	41			y			Tuberculosis				y
458	11/20/1909	Infant	(Lockhart)	unk						y					
459	11/20/1909	Napoleon	Harden	m											
460	11/23/1909	Infant of	Viola Webb	unk						y					
461	11/25/1909	Jim	Maddox	m	65			y							
462	11/26/1909	Willie	Young	unk											
463	11/29/1909	Infant	(Hodge)	unk						y					
464	11/29/1909	Georgia	Jacoby	f											
465	11/27/1909	Jeannette Fuqua	Fuller	f										y	
466	12/8/1909	Mattie	Wade	f	38			y			Malaria fever		M	y	
467	12/8/1909	Mary	Robinson	f											
468	12/12/1909	Willie	Height	unk											
469	12/11/1909	Dora	Woods	f											
470	12/12/1909	Francis	Parish	f	39			y							
471	12/13/1909	Laura	Sowell	f	19			y							
472	12/14/1909	Infant	(Crump)	unk						y					
473	12/19/1909	M.	Davis	unk	50			y						y	
474	12/22/1909	Josephine	Mitchell	f	23			y						y	
475	12/21/1909	Kearny	Ruffin	m	40			y							
476	12/22/1909	Rosa Mae	Butler	f		02				y					
477	12/27/1909	Caroline	Flennoy	f	59			y						y	
478	12/29/1909	F.J.	Lignosky	unk											
479	12/29/1909	Sallie	Carter	f	47			y							
480	12/30/1909	Laura	Ragsdale	f	69			y					M		
481	12/30/1909	Infant of	Harris,Emma	unk			03			y					
482	12/31/1909	Mary	Moore	f											
483	1/5/1910	Mert	Dennis	unk	26			y							
484	1/7/1910	Tomie	Banks	m			14			y					
485	1/8/1910	Lottie	Harris	f											
486	1/18/1909	Ida	Whittaker	f											
487	1/19/1910	A.D.	Centers	unk											
488	1/23/1910	Timmie	Armstrong	m	38			y			Tuberculosis			Insurance?	
489	1/26/1910	Epise (Epsie?)	Waller	f	59			y						y	
490	1/26/1910	Lucy	Brown	f											
491	1/27/1910	Delia	Scott	f	65			y							

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
492	1/28/1910	Mike	Wall	m											
493	1/31/1910	Julius	Moore	m											
494	2/2/1910	Jessie	Hardemay	unk	22			y			Pneumonia				
495	2/3/1910	L.G.	Glasgow	unk	03					y	Pneumonia				
496	2/5/1910	Andrew	Humphrey	m	19			y			Tuberculosis				
497	2/5/1910	Frankie	Dickson	unk				y			Rheumatism				
498	2/6/1910	Emma	Duncan	f							Pneumonia				
499	2/6/1910	Laura	Anthony	f											
500	2/7/1910	Christina	Beal	f			11			y	Tuberculosis				
501	2/10/1910	Stella	Moore	f							Tuberculosis				
502	2/11/1910	Lee Bert	Collins	m							Tuberculosis				
503	2/13/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Bowen)	unk						y					
504	2/14/1910	James	McDuff	m	66			y			Pneumonia				y
505	2/14/1910	Henry	Penn	m	22			y			Tuberculosis				
506	2/15/1910	Will	Thomas	m	33			y			Tuberculosis				
507	2/17/1910	Georgia	Phillips	f	29			y			Pneumonia				
508	2/19/1910	Henry	Hubbard	m							Pneumonia				
509	2/20/1910	Lucy	Jones	f	28			y			Peritonitis			y	
510	2/20/1910	Oscar	Tipps	m	21			y			Pneumonia				
511	2/22/1910	Emanuel	Harris	m	65			y							
512	2/22/1910	Thomas	Fields	m	51			y			Hyptitus				
513	2/22/1910	Green	Barnes	m	68			y							
514	2/25/1910	America	McGill	unk	51			y			Heart failure			y	
515	2/25/1910	Sallie	Adams	f	45			y			Heart failure				
516	2/25/1910	Jerry L.	Barnette	unk	20			y			Heart failure				
517	2/28/1910	Holmes	Moore	m							Pneumonia				
518	2/28/1910	Charles	Harris	m	23			y			Tuberculosis			y	
519	3/2/1910	Pennie	Green	f	03					y	Pneumonia		S		
520	3/4/1910	Ben	Jordon	m									S		
521	3/4/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Wells)	unk						y					
522	3/4/1910	Alice B.	Boswell	f	33			y					M	y	
523	3/8/1910	Josephine	Owens	f	44			y					M	y	
524	3/9/1910	Mollie	Gannon	f	44			y			Pneumonia		M		
525	3/10/1910	Willie Mae	Wells	f?	22			y			Tuberculosis		M		

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
526	3/12/1910	A.D.	Robinson	unk	03					y	Pneumonia				
527	3/13/1910	Lonnie	Scott	m	18			y			Pneumonia		S		
528	3/3/1910	Allen	Brooks	m				y			Lynched by mob		M		y
529	3/13/1910	Dora	Kirkpatrick	f	28			y			Pneumonia		M	y	
530	3/17/1910	Gussie	Barnes	f		05				y					
531	3/15/1910	Kate	Burns	f	35			y			Pneumonia		M		
532	3/20/1910	Eugenia	Butler	f	26			y							
533	3/22/1910	Sallie	Beard	f	49			y					M		
534	3/24/1910	Emma	Jones	f	04					y	Pneumonia			Insurance?	
535	3/27/1910	Johnnie	Sims	m											
536	3/29/1910	Johnnie	Barber	m	02					y					
537	3/29/1910	Semma	James	f	20			y			Peritonitis		S	y	
538	3/31/1910	Elizabeth	Welch	f	61			y			Lagrippe		M	y	
539	3/31/1910	Emma	Sledge	f							Dropsy			y	
540	3/31/1910	Eliza	Lee	f	28			y			Perotinitis		S		
541	4/4/1910	Edith	Dysart	f											
542	4/4/1910	Infant	(Smart)	unk		10				y					
543	4/8/1910	Mary	Henderson	f											
544	4/9/1910	Andrew	Jackson	m											
545	4/10/1910	Clemont	Spencer	m							Pneumonia				
546	4/11/1910	Infant	(Sanders)	unk						y					
547	4/13/1910	Thomas	Price	m										y	
548	4/14/1910	Princilla	Jackson	f										y	
549	4/13/1910	Nellie	Greer	f	46			y						y	
550	4/23/1910	Caroline	Mayes	f											
551	4/25/1910	Elisha	Dennis, Jr.	m	05					y	Meningitis				
552	4/25/1910	Pinkie	Harris	unk							Tuberculosis				
553	5/26/1910	Mattie	Holland	f							La Grippe				
554	4/29/1910	Telma	Runnell	f											
555	4/29/1910	James	Pruitt	m										y	
556	4/30/1910	Ella	Brown	f											

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent (11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
557	4/30/1910	Estell	Howard	f	25			y							
558	5/1/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Wilburn)	unk						y					
559	5/3/1910	Sarah	Woods	f											y
560	5/2/1910	Lee	Hanna	m?	32			y							
561	5/3/1910	Rufus	Crawford	m	12				y		Hookworm				
562	5/4/1910	William Henry	Jefferson	m	01					y					
563	5/4/1910	Mary	Smith	f	24			y							
564	5/6/1910	Henry	King	m	06					y	Tetanus				
565	5/6/1910	Bertha	Thomas	f	18			y			Tuberculosis				
566	5/7/1910	Mary Naomi	Brown	f		06				y	Pneumonia				
567	5/7/1910	Annie	Tillman	f	60			y			Pneumonia				
568	5/8/1910	Harvey	Winfield	m		11				y					
569	5/8/1910	Pearl	Jackson	f	29			y					M		
570	5/10/1910	Hannibal	Graves	m							Natural causes				
571	5/11/1910	Addie	Price	f	41			y			Heart disease				
572	5/12/1910	Katie	Henderson	f	35			y			Typhoid fever				
573	5/13/1910	Julius	Roberson	m	28			y			Hanged by law				
574	5/12/1910	Ed	Hill	m							Typhoid fever				
575	5/16/1910	Bertha	Teal	f	42			y			Tuberculosis				
576	5/15/1910	Miles	Wilburn	m							Pneumonia				
577	5/15/1910	Tom Henry	Smith	m	17				y		Acute Prog.				
578	5/16/1910	Mamie	Thompson	f	25			y							
579	5/18/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Pierson)	unk						y					
580	5/17/1910	Bell	Cade	f	27			y			Pneumonia				
581	5/20/1910	Lilly	Tyler	f	21			y			Typhoid fever				
582	5/27/1910	Golden	Goodson	m											
583	5/27/1910	Matilda	Guy	f	78			y			Senile debility				
584	5/30/1910	Melinda	Runniell	f	17				y		Tuberculosis				
585	5/29/1910	George	Smith	m	47			y					y		
586	5/31/1910	Joe	Goodson	m											
587	6/2/1910	Mary E.	Fears	f	41			y							
588	6/2/1910	Emma	Hudson	f						y	Premature birth				
589	6/2/1910	Mary E.	Jones	f	77			y							
590	6/6/1910	Della	Frazier	f	26			y			Tuberculosis				

Record No	Record Date	First Name	Last Name	Gender	Age (years)	Age (Months)	Age (days)	Adult (18 and older)	Adolescent 11-17)	Subadult/Infant	Cause of Death	Occupation	Single/Married	Fraternal Order	Benevolent Society
591	6/6/1910	Amy	Wigfall	f	24			y							
592	6/11/1910	Mary	Montgomery	f	43			y						y	
593	6/12/1910	Jennie	Kellar	f											
594	6/12/1910	Lovie	Harrison	f	06					y	Tuberculosis				
595	6/17/1910	Rosa	Morton	f											
596	6/21/1910	Emma	Thompson	f											
597	6/21/1910	Ethel	Flynn	f	12				y		Burned				
598	6/21/1910	Lulu	Milam	f	26			y							
599	6/22/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Scott)	unk						y					
600	6/23/1910	S.B. (stillborn)	(Kimbrew)	unk						y					

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
001	Freeman, Ludy	Freeman, Ludy		07/01/07
002	Perry, William	Perry, William		07/02/07
003	Williams, L.K.	Williams, L.K.		07/04/07
004	Eureka #18 (Tabernacle)	Dean, Mrs.		07/05/07
005	Taylor, William	Taylor, William	Roberson, Nelson	07/04/07
006	BIB of K. No. 6	Taylor, Mrs.		
007	Galloway, Mamie	Galloway, Mamie		07/05/07
008	Nobles, Bud	Nobles, Bud		07/07/07
009	Royal House	Rowan, Dock		07/08/07
010	Smith, Henry	Smith, Henry		07/10/07
011	Vinson, Will	Vinson, Will		07/11/07
012	Sampson, Richard	Sampson, Richard	Overton, D. (\$8.00)	07/12/07
013	Douglas, Fred	Douglas, Fred	Janitor St. Mathews	07/18/07
014	Crittenden, Henry	Crittenden, Henry		07/23/07
015	Wilson, Lucy	Wilson, Lucy	Wilson, Lucy	08/05/07
016	Collins, Pink	Collins, Pink	Collins, Pink	
017	Harris, John	Harris, John	Harris, John	
018	Page, Wm. H			
019	Naomi			
020	Durant, L.			
021	Emanuel Lodge K. of P.			
022	Middleton, John			
023	Whitfield, John			
024	Rising Sun and Moland			
025				
026	Oriental Lodge G.U.O.O.F			
027	Bradley, Jerry			
028	Winford, John	Winford, John	Winford, John	09/02/07
029	Reed, Isiah & Marshall	Reed, Isiah & Marshall		09/03/07
030	Borals, Fannie	Borals, Fannie		09/02/07

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
031	Collins, Pink	Collins, Pink		09/06/07
032	Crawford, Mrs. H.C.	Crittenden, W.		09/06/07
033	Middleton, D.		work Sanger Bros.	
034	Fuqua, Abe and Lee	Fuqua, Abe and Lee		09/07/07
035	Wright Lodge U.B.F.			
036	Jenkins, Rev. R.S.	Jenkins, Rev. R.S.		
037	Ridge, John	Ridge, John		
038	Hugle, Charles			
039	Sales, Thomas	Sales, Thomas		
040	Avery, Mrs. Annie	Avery, Mrs. Annie		
041	Felton, W.			
042	Harris, Charles			
043	Reynolds, Robert	Reynolds, Robert		10/07/07
044	Curry, J.C.			
045	Boyd, Ed & House Hold of Ruth #238	Boyd, Ed		10/11/07
046	Cuit, Mose (West Dallas)			
047	Fields, Anderson	Fields, Anderson		10/19/07
048	Hardin, Anthony	Hardin, Anthony		10/20/07
049	Givens, Hattie	Givens, Hattie		10/22/07
050	Ezell, George	Ezell, George		10/22/07
051	Union Star	Cole, Thomas		10/26/07
052	Christian Aid Society			
053	Elizabeth Court			10/27/07
054	W.Dallas Lodge GUUOF 6446			
055	Carr, James			
056	Sherley, Rachel & Will			
057	Davy, E.	Davy, E.		
058	Miller, B.			
059	Townsend, Gib			
060	Cannon, Ellen			
061	Dallas Union Lodge 1940 GUOOF			
062	Taylor, Revs. H.E. & J.T.S. White			11/24/07
063	Hagarty Transfer Co.			
064	Kelley, John	Kelley, John		
065	Green, Jettie			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
066	Hooper, D.U.			
067	Herndon, Mat			11/30/07
068	Griffin, J.G. and William	Griffin		12/02/07
069	Golden Rule Court			12/10/07
070	Smith, I	Smith, I	Sugar Coal Co.	12/12/07
071	New Hope and St. Luke	Wise and Griffin		12/13/07
072	Robinson, J.W.	Robinson, J.W.	to be paid 1/1/08	12/15/07
073	Brown, V.T.			
074	Boyd, Bettie	Boyd, Bettie	Int. Bur. Assoc.	12/16/07
075	Green Bay K. of T.			12/17/07
076	Young, John			
077	New Hope U.B.F.	Wise		12/24/07
078	Craft, Mary			12/24/07
079	Matt Clay and Henry Osborne			12/26/07
080	Hamilton, Dr. & Ed Perry	Dr. Hamilton	Dr. Hamilton	12/29/07
081	Wade, W.H.	Wade, W.H.		
082	Universal Royal House			
083	Smith, Thomas			
084	Jones, Henry	Jones, Henry		01/04/08
085	Fletcher, A.	Fletcher, A.		01/05/08
086	Mayes, Houston	Mayes, Houston		01/05/08
087	Comet Lodge 3134 GUOOF	Orman, Thomas		01/07/08
088	Queen Thelma Court of Calanthe			01/08/08
089	Barnett, Richard	Barnett, Richard		01/08/08
090	Lockhart, Tim	Lockhart, Tim		01/13/08
091	Artesia K of P #60 Marlin Tex		Pride of West K of P	
092	Harris, Rosa			01/18/08
093	Hall, Nancy			01/20/08
094	Davis, W.D.			01/20/08
095	Silver Fleece & Leaf			
096	Carroll, Walter			
097	K of P Pride of West, BIB of K #6, D.Union 1940, Mrs. Whitehead	Mrs. Whitehead		01/26/08
098	W.Dallas Lodge GUOOF, Ewing WOW			
099	Woodard, Mrs. M.			01/28/08
100	St. Luke #1 K of P	Griffin, J.G.		

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
101	Bowens, R.B.	Bowens, R.B.		01/28/08
102	Ford, Fannie			
103	Johnson, George			
104	Williams, Will & Rowell, John	Williams, Will		01/31/08
105	Comet Lodge			
106	Smith, Miss Minnie	Smith, Miss Minnie		02/03/08
107	St. George K of T #112			02/04/08
108	Presley, Julius	Presley, Julius	mortgage on cow	02/04/08
109	Bartee, Charles	Bartee, Charles		02/06/08
110	Comet Lodge 3134 & Abiff #12	Armon? and Humphrey		02/09/08
111	Dixon, J.H.			
112	Thomas, Susan	Thomas, Susan		
113	BIB of K #6			
114	Moore, Jesse			
115	J.Z. Lodge GUOOF & Pride of West K of P	Rippetoe & Overstreet		
116	Doolin, H.			
117	Miner, Alf			
118	Oriental Lodge GUOOF			
119	White, C.B.			
120	Miles, Mrs.			
121	Daugherty, Charles & Ed			
122	Naomi			
123	Algiers K of P Lodge & J.R. Woods	Woods, J.R.		02/29/08
124	Cates, Mary			
125	Gamble, Maurice	Gamble, Maurice		03/01/08
126	Livingston, Mrs. R.			
127	Rhodes, Will			
128	Cowan, F.D.			
129	Clinton, Chas. & Mrs. P.A. Rochon?	Clinton, Chas.	note	
130	Jones, Elsie			
131	Smith, Julia			
132	Barrett, Josephine			
133	Else, Thad			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
134	Mottell, Annie			03/16/08
135				
136	Edwards, Will			
137	McAfee, Mrs.			
138	Presley, O.E.			
139	W.E. Ewing Camp WOW			
140	Algiers K of P	Weems, A.G.		03/28/08
141	Runyon, Dr.	Runyon		
142	Ashley, Mrs.			04/02/08
143	Oak Cliff GUOOF			04/03/08
144	Broomfield, Lee	Broomfield, Lee		04/04/08
145	Maddox, Will			
146	Jackson, S.O.			04/06/08
147	BIB of K #6			04/09/08
148	Coleman, Alice			
149	Stockbridge, Ruth			
150	White, Frank			
151	Gilmore, Ethel			
152	Clark, Will			
153	Belcher, Charles			
154	Dixon, J.W.			
155	Pennybacker, W.B.			
156	Baker, Samuel			
157	Thomas, J.W.			04/28/08
158	Finney, L.			
159	Church of Living God			
160	Raines, Henry			
161	Pearl Rose & Leading Star Court			05/06/08
162	BIB of K #3			05/06/08
163	Simmons, Fay			
164	Hill, J.J.			
165	Naomi			05/08/08
166	Diamond Crown			05/08/08

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
167	Brooks, Tessie			
168				
169	Jones, Scott			
170	Pickard, J.D.			
171	Bolden, Richard			
172	King?, Thurman			
173	Hamilton, C.R.			
174	Runyon, Dr.			
175	Edwards, Irvin			
176	Elliott, Blanch			
177	Humphrey, John			
178	Rose Bud and Queen Elizabeth			
179	McPherson, Rev.	McPherson, Rev.		06/03/08
180	BIB of K #6			06/04/08
181	Davis, William	Davis, William		06/07/08
182	Wall, Robert			
183	Douglass, Bettie			
184	Jenkins, Rev.	Jenkins, Rev.		06/11/08
185	Williams, Hugh	Williams, Hugh		
186	Wilborn, Will	Wilborn, Will		
187	Brooks, Scott			
188	Mt. Horeb #3			
189	Collins, Lucy	Collins, Lucy		
190	Taylor, Van	Taylor, Van		06/21/08
191	Williams, Hugh			
192	Brooks, Lee	Brooks, Lee		
193	Jordan, F.J.			
194	Sparks, John			
195	Johnson, Andy			
196	Parlee			
197	Crittenden, Henry & HHofR	Crittenden		06/30/08
198	Western Beauty #137			
199	Bunkly, G.J.			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
200	Cecil, Viola	Cecil, Viola		
201	Forley, E.F.			
202	Baker, Mimma			
203	Patton, Bell			
204	Robinson, T.J.			
205	Thomas, Henry	Thomas, Henry		
206	Oriental Lodge GUOOF			
207	Lee, Bessie			
208	Walker, Mrs. Carrie			
209	Mantone K of P #282	Southern		
210	Lewis, Willie			
211	Nelson, Payton, Silver Fleece 260, Mrs Lorocay, Pride of OakCliff 237			
212	Oak Cliff #46			
213	Pride of West K of P #12			
214	Sanders, Pinkie			
215	St. Charles K of P			
216	Ming, John & Cressy Ice Cream Co			
217	Howard, Henry			
218	Sims, Joe	Sims, Joe		08/11/08
219	Risby, Lizzie			08/12/08
220	Hunter, W.D.			
221	Taylor, Mrs. A.	Taylor, Mrs. A.		08/16/08
222	Mantone K of P Lodge			
223	HH of R 238			
224	Crystal Tabernacle #149			
225	Brown, J.E.			
226	Sutton, Lee	Sutton, Lee		08/31/08
227	Williams, John & Tom Bonner			
228	Johnson, Lee			
229	Payne, Jack			09/08/08
230	Malone, Frank			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
231	Sims, Watt			09/13/08
232	Smith, W.F.			09/14/08
233	Hill, Thornton			09/15/08
234	Irvin K of P			09/19/08
235	King, R.D.			
236	Smith & Cline			
237	Lewis, Charles & Elizabeth Brooks			09/26/08
238	Hamilton, JP & Frank Hight			
239	Walker, C.			
240	Griffin, JG & William			10/01/08
241	Algiers K of P #44, Crystal Palace			10/01/08
242	Taylor, Mrs.			
243	Higginbottum, Lewis			
244	St. Paul Church			
245	Sharpe, H.T.			10/10/08
246	Hunt, Cleveland			
247	McGruder, J.C.			
248				
249	West, Mrs. W.B.	West, Mrs. W.B.		10/15/08
250	Vaughn, Pink			10/14/08
251	Banks, Wm & Wm Griffin			
252	Mantone K of P			
253	Lockhart, Sidney			
254	Welch, John & Ed McKahn			
255	Williams, K.W.			
256	Hall, Mrs.			
257	Brown, Oscar			
258	Griffin, JH			
259	Curry, Chester			
260	Love, J. Austin			11/02/08
261	Webb, Silas			11/09/08
262	Hooks, L.H.			11/13/08
263	Oriental Lodge GUOOF #3499			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
264	Dallas Union Lodge # 1940, GUOOF			11/15/08
265	Bradley, D.B.			11/11/08
266	Walker, John			11/16/08
267	Harris, William			
268	Sparks, Mary			11/21/08
269	Benton, H.			11/24/08
270	Wendle, Henry			11/27/08
271	East Dallas Lodge GUOOF			11/29/08
272	Bluitt, Dr.			
273	Bryant, JA & GW Wells			
274	Bluitt, Dr.-Leg from sanitarium			
275	Bridgewater, AL 185 Park Ave.			
276	HHR of Paris & Geo Guest			
277	Smith, Frank			
278	Western Beauty, L. Record, Mrs. Richards of West Dallas	Record		12/07/08
279	Taylor, Mrs. & Dallas Union Lodge #1940, GUOOF			
280	Overton, Dan			
281	Bluitt, Calvin			
282	King, Mrs.	King, Mrs.		12/14/08
283	Davis, Frank			
284	Liberty #40 K of P Lancaster			
285	Ebenezer #6			
286	Green Simpson RFD #1 Box 14	Green Simpson		
287	Ferrell, Lizzie			
288	Pinckney, Randle			
289	Taylor, Sam			
290	Hodge, Susan			
291	Mt. Horeb Tab.			
292	Gray, R.L.			
293	Johnson, Rev. St. Paul Church			
294	Allen, George			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
295	Frazier, Ed			
296	McKelley, Matilda			
297	Metropolitan GUOOF			
298	Jordan, AW			
299	Hubbard, Lillie			
300	Bluitt, Dr.			
301	Watson, Annie			
302	Taylor, Mrs. Sallie			
303	Smith, Mrs. AB			
304	Wylie, AJ			
305	Carter, Henry	Carter, Henry		02/03/09
306	Toliver, James			
307				
308	Apson, Will			
309	Thomas, Jasper			
310	Edwards, Will			
311	Queen Thelma			
312	Toliver, James			
313	Spikes, Monroe			
314	Alexandria, R.B.			
315	Sims, Jeff			
316	St. Charles K of P			
317	Lyle, Lucy			
318	Edwards, Nora			
319	Bartee, Charlie			
320	Everett, BE			
321	Montagu, Paul			
322	Bonner, Eugene & Alice Coleman			
323	Guest, John			
324	Dresback, Mrs. JH			

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
325	Matthews, Sam H.			
326	Ward, Louis			
327	Johnson, Pauline & Jane Hickman			
328	Giddings, J.S.			
329	Wade, John			
330	Comet Lodge # 3134, GUOOF			03/03/09
331	Johnson, Bill (Belle?)			
332	Wm Trans (?) Austin			
333	Ragsdale, James			
334	Rice, Charles			03/03/09
335	Metz, Allen			
336	Harris, Sallie			
337	JZ GUOOF			
338	Paris, Annie Mae			
339	Green (?), William			
340	Anderson, JW			
341	Warior (?), Henry			
342	BIB of K #6			
343	Pearl Rose			
344	Caviness, Rev. & Mrs.			
345	Wright, Henry			
346	Jackson, M.			
347	House Hold of Ruth 687 & Dallas Union Lodge # 1940, GUOOF			
348	Taylor, Bettie	Taylor, Bettie		
349	Elliott, Joseph			
350	Ricketts, Will			
351	Cole, RC & Oliver			
352	Wade, Bertha			
353	Talley, E.			
354	Tipps, AW	Tipps, AW	works for Burk & Co	
355	Mt. Horeb			
356	Guest, John & Henry Ruffin	Guest, John & Henry Ruffin		05/04/09

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
357	Metropolitan AF & AM			
358	Myers, Ceary			
359	Cooper, Dr. MC & Elizabeth Court			
360	Lily of Valley & Solomon Henry			
361	Drake, H. & Lightner			
362	Algiers K of P, & Robt Cruel			
363	Cullon, Mary			
364	Bright, Mrs. 118 Paris St.			
365	Wells, Rev of Waco			
366	Brown, Mathew			
367	Hunt, Osborne			
368	Mitchell, Ben			
369	Shafford, Charlie			
370	Welch, Amos, John Thomas, Chas Thomas			
371	Williams, Bass			
372	Western Beauty & Morris Gaines			
373	Hill, Mrs.			
374	Abiff AF & AM & St. Charles K of P			
375	Ebenezer			
376	McCune, Nora			
377	Cole, Chas, Rev. Jenkins & Anderson			
378	Houston, Robert			
379	Paul Drayton AF & AM & Mrs White			
380	Smith, Elma			
381	BIB of K Palace, Queen of May #3			
382	Hill, JC			
383	Shuman, Florence			
384	Wiley, J.E.			
385	American Natl			
386	Wright Lodge UBF			
387	Mitchell, John			
388	Jones, Mary	Jones, Mary		
389	Evening Chapel AME Church			07/05/09
390	Johnson, Mrs. Mille & St. Paul AME	Johnson, Rev.		07/05/09

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
391	Dixon, John	Dixon, John		07/07/09
392	Oak Cliff Lodge GUOOF	Smith		07/09/09
393	Cooper, Fred	Cooper, Fred		07/12/09
394	Hoopers, Zeke (Zeke at Hoopers)	Zeke at Hoopers		
395	Perrin, James & John H. Senchal	John H. Senchal & James Perrin		07/10/09
396	Lyons			
397	Sanders, Will	Sanders, Will		07/08/09
398	Armstead, Jesse	Armstead, Jesse	Stubbs & Son	07/08/09
399	Lawless, Mrs.	Lawless, Mrs.		07/09/09
400	Maloney, Harriett	Maloney, Harriett		07/11/09
401	St. Mary, HHofR 238 & West Drake	Drake		07/11/09
402	Ada Chapter & Lilly of Valley 163	Watson		07/12/09
403				07/15/09
404	Comet 3134, Pride of West 12, Abiff AF&AM	Orman		07/18/09
405	Elizabeth Court & House Hold of Ruth # 687			
406	Warfield, Sam			
407	Boswell, HA	Boswell, HA		07/25/09
408	Sanders, William			
409	Jones, Julia & Amanda	Jones, Julia & Amanda		07/24/09
410	Hines, Irvin	Hines, Irvin		07/25/09
411	Ford, George			07/29/09
412	Wilmer Tabernacle, Knights of Tabor #30	Cole, Thos		08/05/09
413				08/05/09
414	Oak Cliff Lodge 46 K of P			08/06/09
415	Cole, RC	Cole, RC		08/06/09
416	Carpenter, R.E.	Carpenter, R.E.		08/06/09
417	Curtis, JH	Curtis, JH		08/08/09
418	Hall, Miss MA & Mrs EO Lindey	Hall, Miss MA & Mrs. EO Lindey		08/17/09
419	White, Viola	White, Viola		08/18/09
420	Kinsey, John, Ft. Worth (1127 Goveston Ave.)	Kinsey, John		08/24/09
421	Abiff AF & AM	Humphrey, William	lodge	08/29/09
422	Hammond, Wm Millers Switch	Hammond, Wm		08/29/09
423	Long, Mrs. EB, Paris TX	Long, Mrs. EB	HH of R?	09/04/09

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
424	Anneta Court H of J & Chas Lee	Lee, Chas	Lee, Chas	09/04/09
425	Childress, Mrs.	Childress, Mrs.		09/06/09
426	Davis, Henry & Mary			09/08/09
427	Nash, Mrs.			09/08/09
428	Sparks, Mrs. NV			09/09/09
429	Sweet Violet Tab.			09/10/09
430	St. Clara SMT & A. Jackson			09/12/09
431	Steele, Kate			09/12/09
432	Calhoun, JC			09/13/09
433				09/13/09
434	Ceasar, Wm		Foreman at Lemps Brewing	09/18/09
435	Sowel, P.			09/17/09
436	Cooper, Dr. MC			09/20/09
437	Flower, Lucile & Sam, Henry Smith			09/22/09
438	Warren, WJ	Warren, WJ		09/28/09
439	Kellar, Henry			09/29/09
440	Miller, Sam & Mary			09/28/09
441	House Hold of Ruth # 818 & Caviell, Andrew,907 61st St FT.Worth			10/05/09
442	Cooper, Fred			10/05/09
443	Emory, Chas.			10/06/09
444				10/08/09
445	Vaughn, Bettie & H. Ware			10/10/09
446	Thompson, Will			10/17/09
447	St. Clara SMT & AH Jackson	St. Clara SMT & AH Jackson		10/23/09
448	Comer, Walter, Lancaster, Tex			10/22/09
449	House Hold of Ruth #238, & Ada Chapter #4 Eastern Star	Mrs. ME Anderson Gray & Mrs Frazier		10/22/09
450				10/25/09
451	Royal House & Mrs. Wilborne			
452	Emanuel Lodge K of P			11/03/09
453	Broady, Will	Broady, Will		11/07/09
454	Whiterock Church			11/08/09
455	Charley Boswell & Joe Gorce			11/11/09
456	Brooks, Nora	Brooks, Nora		11/16/09

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
457	Charity			11/12/09
458	Lockhart, Mary			11/21/09
459	Wiley, JE	Wiley, JE		11/21/09
460	Easley, Henry	Easley, Henry		11/23/09
461	Maddox, Will	Maddox, Will		11/26/09
462	Davis, Henry & Pollie 49 Cliff St.			11/27/09
463	Hodge, RS Cement City			
464	Jacoby, George			11/30/09
465	HouseHold of Ruth # 238, Wm Fuller	HH of R 238, Wm Fuller		11/28/09
466	House Hold of Ruth # 687 & Charley Wade	HH of R 687 & Charley Wade		12/09/09
467	Robinson, George 126 Indiana			12/09/09
468	Height, Jim			12/13/09
469	Woods, Henry			12/12/09
470	Drake, Bill			12/14/09
471	Spears, Eddie, RFD #7, box 67			12/14/09
472	Crump, Eddie			12/15/09
473	St. Clara SMT & St. Clara Saucy (?San'cy) 205	Davis, Mrs. M.		12/20/09
474	Western Beauty 137 K&R of T, Lizzie Thomas & Ben Mitchell			12/23/09
475	Ruffin, Edd			12/22/09
476	Butler, Lena	Butler, Lena		12/22/09
477	Silver Spray			12/28/09
478	Kindle, Henry (Trinity Oil Mill) Fred Lignosky (Stubbs) etc			12/30/09
479	Horace Carter, Will Carter, Ice Factory, A.W. Whittaker			12/30/09
480	Ragsdale, Jim	Ragsdale, Jim		12/31/09
481	Brewer, Fred, Sanger Harris			12/31/09
482	Moore, HM Oak Cliff			
483	Dennis, E.D.	Dennis, E.D.		01/06/10
484	Banks, Thomas	Banks, Thomas		01/08/10
485	Harris, John			
486	Simon Lilly, 707 Elm St.			01/19/10
487	Cook, Abe & Lissie Drake	Cook works for JE Johnston	Dallas Trans Co 627 Main	
488	Barnes, Dick & Am. Natl	Dick Barnes & Am Natl	Am Natl Policy	01/25/10
489	House Hold of Ruth # 818 & Mary Cunningham	HH of R 818 & Mary Cunningham		01/27/10
490	Taylor, Mr.			01/28/10
491	Calicutt, Homer no 3 Branch St	works 209 Bellview St.		01/28/10

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
492	Burton Lumber Co.			
493	Moore, William	Moore, Wm		02/01/10
494	Smith, Rachel	Smith, Rachel		02/04/10
495	Glasgow, James			
496	Humphrey, Pat			02/05/10
497	Dickson, Mamie			02/06/10
498	Duncan, Anderson			02/07/10
499	Anthony, J.W.			02/06/10
500	Beal, John			02/08/10
501	Moore, Vina			02/12/10
502	Collins, Lizzie			02/12/10
503	Bowen, Willie			
504	Christian Aid Society			02/16/10
505	Penn, Noah	Penn, Noah		02/15/10
506	Thomas, Sam			02/16/10
507	Phillips, Henry			02/18/10
508	Hubbard, Pierce			02/20/10
509	Silver Spray Knights & Daughters of Tabor			02/21/10
510	Tipps, Lulu			02/22/10
511	Harris, Mrs. F.B.	Harris, Mrs. F.B.		02/22/10
512	Fields, Amanda			02/23/10
513	Barnes, Ellen			02/24/10
514	Universal Royal Family			02/27/10
515	Smallwood, Bessie			02/27/10
516	Barnette, Richard			02/27/10
517	Moore, William			03/01/10
518	St. George K of T & Mrs. Harris			03/01/10
519	Green, Mose	Green, Mose		03/03/10
520	Stone, Mrs. Mattie 180 Monroe St.	Mrs. Mattie Stone		03/04/10
521	Wells, Henry J.			
522	House Hold of Ruth # 818, Lily of Valley & G.L. Boswell	HH of R		03/06/10
523	Eureka Knights & Daughters of Tabor			03/10/10
524				03/11/10
525	Wells, Henry 413 Preston St.	Henry Wells		03/11/10

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
526	Robinson, Louis	Robinson, Louis		03/13/10
527	Scott, Mrs.	Scott, Mrs.		03/15/10
528	Public			03/10/10
529	Knights & Daughters of Tabor			03/16/10
530	Barnes, Bud Jefferson St.	Barnes, Bud		03/18/10
531	Pitt, Ann New Hope Ark		Am Natl	03/20/10
532	Nash, Henry 128 Cadiz, Lena Butler, Hattie Butler, Albert Bu	Henry Nash, etc.		03/22/10
533				03/23/10
534	Jones, Ernest	Amer Natl		03/25/10
535				03/29/10
536	Barber, John	Barber, John		03/30/10
537	Bell of Dallas 267		Society	03/30/10
538	Ada Chapter & John A. Welch	J. Welch	Society	04/02/10
539	St. Clara SMT	Mrs. Edwards	society	04/02/10
540	McMakin, J.D. 111 Lattimore St.			04/03/10
541	Walker, Thomas			
542	Smart, Dan 247 Trinidad St.	Dan Smart		04/05/10
543	Henderson, Robert			04/10/10
544	Wallace, Sam			04/10/10
545	Spencer, Minnie 412 San Jacinto			04/11/10
546	Sanders, Will RFD #5 box 107			
547	BIPU of A			
548	Crystal Tabernacle			
549	Howard, Mrs. Pride of Texas Eastern Star & Queen Thelma Cour	Mrs. Howard	lodges	04/18/10
550	Mayes, Oliver	Oliver Mayes		04/23/10
551	Dennis, Elisha	Dennis, Elisha		04/26/10
552	Watson, Will 111 Wall St.			04/26/10
553	McBoy, Charles & Jane B.W. Addition			04/29/10
554	Simonton, Rosa & Florence White			
555	Royal Family (Mrs. Ellis)	Mrs. Ellis		05/01/10
556	Jones, Walter at Anderson's Furniture Co.			05/01/10

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
557	Howard, James works at Dysterbach	Howard, James		05/01/10
558	Wilburn, Claretta 472 S. Austin St.			
559	Christian Aid Society, Robt Payne			
560	Walker, Thomas	Walker, Thomas		05/04/10
561	Thompson, Mrs. 421 Flora St.			05/04/10
562	Jefferson, Thos. 499 Munger Ave.	Thos. Jefferson		05/05/10
563	Risby, A.M. 409 Cochran, LB McCoy			05/05/10
564	King, Albert	King, Albert		05/07/10
565	Thomas, Charlie	Charlie Thomas		05/08/10
566				05/08/10
567	Tillman, Jesse RFD #1 box 112, Thos. Coit RFD 1, box 14			05/08/10
568	Johnson, D.J. 216 Hill Ave.	Johnson, D.J.		05/09/10
569	Wiley, JE Mill City	Wiley, JE		05/09/10
570	Graves, Charley			05/11/10
571	Cass, Jack			05/12/10
572	Henderson, A.D.	Henderson, A.D.		05/13/10
573	Roberson, Blanch	Roberson, Blanch		05/15/10
574	Hill, Mrs. Ed			05/15/10
575	Teal, Washington	Teal, Washington		05/17/10
576	Wilburn, Ida			05/16/10
577	Smith, A.			05/16/10
578	Thompson, Jake 201 Camp, Dave Armstrong & MayleeAnn Thompson			05/17/10
579	Pierson, Robbie			
580	Cade, Washington 315 Ash Lane			05/18/10
581	Tyler, Elijah & JE Wiley	JE Wiley & Elijah Tyler		05/27/10
582	Graves, Lonie			
583	Beavers, George 403 Elm	Beavers, George	call every Saturday	05/28/10
584	Simonton, Rhoda 159 Bourbon, Florence White			05/31/10
585	Comet Lodge #3134, GUOOF & Crystal Palace			06/01/10
586	Washington, Emmet			
587	Fears, John D. Mill City	Fears, John D.		06/04/10
588	Hudson, Sam 197 Beaumont			
589	Smith, G.T. Boll St.	Smith, G.T.		06/04/10
590	Frazier, Albert	Albert Frazier		06/06/10

Record No	Charge To	Order given by	SECURED	FUNERAL
591	Alexander, Edith	Edith Alexander		06/07/10
592	Lilly of Valley Knights & Daughters of Tabor, St. Frances SMT	Johnson Bros.		06/12/10
593	Kellar, Henry Alpha Tex	Henry Kellar		06/13/10
594	Wiley, JE			06/13/10
595	Morton, Sam, Price Thompson, Jim Morton, Henry Gilworth			
596	Thompson, William			
597	Flynn, M. & Caroline Barker	M. Flynn & Caroline Barker		06/22/10
598	Milam, George			06/21/10
599	Scott, Charlie			
600	Kimbrew, Sonzie			

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
001	Pacific 614			Hamilton	7/1/1907		Hillsboro	B	Memphis Coffin Co.
002	Carroll & Armstrong	House		McIver	7/2/1907	Bapt		B	Memphis Coffin Co.
003	Cochran 556	House	McPherson, Rev.	Hamilton	7/3/1907	Bapt		A	Gate City
004	Trinity 112	House	Pardee, Rev.	Bluitt	7/3/1907			B	Memphis Cof. Co.
005	Leonard 244	House	Jackson, Rev.	West	7/3/1907			2/6 w	Gate City
006	Hoffman 118			Allen					
007	William 296	House	Perdee, Rev	Hamilton	7/4/1907			A	Memphis Cof. Co.
008	Ross 554	House	Smith	Anderson	7/5/1907	Bapt		Coffin A	Memphis Cof. Co.
009	Peak St.	Evening Chapel	Jackson	William	7/6/1907	M		casket	Lewis Co.
010	Cochran 622	House	MacPherson	Allen	7/9/1907			coffin A	Gate City
011	Gilliard	House	Noble	Hamilton	7/10/1907			coffin B	Memphis
012	K St. 1	House		Bryant	7/11/1907			coffin A	Memphis
013	Alamo 230	House		Bryant	7/17/1907			coffin B	Memphis
014	Fair Ground Dist			Bryan			Elmo, TX		
015					8/4/1907				
016									
017									
018									
019									
020									
021									
022							Bellville		
023									
024									
025							Kingfisher		
026									
027							Muskogee		
028				Bryant					
029	Alma 204						Palestine		
030	Coby St.						Ferris		

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
031	Motley Ave.			Allen	9/5/1907				
032	St. Louis, MO	Bethel	White, Rev. J.T						
033									
034									
035									
036									
037									
038	Paris 101			Bryan					
039	Grand Ave. 716								
040	Cliff 1009								
041									
042									
043	Juliet 321			Whitley	10/6/1907				
044									
045	Flora 536	New Hope	Jackson, A.S.	Anderson					
046									
047	White Rock		Williams		10/18/1907				
048				Justice of Peace					
049	Paris St.								
050	Gibson St.								
051	Flora								
052					10/26/1907		Terrell		
053	Queen City				10/28/1907				
054	San Jacinto 310			Allen	11/3/1907				
055	City Hospital				11/5/1907				
056	Paris St. 110			Hawkins	11/5/1907				
057				Bluitt	11/7/1907		Mineola		
058	San Jacinto 194								
059	Cochran 452			Welch					
060	Gladstone 115			Anderson					
061	Pacific 409				11/19/1907				
062	William 281								
063	Sutton 213								
064									
065									

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
066									
067	Paris 113			Bluitt	11/29/1907				
068	Cochran 670			Anderson					
069	William 415			Runyon			Atlanta, TX		
070	Grand Ave.								
071	Lateriere St.								
072	Canton 179			Hamilton					
073									
074	Junius St.			Hamilton					
075	Pacific 614			Hamilton					
076									
077	Jackson St.								
078	Cottonwood St.								
079	Central Ave. 656				12/24/1907				
080				Hamilton	12/28/1907		Navasota		
081	Allen 175				12/30/1907				
082							Miss.		
083									
084	Lawrence 102			Penn					
085	Jackson 449			Bryan					
086	Lawrence 204			Anderson					
087	East Dallas			Bluitt					
088	State 244			Davis					
089	Queen City			Anderson					
090	Central Ave.			Anderson					
091							Marlin, TX		
092	Cottage Lane			Leach	1/16/1908				
093	Hall St. 352								
094									
095							Lawrence		
096									
097	Cochran St.	House	White, JTS	Leach	1/25/1908				
098	West Dallas			Leach	1/26/1908		Elmo		
099	Wade 114				1/25/1908				
100	Paris 119			Anderson	1/26/1908				

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
101	Gibson St.	St. James AME	Young, Rev.						
102	Lamar 231						Sherman, TX		
103	Alamo St. 205			Hamilton	1/27/1908				
104	St. Paul Sanitarium								
105							Belton, TX		
106	East Dallas								
107	Cottonwood St. 212			Anderson					
108	Queen City								
109		Peoples Und. Co.							
110	Hawkins St.	St. Paul	Johnson, Rev.		2/6/1908				
111									
112	Young St.				2/8/1908				
113									
114	Cochran 405								
115							Calvert, TX		
116	Lamar St.				2/11/1908				
117									
118									
119									
120							Waxahachie		
121									
122	Ellis St. 119			Hamilton					
123	Preston	Macedonia Bapt	Williams	Bryan	2/27/1908	no			
124									
125	Kirk Alley 102								
126	Central 171						Hearne, TX		
127									
128	Williams 297				2/9/1908				
129									
130	Mulberry 111				3/11/1908				
131					3/11/1908				
132	San Jacinto St.								
133							Terrell, TX		

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
134					3/15/1908				
135							Paris, TX		
136									
137									
138							Mineola, TX		
139									
140	Central Ave.	St. James AME	Young	Bryan					
141							Lancaster, Tx		
142				res. PavillionSt					
143	Oak Cliff								
144	Jackson Alley 118			Bryan					
145					4/4/1908		Waxahachie		
146	Hall 378				4/5/1908				
147	Sutton St. 193				4/8/1908				
148	William St. 404				4/8/1908				
149	Adair St. 154				4/8/1908				
150									
151	Adair St. 237								
152									
153									
154	Wade St. 125			Anderson	4/16/1908				
155	West Dallas				4/25/1908				
156									
157	Flora St. 231				4/27/1908				
158	Motley 152								
159	Hugo St.								
160									
161	Bushel 102			Anderson					
162	Cottage Lane								
163									
164	Oak Cliff								
165	Marilla 139			Anderson	5/7/1908				
166	Ashland St.								

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
167	Trinidad						Henderson		
168	Young St. 465								
169	Indiana St.				5/13/1908				
170									
171									
172	Walters 444				5/18/1908				
173									
174	Motley Ave.								
175									
176									
177									
178									
179	Ellis St.			Davis	6/2/1908				
180	Hawkins St. 322				6/3/1908				
181	Hickory St. 659			Bryant					
182									
183									
184	Flora St.	Bethel	White						
185	Cochran St.								
186	Grand Ave 734				6/12/1908				
187									
188	William 281				6/17/1908				
189									
190	Junius St. 810				6/20/1908				
191	Cochran 716				6/22/1908				
192	4th St. 379								
193							Grand Prairie		
194					6/24/1908				
195	Motley Ave.								
196	Central 193 1/2								
197	Hall St.	New Hope	Jackson						
198	West Dallas			Stoval	7/2/1908				
199									

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
200									
201									
202	Floyd St. 113			Brooks	7/13/1908				
203	Young & Houston St.				7/13/1908				
204									
205	West Dallas			Means					
206	Pryor St.				7/17/1908				
207	Sutton St. 284								
208	Greenwood St.				7/20/1908				
209							Wallace, Tx		
210									
211				Leach					
212	Oak Cliff								
213	Crowdus St.			Bryan					
214									
215									
216									
217									
218	Oak Cliff			Leach					
219	Queen City			Hall					
220	Hawkins 250			Brooks	8/12/1908				
221	State St.	New Hope Baptist	Jackson	Anderson	8/15/1908			State	
222							Arlington?		
223		casket sent express to Gr Prairie					Grand Prairie		
224	Cottonwood 155			Anderson	8/21/1908				
225							Buffalo		
226				Coroner, Flora St	8/30/1908				
227									
228	Fuqua 510				9/2/1908				
229	Convent 127				9/8/1908				
230									

Record No	PLACEDEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
231									
232	Boll & State				9/13/1908				
233	City Hospital				9/14/1908				
234	Irvin, TX	Irvin, TX			9/18/1908				
235									
236									
237	Pierce Alley				9/25/1908				
238					9/26/1908		Grand Prairie		
239	Ray St.				9/26/1908				
240	Cochran	Evening Chapel	Jackson, GS						
241	Convent	Bethel	White						
242									
243									
244									
245	Cochran 726								
246									
247									
248							Bryan		
249	Flora St. 381								
250	Julliette								
251	Central Ave.				10/14/1908				
252							Bryan		
253									
254	Kerr 154				10/22/1908				
255	City Hospital				10/21/1908				
256	Jackson St.								
257	Polk St.						Bryan		
258									
259									
260	Oak Cliff				11/1/1908				
261	Jessie Ave. 325				11/9/1908				
262	Lancaster Route #1				11/12/1908				
263	Indiana Alley								

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
264	Walker 141				11/13/1908				
265	Cliff 111, Oak Cliff								
266	Flora 356				11/15/1908				
267									
268	Park Ave.				11/20/1908				
269					11/23/1908				
270	West Dallas				11/26/1908				
271	Sanatarium				11/28/1908				
272									
273				res. Country	12/4/1908				
274									
275	Texas St. 180				12/6/1908				
276	Hoard St. 168				12/6/1908		Paris, TX		
277									
278	West Dallas				12/5/1908				
279	Waco, TX	St. James AME	White		12/10/1908				
280									
281	Allen St. 180								
282	Magnolia 109				12/11/1908				
283	Fuqua St. 126				12/14/1908				
284							Lancaster		
285					12/20/1908				
286									
287	Ross 180				12/22/1908				
288									
289							Marshall, TX		
290									
291	Oak Cliff				12/26/1908				
292							Waxahachie		
293									
294	Cochran 707			Bryan	1/1/1909				

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
295	Central 445				1/4/1909				
296									
297	Flora St.				1/13/1909				
298							Corsicana		
299									
300									
301					1/25/1909				
302							Houston, TX		
303	Main 798				1/26/1909		Handley		
304					1/29/1909		Palestine, TX		
305	Cement City								
306	Allen 176								
307							Whitebright (?)		
308									
309	Young 129								
310									
311									
312									
313							Marshall, TX		
314									
315	McKoy St. 245				2/11/1909				
316									
317							Tyler, TX		
318	Hall 359				2/15/1909				
319									
320	Hohms St. 463								
321									
322	Williams St. 404								
323									
324	Sanger Ave. 203								

Record No	PLACEDEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
325	Preston 401								
326	Flora 432								
327							Corsicana		
328									
329									
330									
331	Tenth St 16 Oak Clif								
332									
333									
334	Hall St. 372	House	Anderson		3/2/1909				
335									
336	Cliff St. 114						Lancaster, TX		
337	Juliette St. 163				3/12/1909				
338									
339									
340									
341									
342							Marshall, TX		
343							Riverside		
344	Juliette 253								
345	Juliette 244						Paris, TX		
346	Kelly Ave. 159								
347									
348	Wade 191						Noel Junction		
349									
350									
351									
352	Oakland 53						Denton, TX		
353	San Jacinto 381								
354									
355					5/3/1909				
356									

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
357									
358	Lawrence 105								
359									
360	Gibson				5/5/1909				
361									
362					5/12/1909				
363									
364	Fuqua 164				5/14/1909				
365									
366									
367	Watkins 113								
368									
369									
370									
371	City Hospital				6/9/1909				
372	Trinidad 258				6/9/1909				
373									
374									
375									
376	Hawkins 268								
377					6/18/1909				
378									
379					6/21/1909				
380							Clarksville		
381									
382									
383	Columbia 140								
384									
385									
386									
387	Akard S. 383								
388	Kelly 144			Eagan	7/2/1909				
389	Boll 317				7/4/1909				
390	Montezuma 150	St. Paul	Johnson	Hawkins	7/4/1909				

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
391				Anderson	7/6/1909				
392	Oak Cliff	Oak Cliff			7/8/1909				
393	Fairmont 101			Brooks, FM	7/10/1909				
394									
395	Jackson 447			Runyon	7/10/1909				
396	Austin 596								
397	Good St. 172			Brooks, FM	7/4/1909		Marshall, TX		
398	Preston 300	House		Hale	7/7/1909				
399	Lacy 119	St. James	White	Anderson					
400	Orange St. 139	St. Paul ME	Johnson, NJ	Allen	7/10/1909				
401	Wade St. 115	New Hope Bapt.	Jackson, AS		7/9/1909				
402	Bryan 335	Bethel	Anderson	Bluitt	7/10/1909				
403	Wade			Hawkins	7/14/1909				
404	Central Ave.				7/17/1909				
405									
406									
407	Cliff St. 1008	House			7/24/1909				
408									
409	Akard & Royal			Bryan	7/22/1909				
410	Springs 153 Oak Clif								
411	Flora 227 1/2								
412	Sante Fe 231			Welch	8/4/1909				
413	Wood 373 1/2			Bryan					
414	10th St. St			Means	8/4/1909				
415	West Dallas			Stovall	8/6/1909				
416	Clark St. 121	House		Brooks	8/6/1909				
417	Fuqua 107			Davis	8/7/1909				
418	St. Paul Sanitarium	Sulphur Springs		Reaves	8/16/1909		Sulphur Springs		
419	Mayes Ave.	Macedonia	Pardee	Bryan	8/17/1909	Bapt			
420	Austin 198	Peoples Und. Parlor		Anderson	8/23/1909				
421	William St. 312	New Hope	Jackson	Bluitt	8/28/1909	Bapt			
422	Honey Springs	Honey Springs			8/28/1909				
423	Bluitt's Sanitarium	Paris		Bluitt	9/3/1909		Paris, TX		

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
424	Millers Switch	Millers Switch			9/3/1909				
425	Flora 210			Hawkins	9/5/1909		Madisonville		
426	Vine St.			Hall					
427	Central 417			Deatherage					
428	Central Ave.524			Davis	9/8/1909				
429	Gibb 266	St. Paul	Johnson	Brooks	9/9/1909				
430	Flora St. 327			Barrett					
431	Royal 222								
432	Vine St.						Honey Springs		
433	Cement City			Wilson	9/12/1909				
434	Crowdus & Indiana								
435	West Dallas			Stoval					
436	Guillott 108	Bethel AME	Anderson	Hamilton					
437	Crutcher 208			Mitchell	9/21/1909				
438	Main St. 824			Bryan	9/26/1909		Bryan, TX		
439	Noel Junction				9/28/1909				
440	Taylor 103			Hamilton	9/28/1909				
441	Clark & State	Ft. Worth	Jackson, GI	Coroner	10/3/1909	Meth	Ft. Worth	casket 1945	Gate City Cof Co
442	Fairmont 101			Brooks	10/5/1909			coffin Y or 6?	
443	Paris 116	House		Anderson	10/5/1909				
444	Cole 176			Anderson	10/7/1909		Hutchins		
445	St. Paul San.			Samuels	10/8/1909				
446	Akard & Royal				10/17/1909				
447	Flora St. 232	St. John	McPherson	Young	10/21/1909		Navasota		
448	Cochran 119			Hamilton			Hutchins		
449	Boll St. 530	New Hope	Jackson, AS		10/21/1909		Marshall		
450	English 113			Welch	10/22/1909		Winnsboro		
451									
452	Buell 150			Bryan	11/2/1909				
453	Belleview 300			Bryan	11/4/1909				
454	Central 91			Bluitt	11/7/1909				
455	4th Ave 144			Bryan	11/11/1909				
456	Horton 142			Bluitt	11/16/1909				

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
457	City Hospital			Fisher	11/11/1909				
458	Cochran 546			Hamilton	11/20/1909				
459	Mill City			Leach	11/20/1909				
460	B.W. Addition			Hamilton					
461	Elm St. 651			Deatherage	11/25/1909				
462	Cliff St. 49						Ferris		
463	Cement City			Stovall	11/29/1909				
464	S. Preston 244			Hamilton	11/29/1909				
465	Commerce St.			Bluitt	11/27/1909				
466	Guillott 119	New Hope		Brooks	12/8/1909				
467	Indiana 126				12/8/1909				
468	Eagle Ford			Stoval	12/12/1909				
469	Orange St. 139			Anderson	12/11/1909				
470	Julliette 243			Hamilton	12/12/1909				
471	Alpha			Armstrong	12/13/1909				
472	West Dallas			Eavnes					
473	Pierce 170			Bluitt	12/19/1908				
474	West Dallas			Bryan	12/21/1909				
475	Flora 436			Bryan	12/21/1909				
476				Runyon	12/21/1909				
477	Pacific Ave 409			Hamilton	12/27/1909				
478	Royal & Mason				12/28/1909				
479	Crutchfield 143			Penn	12/28/1909				
480	Crowdus 127	St. James	Gordon		12/30/1909				
481	Beaumont 108			Bluitt	12/30/1909				
482									
483	Cliff 24 1/2				1/5/1910				
484	West Dallas				1/7/1910				
485	Adair 239			Fisher	1/8/1910				
486	Aiken 298			Bryan			Texoma		
487									
488	Jefferson 227			Johnson	1/23/1910				
489	Oak Cliff			Bluitt					
490	Marilla 426			Hamilton					
491	Branch St. #3								

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
492									
493	Betterton Circle 37								
494					2/2/1910				
495									
496	Flora 457				2/5/1910				
497	Young 470				2/5/1910				
498	Aiken 114				2/6/1910				
499	Lawrence 265				2/6/1910				
500	Bourbon 251				2/7/1910				
501	Hawkins 171				2/10/1910				
502	Flynn 13				2/11/1910				
503	William 431								
504	Colby 159				2/14/1910				
505	Oak Cliff				2/14/1910				
506					2/15/1910				
507					2/17/1910				
508	Hunnicut 107				2/19/1910				
509					2/20/1910				
510	Jefferson St.				2/20/1910				
511	Mayes Ave.				2/22/1910				
512					2/22/1910				
513					2/22/1910				
514					2/25/1910				
515					2/25/1910				
516					2/25/1910				
517	Central 680				2/28/1910				
518	Colby 403				2/28/1910				
519	Mill City			Leach	3/2/1910		Malkoff, TX		
520	New Mexico	Oak Cliff	Moss		2/28/1910				
521									
522	Oak Cliff	CME Church		Bluitt	3/4/1910				
523	Wall 111	Salem	Perris	Bryan	3/8/1910				
524	Runnel 110			Anderson	3/9/1910				
525	Flora 285	Bethel	Abbington	Bluitt	3/10/1910				

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
526	Curtis 205			Leach	3/12/1910				
527	Montezuma St. 158			Bryan	3/13/1910		Temple, TX		
528	Court House			City Physician	3/3/1910				
529	Cadiz 68			Anderson	3/13/1910				
530	Trinity St. 143			Hamilton	3/17/1910				
531	Hoard St. 1811	New Hope, Ark		Bryan	3/15/1910		New Hope Ark		
532	Cadiz St. 128			Bryan? Bowyes?					
533	J.Z. 109			Bryan	3/22/1910				
534	Hawkins 268			Deathridge	3/24/1910				
535	Swiss Ave. 109				3/27/1910				
536	Union Hospital			Fisher	3/29/1910				
537	Junius 255	Ennis, TX		Hackler	3/29/1910		Ennis, TX		
538	Julliett 484	New Hope Church	Jackson	Bluitt	3/31/1910				
539	Runnel 198	Fort Worth		Penn	3/31/1910		Ft. Worth		
540	Bluitt's Sanitarium			Bryan	3/31/1910		Cameron		
541									
542	Montezuma 119			Anderson					
543	Cochran 769						Waxahachie		
544							Eagle Ford		
545	San Jacinto 412			Hamilton					
546									
547	Hogg 147			Penn					
548	Cottonwood 222			Brooks					
549	St. George 118	Bethel	White, JTS	Anderson	4/13/1910				casket
550	Day St. 101			Bryan					casket
551	Cliff 124			Bluitt	4/25/1910				
552	Sante Fe 9			Anderson	5/25/1910				coffin
553	Wesley St. 129			Hamilton			Rice		
554	Bourbon 159						Elmo		
555		Mt. Rose							
556	Bourbon 259			Runyon					

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
557	Munger 504			Hamilton			Waxahachie		
558									
559									
560	Jackson 402						Belton		
561	Flora 421			McCalley	5/3/1910		Bryan		
562	Munger Ave. 499			Allen	5/4/1910				
563	Good 177			Bluitt	5/4/1910				
564	Motley			Anderson					
565	Thompson 118			Anderson	5/6/1910				
566	Clark 142			Hamilton	5/7/1910		Ladonia		
567	Alpha			Mitchell	5/7/1910		Alpha		
568	Willow 147			Bryan	5/8/1910				
569	Mill City			Leach					
570	Main 702			Justice of Peac	5/10/1910				
571	Light 512			Allen	5/11/1910		Weatherford		
572	Cliff St. 100			Harris	5/12/1910				
573	Dallas Co. Jail			Hall	5/13/1910		Paris, TX		
574	Horton St.				5/12/1910				
575	Boll 238			Anderson	5/16/1910				
576	Taylor 103			Davis	5/16/1910				
577	Cliff St. 142			Bluitt	5/15/1910				
578				Terrell&Terrell					
579									
580	Ash Lane 315			Leach	5/17/1910				
581	Mill City			Bryan	5/24/1910		Calvert		
582									
583	Central 191 1/2			Bryan	5/27/1910				
584	Bourbon 159			Runyon	5/30/1910		Elmo, TX		
585	Cochran 541			Bryan	5/29/1910				
586									
587	Mill City			Bryan	6/2/1910				
588	Beaumont 197			Brooks					
589	Boll St.			Hamilton	6/2/1910				
590	Wood 426			Runyon	6/6/1910		Marshall		

Record No	PLACED/DEATH	SERVICES	CLERGY	DOCTOR	Date of Death	Religion	Ship to	Coffin Type	Casket Manufacturer
591	Oak Cliff	St. James	Gordon	McCulley	6/6/1910				
592	Highland 108			Dunlap	6/11/1910				
593	Alpha, TX			Rossa	6/12/1910				
594	Mill City			Bryan	6/12/1910				
595									
596	Hugo 220								
597	Preston St.			Dodd	6/21/1910				
598	Wade St. 102			Bluitt					
599									
600									

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
001	Hillsboro	35.00	25.00	0.00	10.00	S	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
002	Old	68.00	30.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	8.00	02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	vault	5.00		0.00		0.00
003	Old	35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
004	Woodland	55.00	30.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
005		23.00	12.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	8.00	02	0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
006		12.50	12.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
007	Old	35.00	20.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
008	Old	35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
009	Old	77.50	45.00	7.50	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
010	Old	25.50	15.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
011	Old	44.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	4.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
012	Old	30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
013		49.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	4.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
014	Elmo, TX	113.50	74.50	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	8.00	02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	hose	0.50	gloves	0.50		0.00
015		45.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
016		25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
017		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
018		57.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	12.00	03	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
019		15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
020		49.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	4.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
021		56.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
022	Bellville	35.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
023		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
024		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
025	Kingfisher	60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
026		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
027	Muskogee	89.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
028		13.00	13.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
029	Palestine	35.00	35.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
030	Ferris	30.00	30.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
031		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
032		47.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	20.00	22.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
033		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
034		90.00	55.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
035		70.00	55.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
036		38.00	20.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
037		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
038		18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
039		50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
040		38.00	18.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
041		11.00	11.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
042		35.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
043		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
044		50.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
045		130.00	95.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
046		30.00	30.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
047		77.50	55.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	12.50	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
048	Woodland	116.00	55.00	0.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	21.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
049		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
050		45.00	25.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
051		85.00	55.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
052	Terrell	55.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	20.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
053		70.00	45.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
054		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
055		40.00	20.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
056		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
057	Mineola	100.00	75.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
058		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
059		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
060		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
061		61.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
062		40.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
063		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
064		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
065		40.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
066		8.00	8.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
067		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
068		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
069	Atlanta TX	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
070		20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
071		95.00	70.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
072		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
073		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
074		113.85	65.00	7.50	10.00		0.00	10.00	15.00	03	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	tie	0.85	gloves	0.50		0.00
075		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
076		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	services	5.00		0.00		0.00
077		50.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
078		37.50	22.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
079		30.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
080	Navasota	40.00	25.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
081		40.00	20.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
082	Mississippi	65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
083		25.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
084		20.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
085		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
086		45.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
087		71.00	40.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
088		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
089		40.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
090		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
091	Marlin, TX	48.80	30.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	rr fare	3.80		0.00		0.00
092		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
093		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
094		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
095	Lawrence	35.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
096		22.50	20.00	2.50	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
097	Woodland	186.00	125.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	band	15.00		0.00		0.00
098	Elmo	50.00	35.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
099		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
100		51.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	02	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
101		75.00	45.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
102	Sherman	60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
103		40.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
104		67.50	45.00	7.50	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
105	Belton, TX	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
106		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
107		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
108		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
109		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
110	Woodland	92.00	45.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	17.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
111		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
112		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
113		75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
114		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
115	Calvert TX	92.00	65.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	0.00	2.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
116		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
117		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
118		62.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	12.00	15.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
119		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
120	Waxahachie	95.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
121		40.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
122		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
123		75.00	45.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
124		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
125		50.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
126	Hearne	80.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
127		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
128		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
129		85.00	60.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
130		50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
131		45.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
132		146.00	95.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
133	Terrell	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
134		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
135	Paris	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
136		56.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
137		285.00	225.00	20.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	15.00	03	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
138	Mineola	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
139		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
140		65.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
141	Lancaster	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
142		60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
143		70.00	45.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
144		23.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
145	Waxahachie	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
146		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
147		75.00	45.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	01	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
148		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
149		27.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
150		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
151		17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
152		3.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
153		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
154		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
155		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
156		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
157		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		10.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
158		15.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
159		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
160		47.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
161		90.00	50.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
162		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
163		87.50	50.00	7.50	0.00		0.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
164		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
165		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
166		55.00	35.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
167	Henderson	55.00	25.00	0.00	20.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	slip & hose	5.00		0.00		0.00
168		56.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
169		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
170		50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
171		16.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
172		15.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
173		17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
174		3.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
175		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
176		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
177		14.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
178		145.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
179		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
180		75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
181		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
182		9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
183		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
184		40.00	20.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
185		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
186		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
187		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
188		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
189		15.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
190		105.00	75.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
191		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
192		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
193	Gr Prairie	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
194		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
195		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
196		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
197		165.00	110.00	15.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
198		40.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
199		9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
200		65.00	45.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
201		15.00	15.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
202		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
203		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
204		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
205		41.00	20.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
206		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
207		17.50	12.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
208		45.00	20.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
209	Wallace Tx	55.00	25.00	0.00	20.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	slip & hose	5.00		0.00		0.00
210		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
211		92.50	55.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	slip & hose	7.50		0.00		0.00
212		50.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	slip & hose	5.00		0.00		0.00
213		75.00	25.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	15.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
214		18.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
215		64.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	20.00	29.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	services	10.00		0.00		0.00
216		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
217		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
218		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
219		70.00	55.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
220		55.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
221		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
222	Arlington?	26.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
223	Gr Prairie	65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
224		51.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
225	Buffalo	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
226		120.00	75.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
227		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
228		60.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
229		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
230		22.00	9.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00	01	0.00	3.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
231		50.00	20.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
232		45.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
233		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
234		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
235		41.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	02	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	services	5.00	wagonette	6.00		0.00
236		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
237		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
238	Gr Prairie	25.00	12.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	outside bx	3.00		0.00		0.00
239		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
240		112.50	75.00	12.50	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
241		156.00	90.00	0.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
242		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
243		90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
244		50.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
245		60.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
246		26.50	26.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
247		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
248	Bryan	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
249		50.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
250		45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	slip & hose	5.00		0.00		0.00
251		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
252	Bryan	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
253		50.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
254		35.00	20.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
255		55.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
256		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	services	10.00		0.00		0.00
257	Bryan	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
258		17.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
259		8.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
260		35.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
261		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
262		37.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
263		93.50	55.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	shaving	2.50		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
264		71.00	25.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	wash & dress	5.00		0.00		0.00
265		118.50	75.00	7.50	15.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
266		111.00	55.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	16.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
267		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
268		60.00	35.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
269		65.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	10.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
270		90.00	55.00	10.00	25.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
271		89.50	45.00	0.00	7.00		0.00	10.00	17.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	wash & dress	3.00	shaving	2.50		0.00
272		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
273		55.00	45.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
274		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
275		50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
276	Paris, TX	56.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
277		8.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
278		111.00	65.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
279		37.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	12.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	services	5.00		0.00		0.00
280		35.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
281		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
282		55.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
283		45.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
284	Lancaster	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
285		45.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
286		23.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
287		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
288		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
289	Marshall	70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
290		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
291		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
292	Waxahachie	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
293		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
294		55.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
295		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
296		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
297		96.00	45.00	0.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	21.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
298	Corsicana	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
299		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
300		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
301		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
302	Houston, TX	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
303	Handley	28.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
304	Palestine, TX	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
305		12.50	10.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
306		3.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
307	Whitebright (?)	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
308		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
309		40.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
310		15.50	10.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
311		115.00	60.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	1/4 lot	10.00		0.00		0.00
312		91.00	45.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
313	Marshall, TX	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
314		75.00	45.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
315		27.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
316		86.00	50.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
317	Tyler, TX	25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
318		91.00	50.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	single grave	5.00		0.00		0.00
319		23.50	13.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	single grave	5.00		0.00		0.00
320		9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
321		9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
322		40.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
323		24.50	17.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
324		14.00	9.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
325		21.00	17.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	4.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
326		38.00	22.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
327	Corsicana	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
328		27.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
329		51.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
330		101.00	50.00	12.50	12.50		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
331		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
332		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
333		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
334		121.00	65.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	15.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
335		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	services	10.00		0.00		0.00	0.00
336	Lancaster, TX	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
337		111.00	65.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	16.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
338		6.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
339		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
340		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
341		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
342	Marshall, TX	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
343	Riverside	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
344		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
345	Paris, TX	70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
346		3.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
347		71.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
348	Noel Junc	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
349		45.00	30.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
350		66.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	16.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
351		35.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
352	Denton, TX	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
353		15.00	10.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
354		8.50	8.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
355		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
356		56.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
357		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
358		7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
359		138.50	85.00	7.50	10.00		0.00	10.00	21.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
360		90.00	45.00	5.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
361		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
362		110.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
363		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
364		106.00	50.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
365		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	services	50.00		0.00		0.00
366		15.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
367		9.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
368		46.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		6.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
369		8.00	8.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
370		70.00	45.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
371		48.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	8.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
372		190.00	125.00	20.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
373		121.00	65.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
374	marker in Woodland	146.00	85.00	15.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
375		42.00	25.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	12.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
376		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
377		57.00	27.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
378		66.00	30.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
379		106.40	55.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	21.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	slippers	0.40	discount	1.40		0.00
380	Clarksvill	17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
381		22.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
382		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
383		35.00	12.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
384		70.00	30.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
385		71.00	45.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	6.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
386		81.00	25.00	5.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
387		101.00	65.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
388	Oakland	96.00	60.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
389	Oakland	50.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
390	Oakland	38.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		8.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
391	Oakland	23.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
392	Oak Cliff	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
393	Oakland	77.50	40.00	7.50	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
394	Oakland	17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
395	Oakland	17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
396		28.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
397	Marshall, TX	80.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
398	Oakland	20.50	12.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
399	Woodland	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
400	Oakland	100.00	65.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
401	Woodland	125.00	75.00	10.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
402	Woodland	95.00	65.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
403	Woodland	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
404	Woodland	241.00	160.00	10.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	21.00	04	0.00	5.00	10.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
405		85.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	65.00	13	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	services	50.00		0.00		0.00
406		6.00	6.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
407	Oak Cliff	10.50	10.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
408		5.50	5.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
409		80.00	50.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
410		10.50	10.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
411	Oakland	8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
412		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
413		58.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
414		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
415		9.50	9.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
416		7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
417		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
418	Sulphur Sp	85.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
419		130.00	65.00	15.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	25.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
420		33.00	20.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		8.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
421		106.00	55.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	16.00	03	0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
422		32.50	25.00	7.50	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
423	Paris, TX	50.00	0.00	25.00	25.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
424		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
425	Madisonvil	30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
426		6.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
427		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
428	Oakland	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
429	Oakland	50.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
430	Woodland	105.00	55.00	15.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
431	Oakland	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
432	Honey Springs	10.00	10.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
433	Oak Cliff	13.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
434	Oakland	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
435	Oakland	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
436	Garvin	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
437	Oakland	48.00	25.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
438	Bryan, TX	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
439	Alpha	9.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
440		2.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
441	Ft .Worth	130.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
442	Oakland	10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
443	Oakland	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
444	Hutchins	18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
445	Oak Cliff	37.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
446	Oakland	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
447	Navasota	90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
448	Hutchins	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
449	Marshall	115.00	65.00	10.00	20.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
450	Winnsboro	55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
451		105.25	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
452		76.00	40.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	11.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
453	Woodland	65.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
454		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
455	Oakland	7.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
456	Woodland	45.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
457	Oakland	17.45	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
458	Oakland	6.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
459		22.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
460		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
461		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
462	Ferris	43.00	20.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
463		12.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
464		15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
465	Woodland	105.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
466	Woodland	133.50	75.00	12.50	5.00		0.00	10.00	16.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	flowers	10.00		0.00		0.00
467		19.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
468		8.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
469	Oakland	50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
470	Woodland	70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
471		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
472	Oak Cliff	6.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
473	Woodland	110.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
474	Oak Cliff	81.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
475	Woodland	60.00	40.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
476	Oakland	17.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
477		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
478	Oakland	38.00	23.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
479	Woodland	44.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
480	Woodland	55.00	40.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	5.00		5.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
481		6.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
482		215.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
483		18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
484		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
485		18.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
486	Texoma	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
487		40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
488		101.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
489		90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
490		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
491		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
492		30.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
493		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
494		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
495		15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
496		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
497		8.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
498		22.80	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
499		8.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
500		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
501		61.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
502		23.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
503		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
504		64.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
505		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
506		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
507		90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
508		11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
509		75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
510		120.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
511		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
512		100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
513		81.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
514		75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
515		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
516		55.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
517		10.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
518		126.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
519	Malkoff	17.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
520		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	services	10.00	shipping box	10.00		0.00
521		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
522		180.00	140.00	20.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
523	Oaklawn	82.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
524		136.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
525	Woodland	82.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
526		11.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
527	Temple	315.00	210.00	20.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	4.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	grave vault	25.00	crape	1.00	cash advance	20.00
528	Oakland	40.55	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
529	Oakland	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
530		16.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
531	New Hope A	154.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
532	Oakland	43.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
533	Oakland	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
534		65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
535		10.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
536		11.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
537	Ennis, TX	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
538	Woodland	110.00	60.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
539	Ft.Worth	65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
540	Cameron	23.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
541		45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
542	Oakland	20.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
543	Waxahachie	135.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
544	EagleFord	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
545		18.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
546		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
547		50.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
548		75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
549	Woodland	245.00	175.00	0.00	25.00		0.00	10.00	30.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
550	Woodland	75.00	50.00	5.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	5.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
551	Oak Cliff	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
552		46.00	25.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	10.00	6.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
553	Rice	65.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
554	Elmo	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
555		90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
556		70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
557	Waxahachie	136.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
558		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
559		70.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
560	Belton	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
561	Bryan	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
562	Oakland	19.00	10.50	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	6.00	0.00	2.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
563		61.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
564		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
565	Oakland	51.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
566	Ladonia	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
567	Alpha	36.50	30.00	6.50	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
568	Oakland	8.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
569		25.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
570	Oakland	28.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
571	Weatherford	45.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
572	Oak Cliff	60.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
573	Paris, TX	90.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
574		73.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
575	Oakland	75.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
576	Oakland	17.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
577	Oak Cliff	40.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
578	Oakland	66.00	30.00	5.00	5.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
579		3.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
580	Oakland	61.00	25.00	5.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
581	Calvert	50.00	25.00	0.00	25.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
582		20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
583	Oakland	56.00	25.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	6.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
584	Elmo, TX	35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
585	Woodland	120.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
586		40.50	22.50	5.00	10.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	3.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
587		35.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
588		7.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
589		91.00	45.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	11.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
590	Marshall	70.00	40.00	5.00	20.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

Record No	Cemetery	TOTALCOST	Price of Casket	Price of Robe	Embalming	Fluid Type	Washing the Body	Hearse	Carriage (s)	# of Carriages	Wagon	Opening Grave	Lot Outlay	Service Charge	Miscellaneous	MISC # 1 amount	Miscellaneous 2	MISC # 2 amount	Miscellaneous 3	MISC # 3 amount
591		186.00	100.00	15.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	15.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
592		191.00	125.00	15.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	26.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
593		129.00	85.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	10.00	9.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
594		15.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
595		12.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
596		43.00	25.00	0.00	5.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		8.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
597		95.00	45.00	10.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	15.00		0.00	5.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
598	Woodland	105.00	69.00	0.00	10.00		0.00	10.00	6.00		0.00	5.00	5.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
599		5.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00
600		4.50	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00		0.00		0.00		0.00

APPENDIX H:

Ed C. Smith Funeral Homes Collection (1883-1907)

This is a complete, chronological listing of all materials from the Ed. C. Smith Funeral Home, dating from 1883 to 1907. This collection is housed in the main branch of the Dallas Public Library (the J. Erik Jonsson Central Library), Genealogy Department.

1. Day Book August 1, 1883 through January 3, 1885 (298 pages)

A small, cloth bound volume. This contains a day by day accounting of all business, both sales and purchases. Most proper funerals have their expenses broken down into coffin, grave, lot, embalming, etc. A fair number of sales are just merchandise (coffins, etc.).

African Americans are sometimes mentioned in the ledger, but rarely by name: "negro to buy coffin" is typical entry. Rarely will African-Americans purchase a total funeral, with expenses broken down. Most are simply buying the coffin from Smith, and that is all.

Possible suppliers of coffin hardware are Crane, Breed & Co, and the Louisville Coffin Co.

2. Day Book January 1, 1885 through February 1887 (480 pages)

A small, cloth bound volume, identical to # 1. Essentially the same types of entries are present in this volume as was listed for # 1. Although the dates given for this volume are present on the spine of the book, and correspond to the contents for most of the book, there are additional entries that date to a later time. These are on pages 350 thru 463, and

all date to 1889. These 1889 entries are under headings of individual's names, and seem to relate to the Dallas Transfer & Cab Co., with most of the entries pertaining to the rental of carriages and the like. On pages 350 and 351, there are listings for two teams of horses, a black and a roam team, possibly for either adult or children's funerals. These headings are under names, p. 350 "Jim Cupp #9, roam team," and page 351 "Geo. Dempsey # Black team."

3. Day Book January 1, 1887 through July 31, 1888 (300 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume, which is a day to day accounting of every purchase or sale of goods or services, for the dates listed above. This is the only Day Book which actually goes into any detail about the types of coffin hardware, their catalogue numbers, individual prices, and their source, namely the Louisville Coffin Co.

4. Day Book August 1, 1888 through March 18, 1889 (384 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume, essentially the same type as Day Book # 3. Same types of entries as well, except for the lack of any entries regarding coffin hardware. The only listings for the Louisville Coffin Co. are for amounts paid to, or received from a local bank.

5. Day Book March 18, 1889 through September 2, 1889 (380 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume, identical in form to Day Book # 3. Same types of entries as previous day books, with a day to day accounting of sales and purchases.

6. Day Book September 3, 1889 through December 26, 1889 (332 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume, essentially identical in form and format to Day Book # 3.

7. Day Book December 27, 1889 through May 18, 1890 (396 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume, with slightly different book style than previous Day Books, with an embossed design on the front cover, along with the embossed wording "Day Book." The format for this day book is identical to the previous ones, a day to day listing for all purchases and sales.

8. Day Book May 19th, 1890 through October 3, 1890 (400 pages)

Small, narrow cloth bound volume. Format is identical to other day books, a day to day reckoning of all business, both purchases and sales.

9. Day Book December 29th, 1890 through June 5, 1893 (400 pages)

(Small, narrow cloth bound volume, format identical to other day books. There is an apparent gap in the day book records, from October 3, 1890, thru December 29th, 1890.

This seems to be too short a period to have been contained within a separate book.

However, it is clearly not present in the two volumes, #'s 14 and 15.

10. Day Book June 9th, 1893 through September 10, 1894 (300 pages)

This day book is different in form, a larger, taller and more substantial book, though still cloth bound. The format for entries, however, is identical to previous day books.

11. Day Book September 11, 1894 through January 30, 1896 (300 pages)

Larger form day book, identical to Day Book # 10. The format for entries is identical to previous day books. The last page, however, is entitled P. W. Linskie, and lists coffins, handles, screws, lining, etc. This list seems to include both items borrowed from Linskie, and things that Linskie borrowed from Smith, chronologically over the entire period of the day book.

12. Day Book February 1, 1896 through January 15, 1898 (400 pages)

Same larger style book as # 10, with format identical to other day books. Again, as in # 11, the last page used in the volume (p. 398) is entitled P. W. Linskie, and comprises a listing of various caskets, handles, and etc, which were borrowed or loaned between the two undertakers.

13. Day Book January 15, 1898 through December 31, 1898 (400 pages)

Same book style as # 12, and same format for entries as previous day books. There is no separate page for Linskie, presumably because he had retired and sold out to Dunn/Loudermilk. However, there doesn't seem to be a corresponding sheet for Dunn or Loudermilk.

14. Day Book January 1, 1899 through November 1, 1899 (400 pages)

Same larger book style as # 12, and same format for entries as previous day books.

15. Day Book November 2, 1899 through September 13, 1901

NOTE; THIS VOLUME IS MISSING FROM THE COLLECTION. I HAVE NEVER SEEN IT, AND IT IS NOT PRESENT WITHIN THE DALLAS PUBLIC LIBRARY. I HAVE ASSIGNED IT A NUMBER IN THE DAY BOOK SEQUENCE, SO THAT IT CAN BE REFERRED TO, IN SPITE OF ITS ABSENCE.

16. Day Book September 14, 1901 through August 30, 1902 (398 pages)

Same larger, cloth bound volume as # 12, et al. The format for entries is also identical for other Day Books.

17. Day Book September 1, 1902 through October 13, 1903 (398 pages)

Same, larger cloth bound volume as # 12, et al. The format is identical for other Day Books.

18. Day Book October 15, 1903 through December 27, 1904 (400 pages)

Same type cloth bound volume as # 12, et al. The format for entries is also identical as other day books.

19. Day Book January 1, 1905 through February 12, 1906 (400 pages)

Same type of cloth bound volume as # 12, etc. Also same format for entries as other day books.

20. Day Book "February 12, 1906 through July 1907" (as dated on spine of volume) (400 pages)

Same type of cloth bound volume as other Day Books (# 12, et al.). The format for daily entries is also consistent for other day books. The last few entries (pages 290 thru 293) are more scattered in type of entry, and date. The last two pages actually extend, date wise, to July 8, 1908. These entries deal with bills payable and only a few cash payments to them. Pages 294 thru 399 are entirely blank. However, page 400 is used, and the entry is significant. The title of page 400 is: "The following is a list of the property transferred by Ed C. Smith & Bros on August 24, 1906 to The Ed C Smith Undertaking Co." It goes on to list all of the carriages, teams of horses, and hearses that the company owns.

21.) Day Book August 24, 1906 through July 29, 1907 (398 pages)

This day book is unusual, as it has dates which overlap with # 20. Although they do overlap during a period of time, the entries do not seem to duplicate each other. Both day books 20 and 21 have entries typical of other day books, with funerals recorded, payments for previous funerals entered, coffins bought and sold, etc. But none of the

entries that I observed duplicate themselves in both books. They appear to contain information unique to each volume.

22.) Day Book July 29, 1907 through December 1, 1908 (600 pages)

While this is a somewhat larger format book in width and number of pages, it is the same height, and the same design (i.e., a cloth bound volume). The entries are typical of other day books.

23.) Day Book Dec 1, 1908 through September 23, 1909 (400 pages)

Format is typical of other day books, and the type of book is the same, cloth bound volume.

The next type of records contained within the Ed C. Smith collection are the ledger books. They have been given an independent numbering system.

1. Journal (Ledger) January 1, 1885 to December 29, 1886 (300 pages)

A small, cloth bound volume, which seems to be the ledger proper, for Day Book #2. Both the dates and entries match identically, when comparing the two, but this Journal ledger differs in that it doesn't give any additional information, save for the name of the account, which can be the name of an individual, a single word or sentence description of

the service being charged for, and the prices charged.

2. Ledger Variously dated on spine 1882 to 1884, 1894-1896. (409 pages)

This volume is half leather and cloth binding, with a rough leather spine. It is a proper ledger, with a list of accounts entered rather haphazardly, and an index to sort out the entries alphabetically. The dates for this ledger are vague, as there are few dates for the individual entries. The month and day are always entered, but rarely is the year given for any one entry. The years that are seen scattered throughout the book are 1883, 1884, 1888, 1889, and 1894-1896. The latter half of the ledger seems to have entries that date consistently to the 1894 thru 1896 era, and these entries are probably for the stables and transfer cab company, as the entries are for oats, hay, etc.

3. Ledger 1884 -1885 (spine) (548 pages)

This volume is a large ledger, which is dated on its spine for 1884 thru 1885, but extends into 1886. This is a proper ledger, with various accounts, listed under proper names of individuals, or companies. There is an index, which lists the last names alphabetically.

4. Ledger 1887 thru 1888 (labeled on spine) (287 pages)

A true ledger, similar in format to previously described ledgers. Numerous accounts, listed by the name of the individual or company, with amounts paid and owed enumerated below. An alphabetical index is present.

5. Ledger 1889 (labeled on spine) (292 pages)

Large, leather bound volume. The leather binding is frayed and ragged. This is a true ledger, with format similar to other ledgers described.

6. Ledger 1890 (Labeled on spine) (600 pages)

Large, leather bound volume. Although this volume is dated to 1890, entries are present from 1890 to 1893. Format is identical to other ledgers described.

7. Ledger 1891 (Labeled on spine) (228 pages)

Thin, cloth bound volume. This is a true ledger. Although it is labeled as 1891, some of the entries are for 1890, and some are for 1892.

8. Ledger 1892 (Original spine is missing) (404 pages)

Cloth cover is exposed, and on this cover, someone has written 1892-1893. This is a true ledger, with index, etc. The entries are variously dated as 1892 and 1893. No other years were observed.

9. Ledger 1896-1897 (Labeled on spine) (352 pages)

Large, partial leather and cloth bound volume. A true ledger with index, etc. Numerous blank pages present in this volume. Dates seem to correspond to those on label.

10. Ledger (No date on spine) (496 pages)

Individual entries are variously dated, between 1889 and 1900. Most of the ledger is blank.

Bibliography

Abelson, Elaine

1989 *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle Class Shoplifters in the Victorian Department Store*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Abercrombie, Nicholas, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner

1980 *The Dominant Ideology Thesis*. Allen and Unwin, London, England.

Adams, William Hampton and Steven D. Smith

1985 Historical Perspectives on Black Tenant Farmer Material Culture: The Henry C. Long General Store Ledger at Waverly Plantation, Mississippi. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 309-334. Academic Press, Orlando, FL.

Ames, Kenneth L.

1981 Ideologies in Stone: Meanings in Victorian Gravestones. *Journal of Popular Culture*, XIV(4):641-656.

Anonymous

1857 *Agnes and the Key of Her Little Coffin*. S. K. Whipple and Company, Boston, MA

Anonymous

1859 *Choice Notes from "Notes and Queries:" Folklore*. Bell and Daldy, London, England.

Anonymous

1885 *Historical and Descriptive Review of the Industries of Dallas, Dallas, Texas*. (microfilm, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX).

Anonymous

1892 *Memorial and Biographical History of Dallas County, Texas*. The Lewis Publishing Company, Chicago, IL.

Anonymous

1893 *Rules and Regulations of the Oakland Cemetery Company, Adopted November 21, 1892*. Dallas, TX. (Original at Center for American History, University of Texas at Austin).

Anonymous

1907 *The American Funeral Record: A Ready Reference Day-Book for Undertakers*. F. J. Feineman, St. Louis, MO.

- Anonymous
1987 *Cemeteries of Dallas County* (map). Dallas County Heritage Society, Dallas, TX.
- Aries, Philippe
1981 *The Hour of Our Death*, Helen Weaver, translator. Alfred A. Knopf, New York.
- Armstrong, Douglas V. and Mark L. Fleishman
2003 House-Yard Burials of Enslaved Laborers in Eighteenth-Century Jamaica. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology*, 7(1): 33-65.
- Atkinson, James R. And Kenneth R. Turner
1987 *The Blackburn Cemetery: An Abandoned Burial Site on the Old Natchez Trace in Maury County, Tennessee*. Southeast Archaeological Center, National Park Service, Tallahassee, FL.
- Babson, David W.
1990 The Archaeology of Racism and Ethnicity on Southern Plantations. In *Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms*, edited by Charles E. Orser, Jr. *Historical Archaeology*, 24(4):20-28.
- Baker, Vernon G.
1980 Archaeological Visibility of Afro-American Culture: An Example from Black Lucy's Garden, Andover, Massachusetts. In *Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America*, Robert L. Schuyler, editor, pp. 29-37. Baywood Publishing Co, Farmingdale, NY.
- Ball, Charles
1837 *Slavery In The United States: A Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Charles Ball, a Black Man who Lived Forty Years in Maryland, South Carolina, and Georgia, as a Slave, under Various Masters, and Was One Year in the Navy with Commodore Barney, during the Late War*. John S. Taylor, New York.
- Barr, Alwyn
1996 *Black Texans, A History of African American in Texas, 1528-1995*, 2nd Edition. University of Oklahoma Press, Norman.
- Barth, Fredrik (EDITOR)
1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Culture Difference*. Little, Brown, Boston, MA.
- Beamon, Tanika JoAnn

- 2001 *A History of African American Folklore Scholarship*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Bell, Edward L.
 1990 The Historical Archaeology of Mortuary Behavior: Coffin Hardware from Uxbridge, Massachusetts. *Historical Archaeology*, 24(3): 54-78.
- Bell, Edward L.
 1994 *Vestiges of Mortality and Remembrance: A Bibliography On The Historical Archaeology of Cemeteries*. The Scarecrow Press, Inc., Metuchen, NJ.
- Bergman, Peter M. (EDITOR)
 1969 *The Chronological History of the Negro in America*. Harper and Row, New York.
- Beynon, Diane E.
 1989 Remember Me As You Pass By: Excavation of the Voegtly Cemetery: A Nineteenth Century German-American Churchyard in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. 2 Volumes. Report to Pennsylvania Department of Transportation, from GAI Consultants, Inc., Monroeville, PA.
- Binford, Lewis R.
 1971 Mortuary Practices: Their Study and Potential. In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices*. Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology No. 25, James A. Brown, editor, pp. 6-29. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- Blakey, Michael
 2001 Bioarchaeology of the African Diaspora in the Americas: Its Origin and Scope. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30:387-422.
- Blakey, Robert L. and Lane Beck
 1982 Bioarchaeology in an Urban Context. In *Archaeology of Urban America: The Search for Pattern and Process*, Roy S. Dickens, Jr., editor, pp. 175-207. Academic Press, New York.
- Blassingame, John W.
 1972 *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Bode, Carl
 1959 *The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1861*. University of

California Press, Berkeley.

Bolton, H. Carrington

- 1891 Decoration of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 4(12):214.

Bowden, Bradley and Jerrell Blake, Jr.

- 2000 Nineteenth to Twentieth Century African-American Demography at the Bellwood Farm, Chesterfield County, Virginia. Paper presented at the Archaeological Society of Virginia 2000 Annual Meeting, October 22.

Braley, Chad O, and William G. Moffat

- 1995 Archaeological and Historical Investigations of Redfield Cemetery, Jones County, Georgia. Report to The Macon Water Authority, Macon, Georgia, from Southeastern Archaeological Services, Inc., Athens, GA.

Brauner, David R. and Paul Christy Jenkins

- 1980 Archaeological Recovery of Historic Burials within the Applegate Lake Project Area, Jackson County, Oregon. Report to U. S. Army Corps of Engineers, Portland District, from Department of Anthropology, Oregon State University, Corvallis.

Brewster, Paul G, Archie Taylor, Bartlett Jere Whiting, George P. Wilson, and Stith Thompson (EDITORS)

- 1952 *The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Volume 1. Games and Rhymes, Beliefs and Customs, Riddles, Proverbs, Speech, Tales, and Legends*. Duke University Press, Durham, NC.

Britten, James (EDITOR)

- 1881 *Remaines of Gentilisme and Jadaisme by John Aubrey, 1686-87*. Publications of the Folk-Lore Society IV. The Folk-Lore Society. W. Satchell, Peyton, and Co., London, England.

Brock, James and Steven J. Schwartz

- 1991 A Little Slice of Heaven: Investigations at Rincon Cemetery, Prado Basin, California. *Historic Archaeology*, 25(3), pp. 78-90.

Brooks, Charles H.

- 1971 *The Official History and Manual of the Grand United Order of Odd Fellows in America*. (Originally published in 1902). Reprinted by Books for Libraries Press, Freeport, New York.

Brown, Ian

- 1993 The New England Cemetery as a Cultural Landscape. In *History from Things: Essays on Material Culture*, Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery, editors, pp. 140-159. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D.C.
- Brown, Mrs. S. Joe
 1997 *The History of The Order of The Eastern Star Among Colored People* (Originally published in 1925). G. K. Hall & Co, New York.
- Brown, Vincent Aaron
 2002 *Slavery and the Spirits of the Dead: Mortuary Politics in Jamaica, 1740-1834*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of History, Duke University. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Buchner, C. Andrew, Emanuel Breitburg, Charles Williams, and Elizabeth A. Williams
 1999 At Rest, Again: The Ridley Graveyard (40WM208) Archaeological Relocation Project, Williamson County, Tennessee. Report to Gresham Smith and Partners, and Tennessee Department of Transportation, from Panamerican Consultants, Inc. Memphis, TN.
- Buikstra, Jane E., Jodi A. O’Gorman, and Cynthia Sutton (EDITORS)
 2000 Never Anything So Solemn: An Archeological, Biological, and Historical Investigation of the Nineteenth-Century Grafton Cemetery. *Kampsville Studies in Archeology and History No. 3*. Center for American Archeology, Kampsville, IL.
- Burne, Charlotte Sophia (EDITOR)
 1883 *Shropshire Folk-Lore: A Sheaf of Gleanings, from the Collections of Georgina F. Jackson*. Trubner & Co, London, England.
- Burnston, Sharon Ann and Ronald A. Thomas
 1981 Archaeological Data Recovery at Catoctin Furnace Cemetery, Frederick County, Maryland. Report to the Maryland Department of Transportation, from Mid-Atlantic Archaeological Research, Inc, Newark, DE.
- Butler, Steve
 1989 Honoring the Past: Confederate Monuments in Dallas. *Legacies, A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas*, 1(2):31-36.
- Butterfield, F. E. and C. M. Rundlett
 1875 *Directory of the City of Dallas for the Year 1875*. Butterfield and Rundlett, n.p.
- Cande, Kathleen, Kathryn Puseman and Daniel C. Weinand
 1995 The Ozarks as Destination: Phase III Archeological Investigations at the

Lambert Farmstead (3CW674) and Phase II Testing at the Dement Farmstead and Cemetery (3CW685), Crawford County, Arkansas. AAS Project Nos. 829 and 864 Final Report, to Arkansas Highway & Transportation Department, from Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

Cannon, Aubrey

1989 The Historical Dimension in Mortuary Expressions of Status and Sentiment. *Current Anthropology*, 30: 437-458.

Carlisle, Willie Flowers

1994 *The Dallas Pioneer Park Cemetery*, revised edition. The James Butler Bonham Chapter of the Daughters of the Republic of Texas. Williams Printery, Dallas, TX.

Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co

1905a *Catalogue No. 4. Illustrated catalogue of Undertakers' hardware, embalming instruments and sundry supplies*. Chattanooga, TN.

Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co

1905b *Wholesale price list of Undertaker's Hardware, embalming instruments and sundry supplies*. Chattanooga, TN.

Chicago Coffin Co.

1896 *Pocket Catalogue*. Chicago, IL

Childe, V. Gordon

1945 Directional Changes in Funerary Practices during 50,000 Years. *Man*, 45:13-19.

Cincinnati Coffin Co

1882 *Eleventh Annual Illustrated Catalogue*. Cincinnati, OH.

Clark, Lynn

1987 Gravestones: Reflectors of Ethnicity or Status? In *Consumer Choice In Historical Archaeology*, Suzanne M. Spencer-Wood, editor, pp. 383-395. Plenum Press, New York.

Cobb, Dawn E., Nancy Bruce Crilly, Melinda L. Carter, Alan D. Ham, Marjorie B. Schroeder, and Angelina L. Tine

1999 "...Such a Lonely Place...": An Archaeological and Osteological Investigation of the Brunson-Sisson Cemetery (11WI874), Will County, Illinois. Illinois State Museum Quaternary Studies Program Technical Report No. 98-1264-26. Report to Material Service Corporation, from

Illinois State Museum Society, n.p.

Cochran, John H.

- 1966 *Dallas County: A Record of Its Pioneers and Progress* (Originally published in 1928). Reprint edition, The Aldridge Book Store, Dallas, TX.

Combes, John D.

- 1974 Ethnography, Archaeology and Burial Practices Among Coastal South Carolina Blacks. *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 1972, Volume 7. The Institute of Archeology and Anthropology, University of South Carolina, Columbia.

Condon, Keith, Jerry Henderson, and Joy Becker

- 1993 Dental Analysis of Freedman's Cemetery. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology Supplement* 16:73.

Condon, Cynthia G, Joy L. Becker, Heather J. H. Edgar, James Davidson, Juerena R. Hoffman, Patricia Kalima, Daniel Kysar, Susan Moorehead, Victoria M. Owens and Keith Condon

- 1998 Freedman's Cemetery: Site 41DL316, Dallas, Texas, Assessments of Sex, Age-at Death, Stature and Date of Interment for Excavated Burials. *Report No. 9*. Archaeology Studies Program, Environmental Affairs Division, Texas Department of Transportation, Austin.

Cooper, Judy Hennessee, Angela L. Tine, Marsha Prior, Charles M. Clow, David Shanabrook, and Ed Salo

- 2000 Cultural Resources and Bioarchaeological Investigations at the Dallas Convention Center and Pioneer Cemetery, Dallas, Texas. *Miscellaneous Reports of Investigations No. 205*. Geo-Marine, Inc, Plano, TX.

Cox, Margaret

- 1999 *Life and Death in Spitalfields, 1700 to 1850*. Council for British Archaeology, York, England.

Cox, Margaret (EDITOR)

- 1998 *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England, 1700-1850*. *CBA Research Report 113*. Council for British Archaeology, Walmgate, York, England.

Craig, Joseph and Clark Spencer Larson

- 1993 *Life and Death on the Illinois Prairie: Archaeological and Osteological Investigations at the Cross Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois*. Report to Roosevelt National, from Hanson Engineers, Inc., Springfield., IL.

- Creel, Margaret Washington
 1990 Gullah Attitudes toward Life and Death. In *Africanisms in American Culture*, Joseph E. Holloway, editor, pp. 69-97. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Creel, Margaret Washington
 1988 "*A Peculiar People*": *Slave Religion and Community-Culture Among the Gullahs*. New York University Press, New York.
- Crissman, James K.
 1994 *Death and Dying in Central Appalachia: Changing Attitudes and Practices*. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Crist, Thomas A. J.
 2002 Empowerment, Ecology, and Evidence: The Relevance of Mortuary Archaeology to the Public. In *Public Benefits of Archaeology*, Barbara J. Little, editor, pp. 101-117. University of Florida Press, Gainesville.
- Cuyler, Theodore L.
 1868 *The Empty Crib: A Memorial of Little Georgie, With Words of Consolation for bereaved Parents*. R. Carter and Brothers, New York.
- Czech, Danuta
 1990 *Auschwitz Chronicle: 1939-1945*. I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, New York.
- Dallas City Council Minutes (on microfiche, City Hall, Dallas, TX).
- Dallas City Death Records (on file, Vital Records Department, City Hall, Dallas, TX).
- Dallas City Directories (published annually or semi-annually from 1873. On file, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX).
- Dallas City Ordinances (on microfiche, City Hall, Dallas, TX).
- Dallas County Deed Records (on microfilm, Dallas County Records Building, Dallas, TX).
- Dallas *Express* (newspaper; on microfilm, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX)
- Dallas *Morning News* (newspaper; on microfilm, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX)
- Dallas *Times Herald* (newspaper; on microfilm, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX)

Dallas *Weekly Herald* (newspaper; on microfilm, Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX)

Davidson, James M.

1996 Reconstructing the Burial Chronology of Cedar Grove Cemetery (3LA97), Lafayette County, Arkansas. Manuscript, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.

1998a The Old Dallas Burial Ground: A Forgotten Cemetery. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, CII(2):62-184.

1998b The Oldest Cemetery in Dallas Rediscovered: The Lost Location of Dallas's Slave Burials. *African-American Archaeology, Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network*. No. 22, Fall.

1999a Freedman's Cemetery (1869-1907): A Chronological Reconstruction of an Excavated African-American Burial Ground, Dallas, Texas. Masters thesis, Department of Anthropology, University of Arkansas, Fayetteville.

1999b Freedman's Cemetery (1869-1907): Establishing a Chronology for Exhumed Burials from an African-American Burial Ground, Dallas, Texas. *African-American Archaeology, Newsletter of the African-American Archaeology Network*. No. 26, Early Winter.

2000a An Archival History of Freedman's Cemetery, Dallas, Texas. In *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, editors, pp. 21-55. Geo Marine, Inc., *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin.

2000b The Development of Freedman's Cemetery. In *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of a Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, editors, pp. 233-407. Geo Marine, Inc., *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin.

2000c Freedman's Cemetery Mortuary Hardware Typology and Data Structure (Appendix G). In *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of A Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, editors. Geo Marine, Inc., *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin.

- 2002 “Haunts, Poison, Sickness, Conjure”: An Exploration of Conjuraton and Counter Charms in the African American South (1869-1915). Presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology 35th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Mobile, AL
- 2003 Death and Identity: A Study of Lethal Gun Violence within the African American Community of Dallas, Texas (1900-1907). Presented at the Society for Historical Archaeology 36th Annual Conference on Historical and Underwater Archaeology, Providence, RI.
- 2004a “Living Symbols of Their Life Long Struggles”: In Search of the Home and Household in the Heart of Freedman’s Town, Dallas, Texas. In *Household Choices and Household Chores: Theorizing Domestic Relationships and Social Spaces in Historical Archaeology*, Kerri S. Barile and Jamie C. Brandon, editors, pp. 75-106. The University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa.
- 2004b Rituals Captured in Context and Time: Charm Use in North Dallas Freedman’s Town (1869-1907), Dallas, TX. *Historical Archaeology*, 38(2):22-54.
- 2004c Material Culture, Chronology, and Socioeconomics. In *Archaeological Excavation and Removal of Two Historic Cemeteries in Crawford County, Arkansas*, Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., and James M. Davidson, editors, pp.71-192. Draft Report, AAS Project 02-02. Report to Burns & McDonald, Inc., from Sponsored Research Program, Arkansas Archeological Survey, Fayetteville.
- 2004d Holmes-Vardeman-Stephenson Cemetery Analysis: Mortuary Hardware Typology, Burial Chronology, and Socioeconomic Study. Draft Manuscript. Program for Archaeological Research, University of Kentucky.

Davidson, James M., Jerome C. Rose, Myron Gutmann, Michael Haines, Cindy Condon, and Keith Condon

- 2002 The Quality of African-American Life in the Old Southwest Near the Turn of the 20th Century. In *The Backbone of History: Health and Nutrition in the Western Hemisphere*, Richard Steckel and Jerome C. Rose, editors, pp. 226-277. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

DeCorse, Christopher

- 1992 Culture Contact, Continuity, and Change on the Gold Coast, AD 1400-1900. *The African Archaeological Review*, 10:163-196.

- DeCunzo, Lu Ann, Angela Hoseth, Jay Hodney, JoAnn E. Jamison, Wade P. Cates, and David C. Bachman
 1992 Final Archaeological Investigations at the John Darrach Store Site, Delaware Route 6-Woodland Beach Road, Smyrna Section, Delaware Rout 1, Kent County, Delaware. University of Delaware Department of Anthropology, Center for Archaeological Research. Delaware Department of Transportation *Archaeology Series No. 93*. Dover, DE.
- Deetz, James and Edwin N. Dethlefsen
 1971 Some Social Aspects of New England Colonial Mortuary Art. In *Approaches to the Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices, Memoirs of the Society for American Archaeology, No. 25*, James A. Brown, editor, pp. 30-38. Society for American Archaeology, Washington, D.C.
- Denbow, James
 1999 Heart and Soul: Glimpses of Ideology and Cosmology in the Iconography of Tombstones from the Loango Coast of Central Africa. *Journal of American Folklore*, 112(445): 404-423.
- Dering, J. Phil
 2000 Appendix C. Analysis of Selected Coffin Wood Samples. In Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of A Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas, Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow, editors. Geo Marine, Inc, *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin.
- Dockall, Helen Danzeiser, Joseph F. Powell, D. Gentry Steele, and Leah Carson Powell
 1996a Home Hereafter: An Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Analysis of an Historic African-American Cemetery (41GV125). *Report of Investigations No. 5*, Center for Environmental Archaeology, Texas A&M University, College Station, TX.
- Dockall, Helen Danzeiser, Douglas K. Boyd, Martha Doty Freeman, Rolando L. Garza, Kevin E. Stork, Karl W. Kibler, and Joan E. Baker.
 1996b Confederate Veterans At Rest: Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Investigations at the Texas State Cemetery, Travis County, Texas. *Reports of Investigations No. 107*. Submitted to Texas Parks and Wildlife Department, from Prewitt and Associates, Inc. Austin, TX.
- Dooley, Kirk
 1988 *Hidden Dallas: What You Don't Know About Your Own Backyard*. Taylor Publishing Company, Dallas, TX.

DuBois, W.E.B. (EDITOR)

1903 *The Negro Church: Report of a Social Study made under the direction of Atlanta University, together with the proceedings of the eighth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems.* The Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, GA.

DuBois, W.E.B. (EDITOR)

1907 *Economic Co-operation among Negro Americans: Report of a Social Study made by Atlanta University, under the patronage of Carnegie Institution of Washington, D.C., together with the proceedings of the twelfth Conference for the Study of the Negro Problems.* The Atlanta University Press, Atlanta, GA.

DuBois, W.E.B.

1996 *Writings: The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade; The Souls of Black Folk; Dusk of Dawn; Essays and Articles from The Crisis* (edited by Nathan Huggins). The Library of America College Editions, New York.

Earls, Amy C., Christopher R. Lintz, George W. Gill, Patrick L. O'Neill, and W. Nichols Trierweiler

1991 Investigations of Historic Cemeteries at O. H. Ivie Reservoir, Coleman, Concho, and Runnels Counties, Texas. *Technical Report No. 403.* Mariah Associates, Austin, TX.

Elia, Ricardo J., and Al B. Wesolowsky (EDITORS)

1989 Archaeological Excavations at the Uxbridge Almshouse Burial Ground in Uxbridge, Massachusetts. *Report of Investigations No. 76.* Office of Public Archaeology, Boston University, Boston, MA. *BAR International Series 564*, British Archaeological Reports, Oxford, England.

Elliott, John R.

1990 Funerary Artifacts in Contemporary America. *Death Studies*, 14:601-612.

Emrich, Duncan

1972 *Folklore on the American Land.* Little, Brown and Company, Boston, MA.

Engerand, S. W.

1978 Black and Mulatto Mobility and Stability in Dallas, Texas, 1880-1910. *Phylon*, 39(3):203-209.

Epperson, Terrence W.

1999 The Contested Commons: Archaeologies of Race, Repression, and Resistance in New York City. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*,

Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors, pp. 81-110. Plenum Press, New York.

Epperson, Terrence W.

- 2004 Critical Race Theory and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora. In *Transcending Boundaries, Transforming the discipline: African Diaspora Archaeologies in the New Millennium*, Maria Franklin and Larry McKee, editors. *Historical Archaeology*, 38(1):101-108.

Fairbanks, Charles

- 1972 The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968. *Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers 1971*. 7:62-93.

Farrell, James J.

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

Ferguson, Bobbi

- 1983 Final Report on the McGee Creek Cemetery Relocations, Atoka County, Oklahoma. Bureau of Reclamation, U.S. Department of the Interior, Ferris, OK.

Ferguson, Bobbi, Stephen K Ireland, George A. Agogino, and Richard Holloway

- 1993 "...and they laid them to rest in the little plot beside the Pecos": Final report on the relocation of old Seven Rivers Cemetery, Eddy County, New Mexico. 2 volumes. Bureau of Reclamation, U.S. Department of the Interior, Denver, CO.

Ferguson, Charles W.

- 1937 *Fifty Million Brothers: A Panorama of American Lodges and Clubs*. Farrar and Rinehart, Inc., New York.

Ferguson, George

- 1958 *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*. Oxford University Press, New York.

Foster, Helen Bradley

- 1997 *"New Rainments of Self": African American Clothing in the Antebellum South*. Berg, Oxford, England.

Fox, A.A.

- 1984 A Study of Five Historic Cemeteries at Choke Canyon Reservoir, Live Oak and McMullen Counties, Texas. *Choke Canyon Series 9*. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio.

- Francaviglia, Richard V.
1971 The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61(2):571.
- Frazier, E. Franklin
1963 *The Negro Church in America*. Shocken Books, New York.
- Frazier, E. Franklin
1957 *The Negro in the United States*. Revised Edition. The MacMillan Company, New York.
- Fredrickson, George M.
1988 *The Arrogance of Race: Historical Perspectives on Slavery, Racism, and Social Inequality*. Wesleyan University Press. Middletown, CN.
- Fredrickson, George M.
1971 *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914*. Harper and Row, New York.
- Fremmer, Ray
1973 Dishes in Graves: Evidence from Jamaica. *Historical Archaeology*, 7:58-62.
- French, Stanley
1975 The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the "Rural Cemetery" Movement. In *Death in America*, David E. Stannard, editor, pp. 69-91. University of Pennsylvania Press, n.p.
- Garman, James C.
1994 Viewing the Color Line Through the Material Culture of Death. *Historical Archaeology*, 28 (3): 74-93.
- Garrow, Patrick
1987 A Preliminary Seriation of Coffin Hardware Forms in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Georgia. *Early Georgia*, published by the Society for Georgia Archaeology, 15(1& 2):19-45.
- Garrow, Patrick H.
1990 Archaeological Investigations of the Sandy Creek Cemetery, Lot 31, Block "B", Sandy Creek Estates, Clark County, Georgia. Garrow and Associates, Atlanta, GA.
- Garrow, Patrick H., S.A. Symes, and H.W. Case

- 1985 Physical Anthropology and Archaeological Investigations of the Nancy Creek Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Chamblee, Georgia. Garrow and Associates, Atlanta, GA.
- Garrow, Patrick H. and Steven A. Symes
 1987 The Big Lazer Creek Unmarked Cemetery: A Multi disciplinary Investigation. Garrow and Associates, Atlanta, GA.
- Gebhart, John C.
 1928 *Funeral Costs: What They Average, Are They Too High? Can They be Reduced?* G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
 1976 *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made.* Vintage Books, New York.
- Glave, E. J.
 1891 Fetishism in Congo Land. *Century Magazine*, 19:825-836.
- Goldstein, Lynne
 1980 Mississippian Mortuary Practices: A Case Study of Two Cemeteries in the Lower Illinois Valley. *Scientific Papers, No. 4.* Northwestern University Archaeological Program, Evanston, IL.
- Goodenough, Ward
 1965 Rethinking "Status" and "Role": Toward a General Model of the Cultural Organization of Social Relationships. In *The Relevance of Models for Social Anthropology*, Michael Blanton, editor, pp. 1-24. A.S.A. Monographs No. 1, Praeger, New York.
- Gordon, William Ashley
 2003 Coffin Plates and Competitive Display. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Arizona State University, Tempe. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Greene, A.C.
 1973 *Dallas: The Deciding Years- A Historical Portrait.* The Encino Press, Austin, TX.
- Gregor, Walter
 1881 *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the North-East of Scotland.* The Folk-Lore Society, Elliot Stock, London, England.
- Grimshaw, William H.

- 1903 *Official History of Freemasonry among the Colored People in North America*. Macoy Publishing and Masonic Supply Company, New York.
- Habenstein, Robert W. and William M. Lamers
 1955 *The History of American Funeral Directing*. National Funeral Directors Association, Milwaukee, WI.
- Habenstein, Robert W. and William M. Lamers
 1985 *The History of American Funeral Directing*, Second Revised Edition. National Funeral Directors Association, Milwaukee, WI.
- Hacker-Norton, Debi and Michael Trinkley
 1984 Remember Man Thou Art Dust: Coffin Hardware of the Early Twentieth Century. *Chicora Foundation Research Series 2*. Columbia, SC.
- Hale, Grace Elizabeth
 1998 *Making Whiteness: The Culture of Segregation in The South, 1890-1940*. Pantheon Books, New York.
- Haller, John S. Jr.
 1970 Race, Mortality, and Life Insurance: Negro Vital Statistics in the Late Nineteenth Century. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, 25:247-261.
- Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co
 1884 *January 16, 1884, Wholesale Price List of Varnished and Cloth-Covered Burial Cases and Caskets, manufactured by Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Excelsior Coffin and Casket Works*. Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Allegheny City, PA and Pittsburgh, PA.
- Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co
 1886 *November 1, 1886, Revised Price List of Coffin and Casket Hardware manufactured by Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Excelsior Coffin and Casket Works*. Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Allegheny, PA and Pittsburgh, PA.
- Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co
 1888 *February 1, 1888, Revised Price List of Coffin and Casket Hardware, manufactured by Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Excelsior Coffin and Casket Works*. Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Co, Allegheny, PA and Pittsburgh, PA.

- Hand, Wayland D. (EDITOR)
 1964 *Popular Beliefs and Superstitions from North Carolina. The Frank C. Brown Collection of North Carolina Folklore, Volume 7.* Duke University Press, Durham, NC.
- Handler, Jerome S. and Frederick W. Lange
 1978 *Plantation Slavery in Barbados: An Archaeological and Historical Investigation.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA.
- Hansen, Joyce and Gary McGowen
 1998 *Breaking Ground, Breaking Silence: The Story of New York's African Burial Ground.* Henry Holt and Company, New York.
- Harding, Charlotte J.
 1987 Post-Medieval Coffin Furniture. In Volume III, Wharram Percy: The Church of St. Martin. Wharram: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds, J. G. Hurst and P. A. Rahtz, editors, pp. 150-153. *Monograph Series No. 11.* The Society for Medieval Archaeology, London, England.
- Harding, Vanessa
 1998 Burial on the margin: distance and discrimination in early modern London. In *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England, 1700-1850*, Margaret Cox, editor, pp. 54-64. *CBA Research Report 113.* Council for British Archaeology, Walmgate, York, England.
- Harrington, J. C.
 1994 From Architraves to Artifacts: A Metamorphosis. In *Pioneers in Historical Archaeology, Breaking New Ground*, Stanley South, editor. Plenum Press, New York.
- Harris, Neil
 1977 The Cemetery Beautiful. In *Passing, The Vision of Death in America*, Charles O. Jackson, editor, pp. 103-111. Greenwood Press, Westport, CN.
- Hazlitt, W Carew
 1965 *Faiths and Folklore of the British Isles. Based on The Popular Antiquities of Great Britain by John Brand and Sir Henry Ellis.* Reprint of 1905 edition, originally published in 1813. Benjamin Bloom, Inc., New York.
- Heath, Barbara J.
 1999 Buttons, Beads, and buckles: Contextualizing Adornment Within the Bounds of slavery. In *Historical Archaeology, Identity Formation, and the Interpretation of Ethnicity*, Maria Franklin and Garrett Fesler, editors, pp. 47-69. Colonial Williamsburg Research Publications, Colonial

Williamsburg Foundation. Dietz Press, Richmond, VA.

Henderson, William

- 1879 Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders. Originally published in 1866. The Folk-Lore Society, W. Satchell, Peyton and Co., London, England.

Herskovits, Melville J.

- 1990 *The Myth of the Negro Past* (Originally published 1941). Beacon Press, Boston.

Hill, Patricia Evridge

- 1996 *Dallas: The Making of a Modern City*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Hodder, Ian

- 1982 Theoretical Archaeology: A Reactionary View. In *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, Ian Hodder, editor, pp. 1-16. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Hoffman, Jeurena, Jerry Henderson, Keith Condon and Cindy Condon.

- 1993 Demography and Pathology of Freedman's Cemetery. *American Journal Physical Anthropological Supplement*, 16:109-110.

Hohenschuh, W. P.

- 1900 *The Modern Funeral: Its Management*. The Trade Periodical Company, Chicago, IL

Holloway, Joseph E. (EDITOR)

- 1990 *Africanisms in American Culture*. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.

Holmes, Maxine and Gerald D. Saxon (EDITORS)

- 1992 *The WPA Dallas Guide and History*. Dallas Public Library. Texas Center for the Book, University of North Texas Press, Denton and Dallas.

Hsu, Dick Ping

- 1969 The Arthur Patterson Site: A Mid-Nineteenth Century Site, San Jacinto County, Texas. *Archaeological Survey Report No. 5*. Texas State Building Commission and Texas Water Development Board, Austin, TX.

Hurston, Zora Neale

- 1995 *Folklore, Memoirs, and Other Writings: Mules and Men, Tell My Horse, Dust tracks on a Road, Selected Articles*. (edited by Cheryl A. Wall). The

Library of America, Literary Classics, Penguin Books, New York.

Hyatt, Harry Middleton

1935 *Folk-Lore from Adams County, Illinois*. Memoirs of the Alma Egan Hyatt Foundation, New York.

Ingersoll, Ernest

1892 Notes and Queries: Decoration of Negro Graves. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, V(XVI):68-69.

Jackson, Bruce (EDITOR)

1967 *The Negro and His Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Jamieson, Ross W.

1995 Material Culture and Social Death: African American Burial Practices. *Historical Archaeology*, 29(4):39-58.

Jones and Murphy

1878 Map of the City of Dallas, Texas (original; Dallas Public Library Collections). Reprinted 1989, Friends of the Dallas Public Library, Dallas, TX.

Jordan, Terry

1982 *Texas Graveyards, A Cultural Legacy*. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Joseph, J. W., Mary Beth Reed, and Charles E Cantley

1991 Agrarian Life, Romantic Death: Archaeological and Historical testing and Data Recovery for the I-85 Northern Alternative, Spartanburg County, South Carolina. New South Associates Technical Report No. 39, to South Carolina Department of Highways and Public Transportation, from New South Associates, Stone Mountain, GA.

Joseph, J. W., Thomas A. J. Crist, Reg Pitts, Alex Caton, and William R. Henry, Jr.

2000 The Sam Goode Cemetery, Mecklenburg County, Virginia. *African American Archaeology, The Newsletter of the African American Archaeology Network* 27.

Joseph, J. W.

2004 Resistance and Compliance: CRM and the Archaeology of the African Diaspora. In *Transcending Boundaries, Transforming the discipline: African Diaspora Archaeologies in the New Millennium*, edited by Maria Franklin and Larry McKee. *Historical Archaeology*, 38(1):18-31.

- Jupp, Peter C.
 1997 Introduction, Death as a Social and Historical Actor. In *The Changing Face of Death, Historical Accounts of Death and Disposal*, Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howarth, editors, pp. 1-17. St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Kimbal, Justin F.
 1927 *Our City Dallas, A Community Civics*. Kessler Plan Association of Dallas, Dallas, TX.
- Kingsley, Mary H.
 1965 *Travels in West Africa: Congo Francais, Corsisco and Cameroons*. Third Edition (first published in 1897). Frank Cass & Co, Ltd., London, England.
- Kleinberg, S. J.
 1977 Death and The Working Class. *Journal of Popular Culture*, XI(1):193-209.
- Kniffen, Fred
 1967 Necrogeography in the United States. *Geographical Review*, 57:426-427.
- Krappe, Alexander Haggerty
 1930 *The Science of Folk-Lore*. Methuen and Co., London, England.
- Kroeber, Alfred
 1927 Disposal of The Dead. *American Anthropologist*, 29: 308-315.
- Kruger-Kahloula, Angelika
 1994 On the Wrong Side of the Fence: Racial Segregation in American Cemeteries. In *History and Memory in African-American Culture*, Genevieve Fabre and Robert O'Meally, editors, pp. 130-149. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Kullen, Douglas, Anne Grauer, and James M. Davidson
 1999 Report of the Recovery of Human Skeletal Remains at Channing Memorial School, Elgin, Kane County, Illinois. Report to Elgin Public School District, from Allied Archaeology, Aurora, IL.
- Louis J. Lamb (firm)
 [1895] *Catalog of sheet metal coffins and ornaments* (with price list). Attleboro, MA.
- Landis, Abb
 1904 Life Insurance by Fraternal Orders. *Annals of the American Academy of*

Political and Social Sciences, 24(3):475-488.

Lawton, Samuel Miller

1939 *The Religious Life of South Carolina Coastal and Sea Island Negroes*.
Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation. George Peabody College for Teachers.

Lebo, Susan A.

1988 An Archaeological and Bioarchaeological Perspective: The Tucker (41DT104) and Sinclair (41 DT 105) Cemeteries of Delta County, Texas. Institute of Applied Sciences, University of North Texas, Denton.

LeeDecker, Charles H., Jonathan Bloom, Ingrid Wuebber, and Marie-Lorraine Pipes

1995 Final Archaeological Excavations at a Late 18th Century Family Cemetery for the U.S. Route 113 Dualization, Milford to Georgetown, Sussex County, Delaware. Report to Delaware Department of Transportation, from Louis Berger & Associates. DELDOT Archaeology Series No. 134.

Lehr, Erica

1996 *The Motives of Memory: Commercializing the Jewish Past in Poland*. *The Journal of the International Institute* 4(1).
<<http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/journal/vol4no1/memory.html>>.

Lewis, Lynne G.

1985 The Planter Class: The Archaeological Record at Drayton Hall. In *The Archaeology of Slavery and Plantation Life*, Theresa A. Singleton, editor, pp. 121-140. Academic Press, Orlando, FL.

Little, Barbara, Kim M. Lanphear and Douglas Owsley

1992 Mortuary Display and Status in a Nineteenth Century Anglo-American Cemetery in Manassas, Virginia. *American Antiquity*, 57(3): 397-418.

Livingston, William

1977 Of the Extravagance of Our Funerals. In *Passing: The Vision of Death in America*, Charles O. Jackson, editor, pp. 42-47. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

Loudermilk, G. W. Funeral Home Collection

1902-07 (records of the George Washington Loudermilk Funeral Home, on file at the Sparkman-Hillcrest Funeral Home, Dallas, TX).

Low, W. Augustus and Virgil A. Clift (EDITORS)

1981 *Encyclopedia of Black America*. Da Capo Press, New York.

Mainfort, Robert C. Jr.

- 1979 Indian Social Dynamics in the Period of European Contact: Fletcher Site Cemetery, Bay County, Michigan. *Anthropological Series Vol. 1, No. 4*. Publications of the Museum, Michigan State University, East Lansing, MI.
- Mainfort, Robert C. Jr.
 1985 Wealth, Space, and Status in a Historic Indian Cemetery. *American Antiquity*, 50(3):555-579.
- Mallios, Seth and Beverly Straube
 2000 *1999 Interim Report on the APVA Excavations at Jamestown, Virginia*. The Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities, Richmond, VA.
- Markham & Strong
 1865 *Improved Price List*. East Hampton, CT
- Matternes, Hugh B.
 1998 The Cool Branch Cemetery (40HK9). In Archaeological Investigations of Sites 40HK5, 40HK6, and 40HK9, State Route 31 Corridor from Mountain Valley Road to North of Cantwell Valley Road, Hancock County, Tennessee, Charles Bentz, editor, pp. 130-186. Transportation Center, The University of Tennessee, Knoxville.
- Mayer Heritage Consultants, Inc.
 1994 Excavation & Analyses of Unmarked Graves, Central King Seniors Complex (Former Wesleyan Methodist Church Cemetery), city of Weston, Ontario. Report to Chris Smith and Associates and Ontario Heritage Foundation, from Mayer Heritage Consultants, Inc., London, Ontario, Canada.
- McCarthy, John P.
 1997 Material Culture and the Performance of Sociocultural Identity: Community, Ethnicity, and Agency in the Burial Practices at the First African Baptist Church Cemeteries, Philadelphia, 1810-1841. In *American Material Culture: The Shape of the Field*, Ann Smart Martin and J. Ritchie Garrison, editors, pp. 359-379. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE.
- McDonald, William L.
 1978 *Dallas Rediscovered: A Photographic Chronicle of Urban Expansion, 1870-1925*. The Dallas Historical Society, Dallas, TX.
- McGuire, Randall H.
 1988 "Dialogues with the Dead: Ideology and the Cemetery." In *The Recovery*

of Meaning: Historical Archaeology in the Eastern United States, Mark P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors, pp. 435-480. Smithsonian Institution Press, Washington, D. C.

McKnight, Mamie (EDITOR)

1990 *African American Families and Settlements of Dallas: On the Inside Looking Out*. Black Dallas Remembered, Inc., Dallas, TX.

McMillan, Bryan L.

1991 *Cemeteries: Preserving the Past, Planning for the Future*. Final Project, City and Regional Planning Committee, Dallas, TX.

McPherson, Joseph McKenzie

1929 *Primitive Beliefs in the North-East of Scotland*. Longmans, Green, London, England.

McReynolds, Mary J.

1981 Archaeological Investigations at the Laredo Cemetery Site (41 WB 22), Webb County, Texas. Prewitt and Associates, Inc., *Report of Investigations 11*, Austin, TX.

Meriden Britannia Co

1880 *Illustrated catalogue of Wm. M. Smith's fine silver, bronze, etc Casket trimmings*. West Meriden, CT.

Merrifield, Ralph

1988 *The Archaeology of Ritual and Magic*. New Amsterdam Books, New York.

Michael, Dorothy Jean

1943 Grave Decoration. In *Backwoods to Border, Publications of the Texas Folklore Society Number 18*, J. Frank Dobie, editor, pp. 129-136. Texas Folklore Society, Austin.

Miller, George L.

1988 Classification and Economic Scaling of Nineteenth-Century Ceramics. In *Documentary Archaeology in the New World*, Mary C. Beaudry, editor, pp. 172-183. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Miller, George L, Ann Smart Martin, and Nancy S. Dickinson

1994 Changing Consumption Patterns: English Ceramics and the American Market from 1770 to 1840. In *Everyday Life in the Early Republic*, Catherine E. Hutchins, editor, pp. 219-248. Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, DE.

- Mintz, Sidney W. and Richard Price
 1992 *The Birth of African American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective*.
 Beacon Press, Boston, MA.
- Minutaglio, Bill and Holly Williams
 1990 *The Hidden City- Oak Cliff, Texas*. Elmwood Press and The Old Oak Cliff
 Conservation League, n.p.
- Milligan, Robert H.
 1912 *The Fetish Folk of West Africa*. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.
- Montell, Lynwood
 1966 Death Beliefs from the Kentucky Foothills. *Kentucky Folklore Record*,
 XII(3):81-86.
- Mullins, Paul
 1999a *Race and Affluence: An Archaeology of African America and Consumer
 Culture*. Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Mullins, Paul
 1999b "A Bold and Gorgeous Front": The Contradictions of African America
 and Consumer Culture. In *Historical Archaeologies of Capitalism*, Mark
 P. Leone and Parker B. Potter, Jr., editors, pp. 169-193. Kluwer
 Academic/Plenum Publishers, New York.
- Mullins, Paul
 1999c Race and the Genteel Consumer: Class and African-American
 Consumption. In *Confronting Class*, Louann Wurst and Robert K. Fitts,
 editors. *Historical Archaeology* 33(1):22-38.
- Mullins, Paul
 2001 Racializing the Parlor: Race and Victorian Bric-Brac Consumption. In
Race and the Archaeology of Identity, Charles E. Orser, Jr., editor, pp.
 158-176. University of Utah Press, Salt Lake City.
- Musa, David
 2002 *Slave Christianization in the History of American Christianity: A Study of
 the Interaction between Christianity, Slavery in North America, and
 African Traditional Religion*. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of
 Theological Studies, Trinity International University, Deerfield, IL.
 University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Nassau, Robert Hamil

- 1969 *Fetishism in West Africa* (Originally published in 1904). Negro Universities Press, New York.
- Nelson, Lee H. (EDITOR)
 1980 *Illustrated Catalog of American Hardware of the Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company, An Unabridged Reprint of the 1865 Edition and a New Introduction*. Association for Preservation Technology, n.p.
- Nutty, Coleen L.
 1984 Cemetery Symbolism of Prairie Pioneers: Gravestone Art and Social Change in Story County, Iowa. *Journal of the Iowa Archeological Society*, 31:1-136.
- O'Shea, John M.
 1984 *Mortuary Variability: An Archaeological Investigation*. Academic Press, New York.
- Opie, Iona and Moira Tatum (EDITORS)
 1989 *A Dictionary of Superstitions*. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Orser, Charles E. Jr., Annette M. Nekola, and James L. Roark (EDITORS)
 1987 Exploring the Rustic Life: Multidisciplinary Research at Millwood Plantation, a Large Piedmont Plantation in Abbeville County, South Carolina, and Elbert County, Georgia. *Russell Papers*. Report to the National Park Service, by Mid-American Research Center, Loyola University of Chicago, IL.
- Orser, Charles E. Jr.
 1990 Archaeological Approaches to New World Plantation Slavery. In *Archaeological Method and Theory*, Michael B. Schiffer, editor, pp. 111-154. University of Arizona Press, Tucson.
- Orser, Charles E. Jr.
 1999 The Challenge of Race to American Historical Archaeology. *American Anthropologist*, 100(3):661-668.
- Otto, John Solomon
 1984 *Cannon's Point Plantation, 1794-1850: Living Conditions and Status Patterns in The Old South*. Academic Press, New York.
- Owens, Victoria
 2000 Personal, Clothing, and Miscellaneous Items Associated with Excavated Burials. In *Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of A Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas*, Duane E. Peter, Marsha Prior, Melissa M.

Green, and Victoria G. Clow, editors, pp. 409-460. Geo Marine, Inc., *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin

Owsley, Douglas, Charles E. Orser, Jr., Robert Montgomery and Claudia C. Holland.
1985 An Archaeological and Physical Anthropological Study of the First Cemetery in New Orleans, Louisiana. Department of Geography and Anthropology, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge.

Parrington, Michael

1987 Cemetery Archaeology in the Urban Environment: A Case Study from Philadelphia. In *Living in Cities: Current Research in Urban Archaeology*, Edward Staski, editor, pp. 56-64. *Special Publication Series No. 5*. Society for Historical Archaeology.

Parrington, Michael, Daniel G. Roberts, Stephanie A. Pinter, Janet C. Wideman, David A. Dashiell, Gail T. Frace, and Robert C. Baldwin

1989 The First African Baptist Church Cemetery: Bioarchaeology, Demography and Acculturation of Early Nineteenth Century Philadelphia Blacks. Volume 1: Historical and Archaeological Documentation. Report to the Redevelopment Authority of the City of Philadelphia, by John Milner Associates, Inc., Philadelphia, PA.

Paxson, Comfort & Co

1881 *Illustrated Catalogue of Undertakers' supplies*. Philadelphia, PA.

Payne, Darwin

1991 "A Distressing and Fatal Rencontre." In *Sketches of a Growing Town: Episodes and People of Dallas From Early Days to Recent Times*, Darwin Payne, editor, pp. 22-35. Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.

Payne, Darwin

1997 The Dallas Morning News and the Ku Klux Klan. *Legacies: A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas*, IX(1):16-27.

Pearson, Michael Parker

1982 Mortuary Practices, Society and Ideology: An Ethnoarchaeological Approach. In *Symbolic and Structural Archaeology*, Ian Hodder, editor, pp. 99-113. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, England.

Pearson, Michael Parker

1999 *The Archaeology of Death and Burial*. Texas A&M University Press,

College Station, TX.

Peebles, Christopher and Susan M. Kus

1977 Some Archaeological Correlates of Ranked Societies. *American Antiquity*, 42(3):421-448.

Peoples Undertaking Co Day Books

1907-1910 (on file at the African American Museum of Life and Culture, Fair Park, Dallas, TX).

Peter, Duane E., Marsha Prior, Melissa M. Green, and Victoria G. Clow (EDITORS)

2000 Freedman's Cemetery: A Legacy of A Pioneer Black Community in Dallas, Texas. Geo Marine, Inc., *Special Publication No. 6*. Texas Department of Transportation, Environmental Affairs Division, Archeology Studies Program, *Report No. 21*. Austin.

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart

1868 *The Gates Ajar*. Fields, Osgood and Co, Boston, MA.

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart

1883 *Beyond the Gates*. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, MA.

Phelps, Elizabeth Stuart

1887 *The Gates Between*. Houghton, Mifflin, Boston, MA.

Pike, Martha

1984 In Memory Of: Artifacts Relating to Mourning in Nineteenth Century America. *Journal of American Culture*, 3(4):642-659.

Plume, Sable

[1885/1890] *Coffins and Coffin Making*. Undertakers Journal, London, England.

Pollard, Leslie J.

1980 Black Beneficial Societies and the Home for Aged and Infirm Colored Persons: A Research Note. *Phylon*, XLI(3):230-234.

Powdermaker, Hortense

1993 *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South*. (Originally published in 1939). University of Wisconsin Press, Madison.

Preston, Samuel H. and Michael R. Haines

1991 *Fatal Years: Child Mortality in Late Nineteenth Century America*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, NJ.

- Prince, Robert
 1993 *A History of Dallas, From a Different Perspective*. Nortex Press, n.p.
- Puckett, Newbell Niles
 1926 *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro*. University of North Carolina Press, Chapel Hill.
- Puckle, Bertram S.
 1926 *Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development*. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.
- Raboteau, Albert J.
 1980 *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South*. Oxford University Press, Oxford, England.
- Ragon, Michel
 1983 *The Space of Death: A Study of Funerary Architecture, Decoration, and Urbanism*, Alan Sheridan, translator. University Press of Virginia, Charlottesville.
- Rankin-Hill, Leslie M.
 1997 *A Biohistory of 19th Century Afro-Americans: The Burial Remains of a Philadelphia Cemetery*. Bergin and Garvey. Westport, CT.
- Raper, Arthur
 1968 *Preface To Peasantry: A Tale of Two Black Belt Counties*. (Originally published in 1936). Atheneum, New York.
- Rauschenburg, Bradford L.
 1990 Coffin Making and Undertaking in Charleston and its Environs, 1705-1820. *Journal of Early Southern Decorative Arts*, (16:1):19-63.
- Rawick, George P. (EDITOR)
 1972-79 *The American Slave: A Composite Autobiography*, 41 volumes. [volume citations in text]. Greenwood Publishing, Westport, CT.
- Reeve, Jez and Max Adams
 1993 The Spitalfields Project. Volume 1: the archaeology. Across the Styx. *CBA Research Report 85*. Council for British Archaeology, York, England.
- Reps, John W.
 1976 *Cities of Stone: Nineteenth Century Lithograph Images of the Urban West*. Amon Carter Museum of Western Art, Fort Worth, TX.

- Reynolds, Donald E.
 1993 Reluctant Martyr: Anthony Bewley and the Texas Slave Insurrection Panic of 1860. *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XCVI(3):345-361.
- Riis, Jacob A.
 1971 *How The Other Half Lives: Studies Among The Tenements of New York*. Originally published in 1890. Dover Publications, New York.
- Roddin, E. V. & Co.
 1971 Jewelry, Watches and Silverware Catalogue. (Reprint, originally published in 1895). The Pyne Press, Princeton, NJ.
- Roediger, David
 1981 And Die In Dixie: Funerals, Death, & Heaven in the Slave Community 1700-1865. *The Massachusetts Review*. Spring.
- Rogers, John William
 1965 *The Lusty Texans of Dallas, Their First Hundred and Twenty-Five Years*, 2nd edition. E. P. Dutton & Co., Dallas, TX.
- Rose, Jerome C. (EDITOR)
 1985 Gone To A Better Land: A Biohistory of a Black Cemetery in the Post-Reconstruction South. Arkansas Archeological Survey, *Research Series* 25. Fayetteville, AR.
- Rose, Jerome C.
 1989 Biological Consequences of Segregation and Economic Deprivation: A Post-slavery Population from Southwest Arkansas. *The Journal of Economic History*, XLIX (2):351-360.
- Rosenberg, Leon Joseph
 1978 *Sangers', Pioneer Texas Merchants*. Texas State Historical Association, Austin.
- Saint Louis Coffin Co.
 1901 *Souvenir Catalog, No. 20. Illustrating Highest Types of Our Art*. St. Louis, MO.
- Saint Louis Coffin Co
 [1901] *The Standard Estimated Undertakers' Selling Prices for Coffins, Caskets, Robes, Flowers, Etc., Applying to Art Book No. 20, Published and Copyrighted by St. Louis Coffin Co*. St Louis, MO.

Sargent & Company

1871 *Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.* New Haven, CT.

Sargent & Company

1874 *Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.* New Haven, CT.

Sargent & Company

1877 *Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.* New Haven, CT.

Saum, Lewis O.

1975 *Death in the Popular Mind of Pre-Civil War America.* In *Death in America*, David E. Stannard, editor, pp. 30-48. University of Pennsylvania Press.

Saunders, Shelley and Richard Lazenby (EDITORS)

1991 *The Links That Bind: The Harvie Family Nineteenth Century Burying Ground.* *Occasional Papers in Northeastern Archaeology No. 5.* Copetown Press, Dundas, Ontario, Canada.

Sauter, William (firm)

1883 *Illustrated Catalogue No. 268.* Baltimore, MD.

Sauter, William (firm)

1888 *Wholesale Price List.* Baltimore, MD.

Savage, Kirk

1997 *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War and Monument in Nineteenth-Century America.* Princeton University Press. Princeton, NJ.

Saxe, Arthur A.

1970 *The Social Dimensions of Mortuary Practices.* Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

Schorsch, Anita

1976 *Mourning Becomes America: Mourning Art in the New Nation.* Main Street Press, Clinton, NJ.

Schutze, Jim

1986 *The Accommodation: The Politics of Race in an American City.* Citadel

Press, Secaucus, NJ.

Scott, James C.

1985 *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.

Shapiro, H. L.

1930 Old New Yorkers: A series of crania from the Nagal Burying Ground, New York City. *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, 14:379-404.

Shogren, Michael G., Kenneth R. Turner, and Jody C. Perroni.

1989 Elko Switch Cemetery: An Archaeological Perspective. *Report of Investigations No. 58*, to Alabama Highway Department, from University of Alabama, State Museum of Natural History.

Showers, Susan

1967 A Weddin' and A Buryin' In The Black Belt. (Originally published in 1898). In *The Negro and his Folklore in Nineteenth-Century Periodicals*, Bruce Jackson, editor, pp. 293-301. Publications of the American Folklore Society, Bibliographic and Special Series Volume 18. University of Texas Press, Austin.

Singleton, Theresa

1999 An Introduction to African-American Archaeology. In "*I, Too, Am America*": *Archaeological Studies of African-American Life*, Theresa Singleton, editor, pp. 1-17. University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville.

Smallwood, James M.

1981 *Time of Hope, Time of Despair: Black Texans during Reconstruction*. Kennikat Press, Port Washington, NY.

Smith, Ed. C. Funeral Home Collection

1882-1907 Records of the Ed. C. Smith Funeral Home, on file at the Dallas Public Library.

Smith, Thomas H.

1985 Blacks in Dallas: From Slavery to Freedom. (Dallas County) *Heritage News*, X (1):18-22.

Smith, Thomas H.

1989 Conflict and Corruption: The Dallas Establishment vs. the Freedman's Bureau Agent. *Legacies, A History Journal for Dallas and North Central Texas*, 1(2):24-30.

Stine, Linda France

- 1990 Social Inequality and Turn-of-the-Century Farmsteads: Issues of Class, Status, Ethnicity, and Race. In *Historical Archaeology on Southern Plantations and Farms*, Charles E. Orser, Jr., editor. *Historical Archaeology* 24(4):37-49.

Stowers, Carlton

- 2001 Grave Matters. The tombstones in Oakland Cemetery bear names that reflect Dallas' greatness and its shame, from former mayors to klansmen. But years of neglect have left it overgrown and forgotten. *Dallas Observer*, (July 12).

The Sunnyside

(periodical. Issues on file, Library of Congress).

Swauger, James L.

- 1959 An American Burial Technique of the Early 19th Century. *Pennsylvania Archaeologist*, 29 (1): 38-39.

Tannehill Lodge Minutes, AF & AM, Dallas Texas, 1854-1865

(Documents on file at AF & AM (Masonic) Lodge, Dallas, Texas, and Dallas Public Library)

Tainter, Joseph A.

- 1978 Mortuary Practice and the Study of Prehistoric Social Systems. *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory*, 1:106-143.

Taylor & Co

- 1871 *Illustrated catalogue of caskets, coffins, shrouds, trimmings, etc.* New York, NY.

Taylor, A.J., Anne A. Fox, and I. Wayne Cox.

- 1986 Archaeological Investigations at Morgan Chapel Cemetery (41 BP 200), a Historic Cemetery in Bastrop County, Texas. *Archaeological Survey Report, No. 146*. Center for Archaeological Research, University of Texas at San Antonio.

Tharp, Brent Warren

- 1996 "Preserving Their Form and Features": The Role of Coffins in the American Understanding of Death, 1607-1870. Ph.D. dissertation, American Studies, The College of William and Mary in Virginia. University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, MI.

- Thompson, Robert Farris
 1990 Kongo Influences on African-American Artistic Culture. In *Africanisms in American Culture*, Joseph E. Holloway, editor, pp. 148-184. Indiana University Press, Bloomington.
- Thompson, Robert Farris
 1983 *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro-American Art and Philosophy*. Random House, New York.
- Torian, Sara Hodgson
 1943 Notes and Documents: Antebellum and War Memories of Mrs. Telfair Hodgson. *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, 27(4):350-356.
- Trachtenberg, Alan
 1982 *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age*. Hill and Wang, New York.
- Trinkley, Michael and Debi Hacker-Norton.
 1984 Analysis of Coffin Hardware from 38CH778, Charleston County, South Carolina. *Research Series 3*. Chicora Foundation, Columbia, SC.
- Uhlenberg, Peter
 1985 Death and the Family. In *Growing Up in America: Children in Historical Perspective*, N. Ray Hiner and Joseph M. Hawes, editors, pp. 243-252. University of Illinois Press, Urbana.
- Warfield & Rohr
 1886 *Wholesale Price-List of Coffin and Casket Trimmings, Linings, Robes and Wrappers*. Warfield & Rohr, Baltimore, MD.
- Warfield & Rohr
 1893 November 1, 1893, Revised *Price-List of Coffin and Casket Hardware, Robes, Linings, and Undertakes' Sundries*. Warfield & Rohr, Baltimore, MD.
- Warner, W. Lloyd
 1959 *The Living and The Dead: A Study of the Symbolic Life in America*. Yale University Press, New Haven, CT.
- Watkins, Beverly
 1985 Historical Background. In *Gone to a Better Land: A Biohistory of a Black Cemetery in the Post- Reconstruction South*, Jerome C. Rose, editor, pp. 6-17. Arkansas Archeological Survey, *Research Series 25*. Fayetteville,

AR.

Watters, David R.

- 1987 Excavations at the Harney site slave Cemetery, Montserrat, West Indies. *Annals of the Carnegie Museum*, 56:289-318.

Watters, David R.

- 1994 Mortuary Patterns at the Harney Site Slave Cemetery, Montserrat, in Caribbean Perspective. *Historical Archaeology*, 28(3):56-73.

Wicks, Samuel (EDITOR)

- 1993 *Historic African American Businesses of Dallas: A Legacy of Service*.
1994 Heritage Calendar, Tenth Anniversary Edition. Black Dallas Remembered, Inc., Dallas, TX.

Williams, E. A., S. W. Green, and Joseph L. Jones

- 1917 *History and Manual of the Colored Knights of Pythias*. National Baptist Publishing Board, Nashville, TN.

Williams, Roy H. and Kevin J. Shay

- 1991 *Time Change: An Alternative View of the History of Dallas*. To Be Publishing Co., Dallas, TX.

Wilson, Kristin

- 1998a The Role of Mortuary Behavior in the Mediating of Status and Power in the Nineteenth Century. Unpublished paper.

Wilson, Kristin

- 1998b Archaeological Disinterment/Reinterment of the Pine Ridge Cemetery, Butts County, Georgia. TRC Garrow Inc., Atlanta, GA.

Wilson, Kristin

- 1998c Archaeological Disinterment of the Oliver Family Cemetery, Roanoke, Virginia. TRC Garrow Inc., Atlanta, GA.

Wilson, Kristin

- 1998d Archaeological Disinterment of the Turner Cemetery, Marshall County, Mississippi. TRC Garrow Inc., Atlanta, GA.

Wilson, Kristin, and Jeffrey L. Holland

- 1998 Archaeological Disinterment of the Fuller Cemetery, Calhoun, Georgia. TRC Garrow, Inc., Atlanta, GA.

Winchell, Frank, Jerome C. Rose, and Randall Moir

- 1992 Bioanthropological Investigation of Nineteenth Century Burials at Site 41DT105: Cultural Resource Studies for Cooper Lake, Delta County, Texas. Archaeological Research Program, Department of Anthropology, Southern Methodist University, Dallas, TX.
- Wood, W. Dean, K.R. Burns, and S. R. Lee
1986 The Mount Gilead Cemetery Study: An Example of Biocultural Analysis from Western Georgia. Southeastern Archaeological Services. Athens, GA.
- Woodley, Philip J.
1992 The Stirrup Court Cemetery Coffin Hardware. *Ontario Archaeology*, 53: 45-63.
- Woodward, C. Vann
1974 *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, Third Revised Edition. Oxford University Press, New York.
- Woolfenden, Wallace
1969 A Study of 4-Glen-10: The Brownell Indian Cemetery. Archaeology of the Black Butte Reservoir Region, Glenn and Tehama Counties, California. *Occasional Paper No. 2*. San Francisco State College Anthropology Museum, San Francisco, CA.
- Work, Monroe W. (EDITOR)
1913 *Negro Year Book and Annual Encyclopedia of the Negro*. Negro Yearbook Company, Tuskegee Institute, AL.
- Young, Frank W.
1960 Graveyards and Social Structure. *Rural Sociology*, 25(4):446-450.

VITA

James Michael Davidson was born in Odessa, Texas, on August 28, 1967, to Sandra Ann (Armstrong) Davidson and Jimmie Frederick Davidson. Raised in Odessa, he attended Mrs. Murphy's Kindergarten, Ross Elementary, John B. Hood Junior High, and Permian High School, graduating in 1985. After a short foray at Odessa College, he attended the University of Texas at Austin, where in May 1990 he received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Archaeological Studies. After graduation, he worked for two years in New Mexico and Arizona as a field archaeologist on numerous prehistoric archaeological sites (predominately of the Mogollon and Anasazi). In March 1992, he left the Southwest and accepted a job with the Texas Department of Transportation on the Freedman's Cemetery Archaeological Project, in Dallas, Texas. Due to the necessities of highway construction, archaeologists at Freedman's Cemetery exhumed and scientifically documented the mortal remains of some 1,157 African-Americans originally interred between 1869 and 1907. After the original Freedman's Project ended in 1995, he entered graduate school at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville. It was during his time at Arkansas that he achieved his first major publication in the form of a peer reviewed journal article ("The Old Dallas Burial Ground: A Forgotten Cemetery") in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* (1998a). He also enjoyed a year of teaching undergraduate students Archaeological Methods. In 1999 he received a Master of Arts degree in Anthropology, under the direction of Robert C. Mainfort, with a thesis documenting the history and burial chronology of Freedman's Cemetery. In the fall of 1999 he entered the Ph.D. program at the University of Texas at Austin, as a student of Dr. Maria Franklin.

Between 1999 and 2004, he presented over 10 papers at professional meetings, and authored numerous technical archaeological reports. Publications during his time as a doctoral student include two chapters comprising 1/3 of the Freedman's Cemetery report of investigations (2000), an article on perforated coin charms recovered from Freedman's Cemetery (published in the journal *Historical Archaeology*; 2004b), a chapter on household archaeology in urban Dallas (in a University of Alabama Press edited volume; 2004a) and as senior author, a comprehensive overview of African-American health trends in Dallas and rural Arkansas between 1869 and 1915, published in an edited volume by Cambridge University Press (2002). He also co-directed two archaeological field schools: at the 19th century Van Winkle's Mill site in northwest Arkansas (in 2001), and at the Cole House site, a 19th and early 20th century African-American residence in downtown Dallas (in 2002). On May 31, 2003, he married Lydia Iris Rees. In the Spring of 2004 he accepted a tenure-track assistant professor position in the Anthropology Department and African-American Studies Program at the University of Florida (Gainesville).

Permanent Address: 425 East 49th St, Odessa, Texas 79762

This dissertation was typed by the author.