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Community and Place: A Study of Four African American Benevolent Societies and their Cemeteries

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Community and Place: A Study of Four
African American Benevolent Societies
and their Cemeteries

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Schools of
Clemson University and College of Charleston

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science
Historic Preservation

by
Kimberly Martin
May 2010

Accepted by:
James L. Ward, Committee Chair
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ABSTRACT

Located on Charleston's Neck, immediately west of Magnolia Cemetery's main entrance, are a number of small cemeteries created by a variety of ethnicities and religions. These small cemeteries all possess the same physical orientation, giving no indication that the sites were created by differing groups. Among these are Friendly Union Cemetery, Brown Fellowship Cemetery, Humane and Friendly Cemetery, and Unity and Friendship Cemetery. All four cemeteries were created just before the outbreak of the Civil War by Free People of Color who organized themselves into benevolent societies. Free People of Color were African Americans who were not enslaved but did not enjoy the civil liberties possessed by white citizens. The benevolent societies that Free People of Color created provided a sense of security, especially financially, to people in an uncertain position.

This thesis seeks to understand the people who created these cemeteries and their benevolent societies. To accomplish this, a study of the status of Free People of Color and the social structure of benevolent societies was conducted. The cemeteries were studied to determine the level of activities of each society and to understand how the societies have faded in the 20th century. The decline of each community and the impact of this decline is the second half of this thesis.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I must thank my advisor, James Ward as well as Robert Russell, Harlan Greene, and Michael Trinkley. All four individuals offered support and encouragement while challenging me to make my thesis the best that I could. I am so glad I had the opportunity to work with these men. Additionally, I am grateful to all my other professors who offered suggestions and encouragement.

I must also thank the respective men responsible for the cemeteries, Phillip LaRoche of Friendly Union Society, Anthony O'Neill of Brown Fellowship Society, John Dash of Humane and Friendly Society, and Walter Smalls Jr of Unity and Friendship Society, who were good enough to answer my questions and allow me to study their sites. Without them, this project would not have been possible and the sites most likely would not have retained their tie with the community. I am thankful for all of the other archivists and people who were willing to share information. You make research enjoyable.

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CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

At the beginning of this thesis, I intended to focus on the cemeteries of Friendly Union Society, Brown Fellowship Society, Humane and Friendly Society, and Unity and Friendship Society as physical places. These were benevolent societies created by Free People of Color from 1790, in the case of Brown Fellowship Society, to 1844; the year Unity and Friendship was founded. I thought that I would examine the physical representations of culture in each cemetery and the preservation needs of each site, including a management plan to address the future of each. This did not become my thesis.

I addressed the physical site: the monuments, copings, physical organization of each cemetery, and presence of plants and artificial flowers on each grave, all based on research on African American burial traditions. This study revealed to me that there were no striking differences that separated these places from the other cemeteries in the area, which were created by a variety of other ethnic and religious groups. This process provided me with two things: I had the beginning stages of documentation for each cemetery, which can be used for further research, and I was led to the study of the people who created the cemeteries. The societies and the people that created them were the most fascinating aspect of my research and the most interesting facet of the cemeteries.

This study revealed that Free People of Color held a separate and tenuous place in Charleston society and the benevolent societies they created allowed for community

bonding and financial security in the event of death or sickness.¹ Free People of Color did not enjoy the civil liberties granted to white citizens of Charleston and so were assigned to a lower social and political position.²

The societies and people experienced change over time, becoming more inclusive after the Civil War and expanding the community from Free People of Color to elite African Americans.³ With the passage of the thirteenth amendment in 1865 and the fourteenth amendment in 1868, Free People of Color and formerly enslaved people were no longer divided by their free status or subject to losing their legal freedom at the whim of white society.⁴ With the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of formalized segregation laws in the South, former Free People of Color and freedmen were further bonded by their shared restrictions. In the eyes of the law all were Black and equally discriminated against. The changing community added to the interest in the people who created the cemeteries.

As the focus of this thesis shifted from place to people, the value of the place to the people became more central. I examined the evolution of this relationship over time through the decline of the cemeteries and the attempt made by representatives of each society to solve their mutual problem of decline. I determined that the relationship of the societies to the site has diminished greatly and is in danger of being lost all together.

¹ Bernard E. Powers Jr, *Black Charlestonians: A Social History 1822-1885*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994) p 57; Robert L. Harris Jr., "Early Black Benevolent Societies, 1780-1830," *The Massachusetts Review* 20, no. 3 (1979) pp 617-618

² Marina Wikramanayake. *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973) p1.

³ "Dedication Pamphlet for Memorial of the Pitt Street Cemetery" February 7, 2008 [accessible in the College of Charleston Special Collections File MSSH 109 African American Cemeteries 1999-2001].

⁴ The thirteenth amendment to the constitution abolishes slavery in the United States; the fourteenth granted formerly enslaved people citizenship. This also encompassed Free People of Color, leveling the playing field between freedmen and the former group of Free People of Color.

Since the mid-twentieth century, each cemetery began to experience decline as a direct result of dwindling membership and diminishing funds. The decline of each site is a symptom of the larger picture, which is the diminishing community. The services of the benevolent societies have been replaced by modern institutions and have made the societies themselves obsolete.

Communities change and fade as the needs they were created to fulfill are eradicated. There is really no way to stop this from happening. The lamentable aspect of this natural progression is that the stories of the people will be lost along with the society. Not only were Free People of Color and their benevolent societies an interesting part of African American history, this part of history also provides insight in to Charleston's larger society and race relations in the city before and after the Civil War. The only physical sites remaining of the benevolent societies are their cemeteries. These cemeteries are not endangered, as I will prove later in this thesis. The community is the real story here.

Trying to understand the community and make this knowledge accessible is something that preservationist struggle with. Examining the loss of community and trying to discern methods of managing that decline so that we are left with something understandable if and when the community is completely gone, is worthwhile, especially in cases such as the four societies studied here. The people who created these sites were a part of a distinct group in Charleston, the community's decline will leave a void in the history of Charleston without efforts to collect information and make that information available for study.

Methodology

As a part of my physical analysis of these sites, I created a data collection that included ten characteristics. These were:

1. full name
2. year of death
3. material of monument
4. style of monument
5. east-to-west grave orientation
6. presence of evergreen plants
7. presence of artificial flowers
8. military service
9. Christian symbols

The deceased's name and year of death was recorded for the purposes of further research. With this information, one can study genealogy and track the status of monuments in the future. The year of death was also used to determine the peak decades of activity in each cemetery. Monument material and style were selected based on the Petersburg, Virginia study.⁵ Wood, metal, and concrete are more prevalent in African American cemeteries than white cemeteries; although their choices were probably based on financial considerations. These materials, along with granite and marble were documented to determine trends in style and usage.

East-to-west orientation of burials, presence of evergreen plants, and artificial flowers are characteristics indicative of enduring African American burial practices; these characteristics help to determine the amount of exclusively African American customs present in each cemetery. Maps of each cemetery depict the current layout of the sites

⁵ Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker. *The African American cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia : continuity and change* (Columbia: Chicora Foundation, 1999) .

and the orientation of the graves. Grave goods were not present at the sites. This may indicate a change in culture or objects being taken from graves.

The remaining characteristics were chosen after reconnaissance visits to the cemetery in the summer of 2009 or conversations with representatives of each site. These characteristics were military service and Christian symbols. Conversations with representatives from each cemetery indicated that the membership of each society was largely Christian. Reconnaissance visits reveal the presence of Government Issue markers as well as inscription indicating military service.

The data collection form was used to record data for each marker in each cemetery. General characteristics were recorded about the overall layout, maintenance, and topography of each cemetery. The general characteristics were compared to the research conducted on African American burial practices. The data collected on individual graves were analyzed. The presence of each characteristic was compared to the total number of markers. Some markers had more than one name listed; those were counted as one marker. The percentage occurrence of each item was useful to determine the cultural similarities of the four sites studied to African American burial customs in general and to each other.

The analysis provides the basis for determining the significance of these cemeteries and reveals that the interesting and distinct aspects of the site are the people who created them. A review of literature, analysis of African American burial practices over time, the results of the data analysis of each cemetery, and the current state of preservation for each site are in the following chapter. This background changed the

course of this project by shedding light on the fact that there was nothing visually distinctive about the cemeteries and the physical sites were not endangered.

CHAPTER TWO BACKGROUND

Review of Literature

The literature discussed below traces the study of African American burial practices from early burial grounds created by enslaved people to modern practices. It examines the approach to scholarship on this topic, specifically each authors approach to the exposure of differing cultures to each other and the impact that this exposure had on the evolution of burial traditions. As people are exposed to each other they tend to adopt customs from each other which is known as creolization or blending in the rest of this project. The study of African American burial customs with the consideration of creolization did not become prominent until roughly the 1980s.

Much of the literature on African American burial practices can be traced back to H. Carrington Bolton and Mary A. Waring.⁶ Bolton discussed the objects left on African American graves, known as grave goods, and hypothesized that these traditions were carried out based on habit but that their meaning had ultimately been lost. Mary A. Waring wrote a similar article which discussed the funeral procession, beliefs about spirits, and practices undertaken to prevent spirits from haunting members of the community. Both articles point to West Africa as the source for these beliefs. Whereas Bolton discounted the practices by suggesting the continued meaning of the practices had been lost, Waring discounted the practices as “grotesque” or “savage.”

⁶ H. Carrington Bolton, "Decoration of Graves of Negroes in South Carolina," *The Journal of American Folklore* 4, no. 14 (1891) p 214; Mary A Waring. "Mortuary Customs and Beliefs of South Carolina Negroes." *The Journal of American Folklore* (1894). pp 318-319.

A large part of the material published on African American cemeteries addresses the slave cemetery or more rural traditions as opposed to sites created by Free People of Color or more urban sites-the category that the cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue fall into. There is no mention in this early literature that accounted for creolization of African American burial practices or the impact that socioeconomic status had on burial choices. This discussion is particularly important to the cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue because the sites were created by groups that mingled extensively with white society.

Samuel Miller Lawton's dissertation also does not account for creolization, but quantified the use of particular burial items used to adorn graves.⁷ In terms of the cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue, this literature gives one a basis of comparison even if it does not specifically apply to the cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue which more closely resembled white cemeteries.

Earlier writings on African American cemeteries served as a sort of catalog of practices that were considered to be traditionally African. The above mentioned articles by Bolton and Waring were attempts to comment on practices that were observed. Articles such as Roediger's "Die in Dixie" and Wright and Hughes Lay Down Body continued this approach but did account for some changes in practices as a result of the passage of time or creolization.⁸ From the beginning of the North American colonies, white and black people lived together, exposing each other to different cultures and

⁷ Samuel Miller Lawton. *Religious Life of the South Carolina Coast and Sea Islands*, unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. (Nashville: George Vanderbilt University, 1939) pg 192-196.

⁸ Elaine Nichols, *The Last Miles of the Way: African American Homecoming traditions 1890-present*. (Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, 1989) pp12-43; David Roediger. "And Die in Dixie" *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring, 1981), pp 163-183; Roberta Hughes Wright and Wilbur Hughes III. *Lay Down Body: Living History in African American Cemeteries*. (Detroit: Visible Link, 1996)

creating some level of blending on both sides. A true understanding of African American cemeteries is not possible without accounting for this process.

In the 1980s, the study of African American burial practices began to account more thoroughly for the blending of white and black culture. Robert Farris Thompson outlined the traditional burial practices of African Americans but also accounted for the use of modern materials to decorate graves which was consistent with the meaning of traditional burial practices and decorations.⁹ For instance, the title of Thompson's book alludes to the belief that a person's spirit could be caught in reflective surfaces. Water was supposed to be able to catch the "flash of the spirit." Later, foil wrapping on plastic potted plants was turned inside out to catch the spirit.¹⁰ John Michael Vlach, professor of American Studies and Anthropology and director of George Washington University's Folk life Program, took a similar approach to Robert Farris Thompson in that he discussed traditional methods of grave decoration as well as the introduction of modern materials such as clocks.¹¹ Clocks were placed on graves, occasionally, with the clock stopped at the time of death, relating to white traditions.¹² Vlach goes further than Thompson on the modern elements of grave decoration and the blending of cultures. Unlike Thompson, Vlach discusses the use of modern headstones as an overlap of African American and white culture. Stone markers were widely used in the cemeteries

⁹ Robert Farris Thompson. *Flash of the Spirit: Afro and Afro American Art and Philosophy* (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

¹⁰ Ibid pp138.

¹¹ John Michael Vlach, *By the Work of their Hands: Studies in African American Folklife*, (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1991); John Michael Vlach, *The Afro American Tradition in the Decorative Arts*, (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990).

¹² Vlach, *By the Work of their Hands*. pp145.

located on Cunningham Avenue and were also a feature present in other African American cemeteries in Columbia, South Carolina and other places throughout the South.

Cynthia Conner, both in her Master's thesis and a subsequent article, Elizabeth Fenn and M. Ruth Little, clearly address the overlap between traditionally distinct African American burial practices and white burial practices.¹³ These authors discuss stone markers and the introduction of modern materials to substitute for traditional grave decorations. Little's book is particularly pertinent and provides the most detail about the overlap between White and African American culture. Little provides examples of practices that were found in both poor white and African American cemeteries. Little pointed out that the use of concrete markers, sea shells and other materials were found in both white and Black cemeteries across the state of North Carolina.¹⁴ The availability of materials in a given region also seemed to be a factor.¹⁵ Creolization was also a factor in considering burial customs. The examples provided in Little's book indicate that race may not be the most definitive factor in burial customs and selection of markers.¹⁶

Dr. Michael Trinkley and the Chicora Foundation created a report on several African American cemeteries located in Petersburg, Virginia, some of which were

¹³ Cynthia Conner, "Sleep and Take Your Rest: Black Mortuary Behavior on the East Branch of the Cooper River" (Masters Thesis., University of South Carolina, 1989); Cynthia Conner, "Archaeological Analysis of African American Mortuary Behavior" *The Last Miles of the Way* (Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, 1989) pp 51-55; Elizabeth Fenn,; "Honoring the Ancestors: Kongo American Graves in the American South," *The Last Miles of the Way* (Columbia: South Carolina State Museum, 1989) pp 43-50; M. Ruth Little, *Sticks and Stone: Three Centuries of North Carolina Gravemarkers*. (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1989) pp 234-268.

¹⁴ Little. p 239.

¹⁵ Ibid pp234-242.

¹⁶Ibid. pp 234-268.

created by Free People of Color.¹⁷ The report examines the relationship between the cemeteries and the local African American funeral homes, as well as the physical characteristics of the cemetery such as marker types, material and other pertinent information regarding the character of the cemetery. The report considers the community that created the site and places the cemetery on a cultural spectrum, the intermediate area between strictly white or black characteristics. This report greatly influenced the formation of the data collection form discussed in the methodology.

The burial practices discussed below follow a similar trajectory as the literature just discussed. As Black and white people interacted, they exchanged customs. Over a long period of time more and more blending took place. There are still some enduring characteristics in burial customs that are distinct to African Americans. The process of blending is discussed below along with the identification of enduring characteristics

Burial Practices and Meaning

The Low Country of South Carolina in conjunction with the tidal area of Georgia and North Carolina was influenced by what is known as Gullah Culture, which refers to Angola, the place of origin for most enslaved people in South Carolina.¹⁸ The African Americans in South Carolina had their own language, folklore, cuisine and religion encompassed in Gullah Culture, and this included burial practices and the treatment of death.

¹⁷ Michael Trinkley and Debi Hacker. *The African American cemeteries of Petersburg, Virginia : continuity and change* (Columbia: Chicora Foundation, 1999) .

¹⁸ Charles Joyner. *Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community*. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1984) pp1-9.

Burial practices of enslaved African Americans related specifically to the spiritual world and the ability of spirits to interact with the living.¹⁹ The beliefs encountered in Gullah culture would seem superstitious to people of the Christian faith, but continued to be quite powerful and significant for the enslaved people who came to this country. The relationship between the spirit and the family was the focus of the interaction between the physical world and the spirit world. Enslaved people believed that the family was required to fulfill the wishes of the deceased family member: if the deceased's wishes were not fulfilled, the spirit would torment the family.²⁰ On the other hand, spirits who were satisfied would take a guardian position over the living, loved ones.

The preparation for burial of a loved one during the days of slavery was an extensive affair. The demands of work on the plantation were not relaxed even for the passing of a loved one. Because of this complication between work and spiritual services, funerals were generally held at night.²¹ An evening service allowed for the tasks of the plantation to continue during the day while providing an opportunity for people living on nearby plantations to attend the service.²²

The evening funeral entailed a procession to the graveyard. The coffin, either carried by pallbearers or drawn by a mule and cart, was followed by those attending the funeral.²³ The mourners carried torches and sang spirituals as they processed to the

¹⁹ Thompson. *Flash of the Spirit: African and Afro American Art and Philosophy*. pp132-134.

²⁰ Ibid

²¹ Michael Trinkley, *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*.(Columbia: Chicora Foundation, 1996) pp 4-9.

²² Ibid

²³ David Roediger. "And Die in Dixie" *The Massachusetts Review*, Vol. 22, No. 1 (Spring, 1981), pp 163-183.

graveyard.²⁴ The spirituals had a steady rhythm which helped to dictate the speed of the procession. The procession to the burial ground was more somber in nature. Another more celebratory gathering was held a year later which allowed those who could not attend the initial burial service to come and pay their respects.²⁵ This gathering was intended to celebrate the life of the person who had passed and so had a different atmosphere than the initial gathering to inter the body.

Slave cemeteries were usually situated on marginal land. The reason for the location of the burial grounds on these lands has been debated. One suggestion was slave graveyards were assigned to the worst lands because this land would not have been able to be cultivated.²⁶ Others suggested that it is indicative of African Americans' secondary status in America, both in slavery and after freedom.²⁷ Another explanation for placing cemeteries in marshy areas was that bodies needed to be interred close to water because water was a vehicle whereby the spirit could travel.²⁸ Some say that the spirit travels through water to the spirit world; others suggest that the spirit travels by water back to Africa.

The physical layout of slave cemeteries was generally less manicured or designed than white cemeteries.²⁹ Trees were not planted to create aesthetically pleasing spaces and graves were not organized in neat rows. Burial near family was more important than ownership of a specific plot. If the cemetery was beginning to get full, graves were

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Ibid

²⁶ Wright and Hughes. pp 40-45.

²⁷ Trinkley, *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 4-9.

²⁸ Ibid

²⁹ Ibid

placed closer together to ensure that there was room for everyone.³⁰ After interment, there was little effort made to ensure that grading was uniform throughout the cemetery. The presence of mounds and depressions was not uncommon in the slave cemetery.³¹ This tradition had been observed in other black cemeteries.

African American cemeteries have been regularly lost to development.³² Their unobtrusive and hidden appearance made rural African American cemeteries more threatened than urban African American cemeteries. African American's minority status and the discrimination they have faced have influenced the way they feel about the loss of their cemeteries. Some people feel that the cemeteries are not protected because they are African American cemeteries. Given the second class citizenship afforded to African Americans in the past, their perception may not be inaccurate. The loss of African American cemeteries is a sensitive subject and must be handled with care; however, the loss of these sites has become another part of the history and culture of African American cemeteries.

The spiritual beliefs brought from Africa also affected the decorations that adorned the graves. The objects that were most recently used by the deceased were usually the objects chosen to adorn the grave.³³ Objects that belong to the deceased created a link between the deceased and the family. These objects were often broken following the belief that breaking the possessions would break the chain between the

³⁰ Wright and Hughes. pp 18-22.

³¹ Trinkley, *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 4-9.

³² Trinkley, *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 4-9.

³³ Thompson. pp 138.

deceased and the family, preventing the deceased from following the family back to the home.³⁴

The use of sea shells as a grave decoration was particularly prominent in the coastal region of South Carolina. The shell was believed to enclose the immortal spirit.³⁵ It must be noted however, that sea shells have been recorded on white graves as well, representing an overlap of culture.³⁶ This may be evidence that white people adopted some African traditions or that African Americans adopted white traditions. It could also be that shells were widely available in the coastal region and were thus used as decoration based on their availability.

The African traditions that were brought to America with enslaved people did evolve over time. Exposure to white culture and different religions, namely Christianity, affected the traditions of African American burial customs and the arrangement of the cemetery. The three traits identified for the purposes of data collection were traits that endured the passage of time. These traits were east-to-west grave orientation, usage of plants, and presence of artificial flowers.

East-to-west orientation has many meanings. According to Wright and Hughes, this orientation was purposeful so that the deceased could face God on judgment day.³⁷ Other sources have suggested that the east-to-west orientation reflected the deceased looking back towards Africa.³⁸ This orientation of the body east-to-west, also has roots

³⁴ Ibid

³⁵ Trinkley *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 9-13.

³⁶ Little. pp 234-268.

³⁷ Wright and Hughes. pp 18-22.

³⁸ Trinkley. *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 4-9.

in Christian, Muslim, and Jewish traditions, as well as in a number of sun worshipping cultures.

Plants also held a number of meanings. Plants were markers, but also used in conjunction with wooden or stone markers as an adornment. Yuccas and cedars were the most commonly used plants in slave cemeteries but the use of other types of plants has proliferated.³⁹ Yuccas, a plant found in southern climates, were traditionally used as a means to keep the spirit in the grave; this plant was said to have the ability to complete this task because it was spiny and prickly in nature.⁴⁰ Perhaps the use of Yuccas was an early adaptation to the Americas. Cedars and other plants were said to be planted upon graves for more symbolic reasons. It was believed that the roots that penetrated the grave helped to carry the soul to the spirit world.⁴¹ Cedars also were fairly inexpensive and evergreen. The meaning behind this planting can vary. Generally, the plants used today on graves are evergreen. The evergreen plant harkens to a more Christian tradition symbolizing eternal life. Artificial flowers became a modern adaptation to the plants originally used-possibly because of affordability, availability, and their long lasting nature- and are considered to be a common feature of African American cemeteries.⁴²

The literature also indicates that marker material can be indicative of African American modern traditions. This may have originally been motivated by accessibility. Wood and stone were available earlier and concrete and metal became more obtainable as time went on. Literature has shown that concrete, wood, and metal were more prominent

³⁹ Conner. *Archaeological Analysis of African Mortuary Behavior*. pp 51-55.

⁴⁰ Trinkley. *Grave Matters: The Preservation of African American Cemeteries*. pp 4-9.

⁴¹ Thompson. pp138.

⁴² Conner. *Archeological Analysis of African American Mortuary Behavior*. pp 51-55.

in African American burial grounds than white cemeteries.⁴³ Funeral plates-metal markers erected by funeral homes-have been considered more prominent in African American cemeteries as well. This must be considered in both cultural and financial terms. Wood, metal, and concrete are less expensive but that is not necessarily the motivation for using these materials.⁴⁴

These practices are useful in assessing the physical representations of culture in the Cunnington Avenue sites. The places are a physical creation of a distinct group of people. Studying the cemeteries of these societies led to an interest in the people themselves.

Analysis of Data

The four cemeteries being analysis are on located on Cunnington Avenue on the Neck of the Charleston Peninsula. The sites are located on the same block and are just west of the entrance to Magnolia Cemetery. The surrounding area is composed of several cemeteries, including Bethany and St Lawrence cemeteries, in an area known as the Magnolia Umbra Historic District. Friendly Union and Humane and Friendly purchased their entire lot of land on Cunnington Avenue in 1856.⁴⁵ Unity and Friendship purchased the northern half of its current property in 1856, which the society consecrated in 1867.⁴⁶ The southern portion of the cemetery was purchased in 1869.⁴⁷ Brown Fellowship Society bought its first tract of land on Cunnington Avenue in 1956, after it sold its

⁴³ Ibid

⁴⁴ Little. pp 234-268.

⁴⁵ Deed book V12, page 411 March 3, 1956 , Charleston County RMC Office; Deed book V12, page 417 February 22, 1856, Charleston Country RMC Office.

⁴⁶ Deed book V12 Page 413 March 29, 1856, Charleston County RMC Office; *Constitution and Bylaws of Unity and Friendship Society*.

⁴⁷ Deed book L15 page 619 November 11, 1869, Charleston County RMC Office.

original lot on Pitt Street to Bishop England High School. It purchased the southern two thirds of its property in 1983.⁴⁸

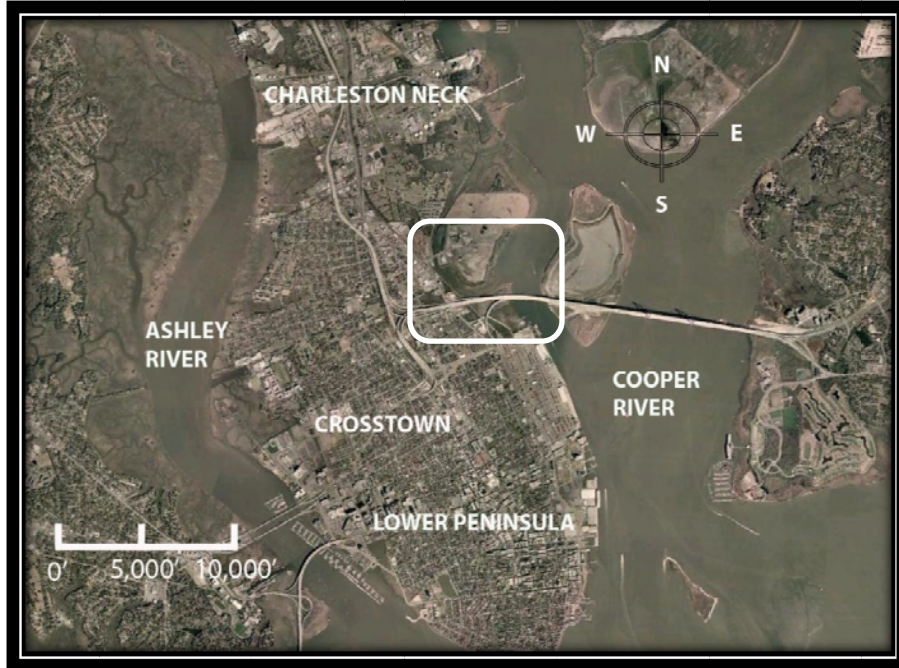


Figure 1 Charleston Peninsula courtesy of Google Earth



Figure 2 Close up of Study Area courtesy of Google Earth

Latitude 32°48'57.56"N
Longitude 79°56'56.70"W

⁴⁸ Deed book Y133 page 014 1983 Charleston County RMC Office.

Based on the analysis of the data collected, all four cemeteries appear to be fairly similar to white cemeteries. Brown Fellowship has some differences in the materials and style of markers, as well as orientation which set it apart from the other three cemeteries, but none of these characteristics are strong enough to make a difference.

The comparison chart below shows similar trends in the four cemeteries. The cemeteries have higher percentages of marble or granite markers. The styles of the markers tend to be more in keeping with white graveyards than African American sites. For instance, in the Friendly Union, Humane and Friendly and Unity and Friendship cemeteries, the tablet is the most common marker style. None of the enduring African American characteristics, east-west orientation, plants, and artificial flowers, have a strong presence in any of the sites analyzed. Based on these facts, I determined that the cemeteries were similar to white cemeteries. There is nothing physical in these cemeteries that make it obvious that they were created by African Americans.

Table 1 Comparison Chart (author)

Characteristics	Sub-category Characteristics	Society Percentages of total			
		Friendly Union	Brown Fellowship	Humane and Friendly	Unity and Friendship
Material					
	Granite	46	31	36	49
	Marble	36	17	53	37
	Concrete	10	15	7	11
	Wood	0	2	0	0
	Metal	8	28	2	2
Type					
	Tablet	32	13	44.4	29
	Die in socket	10	13	23.2	13
	Obelisk	2	4	4	1
	Reliquary	2	0	4	3
	Box Tomb	0.4	0	2	1
	Vault Top	3	15	7	8
	Lawn	3	8	7	14
	Ground	18	7	8	14
	Funeral Plate	2	28	1.2	3
	Other	0	0	3	4
East-West Orientation		41	96	67	52
Military Service		2	8	6	2
Plants		6	5	2	0
Artificial Flowers		4	6	3	2
Christian Symbols		18	19	19	20
Activity by Decade					
	1850	0	0	0	0.4
	1860	0.9	1	0.7	1
	1870	1	4	3	2
	1880	6	2	8	6
	1890	4	5	8	7
	1900	6	2	3	4
	1910	12	0	6	6
	1920	6	2	9	5
	1930	7	3	9	8
	1940	7	2	9	10
	1950	7	2	11	8
	1960	3	0	10	11
	1970	9	0	9	10
	1980	7	9	6	6
	1990	8	30	6	9
	2000	0	0	0	0.4

Beyond the analysis of the data collected, the original layout of each cemetery was studied. The original layouts were quite orderly, highly organized and well-kept, which is more in keeping with the layouts of white culture. While considering original layouts, the original Brown Fellowship Society cemetery on Pitt Street was considered to address the difference between this society's cemetery on Cunnington Avenue and the other three considered. The analysis of the Pitt Street site piqued my interest in the people and the history of the places

Brown Fellowship, when compare to these other three cemeteries, appeared to possess the most African characteristics. Ninety-six percent of its burials were oriented facing east. Just under half of the markers are made of metal, concrete or wood and are funeral plates or vault tops. These marker styles and materials are common in more modern urban African American cemeteries (See Appendix A).

Brown Fellowship's move to the Neck began in the 1930s. In 1935, the Pitt Street cemetery was taken by the city of Charleston as a result of a failure to pay taxes.⁴⁹ Bishop England High School was in the process of purchasing the property at auction in 1939. It returned the property to Brown Fellowship in 1940, when the society petitioned the city of Charleston for the option of raising funds to pay the back taxes. Bishop England issued a statement to the Ways and Means Committee which stated "Bishop England High School thought that Property was abandoned."⁵⁰ Bishop England agreed to withdraw from buying

⁴⁹ "12 Church Graveyards Siezed for Due" News and Courier Nov 23, 1939.

⁵⁰ Albert Van Dohlen, *Letter to the Ways and Means Committe, May 25th 1940*, [accessible at Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

the property so long as Brown Fellowship continued to use the property as a cemetery. Bishop England never wanted the property used for any commercial purposes.⁵¹

Descriptions of the cemetery on Pitt Street from the 1930s stated that the cemetery was surrounded by a fence and contained many highstyle monuments (See Figure 3). These vaults and monuments were described by Horace Fitchett as “imposing,” affirming the financial status of members of the Brown Fellowship Society.⁵² Frederick J Huskings of the *Dallas Morning News* described the difference in appearance between the Pitt Street site and a cemetery adjacent to it. Brown Fellowship’s cemetery was surrounded by an iron fence, was well kept, and its monuments and gravestones were well cared for.⁵³ He went on to describe the other cemetery as neglected and covered in brambles, being protected from the street by a wooden fence.⁵⁴

Brown Fellowship also set aside a section of their cemetery for strangers or other African Americans who did not have a proper place to be buried.⁵⁵ Strangers were buried on low lying ground in the cemetery; the high ground was reserved for members and their families, reflecting a distinction between the Brown Fellowship cemetery and traditional rural African American cemeteries which were generally located on low lying marshy marginal land, near water.⁵⁶

⁵¹ Stoney Cross and Pritchard, *Letter to Mr AJ Tamsberg regarding the Brown Fellowship Cemetery, July 15, 1940*, [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston]; Crosland Stoney and Pritchard, *Letter to the Honorable Henry W, Lockwood, regarding the loss of the Pitt Street Lot for paving taxes, May 9th 1940*, [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

⁵²Fitchett, p 145.

⁵³ Frederick Jr Haskin, "Colorline in Charleston," *Dallas Morning News* September 13, 1907

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Friendly Union also has a plot reserved for strangers. This area is located on the northern most portion of the cemetery.

⁵⁶ Brown Fellowship Society. *Rules and Regulations of the Brown Fellowship Society Established at Charleston SC 1st Nov 1790*.



Figure 3 East View Brown Fellowship Cemetery on Pitt Street in the 1930s courtesy of Avery Research Center

In the 1950s, Brown Fellowship Society became interested in selling its property on Pitt Street. Bishop England High School was interested in purchasing the property. In 1956, after much negotiation and escalation of price, the property was sold to Bishop England High School with the condition that all bodies and monuments be relocated to the Cunnington Avenue property at Bishop England's expense.⁵⁷ In the same year, Brown Fellowship Society purchased one third of their present site, the northern third of the cemetery. Aerial photos taken by the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) in 1957 show that trees were cleared from this third of the property (See Figure

⁵⁷Stoney, *Letter to Mr. Joseph Riley regarding sale of Brown Fellowship Lot on Pitt Street, June 30th 1951* [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston]; Lionel K. Legge, *Letter to Thomas P. Stoney regarding the sale of the Brown Fellowship Lot on Pitt Street, July 10th 1951* [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

16). Several monuments were moved from the Pitt Street site to Cunnington Avenue, but it is unclear whether the human remains were moved.⁵⁸



Figure 4 Relocated monuments from Brown Fellowships Pitt Street site (author)

Brown Fellowship’s cemetery is a testament to this history of African American cemetery loss. Not only is it the final resting place for graves relocated from the Pitt Street site but it also includes a memorial stone dedicated to the Big O’Neal Cemetery (See Figure 5).⁵⁹ This was an African American cemetery which was displaced by the Tanger Outlet

⁵⁸ Jessica Lancia, *Summary of Telephone Conversation with Warren Stuckey, director of cemeteries at Charleston Catholic Diocese: Re the Whereabouts of Human Remains and Headstones found during 2001 excavation of Addlestone*, 2008 [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston]; Jessica Lancia, *Summary of telephone Conversation with Mr. Julius Fielding: Re Whereabouts of headstones from Pitt Street Lot*, 2008 [accessible at Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

⁵⁹ The tract of land was originally a part of Camp Plantation and was used as a burial ground from the 1800s to the mid twentieth century, when the land was used by the local African American community. The Charleston Court of Common Pleas determined the cemetery abandoned and allowed the cemetery to be moved. Fielding Funeral home moved the remains to the Brown Fellowship Society cemetery in 1993. In 2005, there was still confusion about where all of the remains were relocated.

complex, a shopping area just south of highway 526 and west of I-26.⁶⁰ The presence of both of these lost and displaced cemeteries provides an additional layer of history to Brown Fellowship Society's cemetery on Cunnington Avenue.

Some monuments from the original Brown Fellowship cemetery are situated on a designated plot in the Cunnington Avenue cemetery.⁶¹ The plot is walled off from the rest of the cemetery with the ground covered in concrete and oyster shells (See Figure 4). Among the monuments located on this plot was the marble obelisk of Charles Holloway, a prominent carpenter and free person of color in Charleston. There are only five monuments existing on this tract. Other monuments that predate the 1956 purchase of the lot were present throughout the cemetery. Some of these markers were from the Big O'Neal cemetery as well as the Pitt Street site. Conversation between Jessica Lancia and Warren Stuckey of the Charleston Diocese suggests that additional monuments from the Pitt Street cemetery were behind the office building at Lawrence Cemetery, just south on Huguenin Avenue near Cunnington Avenue.⁶²

⁶⁰ Michael Trinkley, Debi Hacker, and Nicole Southerland, *The Silence of the Dead: Giving Charleston Cemeteries A Voice*. Chicora Foundation Research Series 67, 2010.

⁶¹ Not all of the remains were relocated by Bishop England. Remains were discovered when the property was sold to the College of Charleston. There was also reported to be a pile of broken monuments left behind the Blacklock House, located on Bull Street directly behind Addlestone Library. A memorial was erected in 2008-2009, behind Addelstone Library commemorating the existence of the cemetery. This memorial was the first to be dedicated to an African American heritage site in Charleston

⁶² Lancia, *Telephone Conversation with Warren Stuckey, director of cemeteries at Charleston Catholic Diocese:Re the Whereabouts of Humane Remains and Headstones found during 2001 excavation of Addlestone*, [accessible at Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].



Figure 5 Big O'Neal Memorial in Brown Fellowship's Cunningham Avenue Cemetery (author)

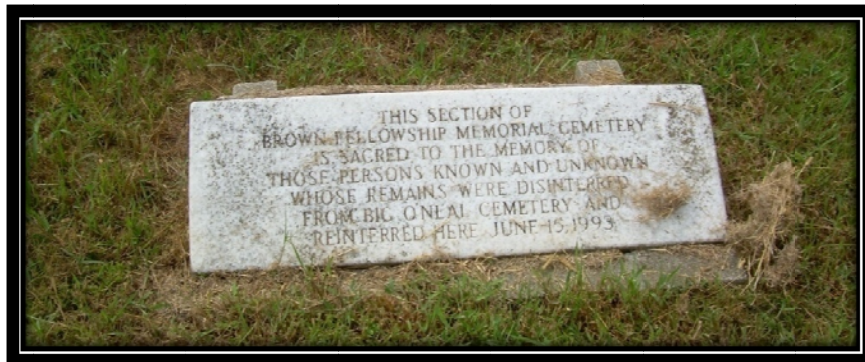


Figure 6 Close up of Big O'Neal Memorial (author)

After analyzing the original Pitt Street site and recording the names and accomplishments of the people buried in the cemetery, the people who created the societies and the cemeteries became more important than each site by itself. Studying the decline of the cemetery and the preservation threats, discussed below, this became even clearer.

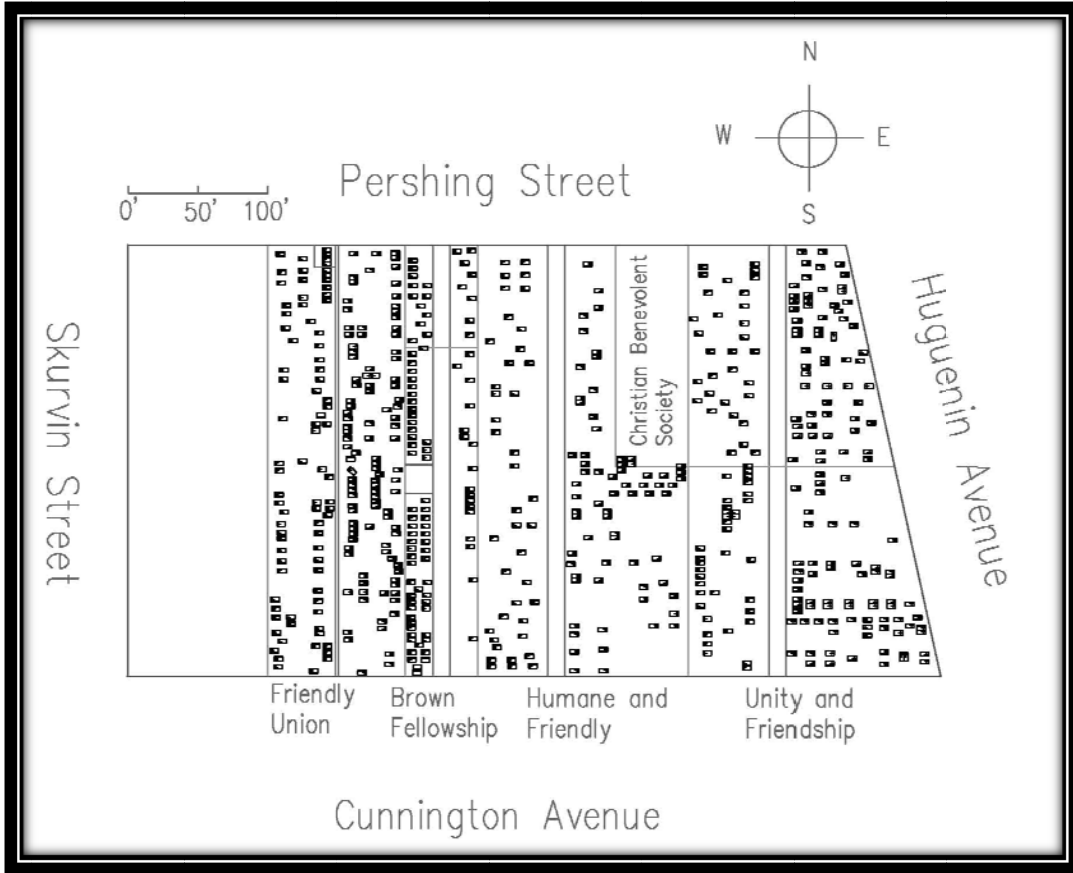


Figure 7 Map of grave placement (author)

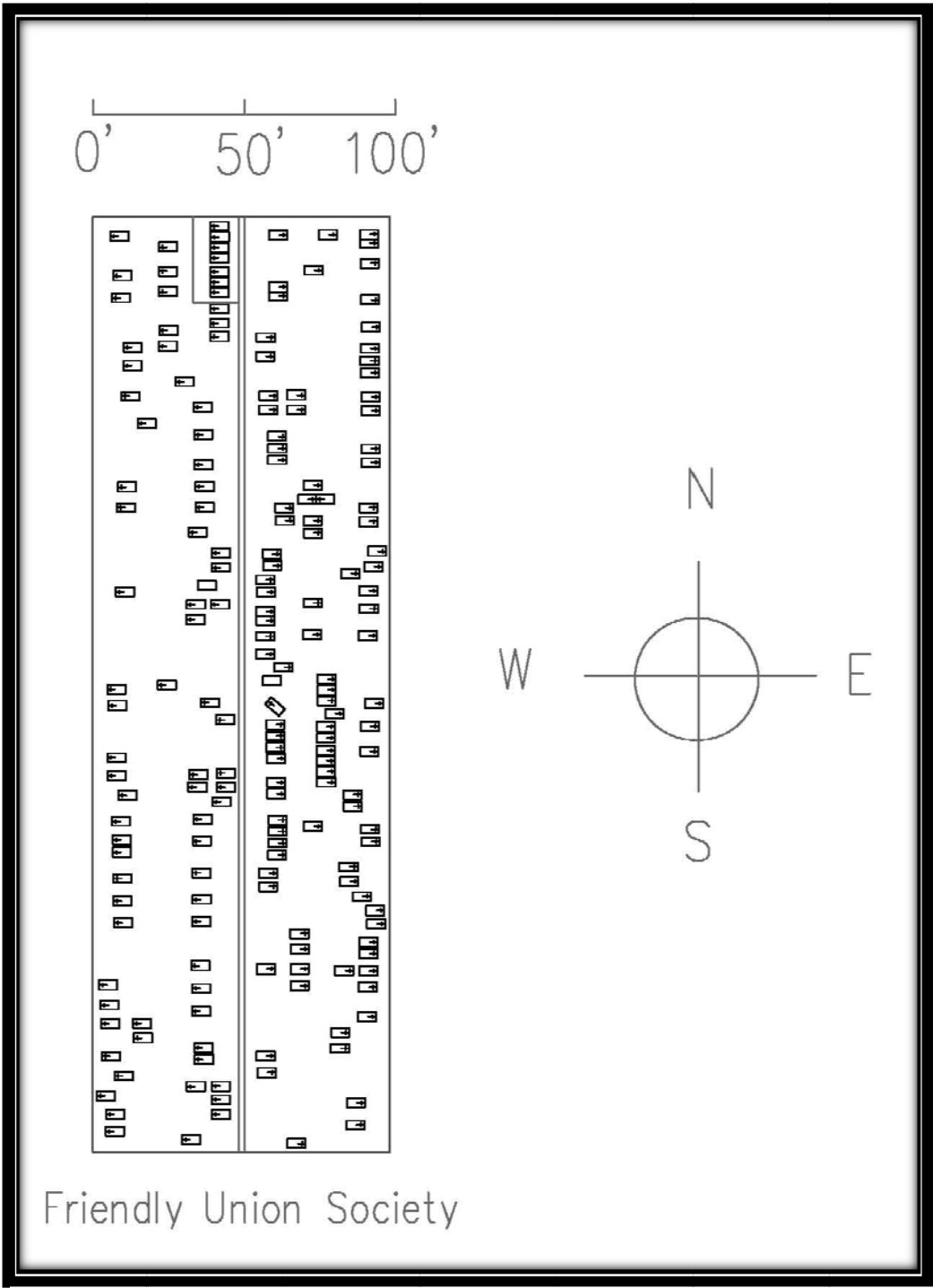


Figure 8 Map of Friendly Union graves (author)

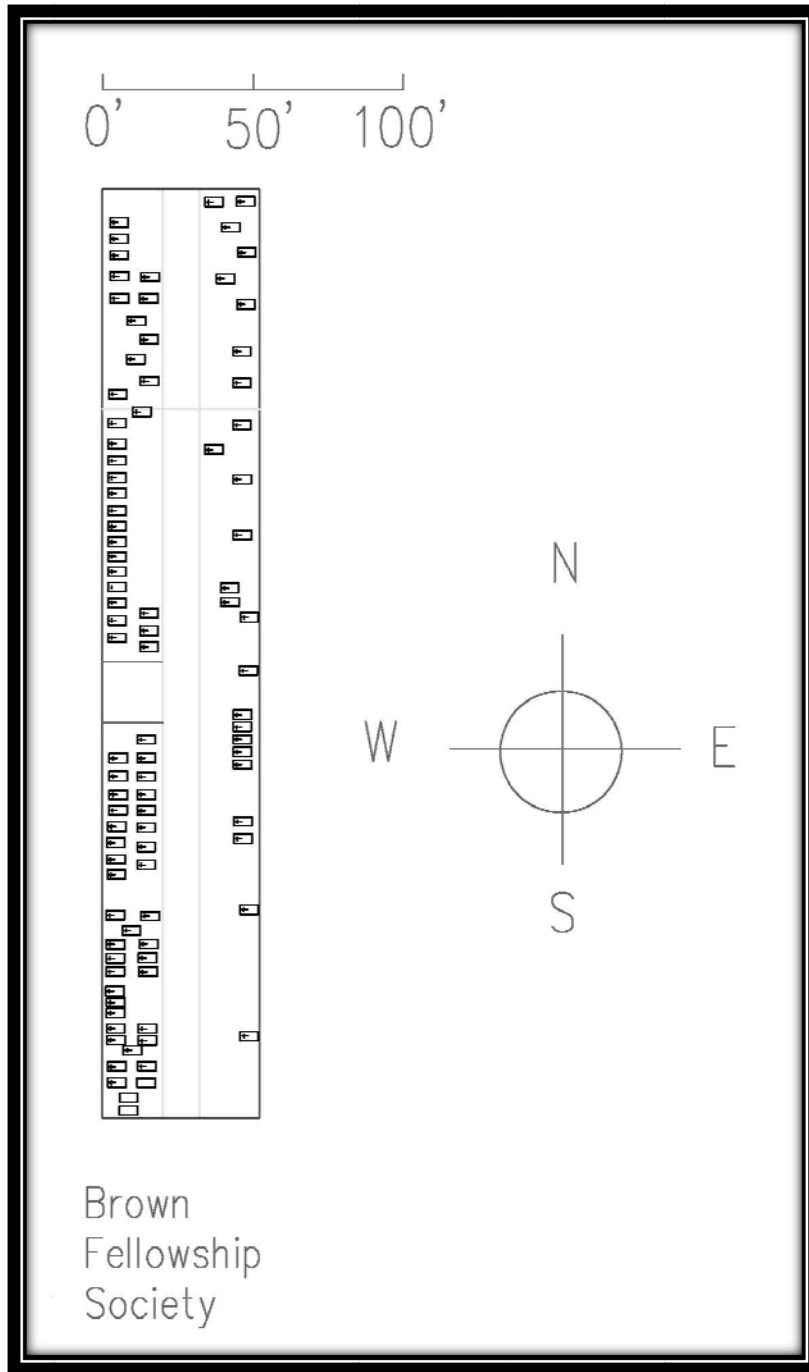


Figure 9 Map of Brown Fellowship graves (author)

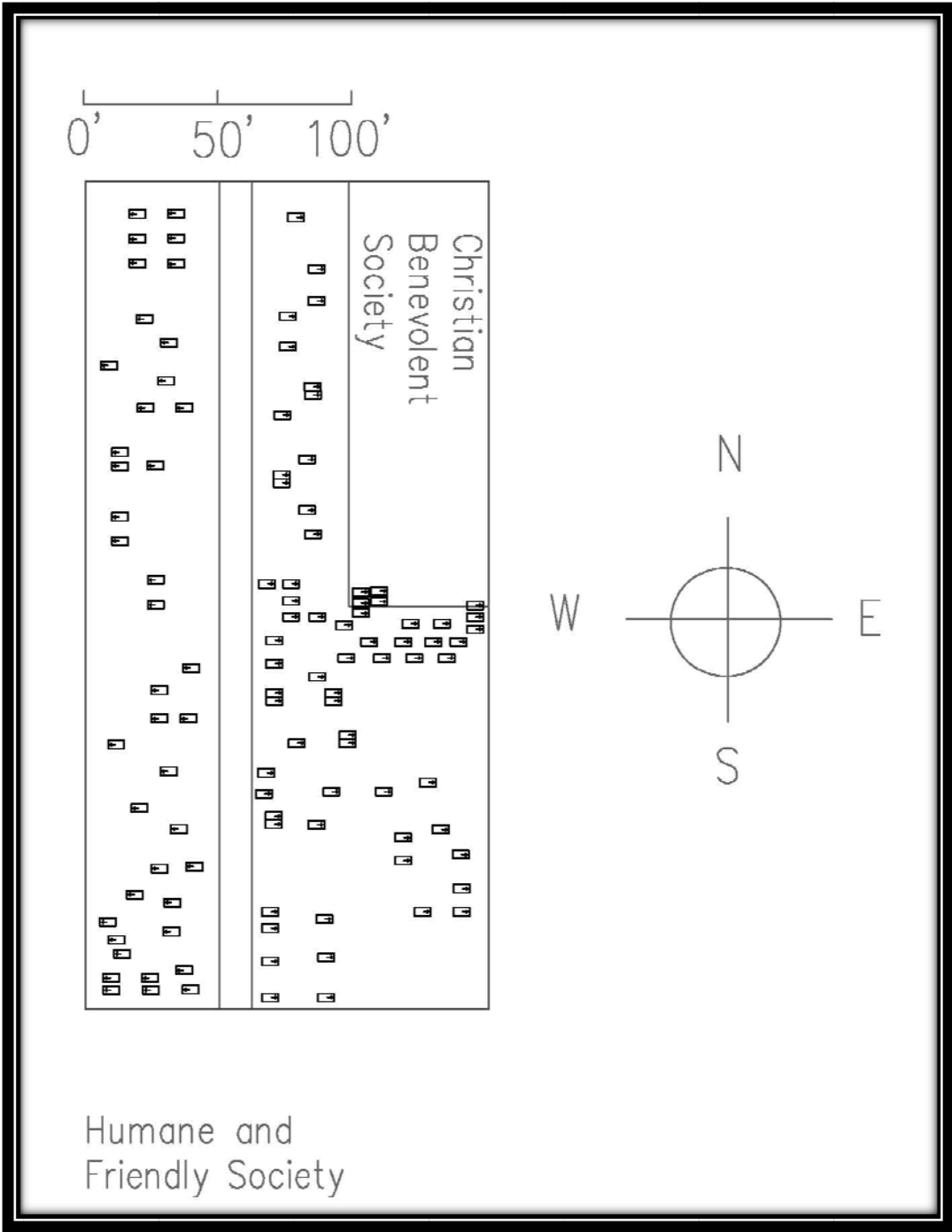


Figure 10 Map of Humane and Friendly graves (author)

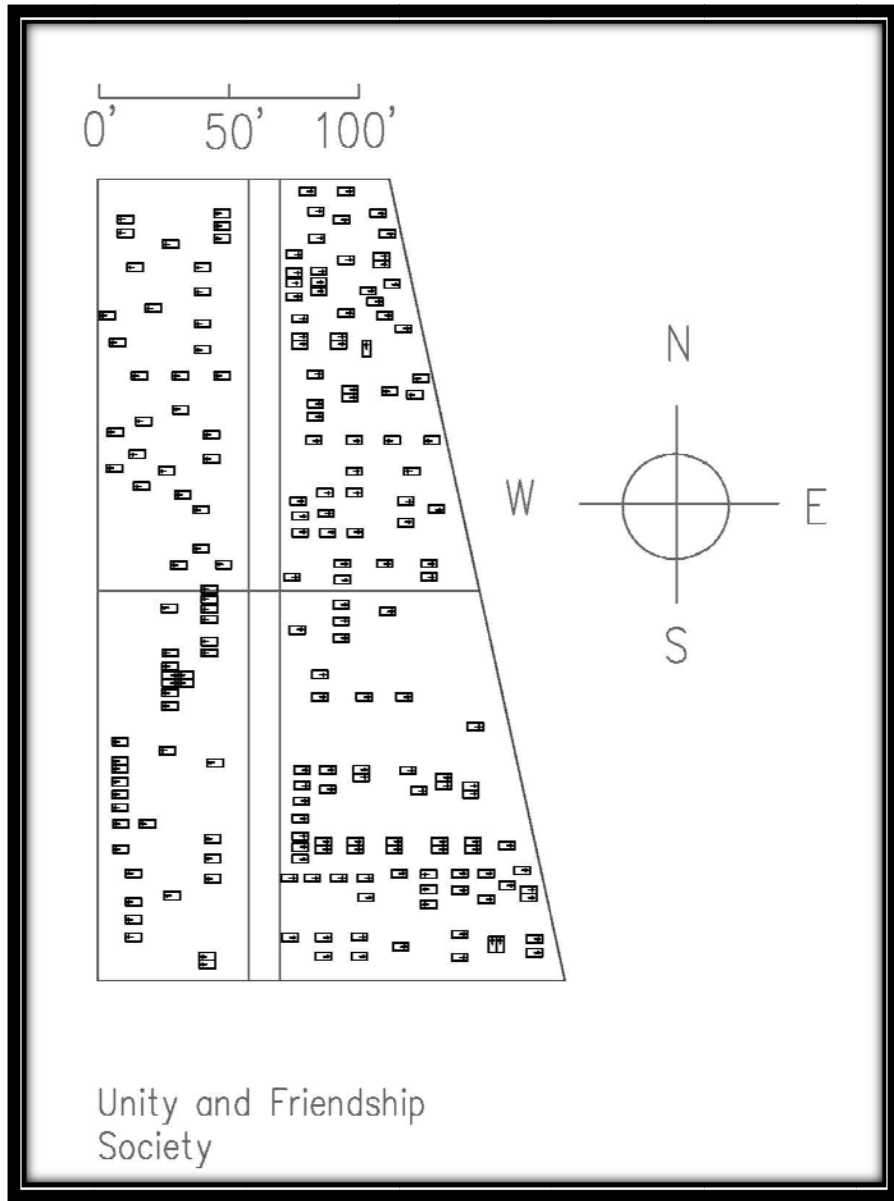


Figure 11 Map of Unity and Friendship's graves (author)

Current State of Preservation

The cemeteries are not in any danger of being lost and have no pressing preservation needs. The sites are afforded a certain level of protection by South Carolina state law.⁶³ These laws cover desecration or damage to human remains and vandalism of stones, fences, and plants. Abandoned or neglected cemeteries can also be cared for using city or county funds to preserve and protect the abandoned/neglect cemetery. This is very rare and the funds must be used on items such as signs, fences, and other items which would indicate that the cemetery is an active place of burial (See Appendix B).⁶⁴

The city of Charleston's treatment of the Friendly Union, Brown Fellowship, Humane and Friendly, and Unity and Friendship cemeteries is fairly sensitive. The city's planning department has produced both the Plan for the Neck (2003) and the Preservation Plan for the city of Charleston.⁶⁵ Both of these documents take into consideration the cemeteries of the four benevolent societies being studied, as well as the cemeteries of other churches and organizations which are located on and within surrounding blocks of these cemeteries, and seek to provide sensitive treatment to these sites.

⁶³ If cemeteries have been deemed abandoned, the burials can be moved to another location. According to Section 27-43-40 of the South Carolina Code of Laws, evidence of abandonment, a cemetery is abandoned if the land the cemetery is situated on is conveyed to another owner without mention that the cemetery is present (See appendix B). Appearance can affect the determination of abandonment though. Unfortunately the less orderly nature of traditional African American cemeteries can cause confusion as to whether they are abandoned or not. While this is not a concern for the particular cemeteries being studied here it is important to note. There is a process involved in relocating cemeteries which requires notification of family members. This can be accomplished through publishing the notice in the newspaper, selection of a suitable site, and care being taken not to damage remains or tombstones during relocation. The loss of a site has already impacted the context of the Brown Fellowship cemetery and is an important layer in the discussion of African American cemeteries.

⁶⁴ S.C. Code of Laws, Section 16-17-600; S.C. Code of Laws, Section 6-1-35 see appendix B for text of SC Cemetery Laws.

⁶⁵ City of Charleston, *Charleston Neck Plan*, (Charleston, SC:, 2003) p 28; City of Charleston, *Vision, Community, Heritage: A Preservation Plan for Charleston, SC*, (Charleston, SC:, 2007) pp156-161

The 2003 plan for the Neck, divides the Upper Peninsula in half, east and west. The West side is planned to be mostly residential, while the East side is to be more industrial which is in keeping with its historic development patterns. The East side is the portion of the neck where the cemeteries are located. The cemeteries are mentioned briefly in the text of the plan.⁶⁶ The current zoning for all the cemeteries is SR-1 which means that it is designated for single residences, although these sites are considered historic resources and are to be protected from intrusion by the development taking place on the neck. A conversation with Christopher Morgan, the director of the plan for the Neck, reiterated that there are no plans to disturb any cemeteries and that all cemeteries would be preserved.⁶⁷

The preservation plan for the city of Charleston also considers the area. That plan surveyed the neck and determined that the cemeteries were historic resources. Magnolia cemetery however was the only cemetery listed on the National Register. The cemeteries surrounding Magnolia do have protection under section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). Section 106 requires that projects that are funded, permitted or licensed by the federal government must review the impact that the project will have on properties or districts listed or eligible for the national register and make efforts to try to mitigate those effects. Projects funded by the state, local government, or private organizations do not fall under the jurisdiction of the NHPA. Finally, the preservation plan suggested that the viewsheds of the cemeteries be considered, as they mitigate the surrounding industrial activities.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ City of Charleston, *Charleston Neck Plan*, (Charleston, SC., 2003 p 36.

⁶⁷ City of Charleston, *Charleston Neck Plan*, p 36.

⁶⁸ City of Charleston, *Vision, Community, Heritage*. pp 156-161.

Legislation and planning are important tools for preservation, but it is ultimately the people who hold their government accountable. Public participation is essential to protecting cemeteries. Sites that have strong community involvement are less likely to be lost than those without this element.⁶⁹ The sites being studied lack strong community involvement and so have a disadvantage. After this generation passes, potentially, no one will be present to protest actions taken in the vicinity of the cemeteries.

A survey of the area was conducted by Brockington and Associates, a local cultural resource management firm, to determine what historic and cultural resources were present in the area and, specifically, whether the cemeteries were eligible for the National Register as the “Magnolia Umbra Cemetery District,” under Criteria A and C. Criterion A applies to properties that have ties with historic events; Criterion C relates to manmade expressions of culture.⁷⁰ Six of the cemeteries in the proposed district were created by secular African American societies, four of which are the cemeteries being studied in this thesis. Five cemeteries were created by congregations of African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Churches. Three cemeteries represented the Jewish religion. There is also one Greek Orthodox, one Catholic, one Lutheran and one German Protestant cemetery. The district, therefore, is composed of diverse cultures and religions reflecting Charleston’s population.⁷¹

⁶⁹ Michael Trinkley. *Email regarding African American Cemeteries*. Feb 22, 2010.

⁷⁰ National Park Service "HOW TO IDENTIFY THE TYPE OF SIGNIFICANCE OF A PROPERTY," Feb 8, 2010 [Available from http://www.nps.gov/history/Nr/publications/bulletins/nrb15/nrb15_6.htm].

⁷¹ *Beatty*, p 118. The State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) concurred with Brockington and Associates that the district should be eligible for the National Register, providing some protection for the district from Section 106 of NHPA

All of the above mentioned considerations do provide the cemeteries with physical protections. Under these laws and policies the cemeteries have some security from being moved, demolished or threatened by encroachment. These laws and policies cannot, however, safeguard the history, culture and community ties-all of which are dependent upon the relationship between the community and the cemeteries.

The real threat to these cemeteries is the deterioration of the supporting community and the failure to create a new constituency that sees the resources as valuable and worthy of protection. All four societies experienced a decline beginning in the mid twentieth century. This decline has continued to the present. The men responsible for the care of the cemeteries are all older and became responsible for the cemeteries as the result of missing a meeting or being “honored” with the job by their fellow members. There is some concern on the part of these men about whom they will pass the responsibility to when they die. A great many of the younger members of the community have relocated and are not active, making it extremely difficult to replace these men.

Based on all of the research on the physical sites, there is nothing particularly interesting about the layout or monuments in the cemeteries and there are no pressing preservation issues facing the cemetery, except perhaps a lack of maintenance which is a direct result of the diminishing community. The interesting aspect of these cemeteries is the community and its decline. That is what the remainder of this project will address.

CHAPTER THREE
THE SUPPORTTING COMMUNITY

Free People of Color in Charleston

The people who created the cemeteries were Free People of Color and were a separate community in Charleston. The community tried to distance itself from enslaved African Americans and emulated white society. The population was small, never achieving even ten percent of the total population of Charleston (Table 2). Beyond their minority status, their African parentage, no matter how fractional, barred them from entry into white society. Free People of Color were denizens in Charleston; they had the right to hold property but did not possess civil liberties, like testifying in court, which kept them from enjoying status as full citizens.

Table 2 Population in Charleston compiled from US Census Records⁷²

Population Year	Population Total	White	Slaves	Free Negroes	% Free
1790	16,945	8,089	8,270	586	3.5
1810	26,183	11,568	13,143	1,472	5.6
1830	32,376	12,828	17,461	2,107	6.5
1850	42,985	20,102	19,532	3,441	8.0
1860	49,409	26,969	17,655	3,785	7.8

Generally, Free People had both white and black parentage, creating identity with both cultures. The mixture of parentage was the most common factor in access to

⁷² Leila PottsCampbell. "To Promote Brotherly: Charleston's Unique Burial Societies." Avery Messenger Spring 2009 p 10

freedom.⁷³ According to Powers, “in 1860, 75 percent of the free black residents of Charleston County were mulattoes. This contrasted sharply with the county’s slave population, 8 percent of which were mulatto.”⁷⁴ Children of a master and an enslaved woman were most often manumitted as opposed to enslaved people with no Caucasian parentage.⁷⁵ The mother was often manumitted along with her children and the family was provided for by an endowment from the master. Larry Koger suggested that children of masters identified more with their white heritage than with their African heritage.

Koger writes,

In fact the process of assimilation was so complete, the children of Michael Fowler, [a master whose children had an African mother] once reaching maturity and inheriting their father’s plantation and slaves, chose to align themselves with the values of white slave owners rather than embrace the spirit of freedom and liberty espoused by abolitionists.⁷⁶

Other avenues to freedom also encouraged identification with white society.

Enslaved people were sometimes manumitted at the discretion of their masters. By 1800, this practice was restricted. With the passage of an act of the state legislature, skilled artisans were virtually the only people who were able to be manumitted. This piece of legislation made it illegal to manumit an enslaved person who was unable to provide financially for himself.⁷⁷ The only two legal avenues to freedom were to be able to support yourself after being manumitted or to buy your own freedom. In both cases the person would have had to have a trade to acquire freedom. Skilled artisans, generally,

⁷³ Larry Koger, *Black Slaveowners : Free Black slave masters in South Carolina, 1790-1860*, (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1995) pp 30-50.

⁷⁴ Bernard E. Powers Jr, *Black Charlestonians: A Social History 1822-1885*, (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1994) pg 37-38.

⁷⁵ Ibid

⁷⁶ Ibid pp 41.

⁷⁷ Koger. Pp 30-50

mingled more frequently with white society than enslaved people, providing more opportunity for creolization.⁷⁸

Free People of Color often continued in their trades, acquired property and financial status, and continued to mingle with white society. Free People of Color were employed in thirty types of trades by 1819.⁷⁹ Among the professions represented were carpenters, tailors, seamstresses, shoemakers, and one hotel owner, Jehu Jones. These career options expanded to fifty fields of work by the 1850s.⁸⁰ 1859, according to Fitchett, “353 [Free People of Color] paid property taxes and 159 were slaveholders. The property on which they paid taxes was assessed at \$724,540.”⁸¹ As property and wealth increased, their ability to emulate white culture with the expenditure of money did also.

Free People of Color also emulated white people socially. Not only did some free people hold slaves, asserting their status over their enslaved counterparts, but they protected their wealth and status through the confines of marriage. According to Wikramanayake, “Within the confines of their own society, they formed a microcosm of the larger, white society; and in the successful reflection of the latter’s norms and institutions, they challenged the assumptions on which that was society was founded.”⁸² Children of business partners or members of the same benevolent societies often

⁷⁸ Koger, pp 35.

⁷⁹ E. Horace Fitchett, "The Traditions of the Free Negro in Charleston, South Carolina" *Journal of Negro History* 25 no. 2 (1940) p 143.

⁸⁰ Ibid

⁸¹ Ibid

⁸² Marina Wikramanayake. *A World in Shadow: The Free Black in Antebellum South Carolina*. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973) p1.

intermarried. This can be seen in the names present on the markers in each cemetery as well as in the Marriage book of St Philip's Church.⁸³

Free People of Color may have emulated white society to achieve the status of white people and all of the prestige which came with that distinction, but it was also a survival strategy. Free People of Color were members of a small faction in Charleston and were still subject to the dynamics of the plantation economy and prejudice legal system. As Powers suggests,

As objects of suspicions in the slaveholding South, free blacks became painfully aware that their freedom was exercised only at the sufferance of whites. Thus many perceived the maintenance and advancement of their social positions as dependent upon how successfully they distinguished themselves from the slave population.⁸⁴

Fear of a slave uprising was very real and Caucasians were undecided as to whether Free People of Color were allies or adversaries on this subject. Beginning with the Denmark Vesey plot (1822) and culminating in the outbreak of the Civil War, free people faced restrictions on their liberty. The most severe example of this was a piece of legislation before the South Carolina State legislature at the outbreak of the Civil War, which would have re-enslaved all Free People of Color in South Carolina.⁸⁵ With their liberty in white hands, free people had a vested stake in remaining in the favor of white society. Emulating their behavior would have helped to continue this favor.⁸⁶

⁸³ Fitchett, pp 139-152.

⁸⁴ Powers pp 57.

⁸⁵ Michael P. Johnson and James L. Roark. *No Chariot Let Down: Charleston's Free People of Color on the Eve of the Civil War*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984) p7

⁸⁶ Robert L. Harris Jr., "Early Black Benevolent Societies, 1780-1830," *The Massachusetts Review* 20, no. 3 (1979) pp 617-618.

Benevolence and Four Societies

The organization of benevolent societies was another way for Free People of Color to emulate their white counterparts. Benevolent societies were organizations that provided services to their members, such as burial insurance and stipends for widows and orphans upon the passing of their husbands and fathers. Benevolent societies were the only institutions to provide this type of insurance; without these organizations, people would have had much less security. These types of organizations have been established by a variety of ethnicities and orders quite early in history. These societies created a hierarchy, provided social status, and an opportunity to mingle with members of a particular community, just as white benevolent societies did. Brown Fellowship was the first to be established and also the most elite. It was created for men with white parentage. The society favored people with lighter skin tones, but was also discriminatory in terms of wealth.⁸⁷

After the formation of Brown Fellowship Society, other benevolent societies were created by Free People of Color. Humane and Friendly was established in 1807, Friendly Union was created in 1813, and Unity and Friendship was organized in 1844.⁸⁸ The societies all followed the same general progression through time. All created constitutions. The constitutions set up offices to manage the society, created a quorum of five members, and in the case of Brown Fellowship and Humane and Friendly, set a

⁸⁷ Harris. "Early Black Benevolent Societies," pp 603-625.

⁸⁸ Brown Fellowship Society. *Rules and Regulations of the Brown Fellowship Society Established at Charleston SC 1st Nov 1790*; Friendly Union Society. *Constitution and Bylaws of Friendly Union Society*; Humane and Friendly Society. *Rules and Regulations*; Unity and Friendship. *Constitution and Bylaws of Unity and Friendship Society*.

limitation of fifty members.⁸⁹ Women were not admitted to any of these societies. Each constitution also regulated the conduct of their members, requiring that each member behave in a decent and respectful manner and that each member have good moral character.⁹⁰ The organizations were making a conscious effort to gain the respect of white people.

All four were created for the purposes of charity and benevolence. Each society provided services which safeguarded, primarily, the financial well being of their members.⁹¹ Burial insurance was the most important service provided by each of these societies, indicating that a decent and proper burial was an important priority to Free People of Color (Table 3). Each society purchased land and provided members with burial plots.⁹² Brown Fellowship Society also provided a credit union and education to orphans. By banding together to safeguard each other, the community bonds were strengthened. Excluding others also probably helped to make each society's members feel more like a close knit community.

⁸⁹ Ibid

⁹⁰ Ibid

⁹¹ Ibid

⁹² Ibid

Table 3 Services of Each Benevolent Society (author)

BFS Services	Friendly Union Service	Humane and Friendly Services	Unity and Friendship Services
sick insurance	sick insurance	sick insurance	sick insurance
stipend to widows	stipend to widows	burial insurance	burial insurance
education of orphans	burial insurance		
credit unions	grave digger		
burial insurance			
grave digger			
Hearse			
pallbearers			
Horse			

As a result of its restrictions on complexion and wealth, Brown Fellowship Society was composed of people with similar occupations and lifestyles. These were people who owned property and, often times their own businesses. The society had several prominent members throughout its history. For example, Jehu Jones was a member of the society; he was also the owner of Charleston’s premier hotel, the Jones’ Hotel.⁹³ His hotel was well known by many wealthy Northern visitors. Richard Holloway and several of his sons were also members of the society. The Holloways were successful carpenters and harness makers who did quite well for themselves in the nineteenth century. Finally, there was William McKinley, the wealthiest free person of color in the entire city of Charleston, who owned a great deal of property and several slaves.⁹⁴

While Brown Fellowship was the first and most elite society, all of the societies had fairly affluent members that were leaders in the community. For example, William

⁹³ This hotel was formerly the William Burrows House built between 1772 and 1774.

⁹⁴ James B. Browning, "The Beginnings of Insurance Enterprise among Negroes," *The Journal of Negro History* 22, no. 4 (1937) pp 417-432.

Crum, a member of Friendly Union, was the port collector for Charleston, appointed by President Theodore Roosevelt against the protests of most white people in Charleston. Crum went on to be a delegate to Liberia, specifically for Liberian independence. He was an advocate for equality, however he subscribed to Booker T. Washington's favorable stance on segregation and self sufficiency through the trades rather than professional training. Washington was a prominent figure in the African American struggle for equality as well as the founder of the Tuskegee Institute. Crum and Washington worked together on the "Negro "Exhibit at the South Carolina Inter-state and West Indian Exposition held in Charleston in 1901-1902.⁹⁵ Other members of the society included a sea captain; the Weston and Pitray Families, prominent families in the free community, as well as Thomas Cox, who was a Sherriff in Darlington Country, South Carolina who died in 1893 (see Appendix A).

The reverend Mr. Daniel Jenkins was a member of the Humane and Friendly society. His inspiration to found the Jenkins Orphanage was the discovery of four African American boys on the street on an early winter morning. When Jenkins asked the children why they were on the street so early, they explained that they had no parents and nowhere to live. "The Orphanage was chartered in July of 1892 by the State of South Carolina with the mission of providing a safe, secure, loving home environment for orphans and destitute boys and girls."⁹⁶ The orphanage was original located at 20 Franklin Street but moved to a 220 acre farm on the Ashley River in 1937.

⁹⁵ Willard B. Gatewood, "William D. Crum: A Negro in Politics," *The Journal of Negro History* 53, no. 4 (1968):pp 301-320.

⁹⁶ Jenkins Institute. "Jenkins Institute Past Menu," Feb 8, 2010 [Available from [http://www.jenkinsinstitute.org/.](http://www.jenkinsinstitute.org/)]

Mr. Jenkins also had some ties with Booker T Washington. He subscribed to Washington's ideas that African Americans should be able to take care of themselves by developing marketable skills. Jenkins Orphanage taught the children skills like baking, butchering, farming, printing, housekeeping, and, most importantly, music. These skills helped to offset the cost of running the orphanage. Music was a main source of funds for the institution. The band played at the inaugural parades of both President Theodore Roosevelt (1905) and President William Taft (1909). The band also performed for the Queen of England and performed on Broadway during the run of *Porgy*.⁹⁷

Another member of the society was H. L. Farms, a Lieutenant with the 54th Massachusetts, the all African American Civil War regiment. He was a special agent for the Freedman's Bureau from 1865 to 1868, a South Carolina State Senator for Williamsburg District from 1868 to 1876, and president pro tempore of the South Carolina Senate 1870, 1872, and 1874. Also buried in the Humane and Friendly cemetery is Alonso C. McClenran, the founder of the Charleston Hospital and Nursing School (see Appendix A).

The Unity and Friendship Society's epitaphs are not as revealing as the ones found in the other three cemeteries; however, there are several prominent names in the cemetery. The accomplishments of all of the societies' members indicate that all of the societies had prominent members and that the membership of each society was fairly affluent. All of the societies' members would have been able to afford similar

⁹⁷ Ibid.

monuments to white people and this influenced the composition of their cemeteries (See Appendix A).

The societies continued steadily through the Civil War, after which changes began to take place. Enslaved people were now free, making them more equal to Free People of Color. African Americans also gained access to political and legal rights. After the Civil War, Unity and Friendship Society incorporated and relinquished its cemetery to that corporation.⁹⁸ With the end of Reconstruction in 1877, ended was any promise of liberty. With the passage of Jim Crow laws, which segregated public accommodations, former Free People of Color experienced the same restriction as former enslaved people. All were African American in the eyes of the law and so were equally segregated from white society. This is not to say that former Free People of Color's financial status was equal to freedmen.

During the 1890s, Brown Fellowship Society celebrated its one hundredth anniversary and began to loosen its restrictions on membership.⁹⁹ As such, Brown Fellowship Society made an effort to be more inclusive to freedmen. The society even changes its name to the Century Society in order to reflect the change in acceptance and to reflect its hundred years as a society.¹⁰⁰

By the mid-twentieth century, most societies had loosened their membership requirements. Brown Fellowship and Humane and Friendly, the two most restrictive societies, allowed women to take part in their societies. Humane and Friendly actually

⁹⁸ Unity and Friendship. *Constitution and Bylaws of Unity and Friendship Society*.

⁹⁹ "Dedication Pamphlet for Memorial of the Pitt Street Cemetery" February 7, 2008 [accessible in the College of Charleston Special Collections File MSSH 109 African American Cemeteries 1999-2001].

¹⁰⁰ Ibid

amended its constitution in 1966, primarily to update the society's maintenance plan for its cemetery, which was lacking in the initial constitution.¹⁰¹

The loosening of restrictions may have been a result of the decline each society. By the mid-twentieth century, all four societies had lost members as a result of death or relocation.¹⁰² The society was not replenished by new members either, most likely because the needs serviced by benevolent societies had been replaced by life insurance and funeral homes. Brown Fellowship was the first to experience this decline. In 1911, J. H. Holloway, president of the Brown Fellowship Society, sent a letter to all members of the society which outlined the current state of the organization.¹⁰³ Holloway explained that the society had been spending its funds on maintaining the cemetery. He gave two reasons for the dwindling funds; no assessment fees were being collected for the maintenance of the cemetery and membership was dwindling as a result of death or relocation. Without active membership, Brown Fellowship Society was not collecting sufficient annual membership dues. It must be noted, however, that in 1856 Brown Fellowship Society did disperse the \$6,000 that it had in its treasury to its members because the society considered this amount to be a surplus of funds. This dispersal of

¹⁰¹ Humane and Friendly. *Recent Bylaws 1966* [accessible at the Avery Research Center].

¹⁰² Anthony O'Neille. *Conversation about Brown Fellowship Cemetery*. Telephone interview conducted by the author on 10/7/2009; Phillip LaRoche. *Conversation about the Friendly Union Cemetery*. Telephone interview conducted by the author on 10/7/2009; John Dash. *Conversation about the Humane and Friendly Cemetery*. Telephone interview conducted by the author on 10/8/2009; Walter Smalls Jr. *Conversation about Unity and Friendship Cemetery*. Telephone interview conducted by author on 10/8/2009

¹⁰³ J. H. Holloway, *Letter to Members on the State of the Society*, (1911) [accessible at both the Addlestone Library Special Collections and Avery Research Center both through the College of Charleston].

funds might have lead to the beginning of its decline much earlier than the other societies.¹⁰⁴

The three other societies began to experience the same decline by the mid twentieth century. Today, all four societies still function, but in a limited capacity. There are only a handful of active members in each society. The vast majority of the original membership has either died or relocated to places across the country. Those members still living in the Charleston area are elderly. The next generation, which would have replace those that have died, have not become members of the benevolent societies. This may be because they have options such as life insurance and funeral homes to fulfill their interment needs.

Cemeteries in Decline

The decline of the societies was depicted in the cemeteries. A study of The United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) aerial photographs of the four cemeteries show a decline in maintenance of the cemeteries which correlates with the decline of the societies. Each society experienced a decline in membership activity by the mid-twentieth century, as the result of obsolescence of the services they provided. This decline in membership activity had a negative impact on the maintenance of the cemeteries. Since roughly the 1960s, a decline took place in maintenance and upkeep of Friendly Union's, Humane and Friendly's, and Unity and Friendship's graveyards. The only activity in Brown Fellowship' cemetery was depicted in the 1957 aerial, when trees were cleared from the northern third of the site. Tree were present on the remainder of

¹⁰⁴ "Century Fellowship Society Oldest Colored Organization" *SundayCharleston News and Courier* (1953) [found in the Holloway Scrapbook at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

the tract until 1989; after 1989 there the land was clear (see Fig 15-18). A majority of the burials in Brown Fellowship cemetery on Cunningham Avenue took place in the 1990s. The second most active decade for burials in this cemetery was the 2000s and third was the 1980s. The aerial do not show much activity in this cemetery. The society was experience the same decline as the other three, so there cemetery on Pitt Streets was probably experiencing the same decline (see Table 1).

The walkways of the three cemeteries became less and less defined as time went on as well as the copings outlining individual plots. The cemeteries retained visible layouts into the 1960s. Most notably, Humane and Friendly lost its intricate layout in these years (see Fig 9). The roundabout can be seen in both the 1954 and 1957 USDA aerials of the cemetery. A faint outline of this same pattern can be seen in the 1963 aerials; however the pattern had lost much of its definition. By 1979, the pattern was completely gone. Today, the cemetery has a central walk emulating all of the other cemeteries located on this block (see Fig 15-18).

In the 1960s Humane and Friendly tried to create a community effort to regain order in its cemetery. At the November 1965 meeting of the society, the issue of maintaining the cemetery was addressed. The society's solution to the disrepair of the cemetery was to try to get members to undertake some maintenance. By gathering the community together to clean the cemetery, the society could offset the cost of labor while also increasing community ties and interest. This was one of the last strong activities taken

by the community.¹⁰⁵ After this, there was no record of community initiatives by the society.

Unity and Friendship's cemetery experienced the same decline as the other sites, but at a slightly later time than the other two cemeteries. All of the aerials show the entire block, containing Friendly Union, Brown Fellowship, Humane and Friendly, and Unity and Friendship cemeteries. When all of these cemeteries are compared at once, Unity and Friendship retained the most definition in 1954. The 1957 aerial documented a slight loss of definition in the Unity and Friendship cemetery but not to the same degree as the rest of the cemeteries on this block. This pattern continued until 1979 when the society's cemetery and membership activities both were diminished. At this time Unity and Friendship's cemetery appeared to possess the same level of maintenance as Friendly Union's and Humane and Friendly's cemeteries. By 1979, all of the societies were experiencing difficulty maintaining their cemeteries. (See Table 7)

The number of burials taking place in the cemeteries reflects the activity of the societies. All of the societies began to experience a decline in the number of burials taking place in their cemeteries by the second half of the twentieth century, except Brown Fellowship Society. Unity and Friendship, however, experienced a spike in burials in the 1960s, which sets it slightly apart from Friendly Union and Humane and Friendly which began to decline by the 1960s. This spike follows the affiliation of the society with St Mark's Episcopal Church (See Table 1).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Humane and Friendly Society, *Meeting Minutes November 23, 1965* [accessible at the Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

¹⁰⁶ Unity and Friendship. *Plat book* [accessible at Avery Research Center, College of Charleston].

Today, the cemeteries are still reflective of the dwindling population of the societies that created them. The cemeteries tell the story of the benevolent societies and the community that created them from the 1860s to today. The physical site is the manifestation of a larger story which is at risk of being lost.



Figure 12 North half of Friendly Union plat courtesy of Avery Research Center

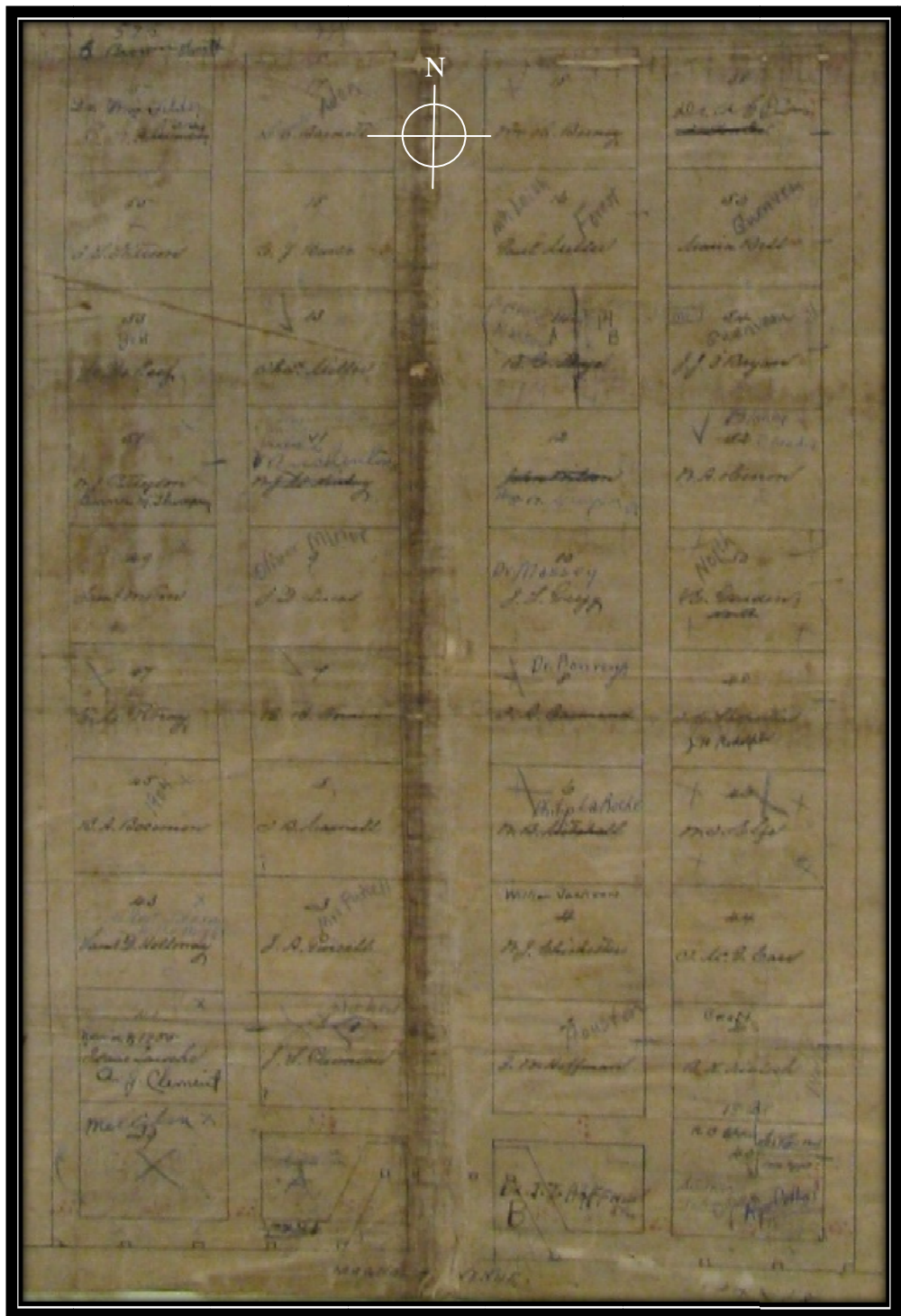


Figure 13 South half of the Friendly Union Plat courtesy of Avery Research Center

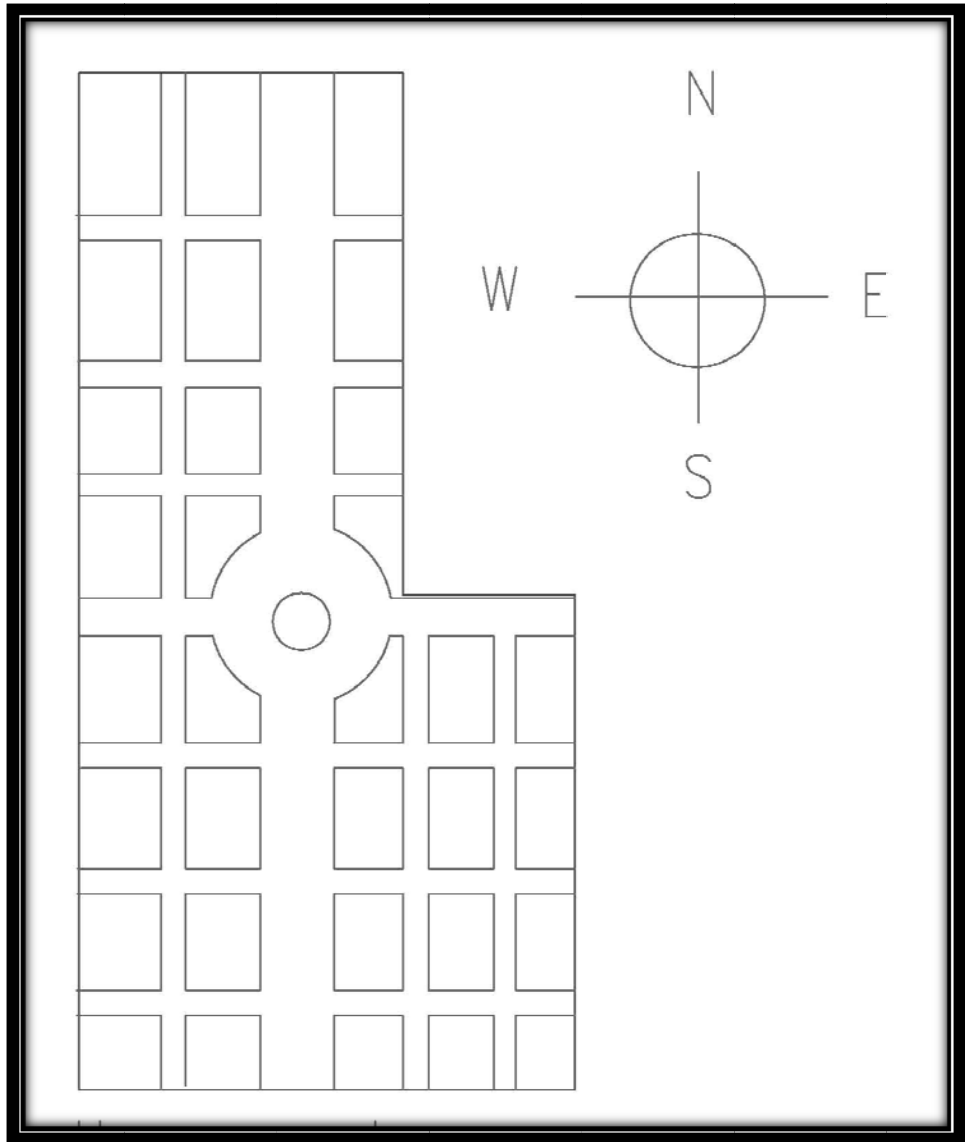


Figure 14 Original Layout of Humane and Friendly cemetery (author)

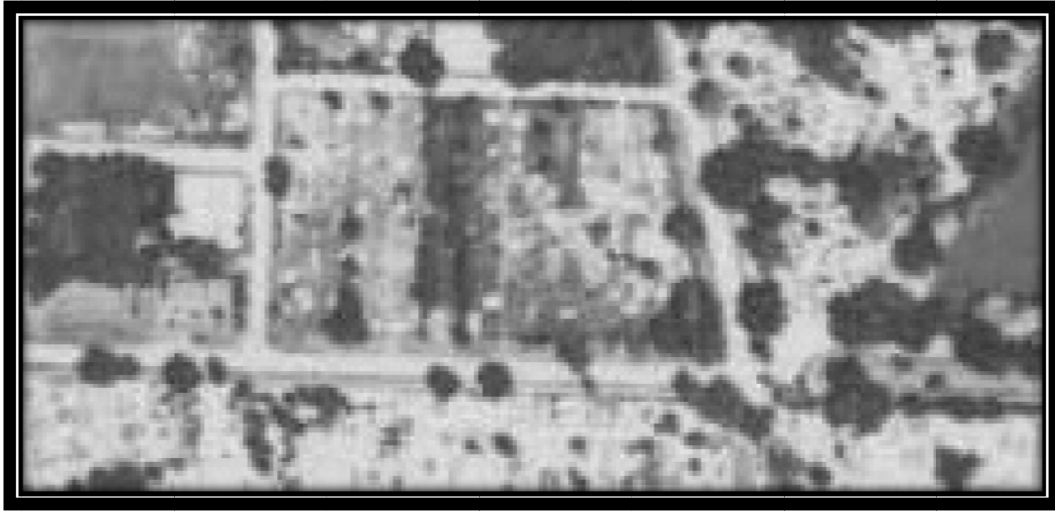


Figure 15 1954 USDA Aerial Photo of the Four Cemeteries-courtesy of University of South Carolina (USC) Map Library



Figure 16 1957 USDA Aerial Photo of the four cemeteries- courtesy of USC Map Library

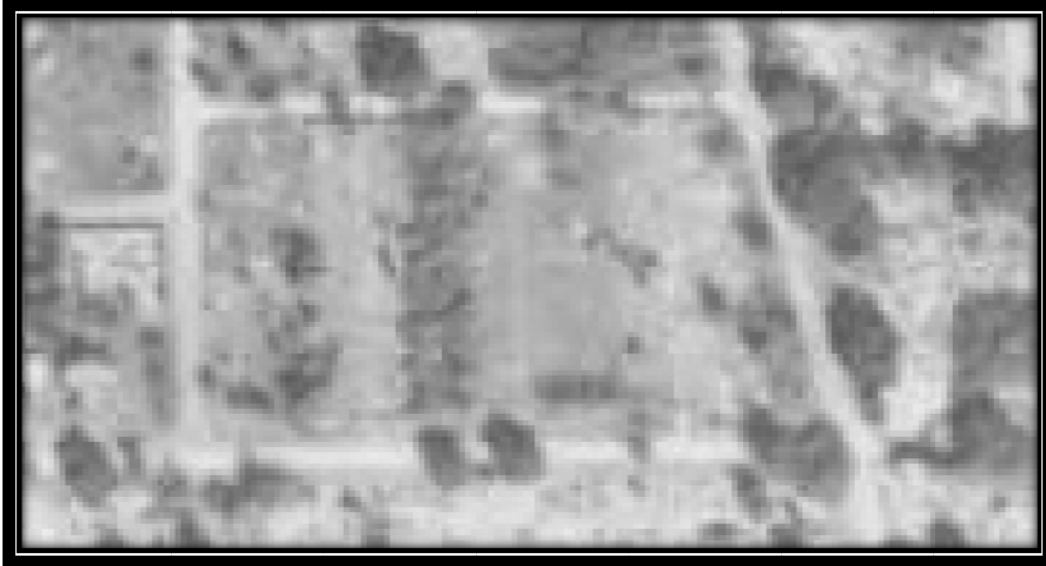


Figure 17 1963 USDA Aerial Photo of the four cemeteries-courtesy of USC Map Library

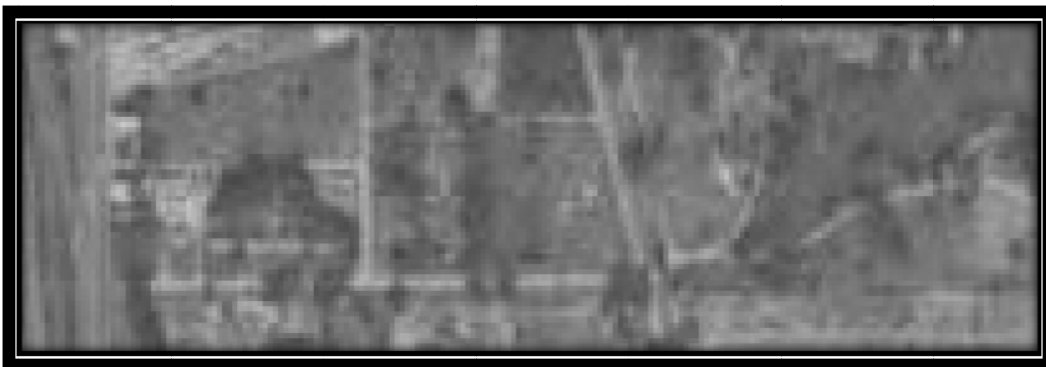


Figure 18 1979 USDA Aerial Photo of the four cemeteries-courtesy of USC Map Library



Figure 19 1989 USDA Aerial of the four Cemeteries courtesy of USC Map Library

Efforts to Address Decline

In the first half of 2008, John Dash, president of the Humane and Friendly Society, contacted the city of Charleston to try to come up with a solution to the maintenance difficulties facing the cemetery. His concern was for the future of his cemetery because there was no one available to take on the responsibility of the cemetery once he passed away and that the funds to maintain the cemetery were insufficient. The city was not able to aid John Dash but suggested that the Coastal Community Foundation (CCF), which is an organization that connects donors with charitable organizations, contact John Dash to discuss possible solutions.¹⁰⁷

CCF contacted John Dash to discuss options at which time Dash mentioned that there were other African American cemeteries in a similar situation. In April of 2008, four representatives of the six secular African American cemeteries located on Cunnington Avenue met with Courtenay Fain and Richard Hendry to discuss possible options.¹⁰⁸ Brown Fellowship Society, Humane and Friendly Society, Friendly Union Society, and Brotherly Association were represented at this meeting. CCF explained that it could set up an endowed fund for the cemeteries with the funds coming from interested donors, but to receive the money the receiving organization would have to be a 501(c) (13), which is a public charity. The possible options for the cemeteries were to continue with maintenance as it is being handled currently, all of the cemeteries could organize into a 501(c) (13) for

¹⁰⁷ Courtenay Fain, *Conversation about the Coastal Community Foundation involvement with the Cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue* (November, 11, 2009).

¹⁰⁸ Courtenay Fain, *4-24-08 Cemetery Meeting Notes*, [emailed from CCF to author in October 2009].

the perpetual care of all of the cemeteries in the area, or an outside 501(c) (13) could be contacted to receive and administer the funds.¹⁰⁹

After this meeting, Walter Smalls Jr. was contacted to see if Unity and Friendship was interested in taking part in the discussion.¹¹⁰ The Avery Research Center, which is devoted to African American History and Culture, was also contacted about acting as the 501(c) (13) entity to receive the endowment. Smalls attended the next meeting with CCF along with representatives from Brotherly Association, Humane and Friendly, and Friendly Union. At this September 9, 2008 meeting, CCF and the societies discussed their options and the progress that had been made up to this point. CCF shared the results of their conversations with the Avery Research Center. Avery's board discussed the possibility at their meeting on September 8, 2008 and decided that becoming an administrator of the perpetual care of these cemeteries was not compatible with their mission.¹¹¹

With Avery no longer an option, the remainder of the meeting was devoted to discussing alternative actions. Organizing all of the cemeteries into one charity was still being considered, but would require legal assistance and funds.¹¹² Magnolia Cemetery Trust was also still being considered and required no additional legal assistance or funds.¹¹³ Continuing as the cemeteries are currently being maintained was still an option as well. A new option presented at this meeting was to find a funeral home with longevity to take responsibility for the perpetual care of the cemeteries. This option, however, would

¹⁰⁹ Ibid

¹¹⁰ Courtenay Fain, *09-09-08 Cemetery Meeting Notes*, [emailed from CCF to author in October 2009].

¹¹¹ Ibid

¹¹² Ibid

¹¹³ Ibid

provide no tax benefits to donors because the organization would not be a charity and so there would be no incentive for people to donate.¹¹⁴

At the close of this meeting, Walter Smalls agreed to contact Magnolia Cemetery Trust to determine the cost of Magnolia maintaining the cemetery. Once the cost of this maintenance was clear, John Dash planned to contact Joseph Riley, mayor of Charleston, about the possibility of the city funding the option.¹¹⁵ It is unlikely with the economic downturn the entire United States has been facing, that the city would take on funding the cemeteries.. Taking on this financial responsibility might potentially create a flood of requests for funding from private cemeteries. CCF offered to be of continued assistance to the cemeteries in any capacity that the organization could serve. As of this writing, no options have been agreed upon and the cemeteries are still in an uncertain position.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁴ Ibid

¹¹⁵ Fain, *4-24-08 Cemetery Meeting Notes*.

¹¹⁶ Ibid

CHAPTER FIVE PRESERVING INTANGIBLE CULTURE

Based on the previous discussion, the societies are declining because its no longer has a purpose to fulfill and there are no current initiatives to address the decline. The societies have contributed to the history and culture of Charleston, though, and there needs to be some effort to address how to retain this history even if the organizations are lost. This begins with acknowledging that preserving the intangible is difficult. How do preservationists help to protect the intangible characteristics? How can you preserve culture, community and history, aspects that cannot be controlled by material cultural preservation only?

Patricia Parker and Thomas King tried to address this issue when they wrote Bulletin 38 addressing Traditional Cultural Properties (TCP). The bulletin defined TCPs as “a property that derives its significance from its association with cultural practices or beliefs of a living community and is important in maintaining the continued cultural identity of the community.”¹¹⁷ The main point of the bulletin was to open the National Register of Historic Places to new types of properties. These properties could be spiritual sites, ethnic neighborhoods, or a variety of other types of properties. The bulletin also emphasizes the point that a TCP may not have distinguishing attributes that set it visually apart from other places, a spiritual site might look like any other place and an ethnic neighborhood might look like any other section of a city. It is the value that people place

¹¹⁷ Thomas King and Patricia L Parker "Guidelines for Evaluating and Documenting Traditional Cultural Properties," Feb 8 2010. [Available from <http://www.nps.gov/nr/publications/bulletins/nrb38/>].

on it and the connection it has to beliefs or community that make the site unique and significant.

King's original stance on TCPs changed over time which was reflected in his book, *Places That Count*. In this book King suggests that the National Register may not be as appropriate for TCPs as Bulletin 38 suggested. King suggests instead that "uncoupling" the National Register requirements from protection under Section 106 would serve TCPs better because it would allow decisions on treatment to be made by the community as opposed to an outside entity, such as someone working for the National Park Service.¹¹⁸

While opening preservation to other types of properties will expand the view of preservation, the Section 106 process still is geared solely toward the tangible. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) has tried to address the issue of intangible heritage. UNESCO created a council to preserve intangible culture. It defines intangible culture as "oral traditions and expressions, including language as a vehicle of the intangible cultural heritage; performing arts; social practices, rituals and festive events; knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe; and traditional craftsmanship."¹¹⁹ This was a charter of sorts which outlined rules and regulations as well as set up a list of intangible heritage sites much like the National Register or World Heritage List. All of these tools will raise awareness of intangible culture as a feature

¹¹⁸ Thomas King, *Places that Count: Traditional Cultural Properties in Cultural Resource Management*, (Rowman Altamira, 2003) pp 157-183.

¹¹⁹ UNESCO "Convention for the Safeguarding Intangible Cultural Heritage," March 3, 2009 [Available from <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00022>].

equally important to tangible heritage; however, they do not alone solve the problem of preserving the tie of the site to the people who created it.¹²⁰

In the case of the cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue, listing them would alert the community to their uncertain position, but it would do little to solve the problems that the cemeteries face. A recent newspaper article raised the same awareness about the state of the cemeteries and possibly was more effective than listing the cemeteries because it reached the local community more directly than a state or national list.¹²¹ A different approach is needed to reestablish the importance of the sites with new generations of African Americans. While the consideration of intangible heritage is a beginning, rules, regulations and lists do little more than Section 106 or the state laws outlined above. An additional approach is needed to supplement the protection of the tangible space.¹²²

Preservation plans have begun to be developed for intangible heritage as UNESCO's list has begun to document endangered intangible heritage. Documentation is a main part of these preservation plans, but the materials collected must be presented to the community in a way which continues the relationship of the practices to the people. Some of the strategies suggested to continue the bond are to record stories from the community and present them in the traditional way, whether that be in a particular place or a particular time. The goal seems to be to keep it as close to the original practice as possible. This might be at a community meeting or a particular location. Community involvement in the process of creating the presentation is essential.

¹²⁰ Ibid

¹²¹ Adam Parker. "Grave Concerns: Old burial societies look to continue tradition" *The Post and Courier* February 7, 2010

¹²² Chandra Reedy. "Recent Trends in Preservation of Intangible Cultural Heritage," May 20 2008 [Available from <http://www.loc.gov/preserv/tops/reedy/reedy-trans.html>.].

Documenting the history, genealogy, and memories of the community may be useful in encouraging interest in the four cemeteries on Cunnington Avenue but without a plan for disseminating this information, the collection of this information would not have a great impact in strengthening bonds with the cemeteries. The Avery is the sensible repository of the information and the position that this institution holds in the African American community would make it the most direct way of having the information accessible. The proposed International African American Museum (IAAM) might be another resource to consider. The IAAM's goal is to "to embody the histories, cultures and experiences of Africans in the Americas, with a specific focus on Charleston and South Carolina," which is in keeping with the conclusions drawn about the sites and societies studied here.¹²³

¹²³ City of Charleston. "International African American Museum." Feb 8 2010. <http://www.charlestoncity.info/dept/content.aspx?nid=194&cid=810>

CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION

Brown Fellowship, Friendly Union, Humane and Friendly, and Unity and Friendship cemeteries all derive their significance from their history and association with African Americans, first as Free People of Color, and later as leaders during Reconstruction and the Jim Crow Era. The physical layout of each cemetery does not set it apart from other cemeteries in the area which were created by a variety of religions and ethnicities. The stories and the bond the African American community feels with the cemeteries are what make them special. There are incredible people buried in these cemeteries with rich histories.

A simple walk through the cemeteries revealed two stories not only about Free People of Color but about the city of Charleston. The lives of William Crum and The Reverend Daniel Jenkins are particularly compelling. Understanding not only the people buried in these cemeteries, but the position of the people who created the societies and their reasons for creating the organizations provide another very interesting layer to the physical sites. With the decline of the societies, this layer is in real danger of being lost.

Documenting the history, genealogy, stories, memories, and other pertinent culture should be the next phase of research on these cemeteries. This may be the last opportunity to gather oral history from the living members of the community. With the dwindling activity and aging population, documentation is a pressing issue. All four men in charge of the four cemeteries are fairly accessible and may be able to provide contacts for the remaining members of the societies. Perhaps The Avery Institute could be of some

assistance in this effort. Intermarrying of prominent families was widely practiced in this community. Genealogy and oral history should be a priority in documentation.

Another avenue of further action would be to find a successful way to use the knowledge gained from documentation to help finance its preservation. The Avery again might be a useful resource in this venture because it holds such a respected position in the African American community in Charleston. Studying preservation plans for other types of intangible culture may be helpful. UNESCO's approach to intangible heritage is fairly recent and may take a few more years to refine, but following these developments would be quite helpful. The development of the Gullah-Geechee Corridor by the National Park Service is another attempt to recognize the contributions of culture on a particular place and may be another project to study.

Intangible culture and heritage is an aspect of preservation that is easily overlooked. Saving physical places is an important and significant part of preservation, but it is just that. It is a part of preservation. Even though there are no quick or legislative answers to this type of preservation it provides something invaluable to a place. It provides a tangible lifeless object or place with a touch of humanity and a story to enhance future generations and cultural lives.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
DATA COLLECTION

Table 4 Friendly Union Percentage Form created by author

material	%	type	%	east west orientation %	military %	Artificial Flower %	Plant %
granite	46	tablet	32	41	2	4	6
marble	36	die in socket	10				
concrete	10	obelisk	2				
wood	0	reliquary	2				
metal	8	boxtomb	0.4				
		vault top	3				
		lawn	3				
		ground	18				
		other	0				
Year	%	% marble	% tablet	Christian Symbolism %			
1850	0	n/a	n/a	18			
1860	0.9	n/a	n/a				
1870	1	100	100				
1880	6	100	71				
1890	4	83	50				
1900	6	75	66				
1910	12	80	53				
1920	6	80	60				
1930	7	45	36				
1940	7	33	25				
1950	7	55	11				
1960	3	10	0				
1970	9	5	0				
1980	7	8	8				
1990	8	27	0				
2000	8	0	0				

Table 5 Brown Fellowship Percentage Form created by author

Material	%	type	%	east west orientation %	military %	Artificial Flower %	Plant %
granite	31	tablet	13	96	8	6	5
marble	17	die in socket	13				
concrete	15	obelisk	4				
wood	2	reliquary	0				
metal	28	boxtomb	0				
		vault top	15				
		lawn	8				
		ground	7				
		funeral plate	28				
		other					
Year	%	% Marble	% Tablet	Christian Symbolism %			
1850	0	n/a	n/a	19			
1860	1	100	0				
1870	4	100	0				
1880	2	100	0				
1890	5	100	100				
1900	2	100	100				
1910	0	n/a	n/a				
1920	2	100	100				
1930	3	66	66				
1940	2	66	66				
1950	2	50	50				
1960	0	n/a	n/a				
1970	0	n/a	n/a				
1980	9	11	11				
1990	30	7	3				
2000	19	0	5				

Table 6 Humane and Friendly Percentage Form created by author

Material	%	type	%	east west orientation %	military %	Artificial Flower %	Plant %
granite	36	tablet	44.4	67	6	3	2
marble	53	die in socket	23.4				
concrete	7	obelisk	4				
wood	0	reliquary	4				
metal	2	boxtomb	2				
		vault top	7				
		lawn	7				
		ground	8				
		funeral plate	1.2				
		other	3				
decade	%	% Marble	% tablet	Christian Symbolism %			
1860	0.7	100	100	19			
1870	3	100	100				
1880	8	100	70				
1890	8	60	22				
1900	3	67	33				
1910	6	83	44				
1920	9	73	55				
1930	9	44	56				
1940	9	63	38				
1950	11	50	33				
1960	10	40	10				
1970	9	33	11				
1980	6	13	38				
1990	6	0	20				
2000	4	0	0				

Table 7 Unity and Friendship Percentage form created by author

Material	%	type	%	east west orientation %	military %	Artificial Flower %	Plant %
granite	49	tablet	29	52	2	2	0
marble	37	die in socket	13				
concrete	11	obelisk	1				
wood	0	reliquary	3				
metal	2	boxtomb	1				
		vault top	8				
		lawn	14				
		ground	14				
		funeral plate	3				
		other	4				
decade	%	% Marble	% tablet	Christian Symbolism %			
1850	0.4	100	100	20			
1860	1	100	100				
1870	2	100	100				
1880	6	100	50				
1890	7	75	50				
1900	4	43	29				
1910	6	50	50				
1920	5	60	40				
1930	8	33	8				
1940	10	43	22				
1950	8	33	22				
1960	11	19	0				
1970	10	33	13				
1980	6	0	0				
1990	9	19	0				
2000	5	11	22				

Table 8 Friendly Union Data Collection created by author

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Elizabeth Thorne	1855								
Sarah Virginia	1865								
Eugenia Higgins	1867								
Marie	1870	marble	tablet					yes	
Samuel Hawes Purcell	1876								
Sarah Robinson	1879								
William Robinson	1880								
CE Chaple	1880	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Henry A Pitray	1880								
Phillip Thorne	1883								
Emeline Kinlock	1884	marble	obelisk						
Laura Ann	1886	marble	tablet	yes					
Ima Gordon	1886	marble	tablet						
Virgina Ann Barre	1887	marble	tablet					yes	
Robert R Gordon	1888								
Timothy L Weston	1888	marble	reliquary						
Charity Skrine	1888	marble	tablet	yes					
Mary DeReef	1889	marble	cross on base	yes		yes		yes	
Charlotte Crum	1890								
Marion Howard	1891	marble	die in socket	yes				yes	

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Thomas Cox	1893	marble	reliquary					yes	sheriff of Darlington Country
Julia A Gordon	1893								
Miles Thompson	1893	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Captain John Peterson	1894	granite marble	obelisk						
Mary Whitney	1895	marble	tablet	yes					
Edward Bell	1896								
Harold Peterson	1899								
Corrine Purvis	1899								
Illegible Chaplin	1899	marble	tablet						
William Craft	1900	marble	tablet	yes					
Emily Thompson	1900								
Loise Ellison	1902	marble	bedstead monument	yes				yes	
Samuel Sander	1903	marble	die in socket	yes					
Joseph Blaney	1903								
Matilda Miller	1903	marble	tablet						
Tobias Scotts	1904	granite	die in socket						
Mary Williams	1904	marble	tablet						
Adele Pitray	1906								
Robert Wilson	1906	granite	reliquary						
Mary A Elfe	1907	marble	obelisk						

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Maria Bell	1907	marble	tablet						
Henry Purvis	1907								
George Blaney	1908	marble	tablet						
Joshua Simkins	1909	granite	tablet						
William Simkins	1909	marble	tablet						
Ermine Peterson	1910								
F Tululah Wilson	1910	marble	tablet						
Josephine Blaney	1910								
Amanda B Pitray	1911	marble	obelisk						
Henrietta Peterson	1911								
Christine Scotts	1912	granite	die in socket						
Marie Purvis	1912								
Julia Maria Blaney	1912	marble	tablet						
William Crum	1912	granite	reliquary						
Jesse Crath	1913								
Calvin Alvin Smith	1914			yes		st			
Aubin Deas Craft	1914	marble	tablet						
Theodosia H Montgomery	1916								
Hester Mazyck	1916								
Thomas McGillvary Carr	1916	marble	die in socket						

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Florence Simkins	1916	marble	tablet						
Joshua Eden	1916	marble and concrete	tablet						
Wilhelmina Johnston Wright	1918	granite	ground	yes					
Norman A Montgomery	1918	marble	die in socket	yes					
Emma Bell	1918								
Leonard J Blaney	1918	marble	tablet						
Mary Weston	1919	marble	tablet	yes					
Jule A Bullay	1919	marble	tablet						
Rev Samuel Weston	1920	marble	reliquary						
Lawrence Joseph Hollings	1920			yes					
Florence M Pitray	1921								
Mary Elizabeth Hollings	1921			yes					
Izetta Wilson	1922								
Sophia McDowell	1924	marble	tablet						
Laura Jackson	1924	marble	tablet						
Jane Carr	1925								
Eugene Jackson	1925	marble	tablet						
Thomas Miller	1926	marble	die in socket			yes			

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Jason Gardner Brown	1926	granite	die in socket						
Alice Vanderhorst	1928								
Margaret W Pencile	1929								
Florence Marjory Miller	1930								
Anna D Banks	1930								
Joseph A Purcell	1932	granite	tablet	yes					
Poinwell	1932	marble	tablet			yes			
Sarah Chaplin	1932	granite	ground						
Henry T Wood	1933								
Alice Wood	1933								
Captian Walter Mazyck	1933	granite	die in socket	yes					
Isreal North	1935	marble	tablet						
Hallie Harrison	1935	marble	die in socket						
James Edward Singleton Jr	1937								
Jerimiah Vanderhorst	1938	granite	ground						
Daisy M Hoffman	1938	granite	die in socket					yes	
Emma Clement Gilkes	1939	granite	die in socket	yes					
Rosa Bowen	1939								
Charles Crafter	1939	marble	tablet						
Margaret Goodall	1939	marble	die in socket						

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Margaret H Trescot	1940	granite	die in socket						
Fred t Horsey	1940								
James Edward Singleton	1941	granite	die in socket	yes		yes			
Herbert Eugene Purcell MD	1941	granite	tablet	yes					
Emeline Kinlock	1941	marble	tablet						
Netty C Champy	1941	granite	lawn						
Charles A Harrison	1942								
William Miller Thorne MD	1942	granite	ground						
Nancy R Frasier	1943								
Margaret Simpking	1945	marble	die in socket	yes					
William Miller Thorne Jr	1945	granite	die in socket						
Thomas Single	1946	granite and metal	tablet and funeral plate						
Josephine Irvine Hoffman	1946								
Lucinda Wigg	1947								
Gardenia Thomas	1948								
Anna Thompson	1949	granite	lawn marker	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
William Herbert Wigg	1949	marble	die in socket funeral plate	yes					
George Wheeler	1949	marble	ground				yes	yes	
Diana McFall Brown	1949								
Adeline Denny	1950	marble	die on base	yes		yes			
George Hanilton	1950	granite	die in socket	yes	yes				
Agnes Nell Hanilton	1950								
Estelle Baron	1950								
Elvira L Forrest	1950	granite	lawn						
Alice Kid Whitney	1951	marble	die in socket	yes					
Alonzo Wilkins	1952	granite	tablet	yes					
Richard Champy	1952								
Hattie S Brown	1953								
Adelaide Eugenia Mushingon	1953	marble	die in socket						
Dr. Charles Hamilton	1954	marble	die in socket	yes				yes	
Sadie K Jones	1955								
Arthur J H Clement	1956	granite	die in socket	yes					
T Lucille Harrison	1956								

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Adalaide Miller	1957								
John Thompson	1959								
Frederick Sedenbury	1959	marble	ground						
David W Payton	1961	concrete	vault top	yes					
Ada Epps	1961								
Maragaret Mitchell	1963								
William H Felder MD	1963	granite	ground	yes					
Olivia M Randolph	1963	marble	box tomb			yes			
Edward Butler Borrough	1964	granite	vault top						
William Thorne III	1965	granite	ground						
William Henry Jackson Jr	1965								
Constantia Mushingon Sealan	1966								
Phillip LaRoche	1966	granite	ground						
Louise Kerrison Whitney	1967								
Eular Enrigh	1968								
Helen E Brown	1968	granite	ground						
Edward Leon Guenver	1969	granite	ground						
Augustus Purvis	1969	granite	die in socket					yes	

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Mae McCliesh	1969	marble	ground						
George A Payton	1970	concrete metal	vault top funeral plate	yes					
William Felder	1971	granite	ground	yes					
James H Randolph	1971								
Edna Champy	1971	granite	ground						
Mayme Borrough	1971	granite	lawn						
Gardner W Brwon	1972	granite	ground						
James Talmadge	1972								
Daniel William Wright	1973								
BK Kinlock	1973								
Dorothy H Collins	1973	granite	ground					yes	
Herline Eady Miller	1974	granite	vault top			yes			
Thomas Enrigh	1975	granite	die in socket	yes					
George Payton Jr	1975	concrete	vault top	yes	yes				
Claudia C Blaney	1976	granite	ground						
Theodore Blaney	1976	metal	funeral plate						
Alphonso W Grayson	1976	granite	die in socket			yes			
Sadie Lovejoy	1976	granite	vault top						

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Evelyn Smith	1977	granite	ground	yes		yes			
Lawrence Irving O'Neill	1977	granite	die in socket ground	yes					
William Elbert Johnson	1978	granite	ground	yes					
William Elbert Johnson III	1978								
Lucille Toomer Williams	1978	granite	ground						
Eola Bee	1979								
Emma Laq Enrigh	1979	granite	ground						
Baxter Douglas Goodall	1979	granite	ground				yes		
Frederick Wheeler	1979	marble	ground						
Madeline Hoffman LaRoche	1979	granite	ground						
Ruth C Brown	1980	granite	ground						
H Evangeline Harrison	1981								
Thomas C Reavis	1981	granite	ground					yes	
Mae Holloway Purcell	1982	granite	tablet	yes					
Harold A Hamilton Sr	1982	granite	ground	yes					
Loretta Good Guenver	1982	granite	ground						
Marcelus Forrest	1983	granite	ground	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Corinne S Guenver	1983	marble	lawn						
Joseph L Miller	1984	granite	vault top			yes			
no graves	1985	granite	die in socket	yes	yes				
Armistead Harrison	1985								
Henry Lee Primus	1985	granite with metal top	ground				yes		
William Joseph Clement Jr	1986								
Arthur J H Clement jr	1986								
E Inez Sease Wilkins	1988	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	
Eva Lucille Scanlan	1988								
Alethia Stent Wheeler	1988	granite	lawn						
Joseph Hoffman Jr MD	1988								
Augustus Dart Watson	1989	granite	die in socket	yes					
Eugene Carroll	1989								
Harry A Guenver	1990								
Elise Scalan Thorne	1990	granite	ground						
Annette Jackson	1991	granite	lawn					yes	

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Ronald Holmes	1991	metal	funeral plate						
Althea g Singleton	1992								
Mary McDowell	1992	concrete metal	vault top funeral plate	yes					
Kate E Bell	1992	marble	tablet						
Richardeen S Potter	1993								
Florence Johnson	1993	granite and concrete	ground vault top					yes	
Elden Hoffman	1993								
Irma Robinson	1994								
Moses Stepter	1994	granite	ground	yes	yes			yes	
William Alfred Streat Jr	1994	granite	ground				yes		
Virgina Whaley Green	1995	granite	lawn		yes			yes	
James C Jenkins	1995	marble and concrete	die in socket vault top				yes	yes	
Lorene McPherson	1997	granite	ground		yes			yes	
Andrew Johnson	1997	marble and concrete	die in socket vault top			yes			
Louise Nelson	1997								
Carl Bearens	1998								
Ronald Thorne	1998	granite	ground				yes	yes	
Frances Jackson	1998	marble	die socket						

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Ernest Arthur Hamilton	1999	granite with metal top	ground					yes	
Bell Guenvuer	1999	granite	die in socket						
Theodore Teddy Thorne	1999	granite	ground					yes	
Lillian Crawford Sease Nelson	2000								
Elizabeth Whitney	2000	granite and metal	die in socket funeral plate	yes					
Jeanette Salvant Kimball	2001	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	
Hildagarde Miller	2001	granite	die in socket					yes	
Josephine Wheeler	2001	granite	lawn						
Lloyd Hamilton	2002	granite metal	ground	yes			yes		
James Welcher	2003								
George Brook	2004	concrete	vault top	yes					
Katherine Lee Miller	2004	granite	die in socket						
Joseph L Miller	2004	granite	lawn						
Virgina Louise Grayson	2004								
Mabel Primus	2004	granite	ground						
Ruby Champ	2005	granite	ground	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Barbara Kimball	2005								
Richard Whitney	2006	granite and metal	die in socket funeral base	yes					
Dorothy Holmes	2006	metal	funeral plate						
Antwan M Thorne	2006	granite metal concrete	ground funeral plate vault top			yes			picture
Cornielle W Chaver	2007	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Marjory Miller Grant	2007								
Dorothy Bryan O'Neill	2008								
James Randolph Jenkins	2008	granite	ground					yes	
Margaret Grayson	2008								
Gloria Grant Watson	2009	granite	lawn	yes				yes	
Sarah Thorne	2009	concrete metal	funeral plate vault top						shells
Edward Pitray	1880s								
illegible	illegible	concrete	vault top	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Hazel Stewart	illegible	granite	ground	yes					
John Whitney	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					
illegible	illegible	marble	cross on base	yes		yes		yes	
illegible	illegible	marble	cross	yes					
illegible	illegible	metal	funeral plate						
Cynthia Louise Purvis	illegible	granite and metal	ground						
illegible	illegible	marble	tablet						
illegible	illegible	marble	tablet						
Ethel Louise Horgrove	illegible	marble	tablet						
sunken	illegible	granite	ground						
illegible	illegible	marble	tablet						
William F Holmes	not marked	concrete	vault top	yes					
LF Holmes	not marked	concrete	vault top	yes					
Ellen C Holmes	not marked	concrete	vault top	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
not marked	not marked	granite	tablet	yes					
not marked	not marked	granite	tablet	yes					
Gertrude Requiscot	not marked	granite	tablet	yes					
Geneva Sease Wilkins									
Phillip Wood rear illegible									
R B Epps		marble	die in socket						
Paul Epps									
Edna Dubose		marble	tablet			yes			
Leroy Dubose									
Primus		granite	die in socket					yes	
Herbert Johnson		granite	ground						
P E LaRoche SR		granite	die in socket						
Hoffman-Collins		granite	die in socket						

Table 9 Brown Fellowship Data Collection (author)

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Catherine Bianchi	1866								
Elizabeth Bianchi	1870	marble	obelisk	yes					
Clarence Gripon Rose	1874								
Harriet W Weston	1874	marble	obelisk	yes					
Anthony Weston	1876								
William J McKinley	1881	marble	obelisk	yes					
Charles Holloway	1885	marble	obelisk	yes					
Margaret Bianchi	1891								
Mary M Holloway	1892								
Charles Holloway Pinckney	1893								
Sarah McKinley	1894								
Thomas Guthers	1895	marble	tablet	yes					
Fanny Nesout	1899	marble	tablet	yes					
Irene R Edwards	1907	marble	tablet	yes					
Perter W Brown	1922	marble	tablet	yes					erected by hope society
Clara Young	1922	marble	tablet	yes					
Edward Nesout	1935	marble	tablet	yes					
Joseph Higgins	1936	granite	lawn	yes					
Josh Ward	1939	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes	chemical warfare during WWII
Richard Holmes	1946	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes	WWI
name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Deloris Dennis	1946	granite	lawn	yes					
James Holmes	1947	marble	tablet	yes					
Kenneth Lee Miller	1951	metal and wood	funeral plate and T	yes	yes				
William Blocker	1951	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes	

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Jane Shayron Jones	1984	granite	ground						
Richard Rhodes	1985	granite	ground	yes					
Monty Carter	1985	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	cartoonish
Arthur Bligen	1986	marble	table	yes			yes		
Maggie Ferguson Washington Pringle	1987	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Louise Brown Kirkland	1987	granite	die in socket	yes	yes			yes	
Augustus Lewis	1988	granite with metal	ground	yes			yes		
Antonio Brown	1988	granite	heart	yes					
William Terry	1989	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Alvine Jerome Levine	1990	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	
Ronald Gentile	1990	granite	die in socket	yes					
Willie Williams	1991	granite	die in socket						
illegible	1992	wood	cross	yes					
Big O'Neal memorial	1993	marble	lawn with child in cloth behind	yes					lost cemetery
Joseph Caters Jr	1993	metal	funeral plate	yes					sunken
Dorris Thompson	1993	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Ariel Elizabeth Gaillard	1993	granite	die in socket	yes	yes			yes	
Amy Mae Owens	1994	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Julia May Sander	1994	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Sarah Scott Bennet	1995	granite	lawn	yes				yes	styrofoam ring
Eliayah Dought	1996	granite	die in socket	yes	yes				
John Washington	1996	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Clarence Fraiser	1997	granite and metal	ground and vault top	yes					
Edward Broughton	1997	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Barbara J Baily	1997	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Lucille B Lewis	1997	granite	lawn	yes		yes			

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Janet E Varns	1997	concrete	vault top	yes					
Donna Florence	1997	concrete	vault top	yes					
Julie E Thompson	1997	concrete	vault top	yes	yes				
Benjamin Smith	1998	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Lulu Sasporas	1999	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Tyrick Terry Lewis	1999	granite	die in socket	yes					
William Vance	1999	marble and metal	table and funeral plate	yes			yes		
Arthur N Smith	1999	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Gerald Robert	1999	concrete	vault top	yes					
Betty Seabrook	1999	concrete	vault top	yes					
Joseph J Jenkins	1999	concrete	vault top	yes					
Ernie E Chisolm	1999	concrete	vault top	yes					
Charles Nathaniel Murray	1999	granite	die in socket	yes					
Lillie Mae McClenaen	2000	granite and concrete	lawn with garden pavers	yes				yes	
Bernard Smith	2000	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Lydia H Mimes	2000	concrete	vault top	yes					
Joseph Watson	2000	concrete	vault top	yes	yes				
James D Bennet	2002	concrete	vault top	yes					sunken
Mr Scott L Grant	2002	granite, concrete, metal	lawn, funeral plate, cinder blocks	yes		yes			arbor vitae
Charles Nathaniel Parker	2002	granite	tablet	yes	yes		yes		
Betty Jean Brown	2002	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Robert Nelson	2002	concrete	vault top	yes					
William Greers	2002	concrete	vault top	yes		yes			
Kenneth E Boston	2003	metal	funeral plate	yes	yes				

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Naquel Jalee Will	2003	granite	ground	yes					
Margaret Reid Nelson	2003	granite and metal	die in socket and funeral plate	yes				yes	
Elliot Miller	2004	metal	funeral plate	yes					five to six mound around the marker
Sallie Sewell	2004	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Kenneth Ravenel	2004	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Tina Yvonne Holmes	2004	metal	funeral plate	yes	yes				
Jerimiah Miller	2005	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Christopher D Hart	2005	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Cla D Brown	2005	metal	funeral plate	yes					
John Smith	2006	granite	die in socket	yes					
Katrina Mitchell White	2006	granite	lawn	yes				yes	
Ida Rivers	2009	concrete	vault top	yes					
illegible	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					
illegible	illegible	concrete	vault top	yes					
illegible	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					
H Brown	illegible	marble	tablet	yes					sunken
Ellen Corring	illegible	marble	tablet	yes					sunken
illegible	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					
Theodore N Coggin	illegible	concrete	vault top	yes					
illegible	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Larry Sewall	illegible	metal	funeral plate	yes					
illegible	illegible	granite	broken						
Issac K Richard	illegible	granite	die in socket					yes	toppled
illegible	illegible	concrete	vault top	yes					
Maurice Sheppard	illegible	granite	ground	yes					
no inscription	n/a	granite	chunk of stone	yes					
no inscription	n/a	concrete	angel	yes					
possible grave			mound	yes					

Table 10 Humane and Friendly Data Collection created by author

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Amy Theus	1876	marble	tablet	yes					
Frankey Jenkins	1876	marble	tablet	yes					
Eloise Harleston Jenkins	1878	marble	tablet	yes					
Nadine Spencer	1879	marble	tablet	yes					
H. L. Farms	1884	marble	tablet	yes			yes		54th Mass
Diana Wragg	1884	marble	cross and scroll	yes				yes	
Edward Wilkinson	1885	marble	cross and scroll	yes				yes	
Julie (broken)	1885	marble	tablet	yes					
Thomas Theus	1886								
Anna M Forsey	1886	marble	tablet	yes					
Septima Jones	1887	marble	tablet	yes					
Lizzie Truns Allston	1888	marble	tablet	yes					
John C Boyder	1888	marble	tablet						
B. R. Chase	1888	marble	tablet						
Jo T Jonis	1889	marble	tablet	yes					
Rev Julian Augustine Chese	1889	marble	obelisk	yes					
Cecelia Walker Cole	1890	granite	reliquary	yes					
E Johnston Bearrd	1892	granite	reliquary	yes					
Edward P Wall	1892	granite	obelisk						
name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Broken	1893	marble	tablet						
Launcelote Wall	1893	granite	reliquary						
Susan S Wall	1893								
Jighard H Gilmore	1894	marble	obelisk						
Elizabeth E Bearrd	1894								
Rosaline V Castion	1895	marble	reliquary	yes	yes				

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Cristianna Howeye	1896	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
John W Gordon	1897	marble	obelisk						
Maria R Barnwell	1898	marble							
Stephen Aikens Snails	1900	granite	obelisk	yes					
Maria J Wall	1903								
Paul S Noisette	1906	marble	box tomb	yes					
Joseph J Noisette	1906								
Amanda Goodwyn	1908	marble	tablet	yes			yes		
Constance W Morrison	1911								
James H Brawley	1911								
Alonso C McClenran MD	1912	marble	lawn	yes					founder Chas Hosp
Hamilton S. Rout	1916	marble	tablet						
Arthur David	1917	marble	die in socket	yes					
M. Dotson	1918	granite	ground	yes					
Mae De Myers	1918								
Julian C Marshburn	1918	marble	tablet				yes		
Isabella Gordons	1919	marble	tablet	yes					
Bishop J A Ellison	1920	granite	die in socket	yes					founder AME Church
Laura I Brawley	1922	marble	die in socket						
Sarah J Morrison	1923								
James W. Frasier	1923	granite	die in socket	yes					
Ernestine H Edward	1923	marble	tablet	yes					
Thomas Charorice Marshall	1924	marble	tablet	yes					
Acye A Williams	1925	marble	tablet	yes					
Martha Eliza Rout	1925	marble	tablet						

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Robert Morrison	1927	marble	reliquary	yes					
Alonso Phillips	1927	granite	die in socket	yes					
Angie Lee Edward	1927	marble	tablet	yes					
Mattie S Lewis	1928	marble	tablet	yes					
name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Henry Randolph	1929								
Millie Bailey	1930	granite	tablet	yes					
William B Pittman	1931	granite	die in socket	yes					
Mary E Campbell	1931	granite	tablet	yes					
Arthur Clifton	1932								
Edward T Edwards	1932	marble	tablet	yes					
Serena H Morrison	1933								
Beatrice Ransier	1934								
Daniel Bryan	1936								
Ward St. John O'Brien	1937	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes	
Thomas W. McGill DDS	1937	granite	die in socket	yes					
Jenkins	1937	granite	die in socket						founder Jenkins Orphanage
William P Boullard	1939	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes	
William Davis	1939	marble	tablet						
Eugenia F Guenveur	1940	marble	tablet					yes	
Carie Frasier Gourdine	1941								
Anna Eliza Logan	1941	marble	lawn						
Lula Phillips Taylor	1942								
Josephine Givens	1943	marble	tablet	yes					
John Edward	1943								

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
M Ellison Richardson	1943	granite	scroll	yes					
Joyce Elaine Thompson	1944	marble	lawn	yes					
Arthur Brown	1944								
William Pinckney	1944	granite	die in socket						
Emma Elise O'Brien	1945	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Edna Palmer	1947								
Agnes Ellison Pittman	1948	granite	die in socket	yes					
Leila Hoffman	1950								
John Pearson Hutchinson	1951	granite	lawn						
Charles Taylor Holloway	1952	granite	die in socket						
Lula a Mikell	1952	marble	tablet	yes					
Charles St. Julien Dash	1952								
Eva Dawson	1953								
Herman O'Brien	1954	marble	ground	yes			yes	yes	
Damon I Thomas	1955	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Damon G Thomas	1955	granite	ground	yes					
Ethel Hoffman	1956	marble	tablet	yes					
Naney Simmons White	1958	granite	die in socket						
Lawrence Miller Bryan	1958	marble	tablet						
John P Logan	1958	granite	die in socket	yes					
Beulah Bell O'Brien	1959	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Anna Florence Edward	1959								

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Elias Hamilton Robinson	1959	marble	die in socket						
Millie Ellison	1961	marble	die in socket	yes					
James William	1961								
Robert W Nelson	1963	granite	die in socket	yes					
Catherine Gourdine	1964								
Charles Thomas Holloway MD	1964								
Mary t Brawley	1964								
Robert Duncan Sr.	1965	granite	lawn	yes					
Eugene LeGrande	1966	granite	tablet	yes					
Georgette McCain Ellison	1966								
Benjamin Franklin Sumpter	1966	granite	die in socket	yes		yes		yes	
Anna Pettigrew Anderson	1966	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	
James Brawley	1966	marble	die in socket						
Rudolph O'Brien	1967	marble	ground	yes				yes	
William Herbert	1969	marble	die in socket						
Laura L William	1969	granite	ground	yes		yes			
Robert F. Morrison	1970								
Mary A Palmer Hutchinson	1970	granite	lawn						
Lillie R G Holloway	1970								
Pauline Singleton	1970	marble	tablet	yes				yes	
St. Julien Bennet Dash	1974	marble	box tomb					yes	
Marie Guenvuer	1974								
Andrew BP Gray	1975	granite	die in socket	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Eloise Harleston Jenkins	1975	granite	die in socket						
name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Bertha Bryan Davis	1975	marble	ground	yes	yes			yes	
name	date	material	marker type	East West orientation	artificial flowers	plant	Military	Christian Symbols	Other
Martha Howard Bryan	1976	granite	die in socket		yes				
Helen Washington LaRoche	1977								
John Burrough La Roche	1978	granite	die in socket						
Thomas James Jr	1979	granite	die in socket						
Viola Noisette Small	1980	metal	funeral plate	yes		yes			
Raleigh M LaRoche	1981	marble	tablet	yes					
Mildred Bryan Hare	1982	granite	die in socket						
Charles E Dash	1982	concrete	vault top	yes					
Elenora Johnson	1983								
James Brown Ellison Sr.	1985	granite	tablet	yes				yes	
Thelma R Wood	1986	concrete	vault top	yes					
St Julian P Logan	1987	concrete	tablet						
J Arthur Brown	1988	granite	die in socket	yes				yes	
Gertrude Prunella Dash Banks	1994	granite and concrete	ground and vault top						
Henry Wainwright	1996	granite and concrete	die in socket and vault top	yes	yes			yes	
Louise E. Condol	1998	granite	lawn	yes					

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
John Howard Bryan	1998	granite	tablet						
Herber Conklin Banks jr	1999	granite and concrete	ground and vault top				yes		
Ethel Caper Dash	1999								
Blanche C Carrillo	2000	concrete	vault top	yes					
Bernlee F Harvey	2000	granite	ground	yes				yes	
Thomas Brown	2001	concrete	vault top	yes					
Delphine Caper Dash	2006	concrete	vault top	yes					
Mary Frasier Hawkins	2007								
William Thomas Harvy		granite	lawn	yes				yes	
Stephen John Edwards		marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Tandore P Purcell		marble	tablet	yes					
Illegible		marble							
no name		metal	funeral plate						
Georgia R Thomas									
Martha KC Gray									
Edward Campbell		marble	tablet	yes					
Broken		marble	tablet						
Broken		marble	tablet						
Jones		granite	die in socket	yes					
Rosetta Bradford									
Broken		marble	tablet	yes					
Sunken		marble	tablet	yes				yes	
Alma Boyder		marble	tablet						
Jane Rosa Wall									
Marsha Wall									

name	date	material	marker type	East West Orientation	Artificial Flower	Plant	Military	Christian Symbols	other
Broken		marble	cross and scroll	yes				yes	
Phyllis LaRoche									
Sunken		marble	tablet						

Table 11 Unity and Friendship Data Collection created by author

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Alberta	White	1865	marble	tablet					
Mrs Isabelle	Reed	1867	marble	tablet					
Mary Ellen	St. Mar	1868							
Louisa	M Chichester	1870	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Benjamin		1870							
Joane	James	1875							
	Morrison	1878	marble	tablet					
Edward	Cass	1879	marble	tablet					yes
Louise Alexander	Dumas	1880							
Mrs Susan B	Radger	1881	marble	tablet					
Catherine	Rudgers	1881	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Victor	Eugene	1881							
Alonzo Jacob	Ransier	1882	granite	ground	yes				
Sarah E	Lucas	1882	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Blackburn	Davis	1883	granite	die in socket	yes				yes
Elizabeth M	DeCosta	1884							
Mary Ellen	Canneville	1886	marble	column					
Marie Angelique	David	1886	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Kate Wilson	Harleston	1886	granite	die in socket					
George	Lucas	1887	marble	obelisk					
Esaw James	Canneville	1888							
Sarah Jane	Fowler	1888							
Mrs LJ	Halbert	1888	marble	tablet	yes			yes	yes
Martha E	Gibson	1891							
William Henry	Sinkler	1891	granite	ground	yes				
Susan	Davis	1891							
Harriet	Fenwick Davis	1891							

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Clarence A	Gripon	1891	marble	tablet	yes				
Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Jas L	Harrison	1891	marble	tablet	yes				
Rosa J	King	1891							
Sophie	Morrison	1891							
Henrietta	Meleish	1892							
Mary	Fenwick Davis	1892							
Jessie E	Meleish	1893	marble	reliquary					
Sarah	Bradley	1893	marble	tablet					
Robert	Morrison	1893	marble	reliquary	yes				
Claudis	Elliot	1894							
William E	Meleish	1895							
James	Meleish	1895							
Harriet	Fenwick	1896							
illegib	le	1896	marble	tablet					
Rebecca	Rayner	1898							
Edward Henry	Mickey	1899	granite	die in socket					
Madeline	Pendergrass	1902	granite	ground					
Ella W	Nell	1903	granite	lawn	yes				
Benjamin	Mason	1904	marble	tablet					
James	Conyers	1904	granite	reliquary					
Clarence	M Cole	1904	marble	tablet	yes				
Jessie	Macbeth	1905							
William	Duncan	1905							
Mary Christine	Leslie	1905							
Josephine M	Lucas	1906							
Emma S	Sterret	1906	marble	reliquary					
Nelson	Walker	1907	granite	lawn	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Eliza S	Macbeth	1909							
Anna J	Macbeth	1910							
Prince	Nelson Davis	1910							
Robert J	Macbeth	1911	granite	die in socket					
Walter Lloyd	Scott	1911	marble	tablet	yes				
Benjamin R	Decosta	1911							
Miley	Grant	1911							
Charles	Leslie	1911							
William	Harris	1914	marble	tablet					
		1914	granite	lawn	yes				
Martha E	Adams	1915							
Rev. John	Lewis AM	1915	granite	die in socket	yes				
Elizabeth	Mills	1915							
Franke	Dewes	1915							
Lavannia W	Mars	1917							
Charles A	Decosta	1919							
Sarah A	Harrison	1919	marble	tablet					
Edward	Brown	1920	marble	lawn					
Miss Harriet	Brown	1921	marble	tablet					
Estelle Eugenia	Scott	1922	marble	tablet	yes				
John	Lewis Jr	1922							
Emily Spencer	DeCosta	1923	granite	die in socket					
Lewis L	Harrison	1923	marble	lawn	yes				
Henry St John	Robinson	1924							
Mary	Felder Littleton	1925	granite	lawn					yes
Isaac Lucas	Houston	1925	granite	tablet					
William Walter	Mazyck	1925	granite	die in socket					
Thomas	Pinckney	1926	marble	cross	yes				yes
Walter	Smalls	1927							

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
William F	Gomez	1928	marble	tablet	yes				
Hannah	Harleston	1928							
Anna T	Harrenberg	1928							
George E	Grayson	1930	granite	die in socket ground	yes				
George M Mears	Mars	1930	granite	die in socket		yes			
Emmaline E	Mars	1930							
Angileique	De Mees	1931							
Edwind A	Harleston	1931	marble	lawn					
		1932	granite	lawn	yes				
Monima	Macbeth	1933							
Martha	Collins Nell	1933	granite	lawn	yes				yes
Nathaniel E	Boone	1934	granite	die in socket					
Thomas S	Bryce	1935							
Claudia Ann	Davis	1935							
Rev. Frank T	Haynes	1935							
Hamilton T	Heyward	1936	marble	lawn	yes				yes
Henry	Frier	1936	marble	ground	yes				
George	Frost	1936	granite	tablet	yes				
Hamilton T	Heyward	1936	marble	die in socket					
Frank	Cornwall	1937							
Felecia	Goodwin	1937							
Carrie	Green	1938	granite	ground	yes				
Sadie Emma	Nell	1938	granite	die in socket					
Edward	Porter Davis	1938							
Richard	Harleston	1939							
Marjorie W	Lasaine	1940	marble	die in socket	yes				
William Henry	Grayson	1940	granite	die in socket	yes				
HuldahJosephine	Prioleau MD	1940	granite	lawn	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Robert P	Scott	1940	marble	lawn	yes				
Raymond T	DeCosta	1941							
Louise Mallory	Robertson	1941	marble	tablet	yes				yes
William H	Smith	1941	granite	scroll	yes				
Maggie W	Warren	1941	concrete	vault					
Augustus C	DeCosta	1942	granite	die in socket					
Samuel L	Hulbert	1942	granite	lawn	yes				
Nathaniel	Legare	1942	granite	lawn					
Beverly Delores	Phillips	1942	marble	heart and dove	yes				yes
Herbert Ulysses	Seabrook MD	1942	granite	tablet					
Henrietta	Sinkler	1942							
Julius Alexander	Cole	1943	granite	die in socket	yes				
Elizabeth	Lewis	1943							
William Seward	Montgomery	1944	marble	die in socket	yes				
Emeline Mae	Purvis	1944							
Emeline	English Mazyck	1944							
Viola	Green	1944	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Annie C	Mayers	1944	granite	die in socket					yes
Emeline	Mazyck Purvis	1944	granite and concrete	ground and vault top					
Sarah E	Nell	1944	granite	lawn	yes				
John A	Wright Sr	1944	marble	tablet	yes				
Courtney	Castella	1945	granite	die in socket					
Julia	Pinckney	1945							
Etta Nell	Hare	1946	marble	ground					
Gwendolyn D	Jackson	1947	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Thomas	Pinckney	1949	marble	ground	yes				
John Henry	Green	1950							
Jessie E	Nell	1951	granite	lawn	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Robert H	Mars	1952							
Thomas	Pinckney	1952							
Hiram Lewis	Bell Jr	1952	granite	die in socket					
Julia M	Bryce	1952	granite	ground	yes				
Elizabeth M	DeCosta	1952							
Florecence Isabell	Mazyck	1952							
Julie	Pierre	1952							
Marion	Pinckney	1952	granite	die in socket	yes				
Julia Bennam	Leslie	1953							
Ambrosia L	Beale	1954							
Madeline E	Devault	1954							
John Allen	McFall	1954							
Louise Nichols	Noisette	1956	granite and concrete	die in socket and vault top					yes
Mary E	Meleish	1956	marble	tablet	yes				yes
Myrtle	Smith Barret	1956	marble	die in socket	yes				yes
Robert Gourdine	Ingliss	1958	marble	tablet					
Edward	Barret Jr	1958							
Georgie Hare	Green	1958	granite	ground	yes				
Lightburn	Bennet	1959							
Frank	Duncan	1959							
Emma C	Mack	1959							
John Allan	McFall III	1960							
Herbert A	DeCosta	1960	granite	obelisk and ground					yes
Alice	Holmes	1960							
William M	Smith	1960	marble	box tomb					
Bishop Samuel R	Higgins	1961	granite	die in socket					
Ivathalye	Holmes	1961							

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Julia	Wilson Barret	1961	marble	die in socket	yes				
Daisy Sabrena	Hayner	1962							
Josephine Carr	McFall	1962							
John A	McFall	1962							
Sarah Marie	Bestman	1962							
Ellen	Cecele	1962							
Lorene	Holmes	1962							
Ruby C	Macbeth	1963							
Susie	Green	1963							
Madeline	Holmes	1963							
Isabelle	Pequette	1963							
St Julien L	DeCosta	1964							
Robert Samuel	DeCosta Higgins	1964	granite and concrete	ground and vault top					yes
George E	DeLoache	1964	granite	ground	yes				
Robert	Macbeth Sr	1964							
Aylwood T	Cornwall	1965	granite	ground				yes	
Ophellia	Brown Smalls	1966	granite	lawn					
Arthur	Felder Sr	1966	concrete	vault top					
Helen N	Hulbert	1966	granite	lawn	yes				
Joseph Edward	Noisette	1966	Granite	die in socket					yes
Harold C	DeCosta	1968	granite	ground					
Thomas Carr	McFall	1969	granite	die in socket					yes
Georgette L	Grayson	1969	granite	die in socket and ground	yes				
Arthur H	Heyward	1969	granite and concrete	tablet and vault top	yes				
Rev. Joseph Richard	Pearson	1969	marble	die in socket					
Ernest John	Mazyck	1970	marble	die in socket					
Isadore Albert	Purcell	1970	marble	die in socket	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Louise	Purvis Bell	1971							
Beulah	Shokes	1971							
Lisa Yvette	Fuldiry	1972	granite	ground	yes				
Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Granville	Wallace Hurlong	1972	marble	lawn	yes				yes
George S	Frost Jr	1973							
Warren O	Pinckney	1973	granite	die in socket					
Arthur F	Brown Jr	1973	granite	tablet	yes				yes
James	Campbell	1973	granite	die in socket	yes				
Lacy	Campbell	1973							
Emily	Fuldiry	1973	marble	ground	yes				
Helen	Miller	1973	granite	ground					
Ethel B	Mazyck	1974							
Mabel Brown	Davis	1976	marble	tablet	yes				
Robert Joseph	Miller	1976	granite	die in socket					yes
Jessie Lugenia	Pearson	1976							
Albert Leon	Galloway Jr	1976							
Albert	Leon Galloway Sr	1976	granite	die in socket	yes				yes
Emily R	Nell	1976	granite	lawn	yes				
Wilhelmina L	Boone	1977							
Daisy	DeCosta	1977							
Andrea	Gilege	1977							
Erma	Pequette	1977							
Euphrasia	Ellen	1978							
Harriet	Browne	1978	concrete	vault top	yes				
Namee C	Hare	1978	granite	ground					
Viola L	Smith	1979							
Marie	Barret Purcell	1980							

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Harriete Elizabeth	Frost	1980	granite	lawn	yes				
Charles Frederick	Pequette	1980	granite	die in socket					
Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Charles Frederick	Pequette	1981							
Bertha	Lewis	1981							
Eva	Jones	1982							
Marrie	Smith Johnson	1982	granite	tablet					yes
William	Wilson Jr	1982	granite	die in socket					
Edna Verona	Pequette	1983							
Reginald Clark	Barret	1983							
Rachel	Howard	1983	concrete	vault top	yes				
Frank G	Hayne	1984							
Percy	Howard	1984	concrete	vault top	yes				
Elethia	Macbeth	1984	metal	funeral plate					
Isaac B	lake Sr	1985	concrete	vault top and law					
Doris O	Blake	1986	concrete	lawn					
Julia Ann	Craft	1990	concrete	vault top					yes
Granville	Wallace Hurlong jr	1990	granite	ground	yes				
Charles Edward	Brown	1990	granite	tablet					
E Marie	Perkins	1991							
Michelle Bertha	McFall	1992	marble	die in socket	yes				
Dorothy	Boags	1992	granite	ground					
James R	Bonds	1992	granite	die in socket	yes				yes
Miriam	DeCosta	1992							
Eugenia	Higgins	1993							

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Mary Ruth	Houston	1993							
William	Lee Metz	1994	granite	ground	yes	yes			yes
Mildred	Pequette Carr	1994	granite	ground					yes
Eva Boags	Miller	1995							
Naomi	Brockington	1995	granite and metal	ground	yes			yes	
William	Conner	1995	marble	box tomb					
John Allan	McFall Jr	1995	granite	die in socket					
Anite	Cole Hayne	1996							
Ralph Ray	Jordon	1997	granite and metal	die in socket and funeral plate	yes				yes
Juanita	Smith	1997							
Alma	Reed Blake	1998	granite	die in socket	yes				
Jessica	Pearson Brown	1998	marble	die in socket					
Peter T	Poinsette	1998							
Martha	Wright Gibson	1998	granite	die in socket					
Lucille M	Poinsette	1999							
Thelma	Nelson Hurlong	1999	granite and metal	lawn and funeral plate	yes				yes
Pansy Evelyn	Pandigrass	1999	granite	ground					
Charles Irving	Houston	2000	granite	tablet					
Fred Cicero	Brown	2001							
Kenneth W	Nell	2001	marble	tablet				yes	
Phillip W	Grayson	2001	granite	ground	yes				
Leda G	Ezekel Wallace	2002	granite	lawn	yes				yes
Richard	Martin Jr	2002	granite	die in socket	yes				
Miriam	Moore Brown	2002	granite and concrete	tablet and vault top	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Juanita Bolling	Houston	2003	granite and metal	ground and funeral plate					
Helen Harper	Galloway	2003							
Rev Dr. Alphonso Richard	Blake	2005							
Helen L	Macbeth	2005							
Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
Doris	Hulbert Smalls	2007	granite	lawn		yes			
Albert A	DeCosta Jr	2008							
Felder	Hutchinson	2009	metal	funeral plate					
Eugenia	Beasant	illegible	marble	vault top					
Hertber	McFall	illegible	metal	funeral plate					
Neather	Brown	illegible	granite	ground	yes				
illegib	le	illegible	marble	tablet					
illegib	le	illegible	granite	cross					
illegib	le	illegible	marble	tablet					
Mary Jane	McDougal	illegible	granite	reliquary					
Anne O	Mickey	illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
illegible		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
William		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
broken		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
broken		illegible	marble	tablet					
illegible		illegible	concrete	vault top	yes				
broken		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
broken		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				

Name		Date	Material	Marker Type	East West orientation	Artificial Flowers	Plant	Military	Christian Symbol
no name		illegible	concrete	vault top	yes				
James		illegible	marble	tablet	yes				
sunken		illegible	concrete	vault top	yes				
illegible		illegible	concrete	vault top	yes				
illegible		illegible	concrete						
broken		illegible	marble	tablet					
Children of C and A	Elliot		marble	tablet					
Margaret	Felder								
Georgie W	Frost								
Josephine Frost	Wilson								
Josephine M	Burns		granite	die in socket					
Charles	Cornelius								
Suaye E	Dabrcy								
no stone			concrete	outline					
Amelia	English								
Robert	English								
Martha	English								
Frost	Jenkin								
Cornwal	I		granite	lawn					
	Macbeth		granite	lawn					
Augustus C	Shiret		marble	tablet	yes				yes
Amelia	Thibou								
broken			concrete	tablet	yes				
broken			marble	tablet	yes				
broken			marble	tablet	yes				
sunken			concrete	homemade	yes				

Appendix B

SOUTH CAROLINA CEMETERY LAWS

S.C. Code of Laws, Section 27-43-310. Access to Cemeteries on Private Property.

(A) An owner of private property on which a cemetery, burial ground, or grave is located must allow ingress and egress to the cemetery, burial ground, or grave as provided in this section by any of the following persons:

(1) family members and descendants of deceased persons buried on the private property or an agent who has the written permission of family members or descendants;

(2) a cemetery plot owner;

(3) persons lawfully participating in a burial; or

(4) a person engaging in genealogy research who has received the written permission of:

(a) family members or descendants of deceased persons buried on the private property; or

(b) the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf and with permission of the owner of record.

(B) The ingress and egress granted to persons specified in subsection (A) must be exercised as provided in this section and is limited to the purposes of:

(1) visiting graves;

(2) maintaining the gravesite or cemetery;

(3) lawfully burying a deceased person in a cemetery or burial plot by those granted rights of burial to that plot; or

(4) conducting genealogy research.

(C)(1) In order to exercise the ingress and egress provided in subsection (A), a person authorized by subsection (A) must give written notice to the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf of and with permission of the owner of record that:

(a) he or the person for whom he requests ingress and egress meets the statutory requirements provided in subsection (A); and

(b) he requests a written proposal designating reasonable conditions for the exercise of ingress and egress as provided in subsection (B).

(2) Within thirty days after receipt of the written notice to exercise the ingress and egress, the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf and with permission of the owner of record must respond with a

written proposal designating reasonable conditions for ingress and egress, including, but not limited to, routes to be used for access, duration of access, and time restrictions for access.

(3) The exercise of ingress and egress on the property by persons authorized in subsection (A) for the purposes specified in subsection (B) must be exercised as reasonably restricted in time and manner by the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf and with permission of the owner of record. The exercise of ingress and egress must not substantially and unreasonably interfere with the use, enjoyment, or economic value of the property by the owner or an occupant of the private property.

(4) If, thirty days after receipt of the written notice to exercise ingress and egress on the private property, written notice of reasonable conditions for the exercise of the ingress and egress as provided in subsection (B) have not been proposed or accepted, a person authorized by subsection (A) or the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf and with permission of the owner may institute a proceeding in the magistrates court of the county in which the cemetery, burial ground, or grave is located. In granting relief to either party, the magistrate may set the frequency, hours, duration, or other conditions of the ingress and egress.

(5) A magistrate may deny the exercise of ingress and egress as provided in this section if:

(a) the person seeking to exercise the ingress and egress is not authorized by subsection (A); or

(b) the magistrate is presented with credible evidence that the person authorized by subsection (A) is involved in an imminent or actual violation of state or local law while upon, or entering, or exiting the private property; or

(c) the magistrate makes a finding, based upon a showing of credible evidence, that there is no condition of entry, no matter how limited in time, manner, or otherwise restricted, that would allow the person authorized by subsection (A) to enter the private property for the purposes authorized by subsection (B) without substantially and unreasonably interfering with the use, enjoyment, or economic value of the property by the owner or an occupant of the private property.

(6) The provisions of this subsection do not authorize a magistrate to make determinations concerning the title of the property or establish an easement across the property.

(D) In the absence of intentional or willful misconduct, or intentional, willful, or malicious failure to guard or warn against a dangerous condition, use, structure, or activity, the owner of record, an agent of the owner of record, or an occupant of the private property acting on behalf and with permission of the owner of record is immune from liability in any civil suit, claim, action, or cause of action arising out of the access

granted pursuant to this section.

(E)(1) A person exercising ingress or egress to a cemetery, burial ground, or grave under the provisions of this section is responsible for conducting himself in a manner that does not damage the private property or the cemetery, burial ground, or grave, and is liable to the owner of record for any damage caused as a result of the ingress or egress.

(2) The ingress or egress to a cemetery, burial ground, or grave on private property conferred by this section does not include the authority to operate motor vehicles on the private property unless a road or adequate right-of-way exists that permits access by motor vehicles and the person authorized to exercise ingress and egress by subsection (A) has been given written permission to use motor vehicles on the road or right-of-way.

(F)(1) The provisions of this section do not apply to any deed or other written instrument executed prior to the effective date of this section which creates or reserves a cemetery, burial ground, or grave on private property, and which specifically sets forth terms of ingress and egress.

(2) The provisions of this section in no way abrogate, affect, or encumber the title to the landowner's private property and are exercisable only for a particular private property that is subject to the provisions of this section."

S.C. Code of Laws, Section 16-17-600. Destruction or desecration of human remains or repositories thereof; liability of crematory operators; penalties.

(A) It is unlawful for a person willfully and knowingly, and without proper legal authority to:

(1) destroy or damage the remains of a deceased human being;

(2) remove a portion of the remains of a deceased human being from a burial ground where human skeletal remains are buried, a grave, crypt, vault, mausoleum, or other repository; or

(3) desecrate human remains.

A person violating the provisions of subsection (A) is guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, must be fined not more than five thousand dollars or imprisoned not less than one year nor more than ten years, or both.

A crematory operator is neither civilly nor criminally liable for cremating a body which (1) has been incorrectly identified by the funeral director, coroner, medical examiner, or person authorized by law to bring the deceased to the crematory; or (2) the funeral director has obtained invalid authorization to cremate. This immunity does not apply to a crematory operator who knew or should have known that the body was incorrectly identified.

(B) It is unlawful for a person willfully and knowingly, and without proper legal authority to:

- (1) obliterate, vandalize, or desecrate a burial ground where human skeletal remains are buried, a grave, graveyard, tomb, mausoleum, or other repository of human remains;
- (2) deface, vandalize, injure, or remove a gravestone or other memorial monument or marker commemorating a deceased person or group of persons, whether located within or outside of a recognized cemetery, memorial park, or battlefield; or
- (3) obliterate, vandalize, or desecrate a park or other area clearly designated to preserve and perpetuate the memory of a deceased person or group of persons.

A person violating the provisions of subsection (B) is guilty of a felony and, upon conviction, must be imprisoned not more than ten years or fined not more than five thousand dollars, or both.

(C)(1) It is unlawful for a person willfully and knowingly to steal anything of value located upon or around a repository for human remains or within a human graveyard, cemetery, or memorial park, or for a person willfully, knowingly, and without proper legal authority to destroy, tear down, or injure only fencing, plants, trees, shrubs, or flowers located upon or around a repository for human remains, or within a human graveyard or memorial park.

(2) A person violating the provisions of item (1) is guilty of:

(a) a felony and, upon conviction, if the theft of, destruction to, injury to, or loss of property is valued at two hundred dollars or more, must be fined not more than five thousand dollars or imprisoned not more than five years, or both, and must be required to perform not more than five hundred hours of community service.

(b) a misdemeanor triable in magistrates court if the theft of, destruction to, injury to, or loss of property is valued at less than two hundred dollars. Upon conviction, a person must be fined, imprisoned, or both, pursuant to the jurisdiction of magistrates as provided in Section 22-3-550, and must be required to perform not more than two hundred hours of community service.

S.C. Code of Laws, Section 27-43-10. Notice of proposed removal; due care required.

A person who owns land on which is situated an abandoned cemetery or burying ground may remove graves in the cemetery or ground to a suitable plot in another cemetery or suitable location if:

(1) It is necessary and expedient in the opinion of the governing body of the county or municipality in which the cemetery or burying ground is situated to remove the graves. The governing body shall consider objections to removal pursuant to the notice under item (2) or otherwise before it approves removal.

(2) Thirty days' notice of removal is given to the relatives of the deceased persons buried in the graves, if they are known. If no relatives are known, thirty days' notice must be published in a newspaper of general circulation in the county where the property lies. If no newspaper is published in the county, notice must be posted in three prominent places in the county, one of which must be the courthouse door.

(3) Due care is taken to protect tombstones and replace them properly, so as to leave the graves in as good condition as before removal.

Section 27-43-20. Removal to plot agreeable to governing body and relatives; board may determine suitable plot in case of disagreement.

The plot to which the graves are removed shall be one which is mutually agreeable between the governing body of the county or municipality and the relatives of the deceased persons. If a suitable plot cannot be agreed upon between the parties concerned the matter shall be finally determined by a board of three members which shall be convened within fifteen days after final disagreement on the new location of the plot. The board shall be appointed as follows: One member shall be appointed by the county or municipality, one member shall be appointed by the relatives, and a third member shall be selected by the two. The decision of the board shall be final.

Section 27-43-30. Supervision of removal work; expenses.

All work connected with the removal of the graves shall be done under the supervision of the governing body of the county, who shall employ a funeral director licensed by this State. All expenses incurred in the operation shall be borne by the person seeking removal of the graves.

Section 27-43-40. Evidence of abandonment.

The conveyance of the land upon which the cemetery or burying ground is situated without reservation of the cemetery or burying ground shall be evidence of abandonment for the purposes of this chapter.

S.C. Code of Laws, Section 49-9-10. Publication of notice before creation of artificial lake, pond or reservoir on cemetery or burial ground.

Any water-power or reservoir company proposing to create an artificial lake, pond or reservoir on land whereon is situated a cemetery or burying ground shall, before the

creation of such lake, pond or reservoir, cause to be published once a week for four successive weeks in a newspaper published in the county or counties in which such lake, pond or reservoir shall be created or, if there be no such newspaper, in a newspaper having general circulation in such county or counties a notice which shall set forth (a) the names, if known, of all persons buried within the area to be covered by water, (b) the names, if known, of all family and other burying grounds within such area and (c) such other information as may be known to the company and which would serve to designate the known graves or graveyards within such area. Such notice shall further contain a provision calling upon the relatives of all persons buried within such area to furnish to the company in writing within a stated period of time, to be not less than thirty days from the date of last publication, a statement of their wishes with respect to the disposition of the remains of the persons so buried, signed by the person making the request and giving his post-office address.

Section 49-9-20. Procedure authorized if no requests for disposition of bodies received.

Unless the company shall receive written requests for the disposition of the remains of deceased relatives within the time stated in such notice, the company shall be at liberty to proceed with the creation of its proposed pond, lake or reservoir and to remove, if it deems it advisable, the bodies buried within the area together with any stones or markers to some suitable place nearby or to allow the bodies to remain within the area to be covered by water and the relatives of all persons buried within such area who fail to express in writing their wishes for the disposition of such bodies shall be deemed to have abandoned such graves.

Section 49-9-30. Petition to judge upon disagreement as to disposition of bodies.

In the event that the company and the relatives of persons buried within the pond area of such company shall be unable to agree upon a proper disposition of the bodies, the company may present a petition to the resident or presiding judge of the court of common pleas for the county in which the graves or graveyard in question are located setting forth the facts and praying for an appropriate order in the premises.

Section 49-9-40. Rule to show cause.

Upon the presentation of such petition the judge to whom it is presented shall issue a rule to show cause returnable in not less than ten days requiring the persons named in the rule to show cause why the bodies of the deceased persons in question should not be removed to some suitable cemetery or burying ground or such other disposition be made with reference thereto as to the judge before whom the rule is returnable may seem just and proper.

Section 49-9-50. Service of rule to show cause.

The rule to show cause provided for in Section 49-9-40 shall be directed to the interested persons who have furnished the company the written statement or request prescribed in Section 49-9-10 and shall be personally served upon such persons as are residents of the State. If the persons to be served are nonresidents service may be made by registered mail, in which case a copy of the rule and petition shall be mailed at least ten days prior to the return date of such rule.

Section 49-9-60. Hearing; final order.

Upon the return of such rule the judge before whom it is returnable may decide the issues arising thereon upon the petition and return or he may hear testimony or refer the matter to the master in equity, the clerk of court of the county or to a special referee and the matter shall thereon proceed to final determination in the same manner as is provided by law for actions so referred. The final order to be entered in the proceedings shall provide for a suitable and reasonable disposition of the bodies, taking into account all relevant circumstances, or it may provide that the bodies be allowed to remain under such conditions as the court may prescribe.

Section 49-9-70. Removal of bodies; supervision; expense.

All removal of bodies under the provisions of this chapter shall be made under the supervision of a duly licensed embalmer and shall be at the expense of the company instituting the proceeding.

S.C. Code of Laws, Section 6-1-35. Preservation and protection of cemeteries.

(A) Counties and municipalities are authorized to preserve and protect any cemetery located within its jurisdiction which the county or municipality determines has been abandoned or is not being maintained and are further authorized to expend public funds and use county or municipal inmate labor, in the manner authorized by law, in connection with the cemetery.

(B) As used in this section, the term "preserve and protect" means to keep safe from destruction, peril, or other adversity and may include the placement of signs, markers, fencing, or other appropriate features so as to identify the site as a cemetery and so as to aid in the preservation and protection of the abandoned cemetery.

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