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The Cemeteries of St Eustatius, N.A: Status in a Caribbean Community

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THE CEMETERIES OF ST. EUSTATIUS, N.A.:

STATUS IN A CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

_____

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Anthropology

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Arts

_____

by

Laurie J. Paonessa

1990

APPROVAL SHEET

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of

the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

An investigation of nearly three hundred marked graves in five cemeteries on the Caribbean island of St. Eustatius, Netherlands Antilles, was conducted to examine the relationship between material culture and social status. The sample of gravestones of the past two hundred years are examined for variables that may indicate higher social status: height, imported materials, motifs, and status information in inscriptions.

One cemetery, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, is reported to contain the graves of aristocrats and other prominent citizens. Examination of its gravestones in comparison with the other cemeteries in the sample suggests that some people of higher status as judged by their mortuary material culture are buried in the Anglican Churchyard and the Methodist Churchyard, as well as in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard. The gravestones in the Catholic Cemetery are seen as representing members of a community instead of individuals, with the status of the priests and nuns receiving emphasis. The lack of gravestones in the Lazareto Leper Colony burial ground is in keeping with the lower status afforded to lepers during their lifetime.

Other topics discussed include the construction of gravestones by local craftsmen, burial customs, grave decorations, and access to burial space.

THE CEMETERIES OF ST. EUSTATIUS, N.A.:

STATUS IN A CARIBBEAN COMMUNITY

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the study

This study investigates the gravestones on St. Eustatius, an island in the Caribbean. As items of material culture, gravestones are a reflection of cultural norms and beliefs as well as indicators of social conditions and societal dynamics. When examined over a period of time, gravestones offer glimpses of changing styles and tastes while also providing demographic information such as age at death. The overall focus of this study is social status as evidenced in the gravestones of the past 240 years on St. Eustatius.

St. Eustatius is one of five Caribbean islands which together comprise the Netherlands Antilles. St. Eustatius – also known as "Statia" – is located between the Atlantic Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, approximately 160 miles southeast of Puerto Rico (see Figure 1). Its nearest neighbors are Saba, another Dutch island, and St. Kitts, a formerly British island. St. Eustatius is approximately 5 miles long and 2 miles wide. While the official language is Dutch, English is the most popular language spoken on Statia. The population, which numbers approximately 1700, is predominantly black. Most

66°

VIRGIN

ISLANDS

Anegada

Culebra

Virgin Gorda

Puerto
Rico

18°

Tortola

St. John

St. Thomas

Vieques

St. Croix

64°

Anguilla

St. Maarten

St. Barthelemy

Saba

ST. EUSTATIUS

St. Kitts

Nevis

62°

Leeward Islands

ATLANTIC
OCEAN

Barbuda

Antigua

Montserrat

CARIBBEAN

SEA

16°

LESSER ANTILLES

Guadeloupe

Marie-Galante

Dominica

Windward Islands

Martinique

14°

0   50   100

MILES

St. Lucia

St. Vincent

Figure 1.   The Northeastern Caribbean

residents live in or adjacent to the island's capital and only town, Oranjestad, located on the western edge of the island on a cliff above the Caribbean Sea. The northern and southern ends of the island are mostly uninhabited, and are dominated by hills and an extinct volcano called the Quill.

Status has been defined as "the position occupied by an individual in relation to all other members of the society. This may be determined by his personal achievements in life (achieved) or by his birth and ancestry (ascribed)" (Champion 1980:125). The cemetery may be viewed as a physical representation of its deceased members; social status should be discernible via examination of: gravestone presence or absence, gravestone location, height of monument, gravestone materials and their importation, fences around burial plots, decorative motifs, and gravestone inscriptions. These factors have been implicated in studies of social status and mortuary material culture which will be reviewed in chapter III - A Review of the Literature. Whether of not these factors serve to differentiate one cemetery on St. Eustatius from another, thereby suggesting that one cemetery contains persons of higher status than other cemeteries, will be the focus of this study.

Hypotheses

Five of the fourteen known cemeteries on St. Eustatius were chosen for study: the Methodist Churchyard, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, the Catholic Cemetery, the Anglican

Churchyard, and Lazareto Leper Colony. All fourteen cemeteries will be discussed in chapter II - The Cemeteries of St. Eustatius. When considering which cemetery on St. Eustatius might be generally associated with people of higher status, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard seems to be implicated. This cemetery is featured on a postcard - as is the Jewish cemetery - and is the only cemetery in which the author noticed tourists being shown around by local tour guides. A tour guide called the Dutch Reformed Churchyard "the cemetery of those who have served their country well."

Written descriptions of the island praise the Dutch Reformed Churchyard's "inhabitants": Dethlefsen et. al. terms them "Statia's most illustrious citizens" (1982:15). According to Hartog, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard's gravestones are "generally...costly executed;" Hartog goes on to state that "Elsewhere on the island one still can see two old cemeteries where prominent Statia families are buried, the Old Church Cemetery and the English Church Cemetery" (1976a:63). The Old Church Cemetery (C#1) was not included in the survey, but the English Church Cemetery (Anglican Churchyard - C#7) was included. How do these early Dutch and British cemeteries compare in terms of the material aspects of mortuary display? What changes are evident over the years, and how do these cemeteries compare with other, newer cemeteries on St. Eustatius?

An indication of the power members of the early Dutch Reformed congregation held is contained in the following

account of late 18th-century Statia:

> ...the rich farmers on the island formed an oligarchy.
> One of them, in this case the richest one, was also the
> commander [Johannes De Graaff, commander 1776-1781].
> Moreover they extended protection to one another; for
> example: together with De Graaff they formed the Council;
> together they also formed the Church consistory. Both
> the government and the administration of justice were in
> their hands, and as members of the Church consistory they
> were charged with the supervision of the daily life of
> the rest of the population. (Hartog 1976a:67)

What happened after the Dutch language and the Dutch Reformed religion lost their dominance on Statia? Would a new group become dominant, and would this change in power be evident in mortuary display?

After a review of the literature on status as reflected in gravestones (to be discussed in chapter III), five hypotheses concerning the Dutch Reformed Churchyard were formulated. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard reportedly contains the remains of those who have served St. Eustatius with distinction, and who were prominent in the government and/or in the community. Social status - or the attempt to display social status - should be reflected in the height of a gravestone, since height calls attention to an object.

Hypothesis 1 - The Dutch Reformed Churchyard's gravestones will be taller, on the average, than the gravestones in each of the other cemeteries on the sample.

Importing materials for a gravestone and/or a plaque (a separate piece containing an inscription) should indicate more control over economic resources than using non-imported materials.

Hypothesis 2 - The Dutch Reformed Churchyard will contain a

higher percentage of gravestones with imported building materials and/or imported plaques when compared to each of the other cemeteries in the sample.

Something that adds to the cost, decorative nature, and image-producing effects of gravestones is the presence of decorative motifs, such as a cross or an angel.

Hypothesis 3 - The Dutch Reformed Churchyard will have the highest percentage of gravestones with motifs when compared to each of the other cemeteries in the sample.

Hypothesis 4 - The Dutch Reformed Churchyard will have the highest Percentage of gravestones with multiple motifs (three or more motifs per gravestone) in comparison to each of the other cemeteries in the sample.

Gravestones of people of higher status should be more likely to advertise that status than are gravestones of other people. One way in which to display status is to supply information concerning the deceased person's occupation, title, familial relationship(s) and/or maiden name within the gravestone's inscription.

Hypothesis 5 - The Dutch Reformed churchyard will contain the highest percentage of gravestones which display status information (occupation, title, familial relationship[s], and/or maiden name) when compared to the other cemeteries in the sample.

Methodology

The fieldwork for this study was undertaken during ten weeks of 1989 between June and August while the author resided

on St. Eustatius, during and after the College of William and Mary Summer Field School in Historical Archaeology and Ethnography.

When choosing a sample, the author decided to survey 100 percent of the marked graves in each cemetery that was to be chosen. A 100 percent sample was judged to better gauge changes over time within a cemetery as well as to be a more reliable basis upon which to compare cemeteries. Since St. Eustatius has undergone such changes in economic, ethnic, and religious conditions over time, a sample of gravestones from the 17th, 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries was hoped for. Unfortunately, the island seems to have only one remaining dated 17th-century gravestone, that of Lucas Jacobsen who died in 1686 (located in cemetery number 1, Old Church Cemetery), so the sample was limited to the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries.

Due to the limited time span of the author's residence on the island, cemeteries that had already been mapped were usually included. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard (C#4) and the Anglican Churchyard (C#7) had been mapped in 1988 by Jerry D. Hartley assisted by Field School participants. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard had also been the subject of a study by a Field School student in 1988, Laura Clifford; her unpublished report (Clifford 1988) includes sketches of the gravestones as well as information on their inscriptions and building materials.

Cemeteries that were of a variety of sizes were chosen: two of the cemeteries chosen contained a large number of marked graves (Catholic and Dutch Reformed - close to 100 each), one contained a medium number (Anglican - close to 50), and two contained a small number (Methodist and Leper Colony - close to 10).

Another factor that was involved in cemetery selection was the social status of the deceased - the sample ranges from high status, such as governors and priests, to low status, such as lepers.

Accessibility of the cemetery was an important factor since walking was the main mode of transportation. Cemeteries within the limits of Oranjestad were chosen for study, with the exception of the Lazareto Leper Colony.

The Old Church Cemetery (C#1) has many older gravestones but was not included for several reasons. The Old Church Cemetery is in such a state of neglect that it would take days to clear the overgrowth in order to even find many of the gravestones. Many of the gravestones are in such a state of decay that removing the protective covering of plant growth could cause further erosion and discoloration from car exhaust fumes. According to an informant, the gravestones on Statia have become discolored since the number of cars on the island has multiplied in the past 30 years. Marble seems especially susceptible to this damage. Ironically, an informant stated that the government had plans to clean this cemetery in August,which was after the author was gone. Mapping this

cemetery would be very difficult due to the hilly terrain.

The Jewish Cemetery was not chosen for study because it has been well-documented: Emmanuel (1970) lists the inscriptions and their English translations, as well as some photographs; Hartog (1976b) includes photographs and inscriptions of each gravestone. Time permitting, the Jewish cemetery would have been one of the next cemeteries to be surveyed.

To properly map the Kongo Cemetery (C#10) it would be desirable to have the piles of stones meant for the wall out of the way. It is unclear how much disruption - if any - was done to gravemarkers when the land was cleared.

The first step in gathering data was to visually inspect the cemeteries in Oranjestad, to get an idea of what type of information should be included on a survey form. Survey forms were designed and then printed by computer (see Figures 2 and 3). Each known cemetery on the island was designated with a number. Before the Methodist Churchyard, Catholic Cemetery, or Lazareto Leper Colony were surveyed, these graveyards were mapped by Jerry D. Hartley and the author, using an alidade. Each marked grave was given a number.

Survey forms were filled out for each marked grave in each of the five cemeteries under study. In general, two photographs were taken of each marked grave: one 35mm color slide and one 35mm black and white print. Selected gravestones were also reproduced visually by taking a gravestone rubbing; this was accomplished utilizing thin white

WILLIAM AND MARY CEMETERY SURVEY, ST. EUSTATIUS
INDIVIDUAL GRAVESTONE RECORD SHEET

CEMETERY NAME_____ CEMETERY NUMBER_____
RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION_____ GRAVE NUMBER_____
GRAVESTONE:___present___absent; FOOTSTONE:___present___absent
GRAVESTONE FORM:___tablet___vault___other:_____
GRAVESTONE SHAPE_____

_____

GRAVESTONE COLOR(S)_____
TYPE_____ SUBTYPE_____
FOOTSTONE FORM_____ FOOTSTONE SHAPE_____
FOOTSTONE COLOR(S)_____
TYPE/F_____ SUBTYPE/F_____
GRAVESTONE MATERIAL(S):___slate___marble___granite___brick
___poured concrete___concrete block___cinder block___cut stone
___fieldstone___ceramic tile___other:_____
PLAQUE:___present___absent PLAQUE SHAPE_____
PLAQUE MATERIAL:___iron___brass___poured concrete___marble
___granite___porcelain___other:_____
PLAQUE COLOR(S)_____
FOOTSTONE MATERIAL_____
NAME OF DECEASED_____
DATE OF DEATH_____ DATE OF BIRTH_____ AGE_____
ADDITIONAL PEOPLE COMMEMORATED_____

_____

DECORATIVE MOTIF(S):___cross___angel___skull___heart___flower
___tree___bird___hourglass___star of David___urn___face
___masonic emblem___vine___photograph___none___other:_____

_____

CONDITION OF INSCRIPTION:___good___clear but worn___mostly
decipherable___traces___illegible___no traces remaining
___none yet
NUMBER OF OBJECTS PLACED ON GRAVESTONE:___rock/stone___shell
___artificial flower___cut flower___wreath___other:_____

_____

DIRECTION GRAVESTONE FACES:___n___s___e___w___ne___se___nw__sw
DIMENSIONS OF GRAVESTONE:___length___width___height__thickness
DIMENSIONS OF FOOTSTONE:___length___width___height___thickness
COMMENTS_____

_____
_____
_____
_____

RECORDED BY L. Paonessa   DATE_____/_____/1989
PHOTO NUMBER: COLOR_____ BLACK/WHITE_____
RUBBING/DRAWING NUMBER_____

FIGURE 2. Gravestone survey form, page 1

WILLIAM AND MARY CEMETERY SURVEY, ST. EUSTATIUS   page_____

CEMETERY NUMBER_____GRAVE NUMBER_____

Sketch:	Inscription:

FIGURE 3. Gravestone survey form, page 2

interfacing (a fabric used for reinforcing collars, etc.) and black lumber crayons.

After returning to the United States, the survey data were entered into a computer; the database management software selected for use was Reflex 2.0 (Borland International 1989). The database will be discussed further in Chapter IV - Data Analysis.

Besides survey data obtained from study of the gravestones, supporting evidence was obtained through interviews with Statians and participant observation in a wreath-laying ceremony and a funeral/burial. Documentary evidence was also collected: the Census Office of the Statian Government supplied a translated and transcribed record of the names, ages, and dates of death of everyone who died on St. Eustatius from January 1st, 1980 to August 10th, 1989. Another piece of written evidence that has proven to be of great use is an unpublished listing of the inscriptions of the gravestones on Statia that pre-date 1930; these inscriptions were collected by two people with an interest in genealogy, Hester Garrett and Robert Grode, with the assistance of the people of Statia (Garrett and Grode 1976). Two lists of the names of merchants from St. Eustatius - one from August 5th, 1780 to January 29th, 1871, and one from February 20th, 1781 - were furnished to the author by Dr. Norman Barka of the College of William and Mary.

In chapter I the past and present condition of St. Eustatius will be summarized. The following chapter will

describe the fourteen known cemeteries on St. Eustatius. Chapter III will review the relevant literature on gravestones, social status, and burial customs. An analysis of the cemetery survey data will be provided in chapter IV. In chapter V further aspects of mortuary behavior on St. Eustatius that may not be evident from the quantitative data will be discussed. The final chapter will deal with conclusions on gravestones and status on St. Eustatius.

CHAPTER I

HISTORY AND PRESENT CONDITION OF ST. EUSTATIUS

Christopher Columbus is reported to have sailed by Saint Eustatius in 1493 (Hartog 1976a). None of the aboriginal inhabitants were still residing on the island when the first permanent settlement of the island occurred on April 25th, 1636. These first 50 settlers were Netherlanders from the province of Zeeland (Attema 1976). Pieter van Corselles led the settlers, who constructed Fort Oranje on the site of an abandoned French fort (Kandle 1985). Tobacco plantations were begun, manned by Indian slaves, imported mainly from Dominica; the first cash crop was sold in the Netherlands in July of 1638 (Hartog 1976a). The colonists probably served as suppliers to their sponsor, the West India Company (Kandle 1985). The history of St. Eustatius is a tale of economic prosperity alternating with economic depression. The island changed hands 22 times among the Dutch, French, and English, with accompanying "destruction and plunder with consequent immigration and return of inhabitants..." (Hartog 1976a:23). By 1650 cotton and coffee were also being grown successfully, but this prosperity ended with the French takeover of the island in 1709. Settlers were attracted to Statia because land prices were so low.

After the year 1730 the economic condition of St. Eustatius changed for the better. Between 1730 and 1740 plantations were converted to the growing of sugar cane. Although sufficient space to grow this crop successfully was lacking, the Statians profited from trading in sugar. Statian merchants ordered food and timber from North America and exported sugar to North America, smuggling the product from French and Spanish islands to these British colonies (Hartog 1976a). The ships coming to Statia for sugar arrived with goods from North and South America, Europe, and Africa, including African slaves for the plantations of Statia as well as for export to other Caribbean islands.

With the multitude of wars happening in 18th-century Europe, trade on St. Eustatius prospered - countries that weren't allowed to trade with one another were able to do so at Statia's free port. In 1746 merchants began to build warehouses on the Bay (Lower Town, the shoreline below the cliffs of Upper Town and Oranjestad) (Hartog 1976a:26). St. Eustatius became such a busy trading center that it came to be called Diamond Rock or Golden Rock. Hartog describes the merchants who established themselves on the island during the 18th century as "Netherlanders, Frenchmen, Spaniards, Englishmen, Jews, but also Turks, Greeks and Levantines..." (1976a:40). Eighteenth-century St. Eustatius "became the most important slave depot in the West Indies, taking over from Curacao" (Attema 1976:21). The interest in trade made the plantations on Statia "uninteresting" and they "were neglected for quite a long time" (Attema 1976:21).

By 1760 Statians enjoyed "such an extravagant prosperity that the enemy put an end to it as soon as he could do so" (Hartog 1976a:23). During the term of Johannes de Graaff as Commander of St. Eustatius (1776-1781) smuggling of Dutch arms, gunpowder, and other supplies to the American colonies at war with Great Britain flourished. An event occurred during de Graaff's term that further angered the British: on November 16th, 1776 an American naval vessel, the Andrew Doria, flying the Great Union Flag (a predecessor of the Stars and Stripes) was saluted by cannon from Fort Orange in Oranjestad.

In the early morning of Saturday, February 3rd, 1781 British Admiral Sir George Brydges Rodney and accompanying English fleets arrived in the waters off of Oranjestad. The outnumbered Statians surrendered. Rodney sent some of his ships in pursuit of a convoy of 24 ships which were under escort of a Dutch warship named Mars, which had sailed for the Netherlands 24 hours previously. The Mars was under the command of Rear-Admiral Willem Crul. In the ensuing sea battle, Rear-Admiral Crul and several officers and men were killed. The Mars surrendered and the convoy was captured. Crul was later "laid to rest with military honors in the Reformed Church cemetery at St. Eustatius" (Hartog 1976a:86).

Rodney expelled many of the merchants, stopped all trade, and confiscated the merchants' goods and possessions; the planters were not punished. The French easily took over the

island from the British in November of 1781. Contrary to popular belief, Rodney did not put an end to St. Eustatius' prosperity; the "economy as well as the population practically recovered immediately" (Hartog 1976a:96). The French left in 1784 and "many merchants who had emigrated to St. Thomas after 1871, returned after 1784" when the island became Dutch once again; the "prosperity after 1784 did not have the extravagant character that it had prior to 1781, but it is a fact that there was prosperity" (Hartog 1976a:98-99). The population of St. Eustatius reached its highest point in 1790, when 8124 people lived on the island: 2341 whites, 643 freedmen of color, and 5140 slaves (see Table 1).

After 1784, free trade in slaves was outlawed on Statia, resulting in a downturn in the economy in 1790: "Those who came to buy slaves had, at the same time, stocked up on staple commodities and other goods. After 1790 the goods trade went into a steep decline" (Bor 1981:52). Another reason for the decline in trade in the 1790s, ironically, was the independence of the United States and the resulting lessening of need for an intermediate port. Trade with neighboring islands also declined.

The final blow to the economy was the occupation by the French in 1795 when the Netherlands became a satellite state of France. Statians paid a large amount in taxes to the French until 1801 when the island came under British rule for a year. Prosperity was over for Statia; "economically the island was ruined and it has never recovered" (Hartog

TABLE 1
POPULATION FIGURES FOR ST. EUSTATIUS

Year	Total Population	Composition
1639	60	
1665	1170	330 Whites, 840 Blacks and Indians
1699	784	
1702	373	102 Whites, 271 slaves
1705	606	c.300 slaves
1715	1274	524 Whites and freedmen, 750 slaves
1722	1204	520 Whites
1735	1356	517 Whites, 839 slaves
1740	1983	706 Whites, 1277 slaves
1750	2315	1513 slaves
1779	3056	1563 slaves
1786	7600	
1790	8124	2341 Whites, 643 freedmen of color, 5140 slaves
1818	2668	501 Whites, 302 freedmen of color, 1865 slaves
1850	1932	
1863	1977	1138 freed slaves
1884	1600	50 Whites
1900	1334	
1902	c.1300	c.100 Whites
1916	1431	
1920	1315	
1935	1198	
1940	1130	
1948	921	
1960	1014	
1972	1341	640 males, 701 females
1974	1421	676 males, 745 females
1976	1276	627 males, 649 females; 5 "native Whites" (descendants of merchants and planters of 18th and 19th centuries)
1985	c.1750	

Sources: Attema 1976, Bor 1981, Emmanuel 1970, Hartog 1976a, Wafer et.al. 1985

1976a:102). The British took over the role of trading power in the Caribbean (Attema 1976). By 1816, St. Eustatius was again under Dutch rule, where it remains today.

The planters suffered hard times in the 19th century. The warehouses in Lower Town were damaged by a hurricane in 1819 (Kandle 1985). The population in the 1820s began to "break down the houses dating back to the Golden Era, in order to convert the bricks into money" (Hartog 1976a:126). In 1855, Statia exported 80,000 bricks; in 1879, 5000 bricks were exported.

When slavery was abolished by the Dutch in 1863, cultivation on the plantations came to an end. The plantations were abandoned and their owners became poverty-stricken. Planters derived some income from "little hired fields where the former slaves planted some yams and sweet potatoes, the main food of the population" (Hartog 1976a:128). If rainfall was insufficient planters imported and sold produce to the former slaves. Slaves had become free laborers, but there was not much labor to be had. The government began to be the main employer, and freed slaves moved from the countryside to the town of Oranjestad, or emigrated to other islands such as St. Croix. Some planters switched to raising livestock, but this occupation offered little financial reward (Bor 1981).

By the beginning of the 20th century many of the plantations were abandoned. During this century, many Statians have left the island to find work, or have been

employed by the local government. In the past several decades, there has been a slight economic upswing with the increase in tourism and the opening of an oil terminal on St. Eustatius. However, the island is "dependent on the import of provisions, building materials, clothing and other necessities, from St. Maarten, Curacao, Puerto Rico, and the United States," which increases prices and results in delays in progress of construction projects (Bor 1981:361).

Presently, the Windward Islands of the Netherlands Antilles (St. Maarten, Saba, and St. Eustatius) are governed by an Island Council comprised of 15 members - five from each island. A lieutenant-governor is appointed by the Crown, and is assisted by two deputies from each island. On St. Eustatius and on Saba, the Lieutenant-Governor is represented by an Administrator. The day-to-day affairs on St. Eustatius are usually handled by the Administrator and the two deputies, in consultation with the Lieutenant-Governor (Hartog 1976a). There exists a rivalry on Statia between the two competing political parties: the Democratic Party and the Windward Islands' Peoples Movement. The competition rests less on ideological differences than on the system of patronage (Bor 1981).

Another division among the people of Statia today is by religion: according to a 1976 survey by Bor (1981), 45.61% are Methodists, 24.29% are Roman Catholics, 22.96% are Seventh Day Adventists, 5.25% are of other religions, 1.49% are of no religion, and 0.39% are of unknown religion. Since these

statistics were compiled, the number of Seventh Day Adventists have reportedly increased and have overtaken the Roman Catholics for second most popular religion. The history of religion on St. Eustatius will be discussed in the following chapter concerning the cemeteries.

CHAPTER II

THE CEMETERIES OF ST. EUSTATIUS

There are 14 known cemeteries on St. Eustatius today, five of which comprise the sample under study. Each of the 14 will be described as to location, dates of use, number of marked graves, general appearance, and religious affiliation. The number used to designate each cemetery is the same number used to locate it on a map of the island (see Figure 4).

1. Old Church Cemetery

The Old Church Cemetery appears to be the oldest one on St. Eustatius. It is located on the eastern edge of the town of Oranjestad, southeast of the intersection of the streets named Lodi Road and Merkman Weg; to the south of this cemetery is cemetery number 2, the Jewish Cemetery. The surrounding areas are also made up of the local hospital (Queen Beatrix Hospital), residential sites, and an undeveloped area.

The oldest dated gravestone in this cemetery is that of Lucas Jacobsen (spelled Iacobsen) who died on September 17th, 1686. The inscription, which is written in Dutch, relates that Mr. Jacobsen was Commander of the Island St. Eustatius;

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

Compagnie Bay

14

Airport

13

Billy's Gut 12

11

8

10

6

5

9

b

1

2

a 4 7 3 ORANJESTAD

Crater

CARIBBEAN

SEA

Oranjestad
Bay

THE QUILL

CEMETERIES:

1 Old Church Cemetery
2 Jewish Cemetery
3 Methodist Churchyard*
4 Dutch Reformed Churchyard*
5 Catholic Cemetery*
6 Salem Cemetery
7 Anglican Churchyard*
8 Benners Family Graveyard
9 Berkel Family Cemetery
10 Kongo Cemetery
11 Lazareto Leper Colony*
12 Groebe Family Graveyard
13 Plantation Graveyard - English Quarter
14 Plantation Graveyard - Concordia

* included in cemetery survey
--- cliff between Upper Town and
    Lower Town
a Fort Oranje
b Roman Catholic Church
c Waterfort ruins
x hill

0   .5   1

MILES

Figure 4. The Cemeteries of St. Eustatius

Hartog (1976a) lists him as Commander from 1671 to 1672. The newest dated gravestone is from the 1970s, although at least one non-dated concrete vault with wreaths on top seems to be from the 1980s. There are approximately 130 marked graves; Garrett and Grode (1976) list inscriptions from 42 pre-1930 gravestones, 14 of which are written in Dutch, two in Latin, and one in French.

The Old Church Cemetery is in a state of neglect; many gravestones are totally or mostly covered by grass, ivy, and/or flowering plants. At least half of the gravestones are broken and crumbled and/or without readable inscriptions. No gravestones were observed to be decorated with cut flowers or purposefully cleared of overgrowth. The surface of the cemetery slopes uphill from the west end to the east end. One gravestone in the form of a small roofed "house" stands out due to its height and unique design; it is the tomb of Abraham Heyliger, who built the structure in 1761 and occupied it in 1785. His descendants up to Raapzaat Heyliger Moore (who died in 1890) also occupy this tomb (Hartog 1976a).

This cemetery is said to be the site of the old Dutch Reformed Church; the church was "presumably destroyed by the French in 1689" (Hartog 1976a:142). The cemetery has reportedly been surrounded by a concrete wall within the past 15 years in order to keep roaming animals out. It is still, however, a popular place for goats to graze. An informant stated that this cemetery used to extend westward where the road Merkman Weg and the hospital now stand; human bones were

reportedly exposed when the land was being prepared for construction of the hospital.

2. Jewish Cemetery

The Jewish Cemetery is located on the eastern edge of the town of Oranjestad, southeast of the intersection of Merkman Weg and Prinses Weg. The cemetery lies to the south of cemetery number 1, the Old Church Cemetery; it is also surrounded by a commercial car repair area and undeveloped areas (the former Princess Estate).

The datable gravestones range from 1742 to 1843, according to Emmanuel (1970). A Jewish cemetery was first mentioned on St. Eustatius in 1730 (Hartog 1976b). One gravestone appears to be a 20th-century addition, since it seems to be constructed of concrete;this gravestone is in the form of a vault and is unmarked. There are 32 marked graves; some, however, are broken and crumbled while others are just foundations at ground level. Most of the gravestones are a single tier, constructed of cut volcanic stone, with a plaque on top of imported material such as granite or marble. The inscriptions are generally long and are written in Portuguese, Hebrew, and/or English. Emmanuel (1970) and Hartog (1976b) have documented this cemetery; photographs and/or inscriptions - including English translations - are provided.

In general, the Jewish Cemetery is overgrown. The presence of a rock on top of many of the gravestones may indicate that flowers were placed upon the gravestones (St. Eustatius has a relatively steady breeze which blows from east

to west, and rocks are sometimes used to anchor bunches of flowers or vases on gravestones in other cemeteries).

In 1973 a group of volunteers from the Caribbean Mitsvah Corps "cleaned the Jewish cemetery and wired it in" (Hartog 1976a:59). Apparently, no wall surrounded the cemetery at that time. Today, the cemetery is enclosed by a concrete wall with a cast iron main gate decorated with Jewish symbols. The volunteers of 1973 also cleaned the ruins of the Jewish synagogue <u>Honen Dalim</u> which was built in 1739. This synagogue is located near the center of town close to cemetery number 4, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard.

Most of the Jews were "Sephardic Jews whose forefathers hailed from Spain and Portugal" (Hartog 1976a:58). When Rodney attacked the island in 1781 there were 101 Jewish men; the Jewish merchants were treated very harshly by Rodney, who separated the men from their families before expelling them. However, in 1790 there were still 157 Jews on Statia; the effects of the economic decline after 1795 may be reflected in the fact that by 1818 only five Jews remained, the last of whom died in 1846 (Hartog 1976a).

3. <u>Methodist Churchyard</u>

This cemetery is one of the five chosen for study. It is located on the grounds on the Bethel Methodist Church southeast of the intersection of Kapel Weg and De Ruyter Weg, and northeast of the intersection of Binckers Weg and De Ruyter Weg. The neighborhood is mainly residential except

for the Anglican Churchyard - cemetery number 7 - which lies to the west, across De Ruyter Weg.

The churchyard contains three separate areas in which burials occur (see Appendix A - Cemetery Maps). The earliest marked grave may be from 1835 - the date is unclear; another gravestone dates from 1840. The latest gravestone commemorates someone who died in 1958. There are 10 marked graves in this cemetery; the inscriptions are in English.

The Methodist Churchyard is generally neat in appearance; a wall of cut volcanic stone topped with concrete surrounds the church property; an apparently newer section of wall made of concrete blocks off one area of burials so that easy access from the front steps of the church is impeded.

The Methodist congregation is the most popular religious group on Statia today. A slave named Black Harry brought Methodism to St. Eustatius in 1786, probably after becoming a Methodist on Antigua (Bor 1981). The Dutch authorities did not approve of Methodism, but the British allowed for the founding of a Methodist congregation on then-British-ruled Statia in 1811 (Hartog 1976a). A wooden church was built in 1825; this structure was destroyed by an earthquake in 1843. The present stone-walled church was built in 1843.

In 1836, there were 677 Methodists on the island, out of a total population of approximately 1500 people (Bor 1981). Methodism spread quickly among the black and colored population on Statia; during the first half of the nineteenth century, there were no clergymen representing other churches

on the island, and whites also became Methodists.

4. Dutch Reformed Churchyard

The Dutch Reformed Churchyard is also one of the cemeteries in the sample. It is located on the grounds of the ruins of the Dutch Reformed Church, west of Kerk Weg and southeast of Fort Orange, not far from the cliffs overlooking Lower Town and the Caribbean Sea. It is surrounded by substantial and more modest homes, commercial property (the telephone/telegraph office), and vacant land (see Appendix A - Cemetery Maps).

The earliest dated gravestone is from 1762; the latest dates from 1987, although there are several non-dated gravestones from 1989. The cemetery contains 109 marked graves; six inscriptions are in the Dutch language.

The appearance of this cemetery is very neat and well-cared for. Informants reported that the island's Historical Foundation had undertaken a beautification plan for the churchyard several years ago - several palm trees and flowering plants were planted. An employee of the Historical Foundation unlocks and locks the door to the church's tower on a regular basis for tourists' convenience. The cemetery is a regular stop for taxi drivers who take visitors on tours of the island.

The wall surrounding the grounds seems to have been built in several stages, probably reflecting replacement for repairs. The main construction materials are Bermuda stone (probably native limestone), cut volcanic (native) stone,

mortar, brick, and concrete blocks. The top surface of the older walls contains glass, possibly as a deterrent to scaling the walls. The newest wall - of concrete block - is on the west side of the property, and contains a gateway which opens onto a path that leads to Fort Orange. The main entrance on Kerk Weg is through a cast iron gate and an arch composed of cut volcanic stone and brick.

The Protestant Dutch Reformed faith was the official religion of the Dutch colony. An earlier Dutch Protestant church had stood on the site of the Old Church Cemetery, cemetery number 1. Church services were also held inside various buildings in Fort Orange (Attema 1976). A church was built on the present site of the Dutch Reformed Church ruins in 1755; the structure was subsequently destroyed by a hurricane in 1772 - the same storm that severely damaged the synagogue Honen Dalim nearby. Hartog describes the aftermath of the 1772 destruction:

> ...the congregation of the Reformed Church decided on a representative building that would defy the centuries. The citizens, who had become rich in the meantime, did not want to be second to the Jewish community. From the preserved documents we know that this was the principal reason why they proceeded to build such a large building. (1976a:62)

The church building was begun in 1774 and completed in 1775 or in early 1776; the dimensions are 89 feet by 33 feet (Hartog 1976a). The tower used to be taller than it is now - it used to have a high eight-sided roof made of wood on top of the stone tower, resulting in a tower height of 63 feet. The tower and church building were plastered white and the

wooden tower roof was blue. The building is constructed mainly of irregularly shaped blocks of natural volcanic stone (faced stone) along with limestone and some red and yellow bricks which reportedly came from the Netherlands as ballast in the ships of the West Indies Company (Attema 1976). The building was "severely damaged in the hurricane of 1792; the roof and top of the tower collapsed" (Attema 1976:65). Protestant merchants left the island when other merchants did in the late 18th century; the Dutch Reformed minister left in 1792 and was not replaced. Hartog reports that "Calvinistic Protestantism disappeared completely from St. Eustatius and was succeeded by Methodism" (1976a:63).

The church building suffered more damage during a storm in 1852. In 1856 a minister was appointed to "revive the old Reformed Church" but he was not successful and left the island in 1860 (Hartog 1976a:64). The church had not been used since then, and became more and more dilapidated. An informant reported that the church was partially restored several years ago by a Dutch firm that also restored Fort Orange.

5. Catholic Cemetery

The Catholic Cemetery is included in the survey sample. It is located on the eastern edge of Oranjestad, on the cliff overlooking Lower Town. The cliff slopes gradually outward from the top (the cemetery) to the bottom (Lower Town), and it is evident that erosion has removed soil from the upper level, reducing the width of the cemetery. The cemetery's

gate faces Van Tonningen Weg; a school building is across the street, northeast of the cemetery. Salem Cemetery - cemetery number 6 -lies to the northwest of the Catholic Cemetery. To the east, across Van Tonningen Weg, are a small commercial shop and the house and grounds of the Lieutenant-Governor. To the southeast, a narrow strip of grass with a tree and a concrete bench lies between the road and a chain link fence marking the cliff's edge. A section of a stone and mortar wall from an unknown structure sits precariously on the edge of the cliff, to the west of the northwest corner of the cemetery. The boundary of the cemetery forms an irregular shape (see Appendix A - Cemetery Maps).

The earliest dated gravestone in the Catholic Cemetery is from 1854. The latest dated gravestone is from 1985; however, at least one burial occurred in 1989, although this grave was not marked with a gravestone. The cemetery contains 105 marked graves; all inscriptions are in English.

The general appearance of the Catholic Cemetery is good - there are no trees, the grass is relatively short, and bushes, flowering ivy, and other plants are in evidence. However, piles of debris (rocks, concrete fragments) and soil have accumulated near the walls of the cemetery, and grass and weeds are growing from cracks in many gravestones.

The present wall is a 20th-century addition which apparently was built in stages. The eastern wall (along the road) is constructed of concrete blocks which have been painted off-white on the top of the wall and the outer surface

of the wall (facing the road); the inner surface of this wall remains grey. The northern and southern walls of the cemetery are constructed of cinderblocks and are grey in color (not painted). The northern wall is attached to an apparently older wall of stone and mortar which is one-half the height of the modern wall; the older wall is located from the northeast corner of the cemetery along one-third of the northern wall (opposite Salem Cemetery).

It is evident that attempts have been made to enclose the west edge of the cemetery, along the cliff edge. In the present northwest corner of the cemetery, the northern wall curves southward then ends abruptly; the jagged edge of the wall indicates that the wall has been broken - the broken pieces probably fell down the cliff to Lower Town. A similar occurrence may have happened on the southwest corner near the cliff edge. The cinderblock wall on the south side of the cemetery used to extend straight out along its length; now, the western section has been added on at approximately a 130-degree angle to the rest of the south wall.

The remnants of what appears to be a stone wall near the cliff edge was found, overgrown with grass; it is marked "a" on the cemetery map (Appendix A). A section of barbed wire was noted along the upper face of the cliff, slightly below the surface level of the present edge of the cemetery. Another attempt at containing the effects of erosion may be implied by the presence of what appears to be the end of a mortared stone wall; this wall is visible on the upper face

of the cliff when viewing the cliff from below (Lower Town), facing east. This remnant of a possible wall lies south of the curved corner of the broken northern wall; an indentation in the cliff edge that appears to be the edge of an eroding grave lies halfway between the curved end of the northern wall and the possible mortared stone wall. The cliff edge of Upper Town is 40 meters high [132 feet], according to Attema (1976:11).

What is probably the most visually striking aspect of the Catholic Cemetery is the contrast of whitewashed gravestones against the backdrop of the dark blue Caribbean Sea. Another noticeable factor is the abundance of crosses, including an 8-foot-tall concrete base plus cross which lies at the end of the sidewalk which leads directly to the cross from the iron gate. This cross, numbered "41" on the cemetery map, is apparently not a gravestone but a symbol identifying this cemetery as Christian. Pocius, in his study of 18th and 19th-century cemeteries in Newfoundland, Canada, notes that "Large crosses were often placed in Roman Catholic cemeteries, usually at some central location..." (1986:30). One gravestone, at over 11 feet tall, towers over the rest of the cemetery; designated "81" on the cemetery map, it is the resting place of Catholic priests and a Catholic nun. This gravestone will be discussed at greater length in following chapters.

The history of Catholicism on St. Eustatius seems to be a two-part story. During the 18th century - and possibly

during the 17th century - there existed a Roman Catholic church in Lower Town, on Oranje Bay. This church is shown on an Italian print that was probably made from a drawing by someone else shortly before 1772 (Hartog 1976a:70); the church is labeled "private" (La Chiesa Romana Privata). It is interesting to note that this church appears to be below and in front of the cliff where the Catholic cemetery is today.

The 18th-century merchants of St. Eustatius included "quite a few Dutch Roman Catholics, but the Catholics were mostly foreigners" (Hartog 1976a:116). The church may have been designated as "private" on the Italian print because instead of a "canonically established parish" there was "only a group of Catholics cared for by a wandering priest who had settled on the island" (Hartog 1976a:116). The estimated number of Catholics during this time period is 500. Hartog (1976a) states that Jan Dijkers, a member of a well-known Dutch family on St. Eustatius, was the owner of the private Catholic chapel. While Jan's date of birth or death is not given, his brother Michael was born in 1770 and died in 1848 (Hartog 1976a:83). When the merchants left the island at the end of the 18th century, the Catholic parish also disappeared, and nothing is left of the former church (Hartog 1976a).

The second phase in the history of Catholicism on Statia began in 1841 when a priest was stationed on the island in order to spread the Catholic religion. In doing so, the priest had to compete with the Methodist minister for converts, but both churches developed congregations. Hartog

declares that the present Catholic parish has "nothing to do historically with the one of the 18th century" (1976a:117). The Catholic community expanded in size especially after 1890 (Hartog 1976a). This parish reportedly built a small church in 1843 which was rebuilt into a convent for the nuns in 1910. Also in 1910 a new church -the present one in Upper Town - was built "of stones taken from the ruins in the Lower Town and carried up piece by piece" (Hartog 1976a:116).

The Catholic Cemetery was used by the second phase of Catholics; the question remains as to whether Catholics from the 18th century were ever buried on Statia, and if so, in what location. While some of the non-dated gravestones in the Catholic Cemetery are in poor condition, a 19th-century date for their construction is more likely than an 18th-century date, based on the even worse condition of some 18th-century gravestones in the Anglican Churchyard (cemetery number 7). Kandle (1985) argues that Lower Town and its concentration of warehouses and shops used mainly for trade activities with foreigners functioned as a boundary separating Dutch Statians from foreigners attracted there for trade, and also separating "foreign traders who intended a more permanent residence on the island from those of a more transient nature" (1985:128). Bor suggests that the Catholic priest or priests may have been transient: in the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the "island depended on visiting pastors from neighboring islands" (1981:198).

Since the Roman Catholic Church requires that the body be buried in consecrated ground (Mitford 1963) it appears unlikely that its members were buried in one of the Protestant cemeteries of the 18th century. Kandle suggests that acceptance into the Upper Town could have been biased in favor of the English such as neighbors from St. Kitts and Nevis who had stronger economic ties with Statian merchants, and biased against the Spanish and French, who were more likely to be Catholic (1985:129). A small parish of foreigners without a full-time priest would seem to lack the power to claim and maintain a plot of land in Upper Town to use as a cemetery, especially land in a prime location near the governor's residence (which is also shown on the 1772 print, in Upper Town).

It is not very probable that the 18th-century Catholic parish had a cemetery in Lower Town since the area was literally packed full of buildings. Kandle (1985) reports that buildings in Lower Town once stood as many as seven structures deep up to the cliff face, and that there was heavy competition for construction land. Another argument against a Catholic cemetery in Lower Town is that 18th and 19th-century Catholic cemeteries tend to be situated at a distance from settled areas of the community, whereas Anglican and Methodist burial grounds were usually created surrounding a newly built church building (Pocius 1986). Another possibility is that the bodies of Catholics were sent off the island for burial in a Catholic cemetery, possibly to St.

Kitts, the closest neighboring island. St. Maarten is further away than St. Kitts, but since half of the island is French (St. Martin), it is likely to have had a Catholic cemetery.

6. Salem Cemetery

Salem Cemetery - sometimes called the Government Cemetery - is located northwest of the Catholic Cemetery (cemetery number 5) and west of Van Tonningen Weg, the road which leads to Lower Town. It lies closer to the road and further from the cliff edge than the Catholic Cemetery. Salem Cemetery is very large - it is the largest cemetery on St. Eustatius. The surroundings are mainly undeveloped land and residential sites.

Salem is a 20th-century cemetery, and is the newest cemetery on Statia. The oldest dated gravestone is from 1912 (Garrett and Grode 1976); the newest dated gravestone is from January 1989. Three burials took place in Salem Cemetery between June and mid-August of 1989; none of these burials were marked with names or dates, however.

An informal count revealed that there are approximately 168 marked graves in this cemetery, 81% of which are in the form of a vault (gravestone types will be discussed in a later chapter). The inscriptions all seem to be in English.

The cemetery was generally in a state of neglect with tall grass and weeds. However, a team of local government employees from the Public Works Department cut the grass in early August, improving the cemetery's condition considerably.

It is interesting to note that a worker reported that the cemetery was being cleaned so it would "look nice for the tourists." The cemetery wall is of unpainted cinderblocks; the three gates are wooden and are painted white.

Salem cemetery is not affiliated with a religious group - it is operated by the local government as a public cemetery open to anyone on Statia.

7. Anglican Churchyard

The Anglican Churchyard - also called the Old English Cemetery - is included in this study. It is found northwest of the intersection of De Ruyter Weg and Binckers Weg, and west of the Methodist Church and its churchyard (cemetery number 3). The other surroundings are residential areas to the north and mixed residential and commercial areas to the south (across Binckers Weg). A vacant lot with an abandoned cistern (a structure for storing rain water) lies to the west of the cemetery, indicating that this lot previously contained a structure such as a house.

The Anglican Churchyard appears to be a bit older that the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (cemetery number 4). The earliest dated gravestone is from 1755; the newest gravestone is dated 1983. The cemetery contains 68 marked graves. The inscriptions are in English, which is not surprising since England was generally associated with the Anglican Church.

The overall appearance of the cemetery is one of neglect. The grass and weeds are tall, and it was not uncommon to find

trash near the fence along the street by the Methodist Church.
Occasionally a donkey was seen tied to a gravestone and
allowed to graze. Flowering trees and palm trees add a touch
of visual appeal. The north, west, and south walls are of
cinderblock and are unpainted; the east wall is made of a
combination of materials: a cut stone base with an upper
portion of black cast iron fencing interspersed with pillars
of concrete, painted off-white. The gate in the east wall is
of cast iron. A second entrance is formed by a space left
open in the south wall (see Appendix A - Cemetery Maps).

This cemetery was originally associated with the Anglican
religion. Hartog states that the church of the Anglican
community was established in 1752; the church appears on the
Italian print from shortly before 1772 as the English Church
(Chiesa Inglese). The location of the church on this Italian
print seems to be near the cliff in Upper Town, near the
present-day location of the Catholic Church. By 1830, an
Anglican Church was located within the Anglican Churchyard of
today (Hartog 1976a:126). The foundation of a building is
still partially visible in the churchyard, and is marked "J"
and "K" on the cemetery map (Appendix A).

Bor reports that:

> There was a succession of ministers until 1821, when the
> last one left. The church soon fell into disrepair and
> now only the fairly extensive graveyard remains as a
> reminder of this community. (1981:196)

The last British occupation of Statia ended in 1816, so it
appears that when British rule was over for good, so was
interest in the Anglican religion. The exodus of British

merchants prior to 1816 also probably led to a weakening of strength of the Anglican faith.

8. <u>Benners Family Graveyard</u>

Benners Family Graveyard is located northwest of the town of Oranjestad, on Benners Plantation. Visits to the four known plantation graveyards on Statia were not made due to limits in time and accessibility. However, Benners Cemetery was mapped in July of 1988 by members of the College of William and Mary Summer Field School under the direction of Jerry D. Hartley.

The dated gravestones indicate that the graveyard was in use between circa 1728 and 1802, with five or six of the nine marked gravestones dating from the 1730s (Garrett and Grode 1976). Six of the inscriptions are in Dutch, one appears to be in Latin, one is in English, and one is unknown (just a name and year). The family names represented are Benners (also spelled Benner), Creutzer, Heyliger, Lindesay, Ravene, and Gibbes. There are fourteen identifiable graves in the main portion of the cemetery, which lies to the north of a modern dirt road (Delle 1989). Three unmarked children's gravestones are located to the south of the road (Delle 1989).

The most noticeable gravestone is reportedly that of "The Hon. Johannes Salomons Gibbes, Esq.," who was former Governor of St. Maarten; he was born on St. Eustatius on May 22nd, 1733 and died on St. Eustatius on April 21st, 1802. The lengthy inscription of approximately 37 lines states that "...his

remains were interred with Military Honors By a Party of the British Garrison who then Commanded the Island..." (Garrett and Grode 1976:63-64).

Garrett and Grode (1976) also note the appearance of a stone now imbedded in the wall of the plantation cookhouse with the inscription "C WAN PEDRO." The authors hypothesize that this may have been a grave marker of a slave (Garrett and Grode 1976:i-ii,64).

9. Berkel Family Cemetery

The Berkel Family Cemetery is located northwest of the intersection of Weg Maar Jeems and Paramira Weg, at a distance from the roads. An unpaved path leads from a wooden gate on the north side of Paramira Weg; the gate lies at the west end of a tall stone wall that parallels Paramira Weg. At the gate entrance to the unpaved path, a house lies on both the east and west sides of the path. The path ends with the cemetery on its east side and a modest house on the west side of the path. To the north of the cemetery are fields; two sheds are leaning against the outer walls of the cemetery, near its northeast and southeast corners. The dimensions are approximately 60 feet by 75 feet.

The cemetery appears to have been in use since 1929, the earliest date on a gravestone; the newest dated gravestone is from 1976, although some appear to be even newer. The inscriptions are in English, and there appear to be 11 marked graves. Ten of the 11 marked graves are in the form of

vaults; an informant stated that some of the earlier graves are unmarked.

This cemetery has many plants growing in it, some of which appear to be purposefully planted while some of them may be growing wild. The walls are of concrete blocks; the remnants of what appears to be an older wall of mortar, stone, and brick lies inside the south wall, at a maximum height of one foot. The wooden gate, painted white, is near the southwest corner, facing west onto the path. An informant reported that the wall was built eight or nine years ago, and that the cemetery is 75 years old, or older.

The Berkel family is a large one on Statia; a Berkel is listed in the 1989 Telephone Directory of St. Eustatius as one of the members of the Island Council. Another Berkel was reported by an informant to be the past president of the Historical Foundation.

10. <u>Kongo Cemetery</u>

The Kongo Cemetery - also known as Duinkerk Cemetery - is located outside of the town of Oranjestad, north of the intersection of Mansion Road (also called Airport Road) and Paramira Weg, and on the east side of Mansion Road. It is surrounded by grazing land and trees and a house lies to the north of the cemetery.

The dates of use of the cemetery are unknown. Only three marked graves are apparent, with two intact gravestones and one broken into rubble - none of which have inscriptions. An

informant reported that the cemetery land had been cleared a few years ago using a tractor. It was noted that shallow trenches had been dug along the north and south edges of the property; one trench was marked at each end with a metal pin and a string in between for part of the length of the trench. Sixteen piles of ivy-covered rock were scattered around the cemetery; an informant stated that a wall was going to be built for the cemetery. The property is fenced off with a barbed wire fence.

A senior citizen stated that he had "been to one or two funerals" in the Kongo Cemetery. Garrett and Grode report that:

> No stones with legible names are found on this site, except for a footstone of a double grave inscribed M H. Six other unmarked graves were found. It was reported that TANTE ANGELIQUE DAWES was buried in this cemetery about 1968 at the age of 105. (1976:68)

An informant remarked that the land formerly was used for planting sweet potatoes and yams. Another informant is of the opinion that the building of a wall around the Kongo Cemetery may signal a new pride in being a "Kongo person" - someone whose ancestors are from the Congo region of West Africa. He stated that people used to think of Kongo people as being lower in rank, but now it is becoming high status with titles for people such as "prince of the Kongos." According to an informant, some people from the United States sent money to Statia to be used for cleaning up the cemetery. This clean-up was begun and then stopped; the work was reportedly done by the government and by some families who may

have had "their old ancestors buried there."

11. Lazareto Leper Colony

The property that used to be the Lazareto Leper Colony is located north of the outskirts of Lower Town, opposite the spot on the shoreline where the modern shipwreck "The Dundalk" is stuck. A black-sand beach is between the shipwreck and the leper colony property. The south boundary of the property appears to be Billy's Gut, a natural depression or gully which extends to the beach. The nearest neighbor is a modern home built uphill from the site, to the north. There are ruins of a former structure to the southeast of the property. The property's boundaries are dense with trees and bushes.

The property was reportedly bulldozed in 1988 by the local government. There is a dispute over whether the government or a private citizen owns the land, so development plans were halted. An informant reported that the property contained graves from the days of the leper colony; a leper colony reportedly operated on this site from the 1860s to the 1920s (Jerry D. Hartley, personal communication, 1989).

The land is overgrown with grass, bushes, and ivy. Only two marked graves were distinguishable, one of which appears to have the tracks of the bulldozer scratched onto the surface. These graves are not marked with gravestones but are partially outlined with fieldstone (natural, native stone). The two graves are in the approximate center of the property.

Near the southwest corner of the site is a trench dug by prehistoric archaeologists from The Netherlands several years ago. A very tall palm tree stands to the east of the graves; to the east of this tree stands the ruin of a building. The building is reportedly the former living quarters of the occupants of the leper colony. The building is built of faced stone and has partially collapsed into Billy's Gut at its south end. The west side of the building, facing the beach, contains a series of doorways with a step that runs along the length of the building. A series of windows are on the opposite side of the building, facing east. The structure appears to have eight rooms.

Although the property is not fenced off now, a senior citizen remembered that the property was walled off and a guard was posted "so the lepers couldn't come out" when she was a child.

12. Groebe Family Cemetery

The Groebe Family Cemetery is located at Schotzenhoek Plantation, northwest of the town of Oranjestad. Garrett and Grode (1976) report that they observed three gravestones and one footstone; the three gravestones were dated 1750, 1770, and 1795. Two inscriptions were in Latin and one was in English; the footstone was marked with the initials "I G" only. The surname on the gravestones was Groebe, except for one who was a Heyliger and the widow of a Groebe.

In a survey of possible plantation sites on Statia in 1988, Delle reportedly found that the family cemetery at Schotzenhoek contains at least eleven burials, five of which are marked (Delle 1989). Delle notes that three or four of the graves appear to be children's graves and that two grave markers are displaced to the northeast of the cemetery.

Schotzenhoek Plantation is unoccupied and is in ruins, a fate that has been repeated throughout the island. In 1829, there were only 14 plantations left on Statia; after 1835 "people began to demolish the plantation[s] and sugar mills constructed during the golden period, in order to sell the red and blue [yellow?] bricks" (Bor 1981:55). A 1742 map of St. Eustatius by an unknown artist lists 76 plantations and their owners (Hartog 1976a:162).

The Groebe family is included among the deceased members of five families - Hill, Brouwer, Lampe, Groebe, and Pundt - who are interred in a vault in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (Cem#4-Grave#53); the vault was built by James Hill in 1860, according to a descendent who resides on Statia, Mr. Frans Siegfried Lampe.

13. Plantation Graveyard at English Quarter

English Quarter is located east of Oranjestad, approximately one mile from the eastern edge of town. English Quarter is north of the volcano (the Quill) and not far from Compagnie Bay on the Atlantic side of the island.

Garrett and Grode (1976) reportedly found ten marked graves at this cemetery, five of which were dated with the years 1735 (twice), 1756, and 1759 (twice). Four of these five dated stones were apparently footstones and were inscribed with initials: PDW, ICVB, ISS, and RVB. The one inscribed gravestone was in Dutch; the deceased's name was Tanna De Wever. Therefore, "PDW" is probably a De Wever. The initials VB may stand for a Dutch surname beginning with "van," since this is common in Dutch names.

The authors added a note about their findings:

> This plantation graveyard also includes five small stones bearing square indentations into which metal inscription plates were apparently fitted. These plates are no longer in place. (Garrett and Grode 1976:66).

14. Plantation Graveyard at Concordia

The Plantation Graveyard at Concordia is near the site of the Government Farm, near the center of the island, southeast of the airport. Concordia is approximately three-fourths of a mile northwest of the limits of the town of Oranjestad; it is situated closer to the Atlantic and Great Bay than it is to the Caribbean.

Garrett and Grode (1976) note that there is only one marked gravestone - that of John R. Landsman who was born on St. Eustatius in 1825 and died in 1845. The inscription is in English. The authors also stated that there was another "small unmarked stone on this site and indications of several other graves" (Garrett and Grode 1976:67). The surname "Landsman" did not appear in the present survey.

CHAPTER III

A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The literature concerning cemeteries and gravestones is written by individuals from a variety of disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, geography, history, art history, sociology, and architecture. The writings reviewed in this chapter are relevant to the following topics: social status and gravestones, and burial customs and beliefs.

Social status and gravestones

Some factors that appear to signal the social status of the deceased include the presence or absence of a gravestone, the gravestone location, the height of the monument, the gravestone materials and their importation, the presence of fences around burial plots, decorative motifs on gravestones, and gravestone inscriptions. These factors may serve to call attention to a particular gravestone and/or signal that the gravestone was more expensive than the average gravestone.

Lindley argues for a connection between the use of gravestones in Britain and economic status:

> The flood of tombstones which poured into churchyards for the early years of the seventeenth century and which has continued unabated to this day is to be accounted for by the change in the social and economic structure of society, or to be more precise by the rise of the middle

class. In the Middle Ages there was a strongly marked division between rich and poor; the former had monuments, the latter did without...The folk whose names began to appear outside the church were usually members of a class which had never previously been able to afford the luxury of a commemorative monument. As this class became more wealthier the monuments became more elaborate, and as they became more prolific, so did the tombstones. (1965:32-33)

In the 19th century, spacious park-like cemeteries were established in rural areas of Europe and America to relieve overcrowding in city burial grounds. These rural cemeteries were often profit-making ventures. Since the poor could not afford large family plots, single plots were purchased in which the surrounding burials would probably be of the poor, and of strangers to one another. Ames writes that the graves of the poor

> were designated by modest markers, if any. Without a marker the grave site could easily be lost, for while cemeteries kept careful records of family plots, they were often uninterested in single plots. Thus, the poor were discriminated against in death as in life. For the very poor there was often neither record nor marker. (1981:651)

Economic factors seem to be one reason why many graves remain unmarked in 20th-century America. Boyd (1988), in a study of a Williamsburg, Virginia cemetery, notes that one section that contained the burials of mostly black persons had many unmarked graves. When a predominantly black cemetery in St. Louis, Missouri switched to a rule several years ago that all markers must be of granite, the result was an increase in unmarked graves. Before the new rule, "homemade memorials such as carved crosses and individually cast concrete" were allowed; granite monuments are relatively expensive, and now

between 70 and 80 percent of all graves in the cemetery are unmarked (McKoy 1985:33).

If the cemetery is thought of as a type of residential community, then certain sections represent "prime real estate" while other areas are less desirable. The 19th-century rural cemetery has been described as having fashionable and unfashionable neighborhoods; "large lots, impressive vistas, and notable families were clustered in certain areas. The poor, on the other hand, were laid in undesirable sections, off to the side along fences or walls, with unappealing views" (Ames 1981:651).

One European burial custom is to inter the dead beneath the floor of churches. This practice dated back to the 8th century in England and was adopted as one form of burial in colonial New England (French 1974). Curl explains that church burial grew more popular in Europe after the 16th century, possibly due to Dutch influence:

> The churches of Delft and Amsterdam, for example, have floors composed of vault covers. When William of Orange became King William III, Netherlandish practice became fashionable in Britain. Churches became filled with monuments to those lying beneath the floor. (1972:31-32)

Earle writes on the same burial practice in colonial New York, which was Dutch (New Amsterdam) until it became British in 1664, but which retained many Dutch customs:

> Interments were made under the churches; and, by special payment, a church-attendant could be buried under the seat in which he was wont to sit during his lifetime. The cost of interment in the Flatbush church was two pounds for the body of a child under six years; three pounds for a person from six to sixteen years of age; four pounds for an adult; and in addition 'those who are inclined to be permitted to be interred in the church are required to pay the expense of every person.' I don't

know exactly what this ambiguous sentence can mean, but it was at any rate an extra charge 'for the profit of the schoolmaster,' who dug the grave and carried the dirt out of the church, and was paid twenty-seven guilders for this sexton's work for an adult, and less for a younger person and hence a smaller grave. Usually the domines were buried in front of the pulpit where they had stood so often in life. (Earle 1896 reprinted in Jackson 1977:38)

A "domine" is the obsolete form for the word "dominie" which means a clergyman or the Dutch Reformed Church, or - in informal usage - any minister (Morris 1970).

The nineteenth century's gravestones literally reached new heights: imposing markers typically inscribed with a family name were "both a Victorian innovation and often the tallest markers in a cemetery;" the "family markers, symbols of wealth and taste, made to be envied and admired, contribute much to the 'social register' aspect of the Victorian cemeteries" (Ames 1981:653). The high point of verticality in gravestones is estimated to have occurred in 1880 to 1890.

From the 19th to the 20th century, gravestones became shorter, simpler, and more restrained in design. Gillespie, in a study of five cemeteries near Philadelphia, Pennsylvania documents "the decline in ostentatiousness of American gravestones from the 19th century to the 20th century..." (1969:34). He defined "ostentatious as "given to show, or having qualities intended to attract notice" (Gillespie 1969: 36). A variable chosen by Gillespie for gauging ostentation was the height of the gravestone since a taller gravestone attracts more attention than a similar but shorter marker. Family gravestones - "a single gravestone commemorating two

or more people" - were excluded from the sample since these stones were often larger because of their function in commemorating an entire family (Gillespie 1969:36).

In the Roman Catholic cemetery that Gillespie surveyed, the mean gravestone height for the 1850s was 40 inches while in the 1960s it was only 12 inches (1969:39). Similar results were noted in the Baptist, Episcopal, and Presbyterian cemeteries in the sample; however, the Quaker cemetery's monuments remained relatively constant in height from the 1840s to the 1960s, averaging approximately nine inches (Gillespie 1969: 42). Gillespie interprets this constancy to the fact that Quaker gravestones were never ostentatious to begin with, and takes the results to be evidence of the "depth and sincerity of the Quaker testimony of simplicity" (1969:43). Overall, the decline in ostentation can be seen as reflecting a change in American values: "More and more in America during the last century the exhibition of costly goods has become passe" (Gillespie 1969:43).

The choice of construction materials for gravestones may indicate the amount of wealth at the buyer's disposal. This factor is especially relevant when certain materials are not locally available and therefore must be imported, thereby raising the costs even further. Crowell and Mackie (1984) observed regional patterns when comparing gravestones from Anglo-American settlements in the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake-Tidewater areas of the United States. Gravestones from the early 17th to early 19th centuries in

Pennsylvania/New Jersey and Virginia/ Maryland were examined. The authors concluded that distribution of gravestones depended on whether or not local stone was available. In the areas under study local stone was scarce; therefore "gravestones, when desired, had to be imported...this was not an unusual practice in the colonial period" (Crowell and Mackie 1984:12). For example, South Carolina and Georgia residents reportedly imported gravestones from New England and elsewhere.

People from the Middle Atlantic and Chesapeake-Tidewater regions who ordered markers had to "order them from a source area and pay the cost of shipment as well as the cost of the stone" thus limiting their purchase to "a wealthier segment of the population" (Crowell and Mackie 1984:12). England was the source of the majority of gravestones imported to Tidewater Virginia and southern Maryland prior to 1780. Gravestones in these two areas "marked the graves of the more prestigious residents of the areas...thousands of graves were either unmarked of marked with wooden markers which have since deteriorated" (Crowell and Mackie 1984:13). Mackie (1986) verified England as the source of colonial Tidewater Virginia gravemarkers through evidence from wills, the Public Records Office Accounts of Imports and Exports to Virginia and Maryland, and the name and origin of the carver which is sometimes inscribed on the gravestone.

In an investigation of slate gravestones imported from Boston to colonial Charleston, South Carolina to mark the

graves of wealthy planters and merchants, Bergengren notes that urban gravestone dealers "tended to export their stones to the elite, even those who loved a great distance away" (1983:181).

At the other end of the economic spectrum, Jeane (1987) describes the Upland South folk graveyard, a pre-World War II type of cemetery characterized by a small size, hilltop location, east-west grave orientation, scraped ground (no grass), and mounded graves (covered with mounds of soil). Gravestones were not very common, but gravemarkers of a non-commercial nature were often found. Wooden markers were often used; homemade stones were made of concrete at times, especially in the 1920s and 1930s. Concrete markers were especially common in black cemeteries, though Jeane notes that they have also been observed in white burial grounds. Jeane describes these kinds of markers as folk markers which "express and art of 'making do'" (1987:67). Decoration of these stones was often absent but sometimes was unique - one concrete marker had the deceased's name spelled with embedded marbles.

Families of higher incomes in the South were memorialized by gravestones of material such as polished granite or white marble; their gravestones were also noted to be larger, with greater skill of artistic effort evident in their designs. These larger gravestones were associated with the rural South's wealthier citizens such as planters, but others such as doctors, lawyers, of merchants also had them (Jeane 1987).

Fences or walls serve at least three functions in cemeteries: to delineate the cemetery as a whole, to mark off smaller sections such as family plots, and to outline and define a single burial. Mount Auburn in Cambridge, Massachusetts - founded in 1831 - was this country's first cemetery influenced by the rural cemetery movement. The rural cemetery relieved overcrowding in city graveyards and "provided carefully designed park-like settings for the burial of the dead" (Ames 1981:642). A new feature of the rural cemetery was a gatekeeper:

> Town and village burial-grounds usually had a low wall to keep out grazing animals, but there had never been a fence to keep out human beings. Mount Auburn established a custom (followed by other cemeteries) of having a fence to keep put even legitimate visitors when the cemetery was closed, usually from sunset to sunrise. (Rotundo 1984:259)

The rural cemetery introduced another new idea in mortuary behavior, advance purchase of burial space:

> Campaigns for setting up rural cemeteries urged people to buy in advance of need, and many people did, even though such a thing had never been done before. (They might have worried about where they would be buried, but graveyards simply had no organization which could have handled purchase of lots in advance.). (Rotundo 1984:259)

A result of this advance purchase of cemetery plots was that families began to care for their lots by "surrounding them with hedges or cast-iron fences, and putting up a central monument before any death had taken place" (Rotundo 1984:259). By the late 1840s people began complaining that the "cemeteries were becoming seas of fences - an unaesthetic development which was detrimental to the cemeteries' higher cultural purposes"; such fencing was "symbolic of the national

trait of possessive individualism" (French 1974:51). Others thought that fences around cemetery plots were "useful for defining community, whether it be family or other, by enclosing those within a group, excluding others, and not inadvertently demonstrating the status value of private property" (Ames 1981:653). Besides family plots, fences were utilized to enclose graves of fraternal organizations or ethnic groups, especially in the larger cemeteries (Ames 1981). The problem was lessened when the cast iron railings were replaced by curbstones in the 1850s; this modification is viewed as the first step toward the development of the "lawn cemetery," which became popular after the Civil War. Most internal fencing in rural cemeteries was removed in the 1880s (French 1974).

Outlining the edges of a single burial plot - approximately 9 feet by 3 feet - with a fence or other material does not appear to be an indicator of status or an attempt at drawing attention. Outlining graves has been described as a characteristic of certain African cultures and will be discussed in a later section of this chapter.

A gravestone motif may be defined as a pictorial and/or symbolic representation applied onto the gravestone and/or forming the shape of the gravestone. The gravestone inscription may be defined as any lettering or numbering appearing on the gravestone. An inscription, as defined here, encompasses both identifying information on the deceased (name, date of death, etc.) and what is commonly known as an

epitaph – a verbal addition written in prose or verse.

Motifs and inscriptions have been interpreted as reflecting the religious ideology and attitudes toward death which were popular when the gravestone was produced (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Mann and Greene 1962; Habenstein and Lamers 1955 reprinted in Jackson 1977). Early American epitaphs "minced no words, used no sweetened or softened expressions to veil or sugar the lard natural facts...they spelled out the reality of death...They called sinners, sinners; saints, saints" (Habenstein and Lamers 1955 reprinted in Jackson 1977:98). A skull and cross-bones or a winged skull – also known as a death's head – was often used to illustrate a grim message such as this New Hampshire epitaph:

> This rose was sweet a while,
> But now is odour vile.
> (Habenstein and Lamers 1955 reprinted in Jackson 1977:99)

After 1850 or so, "monument prose, verse and art more and more softened the hard facts, grew less didactic, less blunt...The skull and cross-bones gave way to the winged cherub and to other symbols of faith and hope" (Habenstein and Lamers 1955 reprinted in Jackson 1977:100). The following epitaph from 1865 expresses the newer attitude towards death and immortality:

> 'Tis but the casket that lies here
> The gem that fills it sparkles yet.
> (Habenstein and Lamers 1955 reprinted in Jackson 1977:100)

Gravestone motifs seem to be associated with the age of the deceased person; Jeane (1987) explains that on children's

graves in the Upland South folk graveyard common symbols are the sleeping lamb, the lamb at rest, and the dove. A less common motif is a celestial being, such as an angel flying to heaven with a child in its arms; this type of motif seems to be associated with children of families of higher income (Jeane 1987).

Popular gravestones motifs in the South may represent the area's strong fundamentalist religious beliefs; they include the dove, the open Bible, the finger pointing to Heaven, the broken rose, the broken link of chain, and the cross and the crown (Jeane 1987). Emblems on adult gravestones showing a profession are not common, while fraternal symbols, such as the Masonic emblem, are very common; women's monuments in the South frequently show the emblem of the Order of the Eastern Star (Jeane 1987).

Bergengren (1983) contrasts the type of stone portraits carved onto early American gravestones of the elite versus the less wealthy. The portraits of the elite - such as a group of wealthy planters and merchants in Charleston, South Carolina - tend to resemble academic paintings done in Europe with their realistic, lively, and detailed portraits. Bergengren interprets these motifs as "ornate and fleshy reminders of, or monuments to, accomplishments in this world" (1983:172). The opposite style is rural, and is represented by non-personalized spirit masks (a face) which resemble the work of itinerant professional folk painters; these stone portraits are "non-personalized, flat, symmetrical, and

abstract" in style (Bergengren 1983:172). The rural style of motif may indicate that individual identification was less important than the local identity of a cooperative community of neighbors; the folk portraits may portray permanent spiritual notions instead of transitory personality factors (Bergengren 1983).

One of the factors used by Gillespie (1969) to discern the amount of ostentation represented on gravestones in five Pennsylvania cemeteries was the number of lines of type on the inscription; the rationale was that "a longer message is intended to attract more notice than a shorter one" (1969:36). The mean number of lines of type generally decreased from the 1840s to the 1960s in a Baptist cemetery, an Episcopal cemetery, a Catholic cemetery, a Presbyterian cemetery, and a Quaker cemetery, after peaking in 1850 to 1880. Gillespie describes three major periods in the content of epitaphs, reflecting changes in American values regarding death: "(1) Precautionary warnings in the 18th Century; (2) Sanguine reassurances in the 19th Century; (3) Absence of message in the 20th Century" (1969:43).

Earle contrasts inscriptions of the Dutch versus the English of colonial New York: the Dutch gravestones contained

> dignified and simple inscriptions...in marked contrast to the stilted affectations, the verbose enumerations, the pompous eulogies, which make many English 'graveyard lines' a source of ridicule and a gratification of curiousity[sic]. Indeed, the Dutch inscriptions can scarcely be called epitaphs; the name, date of birth and death, are simply prefaced with the ever-recurring <u>Hier rust het lighaam</u>, Here rests the body; <u>Hier leydt het stoffelyk deel</u>, Here lie the earthly remains; or simpler still, <u>Hier leyt begraven</u>, Here lies buried. Sometimes is found the touching <u>Gedachtenis</u>, In remembrance. More

impressive still, from its calm repetition on stone after stone, of an undying faith in a future life, are the ever-present words, <u>In den Heere Ontslapen</u>, Sleeping in the Lord. (Earle 1896 reprinted in Jackson 1977:40-41)

At times a woman's maiden name appears in a gravestone inscription. Warner comments that putting a woman's lineage (maiden name) on a gravestone may "appear in any class, but it is more frequent with the upper class, where the patronym of the mother is of special significance to the social position of the family" (1959:288). An assumption of upper status should be made with caution since ethnic factors also come into play. Stone (1989) notes that Dutch women represented by gravestones on Long Island, New York from 1680 to 1800 were usually denoted by their maiden name in addition to their husband's name; English women never were memorialized in this fashion in Stone's sample. English women of status were listed, for example, as Mary, wife of Samuel Jones and daughter of Captain John and Alice Parker; only a very small percentage of English women's lineage was represented in this manner in the sample (Stone 1989).

Burial customs and beliefs

In discussing gravestones it is useful to consider other aspects of mortuary behavior such as burial and grave decoration. Ethnographic data have indicated that "the patterning of mortuary remains reflects separation of an individual from the community and reinforces the intactness of the community despite loss of a member" (Trinkhaus 1984:674). Archaeological remains have "established further

that the material remains of burial are patterned...and that they can provide information about the structure of the societies whose members they contain" (Trinkhaus 1984:674).

This section will discuss the following topics: West African burial customs and beliefs, grave decorations, and the interment of slaves. The literature on gravestones and status generally reflects European cultural traditions. Many of the past and present residents of Statia have connections to African cultural traditions; slavery was a part of Statia's history until the abolition of slavery in 1863.

Goody (1962) attended approximately 25 burial services while engaging in fieldwork in West Africa in the early 1950s. Goody studied the cultural groups the Lo Wiili and the Lo Dagaba in Ghana (then Gold Coast), the Upper Volta, and the Ivory Coast; collectively he terms the cultural groups the Lo Dagaa. The Lo Dagaa had three main ways of disposing of the dead:

> The normal form is inhumation in a bell-shaped chamber, either in the local cemetery or else in the courtyard of the compound itself; the second is the building of a mound above the corpse; and the third consists in burial in a trench grave. (Goody 1962:142)

In ordinary burials among the Lo Dagaa a new grave is usually dug in the local cemetery for each group of full brothers, with approximately one cemetery per patrilineage, the members of which tend to live close together. Burial is by locality, not descent: "husbands and wives and members of other lineages living in the same house are all buried in the neighborhood cemetery...Interment in a cemetery is known as

burial in the bush" (Goody 1962:142).

Prior to burial, the "grave-diggers wrap the body in a mat and carry it to the grave, which has been temporarily covered with a pot" (Goody 1962:144). The corpse of a man is laid on his right side, facing east, reportedly so that the rising sun will warm him to prepare for the hunt of for the farm. A woman is laid on her left side, facing west, so that "the setting sun will warn her when to prepare the meal for her husband's homecoming" (Goody 1962:144).

The tomb is covered with either a pot or a stone. A grave covered with a pot is never reopened; a grave is covered in this way when the last child of one mother has died. A grave covered with a stone can be reopened "if another sibling or a sibling's wife is to be buried in the same tomb" (Goody 1962:146). However, the grave is never reopened in the case of certain "bad deaths" such as death from leprosy, snake bite, or pox, because of the supposed danger of infection.

The grave-diggers cover the grave, including the pot or stone, with mud made from the earth which had been dug from the grave chamber. Finally, some dry earth is dug up and spread over the whole mound. Sometimes the handle of the hoe that the grave-diggers used is stuck on top of the mound.

It takes a lot of effort to dig one of these underground chambers, and being buried in one is a privilege; this privilege is denied to "those members of the community who are considered dangerous and who therefore have to be disposed of either as quickly as possible or else outside the boundaries

of the parish altogether" (Goody 1962:148).

If an epidemic results in a large number of deaths in a short time, a common trench grave is dug for all of the dead. In other circumstances the

> principle underlying the special mode of disposing of the dead appears to be the avoidance of burial within the earth itself. For the Earth is not only the custodian of corpses; she is also the guardian of the living. In this second capacity she is associated with the main activities of human life - farming, childbearing, house building,...the making of pots...Among the Lo Dagaa, the interment of an evil-doer below the surface of the earth might adversely affect any of these important activities, especially the fertility of crops and of women. (Goody 1962:148-149)

Building the grave above ground minimizes contact with the earth:

> The corpses of young children, those who have not yet been weaned and can neither walk nor talk properly, are buried under a pile of earth at the side of a crossroads on the path leading to the mother's home. The pile is covered with thorns to keep the dogs from scratching up the corpse, and also it is said to keep the 'spirit' of the child from escaping. On top is placed the wicker cradle in which the child slept, and through it a stake is driven" (Goody 1962:149)

The stake is driven through the corpse of a child to destroy it and to fasten it to one place; children who die young are said to have done so deliberately and they might be born and die again to harass the parents. After an unweaned (usually under three years of age) child's death, the child's eating gourds and the pot that has been used for heating the 'medicine' in which the child is bathed are broken (Goody 1962).

Trench graves are dug in the riverbank or in the dry streambed. When rains cause the river to flow with more

force, the corpse will be washed away from the parish. Trench graves may contain those who have sinned against the Earth shrine by such acts as committing suicide, practicing witchcraft, being sold into slavery, or killing a member of the parish (Goody 1962).

Fenn discusses current-day black cemeteries in the Southern United States as reflections of traditions with "roots in the ancient Kongo civilization of central Africa" (1985:42). Kongo-influenced cultures can be found in the following African nations: Gabon, Congo, Zaire, and Angola, all of which have land along the West African coast. These nations were the site of origin of many of the West Africans shipped to North America during the years of the slave trade (Fenn 1985).

The Bakongo people are West Africans who, like many other West African peoples, "believe in the continuing influence of the dead in this world" (Fenn 1985:43). To the Bakongo, the world is divided into the world of the living and the world of the dead. The land of the dead is beneath the world of the living:

> The land of the dead is a world upside down, a world that is in some ways a mirror image of this world...The two worlds are connected by water, and the Bakongo believe that gleaming ancestral spirits can be seen in the flash of the sun's rays off of oceans, lakes, and streams. (Fenn 1985:43)

The Bakongo believe that graves provide a way to communicate with the dead; the Bakongo "often cover graves with an array of objects intended to admonish, appease, and instruct ancestral spirits" (Fenn 1985:43). The most

commonly-placed items are the "personal effects of the deceased - things that might continue to be of use in the spirit world" (Fenn 1985:43). Placing these objects on a grave is said to insure "that the spirit would not return to this world in search of favorite or much needed items" (Fenn 1985:43).

Fenn (1985) notes that it is a Kongo custom to outline graves and royal compounds, creating a protective enclosure. McKoy (1985) explains that enclosures around Kongo graves "shield the dead from outside forces and protect the living from the dead's power emanations;" the "enclosures are made of shell, stone or bottles" (1985:31). Outlining a grave in this manner is seen in Anglo-American cemeteries also (McKoy 1985).

Inverting the objects placed on a grave is supposedly in recognition of the spirit world which is upside-down, or a mirror image of our world. Grave decorations are frequently broken, or symbolically killed, so that their spirits may follow their former owner to the spirit world (Fenn 1985).

Decorating the graves of American blacks with various objects has apparently been going on since the days of slavery. Torian (1943) recounts her mother's recollections of growing up on a plantation in Georgia in pre-Civil War days; a depiction of the death and burial of slaves is given:

> The sound of dreary wailing from the cabins when someone died comes back to my ears; and I can still see these mournful processions, led by dim lanterns through the moss-covered trees, at midnight, when they went to the Negro cemetery on the hill beyond the pines.
> The slaves were not allowed to leave the fields in the daytime, so night weddings and night funerals were

the custom. Negro graves were always decorated with the last article used by the departed, and broken pitchers and broken bits of colored glass were considered even more appropriate than the white shells from the beach nearby. Sometimes they carved rude wooden figures like images of idols, and sometimes a patchwork quilt was laid upon the grave. (Torian 1943:352)

Many reports on decoration of the graves of blacks in America have been written over the past one hundred years, including: Bolton (1891), Ingersoll (1892), Peterkin (1933), Georgia Writers Project (1940), Vlach (1978), Fenn (1985), Mc Koy (1985), and Jones-Jackson (1987).

Bolton notes that a cemetery "for the poorer negroes" on the edge of Columbia, South Carolina contained many graves which were

decorated with a variety of objects, sometimes arranged with careful symmetry, but more often placed around the margins without regard to order. These objects include oyster-shells, white pebbles, fragments of crockery of every description, glass bottles, and nondescript bric-a-brac...all more or less broken and useless. (Bolton 1891 reprinted in Bronner 1987:165)

Bolton reportedly got "no satisfactory explanation" for this behavior when he questioned local residents, but he notes that an answer was found in the April 1891 issue of the magazine Century: an article by E.J. Glave entitled "fetishism in Congo Land." Glave's article contained "an engraving of the grave of a Congo chieftain that would do very well for the picture of one in Potter's Field, Columbia, South Carolina" (Bolton 1891 reprinted in Bronner 1987:166). Bolton quotes Glave as noticing that Congo graves were decorated with crockery, empty bottles, old cooking pots, and other objects that had been cracked or perforated with holes.

The grave of an elderly black woman on a Southern plantation was noted to be decorated with the

> things she prized on earth...a clock that had not ticked for many years, the cup and saucer she used, a glass lamp filled with kerosene, and a china vase holding fresh blossoms from those growing around her doorstep. (Peterkin and Ulmann 1933)

Grave decorations are also found in the Caribbean; Fenn (1985) reports that on the island of St. Thomas there are black graves decorated with car batteries and mufflers. According to McKoy, some 20th-century African graves contain "decorative objects symbolizing transportation, such as models or pieces of automobiles...These mark out ways of traveling to heaven" (1985:32).

The color white seems to be associated with grave decorations of African and African-American blacks. In the Kongo-influenced country of Zaire some people believe that deceased ancestors become white creatures who live under river beds or lake bottoms in villages of the dead (Vlach 1978). Stone figures placed on graves in Zaire to guard the grave are carved from a white rock - chlorite schist (Vlach 1978). The grave goods in Afro-American cemeteries, such as ceramics, shells, and light bulbs, are also usually white (Vlach 1978).

Many of the grave decorations are associated with water:

> Most of the pottery and glass objects are pitchers, tumblers, cups, or bottles; all can hold water...Sea shells have obvious water associations. When placed on top of the grave they create an image of a river bottom...the realm of the dead...Mirrors also may be considered as water symbols. Their smooth, reflective surfaces have some of the characteristics of a river or lake. (Vlach 1978:143)

A common arrangement for shells on African-American graves is

to set a few large conch shells near the headstone; other patterns include putting conch shells in a line from the head to the foot of the grave, or outlining or covering the grave mound with small oyster and clam shells (Vlach 1978).

Whitewashing of gravemarkers has been going on in the Caribbean at least since the early 19th century: Thompson quotes an 1828 work on slavery by Alexander Barclay as mentioning the following concerning the Caribbean:

> ...the white washing of tombs is repeated carefully every Christmas morning and formerly it was customary on these occasions to kill a white cock and sprinkle his blood over the graves of the family. (Barclay 1828 cited in Thompson 1983:134-135)

Whitewashing the above-ground tombs of the cemeteries of New Orleans, Louisiana is part of the preparations made for All Saints' Day - November 1st (Evans 1959). Lynn mentions the "old custom of whitewashing large conch shells and placing them on or near the tombs" in New Orleans; a sea-shell motif is also commonly found in the iron work of the ornamental fences around tombs (1949:104). New Orleans has been influenced by several cultures including French, African, and Hispanic.

The painting of gravestones is a trait noted by Jordan (1982) in his study of folk cemeteries in Texas. Hispanic graveyards exhibited painted gravemarkers:

> Whether wooden or cement, the marker acquires a coat of one or another favored hue, such as white, pink, light green, sky blue, or red-orange. (Jordan 1982:79)

Jordan (1982) also provides information that Hispanic Texans use shells as grave decoration and that shells appear in

churchyard shrines and chapels in Texas, Mexico, and Spain, as well as in shrines erected in front yards.

Another feature of Hispanic gravestones was the use of colorful tiles:

> On the graves of the poor, broken and whole ceramic tiles -red, blue, yellow, white, and green - are pressed into the cement crosses, forming brilliant patterns...Abstract designs and checkerboards...(Jordan 1982:80)

Thompson sees a relationship between white sea shells and white ceramic tiles:

> ...the Kongo-inspired tradition, in further creolization, wherein a cover of gleaming white shells from the sea is replaced by walls of gleaming white bathroom tile - correlated with purity and water - may explain, at least in part, the phenomenon that both modern Kongo and Haitian...cemeteries boast structures built in this striking medium. (1983:135 and 138)

According to Fenn (1985), ceramic tiles also cover gravemarkers in some Afro-American cemeteries of North Carolina.

The vault-type gravestone of a showman (a fairground owner or worker) in England was decorated with "bath tiles"; this was noted by Pearson (1982) during his study of mortuary ritual in 19th and 20th-century Cambridge, England. While showmen and gypsies are considered lower-class, both groups are noted for spending a great deal of money on funerals and gravestones of granite and marble (Pearson 1982).

The burial of slaves in America and the Caribbean has been documented. The description of a Southern plantation slave's burial by Torian (1943) was included in the section on grave decoration; Ingraham provides this account of the burial of slaves on a Natchez, Mississippi plantation:

> When a negro dies, his remains are placed in a coffin and decently interred. Labour is often entirely suspended on the plantation, and the slaves are assembled in their Sunday clothes to attend the funeral. Divine service is sometimes performed in the little chapel on the plantation, at which not only the slaves but the members of the white family are present. (1835:125)

A British official who lived in the British West Indies (mainly in Barbados) from 1845 to 1848 commented that "Before emancipation the slaves were not buried in consecrated ground: it is hardly known now where they were buried" (Davy 1854:519).

Another Englishman living in Barbados in the late 18th century described the burial of a black washerwoman:

> The body was committed to the grave, immediately, on reaching it, without either prayer or ceremony; and the coffin, directly, covered with earth. In doing this, much decent attention was observed. The mould was not shovelled in roughly with the spade, almost disturbing the dead, with the rattling of stones and bones upon the coffin, but was first put into a basket, and then carefully emptied into the grave; an observance which might be adopted in England very much to the comfort of the deceased. (Pinckard 1806:272)

During the filling of the grave "loud and lively" songs were sung. When the "whole of the earth was replaced" several of the women "took up a handful of the mould, and threw it down again upon the grave...as the finishing of the ceremony, crying aloud 'God bless you, Jenny! good-by! remember me to all friends t'other side of the sea, Jenny!'" (Pinckard 1806:273-274). Pinckard wondered why these utterances were accompanied by such "mirth and laughter" and questioned the grave-digger; he was informed that the slaves believed that death resulted in freedom and the return of the deceased to their place of birth, Africa (Pinckard 1806:273-274).

A painting by John Antrobus of the burial of a slave in Louisiana in the 1850s depicts black mourners praying over a simple wooden coffin as the plantation owners watch from a distance; the scene takes place in a grove of trees (Huber 1975:107-109).

The descendants of slaves who live on the coastal islands of South Carolina and Georgia "have traditionally buried their dead in densely wooded areas. These areas are considered sacred and are thought to harbor the spirits of the deceased" (Jones-Jackson 1987:27). Handler and Lange, in an integration of archaeological and historical data from Barbados, state that "Slave burial grounds were often located in close proximity to the villages and people were also buried under houses" (1979:52). A distinction may be drawn between baptized and non-baptized slaves in Barbados, a land where slavery was abolished in 1834:

> Other beliefs and practices were influenced by Europeans, for example, the value some slaves attached to burial in Christian churchyards and the desire for baptism to achieve such burials. Throughout the period of slavery, however, the vast majority of slaves were not Christian and were buried in plantation grave grounds...Other features of European origin entered the mortuary complex especially in the later years of the slave period and particularly, but not uniquely, with baptized slaves. European influences include palls, coffins, horse-drawn hearses, gravestones and certain characteristics of the funeral procession. These ranged from the mourners walking in pairs to the burial ground, the types and color of their attire, to the Christian rituals accompanying the burials of baptized slaves. (Handler and Lange 1979:52)

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

In the following pages the variables chosen for analysis of the gravestones of St. Eustatius will be defined and discussed. The tabulated results will be listed and compared by cemetery; additionally, several variables will be compared for the total sample of five cemeteries broken down into intervals of time. A listing of all of the cemetery survey data as well as an explanation of codes utilized are provided in Appendix B.

As previously stated, each cemetery was assigned a number (C#); the cemeteries in this sample are:

    C#3 - Methodist Churchyard
    C#4 - Dutch Reformed Churchyard
    C#5 - Catholic Cemetery
    C#7 - Anglican Churchyard
    C#11 - Lazareto Leper Colony

Each marked grave was assigned a number (GR#) which was recorded on the cemetery map. One hundred percent of a cemetery's marked graves were included in the database. A marked grave is a burial space that displays something made or modified by humans, or an example of material culture.

A gravestone is defined here as something which marks the location of burial and which has a surface upon which an

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inscription may be carved or applied. A <u>footstone</u> is a grave marker which is placed near the foot of a grave, opposite the head of a grave. In this study, footstones were coded separately from gravestones. However, not all marked graves are marked with a gravestone or footstone; the distinction will be discussed in the section on types.

Table 2 lists basic data for each cemetery in the survey. It is apparent from Table 2 that over 90% of the graves in the cemetery sample are marked with gravestones and/or footstones, while footstones account for less than 3% of the sample of marked graves, in combination with gravestones or alone. The <u>total sample</u> contains 294 marked graves, 268 of which - the <u>adjusted sample</u> - are marked with a gravestone and/or a footstone. (In this discussion, percentages will be rounded off to the nearest whole number.) Since the fourteen known cemeteries on St. Eustatius contain approximately 680 marked graves, the total sample of 294 marked graves in this study represents 43% of the known marked graves on the island.

The <u>form</u> of a gravestone or footstone is determined from its basic shape and component parts. The gravestone/footstone forms found in the cemeteries under study are:

<u>vault</u> - a vault covers the entire grave, or an area larger than a single grave; a vault extends upward from ground level (the top surface of the ground) and typically contains a hollow chamber below ground level in which the remains are placed. The chamber may also be at ground level or above ground level. (The construction of vaults will be discussed in the next chapter.)

<u>tablet</u> - a tablet stands upright and is roughly rectangular in shape; a tablet typically is placed at the head of a grave, but it also can occur at the foot of the

TABLE 2
BASIC CEMETERY DATA

Portion of Sample	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Total sample: Marked graves*	10 (3.40)	109 (37.07)	105 (35.71)	68 (23.13)	2 (0.68)	294 (100)
Adjusted Sample: Graves marked with a grave-stone and/or a footstone**	8 (80.0)	106 (97.25)	101 (96.19)	53 (77.94)	0 (0)	268 (91.16)
Rest of sample: Graves marked without a gravestone or a footstone [Type 0]**	2 (20.0)	3 (2.75)	4 (3.81)	15 (22.06)	2 (100)	26 (8.84)
Gravestones, with and without footstones**	8 (80.0)	106 (97.25)	99 (94.29)	52 (76.47)	0 (0)	265 (90.14)
Footstones, with and without gravestones**	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	4 (3.81)	2 (2.94)	0 (0)	7 (2.38)
Footstones without gravestones**	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.9)	1 (1.47)	0 (0.0)	3 (1.02)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of total marked graves in sample

** Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's marked graves

grave as a footstone.

combination tablet/vault - this form combines the above
two; the tablet is constructed from a separate piece of
material that is different from the construction
material(s) of the attached vault.

combination slant marker/vault - this form is similar to
the combination tablet/vault, but in this case a slant
marker is attached to a vault of different construction
material(s). A slant marker is roughly vertical on its
back surface and slants at close to a 45-degree angle on
its front side or "face."

obelisk - an obelisk is a gravestone which extends
vertically, usually from a square base or pedestal.
Typically, an obelisk will taper off at the top, forming
a point.

cross - a cross is an upright post with a transverse
piece near the top; this form was designated when the
cross was the only gravemarker; crosses attached to
gravestones were so noted under the variable "motif."

ledger - a ledger is a flat slab that covers an entire
grave and lies flush with ground level.

rock - this designates the use of a single rock or stone
to mark the head or foot of a grave.

cinderblock - a cinderblock is a concrete block with a
rough surface; a single cinderblock can mark a grave.

The following forms are composed of the named components:

combination poured concrete/rock

combination brick/poured concrete/rock

combination cinderblock/poured concrete

mortared rock - mortar is a man-made mixture of cement
or lime with sand and water which is used in building to
secure materials to one another.

fragment of a concrete gravestone - this form designates
what appears to be only a portion of a broken gravestone
with the rest of the gravestone missing.

Table 3 catalogs the gravestone forms found in each cemetery

(footstones will be listed separately in a later table).

Lazareto Leper Colony has no gravestones, so all values

TABLE 3
GRAVESTONE FORMS BY CEMETERY

Gravestone Form	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Vault*	7 (87.50)	95 (89.62)	79 (79.8)	37 (71.15)	0 (0)	218 (82.26)
Tablet	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	1 (1.01)	2 (3.85)	0 (0)	4 (1.51)
Combination tablet/vault	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (3.85)	0 (0)	2 (0.76)
Combination slant marker/vault	1 (12.50)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Obelisk	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Cross	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (6.06)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (2.26)
Ledger	0 (0)	2 (1.89)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.76)
Rock	0 (0)	8 (7.55)	5 (5.05)	9 (17.30)	0 (0)	22 (8.30)
Cinderblock	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Combination poured concrete/rock	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.02)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.76)
Combination brick/poured concrete/rock	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Combination cinderblock/- poured concrete	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)

[continued]

Gravestone Form	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Mortared rocks	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Fragment of a concrete gravestone	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (3.03)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1.13)
TOTALS	8 (100)	106 (100)	99 (100)	52 (100)	0 (0)	265 (100)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

are zero. For the other four cemeteries, the dominant gravestone form is the vault, comprising at least 70% of each cemetery's gravestones, and over 80% of the total sample's gravestones. The second most common form of gravestone is a single rock or stone; 17% of the Anglican Churchyard's gravestones are of this form, compared to 8% of the Dutch Reformed and 5% of the Catholic Cemetery's gravestones. A cross as a gravemarker is noted only in the Catholic Cemetery, where it comprises 6% of that cemetery's gravestones. The only other value over 5% is 13% for combination slant marker/vault in the Methodist Churchyard; however, the small sample size in this cemetery gives each gravestone a value of 13% so results should be interpreted with caution. The tablet form, which is the common form of gravestone in colonial New England, is rare in the sample; an informal inspection of the Old Church Cemetery (C#1) revealed that it contains more tablets than any of the cemeteries in this survey.

A gravestone (or footstone) <u>type</u> was assigned based on whether or not a gravestone was present, plus the form and shape of the gravestone. Seven types were noted, numbered 0 to 6:

> <u>Type 0</u> - <u>No gravestone</u>. This type encompasses grave markers which are not gravestones or footstones, such as a grave covered with a pile of rocks or a grave outlined along its borders with rocks or stones.
>
> <u>Type 1</u> - A <u>vault</u> with <u>multiple tiers</u> which become <u>less wide</u> from ground level upwards. <u>Tiers</u> make up the portion of the vault which covers the grave horizontally. Starting at the long sides of the tier which touches ground level, each change in shape which results in a change of the width designates the beginning of a new

tier. <u>Multiple</u> means more than one tier. (Vaults often have an upright, vertical wall at one end - usually the west end. This upright wall was not considered when designating types or subtypes.)

<u>Type 2</u> - A <u>vault</u> with <u>multiple tiers</u> which do <u>not all become less wide</u> from ground level upwards. At some point, one or more tiers are wider than the bottom tier is at ground level.

<u>Type 3</u> - A <u>vault</u> with a <u>single tier</u>.

<u>Type 4</u> - An upright <u>tablet</u>.

<u>Type 5</u> - A <u>single rock or stone</u> with no other gravestone.

<u>Type 6</u> - <u>Other</u>. This type will be explained in the next section on subtypes.

Table 4 lists gravestone types as distributed by cemetery. Gravestone Type 0 (no gravestone) constitutes the entire sample from the Leper Colony (n=2), and approximately 20% of the sample from the Methodist Churchyard and the Anglican Churchyard. This type accounts for less than 5% of the sample from the Dutch Reformed Churchyard and Catholic Cemetery.

Gravestone type 1 (vault; multiple tiers; become less wide) accounts for almost two-thirds of the sample from the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, almost one-half of the Catholic Cemetery, and almost one-third of the Anglican Churchyard.

Type 2 (vault; multiple tiers; do not become less wide) comprises 50% of the Methodist Churchyard and 20% of the Catholic Cemetery.

Gravestone type 3 (vault; single tier) accounts for less than 20% of each cemetery; 18% of the Anglican Churchyard's sample is made of type 3s.

Type 4 (tablet) is rare (less than 3%) in all of the

TABLE 4
GRAVESTONE TYPES BY CEMETERY

Gravestone Type	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
0*	2 (20.0)	3 (2.75)	4 (3.88)	15 (22.39)	2 (100)	26 (8.94)
1	1 (10.0)	70 (64.22)	47 (45.63)	20 (29.85)	0 (0)	138 (47.42)
2	5 (50.0)	14 (12.84)	21 (20.39)	5 (7.46)	0 (0)	45 (15.46)
3	1 (10.0)	11 (10.09)	11 (10.68)	12 (17.91)	0 (0)	35 (12.03)
4	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	1 (0.97)	2 (2.99)	0 (0)	4 (1.38)
5	0 (0)	8 (7.34)	5 (4.85)	9 (13.43)	0 (0)	22 (7.56)
6	1 (10.0)	2 (1.84)	14 (13.59)	4 (5.97)	0 (0)	21 (7.22)
All types	10 (100)	109 (100)	103 (100)	67 (100)	2 (100)	291 (100)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's marked graves

cemeteries. Type 5 (single rock or stone) accounts for less than 15% of each cemetery; the Anglican Churchyard's sample is 13% type 5s. Type 6 (other) is also rare, comprising close to 14% of the Catholic Cemetery, and less than 14% of the other graveyards.

The major gravestone type per cemetery is:

```
Methodist Churchyard - type 2 (50% of cemetery)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - type 1 (64%)
Catholic Cemetery - type 1 (46%)
Anglican Churchyard - type 1 (30%)
Lazareto Leper Colony - type 0 (100%)
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Clearly, vaults - especially type 1 vaults (tiers become less wide) - predominate in the sample; type 1 vaults comprise close to one-half of the sample of marked graves.

The gravestone types were further subdivided into subtypes based upon the gravestone form, shape, and composition (see Figures 5 to 18 for illustrations). In the following subtype descriptions, the number corresponds to the type, i.e. subtype 1A is a subtype of type 1:

Subtype 0A - The grave is outlined (or partially outlined) with rocks, stones,etc. and the grave is covered (or partially covered) with a pile of rocks, stones, etc.

Subtype 0B - The grave is outlined (or partially outlines) with rocks, stones, etc. and is not covered with a pile of rocks, stones, etc.

Subtype 0C - The grave is covered (or partially covered) with a single layer of rocks, stones, cinderblocks, etc.

Subtype 0D - The grave is covered (or partially covered) with a pile of rocks, stones, etc. and is not outlined with rocks, stones, etc.

Subtype 0E - A foundation (or partial foundation) of a gravestone is all that remains; the foundation is only an inch or so in height.

Subtype 0F - The grave is outlined (or partially

Figure 5.   Subtype 0A (C#7-GR#41)

Figure 6.   Subtype 0B (C#3-GR#9)

Figure 7.   Subtype 1A (C#4-GR#48)

Figure 8.   Subtype 1B (C#7-GR#8)
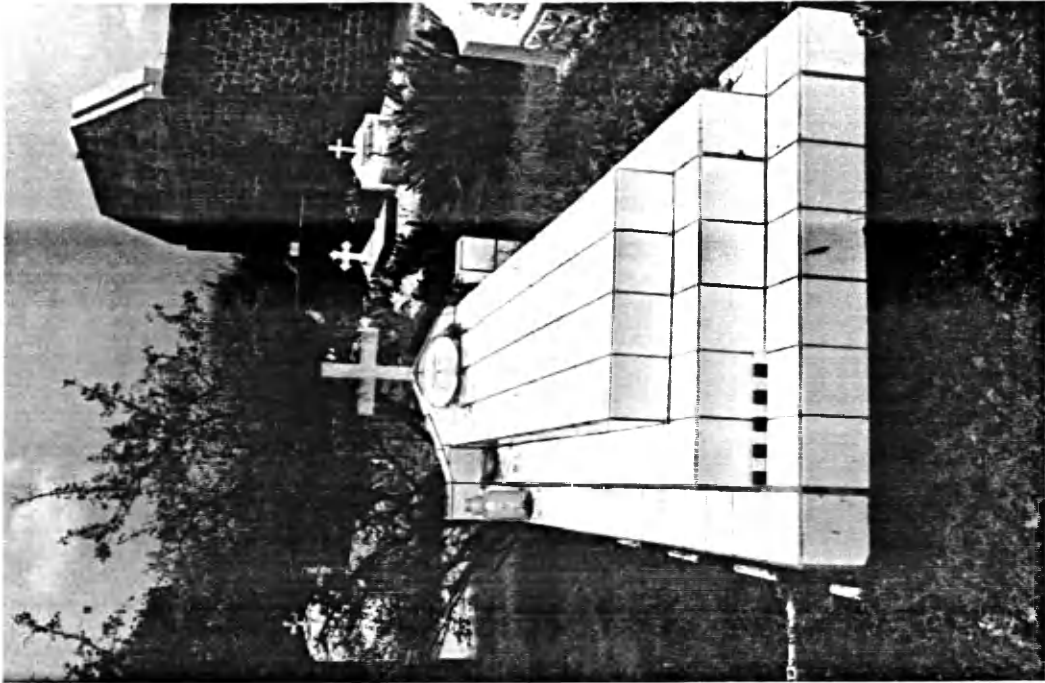
Figure 9.   Subtype 1C (C#4-GR#41)
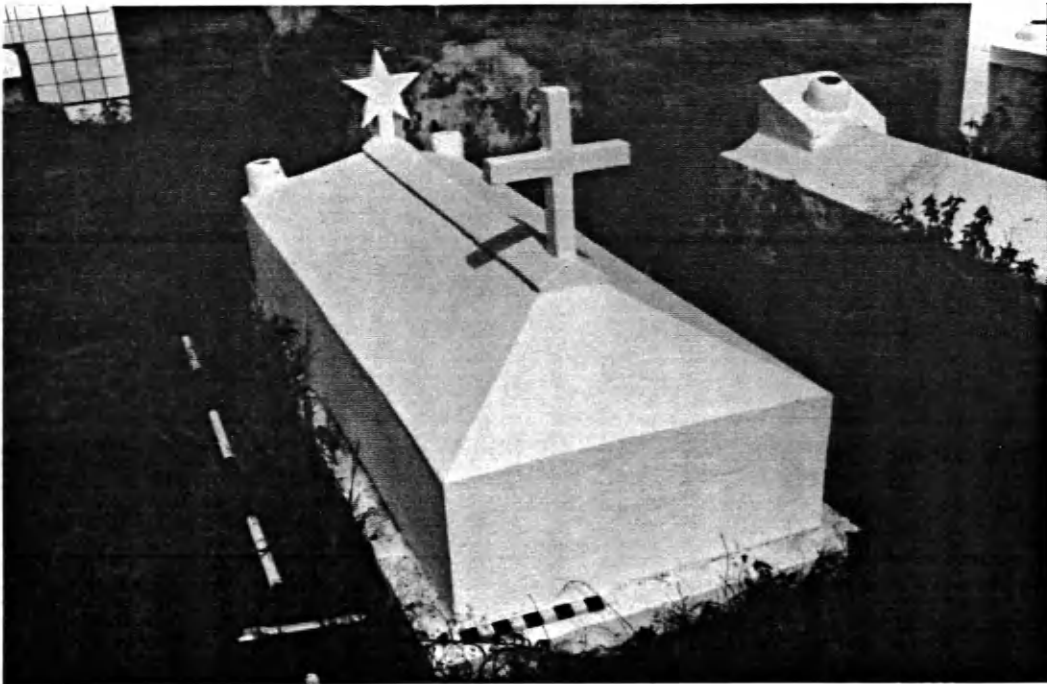
Figure 10.   Subtype 1D (C#4-GR#17)

Figure 11.   Subtype 2A (C#5-GR#62)
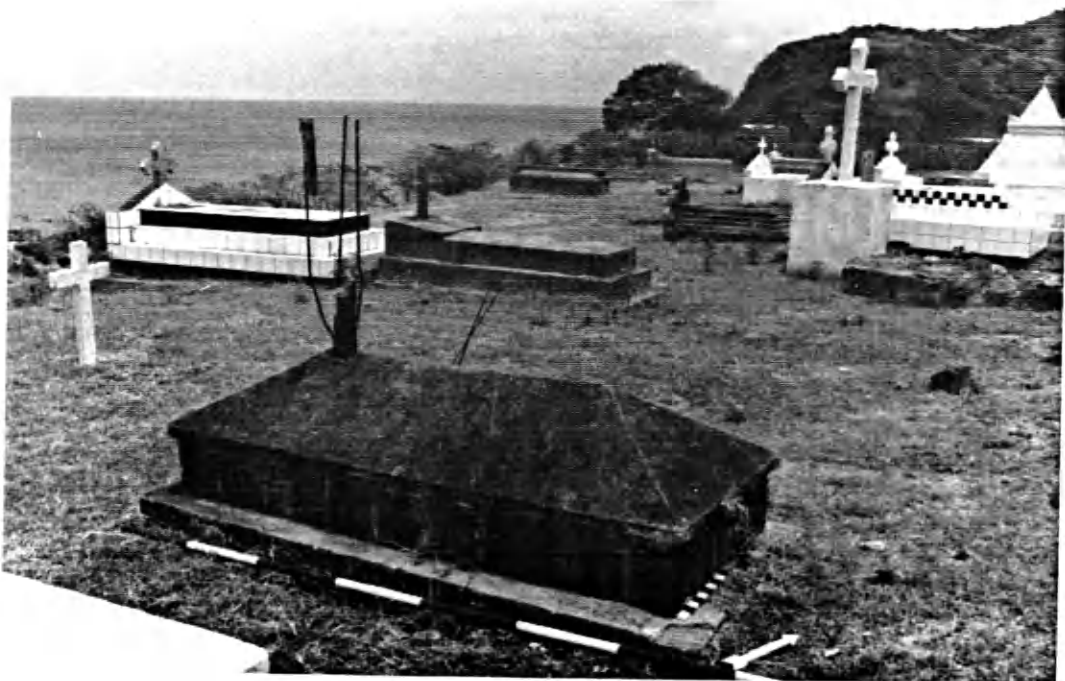
Figure 12.   Subtype 2C (C#5-GR#31)

Figure 13.   Subtype 3A (C#3-GR#4)
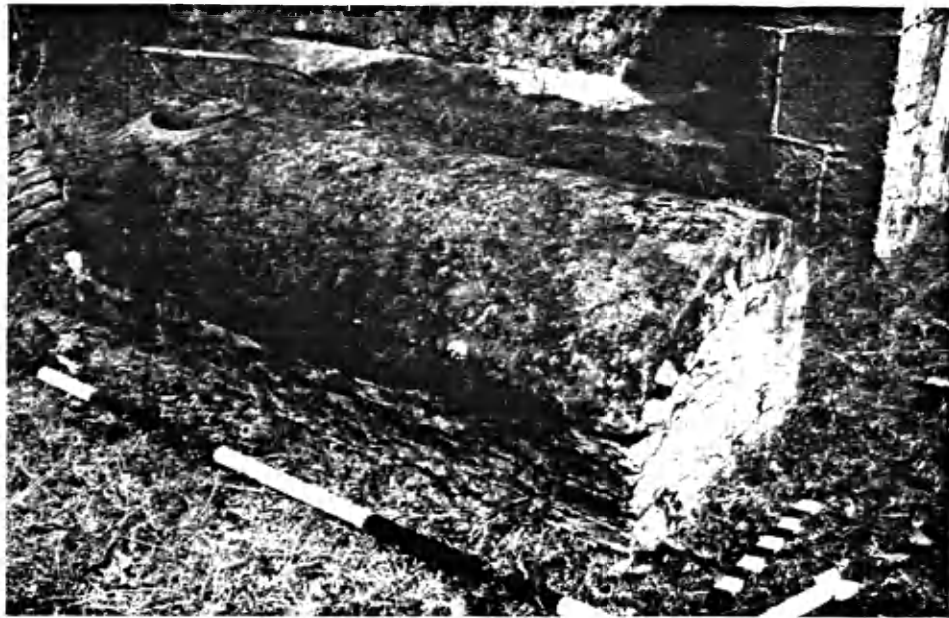
Figure 14. Subtype 3B (C#4-GR#65)
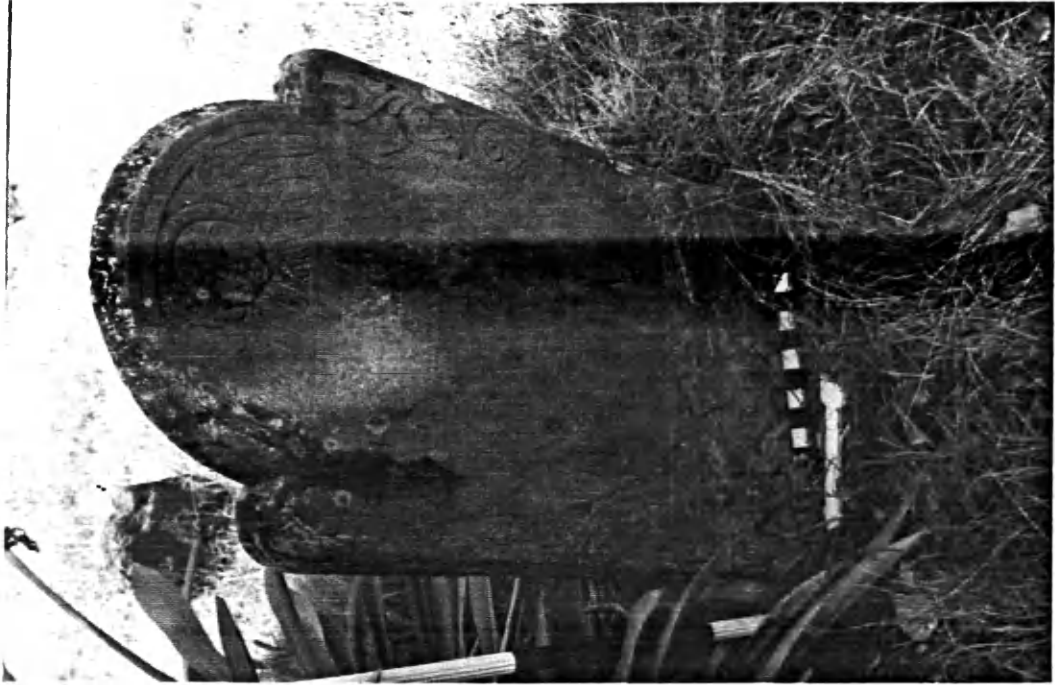
Figure 15.   Subtype 4B (C#7-GR#9, headstone)

Figure 16.   Subtype 4D (C#5-GR#69)

Figure 17.   Subtype 5B (C#7-GR#27)
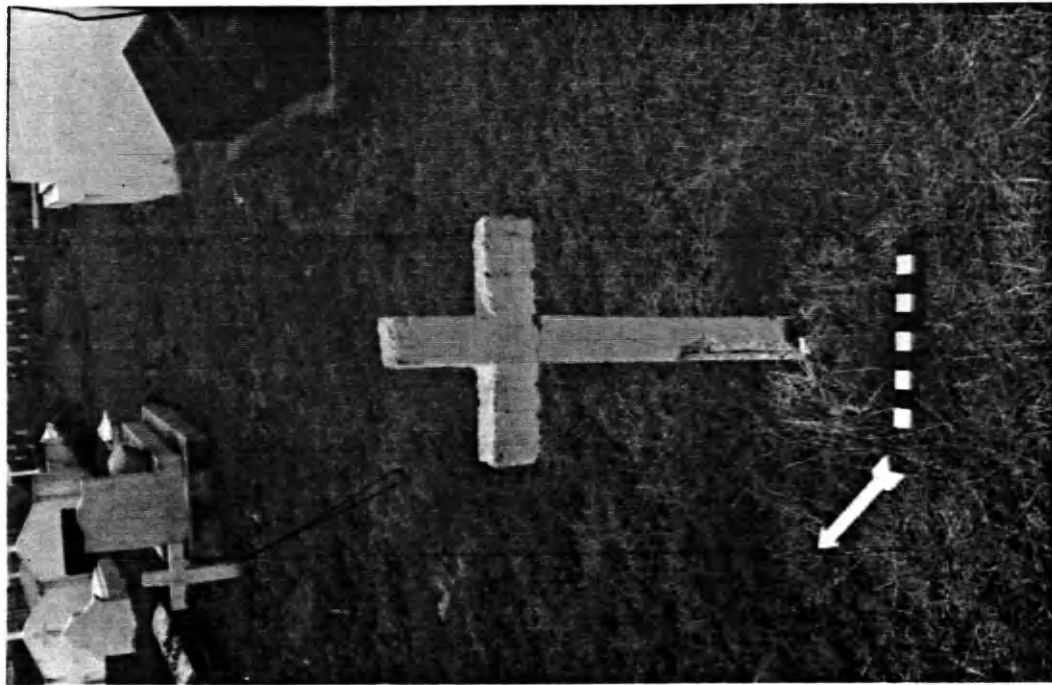
Figure 18.   Subtype 6D (C#5-GR#37)

outlined) by a <u>fence</u> or by <u>metal rods</u>.

<u>Subtype 0G</u> - The <u>grave</u> is marked with <u>artificial and cut flowers</u>.

<u>Subtype 1A</u> - A type 1 vault with a <u>curved top tier</u> and no upright wall along its upper edges.

<u>Subtype 1B</u> - A type 1 vault with an <u>upright wall</u> along its upper edges.

<u>Subtype 1C</u> - A type 1 vault with a <u>rectangular top tier</u> and no upright wall along its upper edges.

<u>Subtype 1D</u> - A type 1 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>slanted inward</u> and comes to a <u>point</u> at the top.

<u>Subtype 1E</u> - A type 1 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>slanted inward</u> with a <u>flat top</u>.

<u>Subtype 1F</u> - A type 1 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>curved inward</u> with a <u>flat top</u>.

<u>Subtype 2A</u> - A type 2 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>rectangular</u>.

<u>Subtype 2B</u> - A type 2 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that <u>slants outward</u> with a <u>flat top</u>.

<u>Subtype 2C</u> - A type 2 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that <u>slants inward</u> and comes to a <u>point</u>.

<u>Subtype 2D</u> - <u>Other</u> type 2 vaults, i.e. top tier oval; top tier rectangular with curved corners.

<u>Subtype 2E</u> - A type 2 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>curved inward</u> with a <u>flat top</u>.

<u>Subtype 2F</u> - A type 2 vault with a <u>top tier</u> that is <u>curved inward</u> and comes to a <u>point</u>.

<u>Subtype 3A</u> - A type 3 vault with a <u>rectangular tier</u>.

<u>Subtype 3B</u> - A type 3 vault with a <u>curved tier</u>.

<u>Subtype 3C</u> - A type 3 vault with an <u>upright wall</u> along its upper edges.

<u>Subtype 3D</u> - <u>Other</u> - a type 3 vault of another shape, i.e. one end having 3 curves.

<u>Subtype 3E</u> - <u>Unknown shape</u> - a vault in which the shape can not be determined since the gravestone is crumbled

and/or missing portions.

Subtype 4A - A <u>tablet</u> with a <u>single curved top</u>.

Subtype 4B - A <u>tablet</u> with a <u>top</u> that has <u>curved upper corners</u> and one <u>large central curve</u>.

Subtype 4C - A <u>tablet</u> with <u>sharp upper corners</u>, and a <u>slanted top</u> that comes to a <u>point</u>.
Subtype 4D - A <u>tablet</u> with <u>curved upper corners</u> and a <u>flat top</u>.

Subtype 5A - A <u>single rock or stone</u> with <u>no inscription or designs</u>.

Subtype 5B - A <u>single rock or stone</u> with an <u>inscription and/or designs</u>.

Subtype 5C - A <u>single rock or stone</u> with <u>no inscription or designs</u>, plus the <u>grave is covered</u> (or partially covered) with a <u>pile of rocks, stones</u>, etc.

Subtype 6A - <u>Combination tablet and vault</u>, each made of different materials.

Subtype 6B - <u>Obelisk</u> - a marker which extends vertically from a <u>square base</u> and <u>tapers off</u> at the top.

Subtype 6C - <u>Combination slant marker and vault</u>, each made of different materials.

Subtype 6D - <u>Cross</u> - an <u>upright post</u> with a <u>transverse piece</u> near the top.

Subtype 6E - <u>Unknown</u> - i.e. a fragment of a gravestone.

Subtype 6F - <u>Other</u> - i.e. a single cinderblock.

Subtype 6G - <u>Ledger</u> - a <u>flat slab</u> that <u>covers an entire grave</u> and lies close to <u>ground level</u>.

Gravestone subtypes as found in each cemetery is the subject of Table 5. The most common subtype for each cemetery is as follows:

Methodist Churchyard - Subtype 2A (30%)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - Subtype 1A (28%)
Catholic Cemetery - Subtype 1C (24%)
Anglican Churchyard - Subtype 1C (13%)
Lazareto Leper Colony - Subtype 0B (100%)

TABLE 5
GRAVESTONE SUBTYPES BY CEMETERY

Gravestone Subtype	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
0A*	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (8.96)	0 (0)	6 (2.06)
0B	1 (10.0)	2 (1.84)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	2 (100)	6 (2.06)
0C	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	1 (0.97)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	3 (1.03)
0D	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	5 (7.46)	0 (0)	6 (2.06)
0E	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.99)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
0F	1 (10.0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
0G	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
1A	0 (0)	30 (27.52)	12 (11.65)	7 (10.45)	0 (0)	49 (16.84)
1B	1 (10.0)	4 (3.67)	5 (4.85)	3 (4.48)	0 (0)	13 (4.47)
1C	0 (0)	23 (21.10)	25 (24.27)	9 (13.43)	0 (0)	57 (19.59)
1D	0 (0)	12 (11.01)	4 (3.88)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	17 (5.84)
1E	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
1F	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
2A	3 (30.0)	7 (6.42)	12 (11.65)	4 (5.97)	0 (0)	26 (8.94)
2B	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)

[continued]

Gravestone Subtype	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
2C	0 (0)	6 (5.51)	4 (3.88)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (3.44)
2D	2 (20.0)	0 (0)	2 (1.94)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	5 (1.72)
2E	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
2F	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
3A	1 (10.0)	7 (6.42)	8 (7.77)	5 (7.46)	0 (0)	21 (7.22)
3B	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	0 (0)	4 (5.97)	0 (0)	5 (1.72)
3C	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	2 (1.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1.03)
3D	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
3E	0 (0)	2 (1.84)	1 (0.97)	2 (2.99)	0 (0)	5 (1.72)
4A	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
4B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
4C	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
4D	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.97)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
5A	0 (0)	8 (7.34)	5 (4.85)	6 (8.96)	0 (0)	19 (6.53)
5B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.99)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)

[continued]

Gravestone Subtype	C#3 Meth. Chyd	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
5C	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
6A	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.99)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
6B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
6C	1 (10.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.34)
6D	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (5.83)	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (2.06)
6E	0 (0)	0 (0)	6 (5.83)	1 (1.49)	0 (0)	7 (2.41)
6F	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (1.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
6G	0 (0)	2 (1.84)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (0.69)
All subtypes	10 (100)	109 (100)	103 (100)	67 (100)	2 (100)	291 (100)

*   Figure in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's
      marked graves

All cemeteries - Subtype 1C (20%)

In three of the five cemeteries, vaults with multiple tiers that become less wide predominate; in all cemeteries except Lazareto Leper Colony, the most popular subtype is a vault with multiple tiers. The top tier is most often rectangular in the Methodist, Catholic, and Anglican graveyards; in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard a curved top tier is the most popular.

To assess how gravestones on Statia changed over time, the sample of gravestones with dates was broken down into eight time periods of thirty years each:

```
Period I     - 1750 up to 1780
Period II    - 1780 up to 1810
Period III   - 1810 up to 1840
Period IV    - 1840 up to 1870
Period V     - 1870 up to 1900
Period VI    - 1900 up to 1930
Period VII   - 1930 up to 1960
Period VIII  - 1960 up to 1990
```

In Table 6, each time period's gravestone types are listed. The following trends are derived from this data:

- Type 1 (vault, less wide) is the most popular type of dated gravestone, in general, throughout almost every time period.

- Type 2 (vault, not less wide) appears to increase in popularity from 1840 to 1900 and then decrease in popularity.

- Type 3 (vault, single tier) fluctuates in popularity throughout all time periods.

- Type 4 (tablet) appears to occur mainly from 1750 to 1780.

- Type 5 (rock or stone) is dated in only one case, and dates from 1780 to 1810 (1802).

TABLE 6
GRAVESTONE TYPES BY TIME PERIOD

Time Period	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4	Type 5	Type 6	All Types
I - 1750 to 1780*	6 (42.86)	1 (7.14)	4 (28.57)	2 (14.29)	0 (0)	1 (7.14)	14 (100)
II - 1780 to 1810	4 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (12.50)	0 (0)	1 (12.50)	2 (25.0)	8 (100)
III - 1810 to 1840	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	2 (100)
IV - 1840 to 1870	4 (57.14)	2 (28.57)	1 (14.29)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (100)
V - 1870 to 1900	0 (0)	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (100)
VI - 1900 to 1930	9 (90.0)	1 (10.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	10 (100)
VII - 1930 to 1960	22 (73.33)	4 (13.33)	2 (6.67)	1 (3.33)	0 (0)	1 (3.33)	30 (100)
VIII - 1960 to 1990	16 (59.26)	4 (14.81)	7 (25.93)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	27 (100)
All time periods	62 (61.39)	14 (13.86)	16 (15.84)	3 (2.97)	1 (0.99)	5 (4.95)	101 (100)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this time period's
  dated gravestones

This analysis should be interpreted with caution since there are five or less dated examples each of types 4, 5, and 6. Also, there are less than ten dated gravestones for each of the following time periods: II (1780-1810), III (1810-1840), IV (1840-1870), and V (1870-1900).

Since types 1, 2, and 3 (vaults) make up 91% of the dated gravestones (92 out of 101), vaults will be further analyzed. Vault subtypes that have a top tier (or only tier) of the same shape can be combined to form styles:

Style I   - Curved top (Subtypes 1A, 3B)
Style II   - Upright wall on top (Subtypes 1B, 3C)
Style III - Rectangular top (Subtypes 1C, 2A, 3A)
Style IV   - Slanted inward, comes to a point on top (Subtypes 1D, 2C)
Style V   - All other subtypes of types 1, 2, and 3

When these styles are listed by time period (see Figure 19 and Table 7), the following trends are noted:

- Style I (curved top) is popular mainly before 1870, with decreasing popularity since 1930. It is the second most popular style overall (20% of dated vaults).

- Style II (upright wall) is a 20th-century style; it accounts for only 11% of all dated vaults.

- Style III (rectangular top) is a popular style in the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, comprising fluctuating percentages (from 0 to 89%) of each time period's dated vaults. It is the most popular style overall, accounting for 52% of the dated vaults.

- Style IV (slanted inward to a point) is popular from 1870 to 1960, but accounts for only 12% of all dated vaults.

Since no time period between 1780 and 1900 contains over seven dated vaults, these trends should be interpreted cautiously.

The preceding analysis of gravestone form, type, subtype, and style excludes footstones. Footstones were coded
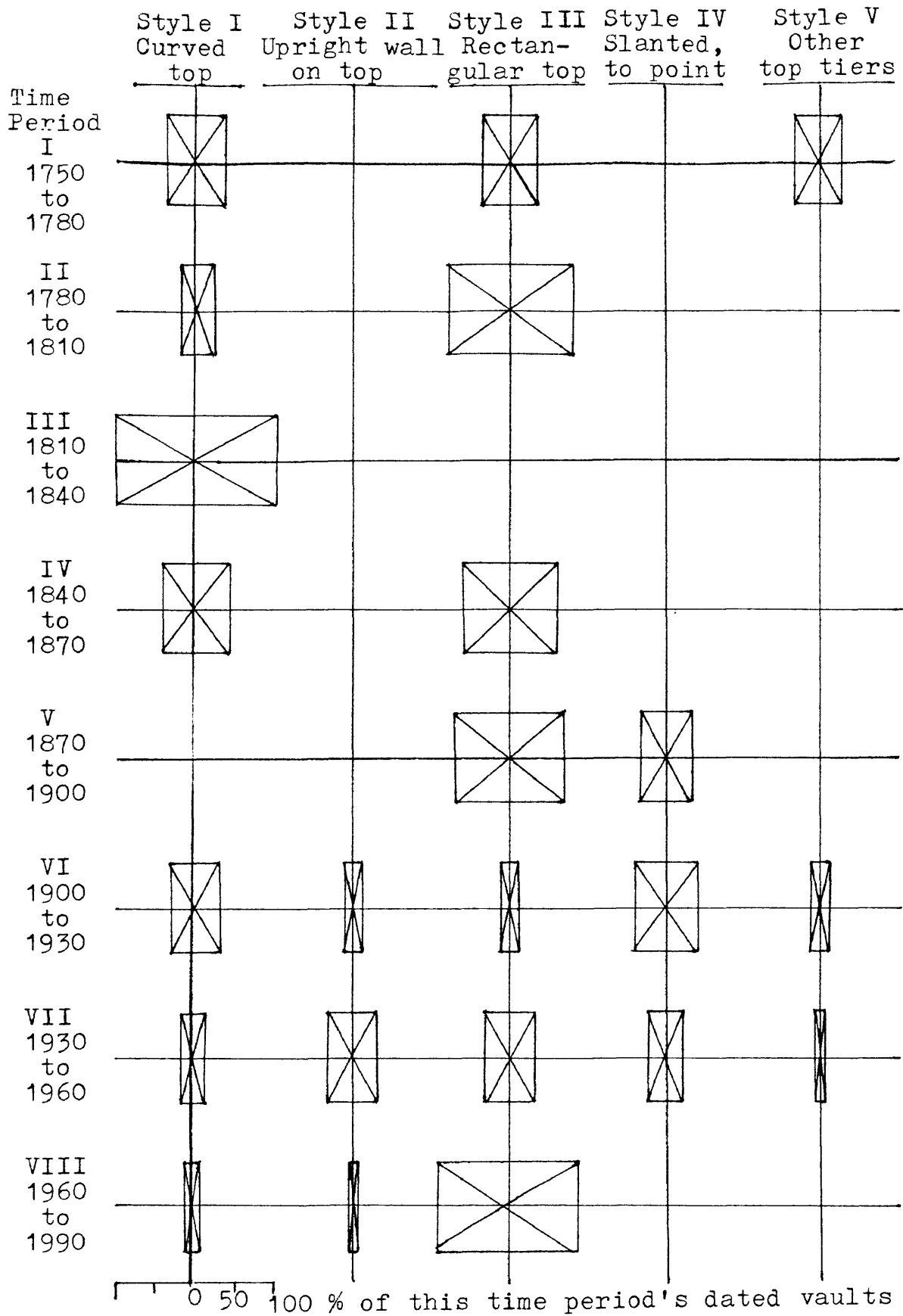
FIGURE 19.   Seriation of vault styles

TABLE 7
VAULT STYLES BY TIME PERIOD

Time Period	Style I	Style II	Style III	Style IV	Style V	All Styles
I - 1750* to 1780	4 (36.36)	0 (0)	4 (36.36)	0 (0)	3 (27.27)	11 (100)
II - 1780 to 1810	1 (20.0)	0 (0)	4 (80.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (100)
III - 1810 to 1840	1 (100)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (100)
IV - 1840 to 1870	3 (42.86)	0 (0)	4 (57.14)	0 (0)	0 (0)	7 (100)
V - 1870 to 1900	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (66.67)	1 (33.33)	0 (0)	3 (100)
VI - 1900 to 1930	3 (30.0)	1 (10.0)	1 (10.0)	4 (40.0)	1 (10.0)	10 (100)
VII - 1930 to 1960	4 (14.29)	8 (28.57)	9 (32.14)	6 (21.43)	1 (3.57)	28 (100)
VIII - 1960 to 1990	2 (7.41)	1 (3.70)	24 (88.89)	0 (0)	0 (0)	27 (100)
All time periods	18 (19.57)	10 (10.87)	48 (52.17)	11 (11.96)	5 (5.43)	92 (100)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this time period's dated vaults (Types 1, 2, and 3)

separately for the following variables: presence or absence, form, type, subtype, material, if imported, length, width, height, and thickness (see Table 8). Footstones account for less than 3% of marked graves in the sample; the Catholic Cemetery contains the highest percentage of footstones, 4%.

The most common form of footstone is a single rock or stone, followed by cross, and then by tablet. The cross footstones are found only in the Catholic Cemetery; the tablet is found in the Anglican Churchyard. This tablet is the only imported footstone and is composed of slate (C#7-GRAVE#9). This marker is a smaller version of its accompanying headstone, minus the inscription except for the name and year (Jesse Dennison 1771). Footstones tend to be short; the average footstone height is approximately one foot.

The construction materials of which gravestones are composed is the topic of Table 9; the materials are listed in decreasing order of total occurrence. Since gravestones often were composed of more than one material, percentages add up to more than 100%. It should be noted that the gravestones on St. Eustatius - especially the vaults - have sometimes been constructed in stages. For instance, an 18th-century vault may have a "door" which is covered with poured concrete, indicating that the vault has been opened for re-use in the 20th century. A 19th-century vault could have portions constructed from poured concrete, usually indicating a 20th-century repair.

TABLE 8
FOOTSTONE DATA BY CEMETERY

Footstone Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Footstone present*	0 (0)	1 (0.92)	4 (3.81)	2 (2.94)	0 (0)	7 (2.38)
Footstone form:**						
-cross	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (28.57)
-rock	0 (0)	1 (100)	2 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	4 (57.14)
-tablet	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)
Footstone type:						
-type 4	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)
-type 5	0 (0)	1 (100)	2 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	4 (57.14)
-type 6	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (28.57)
Footstone subtype:						
-subtype 4B	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)
-subtype 5A	0 (0)	1 (100)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (42.86)
-subtype 5C	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)
-subtype 6D	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (28.57)
Footstone material:						
-fieldstone	0 (0)	1 (100)	2 (50.0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	4 (57.14)
-poured concrete	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (50.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (28.57)
-slate	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)

[continued]

Footstone Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Footstone material imported	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (50.0)	0 (0)	1 (14.29)
Footstone dimensions, in feet:						
-average length	--	0.40 {n=1}	--	--	--	0.40 {n=1}
-average width	--	0.40 {n=1}	0.98 {n=4}	1.05 {n=2}	--	0.91 {n=7}
-average height	--	0.20 {n=1}	1.30 {n=4}	1.40 {n=2}	--	1.17 {n=7}
-average thickness	--	--	0.48 {n=4}	0.25 {n=2}	--	0.40 {n=6}

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's marked graves

** Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's footstones

TABLE 9
GRAVESTONE MATERIALS AND IMPORTATION BY CEMETERY

Gravestone Material	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Poured concrete*	2 (25.0)	72 (67.92)	82 (82.83)	12 (23.08)	0 (0)	168 (63.40)
Mortar	6 (75.0)	40 (37.74)	16 (16.16)	28 (53.85)	0 (0)	90 (33.96)
Cut stone	5 (62.5)	39 (36.79)	15 (15.15)	22 (42.31)	0 (0)	81 (30.57)
Brick	4 (50.0)	22 (20.75)	9 (9.09)	13 (25.0)	0 (0)	48 (18.11)
Concrete block	1 (12.50)	12 (11.32)	12 (12.12)	4 (7.69)	0 (0)	29 (10.94)
Fieldstone	0 (0)	7 (6.60)	8 (8.08)	10 (19.23)	0 (0)	25 (9.43)
Ceramic tile	0 (0)	4 (3.77)	4 (4.04)	2 (3.85)	0 (0)	10 (3.77)
Plaster	0 (0)	5 (4.72)	1 (1.01)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	7 (2.64)
Cinderblock	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (5.05)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	6 (2.26)
Granite	1 (12.50)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	2 (3.85)	0 (0)	4 (1.51)
Faced stone	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	2 (0.75)
Sandstone	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	2 (0.75)
Marble	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Slate	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)

[continued]

Gravestone Material	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Aluminum	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Wood	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.01)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Plastic	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.92)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Shell	0 (0)	1 (0.94)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.38)
Any gravestone material imported	1 (12.50)	8 (7.55)	4 (4.04)	6 (11.54)	0 (0)	19 (7.17)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

The three most popular gravestone materials per cemetery, in decreasing order of popularity, are:

Methodist Churchyard - mortar, cut stone, brick
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - poured concrete, mortar, cut stone
Catholic Cemetery - poured concrete, mortar, cut stone
Anglican Churchyard - mortar, cut stone, brick
Lazareto Leper Colony - none (no gravestones)
All cemeteries - poured concrete, mortar, cut stone

The concentration of 20th-century gravestones in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard and Catholic Cemetery is reflected in poured concrete being their most popular construction material. An informant reported that poured concrete began to be used around the time of the 1920s on Statia. Poured concrete seems to have generally replaced mortar and cut stone (native volcanic stone); mortar is reportedly more durable and less likely to crack, compared to concrete.

The following gravestone materials were judged to be imported to Statia: slate, marble, granite, sandstone, ceramic tile, and aluminum. The other gravestone materials were judged to be readily available - new or recycled - or not likely to be imported specifically for gravestones.

While the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contains the largest number (n=8) of gravestones containing at least one imported material, it is actually third in terms of percentage of imported gravestone materials (8%). The Methodist Churchyard contains the highest percentage (13% imported gravestones), but the small number (n=1) indicates that this should be considered with caution. The second highest percentage of imported gravestones is 12% in the Anglican Churchyard. The

lowest percentages of imported gravestones are 4% in the Catholic Cemetery and 0% in Lazareto Leper Colony.

A plaque is something which is attached to a gravestone and upon which an inscription may appear. It is possible to have an inscription without a plaque; for example, a tablet usually has an inscription carved directly onto one side of the tablet. Plaque materials were coded separately from gravestone materials. In addition, a plaque was not considered part of a gravestone when determining number of tiers and the shape of the upper tier for assigning types and subtypes.

Data on plaques are presented in Table 10. The cemetery in which the highest percentage of its gravestones have plaques is the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (39%), followed closely by the Methodist Churchyard (38%) and the Anglican Churchyard (34%); 26% of the gravestones in the Catholic Cemetery have plaques. Since there are no gravestones in Lazareto Leper Colony, the percentage is zero.

A gravestone in this sample has from zero to five plaques; however, the material chosen for the earliest-dated plaque (the "main plaque" or plaque #1) is always of the same material as later plaques.

The most popular plaque shape in all cemeteries except the Methodist Churchyard is rectangular; square plaques are most popular in the Methodist Churchyard. Marble is the plaque material chosen most often in the Methodist and Anglican Churchyards (67% and 78%, respectively); marble is

TABLE 10
PLAQUES: PRESENCE, MATERIAL, AND IMPORTATION BY CEMETERY

Plaque Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Plaque present on gravestone*	3 (37.50)	41 (38.68)	26 (25.74)	18 (33.96)	0 (0)	88 (32.83)
Shape of main plaque:**						
-rectangular	1 (33.33)	22 (53.66)	18 (69.23)	13 (72.22)	0 (0)	54 (61.36)
-square	2 (66.67)	6 (14.63)	6 (23.08)	1 (5.56)	0 (0)	15 (17.05)
-oval	0 (0)	10 (24.39)	1 (3.85)	1 (5.56)	0 (0)	12 (13.64)
-irregular	0 (0)	3 (7.32)	1 (3.85)	3 (16.67)	0 (0)	7 (7.96)
Material of main plaque:**						
-marble	2 (66.67)	12 (29.27)	10 (38.46)	14 (77.78)	0 (0)	38 (43.18)
-poured concrete	0 (0)	13 (31.71)	10 (38.46)	1 (5.56)	0 (0)	24 (27.27)
-porcelain	0 (0)	8 (19.51)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	8 (9.09)
-granite	0 (0)	3 (7.32)	0 (0)	2 (11.11)	0 (0)	5 (5.68)
-tin	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (15.38)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (4.55)
-aluminum	1 (33.33)	2 (4.88)	1 (3.85)	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (4.55)
-brass	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (3.85)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.14)
-sandstone	0 (0)	1 (2.44)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.14)
-slate	0 (0)	1 (2.44)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.14)
-wood	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (5.56)	0 (0)	1 (1.14)
-bronze	0 (0)	1 (2.44)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.14)
Any plaque imported**	3 (100)	28 (68.29)	16 (61.54)	16 (88.89)	0 (0)	63 (71.59)

[continued]

TABLE 10, continued

Plaque Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Percent of gravestones with imported plaques*	(37.5)	(26.42)	(16.16)	(30.77)	(0)	(23.77)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

**   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's plaques

tied with poured concrete for most popular plaque material in the Catholic Cemetery (38% each). In the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, the most popular plaque material, poured concrete (32%) is followed closely by marble (29%); porcelain is the third most common material (20%).

The Dutch Reformed Churchyard is the only cemetery in which plaques made of porcelain, sandstone, slate, or bronze are found. Plaques made of tin or brass are only noted in the Catholic Cemetery. The Anglican Churchyard is the only cemetery in which a wooden plaque is found.

All plaque materials were judged to be imported except for poured concrete and wood. The cemetery in which the highest percentage of its plaques are imported is the Methodist (100% of the plaques), followed by the Anglican (89%), Dutch Reformed (68%) and Catholic (62%). When the percentage of each cemetery's gravestones with imported plaques is calculated, the above ranking stays the same: Methodist (38% of its gravestones), Anglican (31%), Dutch Reformed (26%), and Catholic (16%).

As stated previously, some gravestones have the inscription applied to the gravestone itself instead of on a plaque. The total number of gravestones which display the deceased's name or initials on the gravestone itself or on the plaque is listed in Table 11. The cemetery whose gravestones most often display the deceased's name or initials is the Methodist Churchyard (50%), followed closely by the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (47%). In the Anglican Churchyard 43% of

TABLE 11
GRAVESTONE INSCRIPTIONS BY CEMETERY

Inscription Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Names or initials present*	4 (50.0)	50 (47.17)	30 (29.70)	23 (43.40)	0 (0)	107 (39.93)
Two or more names present*	0 (0)	5 (4.72)	5 (4.95)	4 (7.55)	0 (0)	14 (5.22)
Earliest date of death listed	1840 [or 1835]	1762	1854	1755	--	1755
Latest date of death listed	1958	1987	1985	1983	--	1987
Estimated average date of death listed or inferred	1911 [n=3]	1914 [n=53]	1942 [n=26]	1830 [n=20]	-- [n=0]	1904 [n=102]
Age at death of main person, listed or inferred:**						
-0 to 10 yrs.	1 (33.33)	5 (12.50)	3 (13.64)	4 (28.57)	0 (0)	13 (16.46)
-10 to 20 yrs.	0 (0)	2 (5.0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	2 (2.53)
-20 to 30 yrs.	0 (0)	3 (7.50)	0 (0)	1 (7.14)	0 (0)	4 (5.06)
-30 to 40 yrs.	0 (0)	2 (5.0)	1 (4.55)	4 (28.57)	0 (0)	7 (8.86)
-40 to 50 yrs.	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (4.55)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.27)
-50 to 60 yrs.	1 (33.33)	6 (15.0)	1 (4.55)	1 (7.14)	0 (0)	9 (11.39)
-60 to 70 yrs.	0 (0)	6 (15.0)	5 (22.73)	0 (0)	0 (0)	11 (13.92)
-70 to 80 yrs.	0 (0)	6 (15.0)	6 (27.27)	1 (7.14)	0 (0)	13 (16.46)
-80 to 90 yrs.	0 (0)	8 (20.0)	3 (13.64)	3 (21.43)	0 (0)	14 (17.72)
-90 to 100 yrs.	1 (33.33)	2 (5.0)	2 (9.09)	0 (0)	0 (0)	5 (6.33)

[continued]

Inscription Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Age at death of main person [continued] -All ages	3 (100)	40 (100)	22 (100)	14 (100)	0 (0)	79 (100)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

**   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's ages at death

the gravestones have names or initials, while in the Catholic Cemetery the figure is only 30%. The Lazareto Leper Colony's marked graves have no gravestones and no inscriptions.

Displaying more than one person's name on a gravestone is uncommon in the sample:

Methodist Churchyard: 0% of gravestones
Dutch Reformed Churchyard: 5%
Catholic Cemetery: 5%
Anglican Churchyard: 8%
Lazareto Leper Colony: 0%

Some of these gravestones are double or triple vaults (single-sized vaults joined together side by side or one on top of another), while others are large vaults designed with a chamber large enough to hold entire families (one unmarked family vault in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard reportedly contains the remains of 28 people). As will be discussed in the next chapter, re-use of burial space is common on St. Eustatius and many vaults are unmarked or contain occupants who aren't listed on the gravestone.

For some of the gravestones in this survey, the name or names of the deceased were not present on the gravestone but were inferred through information from informants and/or the Census Office records of deaths on Statia in the 1980s. Inferred names are listed in the data (Appendix B) in brackets, i.e. [SMITH,JOHN].

When the date of death inscribed on a gravestone is partly illegible, the best guess at a date is listed in the data with a minus sign in front, i.e. -19871022. Dates are listed in the data as: year month day (yyyymmdd). If a date

is not listed on the gravestone and is inferred from informants or Census Office records, the suffix .9 is added, i.e. 19880131.9. In two cases, the only known date is the date in which the main person listed built the gravestone; these dates of "death" are listed with the suffix .5, i.e. 17900000.5.

Table 11 indicates that the earliest dated gravestone in this sample is dated 1755 and is in the Anglican Churchyard; the second-earliest date of death listed in this cemetery is 1761. The earliest date of death listed in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard is 1762; the second-earliest listed date in this cemetery is 1770. The Methodist Churchyard and the Catholic Cemetery's gravestones date from the mid-19th century (1840 and 1854, respectively). No dates are given on the graves in Lazareto; however, late-19th to early-20th century is an estimate based on information regarding reported dates of existence of the leper colony.

The Methodist Churchyard has not had a new gravestone built since 1958. The Dutch Reformed, Catholic, and Anglican graveyards are still being used; all three contain gravestones dated in the 1980s and all three have gravestones that are, or appear to be, only one or two years old. In the year between the mapping of the Dutch Reformed Churchyard and the survey in the summer of 1989, three new vaults were constructed and occupied (C#4-GR#98, 99, and 100). In addition, one gravestone that had been a modern, single-tier concrete slab apparently had a second vault constructed on

top, creating a double vault. This vault is covered with pink and white ceramic tiles and decorative concrete blocks form a vertical wall along the edge of the top tier. This gravestone (C#4-GR#2) has no plaque; the door in the west wall is open, indicating that this upper portion was built to serve as a burial space in the future. In the same time period, no new gravestones were constructed in the Anglican Churchyard.

Averaging the known dates of death for the main person listed on a gravestone gives an estimate of the overall age (time of usage) of the cemetery. The Anglican Churchyard appears to have the oldest gravestones, on the average (1830); the average dates of death of the Methodist and Dutch Reformed Churchyard's gravestones are 1911 and 1914, respectively. The Catholic Cemetery's gravestones have the newest average date of death, 1942. These dates are very rough estimates, however; the results are probably skewed toward the 20th century since older gravestones tend to be in poorer shape and many have no plaques left, or illegible plaques. A case in point is the Methodist Churchyard: eight of the ten marked graves appear to date from the mid-to-late 19th century based on their design, condition, building materials, and the history of the church.

Inscriptions provide demographic data such as the age at death. In Table 11, the age of death of the main person (the person who died the earliest, when more than one name appears) is broken down into ten-year intervals. For the sample as a whole, almost one-half of the ages are in the

ranges 80-90 years, 70-80 years, and 0-10 years. The next most common ages are 60-70 years and 50-60 years. This pattern may indicate a high rate of infant or young child mortality, but a relatively long life expectancy once living through childhood. For each cemetery, the most common ages of death of the main person, given or inferred, are:

> Methodist Churchyard: 0-10, 50-60, and 90-100 years (tie)
> Dutch Reformed Churchyard: 80-90 years
> Catholic Cemetery: 70-80 years
> Anglican Churchyard: 0-10 and 30-40 years (tie)
> All cemeteries: 80-90 years

When the listed ages and inferred ages of additional people (other than the main person) are added to the data, the above rankings remain the same except for:

> Catholic Cemetery: 60-70 and 70-80 years (tie)
> Anglican Churchyard: 0-10 years
> All cemeteries: 0-10 years

The actual average age for the Methodist Churchyard is probably in the 0-10 years range since it contains four more small vaults of babies or young children - three with no inscription and one with an illegible age. Therefore, five of eight gravestones, or 63% of the adjusted sample for the Methodist Churchyard, represent young children. The Methodist Churchyard appears to be the only cemetery in the sample with a separate section for children (see Appendix A - Cemetery Maps); an adult was buried next to the apparently-19th-century children's graves in the 1930s.

The relatively high percentage of deaths in the age range of 30-40 years in the Anglican Churchyard could be indicative of a lower life expectancy in the 18th and 19th centuries.

One inscription in the Anglican Churchyard states that the person came to St. Eustatius from Virginia in 1792 to recover his health, but died soon after arriving (C#7-GR#4; see Appendix C -Gravestone Inscriptions).

The presence of a motif, or a design or symbol on a gravestone is relatively uncommon in the sample (see Table 12); 59% of all gravestones have no motif. The most common motif is a cross, comprising 36% of all gravestones. No other motif occurs on more than 3% of the total sample of gravestones.

The most common motif in each cemetery is:

Methodist Churchyard - cross, flower, Masonic emblem
                                (tie)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - cross
Catholic Cemetery - cross
Anglican Churchyard - cross
Lazareto Leper Colony - no motifs

The highest percentage of gravestones in one cemetery with a particular motif is 55% in the Catholic Cemetery for the cross motif. Since the symbol of the cross is an important icon in Catholicism, this result is not surprising. What is even more striking is the almost total absence of any other motif in the Catholic Cemetery; the exception is one marble plaque in the shape of a scroll. While the cross is the most common motif in the Anglican churchyard, it appears on only 15% of its gravestones, and it occurs primarily on 20th-century gravestones which are almost certainly not associated with those of the Anglican faith. During colonial times, Protestants were reportedly anxious to avoid any display that would resemble Catholicism, or "popism;" therefore crosses

TABLE 12
GRAVESTONE MOTIFS BY CEMETERY

Motif Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
No motif*	4	70	45	39	0	158
	(50.0)	(66.04)	(44.55)	(73.58)	(0)	(58.96)
Motif:						
-cross	1	31	56	8	0	96
	(12.50)	(29.25)	(55.45)	(15.09)	(0)	(35.82)
-flower	1	4	0	1	0	6
	(12.50)	(3.77)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(2.24)
-angel	0	2	0	2	0	4
	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(3.77)	(0)	(1.49)
-Masonic emblem	1	1	0	1	0	3
	(12.5)	(0.94)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(1.12)
-vine	0	2	0	1	0	3
	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(1.12)
-hourglass, no wings	0	2	0	1	0	3
	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(1.12)
-skull, no wings	0	1	0	1	0	2
	(0)	(0.94)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(0.75)
-wheat	0	1	0	1	0	2
	(0)	(0.94)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(0.75)
-scepter	0	1	0	1	0	2
	(0)	(0.94)	(0)	(1.89)	(0)	(0.75)
-other motifs	2	12	1	9	0	24
	(25.0)	(11.32)	(0.99)	(16.98)	(0)	(8.96)
-all motifs	5	57	57	26	0	145
Gravestones with at least one motif	4	36	56	14	0	110
	(50.0)	(33.96)	(55.45)	(26.42)	(0)	(41.04)
Gravestones with multiple motifs [at least three motifs per gravestone]	0	4	0	3	0	7
	(0)	(3.77)	(0)	(5.66)	(0)	(2.61)
Highest number of motifs per gravestone	2 {n=1}	9 {n=1}	2 {n=1}	7 {n=1}	0 {n=0}	9 {n=1}

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

were probably not fashionable symbols for gravestones (Ball 1977).

Certain motifs - listed in Table 12 as "other motifs" - occur only once in the sample, either alone or in combination with other motifs. These motifs, and the cemetery in which they occur, are:

> Methodist Churchyard - circle, grapes
> Dutch Reformed Churchyard - winged skull (death's head),
> 5-pointed star, 5-pointed star in a circle,
> bird, trumpet, Jesus, God the Father, bow,
> leaves, urn, cloud, and world
> Catholic Cemetery - scroll
> Anglican Churchyard - winged face (cherub), winged
> hourglass, torch, feathers, 6-pointed star, face,
> anchor, chain, and heart

Motifs can be considered in terms of how many gravestones per cemetery have at least one motif. The rankings are:

> Catholic Cemetery (55%)
> Methodist Churchyard (50%)
> Dutch Reformed Churchyard (34%)
> Anglican Churchyard (26%)
> Lazareto Leper Colony (0%)

The top ranking of the Catholic Cemetery is due to its common, single motif of a cross.

If gravestones are examined in terms of how many gravestones have multiple (three or more) motifs, the rankings change:

> Anglican Churchyard (6%)
> Dutch Reformed Churchyard (4%)
> Methodist, Catholic, and Lazareto graveyards (0%)

One last measure is the highest number of motifs occurring on any one gravestone. Those rankings are:

> Dutch Reformed Churchyard - 9 motifs
> Anglican Churchyard - 7 motifs
> Methodist and Catholic graveyards - 2 motifs
> Lazareto Leper Colony - 0 motifs

Whose gravestones contain a high number of motifs? The gravestone with nine motifs in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard is C#4-GR#21, the tomb of Josephine Heillegger who died in 1973 at the age of 84. This last name is an alternate spelling of the Dutch name "Heyliger;" apparently, when slaves were freed, they used their former master's last name. The section of the Dutch Reformed Churchyard near this gravestone contains others of this last name, with several different spellings. The nine motifs, which are cast of aluminum and attached - with an inscription - to the gravestone, are: angel, urn, bird, Jesus, God the Father, cloud, world, cross, and scepter. A concrete cross is also attached to the west wall of this gravestone.

A gravestone in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard with six motifs is C#4-GR# 24, the tomb of Commander (Governor) Jan de Windt and his wife, Alletta, who both died in 1775 (see Figure 20). The motifs on the marble plaque are: angel, skull, hourglass, vine, trumpet, and bow.

The gravestone in the Anglican Churchyard which displays seven motifs is apparently that of a young girl, Jemmy Lilly Fewellar Teal, C#7-GR#33 (see Figure 21). It is possible that the last name is Fewellar, and that "Teal" is the name of the stonecarver, since Teal is carved on a line below the rest of the name, underneath "Fewellar." The motifs on the marble plaque are: angel, skull, flower (broken), hourglass, face, torch (inverted), and feathers. The face may represent Jemmy herself. Based on the motifs, gravestone condition, building
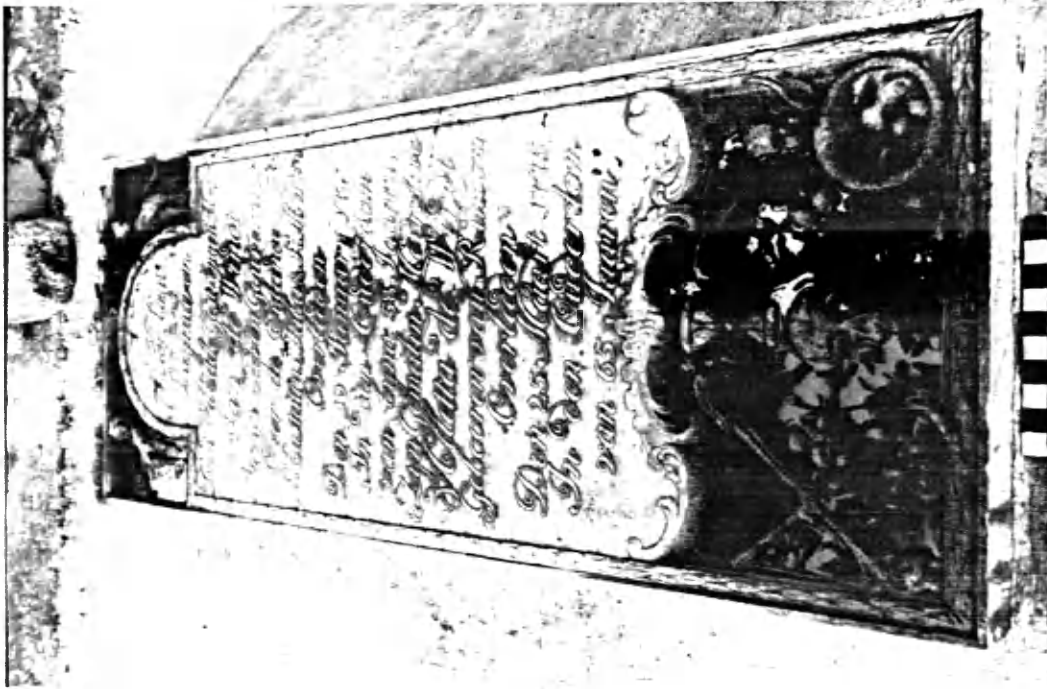
Figure 20. Marble plaque of Commander Jan de Windt and
Lady Alletta de Windt, 1775 (C#4-GR#24)
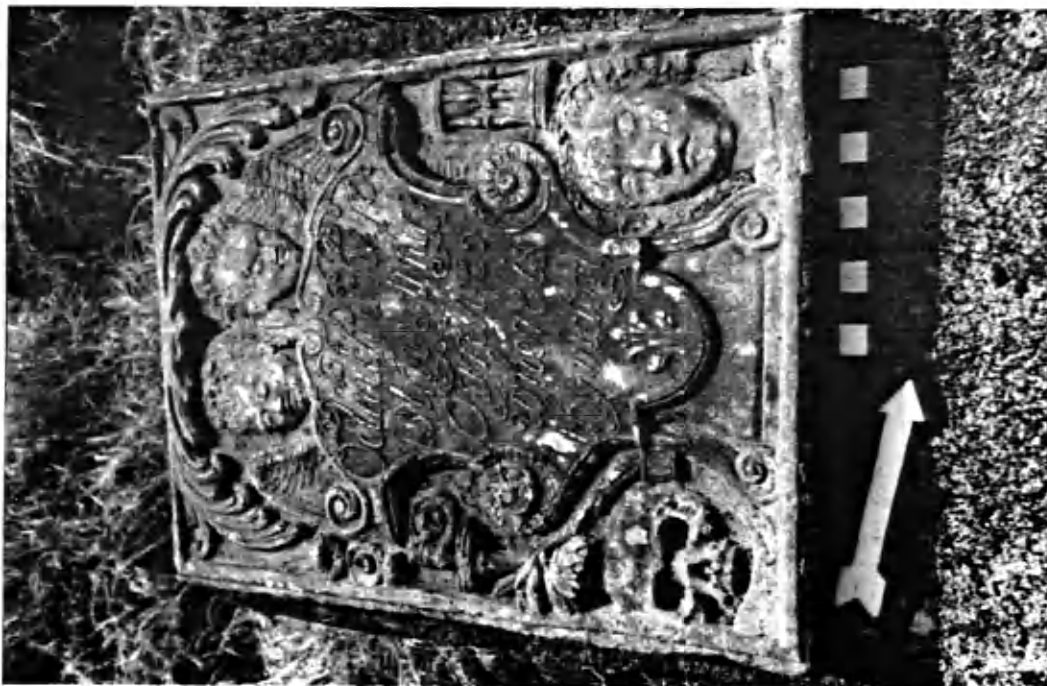
Figure 21. Marble plaque of Jemmy Lilly Fewellar(?) Teal(?),
undated (C#7-GR#33)

materials, and inscription (O death where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory), an estimate is that this gravestone dates from the 18th century.

Each gravestone (and footstone) in the surveyed cemeteries was visually inspected and aspects of its condition were noted (see Table 13). The gravestone condition was coded as one or more of the following: sound, unsound-chipped, unsound-cracked, unsound-crumbled, eroded, broken, tilted, sunken, and discolored/stained. Any condition except for sound is a negative condition; the presence of any negative condition except for discolored/stained means that the gravestone is not sound.

Only 7% of the total sample are sound, including 5% of which are sound and discolored/stained. The cemetery with the highest percentage of sound gravestones is the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (13%). Only 5% of the Catholic Cemetery's gravestones are sound; 2% of the Anglican Churchyard and 0% of the Methodist Churchyard's gravestones are sound. The most common number of negative conditions per gravestone are:

Methodist Churchyard - 3 negative conditions (37.5%)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - 4 negative conditions (26%)
Catholic Cemetery - 3 negative conditions (40%)
Anglican Churchyard - 4 negative conditions (33%)
Lazareto Leper Colony - not applicable - no gravestones
All cemeteries - 3 negative conditions (26%)

A gravestone (or footstone) was considered to be overgrown if vegetation was growing high enough to reach its top tier or its upper surface. The Anglican Churchyard has over half (53%) of its gravestones overgrown by vegetation, a figure twice as high as the next cemetery in the ranking,

TABLE 13
GENERAL CONDITION OF GRAVESTONES BY CEMETERY

Condition Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Gravestone condition:*						
-sound	0 (0)	5 (4.72)	0 (0)	1 (2.04)	n/a**	6 (2.27)
-sound and discolored/- stained	0 (0)	8 (7.55)	5 (4.95)	0 (0)		13 (4.93)
-1 negative condition	0 (0)	3 (2.83)	2 (1.98)	1 (2.04)		6 (2.27)
-2 negative conditions	1 (12.50)	23 (21.7)	14 (13.86)	8 (16.33)		46 (17.05)
-3 negative conditions	3 (37.50)	21 (19.81)	40 (39.60)	5 (10.20)		69 (26.14)
-4 negative conditions	1 (12.50)	28 (26.41)	19 (18.81)	16 (32.66)		64 (24.25)
-5 negative conditions	1 (12.50)	8 (7.55)	16 (15.84)	9 (18.36)		34 (12.88)
-6 negative conditions	2 (25.0)	8 (7.55)	3 (2.97)	9 (18.36)		22 (8.33)
-7 negative conditions	0 (0)	2 (1.87)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)		3 (1.14)
-8 negative conditions	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)		1 (0.38)
Overgrown	1 (12.50)	23 (21.70)	26 (25.74)	28 (52.83)	n/a	78 (29.10)
Repaired	2 (25.0)	17 (16.03)	3 (2.97)	5 (9.43)	n/a	27 (10.08)
In situ	8 (100)	97 (91.51)	89 (88.12)	45 (84.91)	n/a	239 (89.18)
Condition of inscription:						
-good	2 (25.0)	18 (16.98)	10 (9.80)	4 (6.78)	n/a	34 (12.36)
-clear but worn	1 (12.50)	26 (24.53)	17 (16.67)	9 (15.25)		53 (19.27)
-mostly decipherable	1 (12.50)	7 (6.60)	5 (4.90)	13 (22.03)		26 (9.45)
-traces	0 (0)	2 (1.89)	2 (1.96)	3 (5.08)		7 (2.55)

[continued]

TABLE 13, continued

Condition Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Condition of inscription [continued]						
-illegible	0 (0)	0 (0)	0 (0)	1 (1.69)		1 (0.36)
-no traces remaining	4 (50.0)	40 (37.74)	47 (46.08)	27 (45.76)		118 (42.91)
-none yet	0 (0)	13 (12.26)	21 (20.59)	2 (3.39)		36 (13.09)
Whitewashed	1 (12.50)	36 (33.97)	42 (41.58)	9 (16.98)	n/a	88 (32.84)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

**   Not applicable - no gravestones in Lazareto Leper Colony, only type 0s

the Catholic Cemetery (26%). The Dutch Reformed Churchyard has 22% overgrown gravestones, while the Methodist Churchyard is only 13% overgrown. This measure reflects the general care or neglect of a graveyard, indicating that the Methodist Churchyard is the neatest while the Anglican is the least neat.

Table 13 lists how many gravestones (or footstones) have been, or appear to have been, repaired. This figure is highest for the Methodist and Dutch Reformed Churchyards, at 25% and 16% respectively, and lowest for the Anglican (9%) and Catholic (3%) graveyards. Since the Catholic Cemetery is the newest in age overall, it has less need for repairs.

Almost all gravestones (or footstones) were judged to be in situ, or in their original grave-marking location (see Table 13). Those that were questionable were usually single rocks or stones with no accompanying grave mound or depression to indicate grave location. Those that were judged to be not in situ included displaced plaques that were coded as possible ledgers (flat slabs that cover graves). One of these possible ledgers is dated 1783 and is lying in a north-south orientation in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (C#4-GR#59), which is contrary to the east-west orientation typical of Christian graves. Another possible ledger in the same graveyard (C#4-GR#52) is dated 1762 and is resting upon a low wall which surrounds a 20th-century gravestone, C#4-GR#51. Both of these possible ledgers have inscriptions written in Dutch.

The inscriptions on gravestones or plaques were coded in one of the following ways: good condition, clear but worn, mostly decipherable, traces, illegible, no traces remaining, or none yet (see Table 13). The two most popular <u>inscription conditions</u> per cemetery, in order of popularity, are:

Methodist Churchyard - no traces remaining (50%), good (25%)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard - no traces remaining (38%), clear but worn (25%)
Catholic Cemetery - no traces remaining (46%), none yet (21%)
Anglican Churchyard - no traces remaining (46%), mostly decipherable (22%)

When the conditions "good" and "clear but worn" are combined, the results may indicate the general condition of inscriptions that are present:

Methodist Churchyard (38% good or clear but worn)
Dutch Reformed Churchyard (42%)
Catholic Cemetery (27%)
Anglican Churchyard (22%)

The Anglican Churchyard's inscriptions seem to be in the poorest shape overall; this agrees with the fact that it has the highest percentage of inscriptions that are merely traces (5%) or are illegible (2%).

Table 13 provides information on how many gravestones are <u>whitewashed</u> (coated with white paint). The Catholic Cemetery contains the highest percentage of whitewashed gravestones (42%). The Dutch Reformed Churchyard has 34% whitewashed gravestones; the Anglican Churchyard has half that amount (17%), while the Methodist Churchyard has even fewer whitewashed gravestones (13%).

Since whitewashing of gravestones is a characteristic of some African-inspired cultures, the data on whitewashing of Statia's gravestones was broken down into time periods (see Table 14). The two cases of whitewashing of gravestones which pre-date 1900 are tombs which have been re-used in the 20th century: Governor de Windt's tomb in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (C#4-GR# 24), and the tomb of the Catholic priest and a Catholic nun in the Catholic Cemetery (C#5-GR#81).

Whitewashing of gravestones on Statia probably was not practiced until the 1920s when concrete began to be used. White paint would cover the dull grey concrete; this would not be necessary with gravestones covered by white mortar. The tomb of the Catholic priests is the only one in the cemetery to be painted off-white instead of white; this off-white paint matches the paint on the outside of that cemetery's concrete east wall, indicating that whoever cares for the cemetery also cares for the priests' tomb. The deceased's family is reportedly responsible for the whitewashing of the gravestone on Statia.

Eliminating the above two gravestones leaves a pattern of steady increase in percentage of gravestones whitewashed over time. Of course, older gravestones could have been whitewashed many years ago and the paint may be gone now. Continuing to paint a gravestone could show continuing respect for the deceased - no one has been buried in the priests' tomb since the 1960s.

TABLE 14
WHITEWASHING OF GRAVESTONES BY TIME

Time Period	Whitewashed Dated Gravestones	Non-whitewashed Dated Gravestones	All Dated Gravestones
I - 1750 to 1780*	1 (7.14)	13 (92.86)	14 (100)
II - 1780 to 1810	0 (0)	8 (100)	8 (100)
III - 1810 to 1840	0 (0)	2 (100)	2 (100)
IV - 1840 to 1870	0 (0)	7 (100)	7 (100)
V - 1870 to 1900	1 (33.33)	2 (66.67)	3 (100)
VI - 1900 to 1930	2 (20.0)	8 (80.0)	10 (100)
VII - 1930 to 1960	16 (53.33)	14 (46.67)	30 (100)
VIII - 1960 to 1990	21 (77.78)	6 (22.22)	27 (100)
All time periods	41 (40.59)	60 (59.41)	101 (100)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this time period's dated gravestones

A variety of <u>objects</u> were noted to be resting upon the gravestones in the sample (see Table 15). Since there are 28 different types of objects which occur alone or with other objects in 42 different ways, Table 15 lists only those objects or combinations which account for over 10% of a cemetery's objects. Rocks or stones are the most common objects on gravestones by a wide margin - they also occur in many of the combinations listed as "other." Rocks are sometimes used to anchor flowers so that the wind will not blow them away. Cut flowers are flowers which once were growing and have been picked. For a listing of other objects found, see the code book in Appendix B (Survey Data).

The gravestones in this study were measured and the maximum <u>length</u> (or <u>thickness</u>), <u>width</u>, and <u>height</u> were recorded (see Table 16). The point of maximum height of a vault is usually the top of the upright west wall, or the top of the cross which is often attached to this wall. In terms of average length of their gravestones, the four cemeteries with gravestones can be ranked (dimensions are in feet and tenths of a foot):

        Dutch Reformed Churchyard (7.45 ft.)
        Catholic Cemetery (6.67 ft.)
        Anglican Churchyard (6.23 ft.)
        Methodist Churchyard (4.23 ft.)

The above ranking stays the same when measuring average width and average height. The cemeteries with upright gravestones differed very little from each other in average thickness of gravestones.

When the maximum length of any gravestone in each

TABLE 15

OBJECTS ON GRAVESTONES BY CEMETERY

Object Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
No objects*	7 (87.50)	75 (70.75)	72 (71.29)	38 (71.70)	n/a@	192 (71.64)
With objects*	1 (12.50)	31 (29.24)	29 (28.71)	15 (28.30)	n/a	76 (28.36)
Rock[s] or stone[s], only**	1 (100)	10 (32.26)	9 (31.03)	3 (20.0)	n/a	23 (30.26)
Rock[s] or stone[s], plus cut flowers**	0 (0)	4 (12.90)	0 (0)	0 (0)	n/a	4 (5.26)
Concrete cross [whole or broken]**	0 (0)	0 (0)	4 (13.79)	0 (0)	n/a	4 (5.26)
Concrete block/ cinderblock**	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (10.34)	1 (6.67)	n/a	4 (5.26)
Other combinations or single objects**	0 (0)	17 (54.84)	13 (44.83)	11 (73.33)	n/a	41 (53.95)

*   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

@   Not applicable - no gravestones in Lazareto Leper Colony, only type 0s

**   Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's objects

TABLE 16
GRAVESTONE DIMENSIONS BY CEMETERY

Gravestone Dimension	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Lazar. Leper	All Cems.
Average length*	4.23 (n=8)	7.45 (n=104)	6.67 (n=91)	6.23 (n=46)	n/a@	6.83 (n=249)
Maximum length**	7.6 {GR#1}	16.4 {GR#23}	13.1 {GR#45}	13.2 {GR#63}	n/a	16.4 {4-23}+
Average width	2.10 (n=8)	4.15 (n=106)	3.42 (n=99)	3.28 (n=52)	n/a	3.64 (n=265)
Maximum width	3.7 {GR#1}	12.9 {GR#53}	9.7 {GR#9}	11.0 {GR#45}	n/a	12.9 {4-53}
Average height	1.43 (n=8)	3.15 (n=106)	2.95 (n=99)	2.61 (n=52)	n/a	2.92 (n=265)
Maximum height	3.8 {GR#1}	8.0 {GR#53}	11.1 {GR#81}	6.8 {GR#18}	n/a	11.1 {5-81}
Average thickness	n/a (n=0)	0.40 (n=2)	0.43 (n=8)	0.44 (n=7)	n/a	0.43 (n=17)
Maximum thickness	n/a	0.6 {GR#103}	0.7 {GR#16}	0.7 {GR#31 and GR#62}	n/a	0.7 {5-16, 7-31 and 7-62}

*   Dimensions are in feet

@   Not applicable - no gravestones in Lazareto Leper Colony, only type Os

**   GR# is grave number, from cemetery map

+   Cemetery number - grave number

cemetery is compared, the rankings change slightly:

> Dutch Reformed Churchyard (16.4 ft.)
> Anglican Churchyard (13.2 ft.)
> Catholic Cemetery (13.1 ft.)
> Methodist Churchyard (7.6 ft.)

This ranking is repeated for the measure of maximum width:

> Dutch Reformed Churchyard (12.9 ft.)
> Anglican Churchyard (11.0 ft.)
> Catholic Cemetery (9.7 ft.)
> Methodist Churchyard (3.7 ft.)

The gravestones in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard are removed from first to second place when maximum height is noted:

> Catholic Cemetery (11.1 ft.)
> Dutch Reformed Churchyard (8.0 ft.)
> Anglican Churchyard (6.8 ft.)
> Methodist Churchyard (3.8 ft.)

What are the implications of these rankings? Since the height of a gravestone may be linked to degree of status, or the potential to attract attention, the gravestones of maximum height will be discussed.

In the Methodist Churchyard, the tallest gravestone is also the longest and widest gravestone: the single-sized vault of Jacob Simon van Putten, who died in 1958 at the age of 94 (C#3-GR#1; see Figure 22). Informants reported that he was a local preacher in the Methodist Church for many years and the Sunday School Superintendent. A local preacher may substitute for the Methodist minister when the minister is not available; the minister is the head of the church. Currently, there are three local Methodist preachers (one of whom is a van Putten) and a female minister, or lady deaconess. The van Puttens are reportedly a prominent family on Statia - the Statian Senator to the Staten (Netherlands Antilles

Figure 22.   Tallest gravestone in the Methodist
Churchyard (C#3-GR#1)

Figure 23.   Tallest gravestone in the Dutch Reformed
Churchyard (C#4-GR#53, on the right)

Government) in Curacao is a van Putten and the brother of a current local Methodist preacher.

The tallest gravestone in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard is the family-sized vault of the Hill, Brouwer, Lampe, Groebe, and Pundt families (C#4-GR# 53; see Figure 23). The last member of these related families still living on Statia, Frans Siegfried Lampe, reported that the Lampes emigrated from the Netherlands to Curacao in 1713; a member of the Hill family came to Statia in the 1770s as a merchant. Mr. Lampe's great-grandfather, James Hill, reportedly built this vault in 1860. Members of these families served as Lieutenant-Governor in 1836-1837 and 1876-1885 (Theophilus G. Groebe), and from 1894-1901 (Abraham J.C. Brouwer) (Hartog 1976a).

The Catholic Cemetery's tallest gravestone towers above all other gravestones in the survey; it is the tomb of the Catholic priests and nuns (C#5-GR#81; see Figure 24). The first recorded burial in this tomb took place in 1880. The tomb built in 1880 may have consisted of cut stone; the slanted top which comes to a point may have been added in the 20th century. The top portion appears to be made of concrete, which was not in use in 1880. The upper portion of the top resembles a crown, although this is debatable.

In the Anglican Churchyard, the tallest gravestone is the single person-sized vault of Nathaniel Mussenden, who died in 1927 at the age of 57 (C#7-GR#18; see Figure 25). Hartog (1976a) mentions a Benjamin I. Mussenden who served as the tax collector (the previous title of the Assistant Lieutenant
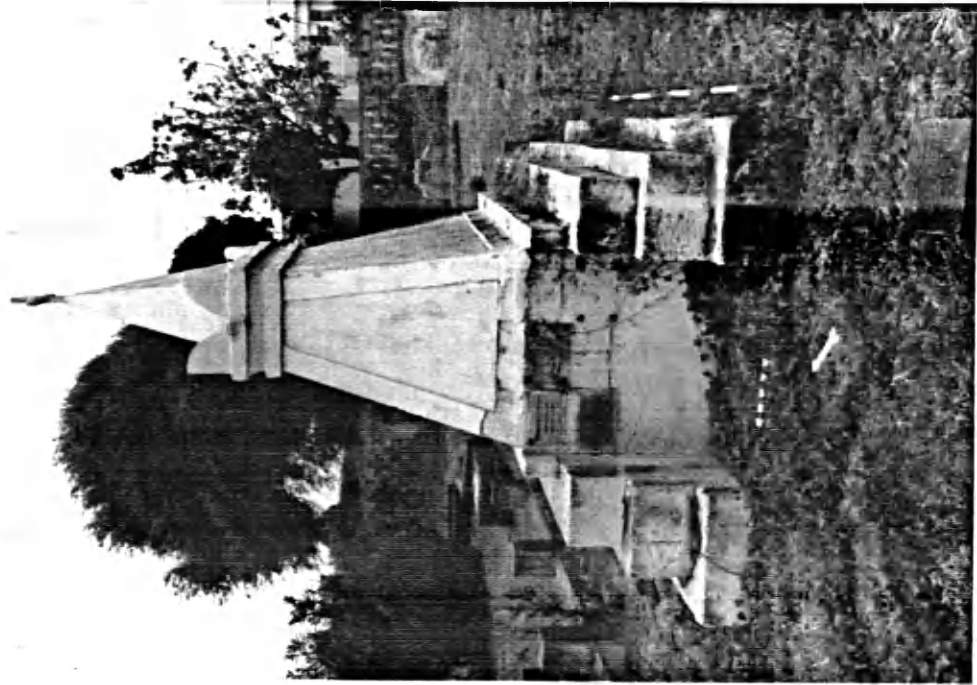
Figure 24.   Tallest gravestone in the Catholic
Cemetery (C#5-GR#81)
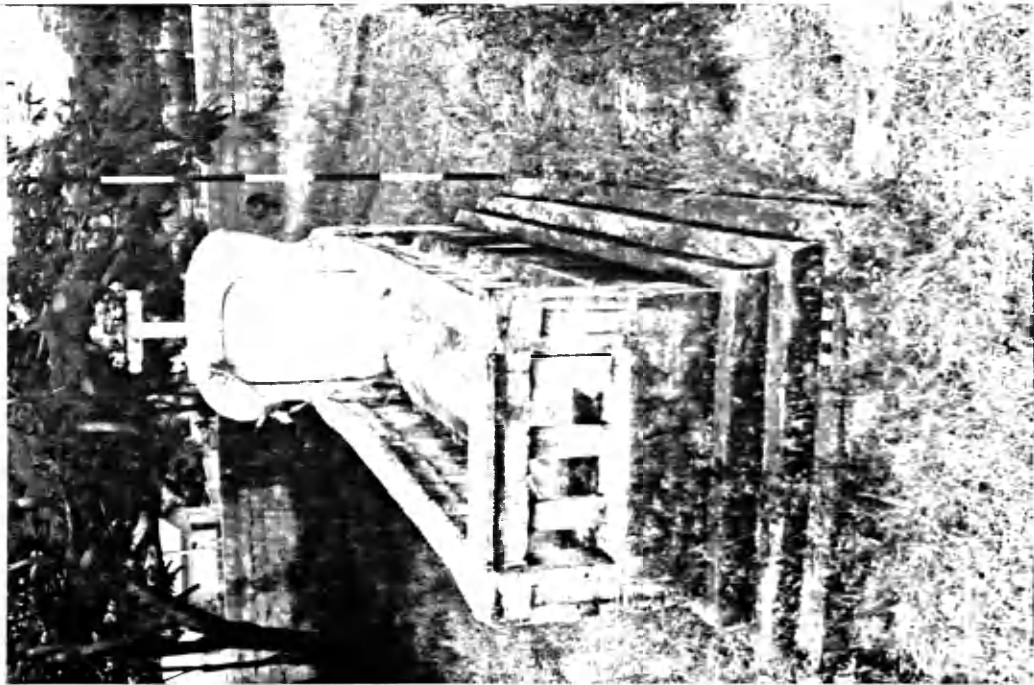
Figure 25.   Tallest gravestone in the Anglican
Churchyard (C#7-GR#18)

-Governor, or Administrator) from 1919-1924. Another Mussenden is buried in the Anglican Churchyard - Elizabeth Mussenden, who died in 1768 at the age of 2 years (C#7-GR#50). Elizabeth is buried in a single child-sized vault covered by a marble plaque. When a young child is commemorated by an imported plaque, the implication is that the family is of high status. The child is too young to have an achieved status, so the status must have been ascribed (present since birth).

The third Mussenden in the sample is a child who was buried in a family-sized vault in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard - William Henry Mussenden, who died in 1819 at the age of 1 year (C#4-GR#49). This child is also commemorated by an individual plaque made of marble. Whether all of these Mussendens are related is not known, but it is likely. The Mussenden family used to live in the house in Oranjestad which is presently the College of William and Mary's archaeology laboratory; the family's "descendants no longer live on the island" (Hartog 1976a:120).

Another factor which has been linked to status is the placement of a wall around a space larger than the individual grave, marking off an area of "territory." Such a wall could also serve to increase the distance between graves, further setting apart the enclosed gravestone. The presence of such a wall or fence was noted in only three cases in the sample, once in each of the following cemeteries: The Methodist, Dutch Reformed, and Catholic graveyards (see Table 17).

TABLE 17
WALLS AND STATUS INFORMATION BY CEMETERY

Variable	C#3 Meth. Chyd.	C#4 Dutch Ref.	C#5 Cath. Cem.	C#7 Angl. Chyd.	C#11 Leper Leper	All Cems.
Wall or fence:						
-present*	1 (12.50)	1 (0.94)	1 (0.99)	0 (0)	0 (0)	3 (1.12)
-grave number	1	51	81	--	--	--
-composition	metal chain-link fence	cut stone and concrete wall	concrete wall			
Status information in inscription:						
-present	2 (25.0)	25 (23.58)	11 (10.89)	11 (20.75)	0 (0)	49 (18.28)

* Number in parentheses is percentage of this cemetery's gravestones

The gravestone in the Methodist cemetery which is enclosed by a metal chain-link fence is that of Jacob Simon van Putten, the local Methodist preacher who died in 1958 and who was mentioned previously in the discussion of dimensions (C#3-GR#1; see Figure 26). The gravestone in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard surrounded by a cut stone and concrete wall is that of Ann G. van Putten, who died in 1944 (C#4-GR#51; see Figure 27). What is interesting is that these two people appear to have been husband and wife: the inscription of Ann's gravestone includes "This monument was erected by her beloved husband J.S. van Putten."

The Catholic Cemetery's gravestone which is enclosed by a concrete wall is the tomb of the priests (C#5-GR#81; see Figure 28). The upright concrete posts seem to have been connected previously by metal chain-links.

The last category of data to be discussed is the status information derived from gravestone inscriptions (see Table 17). If an inscription contained any of the following information it was judged to indicate status: the deceased's occupation, title, familial relationships, and maiden name. The cemeteries with the highest percentages of gravestones with inscriptions indicating status are the Methodist Churchyard (25%) and the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (24%). Not far behind them is the Anglican Churchyard, at 21%. The cemeteries with the smallest percentages of gravestones with status-indicating inscriptions are the Catholic Cemetery (11%) and Lazareto Leper Colony (0%).

Figure 26.   Fence around gravestone of Jacob Simon van Putten,
1958 (C#3-GR#1)

Figure 27.   Wall around gravestone of Ann G. van Putten,
1944 (C#4-GR#51, center)

Figure 28. Wall around gravestone of the Catholic priests and
nun, 1880 to 1965 (C#5-GR#81)
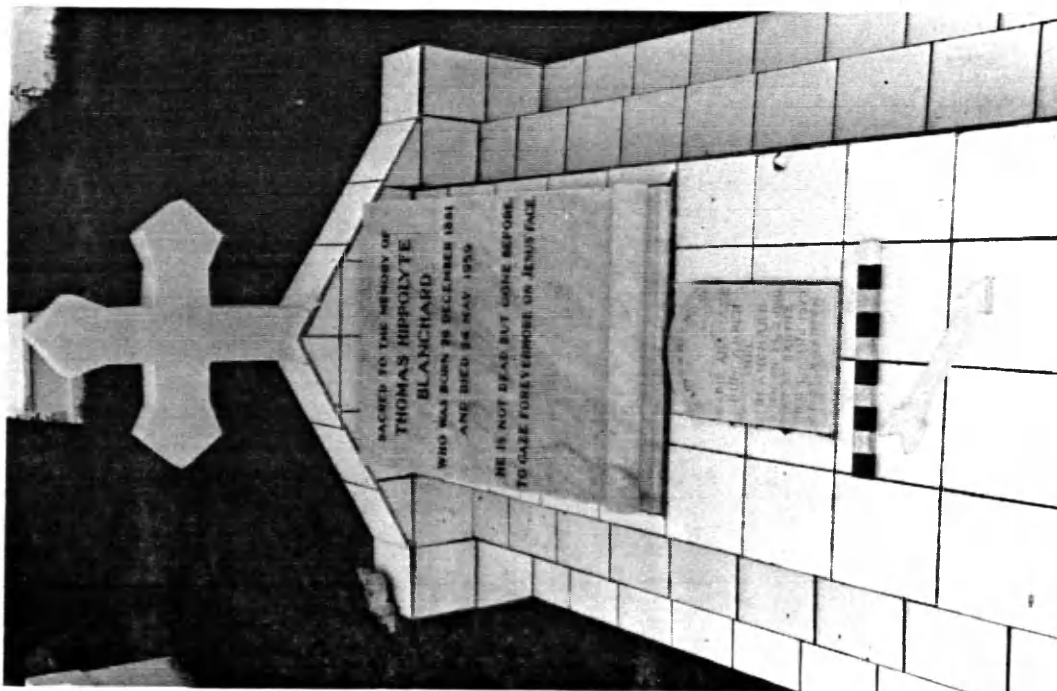
Figure 29. The smaller plaque indicates the maiden name:
"Marie Anastasie Buncamper nee Blanchard" (C#5-GR#43)

Each gravestone was only counted once; status information from additional people commemorated was included. In only two cases, the main person had no status information present and the additional person(s) did have status information given (C#5-GR#43 and C#7-GR#45 - see Figure 29 and Appendix B, Survey Data). In general, status information concerning occupation and/or title, i.e. esquire, was limited to 18th-century gravestones. Twentieth-century inscriptions with status information primarily relate familial relationships, i.e. mother, and/or maiden name.

The previously-discussed gravestones surrounded by a wall or fence all have status information in their inscriptions. Jacob Simon van Putten's inscription mentions the status of "father" (C#3-GR#1). Ann G. van Putten's inscription implies the status of "wife" by mentioning her "husband J.S. van Putten" (C#4-GR#51). The Catholic priests and nuns' tomb lists the statuses of Reverend Father and Reverend Sister (C#5-GR#81).

CHAPTER V

FURTHER OBSERVATIONS CONCERNING

MORTUARY BEHAVIOR IN ST. EUSTATIUS

There are aspects of mortuary behavior in St. Eustatius that are not apparent when examining the survey data. In this chapter the following four topics will be discussed: local craftsmen of gravestones in the 19th and 20th centuries; 18th-century merchants buried on Statia; funerals and burials on Statia; and grave decorations.

Local craftsmen in the 19th and 20th centuries

During the cemetery survey, it was noted that certain marble plaques dated in the 1840s and 1850s had similar characteristics: the deceased was a young child; the inscription often began with the words "Sacred to the Memory of"; the corners or borders of the plaque were often decorated with semi-circles; age was denoted "AGD"; the letter "s" was often slanted; a four-line verse usually appeared at the bottom of the plaque; a circle with two extending lines often divided sections of the inscription; and the plaques were signed "F," "Fabio," or "I.J. Fabio". Rubbings were made for most of these plaques (see Figures 30 and 31 for examples).

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Figure 30. Rubbing of marble plaque signed I J Fabio and dated 1842; size: 24" by 20" (Old Church Cemetery - C#1)

In Memory
Of
John G. Brown Who died
Dec 24th 1841 Aged 2
Years & 5 Months

Early snatch'd from grief and care
To his Eternal rest
Secure in Jesus arms to share
The joys of endless bliss

Figure 31.   Rubbing of marble plaque signed F. and dated
1841; size: 15" by 15" (Dutch Ref. Chyd. - C#4-GR#77)

No one the author spoke to on Statia concerning these plaques could remember anyone named Fabio who carved stone, which is not surprising given the age of the plaques. Several Fabios are buried in marked graves on Statia (in the Old Church, Catholic, and Dutch Reformed graveyards), but none match the initials on the plaques.

The Fabio family on Statia dates back at least to 1781: a Fernando Fabio appears on a list of burghers (merchants) from February 20th, 1781. This man is listed as having no wife, no children, and no slaves. A John William Fabio died in 1859 at the age of 69 and is buried in the Catholic Cemetery (C#5-GR#97). The plaque is dedicated by his son, J.R. Fabio, and is lying on top of the broken and cracked vault, detached (see Figure 32). The back of this plaque appears to have been partially carved, perhaps for practice; the back reads "DIED   Asleep in Jesus". The carved inscription on the front of this plaque appears amateurish in quality: the lettering in words is of unequal size, i.e. each letter in the word "DAYS" becomes smaller than the one before; the design is very plain.

This plaque is evidence that I.J. Fabio was probably no longer carving plaques in 1859; the deceased – John William – was probably a relative of his and the plaque was obviously not carved by "I.J." The back of the plaque also contains a rough approximation of the circle with two extending horizontal lines which characterizes Fabio-style plaques; perhaps someone was attempting to copy the Fabio "trademark."

Figure 32.   Plaque of John William Fabio, dated 1859
(C#5-GR#97)

Figure 33.   Gravestone with Fabio-style plaque: William
Frederick Verschuur, dated 1843 (C#4-GR#32)

The gravestones which contain "Fabio" plaques are similar - single-tier rectangular vaults of cut stone and mortar - possibly indicating that "I.J." was also a mason (see Figure 33). It would be interesting to see if the plaques were ever exported to other islands after they were carved.

With the small population of Statia, it is impractical for anyone to construct or import gravestones for sale full-time. The men who construct Statia's gravestones are masons who also construct houses, cisterns, and other structures. This may account for the fact that some pre-20th-century cisterns have curved (rounded) tops, similar to curved-top gravestone vaults.

Gravestone-makers on Statia today are masons who work for the local government or are privately-employed. Informants who construct gravestones described their construction and costs. A relatively inexpensive box-shaped concrete vault costs approximately 800 guilders ($480 US; one guilder=60 cents US) (see Figure 34). The main materials needed, and their cost, are: 100 concrete blocks (100 guilders or $120 US); 10 sacks of cement (100 guilders or $60 US); and two types of sand, and metal to go over the decking (150 guilders or $90 US). The gravediggers are paid 80 or 90 guilders to dig a hole by hand with shovels ($50 US). Sand can be purchased (280 guilders for a truckload - $168) or may be collected on the beach. After labor costs for two men, profit may amount to 200 to 300 guilders ($120 to $180 US).

Figure 34. Modern single-tier, rectangular concrete
vault (C#5-GR#6)
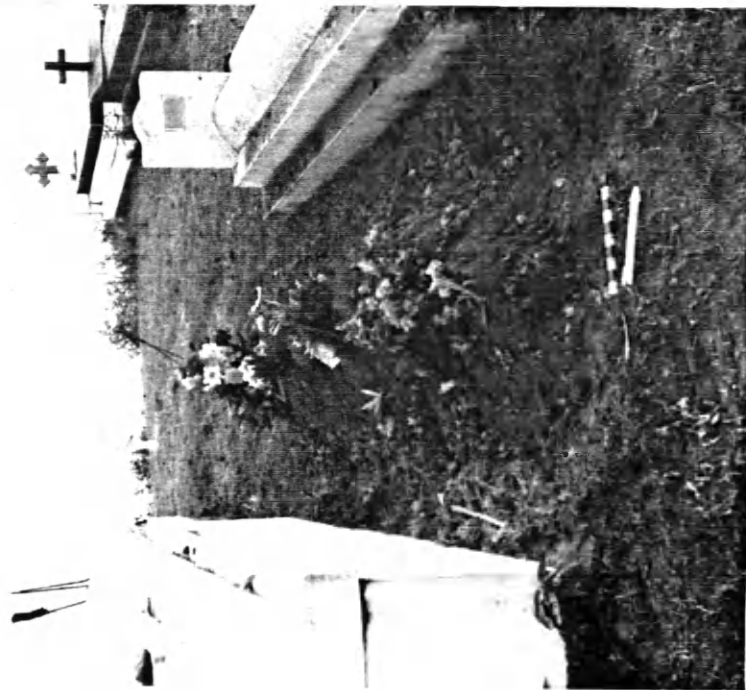
Figure 35. Burial of adult; mound decorated with cut and
artificial flowers at burial ceremony, 8/8/89 (C#5-GR#106)

Adding extra tiers or a vertical wall costs extra money. A concrete cross costs an extra 25 guilders ($15 US). The most expensive gravestones made on Statia are those covered with ceramic tiles: the cost of importing tiles wavers, but adds approximately 500 guilders ($300 US) to the price. The total price of a vault with tiles is approximately 2000 guilders ($1200 US).

Bags of cement are imported from Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo. Cement shortages on Statia are common - in three months, 10,000 bags are often used. This was the case during the ten weeks of fieldwork for this study - no tombs were built because there was reportedly no cement on the island. The burials that took place during the author's stay on Statia were below-ground burials marked with a mound of earth and one or two concrete blocks and/or cut flowers and artificial flowers (see Figures 35 and 36).

If a family wants to import a plaque, they arrange it themselves; sources of plaques include St. Kitts and the United States. An imported, hand-painted porcelain plaque can cost close to $200 US.

The government reportedly used to pay for the labor and material costs of gravestones for Statians, but stopped this practice in early 1989. Any resident who reaches age 62 on the island receives a pension from the government. After death, the family receives the pension for three months. If someone on a pension dies whose family can't afford a gravestone, the government would dock the pension for the cost

Figure 36. Burial of young child; mound marked by concrete blocks and cut flowers at burial ceremony, 8/7/89 (Salem Cem.- C#6)
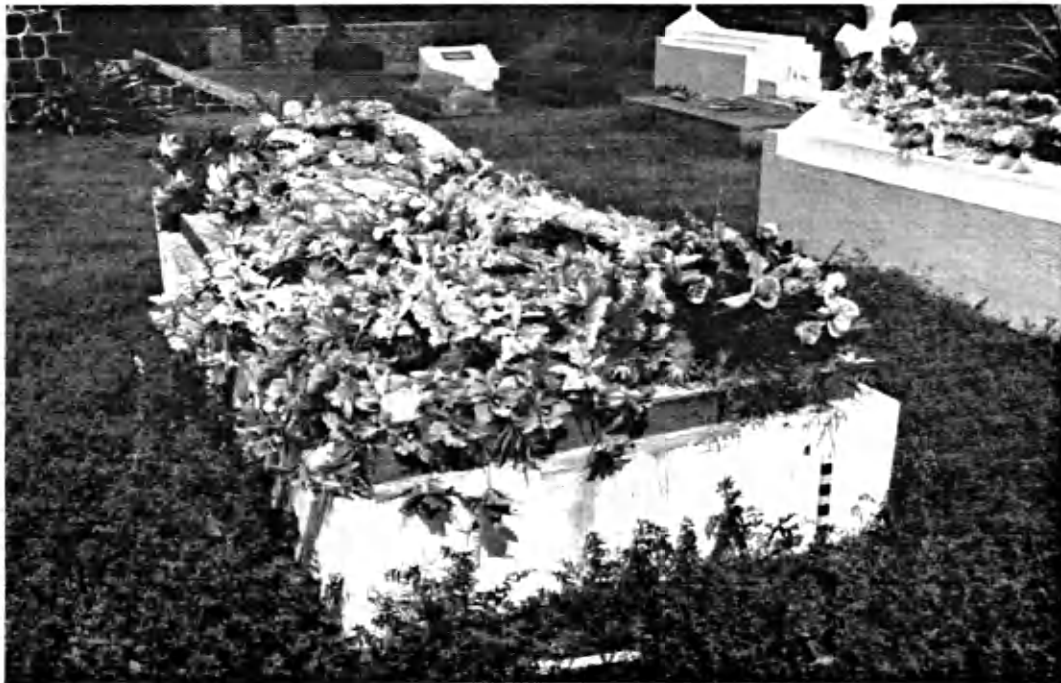
Figure 37. Gravestone decorated with 15 wreaths; grave of Jan Lens, acting Lieutenant Governor, 1989 (C#4-GR#100)

of labor and materials, if the family requests.

A hole is dug, large enough to fit the coffin with about four inches of space on each side (the local coffinmaker supplies the coffin's measurements). The hole is approximately two feet deep; if time is short, the hole may be only one foot in depth. The bottom and/or outside walls are built before the funeral and burial. At the burial, the coffin is lowered into the hole with ropes; then the masons put a board or a sheet of corrugated zinc on top of the vault walls. Concrete is mixed at the cemetery out of cement, water, and sand. Concrete is poured over the board or sheet of metal; the edges are secured by boards while the concrete hardens.

Artificial wreaths brought by mourners to the burial are placed on top of the vault and sometimes are stuck into the wet concrete (see Figure 37). If an inscription is to be made in concrete on a plaque or on the gravestone itself, the mason or the family does the writing. A sharp object such as a nail is utilized to write in concrete. Before the concrete hardens, the rough edges of the letters/ numbers may be removed by sanding the surface.

The soil removed when digging a hole for the foundation is not put back; the vault is essentially a hollow chamber with a concrete floor or a dirt floor.

18th-century merchants buried on Statia

Two listings of merchants of St. Eustatius were examined to see if any of their names matched names from this sample's

gravestone inscriptions. The first list - dated from August 5th, 1780 to January 29th, 1781 - contains 162 names. None of these names match the names of the people from the gravestone inscriptions.

The second listing dates from February 20th, 1781, and was reportedly ordered by the British Admiral George Brydges Rodney after his takeover of St. Eustatius. This listing, of approximately 600 names, contains only one name that matches an inscription: Henry Jennings. Someone of this name is buried in a family-sized vault in the Anglican Churchyard. He was born in Bermuda in 1743 and died in 1790 (C#7-GR#45). This vault displays five marble plaques which list a total of seven names of people who died in the late 18th-early 19th centuries (see Appendix C - Gravestone Inscriptions).

Another name mentioned on this second list is Roeloff Roelofs. He is listed in an inscription as the husband of someone buried in a single-sized vault in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard: Anna Maria De Wever, who was born in 1744 and died in 1776. The inscription is in Dutch; the maiden name is used, in keeping with Dutch custom (C#4-GR#66).

The lack of correspondence between the names on these lists and the names on gravestones surveyed may indicate several things about the past in Statia. It suggests that many merchants did not stay on Statia long enough after 1781 to die there; this would be consistent with the reports of the forced and voluntary exodus of merchants in the early 1780s and the mid-to-late 1790s. The results also could indicate

that the merchants who died were not buried in marked graves. Although probably not all merchants were rich, at least some should have been able to afford an imported plaque.

It has been reported that some merchants were also planters; if so, it may be that many planters were buried in private burial grounds on their plantations, many of which have apparently been lost over time. These assertions are corroborated by the research of James A. Delle. A map of St. Eustatius from 1775 lists 81 plantations and 76 plantation owners. Delle found that 39 of these 76 plantation owners appear on the 1781 list of merchants ordered by Admiral Rodney (Delle 1989). In a survey of most of St. Eustatius in 1988, Delle found the ruins of 16 probable plantation sites.

Of course, many of the names on the gravestone inscriptions are of women and children, and many pre-date 1780 or post-date the mid-1900s, thereby falling outside the life spans of most of these merchants. By the 1780s, large family vaults were in use in the Anglican Churchyard and the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (as well as in the Old Church Cemetery); the name of every occupant is not always recorded on these vaults. Re-use of slightly smaller vaults was being practiced at least since the 1770s - Governor and Lady de Windt were both buried in the same tomb in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard in 1775 (C#4-GR#24).

Preservation of gravestones and plaques is another factor - the older gravestones appear to be missing plaques or often have damaged plaques.

Funerals and burials on Statia

An early account of mortuary behavior on Statia is a letter written by a Dutch resident of St. Eustatius in 1792, Zimmerman the elder. The English translation, which appears in Kandle (1985), includes the following passage concerning burial:

> Little or no sickness is known here. As soon as some one is sick he is either better or dead in 3 or 4 days; everything goes expeditiously here. It is so with burying; dead in the evening; buried the next day. The sorrow for a deceased friend is washed away with Madeira wine. Remarkable customs! There is a church here but no minister! (1792, reprinted in Kandle 1985:186).

Bor (1981) relates information given to him by an elderly man on Statia in 1976, regarding how things were done in the past:

> ...people helped each other, and no money changed hands. If a church or something similar had to be built, everyone helped to bring the sand and stones. The present Catholic Church was built this way in 1910. If somebody died, people offered help spontaneously; the grave was dug by a few men while enjoying a bottle of spirits...today you have to comb the entire island to find help... (Bor 1981:294)

In 1976, Bor noted that the "news of a death is broadcast by a loudspeaker on a car, and always causes much sadness and concern on the whole island. Members of the family come from far and wide to be present at the funeral" (1981:297). The relatives sometimes arrive too late, since the "remains must be buried the same day, or the day after at the latest because of the climate and the lack of refrigeration facilities" (Bor 1981:297). The mourners, "dressed in black, white or purple follow the old hearse from the deceased's house to the church where the minister and one or more close relatives review the good deeds of the deceased" (Bor 1981:297). The service is

followed by a procession leading to the cemetery where the "deceased is committed to the earth with the singing of many hymns and usually much loud crying" (Bor 1981:297). Bor notes that the "amount of respect the deceased enjoyed in the eyes of the community can be measured by the length of the funeral procession" (Bor 1981:297).

Little seems to have changed in the thirteen years since Bor's observations were made. A second refrigerated cooler was installed in the hospital in 1989, thereby lessening the need for immediate burial; in the recent past, the deceased was removed from the cooler as quickly as possible in case someone else on the island died. The deceased are generally buried two days after death; one adult's grave was observed to be 4.8 feet deep, 7.6 feet long, and from 3.0 to 3.9 feet wide.

The local coffinmaker, Mr. Elridge Timber, was born in 1914 and has been constructing coffins on Statia for about forty years. It reportedly takes nine hours to build a typical wooden coffin which is usually covered with purple or grey cloth; the cost for such a coffin is approximately 400 Dutch dollars or 100 guilders ($600 US). Mr. Timber and his craft are discussed in a Master's thesis written by Chester Kulesa of the Anthropology Department of the College of William and Mary (Kulesa 1989).

The hearse is now a station wagon, and people walk behind it to the cemetery in a double line. The government worker who announces deaths by loudspeaker from a car also announces

other types of information such as upcoming concerts or visits to the island by medical specialists. The lack of a local newspaper or television station necessitates this mode of dispersing information. The tolling of church bells may also signify a death; the number of rings corresponds to the age of the deceased.

Earle, writing in 1896, notes that a similar custom existed in colonial New York, a former Dutch colony:

> As soon as a death had been announced to the dwellers in any little town in colonial New York, by the slow ringing or tolling of the church-bell, there went forth solemnly from his home the <u>aanspreecker</u>, or funeral inviter (who might well be grave-digger, bell ringer, schoolmaster, or chorister, and who was usually all four)...he visited all the relatives and friends of the deceased person, notified them of the death, advised them of the day and hour of the funeral, and requested their honorable presence...In New York the fashion was purely of Dutch derivation. In Holland the <u>aanspreecker</u> was an official appointed by government, and authorized to invite for the funerals of persons of all faiths...In New York...the <u>aanspreecker</u> no longer walks our city avenues...but in Holland he still is a familiar form...a hired servant of the undertaker...(Earle 1896, reprinted in Jackson 1977:30-31)

If a burial is to take place in a previously-built vault, the coffin is slid into the tomb on a board through the open door in the west wall. If the tomb had been used previously, the material (such as concrete or brick) which sealed the door is broken through earlier by the mason who will fill in the doorway afterwards.

The huge family-style tombs that are found in the Dutch Reformed and Anglican Churchyards are said to have a platform near the entrance in the west wall. There are steps leading from this platform down into the burial chamber, which may be

six feet deep. Typically, there are shelves lining the walls of the chamber - three on the left and three on the right. For extra space, coffins may be placed on the floor and on a set of wooden beams which cross the chamber from side to side.

The locations of the burials of slaves who died on Statia remain unknown today. Based on the literature cited in Chapter III, it is plausible that each plantation would have had a burial location for its slaves, near the slave quarters, preferably near trees; burials may also have occurred under the floors of the slaves' houses. Many plantation graveyards are unmarked today, apparently.

Not all slaves on Statia lived on the plantations, however. The Waterfort (Fort Amsterdam) - located on the Bay since the 1680s - had been converted into a house or store which had been enlarged by 1726 to two stories to accommodate over 400 slaves (Attema 1976). The slaves involved in the slave trade were housed here. Attema notes that there were plans to extend the Lower Town in 1738: "The manchineel grove along the Bay, <u>where negroes had earlier been buried</u>, was regarded as very suitable" for housebuilding by Commander Isaac Faesch (Attema 1976:35, emphasis added). A man named William Dunn claimed the land as his property; even after an investigation showed that the grove did not belong to him, the construction of the buildings was not attempted (Attema 1976). Since the burial of slaves seems to have been near their place of residence in general, and since there are manchineel trees

near the ruins of the Waterfort today, it is plausible that the manchineel grove/slave burial location of 1738 was near the Waterfort.

Grave decorations

Statia of the 1980s exhibits little of the African-inspired customs of grave decoration discussed in Chapter III. Although whitewashing is common, and ceramic tiles have been used on vaults for at least 30 years, most objects on the gravestones consist of rocks, flowers, and commercially-prepared artificial wreaths.

Several examples show similarities to African-American customs, however. A vault in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (C#4-GR#45) has a ceramic pitcher (made of transfer printed whiteware) placed upon it; this pitcher was not observed to be broken or perforated. When this gravestone was surveyed in late June of 1989, the pitcher was empty; in late July when it was photographed, the pitcher contained cut flowers. This tomb also has the following objects upon it: one rock, two broken concrete blocks, six bunches of artificial flowers, eleven wreaths, and a molded plastic vase containing sand and the flowers. The concrete blocks and the rock are holding the pitcher in place. A layer of grey concrete along the top of the west wall of this whitewashed tomb has wreaths pressed into it which spell out M A C H I E (See Figure 38).

Shells were only noted to occur on or next to three gravestones, all of which are in the Catholic Cemetery (see
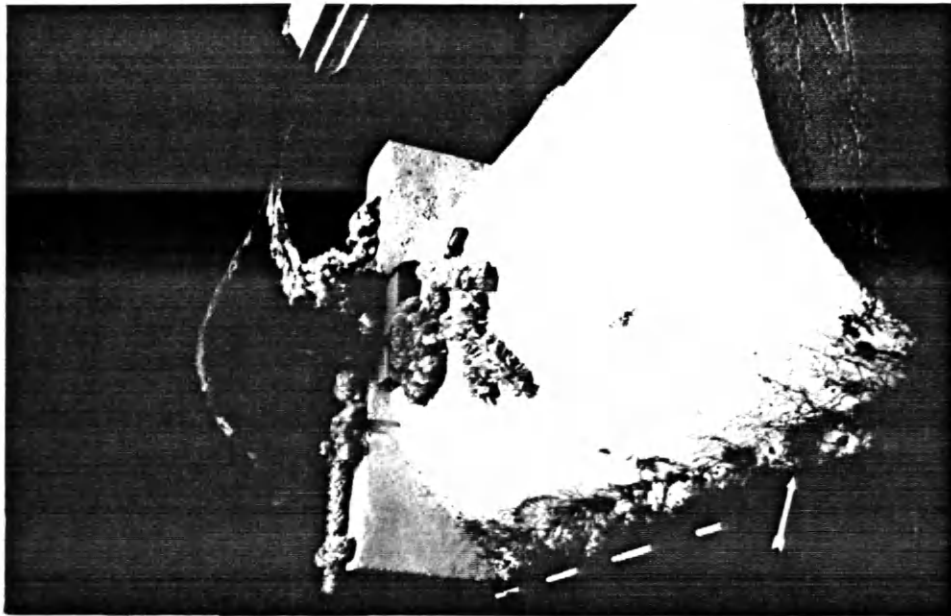
Figure 38. Decorated vault; decorations include a
ceramic pitcher (C#4-GR#45)
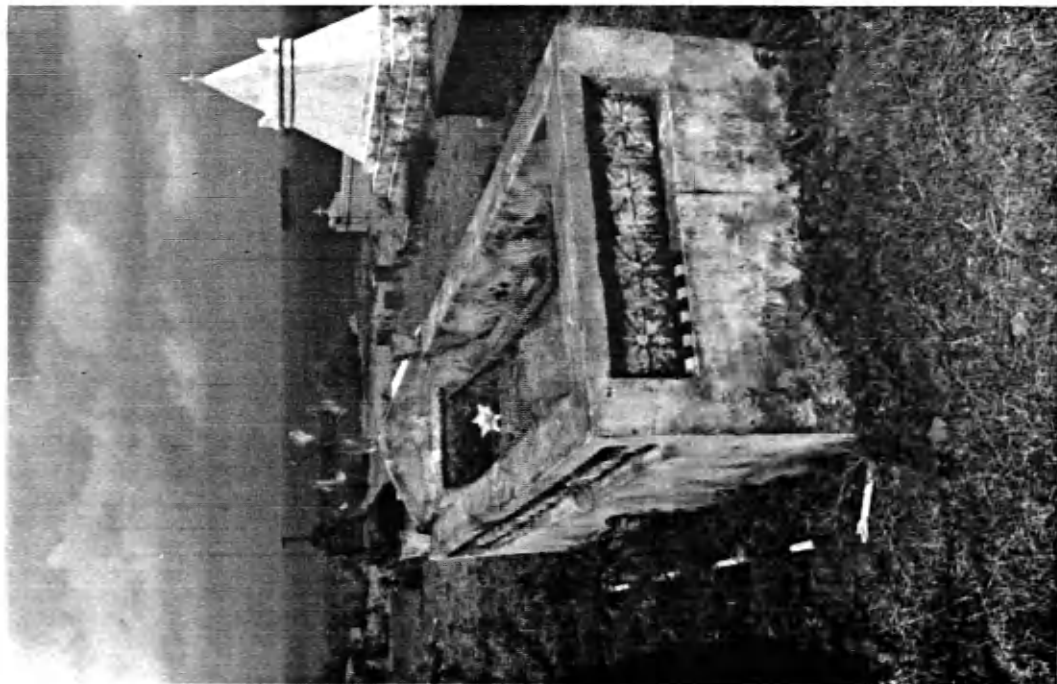
Figure 39. Vault decorated with conch shell (C#5-GR#57)

Figure 39).

The computer coding of objects on gravestones does not include type Os (those marked graves that are not considered to have gravestones or footstones). In general, Type Os are probably closer to "folk styles" of grave marking and decorating - an effort to make do with the resources available. One such grave in the Catholic Cemetery is a mound covered with a single layer of cinderblock; two conch shells are placed on the cinderblocks - one at the head and one at the foot of the grave (C#5-GR#86; see Figure 40). Statians related that shells are merely used for decoration and that no other meaning is attached to this use.

The type 0 graves covered with piles of rocks - common in the Anglican Churchyard - sometimes include fragments of glass and/or ceramic fragments. For example, a rubble pile covering a grave in the Anglican Churchyard includes a sherd of coarse earthenware with a yellow slip design on the interior and three dots pressed into its handle (see Figure 41). Whether these glass or ceramic fragments are broken pieces of the deceased's possessions is unknown. These graves may indicate the styles adopted by former slaves after freedom in 1863. Since most former slaves moved to the town, it can be assumed that burials would have been in town. The Anglican Churchyard is opposite the Methodist Church; Methodism is a faith which attracted many ex-slaves. By 1863 the Anglican faith was apparently not strong on Statia, so the graveyard may have been "converted" to an extra Methodist cemetery.
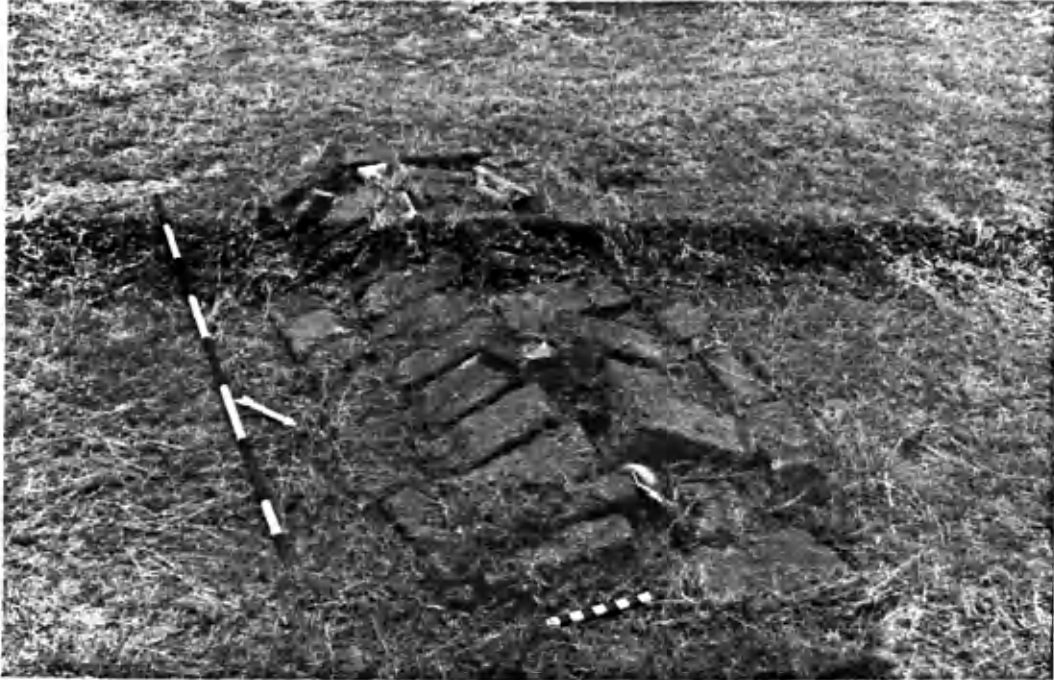
Figure 40. Mound covered with cinderblocks and decorated with two conch shells at head and foot (C#5-GR#86)

Figure 41. Grave covered with rocks, bricks, mortar fragments, and a sherd of coarse earthenware (C#7-GR#14)

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

What has the study of Statia's gravestones contributed to an understanding of status and status display? It appears that the material culture of mortuary display on Statia reflects the balance of power among its residents and its institutions. Since mortuary behavior tends to be a conservative aspect of culture, and since change seems to have happened slowly on Statia, patterns should be evident. The five hypotheses will be discussed first, followed by remarks on burials in St. Eustatius and conclusions of the study.

Hypothesis 1

Are the gravestones in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard taller, on the average, than the gravestones in each of the other cemeteries in the sample? Yes - the average height of the Dutch Reformed Churchyard's gravestones, at 3.15 feet, is taller than the average height in the Catholic Cemetery (2.95 feet), Anglican Churchyard (2.61 feet), and Methodist Churchyard (1.43 feet). This supports the author's suggestion that the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contains the graves of those with relatively higher status. The tallest single

gravestone in the sample is the tomb of the Catholic priests and nuns in the Catholic Cemetery (C#5-GR#81). The towering height of this tomb, at 11.1 feet, may signal a change in status with religion and religious leaders becoming associated with high status by the early 1900s.

Hypothesis 2

Does the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contain a higher percentage of gravestones with imported building materials and/or imported plaques when compared to each of the other cemeteries in the sample?

In terms of gravestone materials, importation is not common. While the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contains the highest number of gravestones with imported materials, it is third in the ranking by percentage at 8%. The Methodist Churchyard has 13% of its gravestones containing imported material, but since the number is only one, the comparison with other cemeteries with larger total numbers of gravestones may be unfair. The Anglican Churchyard, however, has 12% of its gravestones constructed with imported materials. This would seem to indicate that the Dutch Reformed Churchyard is not the only cemetery on St. Eustatius containing the graves of people of high status.

In terms of the percentage of gravestones with imported plaques, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard is third, at 26%. The Methodist Churchyard is first, at 38% of its gravestones, and the Anglican is second, at 31%. These results point to the

conclusion that higher status is displayed in all three of these cemeteries. The probable presence of a local stonecarver, I.J. Fabio, in the mid-19th century, could have made plaques more affordable since the raw marble instead of inscribed marble would have been imported. His presence could have encouraged people who wouldn't generally import a plaque to purchase one.

The lack of imported gravestones (4%) and gravestones with imported plaques (16%) in the Catholic Cemetery may be interpreted as a lack of high status among members of the Catholic faith. However, other interpretations are more plausible. Gravestone materials were imported mainly before 1800 (i.e. slate, sandstone) and since 1959 (ceramic tiles). The Catholic Cemetery was apparently not in existence during the phase of economic prosperity in the 18th century; by the mid-19th century, most free Statians seem to have become relatively modest or poor planters, and importing gravestones would have been a luxury.

The landscape of the Catholic Cemetery supplies another interpretation of status relationships within the Catholic community. The relative evenness in height of the vaults contrasts sharply with the height and commanding presence of the priests' and nuns' tomb. The height of this tomb places it "closer to heaven" than the tombs of the parishioners. The visual focus of this cemetery is this tomb and the 8-foot-tall cross marking the cemetery itself. Perhaps to try to compete for attention with these two symbols of the power of God would

be not appropriate or not acceptable.

Hypothesis 3

Does the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contain the highest percentage of gravestones with motifs? No - the Catholic Cemetery, at 55%, and the Methodist Churchyard, at 50%, exceed the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, at 34%. The Anglican Churchyard has even fewer gravestones with motifs, 26%. The ranking was primarily due to the excess of crosses on the Catholic Cemetery's gravestones, and may be due to religious factors more than to factors of social status.

Hypothesis 4

Does the Dutch Reformed Churchyard have the highest percentage of gravestones with multiple motifs (three or more motifs per gravestone)? No - the Anglican Churchyard, at 6%, has slightly more gravestones with multiple motifs than does the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, at 4%. These two cemeteries are the only ones in the sample that have any gravestones with multiple motifs. It appears that both the Anglican and Dutch Reformed Churchyards contain gravestones that fit this aspect of the description of markers of people with high social status.

The presence of multiple motifs seems to have been associated mainly with 18th-century gravestones, such as Governor de Windt's tomb in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard (C#4-GR#24). The presence of these elaborately-carved plaques

in the Dutch Reformed and Anglican Churchyards may indicate a period of competitive mortuary display between the Dutch and the British, both of whom - along with the French - had control of the island at various times up to 1816.

After Admiral Rodney captured Statia for the British in February of 1781, he became Commander of the island (Hartog 1976a). Brigadier General David Ogilvy replaced Rodney as Commander on May 3rd, 1781, but died on the 31st of that month. The location of Ogilvy's tomb in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard must have been an insult to the Dutch, since the leaders of this church had also been the leaders of the Dutch government. The placement of Ogilvy's tomb is even more symbolic of the transfer of power from the Dutch to the British: Ogilvy is buried several feet from the east wall of the church, directly to the west of the 1775 tomb of a former Commander, Jan de Windt (Ogilvy is C#4-GR#11; de Windt is C#4-GR#24).

Both de Windt's and Ogilvy's tombs have lengthy inscriptions which are best viewed from above. These tombs are strategically located so that their plaques are easily seen from two windows lining the main entryway to the Dutch Reformed Church (the ground level is slightly higher inside the church than it is outside of these windows). While entering the church through this entryway on the east side of the building, the tomb that will be seen through the first window to the left is de Windt's (see Figure 42). Ogilvy's tomb comes into view while looking through the second window

Figure 42. Tomb of Dutch Commander Jan de Windt, 1775;
windows are on the right (C#4-GR#24)

Figure 43. Tomb of British Commander Brigadier General
David Ogilvy, 1781; view from second window (C#4-GR#11)

(see Figure 43).

Rodney apparently allowed the Dutch to bury their dead in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard during his term of office - a tomb to the right of the entry way is the burial place of the Dutch Rear-Admiral Willem Crul, who was killed by the British during a sea battle on February 3rd of 1781. Perhaps as a concession to British power, the tomb was apparently unmarked, and remained this way for almost two hundred years. According to Hartog, the Rear-Admiral's tomb received a plaque in 1976, at the initiative of "the Dutch general Mr. M.R.H. Calmeyer" who had "visited the island several times;" the plaque was "made possible by the Bureau of Navy History of the Dutch Navy" (1976a:17). This plaque is made of bronze, which is a very costly material to purchase and engrave. The inscription is written in Dutch, and provides details of the sea battle as well as praise for the naval hero who lost his life after being attacked by a larger English force, and who loved his country and loved freedom (see C#4-GR#70 in Appendix C - Inscriptions). The plaque is located where it can be easily viewed by those walking by the tomb, perhaps serving as a reminder that the Dutch triumphed over the British in the end, regaining control for good in 1816.

Hypothesis 5

Does the Dutch Reformed Churchyard contain the highest percentage of gravestones which display status information (occupation, title, familial relationship[s], and/or maiden

name) in their inscriptions? No, but the top three cemeteries are roughly equivalent: 25% of the Methodist Churchyard's gravestones display status information in their inscriptions compared to 24% of the Dutch Reformed Churchyard and 21% of the Anglican Churchyard. The Catholic Cemetery falls behind, with only 11% of its gravestones displaying status information. An informal analysis of when status information appears on dated gravestones in the total sample reveals that from 1750 to 1810, roughly 65% of the dated gravestones contain status information and 35% do not (see Figure 44). From 1840 to the present, the situation reverses: approximately 65% of the dated gravestones do not display status information while 35% do display such information.

Perhaps with the larger, more culturally-diverse population living on Statia in the 18th century, it was more necessary to advertise social status. The decline in trade in the 19th century, and the decrease in population size and income, may be reflected in the fact that only 12 dated gravestones from 1810 to 1900 are present in the sample, five of which (42%) contain status information. Describing early-20th-century St. Eustatius, an informant stated that "everyone knew who was who, so you didn't have to show it."

Other aspects of the cemeteries of St. Eustatius are noteworthy, including burial in vaults instead of in the ground, the re-use of burial space, and access to burial space. It seems to be important for modern Statians to be

Inscriptions Displaying Status
Total Sample
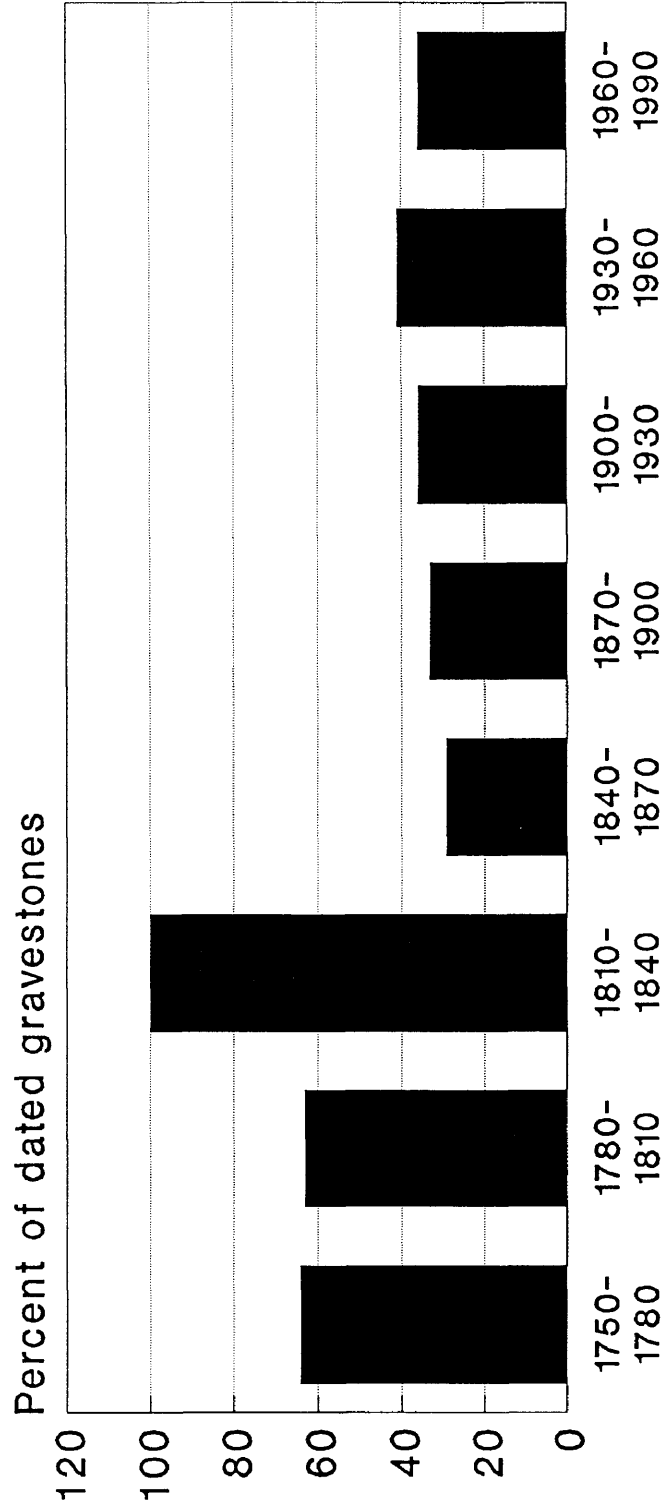
FIGURE 44

■ Status indicated

Data derived from inscriptions

buried in a vault. One informant stated that it adds "extra grief" if the deceased's coffin is covered with dirt and that it is "cruel" to put dirt and stones on top of the coffin. This is why vines are sometimes gathered from the cemetery before a burial and then thrown on top of the coffin before the soil is shovelled back into the grave: so the mourners "won't hear the dirt and stones hitting the coffin." The author observed this practice during a burial ceremony in the Catholic Cemetery. The informant added that if the body is interred in a vault, someone could go to visit and know that the "body is secure." Another Statian gave this reason why "tombs" are better than in-ground burials: because "no one can come and dig you up."

Another explanation of burial in vaults instead of in the ground is that most of Statia's cemeteries, except for Salem Cemetery, are full; an informant stated that "people don't like the idea of digging up old graves." Sometimes, this can't be avoided, and burial space below ground as well as chambers in vaults are re-used. In some cases, vaults are reportedly built above in-ground interments.

The notion of one person resting forever in their own plot of earth is largely an idealized notion, which has little truth on an island the size of St. Eustatius. People do not purchase burial plots - they are free of charge. Written records of who is buried where are not kept; people remember for themselves where their loved ones are interred. If a family vault is not available for re-use, family members

generally choose a burial spot after a death in the family.

Access to burial in the cemeteries of St. Eustatius is not open to anyone, however, except for the local government-run cemetery, Salem. There appear to be three factors which determine burial location in Statia today: religion, family ties, and service to the government. While race was reportedly a factor in the past, there are no longer sections reserved for whites in the cemeteries.

Religion appears to be a limiting factor; not being a Catholic excludes someone from being buried in the Catholic Cemetery. There are instances of one spouse being buried in the Catholic Cemetery and the other spouse not being buried in the same cemetery because only one was a Catholic. The only people to have been buried in the Methodist Churchyard in 20th-century marked graves are a local preacher and an American friend of a former minister. The burial areas appear to be full except for the fenced-in area surrounding the newest gravestone; presumably the graves are of Methodists.

Family ties will allow a person to be buried in a "full" cemetery. If a relative has a vault in a cemetery, that vault can be re-used for family members. It appears that this rule doesn't apply to tombs which were built by those whose descendants no longer live on the island: a prominent 18th-century tomb in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard has reportedly been used earlier this century and more recently by two different families. These two families were and are among the richest and most powerful residents of the island and include

prominent businessmen, politicians, and religious leaders.

The local government can grant permission for a vault to be constructed for someone who lacks a family vault in that cemetery. This has been done in the recent past in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard for individuals including an acting Lieutenant-Governor and the past president of the Historical Foundation.

In conclusion, burial in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard had in the past, and continues to have, a high status value. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard was apparently the cemetery of choice for the ruling class of St. Eustatius in the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries; the powerful elite had ties both to the government and the Protestant Reformed religion. The presence of the British Commander Ogilvy's tomb of 1781 in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard suggests that this burial ground was associated with the government of Statia instead of being exclusive to those of the Dutch Reformed faith. Today, access to this cemetery - with its imposing vaults and attractively-landscaped grounds - is enjoyed by several prominent families, termed by one Statian as "the bigger folks," as well as those who have served the government and thereby served their community.

The Methodist and Anglican Churchyards also show evidence of the burial of people of higher status as inferred from the gravestones' building materials, plaque materials, multiple motifs, and/or inscriptions. This may be interpreted to mean

that higher status has been enjoyed by a variety of families and/or individuals over time, and is not exclusive to the Dutch Reformed Churchyard. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard is the one associated with the "aristocrats" of St. Eustatius and therefore may have been a model for others to emulate, on a smaller scale.

The presence of large vaults, imported building materials, and status information in the inscriptions in the Anglican Churchyard indicates that higher status was not exclusive to the ruling class in the mid-18th to mid-19th centuries. Apparently, successful Anglican merchants and lawyers displayed their economic status and social position via mortuary material culture. The Anglican Churchyard contains several large, curved-top family-sized vaults, including the Packwood/Jennings vault (C#7-GR#45) which displays five marble plaques - the largest number of plaques on one gravestone in the sample. One of the largest marble plaques in the sample tops the vault of Elizabeth Cadett who died in 1763 and is buried in the Anglican Churchyard (C#7-GR#16). Many of the plaques in the Anglican Churchyard mark the graves of children, suggesting that their parents could afford imported luxury items.

The Dutch Reformed Churchyard seems to have retained an association with the leaders of the government while its religious ties are now gone. The Anglican Churchyard appears to have lost its status value today - new gravestones are sparsely distributed in the cemetery, unlike the densely

-packed gravestones in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard.

The Anglican Churchyard was observed to contain litter, tall grass, and occasionally a grazing donkey. The corners of two family-sized vaults seem to have been removed to make room for a modern cemetery wall and road signs (C#7-GR#1 and C#7-GR#63). In contrast, the Dutch Reformed Churchyard displays a clean, manicured appearance; its connection to tourism is evident by the presence of tour guides and its appearance on post cards and T-shirts. Perhaps the Anglican Churchyard - also known locally as the Old English Cemetery - suffers from its association to the British and thereby an association to the hated British Admiral Rodney who plundered the island in 1781.

The gravestones of the mid-19th to 20th centuries in the Methodist and Catholic cemeteries are generally smaller than the family-sized vaults common in the Dutch Reformed and Anglican burial grounds. The individuals chosen for special emphasis via height and a wall around the gravestone in the Catholic and Methodist cemeteries are religious leaders - the Catholic priests and a nun and a Methodist preacher. Perhaps this indicates the respect and prominence of religious leaders in a community which had come to focus less on international commerce and more on local affairs.

Personal identity seems to be secondary to group identity in the Catholic Cemetery with its multitude of crosses and unmarked tombs. The contrast of the Dutch Reformed Churchyard with the anonymous, stone-lines graves of Lazareto Leper

Colony is obvious -- the lepers had a low social status when alive, and their identities have been lost over time (see Figures 45 and 46).

In summary, the material culture of mortuary display on St. Eustatius appears to have changed over time in a cyclical fashion. Cannon (1989) views mortuary practice as a means of competitive expression of status and status aspirations; what is first the elaborate expression of higher status tends to lose its exclusivity as it is imitated by those of the middle and lower statuses. The cyclical nature of Statian mortuary display may be examined in terms of the influence of the institutions of family, government, and religion in the overall context of historical and economic factors.

During the economic prosperity of the second half of the 18th century, huge family-sized, curved-top-tier vaults were constructed, gravestones and especially plaques were sometimes imported from overseas, and inscriptions often mentioned an individual's name, parents' names, husband's name, title, and/or occupation. The Dutch Reformed Churchyard was the burial ground of the ruling class, and was tied to religion and the government. Cemeteries were segregated by religion, i.e. the Jewish Cemetery, the Anglican Churchyard.

The 19th century was generally a time of economic decline. There seems to have been a decline in the importation of gravestones although imported plaques continue in use. Few dated gravestones from the 19th century were
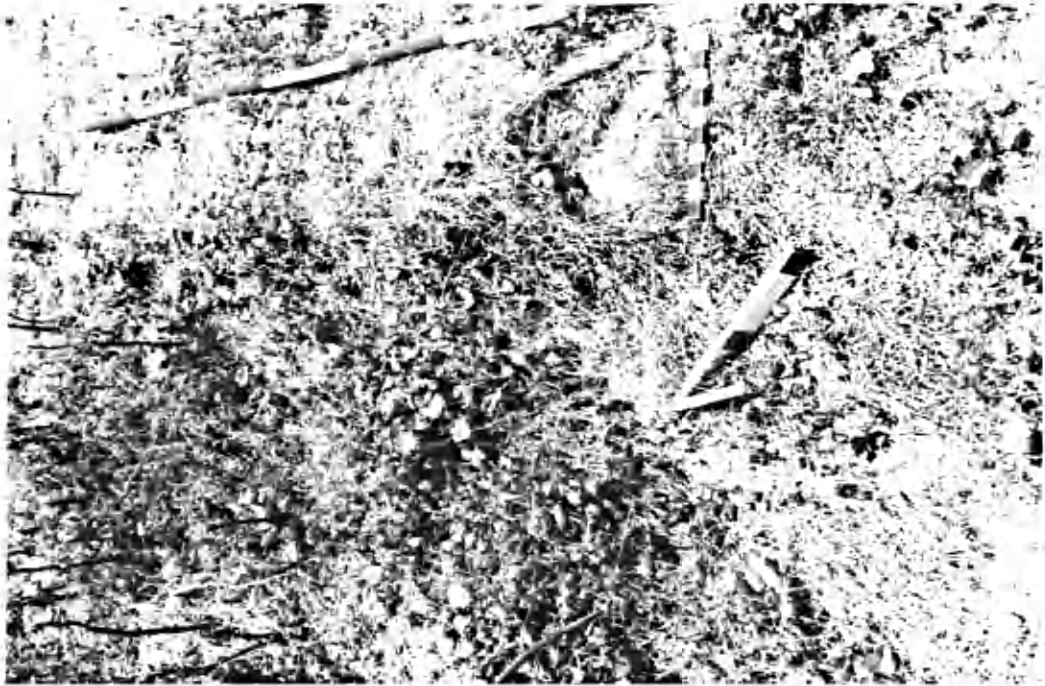
Figure 45. Grave at Lazareto Leper Colony: partial stone outline to left of range pole and above photo scale(C#11-GR#2)

Figure 46. Lazareto Leper Colony. Ruin of residence(?) behind palm tree; two stone-outlined graves in left foreground (C#11)

found in the cemeteries studied. Perhaps this points to a re-use of 18th-century vaults or the use of plantation graveyards. The last large family-sized tomb of known construction date was built in 1860 in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard.

After the slaves were freed in 1863 the majority of Statia's population moved from the plantations to the town of Oranjestad. The Methodist and Catholic religions had become popular, and each had a burial ground - the Methodist Churchyard and the Catholic Cemetery. The adoption of Christianity by former slaves would have presumably led to a desire to be buried in a Christian graveyard. Probably due to economic circumstances and ethnic background, graves appear to have been unmarked, marked with rocks or stones, marked with a gravestone lacking a plaque, or marked with something perishable such as flowers.

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, a leper colony operated in isolation from the town. Its deceased members were apparently buried in isolation and obscurity on the grounds of Lazareto Leper Colony.

Perhaps by the beginning of the 20th century, gravestones for Statia's black population were becoming more common. With the availability of concrete by the 1920s, concrete gravestones and concrete plaques appear. Whitewashing of gravestones becomes popular by the 1930s, or earlier. Tombs that are built tend to be sized for a single person, although family members are often buried in the same tomb. Tombs are

sometimes built over the spot where a family member was buried in a below-ground grave.

During the 20th century, importation of plaques appears to have levelled off, but materials have changed. Dated since the late 1950s, hand-painted porcelain plaques now adorn some of the tombs in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard, especially those of members of prominent families (the porcelain plaque of Johannes de Veer - C#4-GR#3 - was reportedly purchased in 1976 by his descendants). Another new imported material that seems to have appeared in the late 1950s on Statia is ceramic tiles - the earliest dated tiled gravestone is in the Anglican Churchyard. Ceramic tiles are found on gravestones in the Dutch Reformed and Anglican Churchyards and the Catholic Cemetery (see Figure 47). Since ceramic tiles are in use in the public cemetery - Salem - it is probable that their use is becoming common enough that these expensive tiles will lose their status value.

Another development in the recent decades is the building of a vault before a death, to reserve a burial space. Several prominent Statians have coffins in their possession which were made by the local coffinmaker. The availability of extra money to spend in the past several decades allows for such consumption and display.

Perhaps the next cycle of gravestones for those of higher status is to contrast with the elaborate styles and imported materials by returning to simplicity and native materials. This approach was noted in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard in
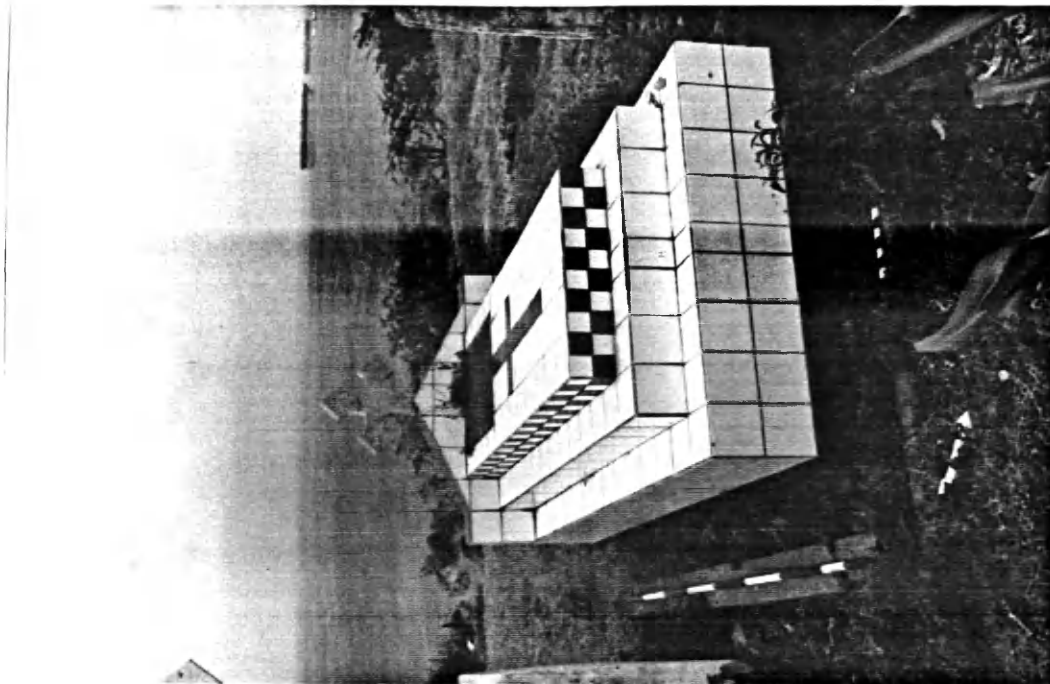
Figure 47.   Vault covered with ceramic tiles. Checkerboard
design and cross design on top tier (C#5-GR#68)
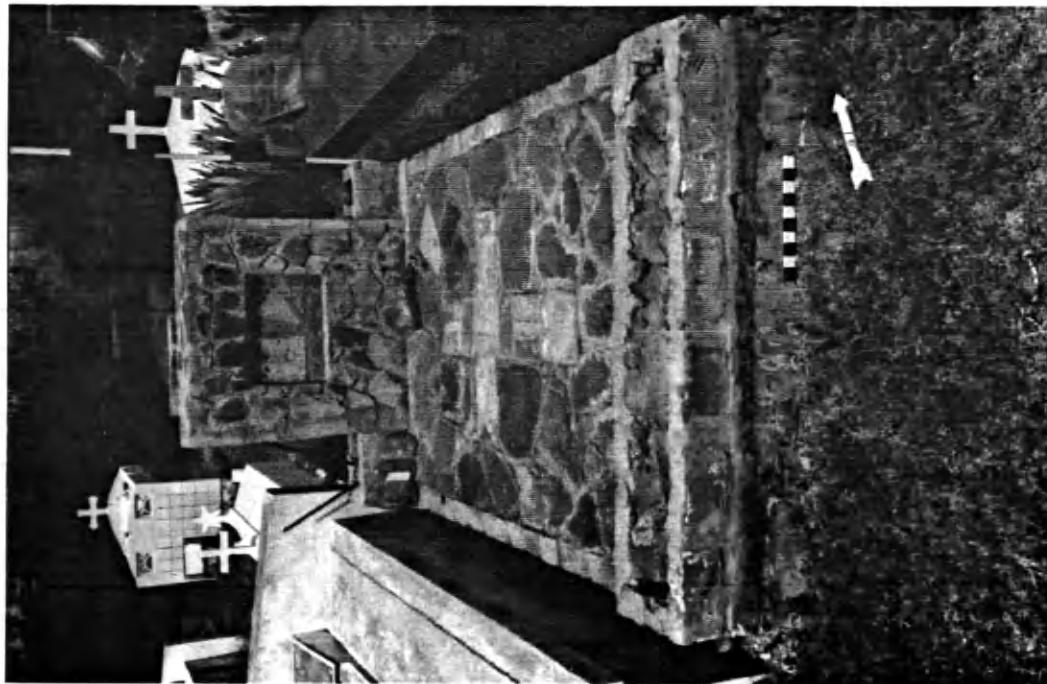
Figure 48.   Vault constructed of faced stone, concrete, and
brick.   Cross design on upper surface, 1984 (C#4-GR#30)

the vault of a man who had been prominent in Statian politics for many years at the time of his death in 1984 at the age of 67 (see Figure 48). This gravestone is said to have been designed by one of the deceased's sons and was constructed of faced stone, concrete, and brick.

The desire to be buried near family seems to have been a strong part of mortuary behavior throughout the time period studied. Tombs of related people such as husband and wife and parents and children are sometimes physically joined together, or occur near each other. Family ties and religion play a major role in determining where the average Statian will be buried today. Politics and family ties admit a "lucky few" to pass under the towering archway and join the ranks of the elite in the Dutch Reformed Churchyard.

APPENDIX A

Cemetery Maps

and

Aerial Photographs

Kapel Weg

1

gravel driveway

fence

7

6
5

4

3   2

Bethel

Methodist

Church

De Ruyter Weg

tree

10

9

8

outbuildings

Binckers Weg
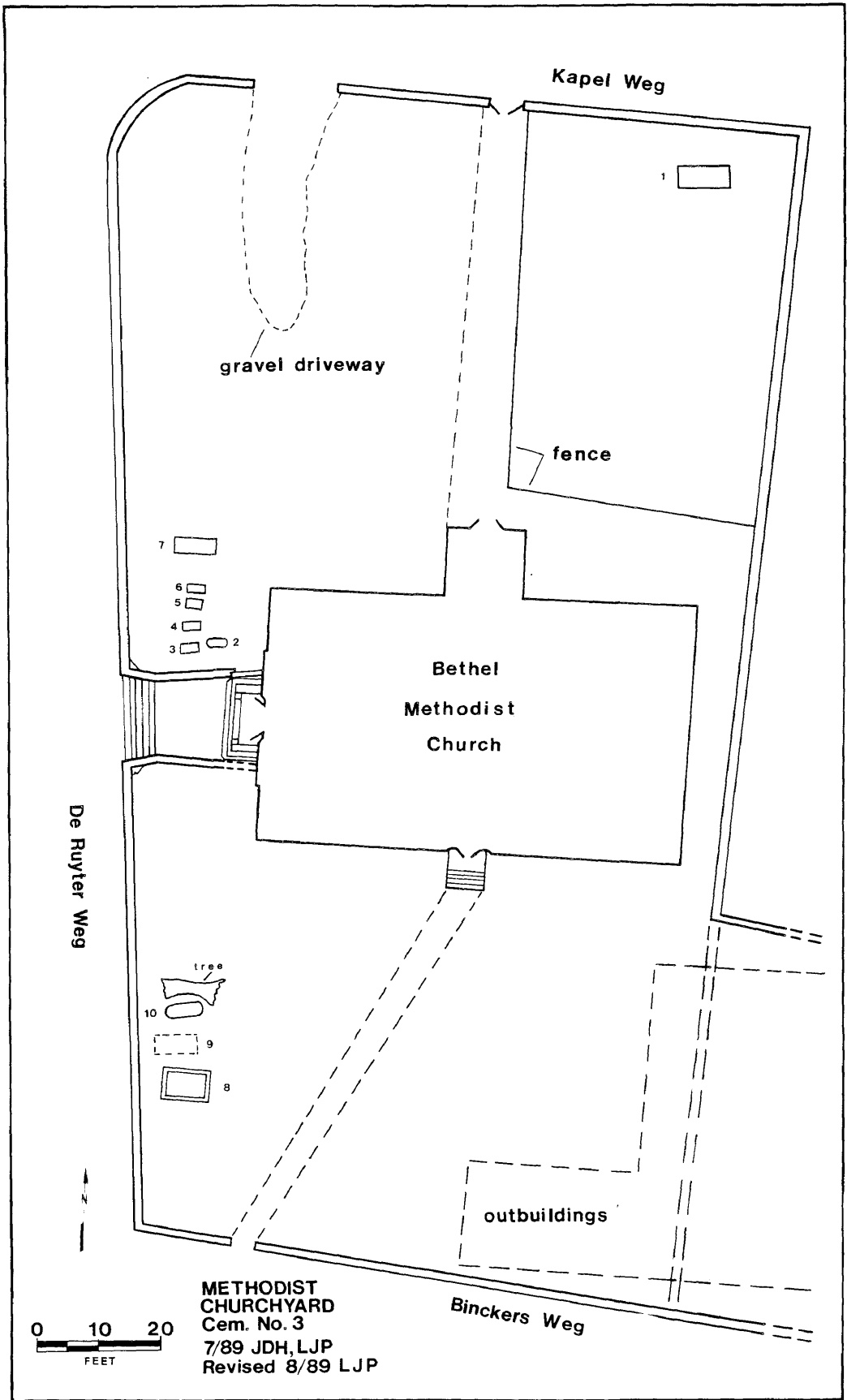
METHODIST
CHURCHYARD
Cem. No. 3
7/89 JDH, LJP
Revised 8/89 LJP

0   10   20

FEET

The Methodist Churchyard

The Dutch Reformed Churchyard

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCH

DUTCH REFORMED CHURCHYARD

Cem. No. 4

6/88 to 8/88 LDC, JDH

Revised 7/89 LJP

Kerk Weg

ARCH

⌒ footstone and headstone

∅ grave unmarked in 1989

a,b not gravestones; function unknown

FEET

0   10   20

The Catholic Cemetery

CATHOLIC CEMETERY
Cem. No. 5
7/89 JDH, LJP
Revised 8/89 LJP

Van Tonningen Weg

cliff

a stone wall (?) ruin
footstone and headstone
planter
cross that marks cemetery

0 10 20

FEET

De Ruyter Weg

ANGLICAN

CHURCHYARD

Cem. No. 7

7/88 JDH

Revised 7/89 LJP

Binckers Weg

⌣ footstone and headstone

C,J,K foundation of Anglican Church (?)

M Private home and cisterns

0   10   20

FEET

The Anglican Churchyard

ruin of leper
colony residence

Billy's
Gut

(gully)

O
tree

┌─┐
│1│
└─┘

┌─┐
│2│
└─┘

O
tree

┌─ ─ ─┐
│   a   │
└─ ─ ─┘

To beach and modern
shipwreck "Dundalk" on
shoreline of Caribbean

a   trench excavated
by prehistoric
archaeologists

LAZARETO
LEPER COLONY

Cem. No. 11

7/89 LJP, JDH

Field copy - not to scale

Lazareto Leper Colony
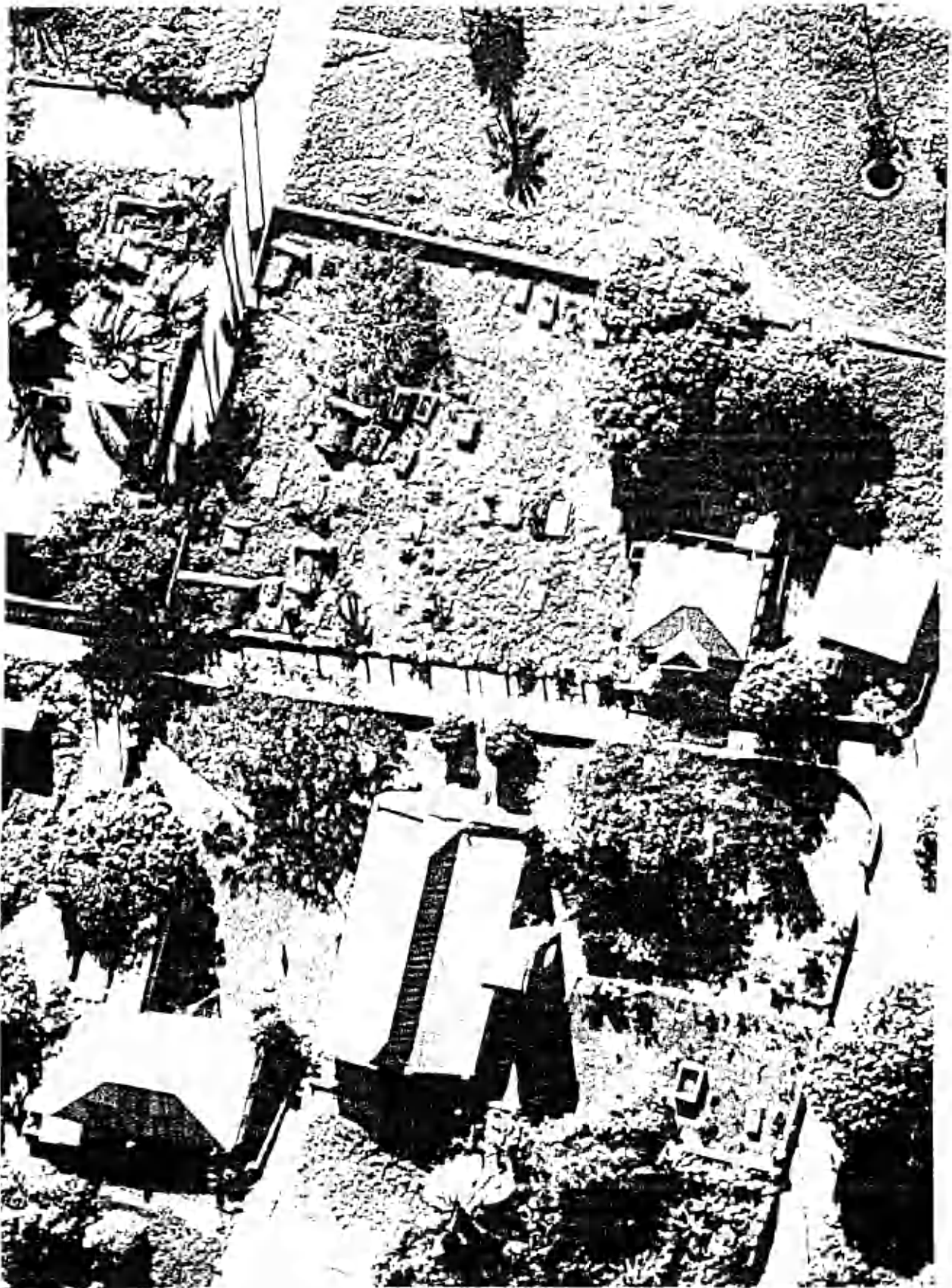
Aerial photograph of Methodist Churchyard, C#3 (bottom)
and Anglican Churchyard, C#7 (center)
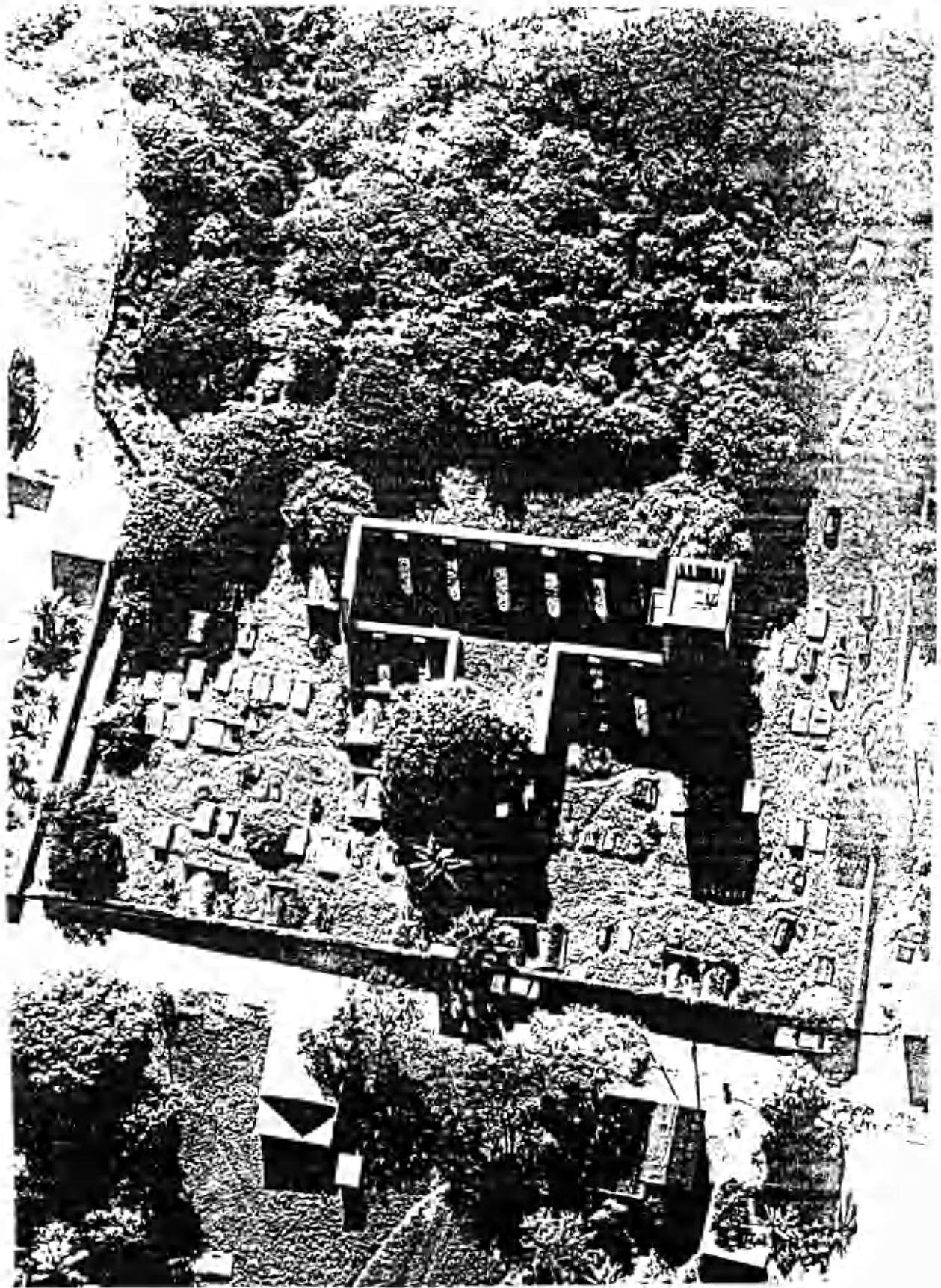
Aerial photograph of Dutch Reformed Churchyard, C#4 (center)
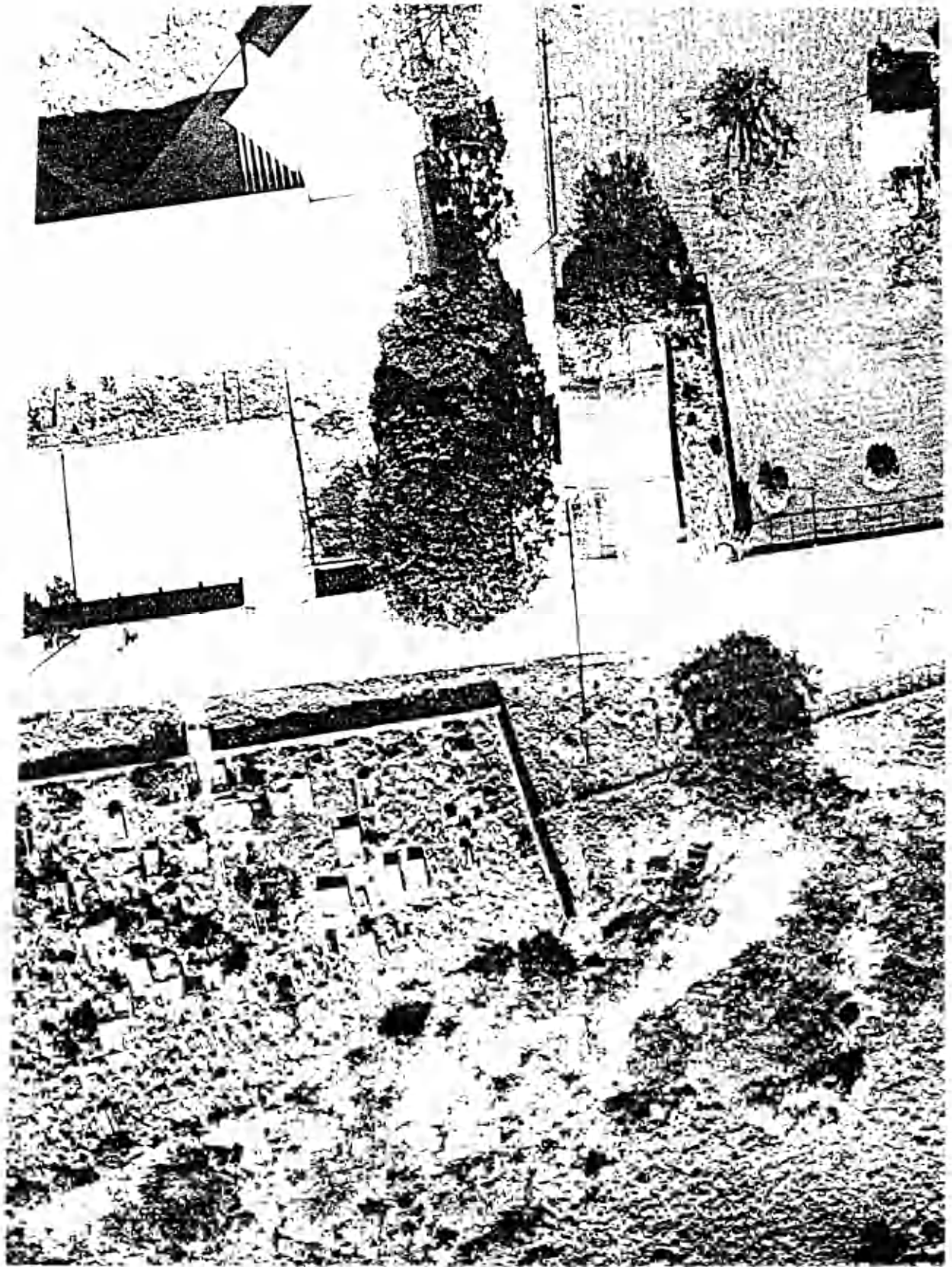
Aerial photograph of Catholic Cemetery, C#5
(bottom left; north third not visible)

APPENDIX B

ST. EUSTATIUS CEMETERY SURVEY

Notes on the Survey Data

- The survey data are arranged in numerical order by cemetery number and then by grave number. It takes six pages to list the data for one set (a page width) of variables i.e. pages 1a to 1f. There are thirteen sets of variables.

- In cemetery number 4 (Dutch Reformed Churchyard), graves #5 and #6 are missing. These were small mounds of earth in 1988, marked with artificial flowers. By 1989, no traces of the mounds remained - the area was overgrown with grass and the artificial flowers were gone.

- In cemetery number 5 (Catholic Cemetery), there is no grave #41; this number marks the location of an eight-foot-tall whitewashed concrete cross which does not appear to be a gravestone.

Code Book

Variable	Meaning	Codes
C#	Cemetery number	3 = Methodist Churchyard 4 = Dutch Reformed Churchyard 5 = Catholic Cemetery 7 = Anglican Churchyard 11 = Lazareto Leper Colony
GR#	Grave number	(# from cemetery map)
GP	Gravestone present	P = gravestone present A = gravestone absent P? = gravestone probably present A? = gravestone probably absent
FP	Footstone present	(same as above, for GP)
GF	Gravestone form	BPR = combination brick/poured concrete/rock C = cross G = fragment of a concrete gravestone L = ledger MR = mortared rocks

GF,continued		N = cinderblock (single)
		NP = combination cinderblock/
		     poured concrete
		O = obelisk
		PR = combination poured
		     concrete/rock
		R = rock or stone (single)
		SV = combination slantmarker/
		     vault
		T = tablet
		TV = combination tablet/vault
		V = vault

TP	Gravestone type	0 = type 0 1 = type 1 2 = type 2 3 = type 3 4 = type 4 5 = type 5 6 = type 6
ST	Gravestone subtype	0A, 0B, 0C, etc.; the number corresponds to the type (TP)
FF	Footstone form	(same as gravestone form, GF)
FT	Footstone type	(same as gravestone type, TP)
FS	Footstone subtype	(same as gravestone subtype, ST)
GM1 GM2 GM3 GM4	Gravestone materials (in random order)	A = aluminum B = brick C = concrete block D = faced stone E = sandstone F = fieldstone G = granite H = shell L = plaster M = marble N = cinderblock O = mortar P = poured concrete R = ceramic tile S = slate T = cut stone W = wood X = plastic

GI	Gravestone imported (any of its materials)	N = no Y = yes
PP	Plaque present	P = present A = absent
PS1	Plaque shape for plaque #1 (main person's plaque)	G = irregular shape O = oval R = round S = square T = rectangular ? = unknown shape
PS2 PS3 PS4 PS5	Plaque shape for additional plaques	(same as plaque shape for plaque #1)
PM1	Plaque material for plaque #1 (main person's plaque)	A = aluminum B = brass E = sandstone G = granite M = marble P = poured concrete R = porcelain S = slate T = tin W = wood Z = bronze ? = plaque was present, but is missing
PM2 PM3 PM4 PM5	Plaque material for additional plaques	(same as plaque material for plaque #1, PM1)
PI	Plaque imported	N = no Y = yes
FM	Footstone material	(same as gravestone material, GM1)
FI	Footstone imported	N = no Y = yes
NAME DECSD	Name of deceased, main person (earliest	[ ] = name not listed on gravestone and is inferred ? = inscription is unclear,

	death)	difficult to read
DATEDEATH	Date of death of person named in NAME DECSD	year month day (yyyymmdd) i.e. 19890129 for January 29th, 1989 -# = date unclear, partly illegible #.5 = date main person <u>built</u> the gravestone #.9 = date is missing and is inferred
DATEBIRTH	Date of birth of person named in NAME DECSD	(same as DATEDEATH)
AGE	Age at death of person named in NAME DECSD	years.months days (yy.mmdd) i.e. 60.0911 for 60 years, 9 months, 11 days -# = age unclear, partly illegible
INFAGE	Inferred age at death of person named in NAME DECSD	(same as AGE)
DU	Dutch inscription	D = inscription written in Dutch language
WAL	Wall or fence around area larger than a single grave	CW = concrete wall MF = metal chain-link fence SCW = cut stone and concrete wall
ADDLNAME1 ADDLNAME2 ADDLNAME3 ADDLNAME4 ADDLNAME5 ADDLNAME6	Name of additional person(s) listed on same gravestone as NAME DECSD	(same as NAME DECSD)
ADDLDOD1,etc.	Date of death of additional person(s)	(same as DATEDEATH)
ADDLDOB1,etc.	Date of birth of additional person(s)	(same as DATEDEATH)

ADDLAGE1,etc.	Age at death of additional person(s)	(same as AGE)
INFAGE1,etc.	Inferred age at death of additional person(s)	(same as AGE)
MOTIFS	Designs or symbols	1 = winged skull (death's head) 2 = winged face (cherub) 3 = winged hourglass 4 = torch 5 = five-pointed star 6 = five-pointed star in a circle 7 = feather 8 = scroll 9 = anchor A = anchor B = bird C = cross D = six-pointed star E = face F = flower G = hourglass without wings H = heart I = trumpet J = Jesus K = bow L = leaf M = Masonic emblem N = none (no motif) O = God the Father P = chain Q = circle R = grapes S = skull without wings U = urn V = vine W = wheat X = cloud Y = scepter Z = world
GST COND	Gravestone condition	1= sound 2 = unsound - chipped 3 = unsound - cracked 4 = unsound - crumbled 5 = eroded 6 = broken 7 = tilted

GST COND, continued		8 = sunken 9 = discolored/stained
OG	Overgrown	N = no Y = yes
RP	Repaired	N = no Y = yes ? = probably repaired
IS	In situ	N = no, has been moved Y = yes, in original location ? = not sure
WW	Whitewashed	N = no Y = yes W = yes, but the paint is almost worn off
CONINS	Condition of inscription	1 = good 2 = clear but worn 3 = mostly decipherable 4 = traces 5 = illegible 6 = no traces remaining 7 = none yet
OBJECTS	Objects placed on gravestone	1 = concrete cross (whole or broken) 2 = metal strip (trash?) 8 = other gravestone - fragment A = artificial flower B = wooden board C = cut flower D = wooden cross E = screw and nut F = plastic fragment G = glass fragment H = telephone cable I = iron rod J = glass jar K = concrete block or cinderblock L = plant in soil M = candle N = nail O = glass bottle (trash) P = plastic flower pot R = rock or stone S = shell T = ceramic pitcher U = bottle cap (trash) V = plastic vase

OBJECTS, continued		W = wreath
		X = brick
		Y = wire (metal)
		Z = wire basket
DR	Direction gravestone faces	E = east
		NE = northeast
		NW = northwest
		S = south
		W = west
		? = not sure
GLGT	Gravestone length	Feet and tenths of a foot
GWDT	Gravestone width	(same as above)
GHT	Gravestone height	(same as above)
GTHK	Gravestone thickness	(same as above)
FLGT	Footstone length	(same as above)
FWDT	Footstone width	(same as above)
FHT	Footstone height	(same as above)
FTHK	Footstone thickness	(same as above)
STATUSINFO	Status information mentioned in gravestone inscription	(ADDL1, etc. = additional person listed on gravestone besides main person)

ST EUSTATIUS CEMETERY SURVEY DATA
JUNE – AUGUST, 1989

C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
3	1	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
3	2	P	A	V	2	2D				B	O			N	A
3	3	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
3	4	P	A	V	3	3A				T	O			N	A
3	5	P	A	V	2	2A				B	T	O		N	P
3	6	P	A	V	2	2A				B	T	O		N	P
3	7	P	A	SV	6	6C				G	P			Y	A
3	8	A	A		0	0F									
3	9	A	A		0	0B									
3	10	P	A	V	2	2D				B	T	O		N	A
4	1	P	A	V	1	1C				B	P			N	P
4	2	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C	R		Y	A
4	3	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	P
4	4	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
4	7	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
4	8	P	A	V	1	1D				B	P			N	P
4	9	P	A	V	1	1C				P	L			N	P
4	10	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	P
4	11	P	A	V	3	3A				T				N	P
4	12	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
4	13	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	P
4	14	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	P
4	15	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
4	16	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
4	17	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	A
4	18	P	A	V	1	1D				P	T			N	P
4	19	P	A	V	2	2A				P	C			N	P
4	20	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	P
4	21	P	A	V	2	2A				P	A			Y	P
4	22	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
4	23	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O		N	P
4	24	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O		N	P
4	25	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
4	26	P	A	V	1	1C				P	L			N	P
4	27	P	A	V	1	1C				P	C	R	L	Y	P
4	28	P	A	V	2	2A				P	C			N	P
4	29	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	P
4	30	P	A	V	3	3A				B	P	C	D	N	A
4	31	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
4	32	P	A	V	1	1C				B	T	O		N	P
4	33	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
4	34	P	A	V	2	2B				T	O			N	A
4	35	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
4	36	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T			N	A
4	37	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T			N	A
4	38	P	A	V	1	1A				P	C			N	A

C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
4	39	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
4	40	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
4	41	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R	L		Y	P
4	42	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
4	43	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
4	44	P	A	V	1	1C				P	C			N	A
4	45	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T			N	A
4	46	P	A	V	2	2C				P				N	A
4	47	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
4	48	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
4	49	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	P
4	50	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
4	51	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	P
4	52	P	A	L?	6	6G				G				Y	A?
4	53	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O	H	N	A
4	54	P	A	V	1	1D				B	T	O		N	A
4	55	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
4	56	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	P
4	57	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	A
4	58	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	A
4	59	P	A	L?	6	6G				M				Y	A?
4	60	P	A	V	1	1C				P	O			N	A
4	61	P	A	V	1	1A				O				N	A
4	62	P	A	V	2	2A				B	P			N	A
4	63	P	A	V	1	1C				P	O			N	A
4	64	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	P
4	65	P	A	V	3	3B				B	O			N	A
4	66	P	A	V	1	1E				B	O			N	P
4	67	P	A	V	1	1D				T	O			N	A
4	68	P	A	V	1	1D				T	O			N	A
4	69	P	A	V	1	1D				B	T	O		N	A
4	70	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	P
4	71	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
4	72	P	A	V	1	1C				B	P			N	P
4	73	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
4	74	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
4	75	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	P
4	76	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A?
4	77	P	A	V	1	1A				T	O			N	P?
4	78	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
4	79	A	A		0	0B									
4	80	A	A		0	0C									
4	81	P	A	V	1	1D				P	T	O		N	A
4	82	P	A	V	1	1C				B	P	T	O	N	A
4	83	P	A	T	4	4A				E				Y	A
4	84	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A
4	85	P	A	V	3	3C				P	C			N	A
4	86	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
4	87	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O		N	A
4	88	P	A	V	1	1C				P	C			N	A

C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
4	89	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	P
4	90	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O		N	A
4	91	P	A	V	2	2C				P	T	O		N	P
4	92	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O	L	N	A
4	93	P	A	V	1	1A				P	T	O		N	A
4	94	P	A	V	2	2C				P	O			N	A
4	95	P	A	V	2	2C				P	O			N	A
4	96	P	A	V	2	2C				P	O			N	A
4	97	P?	A	V	2	2C				P	O			N	A
4	98	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A
4	99	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A
4	100	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
4	101	A	A		0	0B									
4	102	P?	A	V	3	3E				T				N	A
4	103	P?	A?	R	5	5A				T				N	A
4	104	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	105	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	106	P?	P?	R	5	5A	R	5	5A	F				N	A
4	107	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	108	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	109	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	110	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
4	111	P	A	V	3	3E				T				N	A
5	1	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
5	2	P	A	C	6	6D				P				N	A
5	3	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	A
5	4	P	A	R	5	5A				F				N	A
5	5	P	A	V	3	3E				P	T			N	A
5	6	P	A	V	1	1A				P	C			N	A
5	7	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
5	8	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	9	P	A	V	1	1C				P	C			N	A
5	10	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	11	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	P
5	12	P	A	BPR	6	6F				B	P	F		N	A
5	13	P	A	V	2	2F				P				N	A
5	14	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	15	A	A		0	0F									
5	16	P	A	C	6	6D				P				N	A
5	17	P	A	R	5	5A				F?				N	A
5	18	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
5	19	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A
5	20	P	A	V	2	2C				P				N	P
5	21	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	P
5	22	P	A	V	2	2A				P	N			N	A
5	23	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
5	24	P	A	V	1	1A				P	O			N	A
5	25	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	A
5	26	P	A	N	6	6F				N				N	A
5	27	P?	A?	C	6	6D				P				N	A

C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
5	28	P	A	V	3	3A				P	C			N	P
5	29	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	A
5	30	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
5	31	P	A	V	2	2C				B	T	O	P?	N	A
5	32	P	A	C	6	6D				P				N	A
5	33	A?	P?				C	6	6D						A
5	34	P?	P?	C?	6	6D	R	5	5A	P				N	A
5	35	P	A	V	1	1D				B	T	O	P?	N	A
5	36	P	P	R	5	5A	R	5	5A	F				N	A
5	37	A?	P?				C	6	6D						A
5	38	P	A	V	1	1D				P				N	A
5	39	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	A
5	40	P?	A?	C	6	6D				P	F			N	A
5	42	P	A	V	3	3A				P	N			N	A
5	43	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	P
5	44	P	A	V	2	2A				P	T			N	P
5	45	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	P
5	46	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	47	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	48	P	A	V	1	1B				P				N	P
5	49	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
5	50	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	51	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	52	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
5	53	P	A	V	3	3A				B	O			N	P
5	54	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	A
5	55	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	A
5	56	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	57	P	A	V	3	3C				P	C			N	A
5	58	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
5	59	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	A
5	60	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	A
5	61	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	62	P	A	V	2	2A				P	T			N	A
5	63	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	A
5	64	P	A	V	1	1F				T	O			N	P
5	65	P	A	V	2	2E				P				N	P
5	66	P	A	V	2	2E				P				N	A
5	67	P	A	V	3	3A				P	C			N	A
5	68	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	A
5	69	P	A	T	4	4D				P				N	A
5	70	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	71	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	A
5	72	P	A	V	1	1D				P	C	L		N	A
5	73	P	A	V	2	2D				B	T	O		N	A
5	74	P	A	V	1	1A				P				N	P
5	75	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
5	76	A	A		0	0D									A
5	77	P	A	V	1	1C				P	N			N	A
5	78	P	A	V	3	3C				P				N	P

C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
5	79	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
5	80	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
5	81	P	A	V	2	2C				P	T			N	P
5	82	P	A	G	6	6E				P				N	A
5	83	P	A	PR	6	6E				B?	P?	F	O?	N	A
5	84	P	A	G	6	6E				P				N	A
5	85	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	86	A	A		0	0C									
5	87	P?	A?	NP	6	6E				P	N			N	A
5	88	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	A
5	89	P	A	V	3	3A				P				N	A
5	90	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	91	P	A	V	2	2D				P	O			N	A
5	92	P	A	V	1	1A				O				N	A
5	93	P	A	V	2	2A				P				N	A
5	94	P	A	V	3	3A				P	C			N	A
5	95	P	A	V	1	1C				P	W			N	A
5	96	P	A	V	3	3A				T	O			N	P
5	97	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	P
5	98	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	99	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	100	P	A	V	2	2C				B	T	O		N	A
5	101	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	A
5	102	P	A	V	1	1C				P	C			N	A
5	103	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
5	104	P?	A?	PR	6	6E				P				N	A
5	105	P?	A?	G?	6	6E				P				N	A
5	106	A	A		0	0G									
7	1	P	A	V	1	1A				T	O			N	A
7	2	P	A	V	2	2A				T				N	A
7	3	A	A		0	0D									
7	4	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	P
7	5	P	A	V	1	1D				P	C			N	P
7	6	A	A		0	0E									
7	7	P	A	V	1	1A				T	O			N	A
7	8	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C			N	P
7	9	P	P	T	4	4B	T	4	4B	S				Y	A
7	10	P	A	V	3	3B				B	T	O		N	P
7	11	P	A	T	4	4C				G				Y	A
7	12	A?	P?				R	5	5C						A
7	13	A	A		0	0D									
7	14	A	A		0	0D									
7	15	A	A		0	0E									
7	16	P	A	V	2	2D				G	B	O		Y	P
7	17	P	A	V	1	1B				P	C	N		N	P
7	18	P	A	V	1	1B				P	L	O		N	P
7	19	A	A		0	0A									
7	20	A	A		0	0A									
7	21	P	A	V	1	1A				T	O			N	A
7	22	P	A	V	3	3A				P	R	X		Y	P

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C#	GR#	GP	FP	GF	TP	ST	FF	FT	FS	GM1	GM2	GM3	GM4	GI	PP
7	23	P	A	V	1	1C				P	R			Y	A
7	24	P	A	V	1	1A				P	O			N	A
7	25	P	A	V	3	3A				T	O			N	P
7	26	A	A		0	0D									
7	27	P	A	R	5	5B				F				N	A
7	28	A	A		0	0A									
7	29	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	A
7	30	P	A	V	1	1C				B	T	O		N	P
7	31	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	32	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	33	P	A	V	3	3A				B	T	O		N	P
7	34	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
7	35	P	A	V	3	3A				P	C			N	A
7	36	P	A	V	3	3D				T				N	P
7	37	P	A	TV	6	6A				B	E	O		Y	A
7	38	P	A	V	3	3A				B				N	P
7	39	P	A	TV	6	6A				T	O			N	A
7	40	A	A		0	0A									
7	41	A	A		0	0A									
7	42	P	A	V	3	3E				B	O			N	A
7	43	P	A	V	3	3B				B	O			N	A
7	44	A	A		0	0D									
7	45	P	A	V	1	1C				P	T	O		N	P
7	46	P	A	V	1	1C				P				N	P
7	47	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	48	A	A		0	0A									
7	49	P	A	O	6	6B				T	O			N	P
7	50	P	A	V	1	1C				T				N	P
7	51	P	A	V?	3	3E				T				N	A
7	52	P	A	V	1	1C				P	T			N	A
7	53	P	A	V	1	1A				B	T	O		N	A
7	54	P	A	V	2	2A				T	O			N	A
7	55	P	A	V	1	1C				T	O			N	P
7	56	P	A	V	2	2A				B	O			N	A
7	57	P	A	V	1	1A				O				N	A
7	58	A	A		0	0B									
7	59	A	A		0	0C									
7	60	P	A	V?	3	3B				B	O			N	A
7	61	P	A	V?	3	3B				B	O			N	A
7	62	P	A	R?	5	5B				D?	F?			N	A
7	63	P	A	V	1	1A				B	P	T	O	N	A
7	64	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	65	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	66	P?	A?	R	5	5A				F				N	A
7	67	P?	A?	R	5	5C				F				N	A
7	68	P?	A?	MR	6	6E				O	F?			N	A
11	1	A	A		0	0B									
11	2	A	A		0	0B									

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C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
3	1	T	A	Y										
3	2													
3	3													
3	4													
3	5	S	M	Y										
3	6	S	M	Y										
3	7													
3	8													
3	9													
3	10													
4	1	S	P	N										
4	2													
4	3	T	R	Y										
4	4	T	P	N	T	P	T	P						
4	7	S	M	Y										
4	8	T	M	Y										
4	9	T	P	N										
4	10	T	E	Y										
4	11	T	S	Y										
4	12													
4	13	O	P	N										
4	14	O	P	N										
4	15	T	P	N										
4	16	O	R	Y										
4	17													
4	18	O	P	N										
4	19	T	M	Y										
4	20	T	M	Y										
4	21	T	A	Y										
4	22													
4	23	G	M	Y										
4	24	G	M	Y										
4	25	T	P	N										
4	26	T	P	N										
4	27	O	R	Y										
4	28	O	R	Y										
4	29	T	A	Y										
4	30													
4	31	T	P	N										
4	32	S	M	Y										
4	33													
4	34													
4	35													
4	36													
4	37													
4	38													

C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
4	39													
4	40	O	R	Y										
4	41	O	R	Y										
4	42	O	R	Y										
4	43													
4	44													
4	45													
4	46													
4	47													
4	48													
4	49	T	M	Y	T	M								
4	50													
4	51	T	P	N										
4	52													
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4	54													
4	55	S	P	N										
4	56	O	R	Y										
4	57													
4	58													
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4	63													
4	64	T	M	Y										
4	65													
4	66	T	G	Y										
4	67													
4	68													
4	69													
4	70	T	Z	Y										
4	71													
4	72	T	P	N										
4	73													
4	74													
4	75	S	M	Y										
4	76													
4	77	S	M	Y										
4	78	T	G	Y										
4	79													
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4	81													
4	82													
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4	84													
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4	86													
4	87													
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2b

C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
4	89	T	G	Y										
4	90													
4	91	G	M	Y										
4	92													
4	93													
4	94													
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4	106													F	N
4	107													
4	108													
4	109													
4	110													
4	111													
5	1													
5	2													
5	3													
5	4													
5	5													
5	6													
5	7	T	T	Y										
5	8	S	P	N										
5	9													
5	10													
5	11	T	P	N										
5	12													
5	13													
5	14	T	P	N										
5	15													
5	16													
5	17													
5	18													
5	19													
5	20	T	T	Y										
5	21	S	P	N	T	P								
5	22													
5	23	T	T	Y										
5	24													
5	25													
5	26													
5	27													

C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
5	28	O	B	Y										
5	29													
5	30													
5	31													
5	32													
5	33												P	N
5	34												F	N
5	35													
5	36												F	N
5	37												P	N
5	38													
5	39													
5	40													
5	42													
5	43	G	M	Y	G	M								
5	44	T	P	N										
5	45	T	P	N	T	P	T	P						
5	46													
5	47													
5	48	T	M	Y										
5	49	T	M	Y										
5	50	S	P	N										
5	51													
5	52	T	M	Y										
5	53	T	M	Y	T	M								
5	54													
5	55													
5	56													
5	57													
5	58													
5	59													
5	60													
5	61													
5	62													
5	63													
5	64	S	M	Y										
5	65	T	M	Y										
5	66													
5	67													
5	68													
5	69													
5	70	T	P	N										
5	71													
5	72													
5	73													
5	74	T	P	N										
5	75													
5	76													
5	77													
5	78	S	T	Y										

C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
5	79													
5	80													
5	81	T	A?	Y	T	T?	T?	?	T?	?				
5	82													
5	83													
5	84													
5	85													
5	86													
5	87													
5	88													
5	89													
5	90	T	P	N										
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5	95													
5	96	S	M	Y										
5	97	T	M	Y										
5	98													
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5	103	T	M	Y										
5	104													
5	105													
5	106													
7	1													
7	2													
7	3													
7	4	T	M	Y										
7	5	T	G	Y										
7	6													
7	7													
7	8	T	W	N										
7	9													S	Y
7	10	T	M	Y	G	M	?	M						
7	11														
7	12													F	N
7	13														
7	14														
7	15														
7	16	T	M	Y										
7	17	S	M	Y										
7	18	O	M	Y										
7	19														
7	20														
7	21														
7	22	G	M	Y										

C#	GR#	PS1	PM1	PI	PS2	PM2	PS3	PM3	PS4	PM4	PS5	PM5	FM	FI
7	23													
7	24													
7	25	T	M	Y										
7	26													
7	27													
7	28													
7	29													
7	30	T	M	Y										
7	31													
7	32													
7	33	T	M	Y										
7	34													
7	35													
7	36	G	M	Y										
7	37													
7	38	T	G	Y										
7	39													
7	40													
7	41													
7	42													
7	43													
7	44													
7	45	T	M	Y	T	M	T	M	T	M	T	M		
7	46	T	P	N										
7	47													
7	48													
7	49	G	M	Y										
7	50	T	M	Y										
7	51													
7	52													
7	53													
7	54													
7	55	T	M	Y										
7	56													
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7	67													
7	68													
11	1													
11	2													

2f

C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
3	1	VAN PUTTEN,JACOB SIMON	19580000	18640000
3	2			
3	3			
3	4			
3	5	BROWN,BENJAMIN GARTSINE?	-18351209	
3	6	BROWN,BENJAMIN PHIPPS	18400404	18380308
3	7	KING,FRANK E	19350000	18760000
3	8			
3	9			
3	10			
4	1	SCHMIDT,S M	19420828	
4	2			
4	3	DIJKERS (DE VEER),ANNA CATHARINA	18470000	17960000
4	4	DORNER,FRANCIS	19110512	
4	7	SCHMIDT,ALBERT	19750000	19230000
4	8	VAN PUTTEN,M F	19281009	
4	9	SCHMIDT,J M	19310713	
4	10	PETERSEN,JEMIMA	18060810	
4	11	OGILVY,BRIGADIER GENERAL	17810531	
4	12	DORNER,C M	19310924	
4	13	VAN PUTTEN,MARY ELIZABETH	19421202	18560607
4	14	VAN PUTTEN,WILLIAM SATCHELL	-19250120	18461103
4	15	TIMBER,REBECCA VAN PUTTEN	19830125	18911208
4	16	HEILLGGER,LOUISA M HASSELL	19571120	18720106
4	17			
4	18	HEYLIGER,HENRY ALFORD	19131113	18420815
4	19	HEILLIGER,HENRY ARCHIBALD	19650302	18760822
4	20	HEILLEGGER,GEORGE BENTLEY	19601117	18931108
4	21	HEILLEGGER,JOSEPHINE ELIZABETH	19730115	18881027
4	22			
4	23	HEYLIGER,ABRAHAM IOANNES	17700000.5	
4	24	DE WINDT,JAN	17750119	
4	25	VAN PUTTEN,JAMES ELRIDGE	19670716	18870715
4	26	HUGGINS,CARMEN TIMBER	19740223	19460902
4	27	HASSELL,LUCILLE R HEILLEGGER	19840801	19060907
4	28	HASSELL,RAYMOND	19590707	18750421
4	29	LOPES,ALICE E	19760331	18890312
4	30	[LOPES,VINCENT ASTOR]	19840423.9	
4	31	NICHOLSON,CARL E	19490429	-19000611
4	32	VERSCHUUR,WILLIAM FREDERICK	18431209	
4	33			
4	34			
4	35			
4	36			
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C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
4	39			
4	40	SPANNER,JOHANNA I E SCHREWHEARDT	19580806	18890802
4	41	VAN PUTTEN,GWENDOLINE	19780707	19140531
4	42	VAN PUTTEN,KAREN CYNTHIA	19580610	19410508
4	43			
4	44			
4	45	[?,MACHIE?]		
4	46			
4	47			
4	48			
4	49	MUSSENDEN,WILLIAM HENRY	18190212	18170927
4	50			
4	51	VAN PUTTEN, ANN G	19440723	
4	52	JEEMS,ELISABETH	17620319	17400316
4	53	[HILL,JAMES]	18600000.59	
4	54		19160000	
4	55	COCKFIELD,ROSE	19541109	18760827
4	56	FABIO,AGUSTA E	19570719	18640830
4	57			
4	58			
4	59	WILMANS,GERHARD HERMAN	17830206	17800418
4	60			
4	61			
4	62			
4	63			
4	64	BLAKE,JOSEPH	17751108	17010924
4	65			
4	66	DE WEVER (ROELOFS),ANNA MARIA	17760317	17441115
4	67			
4	68			
4	69			
4	70	CRUL,WILLEM	17810204	17211125
4	71			
4	72	BROWN,D A	19350212	
4	73	[WYATT,CHARLES ALGERNON]	19800804.9	
4	74			
4	75	WINFIELD,EMELINE	-18400422	
4	76	TEARR,JOHN A	19850604	
4	77	BROWN,JOHN G	18411224	
4	78	BROWN,FRANCES E	19050000	18750000
4	79			
4	80			
4	81			
4	82	?		
4	83	ALAVELELD?,P?		
4	84			
4	85			
4	86			
4	87		19200000	
4	88			

C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
4	89	GARRETT,HESTER E	19870707	19031129
4	90			
4	91	HASSELL,RENETTE S	19070417	18531012
4	92			
4	93		19290000	
4	94	I,W?		
4	95	C,S?		
4	96	C,R?		
4	97	B,W O	19410200	19390800
4	98	[VAN PUTTEN,WINIFRED VERONICA]	19890414.9	
4	99	[BUNCAMPER,CARL]	19890000.9	
4	100	[LENS,JAN]	19890000.9	
4	101			
4	102			
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4	108			
4	109			
4	110			
4	111			
5	1			
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5	3			
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5	5			
5	6			
5	7	?	19541114	18890125
5	8	FORTIN,CECILIA VALERIA	19700225	19091119
5	9			
5	10			
5	11	ARNAUD,CRISTALIA ADLEETA	19820517	19100000
5	12	?,GEORGE		
5	13			
5	14	REED?,A	-19850604	
5	15			
5	16			
5	17			
5	18			
5	19			
5	20	PATRICK,CYRUS RUDOLPH		
5	21	SPROTT,A	19350107	
5	22			
5	23	WINDEVELD,CAROLINE ISABEL	19660317	18960104
5	24	R,L		
5	25			
5	26			
5	27			

C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
5	28	TEARR,SOPHIA ANTONIA	19760404	18900216
5	29			
5	30			
5	31			
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5	42			
5	43	BLANCHARD,THOMAS HIPPOLYTE	19590524	18811222
5	44	LESPIER,R L	19430216	18690812
5	45	LESPIER,A A	18840112	18440807
5	46			
5	47			
5	48	LISPIER,J G	19370307	
5	49	LISPIER,C	19320715	
5	50	LESPIER,C M	19420513	
5	51			
5	52	DORNER,AGNES E	19510102	18570814
5	53	CLARCKE?,MARY LOUISA	18990726	18990322
5	54			
5	55			
5	56	?,ADA?	-19871022	
5	57			
5	58			
5	59			
5	60			
5	61			
5	62			
5	63			
5	64	BUSBY,S A	19270914	
5	65	HEYLIGER,MARTIN V	19301200	
5	66			
5	67			
5	68			
5	69	BOSWIJK,MARGARET ROSE AZURLA	19460116	18551023
5	70	BUSBY,IDA V	19770727	18881210
5	71			
5	72			
5	73			
5	74	LINDO,ANN E		
5	75			
5	76			
5	77	PATRICK,FRANCIS [MARGARETHA]	19840706.9	
5	78	FLAMBERTS,S	19530816	18860105

C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
5	79			
5	80			
5	81	SCHOONEN,ADR.,REV. FATHER	18800425	18300510
5	82			
5	83			
5	84			
5	85			
5	86			
5	87			
5	88			
5	89			
5	90	PIZAS,H.,MR.	0	19250111
5	91			
5	92			
5	93			
5	94	DINZEY,[JOSEPH] THEODORE	19850625	19280000
5	95			
5	96	MARCIAL,FRANCES R C	18540920	
5	97	FABIO,JOHN WM	18590619	17900614.9
5	98			
5	99			
5	100			
5	101			
5	102			
5	103	MARSHALL,ARTHUR J.,MR.	19790121	19010721
5	104			
5	105			
5	106	[BENNETT,SUSANNA ADALIA]	19890806.9	
7	1			
7	2			
7	3			
7	4	HEATHCOTE,MICHEAL,ESQR.	17920506	
7	5	PATRICK,MARIA LOUISA	19580000	18800000
7	6			
7	7			
7	8	PATRICK,ALWYN N	19830826	19030000
7	9	DENNISON,JESSE	17710601	
7	10	LAWRENCE,NATH.	17611000	17280000
7	11	GIBBONS,J A	17631125	
7	12			
7	13			
7	14			
7	15			
7	16	CADETT,ELIZABETH	17630203	
7	17	?,SONNY	19391219	
7	18	MUSSENDEN,NATHANIEL	19270731	
7	19			
7	20			
7	21			
7	22	COLBOURNE,CLARA	19590825	19211001

C#	GR#	NAME DECSD	DATEDEATH	DATEBIRTH
7	23			
7	24			
7	25	ROGERS,WILLIAM	17730000	
7	26			
7	27	A,J?		
7	28			
7	29			
7	30	HORTON,RICHARD	17690404	
7	31			
7	32			
7	33	TEAL?,JEMMY LILLY FEWELLAR?		
7	34			
7	35			
7	36	ZEAGERS,MARY	17670817	
7	37	NOLOB,DERICK		
7	38	BARZUN,FRANCIS, JUN.	17551021	17541102
7	39	R,C?	17920709	
7	40			
7	41			
7	42			
7	43			
7	44			
7	45	PACKWOOD,JOHN	17940903	17111018
7	46	BUSBY,MATILDA THERESA	19710911	18841103
7	47			
7	48			
7	49	ULRIC,SAMUEL	18101108	
7	50	MUSSENDEN,ELIZABETH	17680312	17660127
7	51			
7	52			
7	53			
7	54			
7	55			
7	56			
7	57			
7	58			
7	59			
7	60			
7	61			
7	62	B,E P Z?	18020000	
7	63			
7	64			
7	65			
7	66			
7	67			
7	68			
11	1			
11	2			

AGE	INFAGE	ADDL NAME1	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD1
	94		3	1	
			3	2	
			3	3	
			3	4	
-0.1113			3	5	
2.0027			3	6	
	59		3	7	
			3	8	
			3	9	
			3	10	
			4	1	
			4	2	
	51	DE VEER,JOHANNES	4	3	18720000
		VAN PUTTEN,JOHN JAMES	4	4	19121212
	52		4	7	
			4	8	
			4	9	
0.14			4	10	
58			4	11	
			4	12	
	86.0525		4	13	
	78		4	14	
	91.0117		4	15	
	85.1014		4	16	
			4	17	
	71.0228		4	18	
	88.061		4	19	
	67.0009		4	20	
	84.0218		4	21	
			4	22	
			4	23	
58		DE WINDT,ALLETTA	4	24	17750325
	80.0001		4	25	
	27.0521		4	26	
	77.1024		4	27	
	84.0216		4	28	
	87.0019		4	29	
	67		4	30	
			4	31	
11.01			4	32	
			4	33	
			4	34	
			4	35	
			4	36	
			4	37	
			4	38	

AGE	INFAGE	ADDL NAME1	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD1
			4	39	
	69.0004		4	40	
	64.0106		4	41	
	17.0102		4	42	
			4	43	
			4	44	
			4	45	
			4	46	
			4	47	
			4	48	
	1.0415	NYMAN [HYMAN?],CHARLOTTE CAROLINE	4	49	18230716
			4	50	
			4	51	
	22.0003	POOLMAN,GEORGE MATTHYS	4	52	17620302
		[BROUWER]	4	53	
			4	54	
	78.0212		4	55	
	92.1019		4	56	
			4	57	
			4	58	
2.0919			4	59	
			4	60	
			4	61	
			4	62	
			4	63	
74.0115			4	64	
			4	65	
31.0802			4	66	
			4	67	
			4	68	
			4	69	
	59.0209		4	70	
			4	71	
			4	72	
	79	[WYATT,IRAD]	4	73	19890000.9
			4	74	
20			4	75	
	64		4	76	
2.05			4	77	
	30		4	78	
			4	79	
			4	80	
			4	81	
		[HAUTMAN,EUGENA HADDOX]	4	82	19800509.9
			4	83	
			4	84	
			4	85	
			4	86	
			4	87	
			4	88	

AGE	INFAGE	ADDL NAME1	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD1
	83.0708		4	89	
			4	90	
	53.0605		4	91	
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			4	95	
			4	96	
	1.06		4	97	
	64		4	98	
			4	99	
	65		4	100	
			4	101	
			4	102	
			4	103	
			4	104	
			4	105	
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			5	3	
			5	4	
			5	5	
			5	6	
	65.0919		5	7	
	60.0306		5	8	
			5	9	
			5	10	
	72		5	11	
			5	12	
			5	13	
			5	14	
			5	15	
			5	16	
			5	17	
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			5	19	
			5	20	
		M,J E	5	21	19360000
			5	22	
	70.0213		5	23	
			5	24	
			5	25	
			5	26	
			5	27	

AGE	INFAGE	ADDL NAME1	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD1
	86.0118		5	28	
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			5	30	
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			5	32	
			5	33	
			5	34	
			5	35	
			5	36	
			5	37	
			5	38	
			5	39	
			5	40	
			5	42	
	77.0502	BUNCAMPER,MARIE ANASTASIE	5	43	19731004
	73.0604		5	44	
	39.0505	LESPIER,G C	5	45	18901108
			5	46	
			5	47	
			5	48	
			5	49	
			5	50	
			5	51	
	93.0418		5	52	
	0.0404	CLARKE,CLEMENTORA BERNARDA	5	53	18990730
			5	54	
			5	55	
			5	56	
			5	57	
			5	58	
			5	59	
			5	60	
			5	61	
			5	62	
			5	63	
64			5	64	
0.08			5	65	
			5	66	
			5	67	
			5	68	
	90.0223		5	69	
	88.0717		5	70	
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	67.0711		5	78	

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AGE	INFAGE	ADDL NAME1	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD1
			5	79	
			5	80	
	49.1115	MEESTERS,M.,R. FATH.,O.P.	5	81	19650717
			5	82	
			5	83	
			5	84	
			5	85	
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0.04			5	96	
69.0005			5	97	
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			5	102	
	77.06		5	103	
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-38.04		DINZEY,JOANNA	7	30	17640111
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1.0713			7	36	
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0.112			7	38	
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	82.1015	PACKWOOD,MARY	7	45	17891123
	86.1008		7	46	
			7	47	
			7	48	
4		FAHLBERG,ELIZABETH	7	49	18110915
2.0216			7	50	
			7	51	
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			11	2	

ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDLDOB1	ADDLAGE1	INFAGE1	DU	WAL	C#	GR#
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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2
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VAN PUTTEN,MARIA A	19211209		4	4	
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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2
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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2
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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2
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LESPIER,J G	19011010	18290305	5	45	
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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2

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ADDL NAME2	ADDLDOD2	ADDLDOB2	C#	GR#	ADDLAGE2
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JENNINGS,HENRY	17901117	17430804	7	45	
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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37.1014	[V TEEFFELEN,W R,REV FATHER,O P]	5	81	19470115.9
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INFAGE2	ADDL NAME3	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD3
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47.0313	WILKE?(HOI-GE?),ROBERT,ESQUIRE	7	45	18170211
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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ADDLDOB3	INFAGE3	ADDL NAME4	C#	GR#	ADDLDOD4	ADDLDOB4
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		CUVILJE?,JOHN PACKWOOD	7	45	17710827	17700320
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			11	2		

ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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ADDLAGE4	ADDL NAME5	ADDLDOD5	C#	GR#	ADDLDOB5	INFAGE5
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0.1707	JENNINGS,CATHERINE(1)	17630900	7	45	17630600	0.03
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			11	2		

ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
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			3	2		N
			3	3		N
			3	4		Q
			3	5		F
			3	6		N
			3	7		MR
			3	8		
			3	9		
			3	10		N
			4	1		N
			4	2		C
			4	3		CFV
			4	4		N
			4	7		M
			4	8		N
			4	9		N
			4	10		N
			4	11		N
			4	12		N
			4	13		N
			4	14		N
			4	15		C
			4	16		CGWL
			4	17		C5
			4	18		N
			4	19		C
			4	20		C
			4	21		CABUJOXZY
			4	22		N
			4	23		1
			4	24		ASGVIK
			4	25		N
			4	26		C
			4	27		C
			4	28		C
			4	29		CF
			4	30		C
			4	31		C
			4	32		N
			4	33		N
			4	34		N
			4	35		N
			4	36		N
			4	37		N
			4	38		N

ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
			4	39		C
			4	40		C
			4	41		C
			4	42		C
			4	43		N
			4	44		C
			4	45		N
			4	46		N
			4	47		C
			4	48		N
			4	49		N
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			4	51		N
			4	52		N
			4	53		N
			4	54		N
			4	55		N
			4	56		C
			4	57		N
			4	58		N
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			4	63		N
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			4	71		N
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			4	73		C
			4	74		C
			4	75		N
			4	76		N
			4	77		N
			4	78		F
			4	79		
			4	80		
			4	81		N
			4	82		N
			4	83		N
			4	84		N
			4	85		C
			4	86		N
			4	87		N
			4	88		C

ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
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			4	90		N
			4	91		C6
			4	92		N
			4	93		C
			4	94		C
			4	95		C
			4	96		C
			4	97		N
			4	98		C
			4	99		N
			4	100		N
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			4	104		N
			4	105		N
			4	106		N
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			4	108		N
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			5	9		C
			5	10		N
			5	11		C
			5	12		N
			5	13		N
			5	14		C
			5	15		
			5	16		C
			5	17		N
			5	18		C
			5	19		C
			5	20		C
			5	21		C
			5	22		C
			5	23		N
			5	24		N
			5	25		C
			5	26		N
			5	27		C

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ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
			5	28		C
			5	29		N
			5	30		N
			5	31		C
			5	32		C
			5	33		C
			5	34		C
			5	35		N
			5	36		N
			5	37		C
			5	38		C
			5	39		C
			5	40		C
			5	42		C
			5	43		C8
			5	44		N
			5	45		C
			5	46		C
			5	47		C
			5	48		C
			5	49		C
			5	50		C
			5	51		C
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			5	53		N
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			5	57		C
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			5	71		N
			5	72		C
			5	73		N
			5	74		N
			5	75		N
			5	76		
			5	77		C
			5	78		C

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ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
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			5	80		N
			5	81		C
			5	82		N
			5	83		N
			5	84		N
			5	85		N
			5	86		
			5	87		N
			5	88		C
			5	89		N
			5	90		N
			5	91		N
			5	92		N
			5	93		C
			5	94		N
			5	95		C
			5	96		C
			5	97		C
			5	98		C
			5	99		N
			5	100		N
			5	101		C
			5	102		C
			5	103		N
			5	104		N
			5	105		N
			5	106		
			7	1		N
			7	2		N
			7	3		
			7	4		N
			7	5		C
			7	6		
			7	7		N
			7	8		C
			7	9		2
			7	10		W
			7	11		M
			7	12		N
			7	13		
			7	14		
			7	15		
			7	16		3YV
			7	17		C
			7	18		CD
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			7	20		
			7	21		N
			7	22		CH9P

ADDL NAME6	ADDLDOD6	ADDLDOB6	C#	GR#	INFAGE6	MOTIFS
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			7	24		C
			7	25		N
			7	26		
			7	27		N
			7	28		
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			7	30		N
			7	31		N
			7	32		N
			7	33		ASFGE47
			7	34		N
			7	35		N
			7	36		N
			7	37		N
			7	38		N
			7	39		N
			7	40		
			7	41		
			7	42		N
			7	43		N
			7	44		
JENNINGS,CATHERINE(2)	17740708	17730827	7	45	0.1011	A
			7	46		C
			7	47		N
			7	48		
			7	49		N
			7	50		N
			7	51		N
			7	52		N
			7	53		N
			7	54		N
			7	55		N
			7	56		N
			7	57		N
			7	58		
			7	59		
			7	60		N
			7	61		N
			7	62		N
			7	63		N
			7	64		N
			7	65		N
			7	66		N
			7	67		N
			7	68		N
			11	1		
			11	2		

GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
29	N	N	Y	W	1	3	1	R	E	7.6	3.7
259	N	N	Y	N	6	3	2		E	3.2	1.8
259	N	N	Y	N	6	3	3		E	2.6	1.7
25789	N	N	Y	N	6	3	4		E	2.6	1.6
235789	N	?	Y	N	3	3	5		E	2.8	1.5
235789	N	Y	Y	N	2	3	6		E	2.6	1.6
239	Y	N	Y	N	1	3	7		E	6.6	2.4
						3	8				
						3	9				
2569	N	N	Y	N	6	3	10		E	5.8	2.5
259	N	N	Y	N	2	4	1		E	6.4	3.4
1	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	2		E	8.2	4.3
2359	N	Y	Y	N	1	4	3		E	11.5	8.7
23469	Y	N	Y	N	3	4	4	R	E	6.1	6.6
19	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	7		E	8.4	5.2
2359	Y	N	Y	N	1	4	8	R	E	7.5	3.2
2359	N	Y	Y	N	2	4	9		E	8.1	4.1
239	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	10		E	3.9	2.5
239	N	Y	Y	N	2	4	11	R	E	6.6	3.7
259	N	N	Y	N	2	4	12	R	E	6.3	3.4
23	Y	N	Y	Y	2	4	13	RC	E	7.1	2.9
239	N	Y	Y	Y	2	4	14	RC	E	7.1	2.8
1	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	15	RC	E	6.7	3
29	N	N	Y	Y	2	4	16		E	8.1	4.1
1	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	17		E	7.6	3.1
239	Y	N	Y	Y	2	4	18		E	7	2.9
19	Y	N	Y	Y	1	4	19		E	8.1	4.4
19	Y	N	Y	Y	1	4	20		E	8.1	4.3
29	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	21		E	8.5	4.1
259	N	N	Y	N	6	4	22		E	4.2	1.7
2359	N	N	Y	N	1	4	23		E	16.4	11.1
259	N	Y	Y	Y	1	4	24	RCJG	E	11.6	8.4
29	N	N	Y	Y	2	4	25	RC	E	7.7	3.7
239	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	26	C	E	8.7	4.3
39	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	27		E	8	4.1
29	N	N	Y	Y	2	4	28	RJ	E	8	4.5
239	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	29	PL	E	8.4	6.3
2	N	N	Y	N	7	4	30	RJI	E	8.6	4.9
259	Y	N	Y	W	3	4	31		E	8	4.2
235789	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	32	R	E	5	2
235789	N	N	Y	N	6	4	33		E	5.7	2.6
235789	N	N	Y	N	6	4	34		E	5.8	2.5
2359	N	Y	Y	N	6	4	35		E	14	12.1
29	N	N	Y	Y	6	4	36		E	6	3.6
39	N	N	Y	Y	6	4	37		E	9.3	6.6
239	N	N	Y	N	6	4	38		E	7.3	3.1

GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	39		E	8.1	4.1
29	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	40	R	E	7.7	4.2
19	N	Y	Y	Y	2	4	41	RAJ	E	8.5	4.1
3	N	N	Y	Y	2	4	42	ACJ	E	8.3	4.1
19	N	N	Y	Y	6	4	43		E	3.4	2
29	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	44	RACWJBN	E	8.8	5
259	N	Y	Y	Y	7	4	45	RAWTVK	E	10.6	8
2569	N	Y	Y	Y	6	4	46	RA	E	3.1	1.6
259	N	N	Y	Y	6	4	47		E	9	4.5
2359	N	Y	Y	N	6	4	48		E	10.1	8.4
2359	Y	Y	Y	N	1	4	49		E	14.4	12.3
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	50		E	12.1	8.1
29	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	51		E	7.3	3.3
2569	N	N	N	N	2	4	52		E	5.6	2.8
359	Y	N	Y	N	6	4	53		E	13.1	12.9
2359	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	54		E	12.4	8.3
259	N	N	Y	N	2	4	55		E	6.9	3.9
2359	N	N	Y	Y	2	4	56		E	8.1	3.7
23569	Y	Y	Y	N	6	4	57		E	12.7	9.8
234569	Y	Y	Y	N	6	4	58		E	12.4	9.3
29	N	N	N	N	2	4	59		S	3.9	1.9
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	60		E	8.2	4
235789	N	N	Y	N	6	4	61		E	4.7	1.8
2345789	Y	N	Y	N	6	4	62		E	5.6	2.2
259	N	N	Y	N	6	4	63		E	8.9	4.1
2359	N	N	Y	N	3	4	64		E	11	8.1
2369	N	N	Y	N	6	4	65		E	3.9	1.8
235789	N	N	Y	N	3	4	66		E	5.8	2.5
235789	N	N	Y	N	6	4	67	R	E	5.7	2.8
259	N	N	Y	N	6	4	68		E	5.5	2.1
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	69	R	E	5.2	2.2
2359	Y	Y	Y	N	1	4	70		E	10.6	8
2359	Y	N	Y	N	6	4	71		E	10.3	7.8
2359	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	72	R	E	7.8	4.2
19	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	73	W	E	9.2	4.3
19	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	74		E	7.9	4.4
2356789	N	?	Y	N	3	4	75		E	6.2	3.1
29	N	N	Y	N	2	4	76		E	8.4	4
23569	N	N	?	N	3	4	77		E	6.2	2
39	N	N	Y	N	1	4	78		E	6.3	2.2
						4	79				
						4	80				
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	81		E	6.5	2.7
234569	N	Y	Y	N	6	4	82	RB	E	10.5	6.1
2589	N	N	Y	N	4	4	83		W		1.5
29	N	N	Y	N	7	4	84	RW	E	8.9	4.1
23569	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	85	WN	E	8.6	4.6
2359	N	N	Y	W	6	4	86		E	7.6	3.5
239	N	N	Y	N	1	4	87		E	8.7	4.1
1	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	88		E	8.7	4.3

GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
19	N	N	Y	Y	1	4	89		E	8.3	4.4
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	90		E	6.5	2.7
2359	N	N	Y	N	2	4	91		E	6.5	3.4
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	4	92	R	E	9.4	5
23569	N	Y	Y	N	3	4	93		E	9.1	4.1
23569	N	N	Y	N	2	4	94		E	5.9	2.3
2359	N	N	Y	N	2	4	95		E	5.8	2.3
2359	Y	N	Y	N	2	4	96		E	5.9	2.3
23569	Y	N	Y	N	4	4	97		E	2.8	1.6
1	N	N	Y	N	7	4	98	CWJ	E	9.2	4.7
2	N	N	Y	N	7	4	99	WFNY	E	9.2	4.7
39	N	N	Y	Y	7	4	100	WJR	E	9.6	4.8
						4	101				
469	Y	N	Y	N	6	4	102		E?	4.8	2.6
25789	N	N	Y	N	6	4	103		?		0.7
59	N	N	?	N	6	4	104		?	1.8	0.8
89	N	N	?	N	6	4	105		?	0.7	0.4
59	N	N	Y	N	6	4	106		E?	1.3	0.9
59	N	N	?	N	6	4	107		?	0.6	0.5
59	N	N	?	N	6	4	108		?	1.1	0.7
59	N	N	?	N	6	4	109		?	0.9	0.8
59	N	N	?	N	6	4	110		E?	1.3	0.6
469	Y	N	Y	N	6	4	111		E?	6.3	2
235	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	1		E	7.4	4
2578	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	2		E		1.2
29	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	3		E	9.2	4.4
59	N	N	?	N	6	5	4		E	1.2	0.7
34569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	5		E?	4.1	3.8
29	N	N	Y	N	7	5	6	JM	E	8.9	4.4
29	Y	N	Y	Y	4	5	7	1	E	8.3	3.9
19	N	N	Y	Y	1	5	8	L	E	8.2	6
2359	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	9	KU	E	10.6	9.7
2	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	10	R	E	6	3.4
259	N	N	Y	Y	3	5	11	W	E	11.2	7.1
2478	Y	N	Y	N	2	5	12		W		0.6
26	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	13		E	2.4	1.5
239	N	N	Y	Y	3	5	14		E	5.3	2.2
						5	15				
4689	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	16		E?		1
79	N	N	Y	N	6	5	17		E		0.8
2	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	18		E	8.4	4.1
269	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	19	1	E	8.9	5.1
269	N	N	Y	Y	1	5	20		E	8.8	5.2
269	N	N	Y	Y	2	5	21		E	6.2	2.2
239	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	22	R	E	8.9	8.8
359	N	N	Y	Y	2	5	23	K	E	7.9	2.8
2359	Y	N	Y	N	1	5	24		E	5.7	2.3
259	N	N	Y	N	6	5	25	1	E	7.9	4
279	N	N	Y	N	7	5	26		E		0.7
46789	N	N	Y	N	6	5	27		E	0.6	0.7

GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
2359	N	N	Y	W	1	5	28		E	8.7	3.9
269	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	29		E	5.7	2.6
19	Y	N	?	N	6	5	30		?	1.1	0.7
23569	N	N	Y	N	6	5	31		E	6.9	2.8
469	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	32		E	0.7	0.6
2369	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	33		E		
3569	N	N	?	N	6	5	34		E	1	0.8
34569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	35	R	E	6.2	2.7
59	N	N	?	N	6	5	36		E	0.6	0.5
23569	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	37		E		
239	N	N	Y	N	6	5	38		E	7	3.9
239	N	N	Y	N	7	5	39		E	10.1	6.9
4689	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	40		E	0.6	0.4
259	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	42	AV	E	8.4	6.2
239	N	N	Y	Y	1	5	43		E	9	6.6
259	N	N	Y	Y	2	5	44		E	5.9	2.9
3569	Y	Y	Y	N	2	5	45		E	13.1	6.9
39	N	N	Y	N	7	5	46		E	6.8	3.6
34569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	47		E	7.6	2.9
23569	N	N	Y	N	2	5	48	SBRG2	E	9	3.8
369	Y	N	Y	N	2	5	49	G	E	6	2.1
2359	N	N	Y	N	2	5	50	R	E	8	4.8
369	N	N	Y	N	7	5	51		E	6.9	3.7
23569	Y	N	Y	N	2	5	52	R8	E	6.6	3.2
23459	Y	N	Y	N	3	5	53		E	5.7	3.2
29	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	54		E	9.1	5
19	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	55		E	7.9	3.8
29	N	N	Y	Y	3	5	56	W	E	8.8	4.5
259	Y	N	N	W	4	5	57	RSBI	E	9.2	3.6
259	N	N	Y	N	6	5	58		W?	8.9	3.9
234569	N	N	Y	N	6	5	59	R	E	7.8	3.2
29	Y	N	Y	Y	6	5	60		E	5.7	2.8
59	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	61	WBY	E	10	8.9
23569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	62		E	6.3	2.4
2569	N	N	Y	Y	6	5	63		E	6.9	3
2569	N	N	Y	N	2	5	64	S	E	5.9	3
269	N	?	Y	Y	2	5	65		E	3	2.2
259	Y	N	Y	Y	6	5	66	R	E	2.2	1.8
259	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	67		E	8.1	4
259	N	N	Y	W	7	5	68		E	9.1	6.2
245	N	N	Y	W	2	5	69		E		1.5
259	N	N	Y	Y	2	5	70	R	E	8.2	6.2
59	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	71		E	10.3	6.4
259	N	N	Y	Y	7	5	72		E	8.9	4.3
234569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	73		E	5.7	2.4
2569	N	N	Y	N	2	5	74		E	5.9	3.2
19	N	N	?	N	6	5	75		E?		1
						5	76				
59	N	N	Y	Y	1	5	77		E	9.4	4.8
259	Y	N	Y	N	1	5	78	R8	E	9	3.3

GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
23569	N	N	Y	N	6	5	79		E	8.9	4.2
2345689	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	80		E	5.8	2.3
23569	Y	N	Y	Y	12	5	81		E?	12.4	7
2569	N	N	N	N	6	5	82		NW	1.7	1.2
569	N	N	?	N	6	5	83		?	1.6	1.6
26789	N	N	?	N	6	5	84		E?		0.9
23569	N	N	Y	N	6	5	85		E	7	4
						5	86				
35689	Y	N	?	N	6	5	87		?	1.9	1.5
259	N	N	Y	N	7	5	88	K	NE	9.3	4.3
259	N	N	Y	N	7	5	89	K	E	6	3.4
359	N	N	Y	N	1	5	90		NE	7.3	3
234569	N	?	Y	N	6	5	91		NE	5.8	3.2
259	N	N	Y	N	6	5	92		NE	5.7	2.2
359	N	N	Y	W	6	5	93		NE	9.3	5.2
19	N	N	Y	N	3	5	94	R	E	8.3	4.4
25689	N	N	Y	W	6	5	95		E	8.8	4
259	N	N	Y	N	2	5	96		E	2.7	1.7
23456789	N	N	Y	N	2	5	97		E	5.9	2.3
369	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	98		E	6.2	3.2
3569	Y	N	Y	N	6	5	99	1	E	5.3	3.6
2359	N	N	Y	N	6	5	100		E	6.2	2.6
359	N	N	Y	N	6	5	101	R	E	6.5	2.8
359	N	N	Y	N	7	5	102		E	8.9	6.2
359	N	N	Y	N	1	5	103		E	7	3.2
2569	N	N	?	N	6	5	104		?	2	1.1
5689	Y	N	?	N	6	5	105		?	2.4	1.8
						5	106				
23569	N	N	Y	N	6	7	1	O	E	12.5	9.4
259	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	2		E	5.6	2.4
						7	3				
235789	N	N	Y	N	1	7	4		E	6	3.1
29	N	N	Y	Y	1	7	5	RAZ	E	9.7	3.7
						7	6				
234569	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	7		E	6.5	2
39	N	N	Y	Y	3	7	8	RADX	E	8	3.6
3789	N	N	Y	N	2	7	9		W		2.1
234569	Y	N	Y	N	344	7	10	K	E	10.6	6.6
2589	N	N	Y	N	3	7	11		W		1.1
259	N	N	Y	N	6	7	12		E?		
						7	13				
						7	14				
						7	15				
23569	N	Y	Y	N	3	7	16		E	7.1	5.1
2359	Y	N	Y	Y	3	7	17	R	E	7.6	3.4
259	N	N	Y	Y	2	7	18	AW	E	9.3	4.5
						7	19				
						7	20				
2359	Y	N	Y	W	6	7	21		E	13.1	10.9
2369	N	N	Y	N	1	7	22		E	8.4	4.1

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GST COND	OG	RP	IS	WW	CONINS	C#	GR#	OBJECTS	DR	GLGT	GWDT
1	Y	N	Y	N	7	7	23		E	8	3.5
23569	N	N	Y	Y	6	7	24		E	8.3	3.7
2359	N	Y	Y	N	3	7	25		E	6.1	2.9
						7	26				
59	Y	N	Y	N	3	7	27		E		1
						7	28				
2359	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	29		E	4	2.2
2359	Y	Y	Y	N	3	7	30	8	E	6.3	4.9
59	N	N	?	N	6	7	31		?		1
59	Y	N	?	N	6	7	32		?	0.9	0.2
259	Y	N	Y	N	3	7	33		E	6.2	2.4
23569	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	34	RE	E	7.1	4
29	Y	N	Y	N	7	7	35	RG	E	7.9	3.9
2569	N	N	Y	N	2	7	36	RN	E	4.2	1.4
235789	Y	N	Y	N	4	7	37		W	5	1.7
25789	Y	N	Y	N	3	7	38	R	W?	3.2	1.3
345689	Y	N	Y	N	2	7	39		W	4.3	1.2
						7	40				
						7	41				
456789	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	42		E	5.3	2.9
2569	N	N	Y	N	6	7	43		E	2.3	1.2
						7	44				
2359	N	Y	Y	N	22332	7	45	RJCOG	E	12.9	11
29	N	N	Y	W	1	7	46		E	7.6	6.5
59	Y	N	?	N	6	7	47		?	1.2	0.5
						7	48				
23569	N	N	Y	N	2	7	49		S?	4	3.5
2789	N	N	Y	N	2	7	50		E	3.7	2.7
469	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	51		?	2.2	1.4
24569	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	52		E	6.6	2.6
2359	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	53	H	E	13	9.9
234569	N	N	Y	N	6	7	54	A	E	4.6	2.5
234569	Y	N	Y	N	5	7	55	R	E	7.2	3.7
2359	Y	N	Y	Y	6	7	56		E	7.9	3.5
2569	Y	N	Y	W	6	7	57		E	5.9	3.5
						7	58				
						7	59				
2569	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	60		E	4.3	1.7
24569	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	61		E	1.9	1.1
5	N	N	N	N	3	7	62		E?		1.2
23569	Y	Y	Y	N	6	7	63		E	13.2	10.2
	N	N	?	N	6	7	64		?	1	0.5
	N	N	?	N	6	7	65		?	1.2	1.1
	N	N	?	N	6	7	66		?	0.7	0.6
	N	N	?	N	6	7	67		?		0.5
235689	Y	N	Y	N	6	7	68		E?	3.9	1
						11	1				
						11	2				

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
3.8						3	1
1						3	2
0.9						3	3
0.9						3	4
1.1						3	5
0.9						3	6
1.2						3	7
						3	8
						3	9
1.6						3	10
2.4						4	1
6.6						4	2
7.6						4	3
1.7						4	4
3.5						4	7
2.6						4	8
3						4	9
1.7						4	10
2.6						4	11
2.6						4	12
2						4	13
1.8						4	14
4						4	15
3.4						4	16
3.4						4	17
2.4						4	18
5.1						4	19
4.5						4	20
4.6						4	21
2						4	22
7.6						4	23
4.6						4	24
2.7						4	25
4.4						4	26
4						4	27
4.8						4	28
5.1						4	29
4.3						4	30
4.6						4	31
1.7						4	32
2.6						4	33
2.6						4	34
4.9						4	35
3						4	36
3.8						4	37
2.5						4	38

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
4.4						4	39
5.1						4	40
4						4	41
5.2						4	42
1.4						4	43
5.8						4	44
2.8						4	45
2.6						4	46
6.1						4	47
3.7						4	48
6.7						4	49
3.8						4	50
1.9						4	51
1.5						4	52
8						4	53
4.7						4	54
2.7						4	55
3.5						4	56
4.7						4	57
4.3						4	58
0.4						4	59
3.4						4	60
1						4	61
1.4						4	62
3.1						4	63
4.2						4	64
1.6						4	65
1.4						4	66
2.1						4	67
1.8						4	68
1.7						4	69
3.6						4	70
3.5						4	71
2.6						4	72
5						4	73
5.9						4	74
2						4	75
1.6						4	76
1.9						4	77
1.9						4	78
						4	79
						4	80
1.4						4	81
3.6						4	82
1	0.2					4	83
1.2						4	84
2.6						4	85
2						4	86
2.8						4	87
5.9						4	88

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
2.7						4	89
3.2						4	90
3.4						4	91
3.4						4	92
6.7						4	93
4.6						4	94
4.6						4	95
4.5						4	96
1.3						4	97
4.2						4	98
1.6						4	99
3.3						4	100
						4	101
0.6						4	102
1	0.6					4	103
0.8						4	104
0.2						4	105
0.7		0.4	0.4	0.2		4	106
0.3						4	107
0.7						4	108
0.4						4	109
0.7						4	110
0.7						4	111
4.1						5	1
1.1	0.2					5	2
4.6						5	3
0.5						5	4
0.7						5	5
1.3						5	6
4.2						5	7
4.6						5	8
4.9						5	9
1.9						5	10
5.1						5	11
0.3	0.6					5	12
0.8						5	13
3.7						5	14
						5	15
0.9	0.7					5	16
0.4	0.3					5	17
4.8						5	18
3.1						5	19
4.7						5	20
4.6						5	21
4.9						5	22
2.8						5	23
1.1						5	24
4.2						5	25
1.2	0.5					5	26
1.1						5	27

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
4.1						5	28
1.5						5	29
0.6						5	30
4.9						5	31
2.2						5	32
			1.3	2	0.2	5	33
0.1			0.9	0.6	0.4	5	34
1.1						5	35
1			0.5	0.2	0.6	5	36
			1.2	2.4	0.7	5	37
3.7						5	38
5.1						5	39
0.3						5	40
5.3						5	42
5.5						5	43
1.9						5	44
3.1						5	45
3.4						5	46
4.3						5	47
6.4						5	48
3.8						5	49
4.1						5	50
2.7						5	51
3.7						5	52
1.6						5	53
4.7						5	54
4.3						5	55
1.7						5	56
4.8						5	57
2.7						5	58
1.9						5	59
1.9						5	60
6.3						5	61
2.1						5	62
4.1						5	63
2.2						5	64
2.9						5	65
1						5	66
1.6						5	67
5.3						5	68
4	0.2					5	69
4.9						5	70
3.2						5	71
5.4						5	72
1.5						5	73
4.4						5	74
0.6	0.5					5	75
						5	76
5						5	77
3.6						5	78

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
6.7						5	79
1.7						5	80
11.1						5	81
0.7						5	82
1						5	83
1	0.4					5	84
2.4						5	85
						5	86
0.6						5	87
4.8						5	88
1.2						5	89
2.2						5	90
1.5						5	91
1.6						5	92
4.6						5	93
1.3						5	94
4.9						5	95
1.4						5	96
1.9						5	97
2.4						5	98
2.6						5	99
3.1						5	100
3.4						5	101
4.4						5	102
2.4						5	103
0.8						5	104
0.5						5	105
						5	106
4.4						7	1
2						7	2
						7	3
2.4						7	4
6						7	5
						7	6
1.9						7	7
4.4						7	8
3.4	0.3		1.3	2	0.2	7	9
2.7						7	10
1.4	0.4					7	11
			0.8	0.8	0.3	7	12
						7	13
						7	14
						7	15
3.4						7	16
4.9						7	17
6.8						7	18
						7	19
						7	20
5.9						7	21
4.2						7	22

GHT	GTHK	FLGT	FWDT	FHT	FTHK	C#	GR#
4.3						7	23
6.3						7	24
2						7	25
						7	26
0.7	0.4					7	27
						7	28
1.7						7	29
1.7						7	30
0.8	0.7					7	31
0.3						7	32
1.7						7	33
2.4						7	34
1.6						7	35
1.6						7	36
1.4	0.3					7	37
1.3						7	38
0.9						7	39
						7	40
						7	41
1.3						7	42
0.7						7	43
						7	44
5.8						7	45
5.7						7	46
0.7						7	47
						7	48
6.7						7	49
2.3						7	50
1.3						7	51
2.7						7	52
5.6						7	53
1.8						7	54
2.4						7	55
2.3						7	56
3.8						7	57
						7	58
						7	59
0.7						7	60
0.3						7	61
0.9	0.7					7	62
5.5						7	63
0.4						7	64
0.8						7	65
0.4						7	66
0.6	0.3					7	67
0.5						7	68
						11	1
						11	2

STATUSINFO	C#	GR#
FATHER	3	1
	3	2
	3	3
	3	4
	3	5
	3	6
HUSBAND	3	7
	3	8
	3	9
	3	10
	4	1
	4	2
MAIDEN NAME DIJKERS	4	3
	4	4
MASTER MASON;PIERRE B. LODGE 98	4	7
MOTHER	4	8
	4	9
DAUGHTER OF PETER & ANN M PETERSEN	4	10
BRIGADIER GENERAL;COMMANDANT OF ST E;13TH REGIMENT	4	11
	4	12
MOTHER	4	13
FATHER	4	14
MOTHER;MAIDEN NAME VAN PUTTEN	4	15
MOTHER;MAIDEN NAME HASSELL	4	16
	4	17
	4	18
FATHER;BROTHER	4	19
	4	20
SISTER;AUNT	4	21
	4	22
	4	23
SIR;GOVERNOR; ADDL1:WIFE;LADY;BORN VAN RINCOM	4	24
	4	25
WIFE;MOTHER;MAIDEN NAME TIMBER	4	26
SISTER;MAIDEN NAME HEILLEGGER	4	27
FATHER	4	28
MOTHER	4	29
	4	30
	4	31
	4	32
	4	33
	4	34
	4	35
	4	36
	4	37
	4	38

STATUSINFO	C#	GR#
	4	39
WIFE;MOTHER;MAIDEN NAME SCHREWHEARDT	4	40
	4	41
	4	42
	4	43
	4	44
	4	45
	4	46
	4	47
	4	48
SON(IMPLIED - MENTIONS MOTHER & FATHER)	4	49
	4	50
WIFE(IMPLIED-MENTIONS HUSBAND J S VAN PUTTEN)	4	51
	4	52
	4	53
	4	54
	4	55
AUNT;NIECE IS S A TEARS	4	56
	4	57
	4	58
	4	59
	4	60
	4	61
	4	62
	4	63
ESQR(ESQUIRE)(LAWYER)	4	64
	4	65
HOUSEWIFE OF ROELOF ROELOFS;MAIDEN NAME DE WEVER	4	66
	4	67
	4	68
	4	69
LORD;ADMIRAL?	4	70
	4	71
	4	72
	4	73
	4	74
DAUGHTER OF A. WINFIELD	4	75
	4	76
	4	77
	4	78
	4	79
	4	80
	4	81
	4	82
	4	83
	4	84
	4	85
	4	86
	4	87
	4	88

STATUSINFO	C#	GR#
	4	89
	4	90
MOTHER	4	91
	4	92
	4	93
	4	94
	4	95
	4	96
	4	97
	4	98
	4	99
	4	100
	4	101
	4	102
	4	103
	4	104
	4	105
	4	106
	4	107
	4	108
	4	109
	4	110
	4	111
	5	1
	5	2
	5	3
	5	4
	5	5
	5	6
	5	7
MOTHER	5	8
	5	9
	5	10
MOTHER	5	11
	5	12
	5	13
	5	14
	5	15
	5	16
	5	17
	5	18
	5	19
	5	20
	5	21
	5	22
	5	23
	5	24
	5	25
	5	26
	5	27

STATUSINFO	C#	GR#
	5	28
	5	29
	5	30
	5	31
	5	32
	5	33
	5	34
	5	35
	5	36
	5	37
	5	38
	5	39
	5	40
	5	42
ADDL1:NEE(BORN) BLANCHARD	5	43
	5	44
	5	45
	5	46
	5	47
	5	48
	5	49
	5	50
	5	51
MOTHER	5	52
	5	53
	5	54
	5	55
	5	56
	5	57
	5	58
	5	59
	5	60
	5	61
	5	62
	5	63
AUNT	5	64
	5	65
	5	66
	5	67
	5	68
MAIDEN NAME AZURLA	5	69
	5	70
	5	71
	5	72
	5	73
MOTHER	5	74
	5	75
	5	76
	5	77
	5	78

13d

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STATUSINFO                                                          C#   GR#
-------------------------------------------------------------       --   ---
                                                                    5    79
                                                                    5    80
REV FATHER(PRIEST) A1&3:REV FATHER;OP;A2:REV SISTER(NUN);OP         5    81
                                                                    5    82
                                                                    5    83
                                                                    5    84
                                                                    5    85
                                                                    5    86
                                                                    5    87
                                                                    5    88
                                                                    5    89
MR.                                                                 5    90
                                                                    5    91
                                                                    5    92
                                                                    5    93
                                                                    5    94
                                                                    5    95
                                                                    5    96
FATHER(IMPLIED - MENTIONS SON J R FABIO)                            5    97
                                                                    5    98
                                                                    5    99
                                                                    5    100
                                                                    5    101
                                                                    5    102
MR.                                                                 5    103
                                                                    5    104
                                                                    5    105
                                                                    5    106
                                                                    7    1
                                                                    7    2
                                                                    7    3
ESQR(ESQUIRE)(LAWYER);HUSBAND(IMPLIED - MENTIONS WIFE)             7    4
                                                                    7    5
                                                                    7    6
                                                                    7    7
                                                                    7    8
                                                                    7    9
MERCHANT;GENTLEMAN                                                  7    10
                                                                    7    11
                                                                    7    12
                                                                    7    13
                                                                    7    14
                                                                    7    15
WIFE;NOT A MOTHER                                                   7    16
BOY(SON)                                                            7    17
                                                                    7    18
                                                                    7    19
                                                                    7    20
                                                                    7    21
WIFE                                                                7    22
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13e

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STATUSINFO                                                        C#   GR#
-------------------------------------------------------------     --   ---
                                                                   7    23
                                                                   7    24
MERCHANT;HUSBAND;PARENT; ADDL1:SON                                 7    25
                                                                   7    26
                                                                   7    27
                                                                   7    28
                                                                   7    29
                                                                   7    30
                                                                   7    31
                                                                   7    32
                                                                   7    33
                                                                   7    34
                                                                   7    35
DAUGHTER OF BENJA. & ELIZA. ZEAGERS                                7    36
                                                                   7    37
JUN.(JUNIOR)                                                       7    38
                                                                   7    39
                                                                   7    40
                                                                   7    41
                                                                   7    42
                                                                   7    43
                                                                   7    44
A1:WIFE;3:ESQR;4:SON OF J CUVILJE;5&6:CHN OF R JENNINGS & E        7    45
                                                                   7    46
                                                                   7    47
                                                                   7    48
CHILD;CONSORT; ADDL1:MRS.                                          7    49
DAUGHTER OF CH. & REBECKA MUSSENDEN                                7    50
                                                                   7    51
                                                                   7    52
                                                                   7    53
                                                                   7    54
                                                                   7    55
                                                                   7    56
                                                                   7    57
                                                                   7    58
                                                                   7    59
                                                                   7    60
                                                                   7    61
                                                                   7    62
                                                                   7    63
                                                                   7    64
                                                                   7    65
                                                                   7    66
                                                                   7    67
                                                                   7    68
                                                                  11     1
                                                                  11     2
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13f

APPENDIX C

GRAVESTONE INSCRIPTIONS

The following inscriptions retain the original spelling and capitalization. If a word is partly illegible or unclear, it is followed by the symbol (?). If a word or part of a word is missing and inferred, it appears in brackets, i.e. [In]. If part of the inscription is missing and cannot be inferred the symbol ? is substituted for the missing part. If a gravestone has more than one plaque, the location of each plaque is given - underlined and in parentheses - before its inscription.

C#-GR# INSCRIPTION

Methodist Churchyard

3-1   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR FATHER   JACOB SIMON VAN PUTTEN   1864 - 1958   UNTIL THE DAY BREAKS AND THE SHADOWS FLEE AWAY

3-5   Sacred to the Memory of Benjamin Gartsine(?) Brown Who Died the 9th Dec. 1835(?) Agd 11(?) months and 13 days. ??????????????????????????? in heaven ???????????????????

3-6   Benjn. Phipps Brown   Born March 8th 1838 and Died April 4th 1840 Agd 2 Years & 27 Days. Happy infant early blest   Rest in peaceful slumber rest   Early rescued from the cares   Which increase with growing years   F.

3-7   IN MEMORY OF MY BELOVED HUSBAND FRANK E. 1876 - 1935 KING

Dutch Reformed Churchyard

4-1   S.M SCHMIDT   DIED 28 AUG 42   R I P

4-3   In Memoriam   Johannes de Veer   1789 1872   Anna Catharina Dijkers   1796   1847   en familie

4-4   (left side, or south side:)   FRANCIS DORNER   WHO DIED 5TH DEC   19[11] R[I]P
        (middle:)   JOHN JAMES VAN PUTTEN   WHO DIED DEC 12TH 1912 R.[I].P.
        (right:)   MARIA A. VAN PUTTEN WHO DIED SEP 12TH 1921 R.[I].P.

4-7   IN LOVING MEMORY OF ALBERT SCHMIDT   MASTER MASON
       PIERRE B. LODGE 98   BORN 1923 DIED 1975   R.I.P.

4-8   IN MEMORY OF MY DEAR MOTHER M.F. VAN PUTTEN   DIED
       SEPT. 10th 1928   R.I.P.   A.E.

4-9   JM - SCHMIDT   DIED   13 JULY 1931   RIP

4-10   SACRED To the Memory OF   JEMIMA PETERSEN   Daughter
       of Peter & Ann M. Petersen   died 10th August 1806
       Aged 14 Months   Sleep lovely Babe enjoy thy peacefull
       rest   God has in Mercy calld thee to the bless'd

4-11   To The Memory of Br[i]gadier General Ogilvy Commandant
       of the Island of S: Eustatius and Its dependencies
       who died Universally Llamented   May 31 1781   Aged 58
       years This marble is Erected By His afflicted Friends
       of The 13th Regiment   In which He Served forty years
       As a testimony of Their Regard

4-12   C M DORNER   DIED   SEPT 24 1931

4-13   IN MEMORY OF OUR MOtHER   MARY ELIZAbEtH VANPUttEN
       BORN JUNE 7 1856   DIEd DEC-2 1942

4-14   IN MEMORY OF OUR DEAR FATHER WiLLiAM SAtCHELL VANPUttEN
       BORN NOV 3 1846   DiEd JAN 2? ??25(?)

4-15   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR MOtHER   VANPUttEN RebECCA
       tIMbER   BORN 8 DEC 1891   DIEd 25 JAN 1983

4-16   In Loving Memory of Our Beloved Mother Louisa Margaret
       Hassell Heillgger   Born Jan. 6th 1872   Died Nov. 20th
       1957 St. Eustatius   For Ever With The Lord   R.I.P.

4-18   IN MEMORY OF HENRY ALFORD HEYLIGER   BORN AUG 15 1842
       DIED NOV 13 1913

4-19   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR FATHER AND BROTHER   HENRY
       ARCHIBALD HEILLIGER   BORN AUG. 22 1876   DIED MARCH
       2 1965 R.I.P.

4-20   GEORGE BENTLEY HEILLEGGER   BORN NOVEMBER 8, 1893
       DIED NOVEMBER 17, 1960   GONE, BUT NOT FORGOTTEN BY
       YOUR LOVED ONES   R.I.P.

4-21   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR SISTER AND AUNT,
       JOSEPHINE ELIZABETH HEILLEGGER   BORN. OCTOBER 27-1888
       DIED. JANUARY 15-1973   R.I.P.

4-23   MEMENTO MORI   DESE GRAFF TOMBEIS OPGERECHT DOOR
       IOANNES HEYLIGER ABRM,SOON OUDERLING ANNO 1770   SALIGH
       ZYNDE DOODE DIE INDEN HEERE STERVEN, VANNUAEN:IASEGHT

DE GEEST, OPDAT SY RUSTEN MOGEN VAN:HARENARBEYT:ENDE
HARE WERCKENVOLGEN METHAER:IESUS SEYDE. ICKBENDE
OPSTANDINGE ENDE HET LEVEN. DIE IN MY GELOOFTSAL
LEVENALWAER HY OOCK GESTORVEN DUS EYNDIGT OOCK MYNTYDT,
IK GAHEEN OMEENS, MAER FENS, DIENSTAPTETREEN DAAR DE
EEUWIGHEYT AAN HANGT, O'HEER MYVOOR MYN STERVEN. STER
VEN LEER WENDT VAN DEN TYDT MYN OOG EN LUST TOT DE
EEUWIGHEYT MYNWARE RUST
(Translation: This gravetomb was built by Johannes
Heyliger Abraham the elder in the year 1770. Holy are
the dead who die believing in the Lord...so they are
permitted to rest from their labor...Jesus said I am
the resurrection and life. He who believes in me will
live on...So ends my time too. I pass away but
once...eternity hangs on it, Oh Lord...learn to
die...turn my eye away from time...in eternity my true
peace)

4-24   Hier Legt Begraaven, Den WelEdele Gestrengen Heer
Jan de Windt,   Inzyn Leeven Gouverneur Over de
Eylanden   St. Eustatius, Saba, & St. Martin
Overleeden Den 19 January 1775, In den Ouderdom van
byna 58 Jaaren,   & Zyn Gemalin Mevrouwe   Alletta de
Windt   Gebooren van Rincom   Overleeden Den 25 Maart
1775, In den Ouderdom van 65 Jaaren
(Translation: Here lies buried the Honorable Sir Jan
de Windt, while living Governor of the islands St.
Eustatius, Saba, & St. Maarten   died on the 19th
January 1775, at the age of almost 58 years, & his
wife Lady Alletta de Windt born van Rincom died on
the 25th March 1775, at the age of 65 years)

4-25   IN MEMORY OF JAMES ELRidgE VAN PUTTEN   BORN JULY 15
1887 DIEd July 16 1967   R.I.P.

4-26   IN LOVING MEMORY OF MY WiFE ANd OUR MOtHER   tiMBER
CARMEN HUGGINS   BORN SEpt 2. 1946   DiEd fEB 23. 1974
WE CANNOT LORd tHy PURpOSE SEE but ALL IS WELL that's
doNE by tHEE R.I.P.

4-27   In Loving Memory of My Beloved Sister   Lucille
Raymondine Heillegger Hassell   Born Sept. 7, 1906
Died Aug. 1, 1984 Sleep on, beloved, sleep, and take
thy rest   Lay down thy head upon the Savior's breast
We love thee well, but Jesus loves thee best. R.I.P.

4-28   Sleep on, beloved, sleep and take thy rest. In loving
memory of our beloved father, Raymond Hassell Born-
Saba-April 21,1875   Died-St. Eustatius-July 7,1959
The Lord's my Shepherd. R.I.P.

4-29   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR MOTHER   ALICE E. LOPES
MARCH 12, 1889 - MARCH 31, 1976   PSALM 91   HE THAT

DWELLETH IN THE SECRET PLACE OF THE MOST HIGH, SHALL ABIDE UNDER THE SHADOW OF THE ALMIGHTY.

4-31   CARL E. NICHOLSON   BORN JUNE 11TH 19??   DIED APRIL 29TH 1949 R I P

4-32   SACRED to the MEMORY of   William Frederick Verschuur who   Died the 9th December 1843   Aged 11 Years & 1 Month   Calm be thy slumber in this dark repose   Till the last morn its orient beam disclose   Then from sleep of death with joy survey   The opening splendours of eternal day

4-40   In Loving Memory of My Dear Wife & Our Beloved Mother Johanna Irene Emma Schrewheardt Spanner   Born at St. Eustatius August 2nd 1889 Died at St. Eustatius August 6th 1958   May the good Lord   Bless and keep you till, We meet again.   R.I.P.

4-41   In Loving Memory of   Gwendoline van Putten   May 31st 1914 July 7th 1978   Happy and smiling alway content Loved and respected wherever you went   To a beautiful life came a sudden end   Died as you lived, everyone's friend   R.I.P.

4-42   In Loving Memory of   Karen Cynthia van Putten   Born May 8, 1941   Died June 10, 1958   For her to live was Christ & to die is gain.   R.I.P.

4-49   (left, or north side:) WILLIAM HENRY MUSSENDEN   Was born September 27th 1817   And Departed this Life February 12th 1819.   Here Lies the grief of a Fond Mother   And the pleasing prospects of an indulgent Father.   When such friends part tis the Survivor Dies. (right, or south side:)   CHARLOTTE CAROLINE NYMAN (HYMAN?),   Born October 25th 1817,   Died July 16th 1823,   aged 5 years 8 months and 21 days. Thourt gone and every dear delight is laid in thy grave.   Early, bright, transient, chaste as morning dew,   She sparkled, was exhal'd, and went to Heaven.   Young.

4-51   ANN G VAN PUTTEN WHO DIED 23 JULY 1944   R.I.P.   THIS MONUMENT WAS ERECTED BY HER BELOVED HUSBAND   J.S. VAN PUTTEN

4-52   ELISABETH JEEMS   GEBOOREN DEN 16. MAART Ao 1740 EN OVERLEEDEN DEN 19. MAART Ao 1762.   GEORGE MATTHYS POOLMAN GEBOOREN DEN 2. MAART Ao 1762 IN DEN 2. MAART Ao 1762 OVERLEEDEN
(Translation: Elisabeth Jeems born on 16 March of the year 1740 and died on 19 March of the year 1762. George Matthys Poolman born on 2 March of the year 1762 on 2 March of the year 1762 died)

4-54   1916

4-55   ROSE COCKFIELD   BORN 27TH AUG 1876   DIED 9TH NOV
        1954   R.I.P.

4-56   In Loving Memory of My Dear Aunt,   Agusta E. Fabio
        Born Aug. 30, 1864   Died July 19, 1957   Blessed are
        the dead which die in the Lord for they rest from their
        labours.   Erected by her niece,   S.A. Tears

4-59   HIER RUST GERHARD HERMAN WiLMANS.   GEBOREN DEN 18
        APRiL Ao 1780.   EN GESTORVEN DEN 6 FEBRUAR Ao 1783.
        iNDEN OUDERDOM VAN 2 iAAR 9 MAANDEN & 19 DAAGEN.
        (Translation: Here rests Gerhard Herman Wilmans born
        the 18th April in the year 1780 and died on the 6th
        February of the year 1783 at the age of 2 years 9
        months and 19 days.)

4-64   In Memory of   JOSEPH BLAKE ESqr.   Born in the County
        of Galway; in Ireland. the 24th of September 1701.
        He departed this life in S[t.] Eustatius   November the
        [8]th, 1775.   Aged, 74 years, [1] Month 15 days.

4-66   HiER LEGT BEGRAAVEN   ANNA MARiA DE WEVER   HUYS
        VROUW VAN ROELOF ROELOFS   GEBOOREN DEN 15 NOVEMBER
        ANNO 1744 EN OVERLEEDEN DEN 17 MAART 1776 OUDT 31
        iARREN 8 MAANDE EN 2 DAAGEN
        (Translation: Here lies buried Anna Maria de Wever
        Housewife of Roelof Roelofs   Born on 15th November of
        the year 1744 and died on 17th March 1776 at the age
        of 31 years 8 months and 2 days)

4-70   WILLEM CRUL,   Heer van Burgst   Schout-bij-nacht bij
        de admiraliteit van de Maze   Geboren te Haarlem op 25
        november 1721, gesneuveld op 4 februari 1781   aan
        boord van het linieschip Mars   nabij het eiland
        Sombrero bij de bescherming van een konvooi, dat op de
        terugreis van Sint Eustatius naar patria door een
        Engelse overmacht werd aangevallen.   "Hier rust de
        dappre Krul,   die op de Ruiter's spoor   Door liefde
        voor het land   en vryheid wierd gedreven;   En die,
        uit laagen staat   tot hoog gezag verheven,   ook't
        leven als die held   voor't vaderland verloor."
        (Translation: Willem Crul, Lord of Burgst Rear Admiral
        ... Born in Haarlem on 25th November 1721 Died on the
        4th February 1781 on board of the ship Mars near the
        island Sombrero during the protection of a convoy, that
        was attacked on their way home from St. Eustatius to
        the homeland by a superior English force. "Here rests
        the brave Krul, who was driven by De Ruiter's belief
        in love of the country and freedom; and who, from lowly
        beginnings, rose in the ranks, and lost his life, like

that hero for the homeland.")

4-72   D A BROWN   DIED   12 FEB 1935   ASLEEP   IN JESUS

4-75   IN MEMORY   of Emeline, The Belov'd   Daughter of A.
         Winfield   Who Died April 22nd 184?   Aged 20 Years &
         ???? Sleep on dear Girl and wait   the Almighty will
         Then rise unchangd, and be   an Angel still.
         IJ Fabio

4-76   JOHN A. TEARR   6-4-'85

4-77   In Memo[ry] Of John G. Brown Who died   Decr 24th 1841
         Aged 2 Years & 5 Months.   Early snatch'd from grief
         and car[e]   To his Eternal rest   Secure, in Jesus,
         arms to share   The joys of endless bliss.   F.

4-78   FRANCES E. BROWN   1875 - 1905

4-83   Here lieth the [body] of pr??e(?) Alaveleld(?)
         Departed this(?) life(?) ????????????????????????????

4-87   1920

4-89   HESTER E. GARRETT   NOV. 29. 1903   JULY 7. 1987

4-91   IN MEMORY OF OUR MOTHER   RENETTE. S. HASSELL   BORN
         OCT 12 1853   DiED APRIL 17 1907

4-93   1929(?)

4-94   R I P   WI

4-95   R I P   SC

4-96   R I P   RC

4-97   (left, or south side:)   WOB Born August 1939 died
         February 1941
         (right, or north side:)   WOB Born August 1939 died
         February 1941

Catholic Cemetery

5-7   ???????   [IN LOVI]NG MEMORY OF ?????????   BORN
         JANUARY 25TH, 1889 DIED NOVEMBER 14TH, 1954   MAY SHE
         REST IN PEACE

5-8   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED MOTHER   CECILIA
         VALERIA FORTIN   BORN NOV. 19, 1909   ON SINT
         BARTHOLEMY   DIED FEB. 25, 1970 ON SINT EUSTATIUS   R.
         I. P.

5-11   IN MEMORY OF OUR ????   MOTHER   CRiSTALIA ADLEETA
        ARNAUD   B. 1910   DiED MAY 17 1982   RiP

5-12   GEORGE

5-14   A - REED(?)   DIED   JUNE 4   1985(1935?)

5-20   Cyrus Rudolph Patrick

5-21   (<u>front, or east side</u>:) A SPROTT   DIED   JAN 7   1935
        RIP
        (<u>back, or west side</u>:) J E M   19 - 36

5-23   IN. MEMORY. OF CAROLINE ISABEL. WINDEVELD   BORN. AT.
        ST. EUSTATIUS. 4.1.1896   DIED. AT. ST. EUSTATIUS.
        17.3.1966

5-24   R.I.P.   L.R.

5-28   IN LOVING MEMORY OF   SOPHIA ANTONIA TEARR   BORN 16
        FEBR. 1890   DIED 4 APRIL 1976   R.I.P.

5-43   (<u>west side of top tier</u>:)   SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
        THOMAS HIPPOLYTE BLANCHARD   WHO WAS BORN 22 DECEMBER
        1881   AND DIED 24 MAY 1959   HE IS NOT DEAD, BUT GONE
        BEFORE, TO GAZE FOREVERMORE ON JESUS' FACE.
        (<u>middle of top tier</u>:)   IN LOVING MEMORY OF   MARIE
        ANASTASIE BUNCAMPER NEE BLANCHARD   BORN ON 24.2.1910
        AT ST BARTHS   DIED ON 4.10.1973 AT ST MAARTEN

5-44   R.L. LESPIER   BORN AUG 12TH 1869   DIED FEB 16TH 1943
        R.I.P.

5-45   (<u>center</u>:)   A.A. LESPIER   BORN AUG 7<u>TH</u> 1844   DIED JAN
        12<u>TH</u> 1884   R.I.P.
        (<u>left, or south side</u>:)   G.C. LESPIER   BORN AUG 30TH
        1866   DIED NOV. 8TH 1890   R.I.P.
        (<u>right, or north side</u>:)   J.G. LESPIER   BORN MAR 5TH
        1829   DIED OCT 10TH 1901   R.I.P.

5-48   IN MEMORY OF   J.G. LISPIER   DIED   MARCH 7th 1937
        R.I.P.

5-49   IN LOVING MEMORY OF C. LISPIER   DIED JULY 15th   1932
        R.I.P.

5-50   CM. LESPIER   DIED   MAY 13 . 42   RIP

5-52   IN MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED MOTHER   AGNES E. DORNER
        *[star?] ON AUG. 14TH 1857 +[cross] ON JAN. 2ND 1951
        R.I.P.

5-53   (<u>left, or south side</u>:)   To the memory of.   Mary Louisa Clarcke(?)   Born 22nd March 1899   Died 26th July 1899   Sleep sweet Babe   For thou art Blest   Taken to an early Rest   In thy Saviours bosom blest
(<u>middle</u>:)   To the memory of.   Clementora Bernarda Clarke   Born 22nd March 1899   Died 30th July 1899   Sleep sweet Babe   For thou art Blest   Taken to an early Rest   In thy Saviors bosom Blest

5-56   Ada(?)   Oct 22 8am(?)   1987(?)

5-57   R. I. P.

5-64   IN LOVING MEMORY OF OUR DEAR AUNT   S.A. BUSBY   DIED SEPT 14th 1927   AGE.64.YEARS   R. I. P.

5-65   IN LOVING MEMORY OF   MARTIN V HEYLIGER   DIED DEC" 1930 AG'D 8 MOS"   This lovely bud so young so fair Called thence by early doom   Just came to show how sweet a flower   In Paradise would bloom

5-69   IN MEMORY OF   MARGARET ROSE AZURLA BOSWIJK   BORN OCT 23 - 1855   DIED JAN 16 - 1946   R . I . P

5-70   IDA. V. Busby.   Born. DEC. 10th - 1888 - Died July 27th 1977   .R.I.P.

5-74   IN LOVING MEMORY   BELOVED MOTHER   ANN E. LINDO R.I.P.

5-77   R.I.P.   FRANCIS PAtRICK

5-78   IN MEMORIE, OF   S. FLAMBERTS   BORN. 5/1/1886   DIED. 16/8/1953   R.I.P.

5-81   (<u>west side, bottom left</u>:)   Rev. Father Adr. Schoonen BORN 10 MAY 1830   DIED 25 APRIL 1880   R.I.P.
(<u>west side, top left</u>:)   R. FATH. M. MEESTERS .O.P. BORN MAY 13.TH 1901   DIED JULY 17.TH 1965   R.I.P.
(<u>missing plaque</u>:) [Rev. Sister M. Vitalis, O.P., Born 4 Dec, 1882   Died 18 Oct, 1920 RIP]
(<u>missing plaque</u>:) [Rev. Father W. R. v. Teeffelen, O.P., Born 11 May, 1885   Died 15 Jan, 1947   RIP]

5-90   MR. H. PIZAS   BORN JAN. 11. 1925

5-94   tHeoDORe   THEODORE   BorN 1928   died 1985 25 June   28.6.85   T. Dinzey 28' June 28 8'5

5-96   TO MEMORY OF   FRANCES. R C MARCIAL.   DiED 20 SEPTR 1854 AGD 4 MNT.   Sleep my babe for thou art blest, Taken to an early rest,   Safe in thy Savior's bosom blest.

5-97   In MeMORY of   John WM FABIO   DieD 19th JUNE 1859
       AGED 69 YRS & 5 DAYS. Dedctd [dedicated] by his affte
       [affectionate] son J. R. Fabio

5-103 In loving memory of   Mr. ARTHUR J. MARSHALL   born 21
       july 1901   died 21 january 1979

Anglican Churchyard

7-4   MICHEAL HEATHCOTE ESQR.   of Petersburgh, Virginia.
       He Came to this Island for the Recovery of His Health,
       But Died   The Eighth day After His Arrival   May the
       6th 1792   In the 37th Year of his Age.   SACRED to
       Whose Memory His Disconsolate Wife Who Accompanied Him
       Hither,   Hath Placed this STONE.

7-5   MARIA LOUISA PATRICK   1880 - 1958

7-8   ALWYN N PATRICK   19[0]3 - 1983

7-9   (Headstone:)   IN MEMORY OF   JESSE DENNISON   who died
       June 1st A.D. 1771, in the 36th Year of his Age.
       (Footstone:)   JESSE DENNISON   1771.

7-10   (east edge of first tier, facing east:)   Beneath
       moulders the mortl. part of Nath: Lawrence   who was
       born at New Town Long Island Ano. 1728 & died October
       1767   He was not more esteemed for his Integrity as
       a Merchant thn. beloved for his private & publik.
       virtues as a Man a Gentleman & a Christian   Reader
       feel for the sorrows of hs. dejected Friends but weep
       not for him
       (top of first tier:)   Sacre[d] ????????   of
       ???
       ???
       ???
       In His [cha]ractor Sho[n]e   The polite [Be]nevolent
       G???   The eng[aging] Compan[ion]   The affectionate
       Friend   He had Wit without Asperi[ty]   Skill in his
       Profession without [V]an[it]y   And mild Complacency
       of D[isposition] without Pusillanimity   Aged
       Passenger pity y vener[able parent] robb'd of the Staff
       of his declining days   Youthful Spectator imitate his
       Virtues in Life if thou would'll be equally lamented
       in Death   Reader whoever thou art drop a tear over
       this grave who when Living had ever a tear to shed for
       the unfortunate.
       (east edge of top tier, detached:)   ?????????????
       ???????????????????????????????????   WHO DEPART[ED THIS]
       LIFE MARCH ?????????? AG[E]D 23 YEARS, 7 M[O]NTHS AND
       ?? DAYS

7-11   J A. GIBBONS   obt. Nov b th 25 1763

7-16   ELIZABETH CADETT   DEPARTED THIS LIFE 3D. OF FEBR 1763 IN THE 24TH YEAR OF HER AGE   STRUCK IN THE PRIME OF YOUTH BY CRUEL FATE,   BUT HEAVEN HAS RAIS'D THEE TO A BETTER STATE,   FOR THOU HAST LED AN UNOFFENSIVE LIFE, AND THO NO MOTHER PROOVED A LOVING WIFE,   THY MERIT IN ONE LINE IS UNDERSTOOD, THAT YOU AS TRUELY VIRTUOUS TRUELY GOOD,   THY LOVING HUSBAND THIS LAST TRIBUTE PAYS, TO SHOW HIS GRATITUDE NOT SOUND THY PRAISE,   THY TRUTH AND CONSTANCY SHALL FILL HIS BREAST,   TILL GOD SHALL PLEASE TO CALL HIS SOUL TO REST.

7-17   SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF OUR BELOVED BOY   SONNY   WHO DIED DEC. 19TH 1939 AGED 15(?) YEARS 11 MONTHS AND 1 DAY   ASLEEP IN JESUS   R.I.P.

7-18   IN LOVING MEMORY OF   NATHANIEL MUSSENDEN   WHO DIED JULY 31ST 1927   AGED 57 YEARS   THY FORM I CANNOT SEE   THY VOICE I CANNOT HEAR   YET IN MY SOLITUDE FOR THEE I SHED A TEAR

7-22   In loving memory of my beloved wife   Mrs. Clara Colbourne born in St. Domingo   October 1, 1921   died in St. Eustatius N.A.   August 25, 1959.   Many Daughters have done virtuously but thou excellest them all

7-25   Sacred To the Memory   Of Mr. WILLIAM ROGERS,   A Merchant of this Island,   The affectionate Husband, tender Parent   Sincere Friend & useful Neighbour   His Sorrowful & disconsolate Widow   Inscribed this Stone, A humble Monument   Of his merit & her affection Obit. A.D. 1773 & age(?) 38.   Also   The Body of his Son   FRANCIS ROGERS   Who departed this Life Jany. 20th 1774,   Aged Six Weeks.

7-27   J A(?)

7-30   (left, or south side:)   In Memory of   RICHARD HORTON   Who departed this Life   April 4, 1769   Aged 38 years & 4 months
(right, or north side:)   In Memory of   JOANNA DINZEY   Who departed this Life   January 11th, 1764 Aged ? years

7-33   O death where is thy sting?   O grave where is thy victory   Jemmy Lilly Fewellar(?)   Teal(?)

7-36   Here Lieth Inter'd the Body of   MARY   Daughter of
        BENJa. & ELIZa.   ZEAGERS.   Who died Augst. 17th
        1767 Aged 1 Year 7 Months & 13 Days

7-37   In(?) ????????????   DERICK   NOLOB   DIED
        ??????????????? AGE ?? YEARS 9 MONT[HS] ?? DAYS
        ??????????????

7-38   Here lyes Inter'd the body of   FRANCIS BARZUN Jun.
        who was Born ye [2] day of [Nov.]   Dyed ye 21st of
        Oct. 1755(?)   aged 11 Mo: 20 Days

7-39   C R x Dc.[deceased?]   9 JY[July] 1792

7-45   (center of west wall:)   [In] this Vault lie interred
        the Bodys of   JOHN PACKWOOD   [A]nd of MARY his Wife,
        the first born in BERMUDA   [O]ctober the 18. 1711, and
        died in ST. EUSTATIUS September [t]he 3d 1794, the last
        born in ST. EUSTATIUS the 24 of December 1718, and died
        the 23 November 1789
        (left, or north side of west wall:)   Here lies the
        Body of   HENRY JENNINGS,   born in BERMUDA   the
        fourth day of August 1743.   And departed this Life in
        ST. EUSTATIUS the 17 November 1790.   Stop Passenger
        and Shed a Tear,   For Worth uncommon's buried here.
        (right, or south side of west wall:)   Within
        ??????????? Ar[e] deposi[te]d [t]he ??????? remains
        ??? ROBERT WILKE (HOI-GE?) Esquire   Who after a life
        ???? active and useful for v[irt]ue piety ????
        benevolence Exemplary ??????????????? 11th February
        1817(?)   In the ?8 Year of his ???????;   To render
        account of the talent confided to him   And to receive
        the reward, due to the faithful use He had made of it.
        To [a]n understanding energetic and rare, Sedulously
        cultivated and improved;   And a mind enlightened and
        Strong,   He united a judgement discriminating and
        Soun[d]   A temper mild and even,   An Heart humane
        and kind,   And a disposition prompt to Succour and
        relie[ve]   As he lived in the practice of every duty
        Social, moral and religious,   So he died animated by
        the divine Hope of A blessed Immortality.   Leaving the
        Excellent partner of his cares and jo[ys]   And the
        affectionate pledges of their mutual conju[gal]
        Felicity, to deplore their Seperation from him.
        (west end of top tier:)   Here Lies the Body of   JOHN
        PACKWOOD CUVILJE   son of   JOHN MOLLINE[UX] CUVILJE
        Born the 20th Day of March 1770   and departed this
        life the 27th of August 1771   Aged   17 Months and
        7 Days.
        (east end of top tier:)   CATHERINE JENNINGS   Two Of
        this Name lie here Interred,   One born at St. Kitts
        in June 1763;   And died September following.   The
        other born at St. Eustatia   The 27 August 1773;   And

died the 8th of July 1774.   Both Children of Richard Downing Jennings   And   Elizabeth his Wife.

7-46   Matilda Theresa Busby   born Nov. 3rd 1884   died Sept. 11th. 1971   "a servant of God! Well done" R.I.P.

7-49   WITH CONFIDENCE IN DIVINE DISPENSATIONS,   A VICTIM TO INJUSTICE And POPULAR EXCITEMENTS   In the Island of St. Bartholomew   CONSECRATED This MEMORIAL   To The REMAINS of   A   Beloved CHILD & a Regreted CONSORT SAMUEL ULRIC,   Became Immortal the 8th Novemb. 1810 4. Years Old.   MRS. ELIZABETH FAHLBERG   Oppressed by Afflictions   Obtained Consolation   AT   THE THRONE OF MERCY   On The   15th Septembr. 1811.   Aged 31 Years.

7-50   Here Lies Inter'd   The Body of   ELIZABETH MUSSENDEN Daughter of CH. & REBECKA MUSSENDEN   Who was Born January 27. 1766   and Departed this Life   March 12th 1768   Aged 2 Years 2 Months & 16 Days.

7-55   (No legible words; appears to have been a lengthy inscription)

7-62   Mrs(?)   E P Z B   1802

Lazareto Leper Colony

(No inscriptions)

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