SACRED TRUST: THE VOLUNTARY REMOVAL AND REBURIAL OF HUMAN REMAINS FROM A HISTORIC CEMETERY IN LOUISIANA

A Thesis

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in

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By Christian Williamson B.A., Mississippi State University, 2000 August 2005

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my parents, Betty Sue and James David Williamson, for giving me the space and freedom to go where I want to in life and providing the unconditional trust, love, and support to get there.

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DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	vii
ABSTRACT	iv
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW	4
A. Importance of Historic Cemeteries	4
B. The Archaeology of Historic Cemeteries	
C. The Laws and Ethics of Historic Cemetery Excavations	
D. Historic Cemetery Excavations in Louisiana	
E. Projects Involving the Removal and Reburial of Family Cemetery Plots	
E. Hojeets involving the Kenioval and Keburial of Fahiny Centetery Flots	
CHAPTER 2. PROJECT DESCRIPTION	
CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY	
CHAPTER 4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND	40
CHAPTER 5. RESULTS	
A. Excavation	
1. Tomb 1 (A)	
2. Tomb 2 (B)	
3. Tomb 3	
4. Tomb 4	
5. Tomb 5	
6. Tomb 6	
7. Tomb 7	
8. Tomb 8	
9. Tomb 9	
10. Tomb 10	
11. Tomb 11	
12. Tomb 12	
13. Tomb 13	
14. Tomb 14	
15. The Remainder of the Cemetery	
B. Osteological Analysis	
1. Sex	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

2. Age	
3. Ancestry	
4. Stature	
5. General Discussion	
6. Tomb 1 (A)	
7. Tomb 2 (B)	
8. Tomb 13	
CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION	
A. Grave Orientation	
B. Tombs and Monuments	
C. Epitaphs and Inscriptions	
D. Monument Symbolism	
E. Coffins and Coffin Hardware	
CHAPTER 7. REBURIAL AND CONCLUSION	
REFERENCES	116
APPENDIX. INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE NON-RANDOLPH GRAVES	
VITA	

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Summary of Results from Tomb I (A)	89
Table 2. Summary of Results from Tomb 2 (B)	96
Table 3. Summary of Results from Tomb 13	. 101

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1. 1963 USGS Topo Map showing location of St. Mary's Cemetery	
Figure 2. Tape and Compass Map of the Randolph Family Graves	
Figure 3. The Author's Hand-drawn Map of St. Mary's Cemetery (2005)	
Figure 4. A Worker from Wilbert Funeral Home Opening the Tomb	
Figure 5. Members of the Randolph Family & LSU FACES Lab	
Figure 6. Inner Vault of Tomb 1	
Figure 7. Nameplate and Coffin Handle from Tomb 2	
Figure 8. Coffin from Tomb 3	
Figure 9. Wire Floral Cross Arrangement	
Figure 10. Original Preserved Black Rope	
Figure 11. Coffin Handle and Nameplate from Tomb 3	
Figure 12. John Hampden Randolph's (Tomb 4) Monument and Tomb	
Figure 13. Sealed Coffin from Tomb 4	61
Figure 14. John Hampden Randolph's (Tomb 4) coffin	61
Figure 15. Cross Monument, Plaque, and Coffin Handle from Tomb 5	
Figure 16. Rest in Peace Plaque from Tomb 9	
Figure 17. Floral Arrangement, Coffin Handles, Beveled Coffin Wood	
Figure 18. At Rest Plaque from Tomb 11	70
Figure 19. Tomb 13 Double Vault	73
Figure 20. Cast Iron Coffin and Coffin Handles from Tomb 13	74
Figure 21. Original Cemetery Entrance and Walkway	
Figure 22. Postmortem Trauma to Cranium of Tomb 1 (A)	
Figure 23. Eburnation on Capitulum of Left Humerus of Tomb 1 (A)	
Figure 24. Left and Right Clavicles from Tomb 2 (B)	

Figure 25.	Left and Right Humerii from Tomb 2 (B)	. 94
Figure 26.	Fused Right Innominate and Sacrum of Tomb 2 (B)	. 94
Figure 27.	Left and Right Tibiae from Tomb 2 (B)	. 95
Figure 28.	Postmotem Damage to Innominate of Tomb 12	100
Figure 29.	Locket from Tomb 13	100
Figure 30.	Drawing of the Locket from Tomb 13	101

ABSTRACT

Small, rural cemeteries that once served as sacred resting places become abandoned when they are no longer important to the community. These abandoned cemeteries become targets for bone hunters and vandals, desecrating once hallowed grounds. Often, the descendants of these long-lost individuals must rescue their ancestors from a disastrous fate and place their remains in a new resting place. However, the act of removing and reburying one's ancestors is not a simple or inexpensive task. The sanctity of the grave is meant to be permanent. When looters and vandals threaten that eternal slumber, it becomes necessary to remove one's ancestors, even though the process briefly disturbs the remains. Modern descendants will likely be nervous and uncertain about what to expect and how to best remove and care for the remains.

Members of the Randolph family, a prominent plantation family that has lived in Louisiana since the late eighteenth century, contacted a team of anthropologists from Louisiana State University to help recover thirteen individuals from St. Mary's Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana. The cemetery had been abandoned since 1970, its graves overgrown with weeds and desecrated by vandals. Of the thirteen individuals recovered, three sets of remains did not have associated grave markers. These three were taken back to the lab and analyzed using standard forensic procedures. Documentary research on the history of the cemetery, the once associated church, and the Randolph family provided important context for excavation. This thesis presents the project in its entirety with the hope that it will provide a helpful blueprint for both anthropologists and family members who might find themselves involved in the rescue of ancestral remains from historic cemeteries.

ix

INTRODUCTION

Small rural cemeteries are extremely vulnerable to abandonment and desecration. Rural cemeteries were typically created near important community centers, most often a church. As the population moved from outlying rural areas to urban centers, the connection between communities and cemeteries was broken (Nance 1999). The living descendants no longer lived close to their buried ancestors, making it more difficult to take care of their graves. After extensive out-migration, the community centers associated with cemeteries were no longer needed and closed (Nance 1999). Without any new burials, the cemeteries slowly lost their connection to the remaining community members. Eventually, the cemeteries were abandoned, left forgotten to disappear under the growing weeds.

What can be done about cemeteries that have become abandoned? Preservationists, conservationists, historians, and community members have different views on dealing with abandoned historic cemeteries. Rugg (1994:25) states that in neglected historic cemeteries with heavy overgrowth, "disagreement has arisen between ecologists and historians about the features most worthy of protection...there is disagreement about the clearance of undergrowth – an act which some see as destructive of habitats, but others consider necessary for access to memorials." In the eyes of ecologists and conservationists, the cemetery, including its gravestones, constitutes an important ecosystem that a variety of wildlife depends on for survival. Cemeteries also can serve as corridors of movement for traveling wildlife, providing protection and sanctuary for animals as well as for those interred.

Historians, genealogists, geographers, anthropologists and others believe cemeteries provide important data on the individuals buried within their grounds as well as

on the culture that established them. To the community, cemeteries provide an important link to a shared past and can also serve as pseudo-parks where people can enjoy nature and watch wildlife (Strangstad 1988). If cemeteries are not properly preserved, "important historical information will be lost forever and the vicious cycle of decline and deterioration will accelerate, necessitating a far greater investment in the future" (quoted in Clendaniel 1997: 10). Local community organizations have attempted to clean up neglected cemeteries by cleaning underbrush, washing tombstones, and picking up trash. Although these efforts are successful in the short term, Jackson (1989:101) notes that "without continual attention, these efforts do not last long, and within a few years the burial ground regains its derelict look."

Abandoned and neglected cemeteries become perfect targets for bone collectors, looters, and vandals. Clendaniel (1997:8) cites two major threats to historic cemeteries, "bored youth" and "theft by professionals." The theft and sale of funerary objects from cemeteries "diminishes our cultural heritage forever by transferring urns, figures, decorative bronze work, and other relatively small pieces of more elaborate monuments and curbing into private hands for use in gardens or indoor settings" (Clendaniel 1997: 8). Clendaniel attributes vandalism and theft to the public perception of the cemetery as being neglected and forgotten. He urges educating the community that cemeteries "need to be venerated, not trashed" and educating consumers to ask dealers how possible cemetery items were acquired. According to Clendaniel (1997: 12):

We have ignored our historical roots, and we are the losers. Instead of being places of pride and devotion with throngs of visitors, many of our historic cemeteries today play host to derelicts and vandals. It is a reinforcing downward spiral, for with apathy comes invisibility and the lack of critically needed financial and political support. Without support there is neglect and vandalism and theft. With neglect comes apathy.

St. Mary's Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana, was abandoned sometime in the 1970s. An historic cemetery founded in 1868 by John Hampden Randolph, St. Mary's is now overgrown with weeds and littered with beer cans. Brick graves are open and human remains lie strewn under the canopy of trees. The Randolph family decided to take action to help preserve the remains of their ancestors, many of whom had not yet been exposed. The Randolphs sought to remove their ancestors and rebury their remains at the family's historical home, Nottoway Plantation. This thesis documents the removal of the Randolph family graves from St. Mary's Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana, and the subsequent reburial of the remains from an historical, archaeological, and osteological perspective.

CHAPTER 1. LITERATURE REVIEW

Research involving historic cemeteries must address several important issues to be both culturally and scientifically valuable. Archaeologists should understand the importance of historic cemeteries and the invaluable and diverse data they provide. The preservation of burials and the overall archaeological record at historic cemeteries is often preferred. When the cemeteries become endangered, either due to encroaching construction projects or the work of looters and graverobbers, then these cemeteries become potential salvage projects for archaeologists. Human remains and the funerary artifacts buried within the grave provide a wealth of information, but they are not the only sources of data. Historic cemeteries are also rich in information available from gravemarkers, monuments, and other associated features. In addition, researchers studying historic cemeteries should be aware of the laws and ethics involved in excavating and studying human remains from the various different viewpoints. Ethical codes allow researchers to conduct excavations with the wishes and opinions of many parties in mind, resulting in a research project that benefits both the descendant group and the discipline of archaeology. Finally, historic cemetery excavations from similar geographic areas and those conducted with the assistance and cooperation of the descendant community should be reviewed to provide comparative material for the data collected at St. Mary's Cemetery. The following discussion will address each of these issues in an attempt to comparatively, holistically, and culturally examine St. Mary's Cemetery.

A. Importance of Historic Cemeteries

Historic cemeteries are material representations of past cultures, societies, communities, and individuals. Tarlow (1999) emphasizes the importance of the historic

cemetery to both the descendants of the people buried there and the community at large. Tarlow (1999:2) states "the life it records was real, the death and the feelings it occasioned were real." For the social and cultural reasons alone, historic cemeteries should be considered important. Cemeteries are also a major source of data on the history of death, bereavement and commemoration (Tarlow 1999). Historical cemeteries provide the opportunity to better examine short-term change in a chronologically known environment.

Strangstad (1988:5) refers to graveyards as "outdoor museums." Monuments and gravemarkers have some of the earliest examples of art and written history carved into their stones. Strangstad (1988:1) calls these monuments valuable archaeological artifacts that are preserved and available for study *in situ*. The monuments reveal motifs that through symbolism and iconography chronicle the changing attitudes toward death and immortality in America (Strangstad 1988:2). The stone carvers themselves can be studied and the material of the stone traced to reveal information about trading routes and commercial patterns. As many genealogists know, tombstone inscriptions and epitaphs provide invaluable social and cultural information including birth date, age at death, sex, and ethnicity (Strangstad 1988:2). Beyond their cross-cultural and cross regional significance, individual graveyards may be especially important to the local communities.

Lindley (1965) believes that the uniqueness inherent in every individual cemetery gives it added importance. According to Lindley (1965:18), "they defy classification, each is an individual creation, the product of men, the landscape and the effects of time. No two are alike and they follow no recognisable pattern."

B. The Archaeology of Historic Cemeteries

Before examining the archaeological information available within an historic cemetery, we should discuss what the term cemetery means. Strangstad (1988:6) provides a traditional definition for cemetery as "a place set apart for burying the dead." Strangstad (1988:6) uses the term graveyard to distinguish early historic burial grounds dating from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century from modern cemeteries. The modern use of the term cemetery comes from the Latin word *coemeteirum*, and the Greek translation meaning "dormitory" or "sleeping place." (Morris 1983:49). Most of the excavations discussed in this thesis are from sites designated as cemeteries.

A churchyard refers to a cemetery that was at one time attached to or associated with a church. Not every cemetery associated with a church has been labeled a churchyard (Manhein and Whitmer 1994). An individual site can even be labeled a churchyard by one researcher (McKillop 1995) and a cemetery by another (Saunders et al. 2002). Although the terms cemetery and churchyard seem to be interchangeable, Rodwell (1989:143) notes that some cemeteries do not contain their related churches and that some churchyards were not used for burials. The term churchyard tends to appear more frequently in British publications and archaeological sites within the United Kingdom. Lindley (1965:23) uses the term churchyard sentimentally to refer to a magical and peaceful place that serves as "a place of refuge...a place to sit and remember the good or bad old days...a place of adventure...a place of pleasant solitude." He contrasts the churchyard with modern cemeteries, which are "bleak and cheerless places, where cold white marble predominates" (Lindley 1965:20). Most discussions of churchyards describe them as "God's Acre" (Rodwell 1989; Lindley 1965; Habenstein and Lamers 1955). Habenstein and Lamers

(1955:99) state that the concept of "God's Acre" derived from the idea the body of the deceased was made sacred and thus protected from evil sprits once it was buried in the consecrated soil of a churchyard.

The graveyard associated with St. Mary's Church is referred to as a cemetery in all of the available historical documents, which include land transaction records, historic topographic maps, and historical accounts of St. Mary's Church. This is most likely due to the popularity of the term cemetery in the United States during the nineteenth century (Strangstad 1988). The term cemetery may have also been preferred over churchyard in the case of St. Mary's since the Hudson family tomb already existed on the land donated for the church cemetery. To maintain continuity with the historical record at St. Mary's and with similar research in the field, I decided to continue referring to the graveyard as St. Mary's Cemetery.

Data collected from historic cemeteries can shed light on populations not included or improperly documented in the historical record. Disenfranchised peoples who have been forgotten or excluded by the ruling elite who record history can finally have a voice through the analysis and excavation of historic cemeteries. According to Crist (2002:109), heritage helps determine a person's social worth and can shape group ideology. An incorrect or incomplete understanding of history can negatively impact how a social group perceives its worth and its identity.

Rose (1989) studied the biological effects of segregation in an African American, post-emancipation population buried at the Cedar Grove Cemetery in Arkansas. Rose (1989:351) was concerned that the historical documentation was inaccurate due to defective census data and interpreter ignorance or biases. Rose (1989:352) admits that

skeletal data can be biased as well depending on the nature of preservation and the sampling strategy, but that skeletal material is still valuable in testing hypotheses suggested from the historical record. Rose (1989:352) excavated 80 individuals, which were measured and analyzed on-site for age, sex, pathologies, and dental observations. Rose (1989:359) found high subadult mortality, increased incidents of diseases, and a nutritionally poor diet, all of which matched historical records. Based on bone histology and infectious lesions, Rose (1989:360) discovered that childhood diets were not better after emancipation and that catch-up growth did not occur in adolescence. Rose (1989:359) was surprised to discover that males at Cedar Grove displayed more bone porosity and bone maintenance than females, indicating that males were more nutritionally stressed than females. In most historic skeletal samples, females display greater bone porosity and maintenance than males due to the demands of pregnancy and lactation and the unequal, culturally approved distribution of food resources in favor of males (Rose 1989:359).

Davidson et al. (2002) studied frontier health in the American West using historical sources and skeletal samples from the Cedar Grove Cemetery in Arkansas and the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas. Davidson et al. (2002:229) compared the overall health at the two sites, one rural and one urban, by examining demography, growth and development, diet, infections, degenerative joint disease, and trauma. The researchers found a large proportion of subadult remains with relatively low mean ages at death, indicating high fertility and high infant mortality levels much worse than white populations and other black populations (Davidson et al. 2002:232). Historical sources assume that life on the western frontier was similarly harsh regardless of the location or social group.

Davidson et al. (2002:272) found that individuals buried during Freedman's Late Period (1900-1907) had better survivorship than the previous twenty years, most likely due to better access to health care and better control of diseases. Davidson et al. (2002) further found the urban population at Freedman's Cemetery had fewer enamel defects and less anemia due to more consistent food supply. The rural population of Cedar Grove showed higher skeletal growth with taller average statures than the Freedman's population. Both populations showed high rates of infectious diseases and high incidents of degenerative joint disease as a result of heavy physical labor (Davidson et al. 2002:273).

Ubelaker (1995) also discusses the importance of historic cemetery analysis in verifying and expanding the historical record. Historical records only list general information on health and disease, which may have been misinterpreted by ignorant or biased recorders or may be missing from the record entirely (Ubelaker 1995:37). Paleopathology examines the social responses to epidemics and provides modern medical doctors with long term case studies on the progression and possible treatments of various infectious diseases (Crist 2002:109). The toxic chemicals absorbed within bone can provide clues to past ecosystems and assist researchers study the effects of industrialization (Crist 2002:108). Saunders et al. (2002) examined the health of a middle-class population excavated from the St. Thomas' Anglican Church Cemetery in Belleville, Ontario. The St. Thomas cemetery, dating from 1821 to 1874, produced one of the largest historic period skeletal samples in all of North America (Saunders et al. 2002). Saunders et al. (2002) compared the biological profiles of 72 identified individuals to historical records from the community to study demography and health. An unusually large number of infants was preserved at St. Thomas, allowing researches to study infant mortality as an overall

indicator of the community's "social and sanitary conditions" (Saunders et al. 2002:144). Saunders et al. (2002) found that despite overall regional economic prosperity, infant mortality rates did not improve and this particular community was no better off than before the economic boom.

Many historic period cemeteries excavated in the United States have been associated with poorhouses, institutions, and African-American communities (Nawrocki 1995). Nawrocki (1995:63) states that none of these sites "necessarily reflect the biology or material culture of middle- or upper-class communities of European origin." According to Nawrocki (1995:63), individuals of "lower socioeconomic status, while perhaps more likely to be completely destroyed, are also more likely to be excavated and studied," meaning that "the well-maintained European cemetery…is lost from study." St. Mary's Cemetery contains the remains of several wealthy individuals of European ancestry buried within the Randolph family plot. Although the sample size may be too small to suggest any generalities about burial style or health of the upper class in Louisiana, it will provide a valuable look into the health and burial customs of a wealthy, upper-class plantation family.

New technological and analytical methods are being developed and tested to produce finer age estimates using bone histology, to interpret pathology and diet by chemical analysis and bone histology, to study physiological stress via dental analysis, and to assign genetic relationships and positive identifications with mitochondrial and nuclear DNA analysis (Ubelaker 1995:37). Katzenberg et al. (2005) describe the use of physical anthropology to positively identify human remains in an historic cemetery. Personal identification is often necessary in cases where the family wishes to have their deceased

relative exhumed and reburied. While standard methods of identification may help to create a general profile, more precise methods are needed for positive identification (Katzenberg et al. 2005:62). Katzenberg et al. (2005) analyzed dental microstructure for more precise age determination and used mitochondrial and nuclear DNA to establish familial relationships. The researchers examined six graves in an historic Catholic cemetery located in Cochrane, Alberta. Only one of the six graves contained human remains, that of an infant. Although preservation was poor, deciduous tooth crowns were recovered and analyzed via dental microstructure and DNA (Katzenberg et al. 2005). The identity of the infant was confirmed using archaeological, historical, morphological, and molecular evidence (Katzenberg et al. 2005:69).

Archaeologists and physical anthropologists also know the importance of understanding the complex processes involved in human burials. Natural and cultural processes occur involving the deceased before, during and after the burial which directly affect how that body will be preserved over time. The scientific study of the effects of these processes is known as taphonomy. Nawrocki (1995:49) defines taphonomy as "the study of the processes that cause sampling bias or differential preservation in bone or fossil assemblages," or its Greek translation, "laws of burial."

Henderson (1987) discusses how taphonomic processes affect bone preservation. She stresses that no single factor determines how a body will be preserved. The level of preservation is instead determined by the complex interaction of many different factors within the burial environment. Henderson (1987:44) divides these processes into intrinsic and extrinsic factors. Intrinsic factors refer to the properties inherent to the bone itself including, chemistry, morphology, size, density and age (Henderson 1987:44). The shape

or morphology of the bone can lead to warping or crushing under soil pressure. Smaller bones, like the phalanges, are more vulnerable to decay and disturbance and less likely to be recovered during excavation (Henderson 1987:45).

Extrinsic factors in bone preservation include the environment and human intervention. Henderson (1987:45) cites soil type as the most commonly identified agent of bone decay, but insists that this is too simplistic and fails to consider the interdependence of many environmental factors. Soils with neutral or moderately alkaline pH levels do preserve bone better than soils with acidic pH levels, but there are exceptions. Soil acids dissolve the inorganic matrix of bone, leaving the organic bone vulnerable to leaching by water (Henderson 1987:47). Henderson (1987) believes that water is the most important factor in preservation. Areas with a low water table and effective drainage will preserve bone much better by preventing long term contact with water, which leeches away the organic material of bone (Henderson 1987:46). Other environmental factors including temperature, oxygen, and the effects of flora and fauna play an important role in the preservation of skeletal remains. Henderson (1987:49) also describes how humans determine who is buried, how they are buried, when they are buried, and where they are buried. Human activity can interrupt or disturb burials or even relocate remains.

Nawrocki (1995) details the taphonomic processes connected to historic cemeteries, dividing them into environmental, individual, and cultural factors. Environmental factors include biotic (animal and plant activity) and abiotic (temperature, water, soil) classes (Nawrocki 1995:52). Nawrocki also states that water plays a very important role in preservation. Water brings acids from the soil and other chemicals directly into the bone. Freezing and thawing cycles can cause deep fractures in bone. Individual factors refer to

the different factors inherent in the individual bone. Subadult remains do not survive natural decay as well as adult remains, because subadult remains are smaller and less mineralized (Nawrocki 1995:53). Cultural factors relate to the postmortem treatment of the body, including burial within a coffin, burial within a stone vault, and removal and reburial of remains. According to Nawrocki (1995:54), the coffin is important to the preservation of the remains. Coffins can slow down decomposition by protecting the remains from water and soil for a period of time. Coffins can also increase decomposition by trapping and holding in water and air.

Owsley and Compton (1997) examined the importance of nineteenth century iron coffins in the preservation of human remains. The mass production of air-tight cast iron coffins after 1848, coupled with advances in embalming technology, resulted in much better preservation and protection of the deceased. The first metallic coffins were made of cast iron and fashioned in the general shape of the body with decorative images and a glass viewing plate with a metal cover. Sheet metal caskets replaced the cast iron versions because sheet metal was lighter and more easily decorated. The authors believe that the change in coffin style from the original "mummy-shaped" Fisk metallic coffins to a "hexagonal, octagonal, or rectangular one," along with changes in coffin interior and decorative coffin hardware, marked an overall shift from the "encasement of the body for immediate burial to its presentation and display" (Owsley and Compton 1997: 512).

Owsley and Compton described the preservation in four cases of burials within cast iron coffins. The rate of decomposition within a cast iron coffin depends on how well it was sealed: "a properly sealed iron coffin would prevent the escape of any gases or odors from within and, more important, prevent the entry of air and water from the outside, thus

suspending processes of decomposition for an extended period of time" (523). Depending on the state of preservation, investigators may uncover bodies so well preserved that much of the soft tissue still remains as well as the burial garments and interior furnishings of the coffin, even if preservation is very poor in other parts of the cemetery. Owsley and Compton believe cast-iron coffin burials provide "a potentially rich source of data on life in the United States in the mid to late 19th century. Additional studies of such burials would add to our knowledge of demography, pathology, diet and general health, sociocultural trends, burial practices, and the like in the immediate pre- and post- Civil War era" (524).

Archaeologists use external gravemarkers as well as coffin styles and other funerary artifacts to make interpretations about the society that buried those individuals. Boddington et al. (1987:4) notes that only a small set of characteristics from any society are chosen and represented socially and politically in the burial environment. The archaeologist is responsible for filtering these representations and transforming them into interpretations about the society, interpretations limited by the preservation and the degree of social expression in the burial environment (Boddington 1987:5). The gravemarker has been researched in terms of the importance of the inscription or epitaph (Edgette 1989; George and Nelson 1983) and of the symbolism and iconography (Huber 1982; Colquette 2003).

Bell (1990) studied coffin hardware from the Uxbridge Almshouse Burial Ground to examine the changing attitudes in the United States regarding death and burial. Bell (1990:55) notes that coffin hardware is often interpreted as a signal of socioeconomic status, analogous to grave goods in pre-industrial societies. With the introduction of mass-

production, ornate coffin hardware styles were often used as symbols of apparent wealth instead of indicators of actual wealth. Certain styles and forms were considered socially appropriate by a number of different socioeconomic groups. In the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, Americans began to idealize images of death and heaven, resulting in "the beautification of death" movement (Bell 1990). Bell (1990) discovered that even the pauper burials at the Uxbridge Almshouse included mass-produced, decorative coffin fittings. These objects were inexpensive, readily available and made to resemble more expensive coffin fittings. The cultural ideology of that period dictated that even paupers deserved a proper burial, which consisted of a slightly decorated coffin.

McKillop (1995) studied the coffin and coffin hardware styles in children's graves at the St. Thomas Anglican Churchyard in Belleville, Ontario. McKillop (1995) found certain symbols of purity and innocence associated with the funerary artifacts from children's graves. McKillop (1995:82) concluded that child graves can be identified by coffin length, the number and size of coffin handles, and the specific decorative motifs found on the coffin handles.

C. The Laws and Ethics of Historic Cemetery Excavations

The wealth of information available from historic cemeteries makes them attractive research projects for archaeologists and physical anthropologists interested in demography, health, diet, burial customs, and many other topics. Before undertaking a historic cemetery excavation, researchers must consider the legal and ethical questions involved in removing and studying human remains. In many cases, the question of legality is almost as difficult to answer as one of morality. The history of the burial law in England and the United States will be reviewed to provide some general legal guidelines. Title 8 of the Louisiana

Cemetery Board (2004) will be discussed as an example of state level laws concerning human burials and as a legal framework for the removal and reburial project at St. Mary's Cemetery.

Harte (1994) examines the history of burial laws in England. English common law states that human beings, either living or dead, cannot be treated as property (Harte 1994:202). Since the body is not considered property, it cannot be legally stolen. Graverobbers were instead prosecuted for stealing the grave goods, which did legally belong to the descendants of the deceased (Harte 1994:208). Inherent in the law was the principle that human remains should be protected and treated with dignity and that abuse of the dead, including unlawful removal or denial of burial, should be punished by law (Harte 1994:208). Harte (1994:216) states that prior to the nineteenth century, nearly all of the dead in England were buried in churchyards. Although the dead were meant to "remain undisturbed in perpetuity," English law did allow for removal and reburial of human remains if the burial was recent and the request reasonable (Harte 1994:217-220). Harte (1994) also notes that families often fought burial decisions, which could lead to removal and reburial requests. Removal requests were less likely to be granted if they were not connected to close relatives.

Price (1991) describes the history of American burial law. According to Price (1991:20), American common law regarding burials is derived from the common law of England, with each state having its own particular version. Price (1991:21) notes that the English system protected those burials located within churchyards, but offered no legal or ecclesiastical protection for burials outside of the churchyard. In the American system, the cemetery replaced the churchyard with formally marked boundaries that are protected by

the power of the state, instead of the church (Price 1991:21). American common law grants "quasi-property rights" of human remains to the relatives of deceased, granting those relatives the right to access on land where the remains are buried (Price 1991:23). Relatives are also allowed to protect the remains and "direct the proper disposition of them," which could be extended to rescuing endangered remains and reburying them in a proper cemetery (Price 1991:23). Price (1991:24) also discusses the responsibility of the property owner of the cemetery to prevent the desecration and disturbance of graves. This responsibility is removed when the cemetery is declared abandoned. A cemetery may be deemed abandoned if the grounds are overgrown and not maintained, if there have been no burials for an extended period of time, or a number of other factors (Price 1991:23).

Title 8 of the Louisiana Cemetery Board (2004) details legally how a cemetery becomes abandoned and what statutes protect human remains within Louisiana. Chapter 5, section 308, "Sale of cemetery spaces; abandoned spaces, defined, sale" explains that a cemetery is declared abandoned if the grounds are no longer fit for human burial and there have been no burials in the past twenty-five years. The owners of the property must then make all attempts to contact the heirs of those buried in the cemetery through a lengthy and highly regulated process of publicly advertised notices and registered letters. Chapter 10, section 653, "Opening graves; stealing body; receiving same," letter C, states that anyone who opens a cemetery space with the intent of removing the body, coffin, or any other article interred for money, malice, or wantonness, is punishable by imprisonment for not more than three years or by a fine of not more than one thousand dollars, or both.

Title 8 of the Louisiana Cemetery Board (2004) also provides for the legal right to move human remains. Chapter 10, section 659, "Permission to move remains" states that

human remains can be moved from one cemetery space to another with the consent of the cemetery authority and the written consent, in this order, of either the surviving spouse, adult children, parents of the deceased, or the adult brothers and sisters of the deceased. Chapter 10, section 660, "Exemptions" states that the deceased may be removed without consent of the relatives in cases of a court order or where the cemetery plot has not been paid in full.

Many of the existing statutes concerning the excavation of burials do not directly apply to archaeological situations (Talmage 1982: 44). Common law generally protects the sanctity of the grave and punishes the unauthorized removal of human remains. Talmage (1982:44) raises some important ethical questions involving historic cemetery excavations, such as "should physical analysis of the remains be permitted?" and "what about reburial?," but offers no clear answers to these questions. Instead, Talmage (1982:49) states that the debate of whether to excavate human burials is "part of the classic anthropological dilemma of the right to know versus the rights of the people being studied."

Archaeologists and physical anthropologists must remember that the skeletal remains in historic cemeteries represent the ancestors of modern day, living individuals. In excavating historic cemeteries, anthropologists must consult with these descendant groups to develop research strategies that are acceptable to both the researcher and the community. Singleton and Orser (2003:143) broadly define descendant communities as modern groups with a "historical, cultural, or symbolic link to the site." Working with descendant groups who may have different ideas than the researcher poses specific problems and challenges that cannot "be resolved by consulting a generic list of ethical principles presumably

applicable to every situation" (Singleton and Orser 2003:143). Singleton and Orser (2003:150) stress that anthropologists must be willing to "exercise flexibility in their research methods, outlooks, and interpretations."

Poirier and Bellantoni (1997) note that descendant communities are not the only groups interested in historic cemetery sites. Other groups interested in historic cemeteries usually include the property owner, neighbors, state and local government officials and the religious community (Poirier and Bellantoni 1997:231). The authors stress the importance of face-to-face communication between the researcher and the community to air concerns, to articulate goals, and to plan a research strategy in the interests of both groups. Poirier and Bellantoni (1997) address two misconceptions held by the public about archaeology. Archaeologists are not unsympathetic, cold scientists. According to Poirier and Bellantoni (1997:234), "most archaeologists are cognizant of their coequal obligation to the descendants of the people whose osteological remains they may be professionally involved in." Second, the curation of physical and funerary remains is "not a fundamental precept of archaeological research," and many archaeologists and physical anthropologists understand the importance of reburial to the emotional and spiritual comfort of the cultural group being studied (Poirier and Bellantoni (1997:234). To behave in a professional and ethical manner, archaeologists must remember that the discipline of archaeology "bears a heavy burden to both past and modern peoples" (Poirier and Bellantoni 1997:234).

The debate concerning the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act of 1990 (NAGPRA) illustrates the divide among archaeologists concerning the importance of modern descendant communities and the issue of reburial and repatriation. Some archaeologists have questioned whether modern Native American descendant

communities can accurately prove their lineal connection to skeletal and funerary remains excavated from prehistoric and historic Native American sites. Other archaeologists support the claims of modern Native American descendant groups and cooperate with these groups to return and rebury culturally significant funerary artifacts and skeletal remains. A large volume of literature has been written in archaeology on the NAGPRA debate (see Bray 2001 for a good overview of the issues). For the purpose of this thesis, the most pertinent part of this debate is whether or not the reburial of human skeletal remains and funerary objects is professionally ethical.

The American Association of Physical Anthropology addresses the issue of reburial in position statements concerning the ongoing debates about NAGPRA. According to the AAPA (2000), "NAGPRA is an expression of a general principle that most Americans would agree with: when there is a clear relationship of shared group identity that can be traced between a modern group and an earlier group, members of the modern group should be given the responsibility for deciding the appropriate disposition of their relative's remains." The AAPA supports the decisions of descendant groups with clear cultural affiliations to the skeletal remains in question. The AAPA does not agree with allowing culturally unidentifiable remains to be given to groups that cannot prove cultural affiliation, stating that these remains are invaluable in research and teaching.

Archaeologist Clement W. Meighan (1996) was one of the most outspoken critics of the reburial of artifacts and human remains. Large collections, consisting of artifacts or skeletal material, must be available for present and future research, allowing researchers to collect as large a sample as possible to obtain the most accurate results. As new analytic techniques become available, the original material should be re-examined to yield more

accurate results. Meighan (1996:212) stated that archaeologists have "a scholarly requirement to preserve data," so that other researchers may review the material and challenge the interpretations. To Meighan, curating artifacts and skeletal material was essential for present and future scientific research. Meighan (1996: 212) stated "reburying bones and artifacts is the equivalent of the historian burning documents after he has studied them."

The official codes of conduct for professional archaeology and anthropology societies address the obligations of researchers to their colleagues and to the people they are studying. The Code of Conduct for the Register of Professional Archaeologists (2002) states that "an archaeologist shall be sensitive to, and respect the legitimate concerns of, groups whose culture histories are the subjects of archaeological investigations" (1.1). Relating to the archaeologist's responsibility to colleagues, the Code of Conduct states "an archaeologist shall not undertake research that affects the archaeological resource base unless reasonably prompt, appropriate analysis and reporting can be expected" (2.2). According to the Standards of Research Performance of the Register of Professional Archaeologists, a research archaeologist should create projects that enrich previous research on past cultures and help develop better interpretive methods, theories and techniques, while minimizing the damage to the archaeological resource base.

Ethical Principles for the Society for Historical Archaeology (2003) state that members have a duty to "encourage and support the long-term preservation and management of archaeological sites and collections...for the benefit of humanity" (Principle 2) and that "reliable data sets and site documentation are produced, and to see that these materials are appropriately curated for future generations" (Principle 4). In

dealing with descendant communities, Principle 5 states that members have an obligation "in their professional activities to respect the dignity and human rights of others."

The American Anthropological Association's Principles of Professional Responsibility (1986) stress the importance of the anthropologist's responsibility to the people being studied. The first principle states "in research, anthropologists' paramount responsibility is to those they study. Where there is a conflict of interest, the individuals must come first. Anthropologists must do everything in their power to protect the physical, social, and psychological welfare and to honor the dignity and privacy of those studied" (AAA 1986).

The American Association of Physical Anthropology's Code of Ethics (2003) also includes a statement about the primary ethical obligation to the people, species, and materials they study. Researchers are also responsible for the "long-term conservation of the archaeological, fossil, and historical records" (AAPA 2003:A1). The AAPA warns researchers to be prepared to face ethical dilemmas at every stage of the project. To avoid compromising anthropological ethics, "inaction, detachment, or noncooperation" may be "as ethically justifiable" has participation in a project that might violate professional ethical standards (AAPA 2003). The AAPA acknowledges that anthropologists must work within a number of different ethical codes due to membership in a variety of different groups. The AAPA (2003) insists "this statement does not dictate choice or propose sanctions. Rather, it is designed to promote discussion and provide general guidelines for ethically responsible decisions."

I believe that assisting the Randolph family in the removal and reburial of their family plot from St. Mary's Cemetery does not represent a violation of the professional

codes of ethics presented earlier. First, the modern day Randolph family is clearly a culturally affiliated descendant group, even though this cemetery does not fall under the jurisdiction of NAGPRA. The family had no legal obligations to involve anthropologists, but chose to do so voluntarily. As will be discussed later, the demands of the family regarding the excavation and analysis were not unreasonable nor were they unique among other cemetery removal projects. We were allowed to photograph and record information on the skeletal remains and coffin hardware on-site during the excavation. For the individuals that could not be identified at the cemetery, we were allowed to take the remains back to the lab and conduct any non-invasive tests. Even though the remains were eventually reburied, extensive data were collected, recorded, and curated at the LSU FACES lab for future researchers.

D. Historic Cemetery Excavations in Louisiana

Historic cemetery excavations in Louisiana should provide valuable comparative information for the data collected at St. Mary's Cemetery. Owsley et al. (1985) excavated the St. Peter / Toulouse Street Cemetery (16OR92) in New Orleans. The cemetery, which may date as early as 1725, was the first official cemetery in New Orleans. Owsley et al. were called for the removal when a nearby construction project threatened the cemetery. The project was significant due to the lack of recovered human skeletal remains in Louisiana from any populations prior to the nineteenth century (Owsley et al. 1985). The cemetery, which likely included the remains of enslaved individuals, could provide information on health, nutrition, and environmental adaptation as well as comparative material for studying the differences in urban and rural populations and the effects of slavery in an urban environment (Owsley et al. 1985).

Gaining access to the St. Peter / Toulouse Street Cemetery was complicated by public outcry from possible descendants in the community. Since the cemetery was once associated with the Catholic church, Owsley et al. (1985) contacted the Archdiocese of New Orleans for permission. The Archdiocese allowed the study and indefinite curation of the excavated remains from the cemetery, but also offered to reinter the remains once the analysis was concluded. Owsley et al. (1985) discussed the project with the concerned descendants and decided that reinterment would be the best solution for both parties.

Once permission was granted from all parties involved, Owsley et al. (1985) excavated the exposed burials and probed for new burials in the affected area. They recovered twenty-nine individuals from the thirty-two burials discovered (Owsley et al.1985:99). The burials were oriented parallel to St. Peter and Toulouse streets or northwest to southeast (Owsley et al. 1985). The artifacts recovered during the excavation were previously disturbed and not associated with individual burials, making any artifact analysis meaningless (Owsley et al. 1985:71). An analysis of human skeletal remains, which represented both European and enslaved Africans, did not show any marked differences in mortality between the two populations (Owsley et al. 1985:164).

Manhein (1997) discusses the preservation of bone and tissue in prehistoric, historic, and forensic burials in Louisiana. Manhein (1997:469) attributes the climate and soil conditions of Louisiana to the overall poor preservation of excavated skeletal material. Historic burials in Louisiana typically yield only bone meal and fragmentary teeth (Manhein 1997:470). Manhein (1997) notes that there are exceptions to the overall poor preservation of bone. New Orleans offers better preservation of skeletal remains, in part due to the high clay content of the soil (Manhein 1997:469). Owsley et al. (1985)

observed good preservation of bone in the St. Peter / Toulouse Street Cemetery, recovering the nearly complete skeletons of twenty-nine individuals. Manhein (1997:470) also notes that metal coffin burials and above-ground vault burials, with or without the benefits of embalming, exhibit good bone and tissue preservation. Good preservation can include hair, tissue, and even dried portions of the brain (Manhein 1997:470).

A majority of the historic cemeteries excavated in Louisiana exhibit very poor preservation of bone and tissue. Coxe et al. (1996) describe the removal and reburial of the remains of thirteen individuals from an unmarked, abandoned cemetery (16EBR152) in Zachary, Louisiana. The cemetery, which operated from the middle to late nineteenth century, was located on land designated for use by Lane Memorial Hospital. Coxe et al. (1996:49) notes the typically poor preservation of human bone in historical burials. The remains of thirteen individuals recovered consisted of teeth, tooth fragments, and some cranial fragments, with the postcranial elements reduced to bone meal (Coxe et al. 1996). Coffin stains were the only remaining evidence of the original wood coffins.

Archaeological research at Port Hudson, Louisiana, further illustrates the typical preservation of historic skeletal remains in the state. Owsley et al. (1988) investigated a Port Hudson Civil War site (16EF68) to determine if the existing monuments marked "Unknown Confederate Soldiers" represented actual burials and if those burials were military or civilian. Historical records indicated that the burials might represent either enslaved African Americans or Confederate soldiers who died during the siege of Port Hudson in 1863 (Owsley et al. 1988).

The site was divided into four sections, labeled A, B, C, and D. Areas A and B represented the Unknown Soldier monuments. Area C was an historic cemetery associated

with the town of Port Hudson. Area D was a cluster of depressions that might represent another cemetery. Forty-four depressions associated with A and B were excavated, uncovering eleven burials (Owsley et al. 1988:19). The burials yielded mainly coffin nails and fragments of wood, with some fragmentary teeth and bone meal (Owsley et al. 1988:39). Although the monuments in some cases marked actual burials, the burials did not represent a military cemetery. Excavations at area D uncovered twelve graves. The burials contained nails, wood fragments, and more skeletal remains than the depressions in Area A or B. The recovered remains consisted of more teeth and bone fragments. Owsley et al. (1988:78) describe the bone preservation as "extremely poor," consisting of "mostly unidentifiable fragments." From the button designs and the recovered unspent ammunition, Owsley et al. (1988) concluded that Area D represented a military cemetery that contained button designs from both Union and Confederate uniforms.

Manhein and Whitmer (1989) continued work on the Port Hudson site (16EF68), attempting to determine the boundaries of military and civilian cemeteries located on the site. Manhein and Whitmer (1989:48) investigated 227 depressions located on the boundary of the four areas outlined in Owsley et al. (1988). They discovered eight total burials, three were military (by the age, clothing and location) and five were civilian. Due to the poor preservation of bone, only tooth fragments were recovered (Manhein and Whitmer 1989:89). The authors were able to offer some information on the observed dental pathologies.

St. Mary's Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana, represents an opportunity to study both human skeletal remains and coffin hardware in an environment that is likely to yield good to excellent preservation. Manhein (1997:470) notes that metallic coffins and above-

ground vault burials result in much better preservation of bone and tissue than belowground burials in wooden coffins. As discussed, the human remains recovered from many historic cemetery excavations in Louisiana consist of mostly decomposed bone meal and poorly preserved teeth, tooth fragments, and unidentifiable bone fragments. The excavated human skeletal remains and funerary artifacts from St. Mary's Cemetery will provide important comparative data from a historic, late nineteenth / early twentieth century cemetery in Louisiana.

E. Projects Involving the Removal and Reburial of Family Cemetery Plots

Removal and reburial projects of other historic family cemetery plots should provide comparative procedural data on the interaction and cooperation between archaeologists and descendant communities. Bellantoni et al. (1997) discuss the removal of the Walton Family Cemetery in Connecticut. Human remains and wooden coffins were discovered during a sand-and-gravel operation (Bellantoni et al. 1997:132). Archaeologists from the Office of State Archaeology at the University of Connecticut determined that the burials were in immediate danger and could not be preserved *in situ*. Twenty-seven individuals were removed from the cemetery, including eight adult females, five adult males, and fourteen children (Bellantoni et al. 1997:133). The burials were oriented east-west, with the head to the west, "a standard mortuary practice for colonial period Christian burials" (Bellantoni et al. 1997:137). The coffins were constructed of wood in either a hexagonal or a rectangular shape. Coffin hardware consisted of only hand-wrought nails (Bellantoni et al. 1997:139). Two straight pins were the only grave goods recovered from the burials. The osteological analysis consisted of the standard

biological profiles with information on demography, pathology and dental diseases within the population.

Bellantoni et al. (1997) consulted with the living descendants of the Walton family regarding the future of the displaced cemetery remains. The family assisted investigators by proving genealogical information, photographs, and hair samples for future DNA analysis (Bellantoni et al. 1997:150). Through archival evidence, the Walton family was connected to the First Congregational Church. The church offered to assist in the reburial of the remains. In accordance with the wishes of the Walton family, the remains were reburied in a local cemetery in the exact arrangement in which they were excavated. A reverend from First Congregational Church performed "a traditional Puritan recommittal ceremony" (Bellantoni et al. 1997:150). Bellantoni et al. (1997:149) state "emotional reassurance to descendants and local officials was a critical aspect of the Walton Family Cemetery project, as was the rescue and meticulous documentation of the threatened osteological remains."

Brooks and Brooks (1984) discuss two excavations of historic family burial plots in Nevada. In the first case, the Stewart family sold a portion of land containing the family's historic cemetery to a mortuary company for use as a parking lot (Brooks and Brooks 1984:69). An archaeologist was called in after construction crews had removed the tombstones, stripped the surface, and were then unable to locate the original graves. The family gave the archaeologist six days to exhume and identify all known burials before they would be reburied at another location (Brooks and Brooks 1984:71). Five burials were located - four were in wooden coffins and one was in a sealed copper coffin with a glass viewing plate (Brooks and Brooks 1984:69). The physical remains were analyzed *in*

situ for age, sex, stature, trauma, and pathologies. Brooks and Brooks (1984) were able to positively identify the individuals based on a correlation between skeletal evidence of pathology and trauma and historical documents. Members of the family and the mortuary staff supervised the entire excavation, forbidding the researchers from taking photographs, drawing maps, or transporting the remains back to the laboratory for analysis (Brooks and Brooks 1984:71). The mortuary company provided new coffins to replace the original wooden coffins. The copper coffin was removed intact for reburial. Following the family's wishes, the remains were placed in an anatomically articulated position within the coffins on new satin linings and pillows (Brooks 1984:73).

Brooks and Brooks (1984) also excavated a family cemetery on the Kiel Ranch. The current owner sold a corner plot of land that contained a historic cemetery. City officials informed the owner that the cemetery must be exhumed and reintered on city land. Brooks and Brooks (1984:75) located a descendant of the Kiel family and were granted permission to exhume and study the remains, as long as the descendant could be present during the removal. Brooks and Brooks (1984:75) recovered four adults buried in wooden coffins and an infant buried in a small wooden box. Like the Stewart historic cemetery, the individuals buried in the early twentieth century Kiel Ranch cemetery were oriented east to west and were of known identity (Brooks and Brooks 1984:76). Pathologies and trauma, specifically gunshots, in the skeletal remains were positively identified with those listed in the historical records for individuals believed to be buried at the cemetery.

Historic cemeteries provide researchers with a wealth of valuable knowledge that is often not available through any other sources. Although preservation is preferred, endangered cemeteries are excellent potential projects as long as the researcher

understands the legal and ethical considerations involved in such a project. Excavated historic Louisiana cemeteries and cooperative projects between anthropologists and descendants involving the removal of family burial plots were studied to provide context for the project at St. Mary's Cemetery. The removal of the Randolph family graves from St. Mary's Cemetery will provide important comparative data for other Louisiana historic cemeteries, for other removal projects involving descendant communities, and as for historic cemeteries in general.

CHAPTER 2. PROJECT DESCRIPTION

The Randolph family first learned of the poor condition of St. Mary's Cemetery during the 2000 Randolph Reunion. Ms. Teresa James, a historian at Nottoway Plantation, informed the Randolph family that many graves had been vandalized and disturbed. The family agreed with Ms. James that something must be done to preserve and protect the Randolphs buried at St. Mary's. The family persuaded the current owner of Nottoway Plantation, Mr. Paul Ramsey, to provide a piece of land on what was originally the Randolph family's plantation to serve as a new cemetery for those Randolphs buried at St. Mary's. After collecting donations from the family for the costly removal and reburial process, a family representative, Mrs. Chris Alderman, contacted Mr. Johnny Wilbert of Wilbert Funeral Home in Plaquemine, Louisiana, to remove the tombs and monuments and relocate them to Nottoway. Mr. Wilbert then contacted Ms. Mary Manhein from the Louisiana State University Forensic Anthropology and Computer Enhancement Services (FACES) Lab to assist in the removal of the human skeletal remains. Ms. Manhein presented the project as a possible thesis topic due to my interests in bioarchaeology. I jumped at the chance to be involved in such an exciting and important project, which held implications for all endangered historical cemeteries.

St. Mary's Cemetery is located two miles west of Bayou Goula, Louisiana, on Augusta Road west of Highway 1 South and the railroad tracks. US Geological Survey maps place the cemetery at Township 10 S, Range 12 E, in Sections 54 and 102 (Figure 1). An initial pedestrian survey of the site was conducted on November 11, 2003. The cemetery had been derelict for many years with underbrush covering the monuments and vines layering the original fence line. We observed signs of desecration and vandalism,

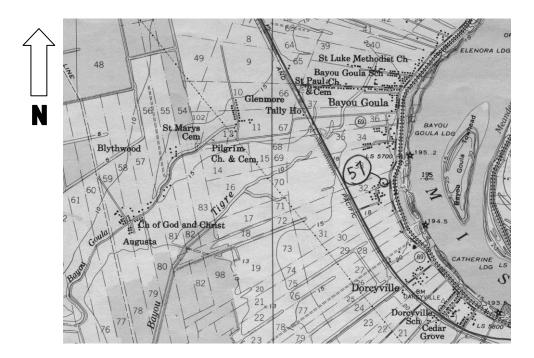


Figure 1. 1963 USGS Topo Map showing location of St. Mary's Cemetery including toppled monuments, opened tombs, and scattered beer bottles and cans. The above ground vaults had been disturbed and the human remains inside stolen and strewn across the gravescape.

The Randolph graves were mapped, photographed, and drawn prior to removal. A survey of the remainder of the cemetery was conducted, recording all visible monuments and creating a sketch of the overall cemetery. The middle section of St. Mary's Cemetery contained the ancestral Randolph family members designated for removal. The research was carried out in two phases: the removal and analysis of human remains from the cemetery and the background historical research on St. Mary's Church, St. Mary's Cemetery, and the Randolph family members buried within the cemetery.

The remains were removed under the direction of the FACES Lab at Louisiana State University with the cooperation of the Wilbert Funeral Home of Plaquemine, Louisiana, and Randolph family representative Mrs. Chris Alderman. Other descendants of the Randolph family, as well as Nottoway historian Mrs. Theresa James, were present during the removal to provide their consent on decisions involving the remains. Researchers from the LSU FACES lab assisted Mr. Wilbert and his workers in the complete recovery of the skeletal and funerary remains. Photographs were taken of both the skeletal remains and funerary artifacts during removal. Although many of the graves proposed for removal had identifiable, associated tombstones, several unknown tombs associated with the known Randolph tombs were also thought to be Randolph family members. The remains of three unidentifiable individuals were sent to the Forensic Anthropology Laboratory at Louisiana State University for analysis. Biological profiles on the unknown individual were compiled to aid in identifying and documenting the remains. All of the Randolphs removed from St. Mary's Cemetery were reburied with all recovered funerary artifacts at the ancestral family home of Nottoway Plantation on November 20, 2004.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

The removal of the Randolph family plots, estimated to be a total of fourteen graves, destroyed a significant portion of St. Mary's cemetery. Due to the inherent destructiveness of the project, the Randolph family graves were mapped *in situ* prior to removal. Included in the cemetery map were descriptions of the tombs and their associated tombstones. These data help document the cemetery's condition at the time of removal.

Prior to excavation, the tombs designated for removal were mapped. A central permanent datum point was established on the south side of Augusta Road across from the cemetery by driving a metal stake into the ground and locating the stake with a mobile Global Positioning Unit. Two stone posts from the original cemetery fence were labeled points A and B and linked to the datum point with the distance between the two points recorded. Measurements were taken on each corner of the tombs from both points in order to provide their exact locations on the grid using the principle of triangulation (Figure 2). We decided to use feet and inches instead of the standard metric measurements to make the data more accessible and understandable to the Randolph Family. With the help of volunteer teams of LSU graduate students, each side of the individual tombs was measured, sketched and photographed. Each side or Face of the tomb was labeled a different number based on its cardinal direction – Face 1 was the west side, Face 2 was north side, Face 3 was the east side, Face 4 was the south side, and Face 5 was the top side. Due to time constraints, only the direct impact area was mapped, drawn, and measured. The entire St. Mary's Cemetery was then photographed and sketched into a hand-drawn map (Figure 3).

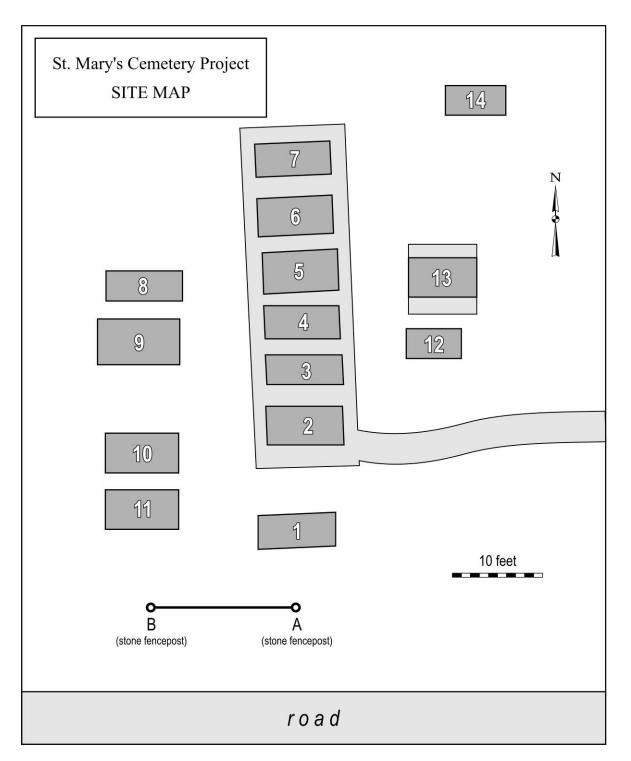


Figure 2. Tape and Compass Map of the Randolph Family Graves

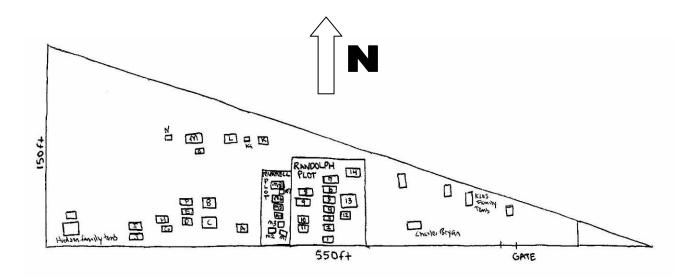


Figure 3. The Author's Hand-drawn Map of St. Mary's Cemetery (2005)

A crew from the Wilbert Funeral Home began opening the Randolph tombs on December 4, 2003, in the presence of several members of the Randolph family and a team from the FACES Lab at LSU. At the request of the family, Reverend James A. Shortess of the Holy Communion Episcopal Church in Plaquemine, Louisiana, came to the cemetery to bless the removal. Since a portion of the tombs were below ground, Mr. Wilbert's crew used shovels to dig down approximately two feet in front of the end of the tomb. The tombs were opened with sledgehammers (Figure 4). Despite having extensive experience in the burial process, the workers were not comfortable with the removal of skeletal remains. They were more than willing to defer the actual removal to the FACES team.



Figure 4. A Worker from Wilbert Funeral Home Opening the Tomb

Time and practicality necessitated a speedy recovery. The remains were contained within brick and concrete vaults, making standard techniques of stratigraphic excavation impossible. We were unable to diagram the exact position of the skeletal remains and funeral objects within the tombs due to the construction of the tomb and the method of removal. The goal of this excavation was two-fold, to ensure that the complete individual was recovered and to document and analyze the funerary and skeletal remains recovered

during the removal process as quickly and thoroughly as possible. The remains were carefully removed by myself and then placed in relative arrangement on the top of the tomb (Figure 5). As the removal proceeded and we got farther into the tomb, it became more and more difficult to recover the remains. Carefully crawling into the tomb and recovering the material by hand was the most successful and least damaging recovery method.



Figure 5. Members of the Randolph Family & LSU FACES Lab

Many of the individuals designated for removal were already identified based on associated gravemarkers with legible inscriptions. At the family's request, the remains of identifiable individuals were placed in wooden crates provided by Mr. Wilbert and sealed until their reburial at Nottoway plantation. Although no laboratory analysis was performed on the identifiable remains, the FACES team did collect important observational data concerning the condition of the remains and the tomb, including notes on the preservation of the remains and on the presence and style of coffin hardware. Photographs were taken of the skeletal and funerary remains, as well as drawings of the coffin hardware, prior to placing them in the boxes provided for reburial. Four tombs did not have associated markers and thus required further analysis to identify the individuals. The identity of the person buried within Tomb 8, an arched concrete tomb, was known from a family source (Linderholm 1988) despite the absence of an identifying marker. Mr. Wilbert's team removed the entire vault and transported it directly to Nottoway plantation for reburial. The Randolph family allowed the FACES lab to take the skeletal remains of the remaining three unknown individuals to the Forensic Anthropology Laboratory at Louisiana State University to be analyzed and compared to possible historical matches within the well-documented Randolph lineage.

Laboratory work consisted of creating a standard biological profile on the skeletal remains. The biological profile, which included information about age, sex, ancestry, and stature, was compiled for the three individuals. Observed pathologies were recorded, along with notes on trauma and the taphonomic processes observed within the burials. Each of the tombs was re-drawn from the original sketches and notes. In addition, sketches of all coffin hardware were made. Mary Lee Eggart of the LSU Cartography Section redrafted the figures. The remains were photographed by Kerry Lyle and given to Wilbert Funeral Home for their reburial at Nottoway plantation.

The final phase of the project involved compiling background information on the Randolph family as well as St. Mary's Church and Cemetery to provide context for the osteological and archaeological research. The histories of both St. Mary's Church and Cemetery were traced, specifically focusing on their abandonment. The histories of the individual Randolph Family members buried at St. Mary's Cemetery were also extensively researched.

CHAPTER 4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Historical accounts of the growth and development of the Episcopalian church in Louisiana provide brief references to St. Mary's Church in Bayou Goula. Reverend Herman Duncan (1888) provides a detailed history of the Episcopalian church in Louisiana from 1805-1888. Duncan constructs a timeline of St. Mary's Church and catalogues the various ministers that held services at the church. Carter and Carter (1955) describe the history of the Episcopalian church in Louisiana from 1805 to 1955, corroborating information from Duncan (1888) and covering the history of St. Mary's beyond 1888. In his historical account of Iberville Parish, Grace (1946) cites the different land transactions that created St. Mary's Church, and then St. Mary's Cemetery.

Historical land records housed at the Clerk of Courts office at the Iberville Parish Courthouse were consulted to verify the various land transactions cited by Grace (1946) as forming St. Mary's Church and Cemetery. Land Conveyance books, Books of Donation, and the Mortgage Books were reviewed for pertinent information. Because the land that formed the church and the cemetery was donated, the land transfer records for the various transactions are duplicated in the Land Conveyance Books and the Books of Donation.

Bishop Leonidas Polk visited Bayou Goula in April of 1840 and found the local planters anxious to establish an Episcopalian church. Although the interest was there, a lack of available priests delayed the formation of the St. Mary's parish until missionary Revered Charles Fay began services in 1844 (Carter and Carter 1955:63). The parish was organized under the name "St. Mary's Church" and was admitted into the Episcopal union at the convention on June 15, 1844 (Duncan 1888). St. Mary's Church at Bayou Goula was one of five new church parishes admitted into the union in 1844 (Carter and Carter

1955:61-62). St. Mary's church was described as a "plantation church... supported primarily by the planters on whose property they were built" (Carter and Carter 1955:62). The church was assured support from the Episcopal diocese so long as the family owning the land was willing to subsidize a large portion of the cost of running the church (Carter and Carter 1955:62). In 1845, a lot of land was donated to the church and "a subscription made of sufficient amount to build it" (Duncan 1888:122). I was unable to locate any records from 1845 confirming a land donation meant for the construction of St. Mary's Church in either the Iberville Parish Land Conveyance Books or the Books of Donation. For some unknown reason, the church was not built until several years later (Duncan 1888:122). Until the construction of the church, regular services were rotated between the twelve plantations associated with the parish. "An exceedingly neat Gothic church, of brick" was finally constructed in 1850 (Duncan 1888:122). Bishop Polk then consecrated St. Mary's Church on July 21, 1850.

St. Mary's had difficulty securing a permanent rector. The church had been without a permanent reverend since Fay's resignation in 1845. Rev. Henry T. Lee held services from May 28, 1851, to his resignation in 1853. Rev. J.G. Downing took charge in January of 1855. During Downing's tenure as rector, a "comfortable and commodious rectory was purchased...by a Vestryman and a lady resident in the neighborhood" (Duncan 1888:122). Just prior to the donation of the rectory, Grace (1946:213) states that St. Mary's Church was incorporated by a special act of the Louisiana Legislature, Number 116 on March 13, 1857.

The donation for the church rectory was recorded on February 23, 1858, in the Book of Donations 1, Entry 74 at the Iberville Parish Courthouse. The land was previously

purchased for a sum of \$4000 by John Hampden Randolph and Harriet Winn from E. G. Winn on April 3, 1857 (Mortgage Book 5, No. 412). The lot is described below (Donations 1, Entry 74):

A certain lot of ground lying and situated in the Parish of Iberville in the Village of Bayou Goula measuring on the North side two hundred and eighty four feet more or less on the North side, on the South two hundred and sixty seven feet more or less. On the East side, two hundred and twenty feet more or less. On the West, two hundred feet bounded towards the by lot of Arseme Breaux towards the Woods and in the rear by land of John D. Murrell & in the front by a public lane.

Grace (1946) incorrectly cited that the above donation was intended for the construction of St. Mary's Church, which he believed occurred immediately after the donation. This parcel of land was meant to serve as the rectory for St. Mary's Church, not for the construction of the church itself. The donation record corroborates Duncan's (1888) account of the construction of the church rectory. John Hampden Randolph was a vestryman of the St. Mary's Church. Harriet Winn fits the profile of a "lady resident in the neighborhood." Although the official donation was not filed until 1858, the land was purchased for donation in 1857, which would place it during Downing's tenure as rector. In addition, the entry states that the land is to "be used for a parsonage to said Church and for no other purpose whatsoever" (Book of Donations I, Entry 74). The description of the land places it near the location of St. Mary's Cemetery due to its border with John D. Murrell's land and the Tally-Ho Plantation.

Rev. J.G. Downing resigned in 1857 and Rev. James Philson took over January 1, 1858. Philson noted that "great interest was exhibited in the services, and all things connected with the Church" (Duncan 1888:122). Church membership rose to thirty communicants in 1861, but was "reduced to the verge of extinction" in 1866 due to heavy losses of its members in the Civil War (Duncan 1888:122). A cemetery was established

for the church in 1867, "by the energy and activity of the senior warden, Mr. John H. Randolph and of Mr. Hudson" (Duncan 1888:123).

St. Mary's Cemetery was the result of several donations from neighboring sugar planters and members of St. Mary's Church. Grace (1946:213) incorrectly lists three separate donations that helped create St. Mary's Cemetery. I uncovered only two donation entries pertaining to the establishment of St. Mary's Cemetery. Donation Book 1, Entry 88, recorded on April 24, 1867, lists a donation by John W. and George M. Murrell and Paul O. Hebert to "the Church Vestry of St. Mary's Church of Bayou Goula." The lot of land is described below.

Measuring three hundred and seventy five feet more or less on the Bayou Goula Road and a depth of one hundred and seventy two feet on the lower line. The new line measures three hundred and six feet said lot is given by John W. and George M. Murrell; also a certain lot of ground adjoining the above described lot and which measures three hundred and six feet on the line joining the new line of the above described lot, forty feet front on the Bayou Goula Road on a depth of three hundred and forty-four feet on the line adjoining the plantationas of the donor Paul O. Hebert, said lots are bounded on the South and East by the Bayou Goula road, West by Plantation of Hudson and Randolph and on the North by plantation of Paul O. Hebert.

Donation Book 1, Entry 94, dated September 2, 1868, lists the final donation for St.

Mary's Cemetery. Franklin A. Hudson and John H. Randolph donated a lot of land measuring 40 feet front on the Bayou Goula Road, 213 feet on the east line adjoining the previously donated property, and 220 feet on the line adjoining the donor's plantation on the west and north (or rear). The lot was bounded on the south by Bayou Goula Road, on the east by lots belonging to St. Mary's Church, and on the west and south by the plantations of Randolph and Hudson (Donations 1, Entry 94). The Hudson family tomb, which contains burials dating from 1837 to 1844, actually predates the cemetery itself, which supports Hudson's donation of land to the cemetery. Both donations (Entry 88 and 94) are stated "to be used for a cemetery to said Church and for no other purpose whatsoever" (Donations 1, Entry 88, 94).

Mr. Philson resigned in May, 1867, and was replaced by Rev. M.R. St. J. Dillon-Lee in 1869. Dillon-Lee married Emma Jane Randolph on November 22, 1870. He resigned from service in 1872 and was replaced by his father, Rev. M. M. Dillon on May 1, 1872. Church membership grew to 52 communicants under Dillon. Dillon resigned in 1873, the same year in which the church and cemetery were re-fenced. Rev. C.W. Hilton of Donaldsonville became rector in 1875 and held services twice a month until some time in 1876. In 1877, the encroaching Mississippi River forced the church to sell the rectory, with the proceeds held in a building fund for the future. Rev. R. S. Stuart, also of Donaldsonville, held monthly services in 1879, but church membership had dropped down to 10 in 1880. Services continued until 1884, when rising water interrupted communication lines. Stuart resigned in 1885 and was replaced by Rev. S. M. Wiggins in 1886. Duncan's (1888:12) last record of St. Mary's is from 1887, listing that "the church was put in good repair."

St. Mary's is not mentioned again until approximately 1893, when the church "surrendered parochial status" and essentially became little more than a mission (Carter and Carter 1955:222). According to Grace (1946:213), the church was taken down in 1894 due the relocation of the levee. Linderholm (1988) describes how flooding moved the nearby Bayou Goula at least four times and confirms that "around 1900 the River took the Episcopal church my grandfather built on land he owned, St. Mary's" (2). During the Nation-Wide Campaign of 1919-1920, St. Mary's, Bayou Goula, and St. John's, Laurel Hill, were officially closed due to "their parishioners had died or moved away" (Carter and

Carter 1955:269). There are no accounts of St. Mary's Church being rebuilt. Church services either continued by traveling from plantation to plantation or the parish ceased to exist several years before it was officially closed.

The Randolph Family is intricately connected to St. Mary's Church and Cemetery. From the historical records previously discussed, John Hampden Randolph played an important role in the creation of both St. Mary's Church and Cemetery. John Hampden Randolph also served as the representative for St. Mary's five times at the Councils of Dioceses (Duncan 1888).

The Randolph family has been well researched by historians and genealogists. Paul Everett Postell documented the history of patriarch John Hampden Randolph in his 1936 master's thesis at Louisiana State University. Postell's thesis also included references to St. Mary's Church and Cemetery. According to Postell, Randolph was a very religious man who contributed both money and land to St. Mary's Church. Postell (1936:106) noted that, "Randolph and his wife were buried there, as well as a number of their children, grandchildren, and other relatives." Postell's thesis contains three original photos of the cemetery including two of John Randolph's monument and one of the original wooden entrance gate that no longer stands. Postell also included John Randolph's obituary, which unfortunately makes no reference to the burial ceremony or to St. Mary's Cemetery. Postell (1942) published a condensed version of his thesis in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*. The article mentioned no new information on either St. Mary's Church or Cemetery.

Special Collections housed at Hill Memorial Library at Louisiana State University contain original documents on the Randolph family indexed within the Randolph, Liddell,

and Upton Family Papers. The Liddell and Upton families were connected to the Randolph family by marriage and owned property in the area. Both families have members buried at St. Mary's cemetery. The information contained in these papers is financial and legal, with some personal correspondence and journals. Although the documents have been preserved via microfiche, the handwriting on the records is difficult to decipher and proved to contain no relevant information on St. Mary's Church or Cemetery within the Randolph Family Papers.

Nan Conner Randolph Linderholm (1988) recalled growing up at Blythewood, a nearby plantation run by her father, Moses Liddell Randolph. Moses was the third child of John Hampden Randolph and Emily Jane Liddell. He was the oldest surviving son, following the death of his older brother, Algernon Sidney Randolph, during the Civil War. Moses Liddell Randolph married Jane Gustine Conner on January 23, 1873. Nan Conner Randolph was their youngest child. In her memoirs, Linderholm (1988:22) recalls visiting St. Mary's Cemetery with her father. She describes how the cemetery looked to her in 1914:

There was a main gate to the cemetery from the road, a bridge over the bayou and an arch over the gate. From the gate was a cement walk leading back to the Randolph graves. On each side of the walk were jonquils and narcissus...in among the tombs were shrubs and daffodils. There were ornate iron benches, painted white. Past the Randolph graves was a large marble mausoleum – type grave surround by an iron fence. I believe it was Mr. Hudson's tomb (1988:22).

Nan (1988:22) remembered that her father cared for the cemetery: "Papa kept the cemetery looking beautiful. He would put the hoe gang in to clean several times a year. There was no weeds, just bermuda grass and shrubs." Transcribed from a narrative in 1988, Nan's account does not mention the cemetery becoming abandoned or vandalized.

Riffel (1989) does comment on the condition of the cemetery during her visit one year later, noting the overgrown appearance and crumbling brick tombs and markers. Riffel believes that St. Mary's decline happened in recent years, stating that "area residents and visitors remember that not more than twenty years ago the cemetery was still quite attractive and well kept" (1989:4). Riffel laments the fact that the cemetery did not receive the restoration attention given to the plantation homes of the area, including the Randolph's own ancestral home Nottoway.

CHAPTER 5. RESULTS

A. Excavation

The timetable of the project at St. Mary's Cemetery necessitated a speedy recovery and documentation of the excavated individuals. Even though a majority of recovered remains were not released to LSU for analysis, some important data were collected during the removal process. Before discussing the excavation of the individual tombs, I will briefly review the types of tombs and gravemarkers associated with St. Mary's Cemetery.

The most common tomb style found at St. Mary's Cemetery is an above ground brick vault, usually rectangular, covered in concrete plaster with a stone tablet containing the inscription placed on top. The closest classification category matching these attributes is the box tomb. Strangstadd (1988:109) defines the box-tomb simply as "a grave monument resembling a box, usually about 3' by 6' and 2' to 3' high, marking an individual grave, or occasionally a family or other multiple burial." Little (1998) describes the box tomb as a variation on the popular ledge stone. Little (1998:14) states "the ledger is a thin horizontal stone slab covering the entire grave and supported on a low masonry base. If the ledger rests on a high, solid base of brick on stone, it is a box-tomb." Colquette (2003:47) notes that ledger stones can be raised and the sides enclosed to form a box. Colquette (2003:48) categorizes box tombs less than waist high as low monuments and those taller as chest tombs. All of the Randolph family tombs are less than waist high, which would make them low monuments. For this thesis, I will refer to them using the general term box tomb because it best represents visually the style of the tomb.

The second most common tomb style found at St. Mary's Cemetery resembles a brick mound. These tombs are primarily below ground with a large arched, mound of

bricks extending about the surface. Neither Colquette (2003) nor Strangstad (1988) mention this particular style of tomb likely due to the fact that it does not have an identifying gravemarker. Little (1998) provides the closest description of this tomb style under the vault category; however, the examples at St. Mary's lack the corresponding head and footstones that Little recorded in the North Carolina vaults. Little (1998:9) noted that vault tombs are "almost always of brick, it is a burial chamber containing the coffin. Generally the vault consisted of a floor and walls of wood, brick, or marl (a shell conglomerate)."

Two tombstones, both from 1893, are located in the back portion of St. Mary's Cemetery. These gravemarkers could be categorized as headstones and footstones (Little 1998; Mytum 2004). Colquette (2003) also refers to this style as tablets. According to Little (1998), headstones and the accompanying footstones are the most common surviving gravemarkers in early North Carolina cemeteries. Colquette (2003) notes that tablets are the most common monument style found in Victorian cemeteries.

1. Tomb 1 (A)

Tomb 1, initially labeled (A) by Mr. Wilbert, was the first grave north of the original fence line in the Randolph family plot. Standing at almost two feet above ground, this box tomb also extended more than a foot below the surface. Concrete plaster covered the external brick, although substantial portions of the underlying brick were exposed on Face 2 and Face 3. The top (Face 5) of the tomb was not a separate stone and lacked any engravings or markings that would help in identification. After digging down to the floor of the tomb, Mr. Wilbert's team opened the vault through Face 1 using sledgehammers.

The inside of the vault was rectangular and covered in concrete plaster. Curved pieces of decaying wood hung down from the top of the vault near the opening (Figure 6). Several curved wood planks had fallen horizontally across the skeleton toward the back of the tomb (Face 4). A single complete coffin handle rested near the opening of the tomb. Rusted coffin rails lined the sides of the tomb, crumbling into several pieces during removal. Other materials recovered include coffin nails and several coffin handles.

The remains were in anatomical position, although some amount of bone tumbling had occurred. The body was positioned with the head to the west, facing east. No tissue remained on the bones, but white spots of mold grew on both skeletal material and coffin hardware. A complete set of dentures rested on the mandible and near the skull. The innominates were still wrapped in a thin fabric that came apart at the touch. Four white shell buttons and a necklace composed of black or dark blue glass beads of various sizes were also recovered.



Figure 6. Inner Vault of Tomb 1

The Randolph family believed that the individual buried in Tomb 1 was likley Emma Jane Randolph Richardson. Born in 1848, Emma Jane was the sixth child of John Randolph and Emily Jane Liddell. She married Reverend Marmaduke Richard St. James Dillon-Lee on November 22, 1870, and had two children (Randolph 1957). Dillon-Lee was a pastor at St. Mary's Church from 1869 to his resignation early in 1872 (Duncan 1888). After Dillon-Lee's death, Emma Jane married Frank Liddell Richardson, her first cousin and a prominent Louisiana politician (Alderman 2004). Emma Jane died on June 10, 1932, making her 84 at the time of her death.

2. Tomb 2 (B)

Tomb 2, initially labeled (B) by Mr. Wilbert, was the next tomb north of Tomb 1. Tomb 2 was a box tomb without a separate top ledger stone. More bricks were exposed in Tomb 2 than Tomb 1, especially on the top ledger. The ledger may have once contained an inscription, but no evidence remained. A portion of the tomb on Face 3 was broken and missing.

The interior vault of Tomb 2 matched Tomb 1. The plaster did not completely cover the bricks, especially those near the base of the walls. The large plank of wood covering the top of the tomb was intact and had not deteriorated like in Tomb 1. No other coffin wood was found among the remains. Three distinct coffin handles rested on each side of the vault. The style differed slightly from Tomb 1 in that these handles were not connected via one long metal rail, but were instead separate handles placed in equal distances along the side of the coffin (Figure 7). Unlike Tomb 1, we did not recover any coffin handles on the ends of the coffin or any other pieces of coffin hardware.

The remains recovered from Tomb 2 displayed several unique features. The orientation of the body is exactly opposite that of the remains found within Tomb 1, with the head to east and the body facing west. An extremely rusted plaque was recovered

resting just inferior to the hips. Although difficult to distinguish with the naked eye, we were able to decipher the name Randolph, with the first name likely beginning with the letter P (Figure 7). Family members on site believed that the remains represented Peter Everett Randolph.

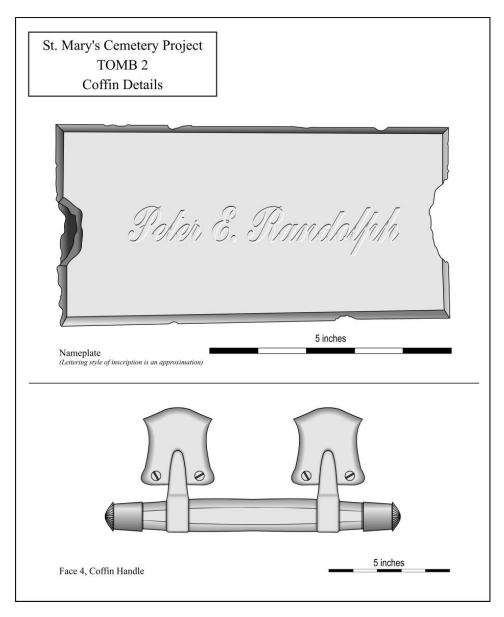


Figure 7. Nameplate and Coffin Handle from Tomb 2

Peter Everett Randolph, born in 1857, was the tenth child of John Randolph and Emily Jane Liddell (Randolph 1957). He assisted his father with the financial books at Nottoway Plantation. Little information is recorded about Peter Randolph in the family records at Nottoway. Randolph (1957) lists Peter Randolph as never marrying or having any children. From conversations with Mrs. Teresa James and Mr. Anthony Reffells, a confirmed descendent of Peter Randolph, I learned another story about the mysterious Peter Everett Randolph. Peter fell in love with the daughter of the cook at Nottoway, a woman by the name of Alice Thompson. Although John Hampden Randolph disapproved of the relationship, Peter continued seeing Miss Thompson. The couple even had two daughters together. John H. Randolph eventually sent Miss Thompson and the two daughters to a convent in New Orleans. Peter helped Alice find a place to stay in New Orleans. Because of the ongoing relationship between Peter and Alice, John Randolph eventually disowned his son, destroying any record of him at Nottoway. Allegedly, John Randolph went so far as to tear out Peter's name from the family bible. According to Mr. Reffells (personal communication 2004), Peter moved to New Orleans and lived in a house officially owned by his mother that was near Alice and their children.

According to his death certificate (Orleans Parish 1931), Peter Everett Randolph died on January 22, 1931 at the House of Incurables in New Orleans. The cause of death is listed as "locomotor ataxia." Locomotor ataxia was the common name for a clinical disease now known as tabes dorsalis. Thomas (1907:1) defines locomotor ataxia as "a chronic disease characterized by degeneration and sclerosis of the afferent tract and posterior columns of the spinal cord, and which results in muscular incoordination, sensory and trophic disturbances, loss of knee-jerk, and the Argyle-Robertson pupil." Syphilis is strongly connected to tabes dorsalis, so much so that Thomas suggests that they may be one in the same. Thomas states "among the more common exciting causes may be

mentioned sexual excesses, great physical exertion, and exposure to wet and cold" (1907:1). Thomas also notes that changes to bone, especially the articular surfaces, may occur. During the ataxic (2^{nd}) stage of the disease, Thomas reports that joint lesions, called Charcot's joints, begin to appear and the articular ends of the bones are slowly softened by reabsorption to the point of fracturing or dislocating.

Peter's death certificate notes that his remains were shipped back home to Bayou Goula, Louisiana, for burial. Peter's remaining family members wished for him to be buried at St. Mary's Cemetery along with the rest of the Randolphs. Since his father had been buried there back in 1883, there was no one to oppose giving Peter a proper burial with the rest of the Randolph family.

3. Tomb 3

Tomb 3 was located directly north of Tomb 2 in the same initial row of graves. A large portion of bricks had been removed from the west end of the tomb (Face 3). Branches and roots climbed along the sides of the tomb. Although it was in the same general style as the previous two tombs, Tomb 3 did exhibit some distinctive features. The top ledger (Face 5) was a separate piece of concrete attached to the tomb. The following inscription was engraved on the ledger, oriented to the east:

SALLIE VIRGINIA RANDOLPH Born In Iberville Parish, La

June 16, 1853, Died Sept. 15, 1893

Earth has no sorrow that heaven cannot heal

The internal vault of Tomb 3 was much different than the rectangular, concrete vaults observed in Tombs 1 and 2. Tomb 3 resembled a brick oven, with a curved opening that allowed just enough room for the coffin. The metal coffin resting inside was so severely corroded that it could not be removed intact. Mr. Wilbert's team tied a rope around the coffin and began pulling it out, when the bottom of the coffin detached. The wire remains of a floral cross arrangement covered the intact viewing plate of the coffin (Figure 8 and 9). Portions of the original black rope that may have been used to place the coffin within the tomb still clung to pieces of worn fabric (Figure 10). Coffin handles of a slightly different style than Tombs 1 and 2 were recovered detached from the coffin. An extremely ornate and well-preserved metal nameplate reading "Sarah Randolph" was also associated with the coffin (Figure 11).

The skeleton in Tomb 3 was oriented with the head to west, facing east. The bones exhibited a dark black color. Ms. Manhein observed hair preserved at the base of the skull, as well as possible patches of tissue. Maxillary and mandibular teeth were well preserved with gold crowns observed on tooth #2 (right upper second molar) and tooth #18 (left lower second molar).

Sallie (Sarah) Virginia Randolph was born on June 16, 1853, the eighth child of John and Emily Jane Randolph (Randolph 1957). She was never married and died at Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland on September 15, 1893, at the age of forty (Alderman 2004).

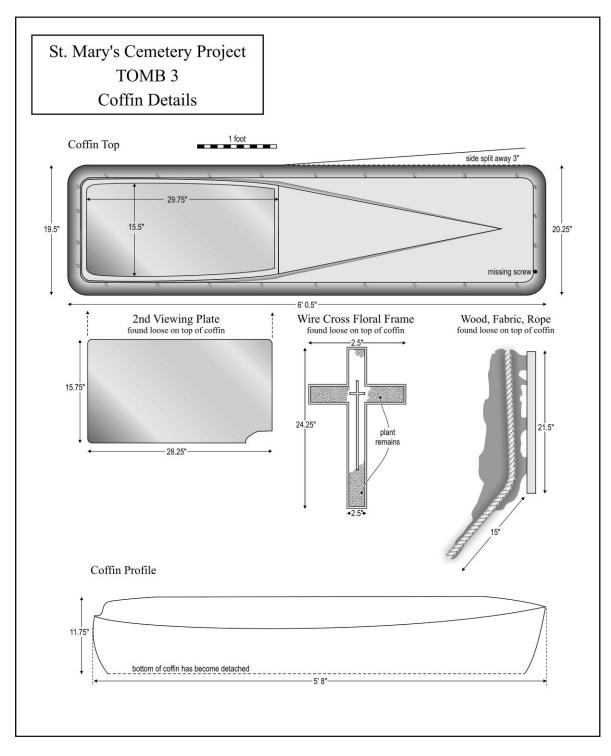


Figure 8. Coffin from Tomb 3



Figure 9. Wire Floral Cross Arrangement



Figure 10. Original Preserved Black Rope

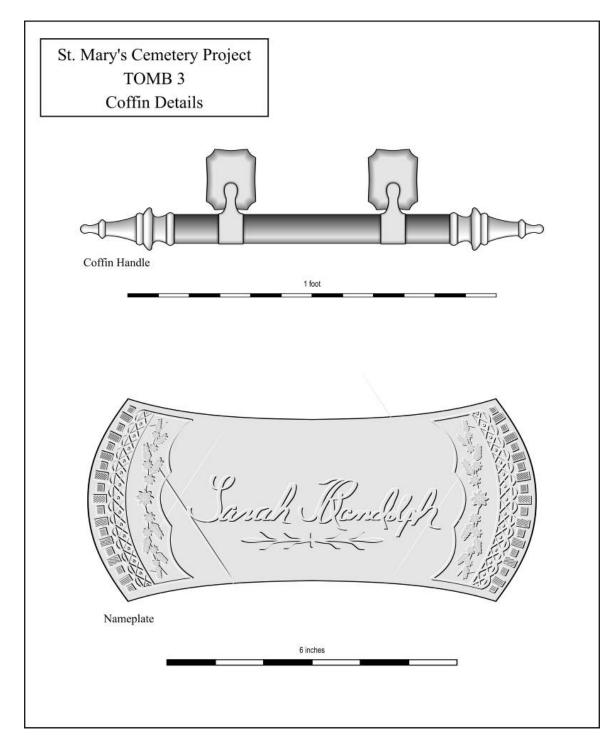


Figure 11. Coffin Handle and Nameplate from Tomb 3

4. Tomb 4

Tomb 4 was located in the same line of excavated tombs, just north of Tomb 3. The tomb style was identical to Tomb 3, a box tomb with separate ledger. Instead of an inscription on the ledger, an obelisk monument was scattered in five separate pieces (Figure 12). On the portion marked 4c, a short inscription read:

> To the Memory of John H. Randolph Born March 24, 1813 Died Sept. 8, 1883 "I know that my redeemer liveth"

The inside of the vault resembled the arched brick style of Tomb 3. The opening was a little large than Tomb 3, likely due to the fact that Tomb 3 had a larger coffin. Mr. Wilbert's team again attached ropes and pulled the coffin, oriented facing west, out of the tomb. To everyone's surprise, the cast-iron coffin was still sealed, meaning that John Hampden Randolph's remains would not have to be further disturbed. The coffin was wider at the head, tapering off to its smallest width at the feet (Figure 13). There were four intact coffin handles attached on each side. The oval viewing plate was also still intact and attached. Ornate screw covers (escutcheons) dotted the edge of the coffin (Figure 14).

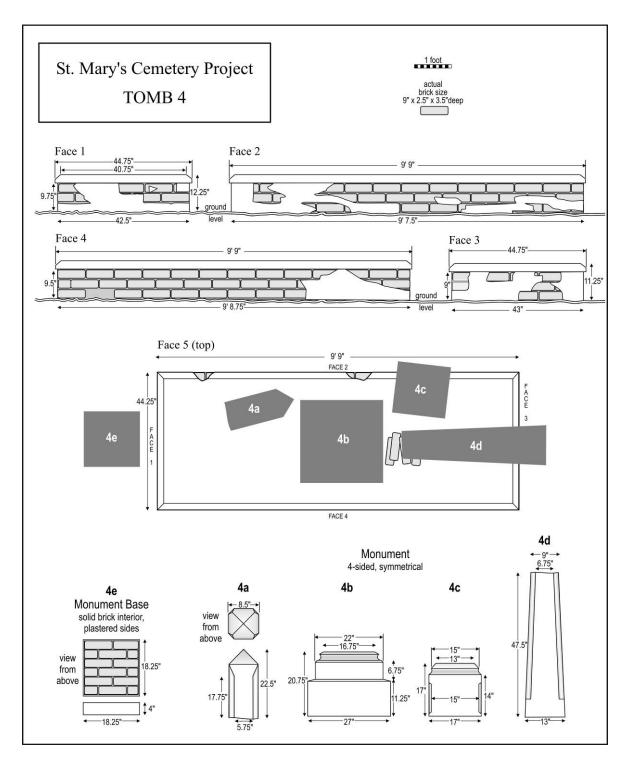


Figure 12. John Hampden Randolph's (Tomb 4) Monument and Tomb



Figure 13. Sealed Coffin from Tomb 4

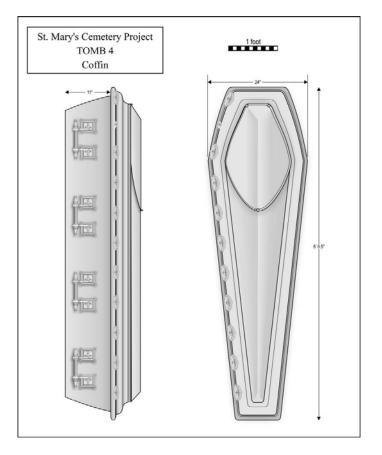


Figure 14. John Hampden Randolph's (Tomb 4) coffin

John Hampden Randolph was born March 24, 1813, in Lunenburg County,

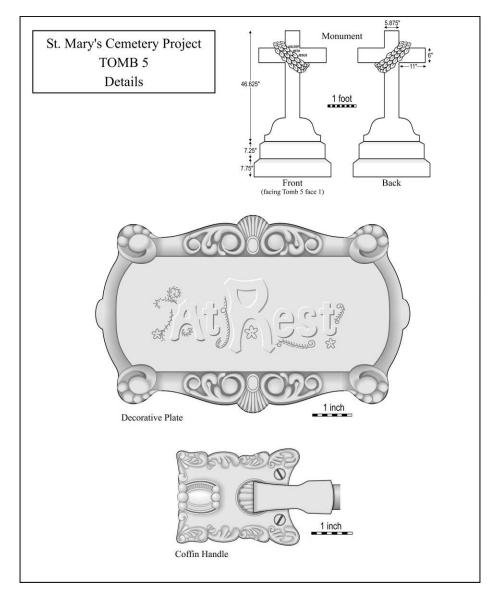
Virginia (Postell 1936:13). He married Emily Jane Liddell in 1837 and moved to Forest Home Plantation in Iberville Parish, Louisiana, in 1841. John built the family's palatial estate, Nottoway, in 1859 (Alderman 2004). He and Emily had eleven children together and ran one of the most successful plantations in the area. John was a devout Episcopalian, donating both land and money to the establishment of a rectory and a cemetery for St. Mary's Church of Bayou Goula (Postell 1936). John Hampden Randolph died in 1883 and was buried in the very same cemetery he helped to create, St. Mary's Cemetery (Postell 1936).

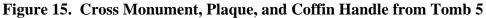
5. Tomb 5

Tomb 5 was located directly north of Tomb 4. This box tomb featured a separate top tablet with inscription (facing east) and an attached monument. A large concrete cross with a wreath across the joint and the inscription "Asleep In Jesus" stood in front of Face 1, facing west (Figure 15). Damage to the tablet destroyed some of the inscription. The missing sections are noted in quotations:

(EMILY JANE LIDDELL) Wife Of (JOHN H)AMPDEN RANDOL(PH) (B)ORN JANUARY 25, 1818 DIED FEBRUARY 21, 1904

The cross was removed prior to excavation to allow access to the tomb through Face 1. The internal vault was the arched brick oven opening found in Tombs 2 and 3. Pieces of rotten wood and thick broken glass indicate the coffin was large, wooden, and had once contained a glass viewing plate. A decorative, slightly warped metal plate with the inscription "At Rest" was found across the femurs (Figure 15). Coffin handles, nails, hinges and escutcheons, four fabric-covered buttons, and a safety pin were recovered from the tomb. Ornate coffin handles consisted of preserved metal hinges likely connected with a wooden handle. The escutcheons were in the style of white flower caps.





The remains were scattered within the tomb, making it difficult to determine the original orientation of the body. A full set of dentures was recovered with the remains. Extensive lipping, osteophytes, and eburnation of various skeletal elements roughly support the older age range suggested by the inscription.

Emily Jane Liddell was born January 25, 1818, in Woodville, Mississippi, to Louisiana planter Moses Liddell and Bethia Richardson. She married John Hampden Randolph on December 14, 1837. She successfully ran Nottoway Plantation when John was away on business in Texas during the Civil War. Together, they had four sons and seven daughters (Alderman 2004).

6. Tomb 6

Tomb 6 was next to last in the first excavated row of tombs. Tomb 6 was a box tomb with a separate inscription tablet. Several areas of brick were exposed on Face 1 and Face 2. Tomb 6 was much taller than the previous tombs, standing at approximately 29" or $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet above ground. On the top ledger was the following inscription, facing east:

Mary Augusta Randolph Wife of Horace E. Upton November 11, 1846 July 20, 1937

Tomb 6 was previously opened illegally through Face 2. The internal vault matched Tombs 1 and 2, a rectangular brick opening covered with a thin coating of concrete plaster. The large top plank of wood was virtually intact, although several pieces had fallen. Large amounts of leaves and other debris had blown into the open tomb. Only a bleached rib fragment (found on the back wall of the tomb) and the head of a femur were recovered. Looters fortunately missed one important artifact - an intact glass bottle with a 1-16 inch measurement scale on one side and Morticians Supply Company, "True-Tone" Products, Dallas, Texas, on the other side. Ms. Manhein noted that morticians frequently discarded empty bottles of embalming fluid in with the coffin during burial. (Mary Manhein personal communication 2003) Mary Augusta Randolph was born November 11, 1846, the fifth child of John and Emily Jane Randolph. She married Horace E. Upton (Tomb 7) in August 13, 1875. They lived together in New Orleans and had six children (Alderman 2004).

7. Tomb 7

Tomb 7 was the last box tomb located on the first excavated row. Face 4 and Face 1 had several exposed bricks. A portion of the brick on Face 1 was previously damaged, although it does not appear as though the vault was opened. Like many of the previous tombs, the top ledger was separate and contained the inscription facing east:

Horace Edward Upton Born Sept. 27, 1845 Died March 8, 1914

Mr. Wilbert's team opened the tomb through Face 1 after digging down over twenty-five inches. The internal vault matched the arched brick oven style. Several coffin handles, in various states of preservation, were recovered, totaling approximately six complete handles and hinges. They matched the style of coffin handles found in Tomb 5. A metal plaque with the name Horace E. Upton was also recovered, as well as a few buttons.

The remains recovered were very fragmentary. Portions of the scapula, ulna, vertebrae, and ribs were discovered along with the left patella and several complete proximal and distal phalanges. All of the bones recovered exhibited some degree of postmortem damage, indicating that they had been exposed for a long period of time.

Horace E. Upton was born in Iberville Parish. He married Mary Augusta Randolph and worked as a successful lawyer in New Orleans (Alderman 2004).

8. Tomb 8

Tomb 8 was the last tomb on the second excavated row. Instead of having a flat top ledger, Tomb 8 was curved and slanted inward at the bottom on the tomb, producing a pedestal-type tomb. The entire tomb was completely covered in concrete plaster and still in excellent condition. Workers from Wilbert Funeral Home removed the tomb in its entirety without opening the vault or disturbing the remains.

Linderholm (1988) indicates that her mother Jane Gustine Conner Randolph was buried beside her father Moses Liddell Randolph (Tomb 9). Jane was born April 3, 1850, in Natchez, Mississippi. She married Moses Liddell Randolph (Tomb 9) on January 23, 1873, and had 10 children by him (Randolph 1957). Jane died on September 24, 1944, at the age of 94, making her the last burial at St. Mary's Cemetery. This evidence is supported by the newer design of the tomb and its excellent preservation.

9. Tomb 9

Tomb 9 was located just south of Tomb 8. Returning to form, Tomb 8 was a box tomb with a separate top ledger containing the inscription (facing east). Portions of brick were exposed where the concrete plaster had worn away. The inscription read:

> Moses Liddell Randolph Son of John Hampden Randolph And Emily Jane Liddell Born March 20, 1842 Died November 16, 1907

The internal vault of the tomb matched the arched brick oven style. Coffin hardware constituted most of the material recovered. At least six coffin handles were recovered, similar in style to those found in Tomb 3. Flower escutcheons similar to those found in Tomb 5 as well as shell escutcheons were recovered. A very ornate and wellpreserved "Rest in Peace" plaque was associated with the remains (Figure 16). We also discovered a few pieces of thick plate glass, suggesting a glass viewing plate, but found very little corresponding coffin wood.

The remains were in excellent condition, with fragments of tissue and fabric preserved. The skull was located in the western portion of the tomb, meaning that the body was positioned facing east. From an on-site analysis during the removal, Ms. Manhein noted heavy wear on the teeth and multiple fillings. Evidence of osteophytes and lipping indicated possible arthritis.



Figure 16. Rest in Peace Plaque from Tomb 9

Moses Liddell Randolph was the third child of John and Emily Jane Randolph. He married Jane Gustine Conner on January 23, 1873. The couple raised ten children together at their home on the Blythewood Plantation in Bayou Goula (Linderholm 1988). Two of their children were buried at St. Mary's Cemetery (Tomb 10 & 11). Moses fought for the Confederacy for three months before being forced to return home after contracting malaria (Alderman 2004). Moses died in 1907 at the age of 65.

10. Tomb 10

Tomb 10 was a box tomb lying just south of Tomb 11 on the second row of excavated tombs. The top ledger stone was slightly askew and missing a corner from its northwestern edge. The inscription, facing east, read:

Moses Liddell SON OF M.L.Randolph AND Jane G. Conner BORN Sept.5, 1881 DIED Sept. 9, 1896 Brave, Gentle, True

The internal vault matched the arched brick oven style with a circular arch. Wilbert Funeral Home workers dug approximately two feet below the surface to reach the bottom of the burial vault. Several large pieces of thick, almost opaque glass indicated the presence of a viewing plate. Four coffin handles were recovered, with the rotting wood of the coffin still attached. Square shaped escutcheons with attached wood were also recovered. From the skeletal material recovered, the individual was relatively young. The humerus was unfused at the proximal end, the humerus and femur heads were both detached, and the third molars had not erupted, though they were visible in the sockets. Also of note, tooth #5 (upper right 1st premolar) contained a gold filling.

Moses Liddell Randolph, Jr was the fifth child of Moses Randolph, Sr and Jane Gustine Randolph. The skeletal evidence supports the dates on the tombstone. According to the family, Moses L. Randolph, Jr. died at the age of 15 in a hunting accident (Alderman 2004).

11. Tomb 11

Tomb 11 was located just south of Tomb 10 on the second excavated row. It was the first tomb in the row. The tomb style mirrored that found in Tomb 10, although it did not extend to the depth of Tomb 10. There were portions of exposed brick and the top ledger was a separate stone with the inscription facing east:

> Gladys Gustine Randolph Daughter of Moses Liddell Randolph And Jane Gustine Conner Born December 13, 1885 Died February 27, 1913

The internal vault of Tomb 11 also matched Tomb 10. At least five complete coffin handles were recovered. A large rusted iron bar was found lying horizontally across the middle of the tomb. Two wire frames were recovered, one resembling a cross and the other resembling a sickle (Figure 17). Both still contained preserved plant material. Several portions of coffin wood were also recovered. One piece of coffin wood was beveled in a "ram's horn pattern" (Figure 17). A decorative nameplate was also recovered with the words "At Rest" in a design similar but not identical to the plate recovered from Tomb 5 (Figure 18).

The condition of the remains was excellent. The skull was to the west, the body facing to the east. Both mandibular and maxillary teeth contained a number of gold fillings. The bones looked healthy and there was no observable evidence of any trauma.



Figure 17. Floral Arrangement, Coffin Handles, Beveled Coffin Wood



Figure 18. At Rest Plaque from Tomb 11

Gladys Gustine Randolph was the seventh child of Moses L. Randolph, Sr. and Jane Gustine Randolph. Gladys studied art at Newcomb college in New Orleans. She never married or had any children. Gladys died in a car accident at the age of 28 (Alderman 2004).

12. Tomb 12

Tomb 12 was located in a new row directly west of Tomb 3. This brick mound tomb was found opened during the initial survey of the cemetery. The standing monument from Tomb 13 had toppled over on to a portion of Tomb 12. Several large pieces of plate glass were discovered inside the tomb, indicating the presence of a coffin with a glass viewing plate. One coffin handle was recovered along with two key-shaped escutcheons. A solitary mother of pearl button was recovered.

The remains within Tomb 12 were that of an infant. Long bones, ribs, hips, and vertebrae, as well as portions of the skull and the mandible were recovered. Ms. Manhein determined that the first baby molars had erupted but the second baby molars had not erupted, indicating an approximate age of seventeen months.

The infant was first thought to be the child of Valle Joseph Rozier (Tomb 13) and Annie Caroline Randolph, based on family stories and the close proximity to the tomb of Valle Rozier. Randolph (1957) lists Valle Rozier and Annie Randolph as having only one child, Geraldine, sometime after their marriage in 1881 and before Rozier's death in 1886. Geraldine died at birth and does not fit the biological development of the infant found in Tomb 12. Tomb 12 more likely represents the remains of Ella Virginia Feltus, the great granddaughter of John Hampden Randolph. She died when she was only seventeen

months old (Randolph 1957). A portion of an inscription tablet bearing the name "Ella Virgi" was found lying on top of tomb 14:

13. Tomb 13

Tomb 13 was a double vault tomb located north of Tomb 12. Two deep brick vaults were arranged side by side, both oriented east to west). A large ledger covered the two vaults. A slope of concrete ran from the south side of the double tomb toward Tomb 13 (Figure 19). Both tombs had been previously opened at the western end. The associated monument lay broken in approximately four pieces. On the shaft portion of the monument was the following inscription:

> In Memory Of Joseph Rozier Born at Genevieve, MO Nov 14, 1847 Died at Orleans, LA Feb 22, 1886

Tomb 13 presented a number of interesting challenges during the excavation. The northern tomb contained a cast-iron coffin with a glass viewing plate that had been broken. Leaves and other organic material blew into the tomb and into the coffin (Figure 20). The open coffin also held the rainwater, helping to decompose the organic matter into a thick, black liquid. The coffin was too heavy to pull out of the tomb through the narrow opening that already existed. The organic material from the coffin had to be scooped out by hand and screened. Once the coffin was light enough, Wilbert Funeral Home workers opened the remaining portion of the ledger and brick vault over the coffin. Boards were place under the coffin in an attempt to create a ramp to pull up the coffin. However, the coffin

was still too heavy. After filtering out more of the organic matter and bone, we were able to pull the coffin out of the tomb. The southern tomb in the double vault did not have a coffin and appeared empty.

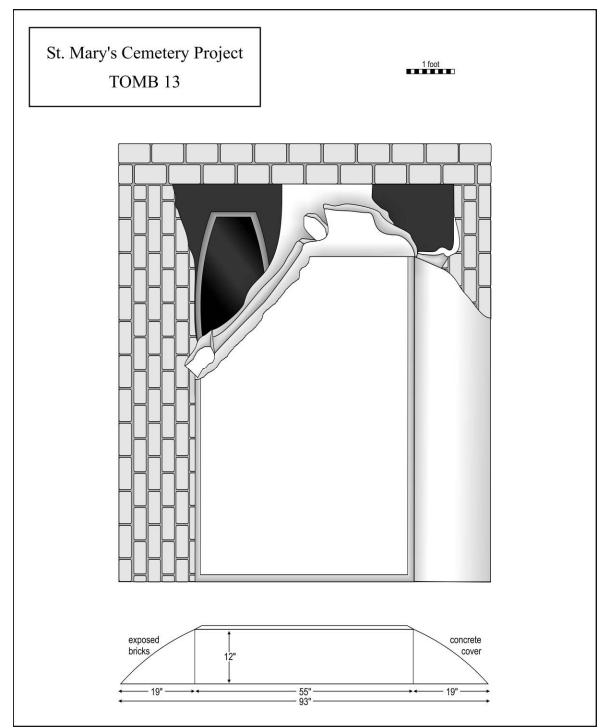
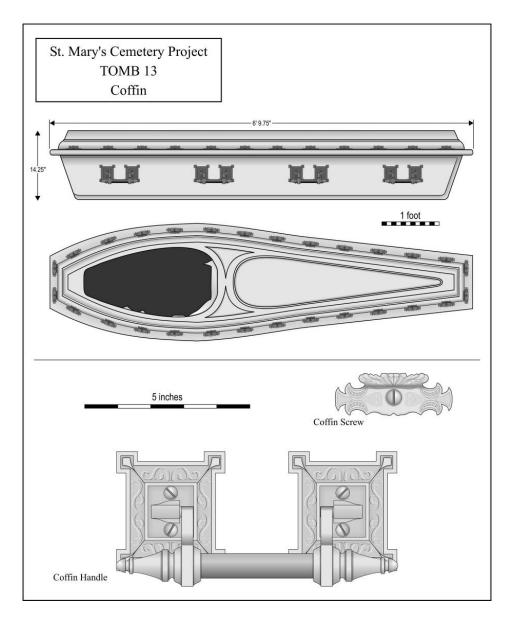
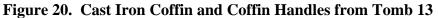


Figure 19. Tomb 13 Double Vault





Recovery of the remains was difficult. The cranium was noticeably missing, most likely taken by looters. The bones recovered from inside the coffin were stained dark black, poorly preserved, and jumbled out of anatomical order. An investigation of the northern vault after removing the coffin uncovered a number of disassociated human skeletal remains. Although the southern vault was thought empty, a few isolated and bleached skeletal remains were discovered there as well. Valle Joseph Rozier married Annie Caroline Randolph on June 8, 1881. They had one child sometime between their marriage in 1881 and Valle's death in 1886. That child, Geraldine, died during birth. Annie (Nannie) Caroline Randolph remarried after Rozier's death and was buried with her second husband (Alderman 2004). Annie's remarriage might explain why the second vault remains empty.

14. Tomb 14

Tomb 14 was located some distance north of tomb 13. It was a brick mound tomb that had been previously opened through Face 1. Human remains were not discovered within the tomb, nor were there any associated monuments. Although the tomb was mapped and drawn by the FACES team, the family decided that this tomb did not represent a member of the Randolph family. As such, the grave was left undisturbed.

15. The Remainder of the Cemetery

St. Mary's Cemetery includes many other graves besides the Randolph family plot. The excavation and removal of the Randolph family did not directly affect these tombs; therefore, only their general position and observable inscriptions were recorded. During the initial survey of the cemetery prior to the removal project, I recorded information on the following individuals buried at St. Mary's, including John Dobbins and Hardin Dederick Murrell, Kate A. Murrell, John D. Murrell, James B. Smith, Annie Forrest, William Cocker, Charles A. Bryan, John D. Collins, and the Hudson family tomb (containing Silas, Eliza, Clarissa, Zenas, and Eliza). Corresponding inscriptions are noted in the Appendix.

Riffel's (1989) survey of St. Mary's Episcopal Cemetery includes several of the previously mentioned tombs as well as a number of other named and unmarked vaults.

The other named tombs recorded in the survey include Cora Smith, Florence Harris, Franklin Hudson (separate from the Hudson family tomb), the Klos family tomb (John Klos, A.Strack, E. Klos, L.A. Klos), and the infant son of Jennie L. Tuttle and Whyte G. Owen. Riffel lists a number of unmarked brick and cement vaults as well. Jane Whipple Green (1991) recorded her observations of St. Mary's Cemetery in a hand-drawn map with descriptions of legible gravemarkers. Green divides the cemetery into family plots, recording each on her map. The Randolph, Murrell and Hudson family plots are all recorded. Moving east from the Randolph plot, Green notes the "Tuttle Plot" and the graves on "Chas A. Bryan" and "B. Klos," respectively. Green lists the total dimensions of the cemetery as 550 feet along the road and 150 ft back (north) on the western edge, forming a triangular plot of land.

A second survey of St. Mary's Cemetery was conducted more than a year after the removal of the Randolph tombs. Using Green's (1991) map as a guide, an attempt was made to locate the graves listed that were not discovered during the initial survey. Another goal of the survey was to locate the graves mentioned by Riffell (1989) that were not discovered or located on Green's map.

A year's time had greatly changed the cemetery. The Randolph tombs remained, now covered with advancing weeds and bushes. The ledgers and the monuments had been moved to Nottoway but the brick tombs remained. Since the Randolph removal, the Murrell family had taken steps to secure the safety of their family tombs. Each of the eight Murrell family tombs was now encased in a solid concrete vault. The original inscription ledgers had been removed and affixed to the top of the vaults. These imposing new tombs stood approximately 35" high and looked impenetrable. Someone hand-carved two new

inscriptions into the drying cement blocks for the last two tombs of Maragret Gwin Murrell and George R. Murrell.

A large portion of the cemetery vegetation near the Murrell family plots was cleared, most likely by the people responsible for the new tombs. It was now possible to reach parts of the cemetery not previously accessible. A number of both marked and unmarked graves are located directly west of the Murrell plots. Among these graves are that of John D. Collins and Florence C. Harris, mentioned by Riffel (1989) but previously undiscovered during the initial survey. Traveling north from the Murrell plots, I discovered a new line of graves near the adjoining pasture that marks the northern most border of the cemetery.

The thick vegetation must have previously hidden these graves because neither Riffel (1989) nor Green (1991) mentions them. Five graves are aligned east to west with a sixth lying slightly off to the southern side. Three of the graves have legible inscriptions (Appendix). The first grave is a brick mound with the top portion of a broken marble cross resting on it. The cross reads "Sophia Ryder," with no mention of any birth or death dates. Directly west of this tomb is a headstone broken at the base with no inscription. Continuing west, we find the headstone of the infant of J. A. and S.G. Barnett. The infant's tombstone faces west and contains the image of a resting lamb at the top of the stone. Just west of that grave is a small footstone facing east that reads "A.S.B." The headstone, which is facing west, is for Anne S. Brown. The stone contains the image of clasped hands at the top and the exact same epitaph as Sallie Virginia Randolph (Tomb 3) carved into the base. The last grave in the line is marked with a simple, rusted metal cross.

A number of graves are also located east of the Randolph plot. Even using Green's (1991) map, I was unable to locate the Tuttle plot. The grave of Charles A. Bryan was located, although the marker was barely legible. The headstone rests on top of a high box tomb oriented east to west. The eastern end of the tomb has been opened, exposing the arched brick oven design of the interior vault. The Klos family plot was located near the back line of the property, oriented north to south. Three other box tombs, all oriented north to south, were discovered in a diagonal with the Klos tomb along the back line. The box tomb to the east of the Klos vault is directly across from the original entrance of the cemetery, identifiable by the different fence post arrangement and the gap in the barbed wire. The original path to the Randolph graves described in Nan Conner's account (Linderholm 1988) can still be observed today, flanked by unusual vegetation on both sides (Figure 21).



Figure 21. Original Cemetery Entrance and Walkway

B. Osteological Analysis

The unidentified remains removed from Tomb 1 (A), Tomb 2 (B), and Tomb 13 were taken to the Louisiana State University Forensic Laboratory for further analysis. Upon initially receiving the remains, a bone inventory was compiled to determine any missing skeletal elements. Cranial, mandibular, and postcranial measurements were then recorded using a Forensic Measurements Form from *Data Collection Procedures for Forensic Skeletal Material* (Moore-Jansen et al. 1994). A detailed description of the bones was recorded, along with any pertinent drawings to indicate trauma or taphonomic processes. The bones were then x-rayed and photographed to create a permanent record for study after reburial. Both non-metric and metric analysis methods were used to construct the biological profile, attempting to involve as many different methods as possible to reach the most accurate conclusions.

1. Sex

Although researchers have studied many different skeletal elements to aid in determining the sex of the individual, the hips still provide the most accurate assessment of sex (Bass 1995:208). Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) present a scoring system based on Phenice (1969) for recording morphological differences in the hip between male and female. Females have a ventral arc, subpubic concavity, a narrow ischiopubic ramus, a wide greater sciatic notch, and a well-defined pre-auricular sulcus.

The cranium can also provide information on the sex of the individual. Using a similar non-metric scoring system, Buikstra and Ubelaker (1994) score the sex differences between males and females in five principal areas. Males have a larger nuchal crest, a

larger mastoid process, a more prominent supra-orbital ridge, a thicker and rounder supraorbital margin, and a greater mental eminence on the mandible. In general, the male cranium is larger with more prominent muscle markings than the more gracile female cranium.

Metric analysis also plays an important role in determining sex. Male long bones are generally more robust and longer than female long bones. In particular, the maximum diameter of the head of both the humerus and the femur can aid in determining sex (Bass 1995: 26). Pearson (1917-19) and Dwight (1905) both provide maximum diameters for the femoral head within male and female ranges. Dwight (1905) also documents maximum diameters in the humerus head for both males and females. Giles and Elliot's (1962) discriminant function chart uses five cranial measurements to determine sex. These measurements are fed into a mathematical formula that differentially weighs them and then adds them together. According to Giles and Elliot, values 891.12 and above are considered male and any value less than 891.12 would be considered female.

2. Age

The remains were aged primarily through visual inspection of the pelvis. Representative age-related changes in the pubic symphysis and the auricular surface over time have been well researched within physical anthropology. Slight changes to the pubic symphysis can be utilized to help determine an age range for an individual. Todd (1921a, 1921b) noted a change in the symphyseal face from rugged with many ridges and furrows to smooth with a well-defined rim. Todd created ten stages or phases of age-related change in the pubic symphysis. The Suchey-Brooks pubic symphysis scoring system (Brooks and Suchey 1990) also records changes in the symphyseal face, as well as the

dorsal and ventral aspects. The Suchey-Brooks system places the pubic symphysis in one of five phases, with the categories differing slightly between males and females.

Changes in the auricular surface, the joint between the innominate and the sacrum, were recorded and ranked. Buikstra and Ubelaker state that although the auricular surface is "more complex and more difficult" to score than the pubic symphysis, it is more likely to be preserved archaeologically (1994:24). Lovejoy et al. (1985) assign a phase between one and eight to each of the right and the left auricular surfaces. The phases are based on the change of the auricular surface from well-defined, fine grained, billowing with no observed porosity in younger ages to irregular, rough, and porous with severe lipping in older ages.

Other methods of aging the remains were used. Meindl and Lovejoy's (1985) composite scores for ectocranial suture closure were also recorded for the lateral anterior portion of the cranium and the vault. Iscan et al. (1984, 1985) demonstrated that the sternal end of the ribs changes over time. Age-related change is recorded on four features of the sternal end of the rib – the bone surface, the contour of the bone, the rim edge, and the contour of the rim. Based on these observed changes, a left and right rib, usually the fourth rib, is classified into a phase from zero to eight.

3. Ancestry

The term "ancestry" is used instead of the term "race" due the controversial and social implications connected with the term race. According to the American Anthropological Associations Statement on "Race" (1998), the term "race" refers to a "worldview, a body of prejudgments that distorts our ideas about human differences and group behavior." Races are social constructs, myths, that fuse social characteristics with

physical attributes in an essentialistic manner to categorize, subdivided, and rank different groups of people into the Great Chain of Being (AAA 1998). The American Anthropological Association (1998) stresses that "human populations are not unambiguous, clearly demarcated, biologically distinct groups" and that a great degree of variation occurs within groups.

The American Association of Physical Anthropology's (1996) statement on the biological aspects of race states that "humanity cannot be classified into discrete geographic categories with absolute boundaries" and that "much of the biological variation among populations involves modest degrees of variation in the frequency of shared traits." However, the AAPA (2000) also states "physical anthropologists have a long history of working with law enforcement agencies, federal and other government officials, and Native American groups to provide a scientific perspective on the cultural affiliation of inadvertently discovered human remains, both ancient and modern." I will apply this scientific perspective to determine the cultural affiliation or ancestry of skeletal remains from St. Mary's Cemetery.

Ancestry can be accessed both morphologically and metrically. White notes "the skull is the only part of the skeleton that is widely used in estimating geographic ancestry. Even with this element, all workers agree that racial estimations are usually more difficult, less precise, and less reliable than estimations of age, sex, or stature" (2000:375). Because of the difficulty and subjectivity involved, many researchers prefer the more "concrete" analytical methods for determining ancestry. FORDISC 2.0 is a computer program that compares entered cranial measurements to a known population. The program classifies the sex and the ancestry of the cranium based on a comparison to its known populations. Two

probabilities are listed in relation to the measurements entered – the posterior probability and the typicality probability. A high posterior probability means that the individual is more closely related to that category (WM or white male, for example) than any of the other categories. The typicality probability refers to how similar that individual is to the other individuals within that category.

Giles and Elliot's (1962) discriminant function chart uses eight cranial measurements to determine ancestry. The eight cranial measurements are calibrated and plotted spatially along the x and y axis. The Y-axis represents the White-Negro Scale and the X-axis represents the White-Indian Scale. The general area of the coordinate within the graph determines ancestry.

Researchers like Dr. George Gill and Dr. Stanley Rhine believe that metric estimations of ancestry are often too simplistic, forcing an individual into a certain category because the formula demands it. Gill and Rhine (1990) categorize certain nonmetric traits in the cranium as being found more commonly in Caucasoid, Negroid, or Mongoloid populations. "White" traits include reduced prognathism of the face, a bilateral chin, and high, narrow nasals with a sharp nasal sill. "Black" traits included marked prognathism, a blunt and retreating chin, and low, wide nasals with a dull nasal sill. "American Indians" are depicted as having a mix of white and black traits (White 2000).

4. Stature

Stature estimations are obtained from regression formulas on various long bones. Trotter and Gleser (1958) produced stature-estimation tables for white and black males and females. Stature estimations are provided for the humerus, radius, ulna, femur, tibia, fibula, and for the combination of the femur and tibia. FORDISC 2.0 also provides stature

estimations with confidence intervals of either 90% or 95%. FORDISC uses all of the above measurements, except for the femur-tibia, but also includes femur-fibula and fibulaulna.

5. General Discussion

In addition to taking measurements and constructing the biological profile, any observable data on the bones were also recorded. The overall condition of the bone and any visible trauma were recorded for each skeletal element on the visual recording forms taken from the *Standards for Data Collection from Human Skeletal Remains* (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994). In cases where the information was available, the type and possible cause of the trauma were also recorded. Any unusual pathologies were also noted and drawn on the bone. Extensive bone growth or bone loss was also recorded as well as any other data that might be relevant to study.

6. Tomb 1 (A)

The skeleton recovered from Tomb 1 was nearly complete. Only the following elements were missing: several right ribs, left carpal bones, and phalanges from both the hand and the foot.

Nonmetric and metric analysis of cranial and postcranial material indicated that the remains were female. The hips scored a value of 1 (female) for the presence of a ventral arc, subpubic concavity, a narrow ischiopubic ramus ridge, and a wide greater sciatic notch. The preauricular sulcus was scored a 2 (wide but shallow), which also supports the conclusion of female. Cranial nonmetric traits supported the female classification. A relatively smooth nuchal crest, reduced mastoids, a thin, sharp supraorbitial margin, a minimal supra-orbital ridge, and the lack of a mental eminence in the mandible all point to

female. The metric analysis provided similar conclusions. The maximum diameter of the femoral head of the individual from Tomb 1 was measured at 41mm. Pearson (1917-19) categorizes females as having an average of less than 41.5mm. Dwight (1905) lists the average maximum diameter for females at 43.84mm. Tomb 1 falls at or below the criteria for females. The maximum diameter of the head of the humerus from Tomb 1 was measured at 42mm. This measurement also falls within the average of 42.67mm for females given by Dwight (1905). Lastly, Giles and Elliot's (1962) discriminant function formula categorized Tomb 1 as female with a score of 865.06, fitting well below the required 891.12 or below score for females.

Age was determined using all possible available methods. The pubic symphysis was scored Phase IX for Todd (1921b) and Phase VI for Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks 1990) based on the complete formation of the symphyseal rim, the depression of the symphyseal face, and lipping on both the dorsal and ventral aspects. A score of Phase IX for Todd (1921b) gives an age range of over 50. Phase VI in the Suchey-Brooks scoring system (Suchey and Brooks 1990) gives a mean age of 60, with a 95% confidence interval of 42-87. The auricular surface was scored Phase VIII (Lovejoy et al. 1985) based on degenerative changes and the presence of macroporosities and osteophytes, which places the age of the individual over 60. Meindl & Lovejoy's (1985) composite scores for ectocranial suture closure in the vault and lateral anterior areas also place the mean age over 50. Lastly, the sternal ends of the left and right fourth ribs were scored using Iscan et al. (1985). Both rib ends had wide U-shaped pits, sharp edges, and, overall were very light, thin, and brittle. The ends were classified as Phase 7, giving an age range between 59-71.

Ancestry was determined to be Caucasoid based on the evaluation of nonmetric traits and the conclusions of FORDISC 2.0 and Giles and Elliot (1962). Nonmetric traits indicated that the Tomb 1 was Caucasoid or white. This classification was based primarily on very reduced prognathism of the mid-facial region, highly arched, narrow nasals with a sharp nasal sill and prominent nasal spine, and a square, blunt chin. Using 24 cranial measurements, FORDISC 2.0 classified Tomb 1 as a WF, white female. The posterior probability was 99.8% and the typicality probability was 66.6%. The next closest category was white male, with a typicality probability of 5.8%. Using 39 postcranial measurements, FORDISC 2.0 classified Tomb 1 again as a white female. The posterior probability was lower, 93.6%, and the typicality index was less than 1%. Postcranial measurements are much less reliable in determining ancestry, but the supporting classification of white female may lend credence to the previous classification using cranial measurements. Giles and Elliot (1962) discriminant function formula resulted in a White-Negro value of 72.41 and a White-Indian value of 77.47. When plotted together on a graph appropriate for females, the resulting plot lies within the range of values considered to be white.

An average stature was calculated based on the averages of the various stature ranges from FORDISC 2.0 and Trotter and Gleser (1958). Trotter and Gleser's (1958) chart for maximum stature in American white females listed 61 inches (5'2") for all seven of the measurements compared. The average stature range from FORDISC 2.0 with 95% confidence interval was between 58 and 65 inches (4'10" – 5'5"), with the average height being 62 inches or 5'2."

Tomb 1 exhibited extensive postmortem deterioration despite being relatively well preserved within an undisturbed brick vault. Overall, the bones were very lightweight and

porous. The skull exhibited severe postmortem trauma to the left parietal bone just superior to the temporal line (Figure 22). A large portion of the parietal bone had been separated and another large section was caved inward but remains intact. It is believed that as the coffin or wooden plank at the top of the vault deteriorated, the wood collapsed on the skull and caused the observed postmortem damage. Several other skeletal elements also exhibited postmortem trauma. The right humerus was fractured into two sections just below the midshaft. Both the left and right scapula were missing portions of the scapular body. Small fractures were observed on the head of the left femur and dorsal aspect of the left innominate. Postmortem deterioration had exposed underlying trabecular bone on the ends of many of the long bones. Most of the bones had white spots, striations or other areas of discoloration resulting from the position with the tomb and growth of mold and/or fungus.

A number of antemortem conditions were also observed in the bones. The presence of a full set of dentures and the complete alveolar resorption of the tooth sockets indicated the individual in Tomb 1 lost her teeth quite some time before death. A worn, shiny circle, known as eburnation, appeared on the lateral aspect of the capitulum of the left humerus as well as in the right and left metacarpals (Figure 23). Eburnation indicates that the cartilage has deteriorated and bone is in direct contact with bone. The vertebrae showed compressed vertebral bodies, severe lipping, macroporosities, and osteophyte activity – all common signs of advancing age. Thoracic vertebrae four and five as well as eight and nine were fused together by vertebral osteophytes. In general, the remainder of the skeleton showed additional bone growth on articulation points and along the midshaft of long bones.



Figure 22. Postmortem Trauma to Cranium of Tomb 1 (A)



Figure 23. Eburnation on Capitulum of Left Humerus of Tomb 1 (A)

Table 1 provides a summary of the various methods utilized to determine the biological profile of the individual buried within Tomb A. The skeletal remains indicated the individual was an elderly white female approximately 5'1." Aging methods using the hip, ribs, and cranial sutures places the age of individual well over 60. As previously discussed, compressed vertebral bodies with severe lipping, macroporosities, and osteophytes indicate advancing age. This determination is further supported by the

presence of dentures and eburnation in areas of cartilage deterioration. This profile certainly supports the hypothesis that Tomb 1 contains the remains of Emma Jane Richardson Randolph. Emma Jane died on June 10, 1932, at the age of 84. The remains buried within Tomb 1 are those of an elderly white female that could have certainly been as old as 84 at the time of her death.

Biological Categories	Tests	Results
Sex	Innominate Morphology	• Female
	 Cranial Nonmetrics 	• Female
	Post-cranial Metrics	• Female
	• Giles and Elliot (1962)	• Female
Age	• Todd (1921b)	• Phase IX: over 50
	Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks	• Phase VI: 42-87, mean
	1990)	60
	• Lovejoy et al. (1985)	• Phase VIII: over 60
	• Iscan et al. (1985)	• Phase VII: 59-71
	• Meindl and Lovejoy (1985)	• Over 50
Ancestry	Nonmetrics	• White
	• FORDISC 2.0	• White
	• Giles and Elliot (1962)	• White
Height	• Trotter and Gleser (1958)	• 61" average
	• FORDISC 2.0	• 58" – 65", mean 62"

Table 1. Summary of Results from Tomb I (A)

7. Tomb 2 (B)

The skeleton recovered from Tomb 2 was nearly complete. A few tarsals, metatarsals and phalanges were the only skeletal materials not recovered during excavation. Tomb 2 was the only one of the three individuals taken back to the lab with dentition. A dental chart was recorded on the maxillary and mandibular teeth. The dentition showed heavy tooth wear and several caries. Several teeth are worn down or destroyed by cavities down to the root (teeth 7, 8, 10), sometimes leaving portions of the

tooth intact (teeth 3, 19, 30). Teeth 9, 11, 21, 20, and 27 had cusps so worn that the dentin was exposed. There were large abscesses in the mandible where teeth 17, 32, and 31 were once rooted. Tomb 2 had a gold filling on the buccal side on tooth 6 (upper right canine).

Nonmetric and metric analysis of cranial and postcranial material indicated that the remains were male. The hips scored a value of 3 (male) for the lack of a ventral arc (although dorsal lipping caused some confusion) or preauricular sulcus, a convex subpubic area, a wide ischiopubic ramus ridge, and a narrow greater sciatic notch. Cranial nonmetric traits supported the male classification. Very large mastoids, a blunt supraorbital ridge, prominent nuchal crest and supraorbital ridge, and a square chin with a clear mental eminence all point to male. The metric analysis was less conclusive, but still indicated that the individual was more likely male than female. The maximum diameter of the femoral head of the individual from Tomb 1 was measured at 45mm. Pearson (1917-19) categorizes maximum diameters between 44.5-45.5 as probably male. Dwight (1905) lists the average maximum diameter for females at 43.84mm and the average for males at 49.68. While Tomb 2 was below the average for males, it was also above the average for females. The maximum diameter of the head of the humerus from Tomb 1 was measured at 45mm. This measurement also falls below the Dwight's (1905) average of 48.76mm for males but above the average of 42.67 for females. Lastly, Giles and Elliot's (1962) discriminant function formula categorized Tomb 2 as male with a score of 936.14, well above the typical 891.12 or above for males.

Age was determined using all possible available methods. The pubic symphysis was scored Phase X for Todd (1921a) and Phase VI for Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks 1990) based on the complete formation of the symphyseal rim, the depression of

the symphyseal face, lipping on both the dorsal and ventral aspects, and severe pitting. A score of Phase X for Todd (1921a) gives an age range of over 50. Phase VI in the Suchey-Brooks scoring system (Suchey and Brooks 1990) gives a mean age of 60, with a 95% confidence interval of 42-87. The right auricular surface was scored Phase VII (Lovejoy et al. 1985) based on macroporosities, subchondral destruction, irregular margins and osteophytes in the retroauricular area, placing the age of the individual between 50-59. Meindl & Lovejoy's (1985) composite scores for ectocranial suture closure in the vault and lateral anterior areas also place the mean age over 50. Lastly, the sternal ends of the left and right fourth ribs were scored using Iscan et al. (1984). Both rib ends had wide U-shaped pits, thin walls, bony projections, and were very thin, lightweight and porous. The ends were classified as Phase 7, giving an age range of between 59-71.

Ancestry was determined to be Caucasoid based on the evaluation of nonmetric traits and the conclusions of FORDISC 2.0 and Giles and Elliot (1962). Nonmetric traits indicated that the Tomb 2 was Caucasoid or white. This classification was based primarily on very reduced prognathism of the mid-facial region and highly arched, narrow nasals with a sharp nasal sill and prominent nasal spine. Tomb 2 also exhibited narrow interorbital width, an inion hook, a depression at the nasion, and a square, projecting chin with crowded dentition. Using 24 cranial measurements, FORDISC 2.0 classified Tomb 1 as a WM, white male. The posterior probability was 99.7% but the typicality probability was only 0.2%. The next closest category was white female, with a typicality probability of 0% but a posterior probability of 0.3%. Using 35 postcranial measurements, FORDISC 2.0 classified Tomb 1 again as a white male. The posterior probability was almost exactly the same, 99.6%, but the typicality index was down to 0%. Giles and Elliot (1962)

discriminant function formula resulted in a White-Negro value of 22.76 and a White-Indian value of 9.7. When plotted together on a graph appropriate for males, the resulting plot lies within the center range of values considered to be white.

Stature was calculated based on the averages of the various stature ranges from FORDISC 2.0 and Trotter and Gleser (1958). Trotter and Gleser (1958) list an average stature range with a 95% confidence interval for between 63.5 and 69 (5'4"-5'9) inches for American white males, with the average being 66 inches (5'6"). The average stature range from FORDISC 2.0 with 95% confidence interval was between 63 and 70.6 inches (5'3" – 5'11"), with the average height being 67 inches (5'7").

Tomb 2 exhibited some of the same postmortem trauma described in Tomb 1, as well as some intriguing pathology. Overall, the bones were also very lightweight and porous. As in Tomb 1, both the left and right scapula bodies and scapular spines were damaged, exposing woven bone. Trabecular bone was also exposed on both the proximal and distal ends of the long bones. Several skeletal elements had the white spots, striations or other areas of discoloration observed in Tomb 1 that most likely resulted from mold, fungus, or rotting coffin wood. The cranium and the innominates were particularly covered in white discoloration. Several bones also showed evidence of plant activity in the form of small black lines looping around the shafts of both radii, left scapula, left clavicle and left os coxae. Vertebral osteophytes were observed on nearly all of the vertebrae. A single, branching osteophyte on the anterior bodies connected cervical vertebrae three and four as well as thoracic vertebrae eight and nine.

The skeletal remains from Tomb 2 showed signs of a systemic pathology. Various skeletal elements were swollen to the point of being grossly distorted. These swollen

bones seemed to be lighter and more porous, and were generally located on the right side of the body. During the excavation, Ms. Manhein wondered if the swelling might be indicative of syphilis. The right clavicle was the clearest example of this swollen condition, with the sagittal diameter at midshaft being eight millimeters more in the right clavicle than in the left (Figure 24). The shaft of the right humerus was swollen and the bone was extremely light, but the head and distal end seemed unaffected (Figure 25). The manubrium appeared swollen and porous and several sternal ends of the right ribs were also grossly swollen (ribs 1, 6, 9). The right hip was fused to the sacrum, with an extra sixth lumbar vertebra also attached. The overall complex was still extremely lightweight (Figure 26). The right tibia also showed some evidence of swelling, although not as pronounced as in the upper limbs (Figure 27). The right fibula was severely bowed medially, although it could be the result of taphonomic processes.



Figure 24. Left and Right Clavicles from Tomb 2 (B)



Figure 25. Left and Right Humerii from Tomb 2 (B)



Figure 26. Fused Right Innominate and Sacrum of Tomb 2 (B)



Figure 27. Left and Right Tibiae from Tomb 2 (B)

Are these pathological signs indicative of the form of syphilis known as tabes dorsalis? A search of the literature revealed no previous documentation of the effects of tabes dorsalis (locomotor ataxia) on the skeleton. Much of the research on syphilis in the skeleton centered around its effects on the cranium. Goff (1967) cites the presence of gummatous areas on the scalp as indicative of syphilis. Goff states "syphilis is preceded by the formation of gummatous areas in the scalp...these are necrotic, rounded, discrete, lumpy swellings that involve all layers and destroy bone" (1967: 283). These gummatous areas are absent from the cranium in Tomb 2. Goff lists the cranium, tibia, and fingers as the sites most likely to exhibit the symptoms of syphilis. Several of the bones in Tomb 2 exhibit the inflammatory symptoms with possible necrotic bone or the formation of new spongy bone over the existing cortical bone (Goff 1967:285-6). Since tabes dorsalis specifically targets the lower portion of the spinal cord, it may account for the fusing of the right innominate and the extra lumbar vertebra to the sacrum.

A metal nameplate found within Tomb 2 was digitally enhanced to confirm the identity of Peter Everett Randolph. The biological profile created from the skeletal remains in Tomb 2 support the identity of Peter Everett Randolph. According to his death certificate, Peter died at the age of 74 as a result of "locomotor ataxia." As summarized below in Table 2, the remains indicated an older white male approximately 5'6," older than 50 but younger than 80. Systematic pathology resembling syphilis was observed in numerous skeletal elements, supporting but certainly not confirming the diagnosis of "locomotor ataxia," also known as tabes dorsalis.

Biological	Tests	Results
Categories		
Sex	Innominate Morphology	• Male
	Cranial Nonmetrics	• Male
	Post-cranial Metrics	Probably Male
	• Giles and Elliot (1962)	• Male
Age	• Todd (1921a)	• Phase X: over 50
	Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks	• Phase VI: 42-87, mean
	1990)	60
		• Phase VII: 50-59
	• Lovejoy et al. (1985)	• Phase VII: 59-71
	• Iscan et al. (1984)	• Over 50
	Meindl and Lovejoy (1985)	
Ancestry	Nonmetrics	• White
	• FORDISC 2.0	• White
	• Giles and Elliot (1962)	• White
Height	• Trotter and Gleser (1958)	• 63.5" – 69", mean 66"

Table 2. Summary of Results from Tomb 2 (B)

8. Tomb 13

The remains recovered from Tomb 13 represented a majority of the skeleton. Unfortunately, the cranium was missing, which limits the use of several methods for determining the biological profile. In addition, the right ulna, right clavicle, left radius, left inomminate and the sacrum were missing.

The skeletal material recovered was separated into three different classifications depending on whether the bones were recovered inside the coffin, outside coffin/inside tomb, or outside coffin/inside adjacent vault. The skeletal material recovered from inside the coffin was easily discernible based on its color and texture. The bone was weathered, cracked and flaked on the shafts, and dark black in color due to lengthy exposure to the elements through the broken viewing plate that trapped the rotting organic material inside the coffin. Skeletal material found outside the coffin was dried and bleached to a light brown color. Several elements were found outside the coffin but inside the tomb including the left humerus, right scapula, two metacarpals, left patella, a fragment of the acetabulum, and a juvenile scapula. A right radius and a fragment of a juvenile tibia were recovered in the adjacent empty tomb of the double vault. Rainwater and leaves evidently entered the coffin through the open viewing plate, rearranging the skeletal material inside. As the water level rose, it displaced some of the bones outside the coffin and into the tomb. Predators may have been able to reach the bones, causing a few of them to be scattered. Comparing the material recovered within the coffin to that found outside the coffin, the recovered skeletal material could all belong to one individual, except for the juvenile material and an extra patella.

Severe postmortem damage to the remains made the subsequent analysis difficult. Nonmetric analysis of the damaged right innominate proved inconclusive. I could not determine

the presence of a ventral arc, preauricular sulcus or the extent of subpubic concavity. The ischiopubic ramus ridge seemed narrow, but the area was also damaged with a portion missing. The greater sciatic notch was moderately wide, which would indicate female, but it cannot independently determine sex accurately. A metric analysis was also attempted. The right femoral head was measured at approximately 45mm and the left femoral head, which was intact but detached, was measured at 46mm. Pearson (1917-19) categorizes males as being greater than 45.5mm, with those between 44.5-45.5 categorized as "probably male." Dwight (1905) lists the average maximum diameter for males at 49.68mm, which is much higher than Tomb 13. Since the head of the humerus for both right and left was either missing or detached, measurement of the maximum head diameter was impossible. Giles and Elliot's (1962) discriminant function formula and cranial nonmetric could not be performed as the cranium was not recovered.

Age was determined using the pubic symphysis and the auricular surface of the right inomminate, although both had some postmortem damage. The pubic symphysis was scored Phase V for Todd (1921a, 1921b) and Phase III for Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks 1990) based on the formation of the ventral rampart on the inferior and superior borders, the completion of the dorsal plateau, remaining ridges of the superior face, and the lack of a complete rim or pubic tubercle. A score of Phase V for Todd (1921a, 1921b) gives an age range of 33 to 46. Phase III in the Suchey-Brooks scoring system (Suchey and Brooks 1990) gives a mean age of 30.7, with a 95% confidence interval of 21-53. The auricular surface was scored between Phase III/IV (Lovejoy et al. 1985) based on the presence striae and a fine-grained appearance. There might be some retroauricular growth, but the area has also suffered postmortem damage. Phase III to IV indicates an age range of between 30-39. Meindl &

Lovejoy's (1985) composite scores for ectocranial suture closure could not be performed and the rib ends were too damaged to use Iscan et al. (1984, 1985).

Ancestry could not be determined due to the lack of cranial material. Although postcranial material is far less reliable in determining ancestry, the postcranial material from Tomb 13 was even too damaged to use FORDISC 2.0.

Stature was difficult to properly calculate due to the fragmentary nature of the remains and because the sex classification was also inconclusive. The radius, ulna, and femur were used because they were fairly complete. Stature estimates for both male and female were done in order to create a more accurate range. Trotter and Gleser's (1958) chart for maximum stature in American white males listed 69, 70, 68 inches respectively, making an average height of 69 inches or 5'9." Trotter and Gleser's (1958) chart for maximum stature in American white females listed 69, 69, and 67 inches respectively, making an average height of 68 inches or 5'8." These stature estimates may be incorrect due to an estimation in measurement or if the remains are not of Caucasoid ancestry, since Trotter and Gleser's (1958) measurements differ slightly for blacks.

Exposure to the elements resulted in extensive postmortem damage to the skeletal remains found within the coffin of Tomb 13. This damage made constructing the biological profile impossible in some categories (see Figure 28 for examples of postmortem damage). Unlike Tomb 1 and 2, the vertebrae recovered from Tomb 13 did not have any signs of arthritic lipping or antemortem deterioration. Although the biological profile only told us that the individual was most likely a young adult approximately 5'9," a gold engraved locket recovered inside the coffin confirmed that the remains were those of Valle Joseph Rozier (Figure 29 & 30).

Table 3 summarizes the attempts to apply the diagnostic methods for determining the biological profile in Tombs 1 and 2 to the fragmentary and poorly preserved remains recovered from Tomb 13. It is fortunate that the locket with the engraved initials of Valle Joseph Rozier was recovered with the iron coffin in Tomb 13, matching it to the damaged monument bearing Rozier's name and epitaph. Sex was inconclusive, with some indications that the remains were probably that of a male. The age of the remains was clearly much younger than Tombs 1 and 2, even with the high degree of deterioration. The age was probably between 30 and 45 years old. Valle Joseph Rozier died at the age of 37, which places him neatly within this age range.



Figure 28. Postmotem Damage to Innominate of Tomb 12



Figure 29. Locket from Tomb 13

Biological Categories	Tests	Results
Age	InnominateCraniumOther	 Inconclusive N/A Femoral Head Diameter probably male
Sex	 Todd (1921a, 1921b) Suchey-Brooks (Suchey and Brooks 1990) Lovejoy et al. (1985) Iscan et al. (1984, 1985) 	 Phase V: 33-46 Phase III: 21-53, mean 30.7 Phase III/IV: 30-39
Ancestry	Cranium	• N/A
Height	Trotter and Gleser (1958)Radius, Ulna, Femur	 Male - 69",70",68" Female - 69", 69", 67"

Table 3. Summary of Results from Tomb 13

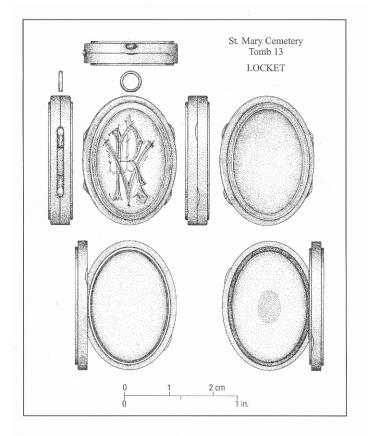


Figure 30. Drawing of the Locket from Tomb 13

CHAPTER 6. DISCUSSION

Data collected from the various tombs were compiled for comparison. A number of general trends can be observed in the data. Grave orientation, tomb and monument styles, inscriptions and epitaphs, tombstone symbolism, and coffin hardware were compared regarding the data collected at St. Mary's Cemetery and other comparable historic cemetery studies.

A. Grave Orientation

Hannon (1989) researched cemetery change in Western Pennsylvania. He describes trends in cemetery type and placement along with stylistic information on tombstones and epitaphs. Hannon states that "in a pattern sustained by centuries of practice, deceased persons have traditionally been interred with their feet oriented in an easterly direction" (1989:247). In forty-nine of the fifty cemeteries Hannon studied as well as in his experiences throughout the Northeast, he observed tombstones oriented toward the east. Hannon (1989:247) attributes religious motives to this easterly orientation of tombstones: "The sacred is inherent in this practice, owing to the Christian belief that Christ will appear in the east on the last day and the dead will rise to face His countenance." Lindley (1965:86) also attributes the easterly orientation of the feet to the religious belief that Christ will come with the rising sun in the east on Judgment Day. Tarlow (1999:60) states that Christian burials in Britain are oriented east-west in order for the body to face Heaven on Judgment day, but also notes that burial tradition of orienting the body on the east-west axis existed early in non-Christian cultures. Tarlow (1999:60) suggests that the burial practice of orienting the feet to the east could have been borrowed from previous cultural traditions and not practiced for the symbolic purposes of facing Christ and Heaven during Judgment Day.

Do the tombs of St. Mary's Cemetery follow this cultural preference for an easterly orientation? Nearly all of the tombs in St. Mary's Cemetery are oriented along the east-west axis. The only exceptions are the four tombs located along the back line of the property (including the Klos Family tomb) on the eastern side and the Hudson family tomb. These tombs are oriented on the north-south axis, with the inscriptions facing south. All of the intact and legible inscriptions of both the Randolph and Murrell families face east. The two headstones north of the Murrell plots are also oriented along the east-west axis, but these headstones are instead facing west. This orientation is particularly intriguing since one of the corresponding footstones is facing east, even though the headstone is facing west.

The actual burial position of the Randolph family members within the tombs shows a much greater degree of variation. The first two Randolphs (John Hampden Randolph and Valle Rozier) buried at St. Mary's Cemetery were interred facing west, instead of the traditional east orientation. The remaining Randolph family members that were recovered were all oriented toward the east, with the one exception of Peter Everett Randolph. Whether accidental or intentional, the motive for burying these three Randolphs facing west instead of east will remain a mystery.

B. Tombs and Monuments

The above and below ground tomb styles changed over time. A majority of the tombs at St. Mary's Cemetery are box tombs, one to two feet high, rectangular, oriented on the east-west plane, and composed of brick with a coating of concrete plaster. Until the 1930s, the tombs had a separate stone tablet attached over the top of the brick base. The individual's information was inscribed on the stone tablet or the monument resting on top of the tablet. Tombs 3-7 and 9-11 fit within this category. After 1930, a small variation on this style appeared with Tombs 1 and 2.

These tombs fit all the previous categories except that they do not have a separate top tablet. This stylistic change could be due in part to the fact that the top surface of these tombs does not appear to have been used for the grave inscription. This hypothesis is supported by the clean, smooth surface of Tomb 1. Although there is damage to the top of Tomb 2, the middle section where the inscription would be centered is intact. A portion of Peter Everett Randolph's inscription stone was found resting on another monument. The stone may have been attached to the top of the tomb as a small tablet, instead of covering the entire tomb.

Four tombs within the Randolph plot do not fit within these two general stylistic categories, but they all have special circumstances attached. Tomb 13, the double vault with Valle Rozier, matches the first tomb style with the attached tablet. In this tomb, the tablet extends across both vaults. In addition, a concrete slope extends off both sides of the tomb (N-S orientation) to form a large concrete mound. Tomb 13 extends much farther below ground and extends much less above ground than the other tombs. Tombs 12 and 14, infant graves, are small brick mounds. In these tombs, form follows function. Since these tombs were built to house different types of burials than the other tombs, they have different associated styles. Tomb 8 represents a significant stylistic change, the curved concrete vault with the tapered base. Interred in 1944, Tomb 8 was the last recorded burial in St. Mary's Cemetery. Variation from the other observed tomb styles is most likely due to the more recent burial date of Tomb 8, seven years after the previous burial.

C. Epitaphs and Inscriptions

George and Nelson (1983) describe the importance of epitaphs in connecting the living to the dead. Effective epitaphs both commemorate the dead and console the living. They put a word on death and express emotions of hope, fear, and sadness. Edgette (1989) states that

scriptural passages are the most common category of epitaph. Entire verses are sometimes inscribed, including a citation of the original source of the particular passage. More often the source is not cited, most likely based on the assumption that the verses would be common knowledge to the community. Edgette (1989:88) describes a variant of the scriptural verse epitaph using "short, plea-like prayers" in "asking for mercy or fair treatment for the soul of the departed." These epitaphs are meant to demonstrate the importance of religion during the life of the departed person, or the family responsible for erecting the monument (Edgette 1989:89).

Another category of epitaphs are "verbal utterances which convey the expression of grief over loss while simultaneously attempting to justify and accept the loss" (Edgette 1989:89). Edgette (1989:89) gives the common inscriptions of "Gone but not forgotten," "Only Sleeping," and "At Rest." McKillop (1995) notes inscriptions like "At Rest" also serve as euphemisms for death, reducing the finality of death to the more peaceful image of sleep.

The inscriptions at St. Mary's Cemetery generally fall into one of two categories. John Hampden Randolph and Sallie Randolph both have short uncited scriptural quotes. The inscription for Valle Joseph Rozier, the husband of Annie Caroline Randolph, was not visible until Wilbert Funeral Home professionally cleaned the monument in preparation for the reburial. Valle Joseph Rozier's epitaph "With thee many hopes perish" sounds scriptural in nature but could also fit within the verbal utterance category of expressing grief over the loss. The cross monument on Emily Jane Liddell's tomb contains the very brief "Asleep in Jesus," which could be classified under the verbal utterances category. The epitaph on Moses Liddell's tomb "Brave, Gentle, True" could also fit within the verbal utterances category. Although they are not inscriptions, several decorative coffin plaques contained similar inscriptions. "At Rest" plaques

were recovered from Emily Jane Liddell's and Gladys Gustine Randolph's tombs, and a "Rest in Peace" plaque was recovered from Moses Liddell Randolph's tomb.

The other tombs at St. Mary's have a similar pattern. John D. Murrell, John D. Collins, Florence Harris, and Anne S. Brown all have scriptural quotation epitaphs. The tomb of Kate A. Murrell bears a more personal epitaph, but one that is still religious in tone – "A joy on Earth, an Angel in Heaven." It could be classified under the verbal utterance category because it both expresses grief and justifies the loss. The double tomb of Annie Forest and William Cocker bears the simple epitaph "May their souls rest in peace." It is interesting to note that Sallie Virginia Randolph and Anne S. Brown were buried only one month apart in 1893 (Sallie in September, Anne in October) and that both have the exact same scriptural quotation epitaph.

Personal epitaphs seemed to appear only on the earlier tombs at St. Mary's Cemetery. Every tomb prior to 1900 contained a personal epitaph on the monument. This is also true of the monuments outside of the Randolph plot. Anne Brown, Florence Harris, John Collins, Annie Forrest, William Cocker, and Kate A. Murrell were all buried before 1900 and all have personal epitaphs. John D. Murrell is the only tomb outside of the Randolph family plot buried after 1900 (1904) that has an epitaph. The last tomb with an observed epitaph was Emily Jane Liddell, the wife of John Hampden Randolph and matriarch of the family. None of the tombs after 1904 contain any personal additions to the standard identifying epitaph. The exact reasons for this change are unclear, although it may be due to some changes in tomb styles.

D. Monument Symbolism

Two monuments located near the northern edge of St. Mary's Cemetery include commonly engraved decorative symbols identified and discussed in other scholarly sources. The headstone of the infant of son of J.A. & S.G. Barnett is decorated with a small resting lamb

located at the top of the grave. The headstone of Anne S. Brown (twenty-one at the time of her death) contains two clasped hands at the top of the grave.

Little (1998) describes the importance of gravemarker symbols and the type of information they convey. According to Little "since ancient times such markers have contained images representative of the life and afterlife of the interred. The symbols used give powerful cultural clues about the culture of the region where the stone was made, the spiritual beliefs of the artisan, or the beliefs of the client who ordered the marker" (1998:20). The gates of heaven, clasped hands and lambs all represent common biblical imagery used by commercial stone cutters and available in many of the design catalogues of the time (Little 1998). Huber (1982:55) identifies the lamb symbol in the cemeteries of New Orleans as being representative of Jesus. The close association of St. Mary's Cemetery with St. Mary's Episcopal Church and the overwhelming presence of religious epitaphs support the interpretation of the lamb and the clasped hands as religious.

Snyder (1989) offers a slightly different interpretation of the symbolism of the lamb. The appearance of the lamb symbol on a child's grave provides important contextual clues beyond simple religious symbolism. Snyder states of children's graves, "most common are plain markers which bear epitaphs and symbols associated with childhood, such as lambs, doves, flowers, and a number of other images" (1989:14). Lambs may be more indicative of childhood than religion. Snyder calls the lamb "a familiar sign of innocence in the Victorian cemetery" (1989:20). The appearance of the lamb on a child's grave, particularly if it is represented with a child in the image, could indicate the association of the child with the innocence and purity of nature. According to Snyder, "nature, by the mid-nineteenth century, had become associated with peace and virtue in the face of an urbanizing nation" (1989:20).

McKillop (1995) discusses the importance of the symbol of the lamb in children's graves at the St. Thomas Anglican Churchyard in Belleville, Ontario. McKillop notes "smaller churchyard cemeteries tended to have slab markers with symbols of lambs, doves, flowers, or other symbols associated with childhood" (1995:90). A decorative coffin handle with a resting lamb was recovered during the excavation of a child's grave. McKillop concurs with the interpretation of the lamb as a sign of innocence. The resting lamb in particular parallels the "19th-century view of death merely as sleep" (McKillop 1995:95). McKillop also notes, "the sleeping lamb motif also has been interpreted as a symbol of confession of faith in Jesus" (1995: 95).

Huber (1982) examines the symbolism of the clasped hands motif found on New Orleans gravestones. Huber (1982:1) notes that the clasped hands motif is one of the most common symbols found in New Orleans cemeteries. The clasped hands are always represented with the woman on the left and the man on the right, determined by the type of cuff pictured with the hand. Huber (1982:1) states that the clasped hands represent the holy matrimony of marriage. This interpretation is likely correct at St. Mary's Cemetery, since Anne S. Brown's tombstone bears the inscription the "Beloved Wife of Z. J. Brown."

E. Coffins and Coffin Hardware

The excavations at St. Mary's recovered three metal coffins, two cast-iron and one composed of sheet metal. John Hampden Randolph, Valle Joseph Rozier, and Sallie Virginia Randolph were all buried in metal coffins, with John and Valle interred in the cast-iron versions. All three burials were buried in sequence in the ten-year period between 1883 and 1893, with the exact order of burial being John, Valle, and then Sallie. John Hampden Randolph and Valle J. Rozier both have similar external stone monuments. Randolph has the traditional obelisk, while

Valle has a pedestal style monument. Neither monument survived to the present intact, but both likely rested in the middle of the tablet on top of the tomb. A photo from Postell (1936) shows a bowl shaped monument located directly behind John Hampden Randolph's obelisk. From the position of the photograph, the bowl on the pedestal was once likely part of Valle Rozier's monument. The coffins are nearly identical in design – a cast-iron coffin that tapers at the feet with a glass viewing plate and nearly identical coffin handles and escutcheons. Rozier and Randolph's graves also bear a number of similarities. Both graves are above-ground rectangular brick tombs covered in concrete plaster, include separate stone tablets placed on top of the tomb, and have arched brick internal vaults. Another cast-iron coffin of the exact same style as Rozier's and Randolph's was located resting halfway in a brick mound tomb just west of the Murrell family plot. The tomb contained no inscription or identification.

Habenstein and Lamers (1955) describe the introduction and rise to popularity of metal coffins in the United States. Coffin styles changed in the eighteenth century to reflect the demand for greater utility in a burial receptacle. Habenstein and Lamers (1955:259) state that consumers wanted coffins to be more artistic and to represent the importance of the deceased and their family, while also providing protection from graverobbers. Coffins constructed of material other than wood began appearing more frequently in the late nineteenth century. Habenstein and Lamers (1955:265) note that the introduction of metallic coffins changed the manufacture and distribution of coffins in America. Metal coffins provided protection of the deceased from graverobbers and also preserved the body for viewing and transport prior to burial. In 1848, the Fisk Metallic Coffin was introduced. The Fisk coffin was designed to resemble the human body with the hands crossed over the chest and holding a cross (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:263). Fisk coffins also featured oval glass viewing plates for viewing the body. Habenstein and

Lamers (1955:264) note that the cost of metal coffins was considerably more than that of wooden coffins, restricted only to the "well-to-do." In the second half of the nineteenth century, other companies formed that mass produced metallic coffins, with the most famous being Crane, Breed & Co. (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:265). Crane, Breed & Co. also advertised the protective qualities of the metal coffin in both preserving the remains and in safeguarding them from the elements. Crane, Breed & Co. began mass producing coffins between 1858-1862, with the design slowly changing from the sacrophagus style of the early Fisk coffins to the rectangular shape of modern coffins (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:272). Habenstein and Lamers (1955:272) note that the modern coffin style was briefly preceded by a "short-lived, in between model" known as the "zinc 'shoulder casket'" in 1857. Photographs of this model visually match the style of the cast-iron coffins found at St. Mary's, although the coffins found at St. Mary's date much later than 1857. Habenstein and Lamers (1955:273) also mention that Crane, Breed, & Co. developed a sheet metal casket in the 1870s in an attempt to create a lighter metal coffin. This type of coffin could match the metal coffin found in Tomb 3.

The number of similarities between the tombs of Rozier and Randolph may be somewhat surprising since the two individuals occupied very different stations within the Randolph family. John Hampden Randolph was the patriarch of the Randolph family; the man who built Nottoway and ran the family's various plantations. Rozier was simply the husband of John and Emily Jane Randolph's ninth child, Annie Caroline Randolph. I suspect that the similarities in tomb and coffin styles between John and Valle is more related to the wealth of the Randolph family in general. John and Valle were buried within three years of each other, John in 1883 and Valle in 1886. Sallie Virginia Randolph, buried in 1893, was also interred within a metal coffin. However, her coffin was not of the same quality and material as the previous two cast-iron

coffins, which was especially evident during the removal process. None of the subsequent burials after 1893 were interred with metal coffins. Similarly, Emma Jane Liddell is the only burial after 1886 to have any form of external monument other than the tablet and inscription. Emma's stone cross and wreath accompany her box tomb and tablet inscription. The family members probably felt it necessary to honor the matriarch of the Randolph with an appropriate monument. The external monument would take precedence over the metal coffin since the monument is the only tribute that visitors would be able to see. Her monument would visibly represent her power and status within the family as rivaling that of her husband.

A variety of coffin hardware was recovered from the Randolph graves at St. Mary's Cemetery. Several slightly different coffin handles were excavated, but comparisons with materials recovered from other historic sites were made more difficult by the lack of an available classification system. McKillop (1995:83) notes "in the absence of useful descriptive names from the manufacturers' catalogs or an existing modern typology of a large collection, descriptive names were assigned...to facilitate classification, discussion, and comparison." None of the coffin handle styles described by McKillop appeared at St. Mary's Cemetery. McKillop (1995:81) states "whereas furniture and trunk handles were used for the earlier coffins in St. Thomas Churchyard, mass-produced coffin handles were common after 1860." All of the coffin handles recovered from St. Mary's were from tombs dating much later than 1860. McKillop (personal communication 2005) notes that straight rail coffin handles occurred in graves at St. Thomas Churchyard postdating the 1860s and that they generally are from later dates than the swing-bar handles. Manufacturing catalogs displayed and propagated these massproduced styles, which were both popular and inexpensive. McKillop (1995:90) believes the "desire and ability to conform with the standard social burial practices" had more to do with the

abundance of coffin hardware recovered at St. Thomas Churchyard than with its inexpensive cost. Bell (1990:57) views the change to ornate mass-produced coffin hardware as paralleling the "sentimental styles so typical of other objects associated with 19th-century mourning." Bell and other researchers have called this movement the "beautification of death."

The "beautification of death" movement is personified through intricate, stylistic mortuary goods like coffin handles, nameplates, escutcheons, and decorative coffins. According to Bell (1990:58), mass-produced coffin hardware "perpetuated the identity of the deceased...and provided a means to present and view the deceased...memorialization and display of the dead in a beautified manner, such as a decorative coffin, are characteristic of the beautification of death" (58). Bell cites the proliferation of the viewing glass as a preference for the decorative style coffin. The viewing glass innovation appeared in 1848, becoming more popular in the mid-nineteenth century. The rectangular viewing glass could be made locally, but oval or trapezoid viewing plates were more difficult to produce. Both of the cast-iron coffins recovered from the Randolph graves had oval viewing plates. A number of other graves, with now absent wood coffins, contained broken pieces of viewing glass, but the original shape could not be determined.

CHAPTER 7. REBURIAL AND CONCLUSION

Wilbert Funeral Home created a new cemetery for the Randolph family members removed from St. Mary's Cemetery at the family's ancestral home of Nottoway Plantation. Ledger stones and monuments were professionally cleaned and reassembled in their original condition. Portions of broken stone were replaced and missing inscriptions were completed. Previously unmarked graves were given modern headstones with the name, date of birth and date of death. A plaque and pedestal were erected to commemorate the effort and contributions of the Randolph family in the removal and reburial project.

On November 20, 2004, Reverend James A. Shortess of the Holy Communion Episcopal Church in Plaquemine, Louisiana, the same minister who said a blessing during the removal at St. Mary's Cemetery, dedicated and blessed the new Randolph family cemetery.

The removal and reburial of the Randolph Family from St. Mary's Cemetery provides a case study for examining the interaction between anthropology and the community. The Randolph family was not required by any laws to consult an archaeologist to assist in the removal of the family remains. The family and Mr. Wilbert of Wilbert Funeral Home chose to contact Ms. Manhein because they believed that archaeology could provide valuable information on skeletal remains of the Randolph family members exhumed from St. Mary's Cemetery. The family allowed for photographs to be taken and observations recorded on the remains within tombs with identifiable gravemarkers. Three unknown individuals were taken back to the LSU Forensic Anthropology Lab and were x-rayed, photographed, and extensively analyzed. The skeletal and funerary remains were returned to the Randolph family in a reasonable period of time for their reburial. The history of St. Mary's Church and Cemetery were researched and

added to the existing data to form a document that contributes to the rich historical record of the Randolph family.

On the academic side, St. Mary's Cemetery has many unique features for a historic Louisiana cemetery. Because the remains were buried within above ground, brick vaults, skeletal preservation was excellent. As discussed earlier, bone preservation from the historic period is incredibly poor in Louisiana, so the data collected from this sample of skeletal material should significantly contribute to future research by providing a small, but well preserved population. Unlike many of the other historic cemetery excavation, St. Mary's Cemetery contains several individuals from an upper-class European background as the heads of successful plantations. As discussed earlier, many historic cemetery excavations are salvage projects associated with African-American communities, institutions, or almshouses. This makes St. Mary's unique among historic cemeteries. St. Mary's also yielded information on coffin hardware, recorded as drawings and photographs that could be used with comparative samples to create a classification system and to track stylistic changes. Although St. Mary's Cemetery is not a large enough sample to form interpretations about demography and health of the community, the cemetery does provide valuable information, thanks to its uniquely excellent bone preservation, on an upper-class population with European ancestry.

The project at St. Mary's Cemetery in Bayou Goula, Louisiana, proves that archaeologists and members of a descendant community can cooperate and work peacefully to benefit both parties. The family gets professional help in the proper removal and reburial of the ancestral remains as well as new information to add to the historical record of the family. The archaeologists have the opportunity to observe and document irreplaceable historical information

in the archaeological record that would have been destroyed without a trace if not for their involvement.

The project at St. Mary's yielded valuable historical, archaeological, and osteological data. Photographs, drawings, x-rays, measurements, and notes of the skeletal remains and funerary artifacts removed from St. Mary's Cemetery add to the database of knowledge about historic cemeteries in Louisiana as well as historic cemeteries in general. Although the remains and the artifacts have been reburied, the information will be curated for future study at the LSU FACES lab. Of equal importance is the value of this project in providing a demonstrated, successful protocol for working closely with the descendants of those individuals buried within historic cemeteries to help preserve the remains of the family's ancestors while at the same time collecting important data that would have otherwise have been lost. Anthropologists can successfully and ethically work with descendant communities to offer assistance and also collect and record the available data.

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APPENDIX. INSCRIPTIONS FOR THE NON-RANDOLPH GRAVES

M3- Original stone tablet placed on top of the concrete vault

In memory of John Dobbins And Hardin Dederick Children of GEQM.& Amanda R. Murrell

M5- Original stone tablet placed on top of the concrete vault

In memory Of Kate A. Daughter of John D. & Jennifer R. Murrell Born February 24th, 1875 Died July 20th, 1888

A joy on earth, an Angel in Heaven

M6- Original stone tablet placed on top of the concrete vault

In memory Of John D. Murrell Born in Athens, Tenn Dec.13, 1834 Died in Bayou Goula, LA Jan.15 1904

"He that Believeth in Me Though he were dead yet shall he live again."

M7 – Inscribed by hand as the concrete dried,

MARAGRET GWIN MURRELL b. MAY 19, 1905 NEW ORLEANS, LA d. AUG. 10, 1907 BAYOU GOULA

M8 – originally only part of the marker remained GRM 192(missing) Now inscribed in the same manner as M7

GEORGE R. MURRELL b. SEPT, 26, 1861 TAHLEQUAH, OK. d. OCT. 18, 1923 BAYOU GOULA, LA

A – two story box tomb

Annie Forest Wife of William Cocker Born Nov. 21, 1830 Died Feb. 2, 1876 William Cocker Born Aug. 12, 1825 Died Dec. 22, 1885 MAY THEIR SOULS REST IN PEACE

Laying on top of A

In Memory of James B. Smith Died Jan.31, 1873 Aged 22 years & 45 days

D – above ground brick vault with separate ledger

Florence C. Harris born Jan. 17, 1857 died Feb. 5, 1897 Peaceful by thy silent slumber

H – above ground brick vault with ledger

John D. Collins born in Lafourche July 18, 1836 Died Sept. 21, 1899 Come unto me and I will give you rest

J. Hudson Family Vault – (info from Riffel 1989)

Silas F. Hudson Died 10 Oct 1839, aged 45 yrs Eliza (Hudson), his wife Died Aug 1837, aged 31 yrs Clarissa Hudson Died 1844, aged 1 yr, 6 mos Zenas Hudson Died Aug 1837, aged 5 yrs Eliza Hudson Died Aug 1837, aged 3 wks

K - top half of cross resting on brick mound tomb

Sophia Ryder

L – small headstone with lamb design at the top of the marker, tombstone facing west

Infant son of J.A. & S.G. Barnett Born & Died June 15th 1893

M - foot stone facing east - A.S.B, headstone facing west, clasping hands symbol on top

Anne S. Brown Beloved Wife of Z. J. Brown Born Oct. 9 1872 Died Oct. 21 1893 Earth has no sorrow that heaven can not heal

N-rusted metal cross

O – brick mound, depression. Virtually illegible (info from Riffel 1989)

Charles A. Bryan Born Middleton, Md. Died in New Orleans, La. 28 Apr 1838 – 6 Apr 1902

VITA

Christian R. Williamson graduated summa cum laude from Mississippi State University in 2000 with a bachelor of arts in anthropology. After taking some time off to pursue a screenwriting career in Los Angeles, he returned to anthropology, entering the master's program at Louisiana State University. During his time at Louisiana State University, Christian has worked as a teaching assistant for the cultural anthropology and physical anthropology introductory classes. He has also worked as a graduate assistant at the FACES lab, participating in forensic cases and outreach presentations to local school children. He has presented his thesis material during the Louisiana state-wide Archaeology Week and to the Randolph family at the rededication ceremony. Christian plans to pursue his doctorate in bioarchaeology at Syracuse University and to live a long and happy life as a college professor.