The Necrogeography of Melungeon Cemeteries in Central Appalachia

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(ABSTRACT)

Previous historical and cultural geographic studies of the cemetery suggest that gravemarkers are surrogates for ethnicity and cultural assimilation. While studies of this type among single ethnic groups are common, examination of the multiethnic cemetery has largely been ignored. This study focuses on the necrogeography (regional burial practices) of the Melungeons, an understudied and underrepresented minority group. Their diverse ancestry purportedly includes a mixture of European, Native American, and African heritage. They have settled primarily in the Central Appalachian region, and more specifically within Hancock County, Tennessee. Their traditional burial practices include the construction of a unique gravehouse.

I conducted personal interviews with Melungeons, religious leaders, and cemetery workers to determine the social meanings attached to these unique gravemarkers. I inspected 116 cemeteries located within Hancock County. A Melungeon Burial Index (MBI) was calculated based on the number and type of gravemarkers in individual cemeteries. The MBI acts a cultural inventory to measure varying degrees of Melungeon burial assimilation. Next, I interpreted the spatial patterns of assimilation to describe qualities of material cultural diffusion in the area. My findings show that traditional gravehouses are gradually being abandoned by the residents and over 93% of cemeteries exhibit complete burial assimilation. This suggests that gravehouse construction, a material and cultural practice of a U.S. minority group, has ended.

To Mom, my best friend and biggest fan

Acknowledgements

As my research concludes, I am reminded that this has not been a solitary journey. The success of this thesis is a direct result of valuable contributions offered by many people.

I am thankful for the constant encouragement provided by members of my committee. Dr. Lynn Resler's mention of Terry Jordan's studies presented much needed direction during the earliest stages of my research. Her thoughtful comments and insights about mountain cultures were always appreciated. While conducting interviews, I found myself relying on lecture notes originally written years ago during Dr. Stevan Jackson's course in ethnographic methods. His in-depth knowledge of the Appalachian region inspired my own interests as an undergraduate. I am particularly grateful to my committee chair Dr. Joseph L. Scarpaci for not only taking an interest in my "strange" research but for guiding it. His professional and personal support during the past two years has been invaluable. I consider him as both mentor and friend.

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Glossary of Key Terms

Burial assimilation - the process by which a minority group accepts the burial practices of the cultural majority.

Deathscape - the cultural landscape surrounding burial practices.

Enclosure - an elevated structure surrounding a gravesite, including wooden, stone, and metal materials.

Funerary objects of interest - any type of gravemarkers excluding gravestones.

Gravehouse - a completely enclosed and roofed structure having an entranceway covering a gravesite.

Graveshelter - a roofed structure having no enclosure or fencing covering a gravesite

Necrogeography - the study of regional burial practices.

Chapter 1 - On Encountering Death and Dying in Hancock County, Tennessee

I ignore the warning that early summer in Hancock County is unbearable. The bank's digital thermometer reads 91°F, but I would have guessed the temperature to be higher. The heat is stifling and the oppressive humidity only makes things worse. I never noticed how few trees lined downtown Sneedville, but today their absence is now apparent. Only sporadic storefront awnings provide temporary shelter from the sun. In hindsight, black dress slacks are a poor choice to wear on this sweltering day.

As I pull into the rear parking lot of the town's only funeral home, I find three remaining spaces. I expect some kind of reprieve from this unforgiving heat upon entering the funeral home. Unfortunately, the building's front windows are wide open, suggesting that relief is not in sight. The funeral home, two stories of white paneling with faded black shutters, resembles a modest house. Without the small placard attached to the front porch, I may have easily mistaken this for a private residence. However, once inside it is clear that I have reached my intended destination.

I arrive only minutes before the service begins. The front chapel is full and I cannot find an empty seat. I select a spot to stand toward the rear of the room, settling along the back wall with a line of other attendees. Silently, I count over 85 in attendance and a few more trickle in throughout the service. The deceased's family sits to my right in the front row. The pallbearers are to my left. An entire row of women sit directly in front of me. Most are dressed in fashions reminiscent of another era. The bold colors and lab-created fabrics give it away. All wear dresses that extend well below the knee framed with short, frilly sleeves. I catch part of a conversation between two older women who have carefully coifed their curly, graying hair through a decade's old tradition of perming, teasing, and finally shellacking with a thick coat of hairspray so that no hair is out of place. Their chatter shifts as a younger woman in a polished pant suit enters the chapel. While I find her ensemble quite stylish, the two women seem to be appalled that she has decided to wear pants, whispering comments about her inappropriate clothing. They quickly turn away. Looking down at my own creased black pants and crisp white shirt, I wonder how many people notice my unfortunate choice of attire. It seems like an appropriate selection

especially after having driven almost four hours to get here. I wish someone had advised me that when in Sneedville, a proper lady must don a dress to church events, weddings, funeral services, or most any public soirée. Otherwise she risks becoming the day's topic of discussion.

My position at the back of the room not only provides an opportunity to overhear fashion critiques by the townswomen but I am also in direct view of the platform where the casket rests. I can clearly see the decedent located at the front of the chapel in a half-opened dark green casket. He is an older man, in his late seventies, wearing a pair of thin rimmed glasses. His black jacket contrasts sharply with the off-white lining of the casket. Several small family photographs and a framed portrait lie beside him. Large floral arrangements fill the front half of the chapel and rest at the foot of the casket.

In a recessed area behind the casket, a small choir of four members sits facing the attendees. They are barely visible behind a row of potted plants. Without any direction, the choir stands and the service begins with a religious hymn. The song is unfamiliar, but the verses with a hint of Southern twang must be familiar to someone and I can hear humming in the seats ahead of me. The funeral director approaches the podium and quickly reads the decedent's obituary, literally from the torn newspaper in his hands. A brief prayer follows.

A pair of Pentecostal-Holiness preachers officiates at the funeral. The first preacher appears to be in his mid to late fifties, dressed in a navy pin-striped suit. His attire seems inappropriately constrictive for this weather. Before he begins, he pulls the folded white handkerchief from his left pocket, wiping the sweat from his brow. He describes the decedent's devotion to the church, mentioning specific fellowship meetings, potluck dinners, and overseas missions. The preacher then turns to face the decedent's family and reassures them that "he is in a place where he feels no pain." The audience is often vocal and regularly responds to his comments with "Amen" or "Glory Be to God." He asks us to bow our heads quietly in prayer. His voice is comforting as he ends with a wish for the deceased's final peace.

The second preacher is dressed more casually. As he makes his way to the podium, he rolls the sleeves of his light blue shirt up to his elbows, exposing a brown watch on his left wrist. His wrinkled khakis and tousled blond hair give the appearance that he has rushed here

from some other place, not nearly as formal as the first preacher. He looks young, most likely in his 30s. He stands there quietly, but his meek exterior is misleading.

He begins with a short sermon about the "evils of drugs and alcohol," highlighting his sister's own issues and eventual journey to salvation. He beckons, "those that do not know the Lord, come to the Lord." Soon he becomes highly animated, shaking his outstretched arms towards the ceiling and stomping his feet while his loud voice echoes throughout the chapel. The preacher comes down off the platform, approaches the open casket, walks back and forth, and finally returns to the platform while delivering his sermon. He rarely mentions the decedent by name. Rather than someone's last rites, this feels more like a church revival.

As the preacher closes the ceremony with another prayer, I expect orders dismissing us from the funeral. However, the service continues as the ushers walk from the back of the chapel and stand on either end of the front row. They then motion for a single row to stand. The row moves to the front of the chapel to view the decedent. Each attendee then shakes the preachers' hands. My unfamiliarity with this practice is unmistakable as I offer my hand out awkwardly and mumble a barely audible, "Thank you" to both preachers. The walk to the back of the chapel feels infinite. Is everyone looking at my pants?

The decedent's family is the final row to stand. As she nears the casket, a woman begins sobbing and a younger man rushes up to support her. They spend a moment at the front of the chapel. Together they turn to the preachers and embrace. An usher carefully takes hold of the woman's right arm and escorts her out of the funeral home to a waiting black limo. My row is the last to exit. Before leaving, I turn to watch as the funeral attendants tuck all of the off-white lining into the casket's sides and close the lid. I stand there in shock, never having personally witnessed such a final act. With the lid securely locked, they wheel the casket towards the back of the funeral home away from where the family has gathered. The entire service lasts just slightly over an hour.

Soon after leaving the funeral home, I unintentionally become part of the funeral procession. Only a single road passes by the parking lot; one way in, one way out. I have no choice but to follow the line of cars that precede me. Breaking out of line would be too obvious. The procession travels down Main Street to a large public cemetery near the southwestern part of town. Parking arrangements are nonexistent and I must navigate to a

ditch by the side of the road. Before exiting my car, I watch as the hearse drives up onto the cemetery grounds. Nine pallbearers carry the casket to a bright blue tent unashamedly branded in white lettering with the funeral home's logo. They place the casket on top of a metal frame. Green Astroturf covers the grave below. Many attendees gather under the trees or by the side of the road. The family sits under the tent positioned directly beside the casket. More Astroturf partially covers a large mound of dirt just beyond the gravesite.

The older preacher says a prayer, but the sun's rays distract me and by the time I realize that I should have bowed my head or at least closed my eyes, it is too late. The younger preacher follows with a Bible verse. Both preachers shake the hands of all family members and pallbearers. The funeral director dismisses attendees other than family and close friends and I take my cue to leave. This brief portion of the funeral lasts less than five minutes.

A week after the interment, I revisit the cemetery. Today the weather is more agreeable, still searing but tempered by a cool breeze. The sheet of Astroturf is gone and a layer of freshly disturbed clay earth envelopes the gravesite. I notice small flecks of white scattered throughout the soil: grass seed. A red and white artificial wreath temporarily marks the site. An understated metal plate listing name, birth, and death stands at the top of his grave. There is no headstone; presumably its absence is short-lived until engraving is complete.

I return six months later in the early winter of 2008 expecting to find a sizeable, more commemorative monument. A conventional granite headstone now replaces the metal plate. It notes that he has "Gone to be with Jesus." A round ceramic photo of the decedent and his wife adorns the stone. In place of the wreath, five artificial poinsettias decorate the gravesite alluding to the recent holiday season. The mound of soil has settled considerably. It is almost level with the surrounding land. A recent snowfall leaves the familiar red soil saturated, enhancing its rich color. Still, no grass grows.

1.1. Personal Interest

The preceding account took place at a Melungeon funeral during research performed in Sneedville, Tennessee (the county seat of Hancock County) throughout the summer of

2007. As a young girl, my earliest interest in the Melungeons arose while watching Public Broadcasting Corporation's episode of Virginia Currents. This local program recounts the oral histories of Virginians in their own words. The program featured narratives by Melungeons from Southwest Virginia, a group about which I was unfamiliar. It highlighted their origins, cultural practices, and a period of persecution. State officials in the 1920s enforced eugenic sterilization of the infirmed, mentally handicapped, social deviants, and members of other marginalized populations occurred to preserve an idealized set of racial traits. Having grown up in an age where diversity is celebrated, I was surprised to learn of the trampling of these citizens' civil rights. I also questioned why even as a daughter of the Old Dominion, I had never heard of this disturbing part of the state's history.

It was not until pursuing an undergraduate degree at Radford University that I was able to revisit studies on this population with coursework in Appalachian cultures. As a graduate student in cultural and historical geography at Virginia Tech, I was better able to focus my interest in rural ethnic islands, cultural assimilation, and their affects on the cultural landscape. Further exploration into these topics revealed distinctive burial practices and a unique feature of Melungeon material culture.

1.2. The Final Ritual

Burial practices and rituals reflect the ideals of a living society. These practices often promote a social cohesion and community interaction (Geertz 1957, 36). Although death rites can be found in every culture, there exists great variation among final rituals. In multicultural societies, a minority group's attitude toward death and subsequent rituals surrounding it may not be the social norm.

During the process of assimilation, minority groups relinquish many of their native cultural traits. However, burial practices are resilient cultural traits and are one of the last surrendered. Immigrants often retain traditional beliefs about death and burial practices far into the assimilation process (Eisenbruch 1984). Wolfgang and Margaret Stroebe stress that, "while adapting partly to Western patterns, at the same time these groups adhere to the bereavement procedures of their own culture" (1994, 51). Geographers Jordan and Rowntree explain how "cemeteries often preserve truly ancient cultural traits, for people as a rule are

reluctant to change practices relating to the dead" (1986, 202). Minority groups may preserve traditional forms of memorialization. In this instance, individual gravemarkers not only represent ethnic identity, but are part of the material culture that can also be used to measure social processes such as assimilation.

1.3. Significance of the Study

The purpose of this thesis is to understand the burial practices of the Melungeons, a multiethnic[1] group in Hancock County, Tennessee. Yet, unlike other studies in necrogeography, this thesis goes beyond descriptive studies and examines the rate in which an ethnic minority assimilates into the cultural majority. Although necrogeographic studies of ethnic identity and cultural assimilation have been conducted, studies of the multiethnic deathscape have received less attention. The Melungeon gravehouse, as part of Melungeon burial practices, is an overlooked indicator of temporal changes in ethnic identity and assimilation because it receives relatively little attention in the literature. Not only this, but Melungeons are an understudied and underrepresented group and I believe this is where I can make a modest contribution.

1.4. Research Objectives

Four main objectives guide this study:

1) To document funerary objects of interest and digitally map cemeteries within Hancock County, Tennessee

2) To determine the degree to which Melungeon ethnic identity is lost through assimilation as evident on the deathscape

3) To identify the social meaning of gravehouses in Melungeon cemeteries

4) To identify contemporary Melungeon burial practices

[1] Following Gordon (1964), I use the term "multiethnic" to incorporate aspects of race, religion, and culture simultaneously.

1.5. Thesis Organization

Following the introductory chapter, the second chapter provides a review of the historical geography of Melungeons in the United States. It begins with their coastal origins and follows their migration to the Central Appalachian region. The third chapter presents literature related to assimilation studies, necrogeography, and unique features of the deathscape. I describe my various methodological approaches in the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter examines the results of my data collection and analyses based on cemetery surveys, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. The final chapter offers conclusions and implications of the findings.

Chapter 2 - An Historical Geography of Melungeon Settlement in the United States

2.1. Origins

During the last half of the 18th century, land surveyors first encountered a group of settlers tucked between Newman's Ridge and Powell Mountain in northeastern Tennessee. These people were described as, "dark, but of a different hue to the ordinary mulatto, with either straight or wavy hair, and some have cheek bones almost as high as the Indians" (Burnett 1889, 349). They possessed English surnames, spoke a broken English dialect, and practiced Christianity all before converging with the Ulster-Scot pioneers who ultimately settled in this same region (Kennedy 1997). They would later be called the Melungeons. However, no one is certain about their origins, not even the Melungeons themselves.

Currently, two main theories surrounding the Melungeons' ethnic origins prevail in the literature. Although it is beyond the scope of my research to determine which of these theories is accurate, most of the literature assumes that Melungeons are a multiethnic group most assuredly of some combined European, Native American, and African heritage (Burnett 1889; Werner 1973; Ivey 1976; Mira 1998; Elder 1999; Winkler 2004). Historical accounts and early census records show that many Melungeons self-identified as Portuguese (Burnett 1889; Dromgoole 1891a). Researchers believe this was an attempt to explain their darker complexions without admitting an African heritage (Price 1951; Kennedy 1997; Elder 1999). The Melungeons "may have started it to counter the hints of Negro blood" (Price 1951, 269). Census records from the 1790s labeled Melungeons as "free persons of color," strongly implying an African ancestry (Kennedy 1997, 13).

However, a more recent hypothesis finds the addition of Middle Eastern traits in this mixture. Brent Kennedy, of declared Melungeon descent himself, argues for the inclusion of Turkish ancestry as part of the Melungeon heritage. His argument centers on both cultural and genetic traits linking Turks and Melungeons. He finds similar traditional foods, dancing, and even an inherited autoimmune illness common among Mediterranean peoples (Kennedy 1997). However, recent DNA testing on 30 individuals claiming Melungeon heritage reveals very little Turkish ancestry. It does present large incidences of European genetic sequences but includes Native American and African American sequences as well (Winkler 2004).

The ethnonym "Melungeon" is itself quite puzzling (Table 2.1). William Gilbert (1946) offers *melan*, the Greek word for "black" because of their darker complexion. This prefix is part of the term melanin, referring to one's skin pigment. Another possibility hints to the Melungeons' multiethnic heritage. Diana Werner (1973) includes *mélange,* the French word for mixture. Alluding to their potential maritime tradition, *melungo*, Portuguese for shipmate may be the source (Werner 1973). Kennedy's assumption, fixed to the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern link, is *melun jinn*, Arabic for damned soul (1997).

Table 2.1 - Possible Origins of the Melungeon Ethnonym

Term	**Linguistic Origin**	**Meaning**
melan (μελας)	Greek	black
mélange	French	mixture
melun jinn (ملعون جنّ)	Arabic	damned soul
melungo	Portuguese	shipmate

Sources: Gilbert 1946; Werner 1973; Kennedy 1997.

2.2. Migration Patterns

Earliest land surveyor accounts place Melungeons in parts of Hawkins County, Tennessee (now Hancock County) around 1784 (Price 1953; Bible 1975). Yet the routes they traveled to reach the Central Appalachian region are less definite. Three possible migration routes exist (Figure 2.1). The most popular narrative recounts stories of shipwrecked or abandoned Portuguese sailors on South Carolina shores during the 16th century (Mira 1998). Archaeologists uncovered metal coins along coastal South Carolina, evidence of Captain Juan Pardo's crew dating to the mid-16th century. Pardo (whose name also means "brown" or "dark-skinned" in Portuguese) was of Portuguese heritage himself but was enlisted by the Spanish navy (Mira 1998). From this point, Portuguese sailors intermarried with women of Native American populations. Because of South Carolina's dependence upon the slave trade, it is likely that the combination of African, European, and Native American admixture began here.

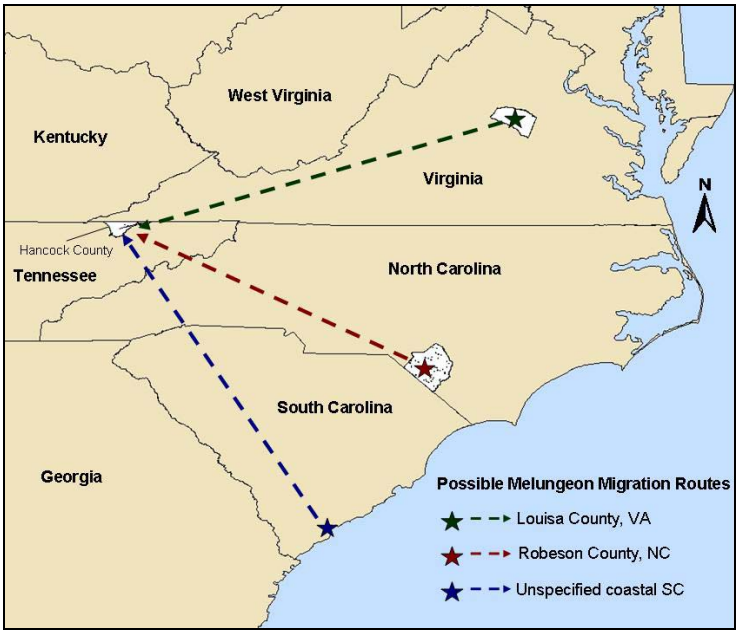

Figure 2.1- Hypothesized Melungeon migration routes.

A smaller, less convincing body of literature supports the final two theories. A group of English settlers arrives in Robeson County, North Carolina to find the Croatan Indians. Edward Price (1951, 269) identifies the Croatan as one of the largest "mixed-blood groups in the country". This ethnically diverse group also may have contained Spanish or Portuguese ancestry (Elder 1999).

The latest theory involves central Virginia. Genealogists find surnames of the Melungeon core group listed in census records for Louisa County (DeMarce 1993; Goins 2000). Members of this core group include the more common surnames of Collins, Mullins, Gibson, Lucas, and Goins (Barr 1965) (Appendix A). Unlike previous theories, DeMarce and Goins highlight the European and African slave mixture, while minimizing the Native American component.

Whether originating in Virginia or North and South Carolina, the Melungeons eventually moved toward the Appalachians. Their mixed ancestry proved to be a hindrance. Neither their European, African, and Native American neighbors readily accepted the Melungeons (Barr 1965). Gilbert (1946) suggests that the Melungeons took residence in the mountainous ridge areas as a result of discrimination and sought isolation provided by the mountains. Due to their lower social class standing, Melungeon settlements were on "inaccessible, undesirable land" (Kennedy 1997, 42). Because of this geographic segregation

and class distinction, sociologists have classified them as social isolates (Gilbert 1946; Price 1953).

2.3. Historical Life-ways

The Melungeons settled on Newman's Ridge. Described as "rocky," Newman's Ridge contrasted to the fertile lands surrounding the Clinch River (Dromgoole 1891b, 749). A series of laws prevented Melungeons from owning more favorable land (Kennedy 1997). During the 1790 census, records classify Melungeons as free persons of color. This title limits their rights as landowners. Yet even with marginalized land, Melungeons were successful pastoralists in the lowland valleys. Here they drove cattle and tended to various crops; namely corn and tobacco. Melungeon men were expert hunters (Barr 1965). They were able to supplement household income with fur trading and through the gathering of herbs (Gilbert 1946).

Classified largely as Christians, Melungeons were of no particular denomination. The majority attended Pentecostal-Holiness, Methodist, or Baptist churches Barr (1965, 29). In addition to organized religion, many Melungeons also relied on nature as a source of spirituality. They planted and harvested crops according to the phases of the moon and superstitions passed on through the generations.

Superstitions also surrounded death in the community. For example, the appearance of a bird at the front door or window and a "howling dog" indicates an impending death (Barr 1965, 26-27). Melungeon funerary customs in part reflect their European ancestry. While traditionally a European practice, Melungeons would walk following the casket to the gravesite (Barr 1965; Mira 1998). They would then observe a period of mourning. However, not all funerary traditions were somber. During the summer months, church goers cleaned local cemeteries and decorated gravesites with flowers. The congregation met on cemetery grounds for church services followed by a fellowship dinner (Crissman 1994, 154). This ceremony, known as Decoration Day, occurred within the summer months (Crissman 1994, 154).

Almost immediately following interment, it was common for Melungeons to construct a gravehouse over the burial site of their loved one (Dromgoole 1891a; Barr 1965;

Ball 1977; Jordan 1982; Gallegos 1997; Johnson 1997; Mira 1998; Elder 1999). After visiting Hancock County, Dromgoole (1891a, 478) notes, "The Malungeons[sic] are very careful for their dead. They build a kind of floorless house above each separate grave…The grave-yard presents the appearance of a diminutive town, or settlement, and is kept with great nicety and care." While Dromgoole was unable to determine the meaning behind these structures, Elder (1999) suggests that the Melungeon gravehouse is linked to an Appalachian superstition. If a gravesite was not well-maintained, a mythical creature entered the grave and disturbed the deceased. The gravehouse acted as both a means of protection and also a sign of respect for the deceased loved one.

2.4. Melungeon Identity in the 20th Century

Beginning in the 1920s, W.A. Plecker, Virginia's Registrar of Vital Statistics targeted multiethnic groups living in southwestern Virginia and northeastern Tennessee, specifically mentioning the Melungeons. His goal was to uphold the Racial Integrity Act of 1924 to prevent interracial marriages and to preserve "the purity of the white race" (Winkler 2004, 121). Plecker emphasizes the "trouble" Melungeons cause by attempting to identify themselves as Native American (Kennedy 1997, 98). Because of these accusations, many viewed Melungeons disparagingly. People with Melungeon ancestry were hesitant to admit this heritage (Werner 1970).

However, since the 1970s, Melungeons have found a renewed interest in their ancestry. Around this time, the play, *Walk Toward the Sunset*, began its six-year run. This outdoor drama, based in Hancock County, highlighted issues of "prejudice and local history" and created an outside interest in the Melungeons (Vande Brake 2001, 178). It transformed previous feelings of shame into pride in one's own heritage.

The internet, too, has become an instrument for strengthening Melungeon identity. Even in poorer Appalachian communities like Hancock Tennessee, where donations of upgraded computers would give residents greater access to information technology (Bohland et al. 2006, 160). Many websites, dedicated to Melungeon genealogy and history, join Melungeon descendants from all over the country (Podber 2003).

Today, remaining Melungeon settlements include parts of northeastern Tennessee, through the southwestern Virginia counties of Lee, Scott, and Wise and eastern portions of Kentucky. In the 1940s, Gilbert estimated the Melungeon population to be between 5,000 and 10,000 (1946). Kennedy's (1997) latest count exceeds 200,000 possibly resulting from an increased willingness to identify with this group.

The greatest concentration of Melungeons is in Hancock County, Tennessee. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2000a), Hancock County has the highest percentage (29.4) of individuals living below the poverty level in the entire state of Tennessee. The median household income is currently under $20,000 (U.S. Census 2000a). County residents no longer depend on agriculture for income, but rather find employment in manufacturing industries throughout surrounding counties much like other Central Appalachian communities (Winkler 2004).

2.5. Summary

Reconstructing the historical geography of Melungeon settlement in the United States is challenging, given the conflicting opinions that exist regarding almost every aspect of their origins: ethnic composition, migration routes, and even the ethnonym of "Melungeon." Perhaps the most persuasive opinion is that Melungeons descended from European, Native American, and African ancestry. It is because of this multiethnic heritage that Melungeons lived in both a geographic and social isolation. Even today, their traditional burial practices leave a distinct pattern on the contemporary cultural landscape.

Chapter 3 - On Broadening Historical Geography White and Western Foci

3.1. Introduction

This literature review begins with a brief description of the major trends within historical geography that are applicable. It identifies the evolution of the field from a largely descriptive subfield to one of greater interpretive importance (Meinig 1989). Historical geographers argue that until the last few decades, contributions of minority groups have been neglected (Kay 1990; Dennis 1991).

More recent studies in historical geography include minority groups' experiences with the majority's culture through the process of assimilation (Hoelscher 1999; Buzzelli 2001; Schlemper 2007). Cultural traits such as religion and language frequently determine a minority group's level of assimilation (Lampe 1977; Ward 1982). First- and second-generation immigrants are largely the subjects of these cultural assimilation studies (Bunle 1950; Clarke 1998; Chau 2007). However, researchers often overlook the cultural assimilation of native peoples. For these populations, rural and topographic isolation acts to delay assimilation (Gordon 1964).

The historical geographer examines temporal changes of the cultural landscape, the human-altered environment (Kniffen 1936, 1965). Cultural landscapes contain meaning (Lewis 1976). They exhibit unique features specific to certain ethnic groups (Walker 1950; Nakagawa 1990; Matturri 1993). Once assimilation occurs, these features may become less distinctive.

As part of the cultural landscape, the cemetery may reflect cultural change. Yet, the earliest studies in necrogeography are limited to the cemetery's utilitarian role (Pattison 1955). Other studies describe the typological changes in gravemarkers (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Price 1966). They lack any form of interpretation about these changes (Jeane 1972). Like similar trends in historical geography, the Eurocentric interest appears within necrogeography. More recent research focuses on interpreting selective features of the cemetery to determine ethnic identity (Jordan 1982; Kentner 1995; Kong 1999). However, few represent the unique identity of multiethnic groups, a research gap that my thesis aims to remedy.

3.2. Trends in Historical Geography

Harry Merrens identifies "the investigation of change as the central purpose of historical geography" (1965, 545). The changes in spatial patterns, variations in the cultural landscape, and the diffusion of material and non-material culture interest historical geographers. However, many analyses have traditionally been descriptive, causing Meinig (1989), among others, to call for a greater interpretive approach. The traditional focus within the field has been on the descriptive analysis of cultural change while ignoring the factors behind its modification.

Prior to the humanist revolution of the late-20th century, geographers argue that studies in historical geography are often Eurocentric, relating to periods of colonization (Kay 1990; Dennis 1991). Kay (1990, 619) finds much of U.S. historical geography to be "unintentionally yet largely racist." It centers on the Western European imperialist perspective. However, contemporary studies focus on anti-racist themes (Holdsworth 2002). A focus on the ways minority groups construct and maintain ethnic identity is of particular importance to historical geographers (Hoelscher 1999; Buzzelli 2001; Schlemper 2007).

3.3. Assimilation on the Cultural Landscape

As part of the shift to more interpretive and inclusive research, historical geographers examine the diffusion of cultural traits between a minority group and its host group (Raitz 1978). Assimilation occurs during these exchanges. Table 3.1 identifies the seven stages of the assimilation process created by Gordon (1964). Cultural assimilation occurs when a minority group accepts specific cultural traits of the majority (or core-group). Much of the focus is on non-material cultural traits. Representing just a few of these traits, a large body of literature identifies language acceptance and religious conversion as the strongest indicators with which to measure cultural assimilation (Bunle 1950; Lampe 1977; Ward 1982; Chau 2007).

Table 3.1 - Assimilation Stages

Process		Stage
Change of cultural patterns to those of host society	Increasing Assimilation ↓	Acculturation
Large-scale entrance into institutions of host society		Structural
Large-scale intermarriage		Marital
Development of sense of peoplehood		Identificational
Absence of prejudice		Attitude receptional
Absence of discrimination		Behavior receptional
Absence of value and power conflict		Civic

Source: After Gordon 1964, 71.

Assimilation is also measurable on the cultural landscape, or the human-altered environment. Modifications to the environment reveal cultural significance. The modern cultural landscape is a result of our past. It reflects distinctive regional traits. However, these traits are not isolated, but rather, form part of a larger mosaic. Cultural significance may come from seemingly common landscapes. However, the Penn State school of cultural geographers believes that cultural landscapes should first be studied within their own geographic context (Zelinsky 1958, 1970; Lewis 1976, 1985).

Acceptance of a society's belief system can be traced on the landscape as well, albeit with some modification. Witness, for instance, attempts to temporarily reject and delay cultural assimilation through the examination of Pennsylvania barns (Zelinsky 1958). Instead of accepting the dominant culture's method of construction, German immigrants retain traditional methods from their homelands to build barns. Wilbur Zelinsky describes the lack of stylistic changes as an effort to maintain one's ethnic identity in a common landscape.

In his work with folk house types, Kniffen (1965) compares the physical attributes and distribution of vernacular housing elements through several American regions. He admits no systematic classification for folk houses exists. He resolves this issue through the creation of a visual representation of the changes in style. This illustration identifies the stylistic diffusion of New England houses over time. Fred Kniffen finds certain structural

elements persist even with the introduction of new ethnic groups and in areas with mixed heritage. For example, the Tidewater-type house remains unchanged despite local French and Spanish influence.

Among the Navajo, Harris (1974) compares traditional farm traits with those introduced by Anglo settlers. Richard Harris argues that the use of barbed wire reveals both an acceptance of Anglo materials and also Anglo feelings about private property. In this way, the agricultural landscape of the southwest depicts the interplay of social values (land tenure) and agricultural hardware in distinct ways among sequent occupants.

Physical landscapes might also influence the rate at which cultural assimilation occurs. The mountain refuge hypothesis explains that the continuance of mountain cultures results from natural barriers (Grötzbach and Stadel 1997, 23). These barriers, in turn, create isolation which restricts contact with outside influences and limits the transmission of cultural traits. This seclusion promotes the persistence of traditional practices among mountain cultures.

3.4. Necrogeography

Burial practices also reflect the interplay of material and non-material culture that leaves a defining imprint on the landscape. Anthropologists, historians, and sociologists have contributed most to the study of burial practices (Ingersoll 1892; Kroeber 1927; Kephart 1950; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). Geographers lament the relative lack of interest in burial studies within their discipline (Price 1966; Kniffen 1967; Zelinsky 1976). “There can be few other subjects as untouched or as promising as the geographical study of burial practices” (Kniffen 1967, 427). Larry Price (1966) believes this is due to complications with locating and recognizing cemeteries. Kniffen (1967) contends that emotional responses affect the amount of cemetery studies. In other words, as a sacred space, researchers often leave the cemetery undisturbed.

As a result of Kniffen’s call for further research in 1966, the field of necrogeography expands to include two main categories. Necrogeography focuses on both the spatial distribution and site selection of cemeteries and also stylistic changes in gravemarkers. Among the studies in cemetery locations and patterns, the overall concern is of land usage

and placement (Pattison 1955; Price 1966; McGuire 1988; Cottle 1997; Harvey 2006). William Pattison's (1955) survey of Chicago cemeteries reveals a trend in the shift of cemeteries from urban centers to more remote areas between 1850 and 1900. Randall McGuire's (1988) cemetery classification system, based on location, identifies three major cemetery types that mirror Pattison's results. The earliest form is the community graveyard, acting largely as a utilitarian site for the disposal of the dead. The common grave is a central feature of the community graveyard, especially among the poor who cannot afford separate niches. Moving away from the community graveyard's urban placement, the rural cemetery appears. It emphasizes greater sanitation methods and is more aesthetically pleasing. The third and most recent cemetery in the U.S. is the lawn-park type, dating from the early-20th century. The lawn-park cemetery is frequently privately-owned and dominates the landscape through its size and rapid expansion (Price 1966).

The bulk of burial and cemetery studies lie with gravemarker and tombstone seriation (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Price 1966; Francaviglia 1971). Seriation occurs when one style's popularity decreases and another style replaces it. From an archaeological perspective, Dethlefsen and Deetz (1966) suggest changes in gravemarkers accurately signify popularity among members of a society; these changes vary over time. In Figure 3.1, Price's (1966) seriation table traces tombstone styles in southwestern Illinois from 1831 until 1960. The earliest tombstones represent the bed's headboard as a final place of rest. A simple, rectangular tablet follows this style. During the Victorian era, more ornamental large obelisks become common. The most recent vertical slab tombstone design is more modest in appearance. Donald Jeane (1972) argues that geographers should use a temporal study of gravemarker changes to interpret the cultural significance of the landscape.

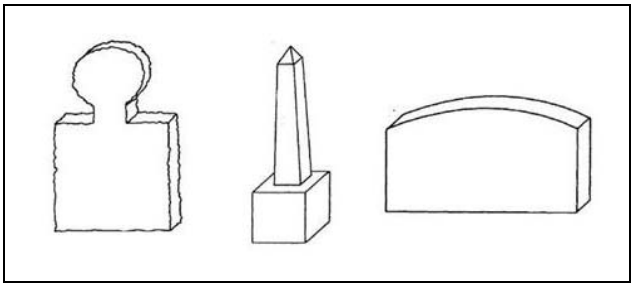

Figure 3.1- Tombstone styles. After Price 1966, 204.

3.4.1. The Ethnic Cemetery

By providing cultural significance, the cemetery acts as a meaningful source of ethnic identity (Francaviglia 1971; Nakagawa 1990; Anderson 1993; Meyer 1993; Zelinsky 1994; Kong 1999). Examination of the ethnic cemetery traditionally relies upon descriptive gravemarker studies. These studies reveal discernable stylistic differences between ethnic groups. This includes the use of distinctive gravemarker decorations and materials.

European-American cemeteries are the subject of many studies. John Matturri (1993) witnesses the use of photographs embedded upon gravestones. He claims that Italian-Americans use this form of memorialization more frequently in the late 19th century than other ethnic groups in the eastern U.S. The horizontal, concrete slab covering an entire gravesite becomes distinctly characteristic of Czech cemeteries in the mid-western U.S. (Anderson 1993; Kiest 1993). Specific folk art and motifs inscribed on gravestones distinguish Ukrainian burials from others in Graves' (1993) work.

The Native American cemetery also contains unique traits. Terry Jordan (1982) examines mound building in the cemeteries of Southeastern Native American groups. These mounds often act as markers themselves in the absence of gravestones. Shells decorate the surfaces of these usually bare-earth graves. Mound building and similar shell ornamentation are common practices among the Southwestern Navajo (Griffen 1978; Cunningham 1992).

In regions with multicultural and multiethnic groups, fewer necrogeographic studies exist. Researchers cite the literature on cemeteries in Louisiana as an important source for ethnic cemetery studies because of its African, Spanish, and French heritage (Kniffen 1967; Francaviglia 1971; Frantom 1995). In spite of this ethnically diverse area, the results indicate

unique interment practices based on local topographic conditions. Burials occur above ground because of disturbances created by the low elevation of New Orleans and many parts of Louisiana with interference from the water-table, not as a result of an exclusive ethnic practice.

Cemeteries provide a valuable historical record as they reveal the religious practices, social structure, and demographic profile of a society. The cemetery acts as a controlled environment to document the spread of cultural beliefs and values. Yet these earliest studies ignore the potential for analyzing cultural change within the deathscape. Richard Meyer (1993) shares this conclusion. He highlights the need for interpreting ethnic patterns and cultural change within the cemetery. Fortunately, more recent work builds upon these earliest descriptive findings and incorporates greater attempts at interpretation. Only within the past few decades has the field of necrogeography used the cemetery as an approach for measuring cultural assimilation.

3.4.2. Assimilation and the Deathscape

Though few examine the level of burial assimilation, a number of necrogeographic studies note the presence of native language on gravestones to trace cultural assimilation (Anderson 1993; Kentner 1995; Broce 1996; Fink 2006). Timothy Anderson's (1993) typological examination of the Czech-Catholic cemetery finds fewer occurrences of native language appearing on the more recent gravestones. Within this study, changes in gravestone styles also signal an acceptance of the majority group's stylistic preference. For example, Anderson observes that Czechs abandon their obelisk shaped gravestones in favor of the more common Anglo-American vertical slab forms. Among Norwegian cemeteries in Minnesota, Kentner (1995) finds not only less traditional gravemarkers with native language over time but also more Anglicized names. In addition to the use of language, Fink (2006) notices the preservation of traditional Arabic inscriptions and distinctive Muslim symbology while conforming to non-Muslim grave orientation among Muslim burials in Cincinnati. Although the majority of these studies demonstrate some degree of native trait retention, Broce (1996) discovers complete assimilation into the dominant society in his Slovak cemetery study on the High Plains of Colorado. He witnesses no attempt to maintain unique

Slovak funerary rites but rather absolute acceptance of burial practices through gravestone uniformity. All of these studies compare burial traits between one ethnic minority and the cultural majority group.

To date, Jordan (1982) conducts the most comprehensive study within the field of necrogeography by surveying hundreds of Texas graveyards. His seminal work on the Southern Folk cemetery compares the diverse burial practices of German, Chicano, and Anglo-Americans. Jordan determines that the German cemetery exhibits traits most similar to the Anglo-American cemetery sooner than the Chicano cemetery. The Chicano cemetery maintains a distinctive appearance longer by continuing to use wooden markers versus the more common stone features. Jordan argues this is due to the German's rapid acceptance of Anglo-American burial practices even though most of these German descendents occupy "small ethnic islands" scattered within rural south-central Texas (88).

A common theme throughout deathscape assimilation pertains to the effect of rural isolation on traditional burial practices. Jerrold Levy (1978) concludes that while Navajo burial practices were rapidly becoming less traditional, cemeteries found near remote areas of the reservation were not undergoing many changes. Similarly, increased interactions between previously isolated rural Czechs and urban English speakers produce less distinction between Czech-Catholic and Anglo-American gravestones in Anderson's (1993) study. Jeffrey Smith's analysis of the Old Sangre de Cristo Land Grant conducted in Colorado notes, "…the smaller isolated communities remaine [sic] culturally homogeneous" (1999, 182). Not surprisingly, in his study, geographically isolated Hispanos resist cultural change longer, thereby maintaining portions of their traditional cemeteries and gravemarkers.

Although numerous necrogeographic studies examine changes in gravestone inscriptions, few include markers other than gravestones. In one example, Barber (1993) identifies a unique type of grave enclosure, the *cerquita* (a Spanish term meaning, "a little fence"), found in Southern California. The Salvadoreños abandon this traditional gravemarker the longer they reside in San Bernardino. Russell Barber acknowledges resurgent periods (post 1960s) where the *cerquita* returns to the cemetery. He attributes this to an interest in ethnic maintenance and a revival in ethnic pride associated with the civil and minority-rights movements. Jordan (1982) also mentions the *cerquita* as a native Chicano

construction not borrowed from Anglo-American customs. The resulting non-gravestone literature is limited, primarily using the gravehouse as an indicator of ethnicity.

3.4.3. Gravehouses as Indicators of Assimilation

At this point in the literature review, it is possible to identify a confluence of material and non-material factors that form a key part of necrogeography. I refer primarily to the gravehouse because it represents a distinct element of the cultural landscape, while at the same time, reveals important information about assimilation and burial practices. To be sure, gravehouses are not universal markers.

My reading of the literature shows that the term "gravehouse" is vague and not clearly defined. As shown in Figure 3.2, descriptions range from roofed structures with no base (Figures 3.2a and 3.2b), to roofed with partial flooring (Figure 3.2c), and even fully enclosed structures (Figure 3.2d). Marcy Frantom (1995) attempts to categorize changes in gravehouse design. The earliest forms in her study, dating from the early 1870s, resemble protective shelters while more recent gravehouses are larger and ornately decorated. She uses the terms "gravehouse" and "graveshelter" interchangeably. I have uncovered no classification system for gravehouses and graveshelters that is as in-depth as those for tombstones. The overall lack of interest in these structures might account for this deficiency.

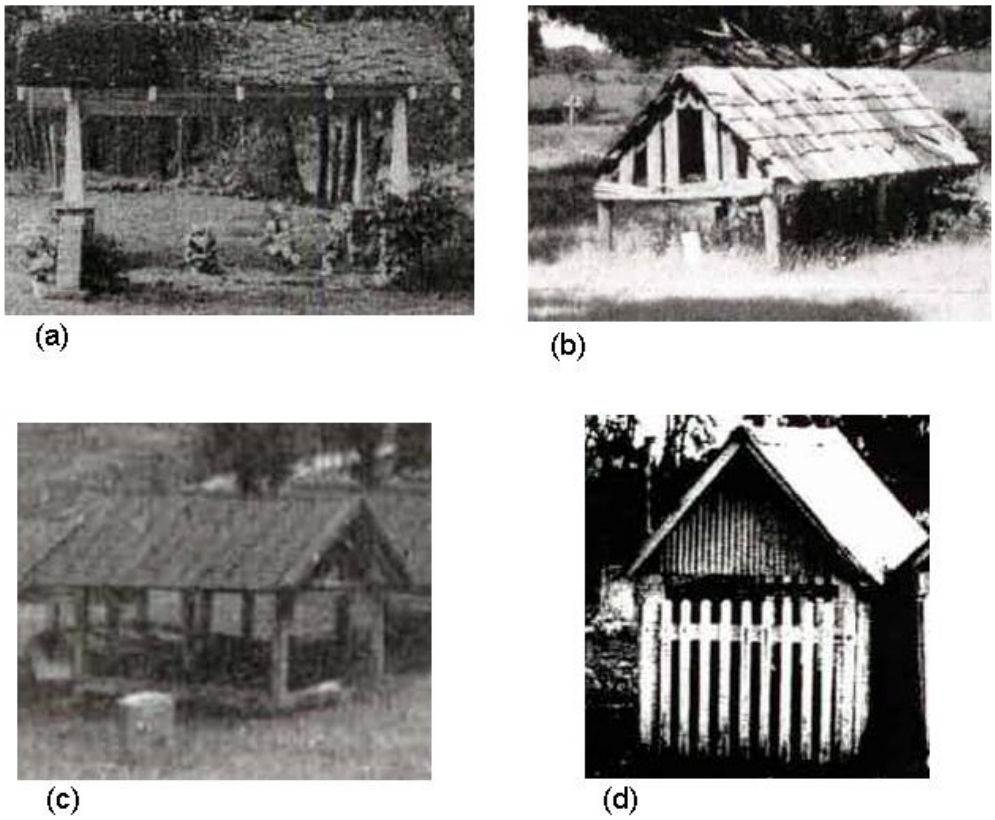

Figure 3.2- Examples of gravehouses. (a) Melungeon graveshelter (Bible 1975, 107. Reproduced with permission by Mountain Press); (b) Choctaw gravehouse (Jordan 1982, 37; Reproduced with permission by University of Texas Press); (c) Melungeon gravehouse (Mira 1998, 70; Reproduced with permission by Manuel Mira); (d) Middle Tennessee gravehouse (Ball 1977, 35; Reproduced with permission by David Ball).

Researchers dispute the origins of the gravehouse. Some allege that the gravehouse originated in Europe and diffused to North America (Frantom 1995; Mira 1998; Currier 1999). Manuel Mira (1998) depicts the gravehouse as a precursor to the mausoleum found throughout Western Europe. On the other hand, earlier research identifies gravehouses as a Native American construction (Barr 1965; Blackman 1973, 1976; French 1976; Brugge 1978; Jordan 1982). In his Southern Folk cemetery study, Jordan (1982) finds nearly all of the earliest Native American graves covered by some type of gravehouse. He explains that though sometimes found in African and European-American cemeteries, the gravehouse reflects a Native American funerary practice. Clearly, then, there are some universal features between western and non-western design.

Disagreements also exist regarding the symbolism of gravehouses, probably because there are multiple meanings. The purely functional role of the gravehouse presents itself frequently (French 1976; Jordan 1982; Frantom 1995; McNeill 1998; Currier 1999). These structures offer protection from rain and prevent disturbances from livestock. In contrast, not all researchers agree with this practical explanation and suggest a greater social meaning. Pat Elder (1999) argues that a regional superstition explains the gravehouses' use. Without an effective grave covering, mythical creatures are able to disturb the deceased. Additional work finds that gravehouses may emphasize an individual's social position or family's status. Within native populations, French (1976) and Currier (1999) see the gravehouse reserved for important community leaders. Both Jordan (1982) and Frantom (1995) associate gravehouse construction with prominence and wealth in both Native American and Ulster-Scot groups.

Studies of the gravehouse focus primarily on western portions of the U.S. (MacLeod 1925; Blackman 1973, 1976; French 1976; Currier 1999), perhaps because of the larger Native American and Latino populations. Pacific Northwest Native American groups receive much of this attention. In a study of Tlingit burial practices, French (1976) observes modifications to traditional Tlingit gravehouses displaying a Russian influence resulting from different construction methods. Likewise, Currier (1999) finds that the Alaskan Tanaina imitate gravehouse architectural styles after the Russians' arrival in the late 18th century. Margaret Blackman (1973, 1976) discusses changes amongst the Northwest coastal Haida group's burials. She sees the adoption of cemetery interment with gravestone markers rather than the traditional gravehouse and its accompanying mortuary (totem) poles. In these studies, the modifications and eventual absence of the gravehouse act as important indicators of cultural assimilation.

3.5. Summary

Greater interpretive studies of the cultural landscape are needed to merge our knowledge of cultural assimilation, burial practices, and ethnic identity. The cultural geographic, historical, anthropological, and sociological literature shows plainly that cultural landscapes are meaningful records of the past. They supply significance for the present as well. Distinct cemetery features provide an opportunity to study ethnic identity. Throughout

the literature, the gravehouse emerges as a surrogate for ethnic identity. These structures are tangible markers of cultural assimilation throughout time. The rejection of this traditional gravemarker style illustrates the greater acceptance of the dominant culture ideals by minority groups. As a feature found within the ethnic cemetery, there is little understanding of the gravehouse's social meaning. Surveys of the ethnic cemetery focus primarily on populations having a single heritage, particularly with a Western European origin. The relative absence of comparable studies for multiethnic groups further magnifies this problem, highlighting a need for future research.

Chapter 4 - Approaching the Multiethnic Cemetery

4.1. Introduction

I conducted fieldwork in Hancock County, Tennessee on three separate occasions between March 8, 2007 and January 10, 2008. Hancock County, Tennessee is home to a large Melungeon population and is a critical site for studies related to the Melungeon culture. The initial scoping mission lasted three days and was primarily an attempt to familiarize myself with the area. I returned to Hancock County in late June of the same year. This trip spanned ten days and included an excursion to the Melungeon Heritage Association's two-day gathering held in Big Stone Gap, Virginia. My final week long visit began January 4, 2008. I spent a total of 20 days in the field.

4.2. Objectives

1) To document funerary objects of interest and digitally map cemeteries within Hancock County, Tennessee

2) To determine the degree to which Melungeon ethnic identity is lost through assimilation as evident on the deathscape

3) To identify the social meaning of gravehouses in Melungeon cemeteries

4) To identify contemporary Melungeon burial practices

Meeting these objectives requires a variety of data collection methods. Cemetery surveys will complete the objectives for documenting and mapping cemetery features and also for measuring the level of burial assimilation. Semi-structured interviews and participant observation achieve objectives relating to cultural practices.

4.3. Cemetery Surveys

This section presents information on the development of a method for locating cemeteries, documenting cemeteries and funerary objects of interest, and ultimately mapping cemetery data. The use of cemetery surveys addresses the first and second objectives.

4.3.1. Sample Selection

I first consulted the United States Geological Survey's (USGS) Geographic Names Information System (GNIS) to identify cultural feature toponyms, including those found on topographic maps (1989). I performed a database search limited to the cemetery feature class for Hancock County, Tennessee. Features in the database dated to years between 1980 and 1989. Initially, this search returned a total of 84 named cemeteries. At this point, I intended to survey all of the cemeteries listed in the GNIS. However, after reviewing topographic maps, I later learned that this number is greatly underestimated. In fact, there are well over 250 cemeteries in the entire county. Locating every cemetery would not have been possible given my financial and time constraints. Therefore, I chose to employ a convenience sampling frame (Table 4.1), limiting cemeteries to those located near roadways with greater accessibility. I also surveyed cemeteries in each of the county's four census tracts to provide greater representation.

Table 4.1– Deathscape sampling frame

Deathscape Study Population	**Deathscape Sampling Units**
Cemeteries	Gravemarkers Gravehouse Graveshelter Enclosure Gravestone

4.3.2. Locating Cemeteries/Ground-truthing efforts

I found cemetery conditions and lack of upkeep problematic. Several cemeteries contained field rocks as gravemarkers. Tall grasses and trees easily hid these cemeteries. During my first visit to the study site, I was unable to find two cemeteries clearly listed on the topographic maps. I learned that the property owners moved and no one presently maintains the cemetery grounds. There were many neglected properties in the area (Figure 4.1).

Figure 4.1– Photograph of the Campbell-Tyler Cemetery (CEM-06). [2]

Accessibility posed the largest challenge associated with locating cemeteries. Elevation varies dramatically or abruptly within the county. The terrain can rise quickly from 1200 feet along TN-63 in Sneedville to 2400 feet at Newman's Ridge - 150 feet per quarter mile with a slope of 14.04°. Many of the unpaved roads were impassable without a four-wheel drive vehicle, and for the first two visits, I was constrained by my two-wheel drive 2005 Toyota Camry. I was stuck in ditches frequently. At times, cemeteries were in plain sight yet they were hard to reach without possibly injuring myself. Rusty barbed-wire fencing prevented entry into several properties where cemeteries were located. At one point, I asked a resident to disable his electric fence so that I could crawl underneath it, through poison ivy, to document the cemetery on his land. After this incident, I limited my search to cemeteries that posed fewer risks and by using a combination of sources.

I located cemeteries using three different sources: topographic maps, historical records, and through informants' accounts. When performing cemetery surveys, Zelinsky (1994) believes that topographic maps should be included to identify sites because they provide approximate size and orientation of cemeteries. They also show proximity to main roads and other landmarks, aiding the necrogeographer in locating these sites. In some cases,

[2] Unless specified otherwise, all photographs are by the author.

the maps label cemetery names. However, Zelinsky does mention the potential limitations for using these maps, "…even the best and latest of the quadrangles fail to record the entire inventory of burial grounds within their boundaries" (Zelinsky 1994, 30).

I used topographic maps published by the USGS to locate most of the cemeteries within the sample. They included a special symbology to identify cemeteries. I used 7.5-minute quadrangle maps for the following areas: Back Valley, Coleman Gap, Howard Quarter, Kyles Ford, Lee Valley, Looneys Gap, Plum Grove, Sneedville, and Swan Island to ensure coverage of the entire county (USGS 1969a-f, 1971a-c).

While the topographic maps were my preferred source, problems arose with small cemeteries and cemeteries established after the publication of these maps. Therefore, in order to complement this source, I obtained a publication by the Hancock County Historical and Genealogical Society, Inc. (1995) that contains a cemetery index. The county's History Book Committee compiled a listing of cemetery inscriptions and locations. This publication included many smaller, family plots not found on the USGS topographic maps. It also helped to identify exact locations for cemeteries that were difficult to find. However, mapping out these locations required prior knowledge of certain local landmarks and properties. I consulted with key informants on several occasions for clarification. These informants included Buddy, Charlie, Gary, Paige, Joan, and Seth (Appendix B lists key informants by pseudonyms and demographic profiles).

Frequently, I found inconsistencies with cemeteries' names. A few of the cemeteries found on the topographic maps were labeled differently in this publication. This becomes most obvious when I noticed a cemetery's listing repeated under another name. Therefore, this sampling frame was incomplete. For example, it does not include one of the most well known cemeteries in the county: Vardy/Tennessee Goins (Latitude: 36°34'49.2" N, Longitude: 83°10'31.7" W).

To help remedy the problems of inconsistent cemetery labeling, I relied on locals' knowledge of the area. Donald Ball's (1977) fieldwork highlights the importance of using informant accounts to locate cemeteries, particularly in areas unfamiliar to the researcher. His methodology includes convenience sampling relying upon local informants' directions and memories to locate cemeteries. He finds these contributions especially beneficial for

verifying the existence of the few gravehouses found within Middle Tennessee (Ball 1977, 53). Within my own study, several key informants provide directions to cemeteries. Most of these cemeteries are not included as part of the other sources. All of these cemeteries are located in areas that are difficult to reach. This source also presents its own problems. Either informants have not been to these cemeteries personally or have not visited them within the past few years. On more than one occasion, I found myself on the side of a mountain searching for a cemetery that appears to have never actually existed.

4.3.3. Documenting Cemeteries and Funerary Objects of Interest

I collected global positioning system (GPS) waypoints from field observations using the Garmin® GPS 12 Personal Navigator. I chose this particular instrument based on its usability. Prior to the beginning of waypoint collection, I set the unit's map datum as the North American Datum 1983 (NAD 1983). Upon locating a cemetery, I acquired its latitude and longitude and I recorded waypoints at each cemetery's entrance. In fenced cemeteries, this occurred at the entry gate. In un-enclosed areas, I obtained the waypoint from the edge of the cemetery that allowed me to face the markers.

Following this waypoint collection, I then photographed the entire cemetery. I counted all of the gravemarkers within each cemetery. I used the Cemetery Recording Form (Appendix C) to document the number and type of gravemarkers. I completed one form for each cemetery.

Funerary objects of interest received special attention. These included gravesites with gravehouses, graveshelters, enclosures, gravemarkers of substantial age or size, and highly decorative gravemarkers. Key gravemarkers received a separate GPS waypoint. The notation began with its cemetery identification "CEM-##," followed by an identifying code. I labeled gravehouses as "GH" and graveshelters with "GS". Enclosures received a designation beginning with "EN". I also photographed gravesites and markers of interest. I noted physical descriptions on the Cemetery Recording Form as well. To determine the objects' dates of construction, I recorded the earliest date of burial found for each object.

4.3.4. Mapping Cemeteries

A related stage of the research was to map the location of these cemeteries and funerary objects of interest with respect to the original settlement of the Melungeon community. This exercise allowed me to determine the spatial dimension of Melungeon burial assimilation. Because this ethnic group historically settled in relative social isolation, I expected to see a geographic concentration of more Melungeon cemeteries closer to the core of this historic settlement than non-Melungeon ones.

Upon returning from the field, I downloaded the waypoints using GPS Utility software (version 4.15.7). I differentially corrected the data to the nearest base station, TN12 (Morristown, TN), approximately 30 miles from the study site. Following differential correction, accuracy for this particular GPS unit was one to five meters.

I saved GPS waypoint data as a shapefile and imported the file into ArcMap (version 9.2) and I set the coordinate system for the map's data frames as NAD 83 State Plane Tennessee (FIPS 4100). The USGS' Seamless website provided a Digital Elevation Model (DEM) covering the county to create elevation contours (2008). U.S. Census Bureau's Topologically Integrated Geographic Encoding and Referencing system (TIGER) line files outlined the county's boundary, roads, and hydrology (2000). I included points from the GNIS database as well to identify ridges and mountains for the county.

4.3.5. Operationalizing Assimilation

I created a Melungeon Burial Index (MBI) to measure the level of burial assimilation found within the cemetery. Each gravemarker received a score based on its typology. The literature does not identify any unique Melungeon burial rites other than the creation of a gravehouse. Therefore, here I defined a gravehouse as a traditional Melungeon gravemarker. The use of fencing or enclosures, particularly of metal construction, is even less characteristic of non-European groups. Jordan (1982) identifies the fencing of both the cemetery and individual graves to be of European origin. "This compulsion to enclose the burial ground apparently derives from British tradition…" (Jordan 1982, 38). Ultimately, gravestones represented the dominant culture's burial practices (Blackman 1976). Table 4.2 shows how I measured burial assimilation with a Likert scale.

Table 4.2– Burial assimilation scale

Score	Typology	Description
4	Gravehouse	Completely enclosed structure consisting of a roof, walls, and a doorway
3	Graveshelter	Structure with a roof only
2	Enclosure	No roof, only some form of fenced enclosure including wooden, stone, and metal materials
1	Gravestone	In the form of a slab, obelisk, or field stone

I multiplied the number of gravemarkers for each typology against its score. I divided this product by the total number of gravemarkers found in that individual cemetery. The resulting figure is a MBI for each cemetery. Once I listed the MBI scores for each surveyed cemetery, I used a logarithmic scale to produce greater variation within the index. Then, I visually identified natural breaks in the data distribution to determine groups for complete, partial, and no assimilation.

The rejection of traditional Melungeon gravemarkers would indicate burial assimilation and the acceptance of the dominant culture's gravemarkers. Although symbolism found on gravestones often reflects cultural assimilation (Nakagawa 1990; Anderson 1993; Barber 1993; Kentner 1995; Fink 2006), I will not include the analysis of those decorations and inscriptions in this study. Many aspects of Melungeon non-material culture mirror those of the non-Melungeon core group. The two groups share similar Protestant faith and the English language. Accordingly, I did not expect to find a distinctive religious or linguistic symbol within the Melungeon cemetery.

4.4. Semi-structured Interviews

Completion of the third objective required a more qualitative approach. Qualitative methods can be used "to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them" (Denzin and Lincoln 2005, 3). The Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board approved a list of semi-structured interview questions (Appendix D) for the purposes of determining the social meaning attached to gravehouses. I designed an interviewing

instrument complete with semi-structured questions (Appendix E). The focus of these questions was about Melungeon burial practices, specific gravemarkers, and about the informants' own ethnic identity. Semi-structured questions were ideal for this study because they guided the interview but permitted flexibility, allowing me to create additional questions during the interview when needed. The less formal, conversational nature of these questions seemed appropriate. I tried to ask all informants similar questions. Over the course of my three visits to Hancock County, I conducted 21 interviews and personally transcribed 11 hours of recorded information.

4.4.1. Sample Selection

My aim in sample selection was to find informants familiar with Melungeon burial practices. In this case, criterion sampling was necessary. This form of purposive sampling selects informants based on specific characteristics (Patton 1980). These criteria included Melungeons themselves, clergy members, and funeral workers (Table 4.3).

Table 4.3– Human sampling frame

Human Study Population	Human Sampling Units
Hancock County, TN residents	Melungeons Clergy Members Cemetery Workers

I used snowball sampling to select subsequent informants based on knowledge provided by other participants. This technique is appropriate when study populations are difficult to locate. Although there is some inherent bias in this technique, its merits can outweigh its detriments (Babbie 1992) because identifying an ethnic minority to discuss death and burial practices is a challenging goal; it is deeply personal, potentially difficult to discuss, and practiced by a cultural minority. Those members who do not identify as Melungeons were included in the interviews. I used surnames and maiden names to confirm heritage. I included both males and females in the interviewing process. Informants ranged from the early-40s to one centenarian. This diverse group provided a variety of viewpoints.

4.4.2. Key Informants

I first gained entry into this community through a college acquaintance. He immediately suggested I speak with Joan, a Melungeon in her late-70s, who lives in Hancock County. As an outsider who was both unfamiliar with another culture's traditional burial practices and the community itself, I selected a key informant who had been a lifelong resident of Hancock County and who had no hesitations admitting her Melungeon heritage. Joan, my key informant, is a source "of information about what the observer has not or cannot experience" (Patton 1980, 182).

I met with Joan during all three visits to the study site. This aided in rapport building and provided valuable information about Melungeons and their burial practices. Joan also helped arrange communication with other informants. Comments such as, "You know who you need to talk to? Right? Charlie…he knows a lot 'bout that stuff," often led to interesting and insightful interviews.

4.4.3. Interview Process

I conducted most interviews using a Sony M675V microcassette voice recorder, with 90 minute recording time tapes. I utilized this instrument for recording and play-back during the transcription process. I first asked participants' permission to audio-record the interview prior to beginning the interview session. I recorded interviews unless explicitly requested otherwise by the informant. I promised to keep informants' identifying information confidential; however only three out of 21 interviewees preferred not to be audio-recorded and I agreed to their requests. During these situations, I took handwritten notes only. I kept all interview notes in a separate journal.

Most of the scheduled interviews occurred at informants' homes. I arranged these interviews in advance to comply with informants' schedules. One informant invited me into her home after seeing me in the field. Four interviews took place at the informants' places of employment. This choice of location may have negatively affected one of the interviews; I felt as though I was disrupting his livelihood and he sped through the interview.

I also conducted interviews by telephone. The telephone interviews became necessary for two primary reasons. First, informants live in more remote regions of the

county and travel to these areas was difficult. Second, coordinating times to meet in-person was difficult as these informants' schedules conflicted with my own.

4.4.4. Transcription and Storage

After the interview process was complete, I personally transcribed all recordings. Protecting informants' confidentiality was of utmost importance throughout this process. Following Berg (1998, 49), I used pseudonyms and general age and gender descriptors in assigning these labels to ensure confidentiality. For instance, "Mary, a 55 year-old Melungeon from Hancock County claims that ..." I kept all recordings and transcripts in a locked cabinet. No one else had access to this data which consisted of 19,887 words of text.

4.4.5. Data Analysis

After transcribing interviews, I conducted a content analysis by coding manifest content from the interviews. Manifest content refers to the communication that is present and superficial, rather than latent content where the interviewer infers meaning from the communication (Babbie 1992, 318). The unit of analysis for the coding relied on word elements (Berg 1998). I transferred informants' direct responses from interview transcripts into a separate Word document. After organizing the elements, I created categories using conceptual clusters to simplify analyses (Appendix F). For example, responses of "rain" and "snow" fit under the category "weather."

4.5. Participant Observation at a Melungeon Funeral

An examination of contemporary Melungeon burial practices required direct observation of these practices. An opportunity to attend a funeral and subsequent interment revealed beliefs about contemporary Melungeon burial practices, meeting my fourth objective through participant observation. "Participant observation is a special form of observation and demands firsthand involvement in the social world chosen for study. Immersion in the setting allows the researcher to hear, see, and begin to experience reality as the participants do" (Marshall and Rossman 1989, 79).

Raymond Gold (1958) identifies four roles in participant observation; complete participant, participant-as-observer, observer-as-participant, and complete observer. During this process, I acted as a complete participant. Gold acknowledges that, "The true identity and purpose of the complete participant in field research are not known to those whom he [sic] observes" (1958, 219). Admittedly, I never disclosed my role as researcher while attending the funeral described at the outset of this thesis.

Data collection from this participation included field notes collected during the funeral, immediately following the interment, and then a return to the burial site within a week and then again six months later. When documenting the funeral and interment, I reflected on Patton's (1980, 30) purpose of observational data, "The data must be descriptive, sufficiently descriptive that the reader can understand what occurred and how it occurred. The observer's notes become the eyes, ears, and perceptual senses for the reader" (30). This "thick description" allows me to convey the social meaning of Melungeon burial practices.

4.6. Summary

When measuring assimilation, researchers have found that rural isolation may deter this process by encouraging traditional practices. However, results from this study challenge this assumption. Emergent spatial patterns indicate that traditional Melungeon material culture is not found at historic sites of Melungeon settlement. Traditional Melungeon burial practices, one of the last cultural traits lost during assimilation, are no longer occurring in this Appalachian community. I present a more detailed discussion of my findings in the following chapter.

Chapter 5 - Assimilation on Newman's Ridge

5.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study is to understand both the historical and contemporary burial practices of the Melungeons and to examine how cultural assimilation shapes those practices. This chapter reviews the findings from 116 cemetery surveys, content analysis from 21 interviews, and observations recorded during a Melungeon funeral. I present results in response to each of the four objectives.

5.2. Objective One: To document funerary objects of interest and digitally map cemeteries within Hancock County, Tennessee

5.2.1. Documenting Funerary Objects of Interest

Within the 116 cemeteries surveyed, I recorded a total of 2,913 gravemarkers (Table 5.1), most of which were gravestones. Only 16 of those markers, approximately 0.5%, were funerary objects of interest (Appendix G). More than 60% of all funerary objects of interest were enclosures. I found five gravehouses and only one graveshelter.

Table 5.1: Gravemarker sample (n=2913)

Gravemarker	Number	Percentage
Gravehouse	5	0.172
Graveshelter	1	0.034
Enclosure	10	0.343
Gravestone	2897	99.451

Quite possibly the most striking artifacts from my surveys are the five gravehouses. The discovery of the first gravehouse rounded out an exhausting day of cemetery surveys. Up until this point, I began to doubt the existence of these structures. Gravehouse one (GH-01) stands in the Trent Valley Baptist Cemetery; it is composed of wooden lattice slats. The embossed tin shingled roof consists of a U-shaped pattern. A darkened rock foundation, measuring a foot in height, surrounds the structure. A pad-lock that has since rusted secures

the front entrance. The white wash is chipping towards the lower half of the lattice siding. In an attempt to preserve the structure originally built in 1886, Victor, in his 70s with a Melungeon surname but not of admitted Melungeon heritage, paints the gravehouse every few years. While Victor does not openly identify himself as a Melungeon, a conversation with Joan confirms that he is indeed a Melungeon. She explains how a lingering stigma may have shaped his answer. "Before they would try to hide it. They'd say, 'No I ain't no kin to no Melungeon, no I come from another family' or 'I didn't come from this.'"

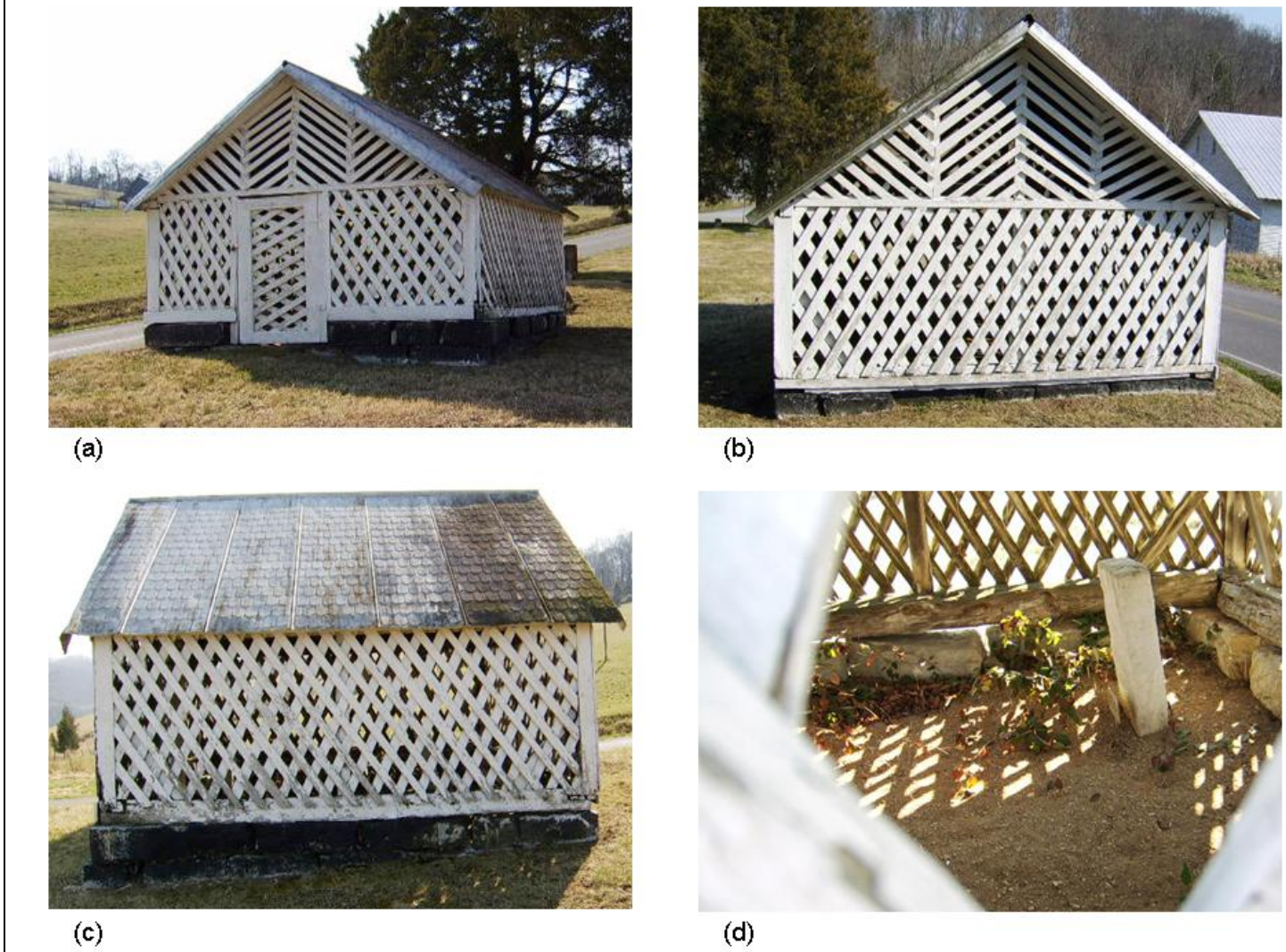

Figure 5.1– Gravehouse one in the Trent Valley Baptist Cemetery (CEM-13): (a) anterior; (b) posterior; (c) right side; (d) interior with gravestone.

Just across the Clinch River, I found four more gravehouses (Figure 5.2). Without an informant's direction, I never would have seen the James A. Trent Cemetery from the road. Large evergreen trees, commonly used in Central Appalachia to protect houses from wind, partially camouflage its sign. The gravehouses are of an impressive height, easily eight feet in height. Similar in design to gravehouse one, these gravehouses have lattice siding and tin roofs. However, any evidence of whitewash is long gone.

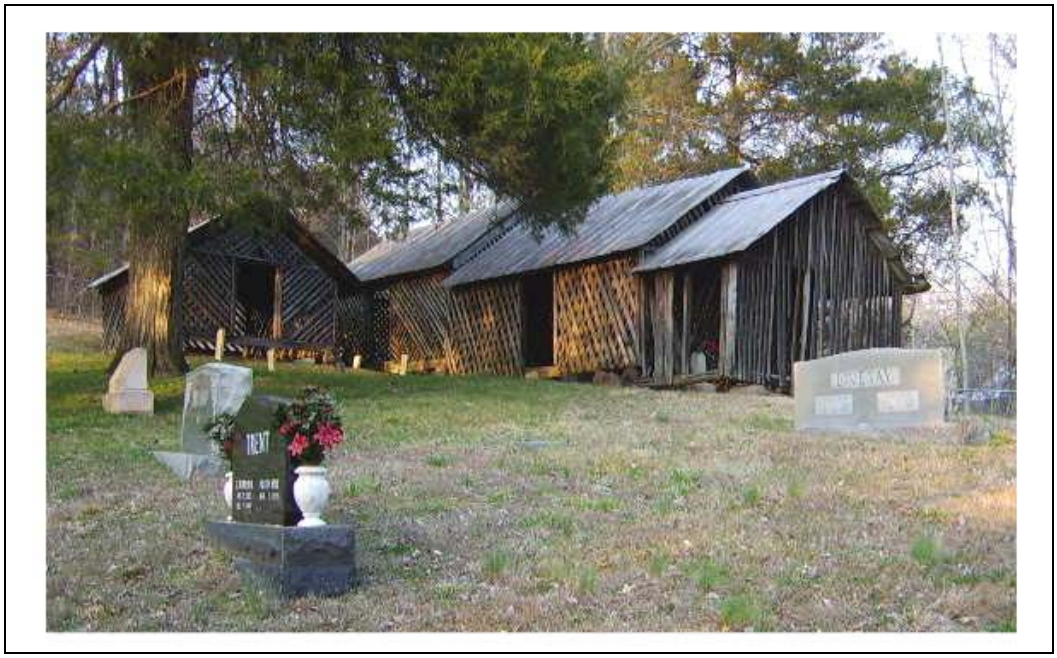

Figure 5.2– Four gravehouses (GH-02 – 05) in the James A. Trent Cemetery.

The third gravehouse (GH-03), built in 1917, contains the grave of the cemetery's namesake, James A. Trent. His gravestone sits prominently at the entrance (Figure 5.3a). Gravehouse four (GH-04), built in 1882, is devoted to four children's graves, ranging in age from just under a year to almost two years old (Figure 5.3b). Gravehouse five (GH-05) is the oldest gravehouse in this cemetery (and in the entire sample), built in 1866 for Annie Trent. It contains a floral carving at the gravehouse's eave (Figure 5.3c). A similar carving hides inside the third gravehouse (Figure 5.3d).

Figure 5.3– Gravehouses three, four, and five: (a) James A. Trent's gravestone; (b) two children's graves; (c) rosetta carving on exterior of gravehouse five; (d) similar rosetta carving inside gravehouse three.

All five gravehouses show signs of deterioration, one more severely than the others. Gravehouse two (GH-02) appears to be missing at least one half of its original siding. It is almost completely bare on its posterior wall (Figure 5.4). The tin roof hangs precariously along the shared wall with gravehouse three. Large field rocks support the foundation but those are beginning to fall.

Figure 5.4– Deterioration of gravehouse two: (a) March 2007; (b) January 2008.

As a result of termites, structural damage is occurring. The wood of all four gravehouses resembles cork with abundant levels of pitting. Wall siding is deteriorating (Figure 5.5a). The foundation of gravehouse five is broken. The structure's frame is collapsing at its most central point (Figure 5.5b). As a result, the fifth gravehouse tilts to the left side.

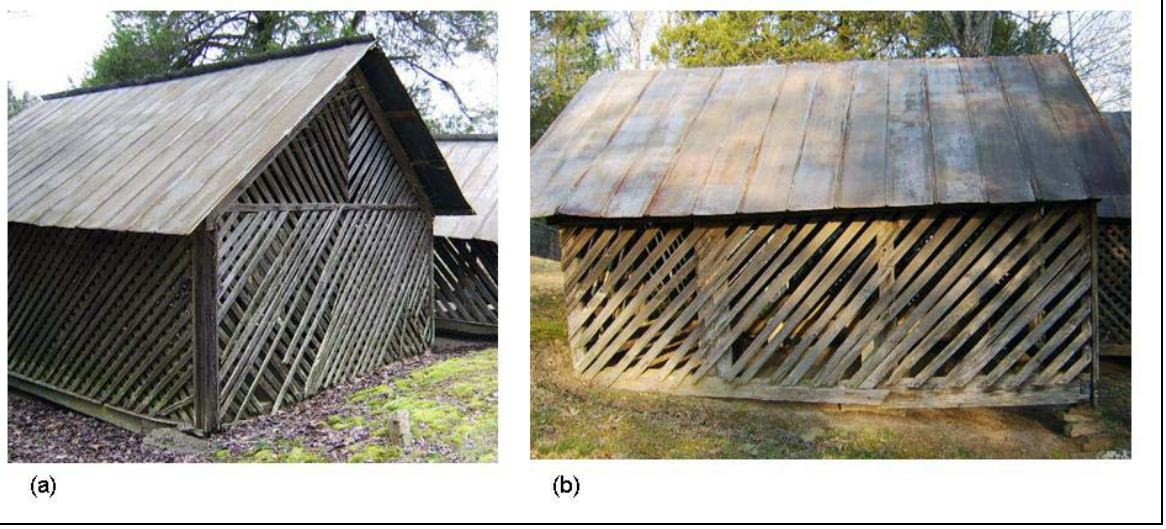

Figure 5.5– Damage to siding and foundation: (a) evidence of termite damage to the outer siding of GH-04; (b) Broken foundation of GH-05.

The lone gravehouse (GS-01) holds an interesting history (Figure 5.6). Ruby, in her mid-70s with a Melungeon maiden name but denying a Melungeon heritage, has direct family ties to the graveshelter. She provides little information regarding the structure initially. Her father constructed the graveshelter immediately following his wife's death in the early 1930s. It is large enough for two burial plots. Ruby mentions, "Yeah, he built it over my mom and we know he wanted one too because he built it big enough for him and it blowed away before he died, you see?" Other informants also reference a tornado that ripped through the county in the 1980s. Ruby's own son helped to rebuild it in time for his grandfather's interment. Apparently, this practice is a tradition shared by her Cherokee and Ulster-Scot great-grandparents. Ruby believes that the graveshelter prevented her mother's grave from "sinkin' in" until well after her father's death, over fifty years later. Upon inspecting the cemetery, I agree that the gravesites are in good condition, especially considering the poor state of uncovered gravesites of similar ages.

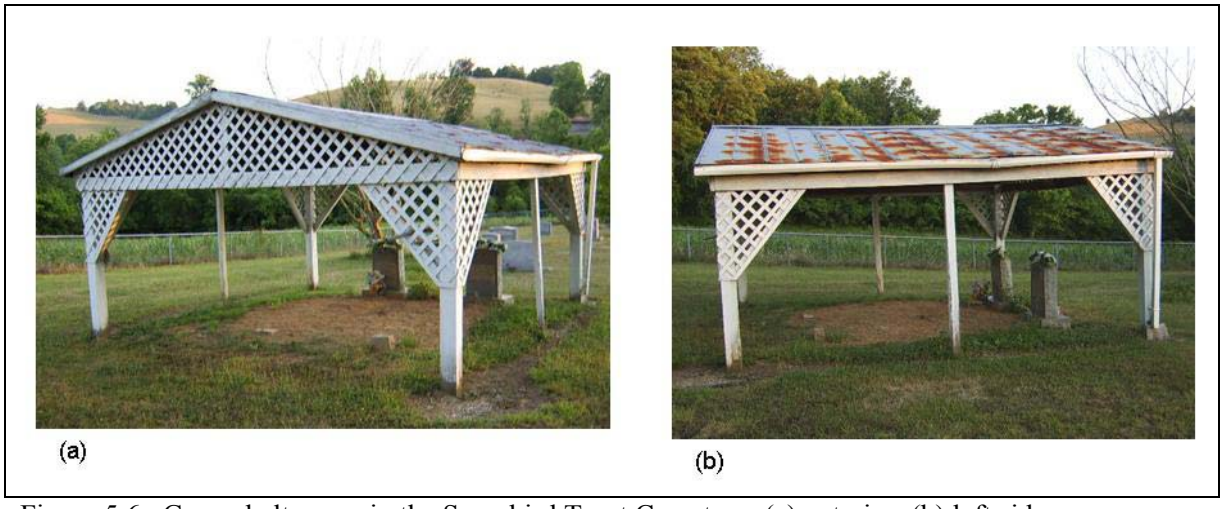

Figure 5.6– Graveshelter one in the Snowbird Trent Cemetery: (a) anterior; (b) left side.

The most simplistic form of enclosure is the use of wooden planks to surround the gravesite (Figure 5.7). Gravel covers these two enclosures (Figures 5.7a and 5.7b). Joan points out that this is to prevent grass from growing on top of the gravesite, lessening the need for regular maintenance. This is a sensible assumption as the height of the enclosure might prevent lawn mowers from cutting grass over the gravesite.

(a)

(b)

Figure 5.7– Wooden enclosures: (a) enclosure one built in 1975; (b) enclosure five built in 1980.

Three of the ten enclosures contain some type of metal fencing (Figure 5.8). In the Harrison Cemetery, the large wrought iron fence (EN-02) surrounds the Harrison family plot (Figure 5.8a). A small-pieced fence borders the sixth enclosure (EN-06). The fence is coated in green plastic (Figure 5.8b). Enclosure nine (EN-09) found in CEM-56 includes metal piping and a fairly large cinderblock wall (Figure 5.8c).

Figure 5.8 – Enclosures with metal fencing: (a) rusting iron enclosure two; (b) enclosure nine in CEM-56; (c) highly decorated enclosure in CEM-10.

Other enclosures are less prominent. In the Harrison Cemetery, poured concrete enclosures surround two gravesites (Figure 5.9). Enclosure three (EN-03) contains a single obelisk gravemarker (Figure 5.9a). While the fourth enclosure (EN-04), borders two large slab-style gravestones (Figure 5.9b). The cement enclosures have a rough texture and stand only four inches off of the ground at their highest point.

Figure 5.9- Stone enclosures: (a) a single gravestone in enclosure three; (b) enclosure four contains two headstones.

Of the three enclosures created with landscaping block edger and brick, gravel covers each of them (Figure 5.10). Enclosures seven and eight, found in the Mullins Cemetery (CEM-12), are made of similar landscaping edger block (Figures 5.10a and 5.10b). These enclosures are only several feet apart. The tenth enclosure (EN-10) is the gravesite of a child. Red bricks act to enclose this grave but a few have fallen over (Figure 5.10c).

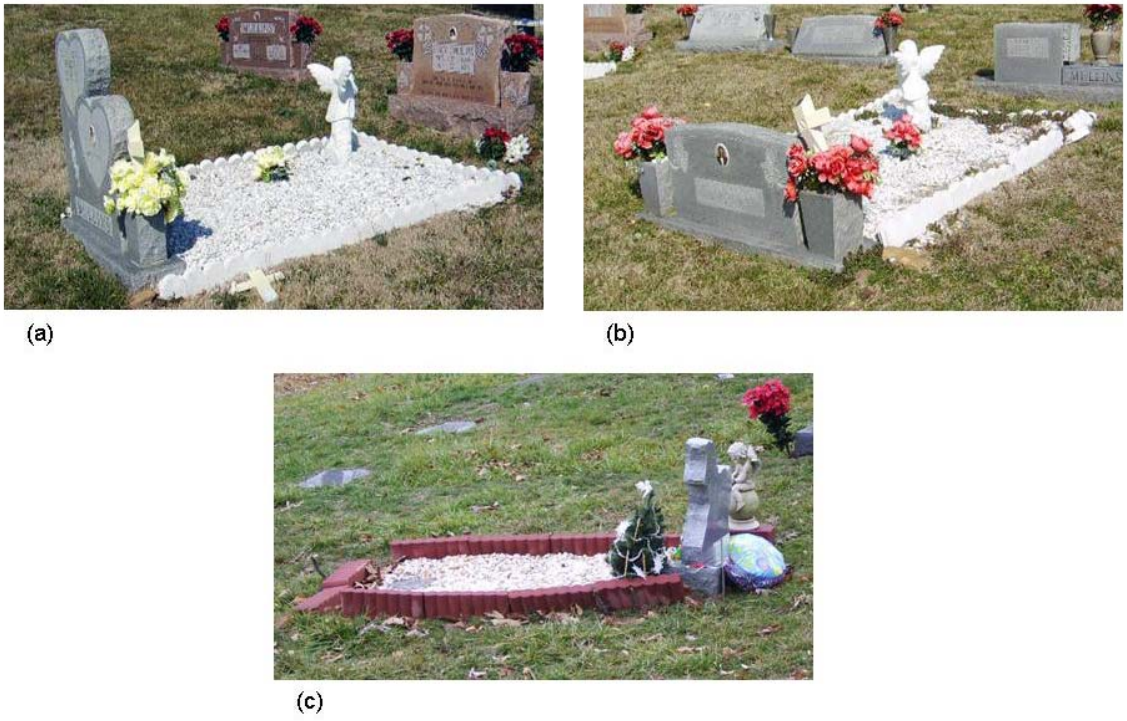

Figure 5.10– Contemporary enclosures: (a) enclosure seven surrounded by landscaping edger block; (b) enclosure eight located just feet from EN-07 made of similar materials; (c) bricked enclosure ten for a child's grave.

The construction dates for funerary objects of interest ranged from 1866 to 1986 (Figure 5.11). More than half of the gravehouses predate the 1890s. The most recent gravehouse in the sample dates to 1917. All but one enclosure have creation dates in the 20th century, with most of those (five) constructed after 1950.

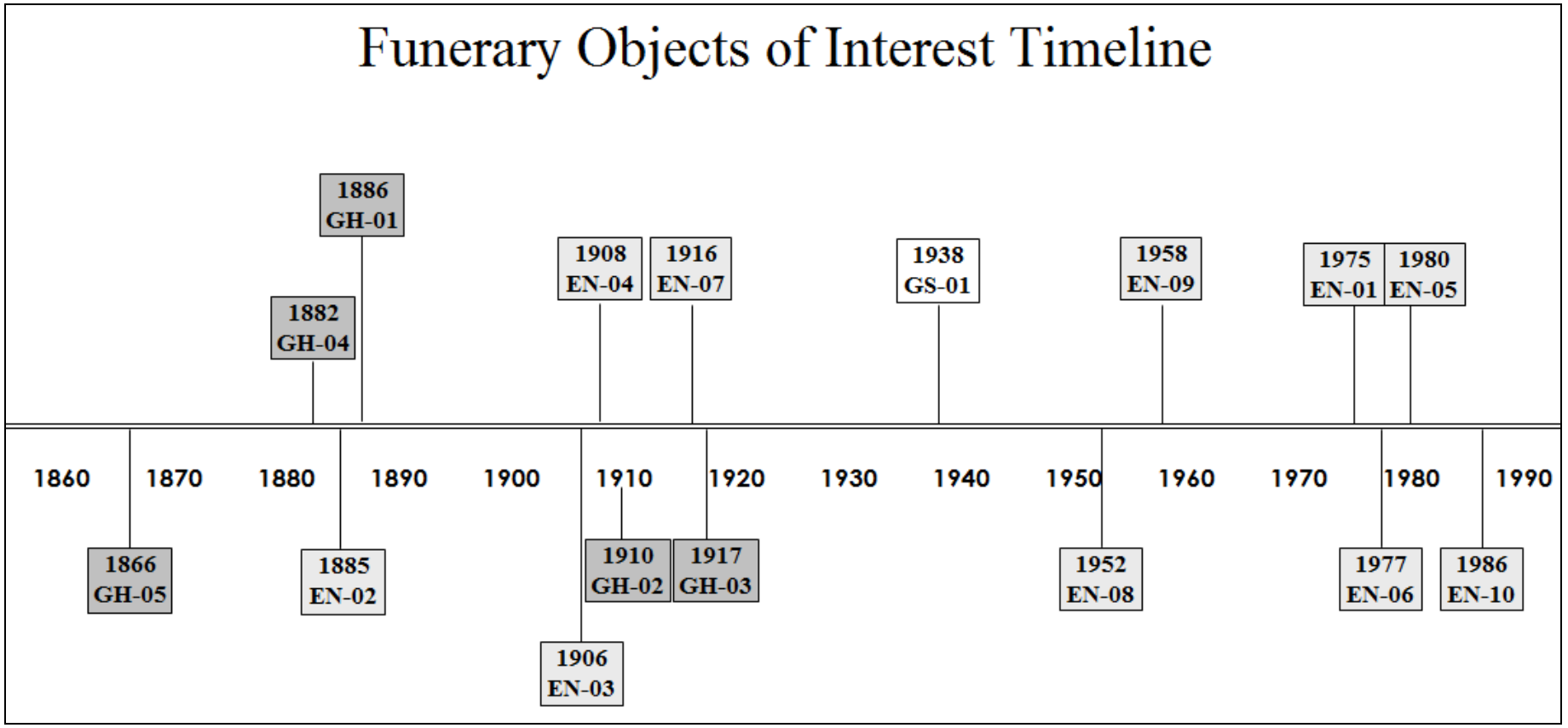

Figure 5.11– Funerary objects of interest construction timeline.

Figure 5.12 depicts the occurrence of funerary objects of interest. Incidence of both gravehouse and enclosure construction falls to low levels between 1914 and 1938. This finding parallels similar trends observed in funeral iconography as shown by Zelinsky (2007) in the U.S. in his study on the incidence of religious material. Like the Salvadoran *cerquita*, enclosures see a resurgence in popularity beginning around the early 1960s. Conversely, Melungeon gravehouses have not seen a comparable recovery. In fact, it appears that this practice ends in the early half of the 20th century. During this same period, Hancock County's population declines, rebounds in the 1940s, loses population again until the 1970s, and then remains stable over the next 30 years (Figure 5.13). Non-metropolitan, agricultural counties experienced declining populations due to out migration and the search for employment, most often affecting younger adults (Johnson et al. 2005, 800).

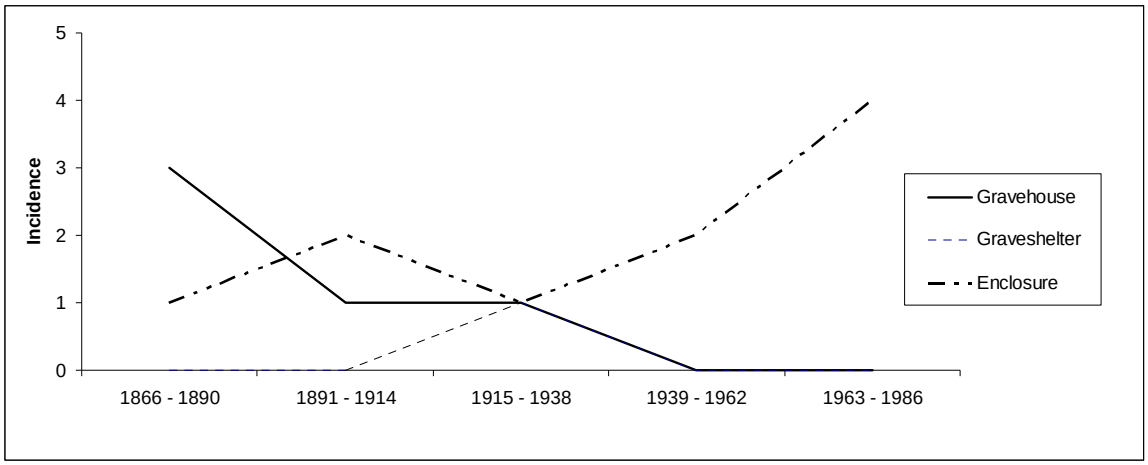

Figure 5.12– Incidence of funerary objects of interest between 1866 and 1986.

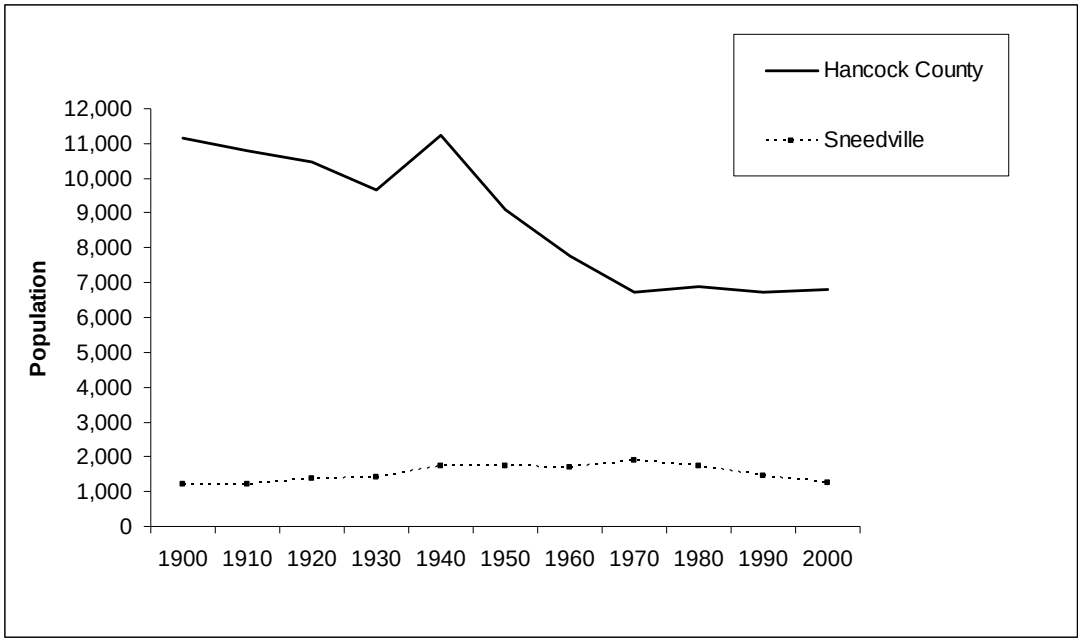

Figure 5.13– 20th century population trends for Hancock County and Sneedville, Tennessee. Data Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 1900, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000a.

5.2.2. Digitally Mapping Cemeteries

I created a GIS cemetery database that includes attributes such as cemetery names, latitude and longitude coordinates, individual and total gravemarkers, and scores received from the MBI (Appendix H). Layers for the map included shapefiles (state and county outlines, city limits, and census tracts), line data (major roadways, Clinch River, Newman's Ridge, and elevation contours), point data (GPS waypoints), and tabular data (GNIS database and Census 2000 total population). Thematic maps highlight the spatial distribution of both cemeteries and funerary objects of interest as they relate to topography and demographic categories.

Figure 5.14 shows a map including the GPS waypoints collected throughout the entire county. Many waypoints collected were in elevations of less than 2101 feet as these locations were largely inaccessible by car and foot. I frequently traveled major roadways to locate cemeteries.

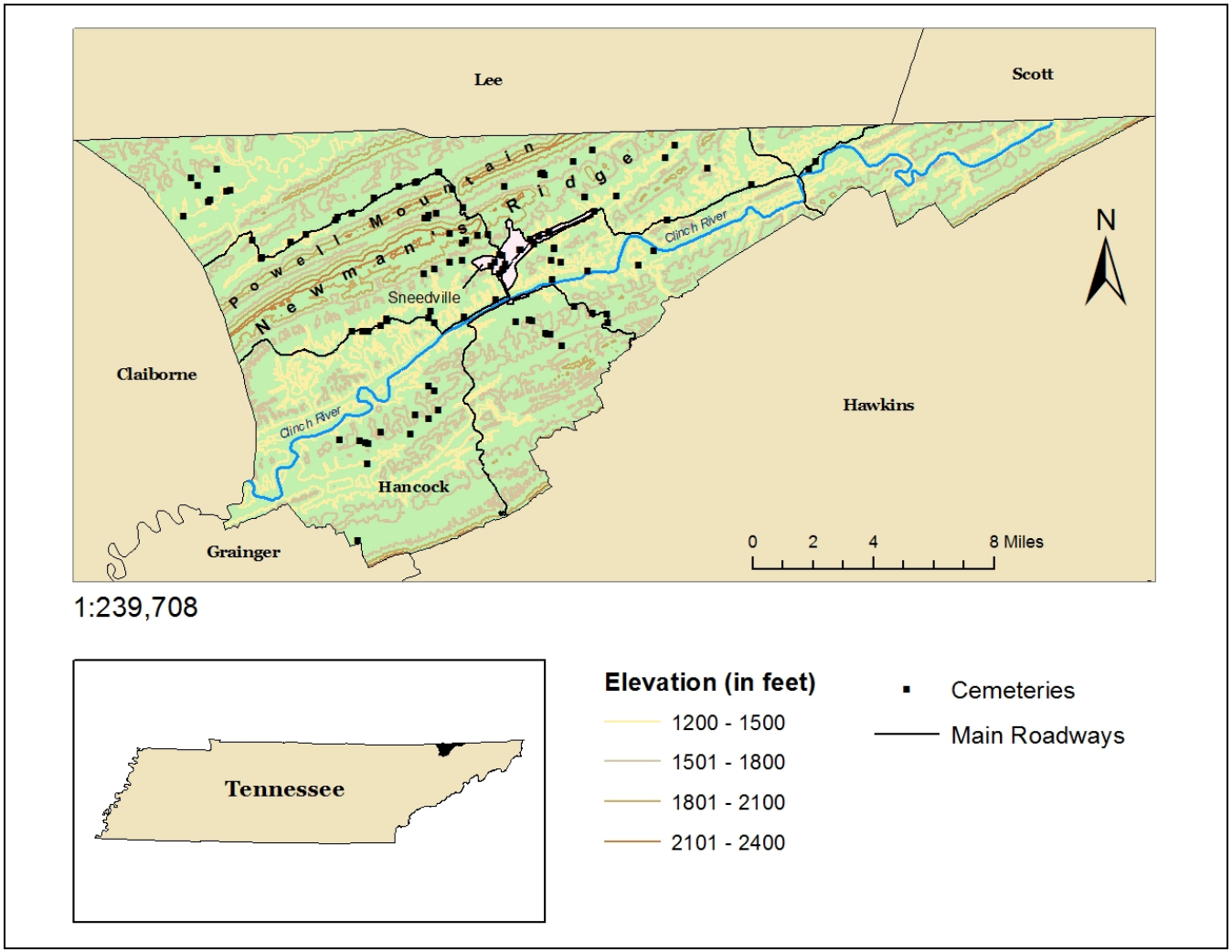

Figure 5.14– Distribution of cemeteries in Hancock County. Data Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 2000b; U.S. Geological Survey 1989, 2008.

Funerary objects of interest received their own waypoints for inclusion on the maps. However, because in several instances, the accuracy of the GPS unit is between one and five meters, several points appear to overlap. To better represent this data, I used graduated symbols to display the spatial distribution of these features and frequency (Figure 5.15). A cluster of enclosures occurs in downtown Sneedville in the one of the city's largest cemeteries. Five enclosures are located within a distance of one city block of each other. A smaller cluster of two enclosures exists near Newman's Ridge. Unexpectedly, all five gravehouses were constructed south of the city, away from Newman's Ridge. The lone graveshelter also sees a similar placement.

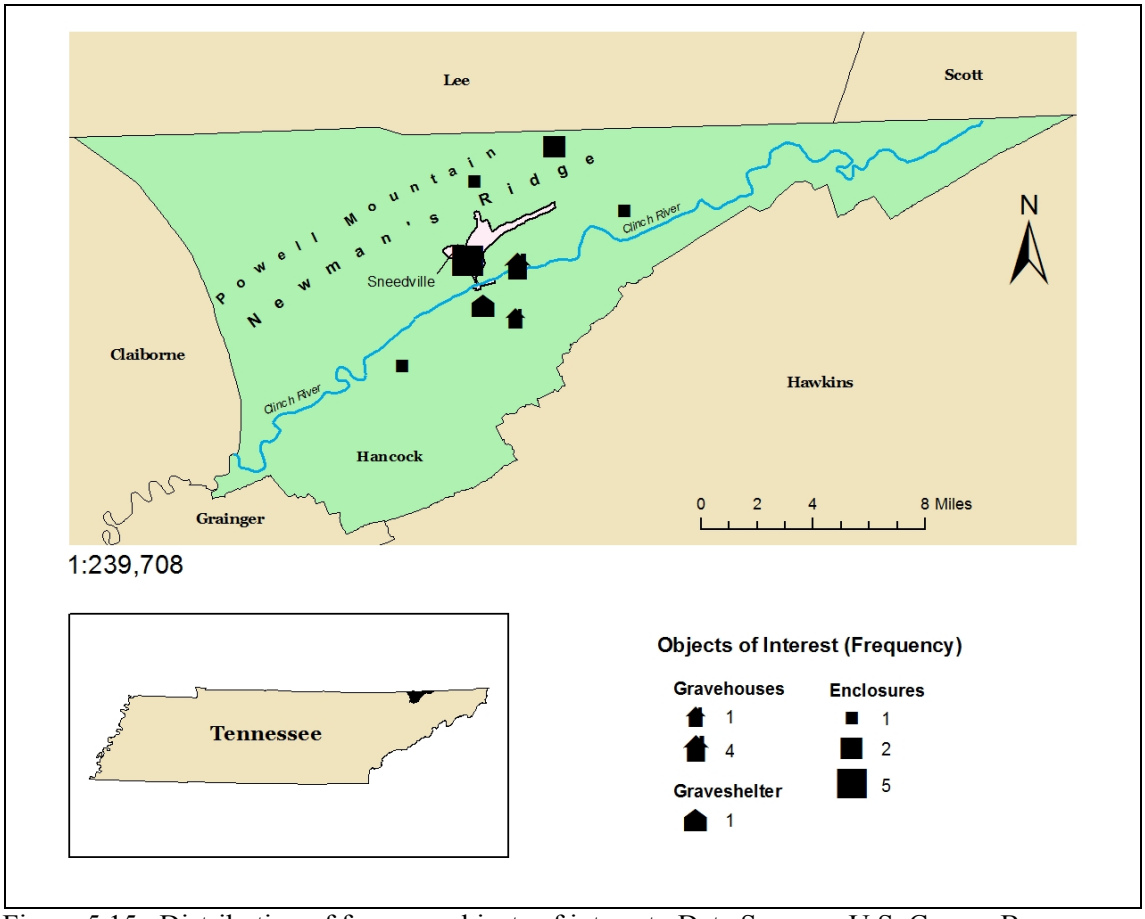

Figure 5.15– Distribution of funerary objects of interest. Data Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 2000b.

As shown in Figure 5.16, 75% of the funerary objects of interest are located within the census tract having the greatest population claiming two or more races. Less than one percent of the county's total population claims this designation (U.S. Census 2000a). The second census tract includes the historical Melungeon settlements of Newman's Ridge and Blackwater Valley. This area contains the highest percentage of gravehouses (80%).

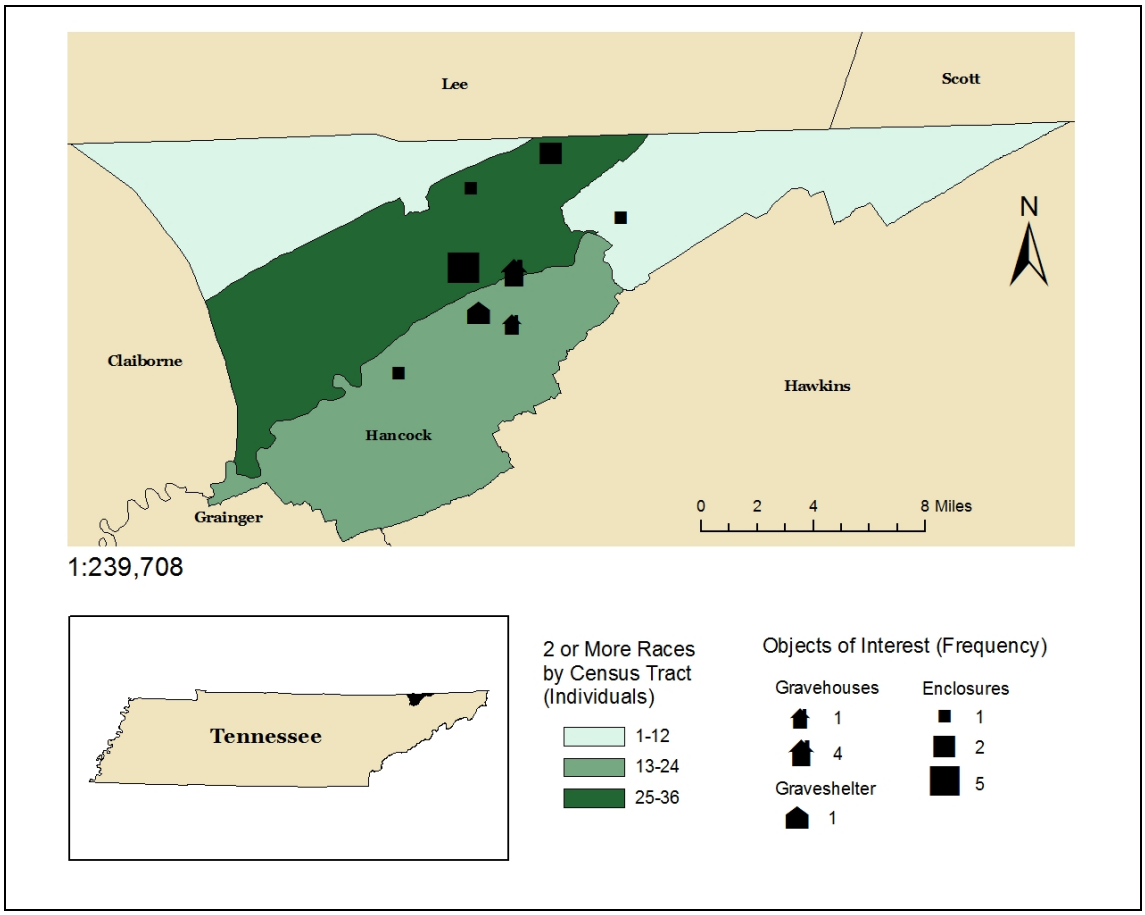

Figure 5.16– Funerary objects of interest by census tract. Data Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 2000a; 2000b.

In Figure 5.17, the oldest funerary objects of interest occur in areas closest to the town of Sneedville and within only two miles of the Clinch River. None of the funerary objects of interest on Newman's Ridge date before 1916.

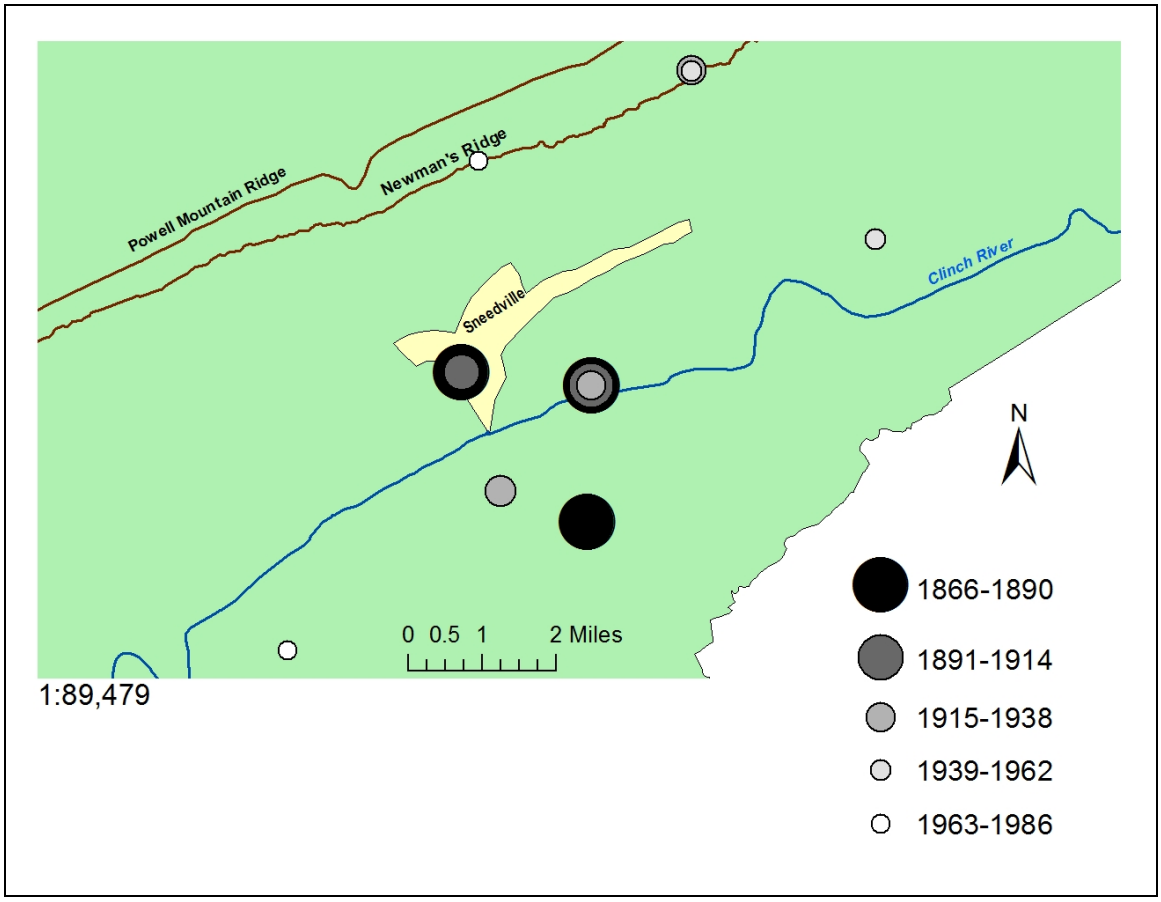

Figure 5.17– Funerary objects of interest by time intervals. Data Sources: U.S. Census Bureau 2000b.

5.3. Objective Two: To determine the degree to which Melungeon ethnic identity is lost through assimilation as evident on the deathscape

The calculated MBI data consisted of a four-point rating measuring the extent of burial assimilation. The number of gravemarkers within each cemetery determined the cemetery's score. The highest possible score, a 4.00, indicated no burial assimilation. A score of 1.00 indicated complete burial assimilation. I transformed results from the MBI to a logarithmic scale (Figure 5.18).

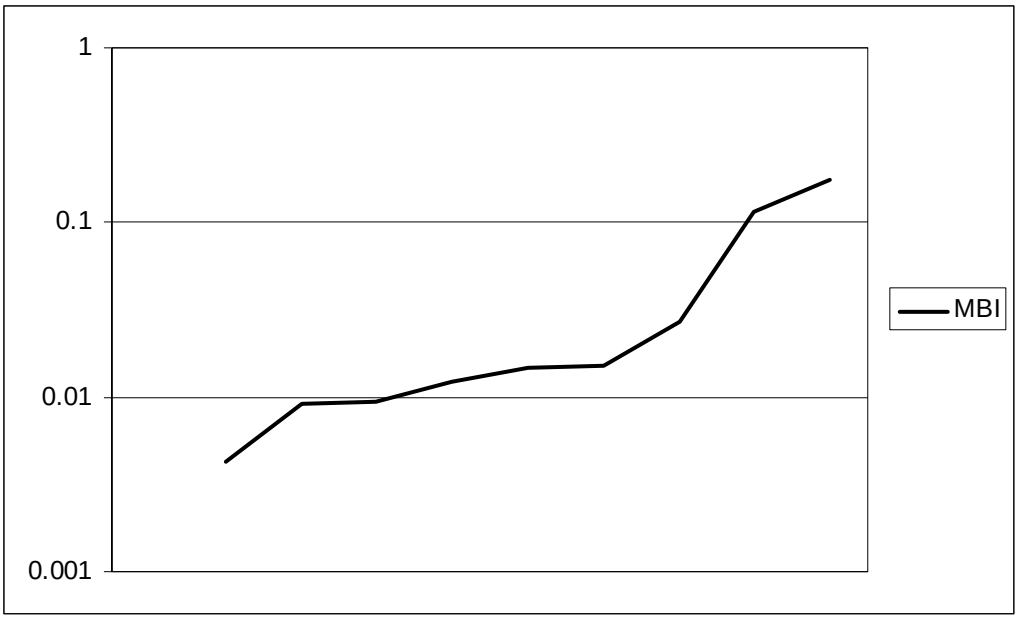

Figure 5.18– Melungeon Burial Index results on a logarithmic scale

Using this logarithmic scale, I visually identified natural breaks at the following values: 0.0042, 0.0152, and 0.0272. These break points determined the extent to which burial assimilation has occurred (Table 5.2). Cemeteries receiving scores below 0.0042 indicated complete assimilation. Scores between 0.0043 and 0.0272 reflected only partial assimilation. Any score above 0.0272 suggested no burial assimilation (unassimilated).

Table 5.2– Degree of Burial Assimilation

Log Score	Number of Cemeteries	Percent of Total Cemeteries	Extent of Burial Assimilation
< 0.0042	108	93.10	Completely assimilated
0.0043-0.0152	5	4.31	High-partially assimilated
0.0153-0.0272	1	0.86	Low-partially assimilated
> 0.0273	2	1.73	Unassimilated

More than 93% of the cemetery sample received scores that deemed them completely assimilated. Approximately 5% exhibited partial assimilation. Only two cemeteries indicated no assimilation (Table 5.3). Although both of these cemeteries were within 3.6 miles of Newman's Ridge, they were located south of Sneedville farther from historical

Melungeon settlements. The literature states the Melungeons settled on marginalized ridge lands yet no cemeteries with scores above 0.0043 were located at elevations higher than 1500 feet.

Table 5.3 – Unassimilated Cemeteries

Cem #	Name (if available)	GH	GS	EN	Stone	Total GM	Log Score
5	-	0	0	1	1	2	0.17609
15	James A. Trent	4	0	0	36	40	0.11394

Of the 15 cemeteries located within a mile of Newman's Ridge, all of those exhibited some extent of burial assimilation. More than 13 cemeteries indicated complete assimilation (Figure 5.19). I found no gravehouses or graveshelters on the Ridge, only three enclosures. The enclosure is more suggestive of an Anglo-American practice and not a unique Melungeon practice (Jordan 1982).

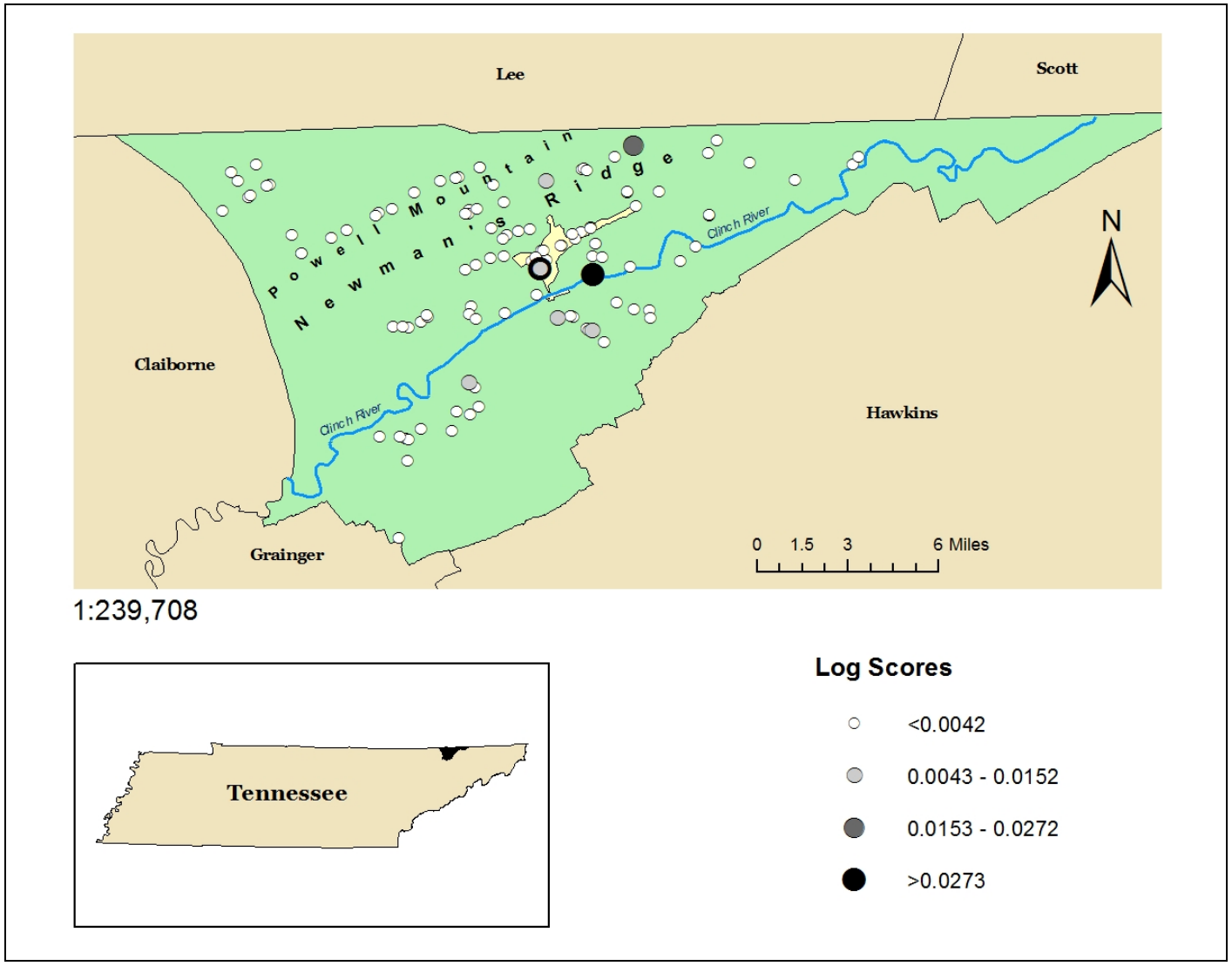

Figure 5.19 – Distribution of Burial Assimilation

The cemeteries having funerary objects of interest most characteristic of Melungeon cemeteries were not located on Newman's Ridge. In fact, I found only completely assimilated cemeteries in areas with higher elevation. These findings lead me to conclude that Melungeon burial sites are not confined to marginal lands, far from the town of Sneedville. Rather, they appear to be no more or less remote than other cemeteries.

5.4. Objective Three: To identify the social meaning of gravehouses in Melungeon cemeteries

Informants selected for interviewing represented various demographic variables (Table 5.4). More than 60% identified themselves as Melungeon. Even more (76%) have surnames that suggest Melungeon heritage. The median informant age by decade was 60. This would place most informants outside of the practice of gravehouse and graveshelter construction. Informants' responses reflected very little knowledge about these practices. While the median age for Hancock County is 39.2, more than 41% of the population is older than 45 (U.S. Census Bureau 2000a). During the day, I found it difficult to locate informants under the age of 45. Job opportunities in this area are limited and many find employment in either Morristown or Rogersville, both about 30 miles from Sneedville, the county seat of Hancock County.

Table 5.4 - Informant demographic characteristics (n=21)

Variables	Frequency	Percentage
Self Identified as Melungeon		
Yes	13	61.90
No	8	38.10
Melungeon Surname		
Yes	16	76.19
No	5	23.81
Sex		
Female	7	33.33
Male	14	66.67
Age (by decade)		
40	6	28.57
50	2	9.52
60	3	14.29
70	8	38.10
80	1	4.76
100	1	4.76

After performing content analyses of the interviews, five distinct explanations for the existence of gravehouses emerge: weather, animals, emotion, ornamental, status, and tradition (Figure 5.20). Of the 21 informants interviewed, seven believe gravehouses act as protection from the weather. Initially, Paige, a 70 year old Melungeon, agrees about the shielding purpose of the gravehouse. However, she changes her mind about the level of effective protection it actually offers. Gravehouses keep "the rain and snow off the graves. But those things really couldn't do that with bein' open on all sides like that."

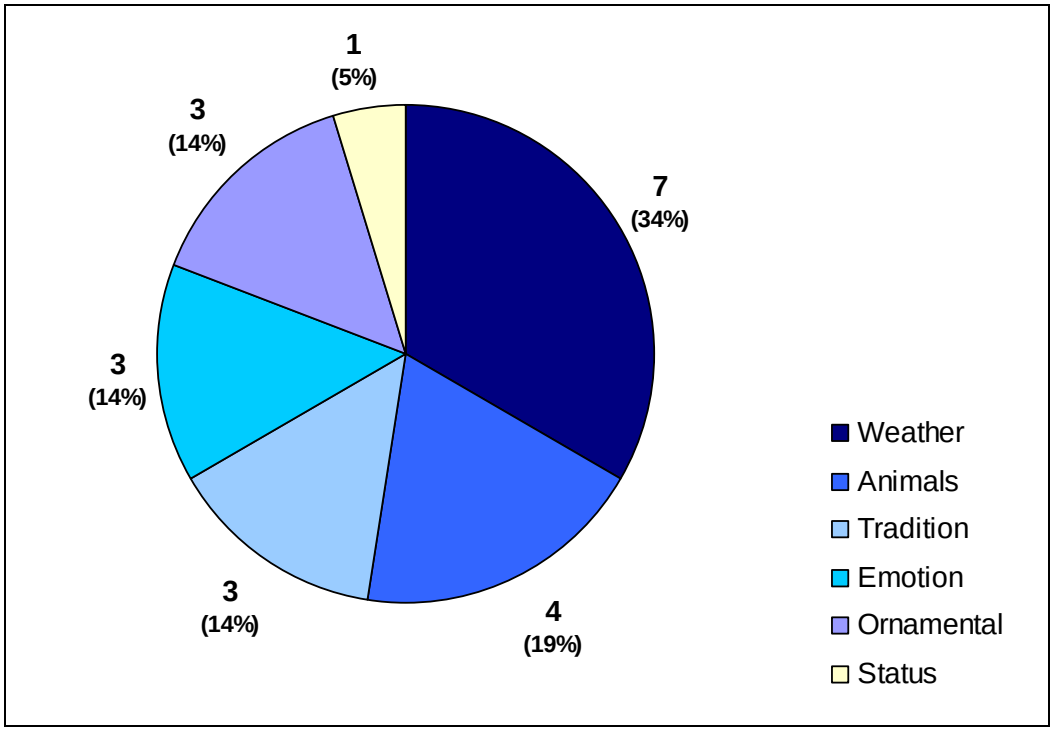

Figure 5.20- Informants' responses for the social meaning of gravehouses.

I think Gary, in his late-70s claiming no Melungeon heritage and without a Melungeon surname, best describes the gravehouse's intended meaning by providing a contemporary equivalent. While his formal occupation is as a farmer, he frequently mentions his familiarity with funeral practices in the region. Gary suggests that gravehouses are the poor man's precursor to the vault. "They'd build [grave]houses to keep the rain off the casket. But now funeral homes use steel vaults. No rain could get in the vault." Vaults are a fairly recent innovation of the nineteenth century (Crissman 1994). They often slow the damage to a coffin by limiting the amount of water entering the grave. Vaults also prevent gravesite collapse.

Animal disturbances may also have been a reason for the gravehouse's construction. When asked about the enclosures, Seth thinks that the little fences "were made to keep the cattle from hurting it." While standing across the river but in plain sight of CEM-15, Ethan points in the direction of a herd of cattle. "You see them cows. That's why those houses were built – keeps 'em out of everything."

Several believe the gravehouse's role was less functional and more symbolic. James, a funeral worker, suggests that gravehouses represent a type of ornamentation. He mentions, "Maybe families want to distinguish it from others'?" As an emotional monument, Clarence, an 80-year old Melungeon says it acts as a form of "protection because they loved their loved ones so much." Similarly, Victor recounts, "Alls I reckon is that he didn't want nobody to forget them." Buddy, a Melungeon in his early-40s, describes a difference in status. "[Gravehouses] were for the rich folks cuz the poor folks just got them fieldrocks." Jake, a Melungeon in his 60s, sees the gravehouse as a form of decoration.

Others believe that gravehouses were formerly part of a tradition surrounding burial practices in Hancock County. Arlene, who doesn't claim Melungeon ancestry, speaks about her own grandparents, "It was just part of the whole generation." Dan, of partial Melungeon heritage, mentions that "it was a tradition that probably went way back. Probably around the Civil War… So it's went pretty far piece back. I'd say we're talkin' 150 to 200 years." Julie, in her 50s with a Melungeon surname and relatives buried beneath a gravehouse, recalls, "They just always been there…but they were there before I was born because they've been there all my life."

Gravehouse construction had been a popular practice in the area. Connor, a Melungeon in his early-50s, recounts, "The cemetery that I remember; there was eight graves lined up and each gravesite had a lil' building over it, over the site and for some reason the family took those lil' buildings off the gravesites and uh tore those down some probably fifteen years ago." Joan mentions that every graveyard used to have a gravehouse in it. Sam, in his mid-40s, agrees with this observation saying, "They used to be everywhere."

Clearly, not everyone shares my fascination with these structures. After our first meeting, Joan asks, "H'ain't you never seen one before?" When I ask Charlie what purpose the gravehouse serves, he jokingly replies, "good firewood!" Paige admittedly tore down gravehouses on her property because she had "to mow back there." Nola reveals that "they were supposed to tear down that one on the end," specifically referencing the smaller gravehouse (GH-02) which is in a dilapidated state. Joan shares that once the gravehouses begin to show signs of deterioration, the end result is little more than a heap of decaying

lumber thrown over the cemetery's fence. "They tore 'em down, throwed 'em over a fence, and burned 'em up." Any sacred aspect of the gravehouse has long been lost.

Informants provide both practical interpretations and those steeped in emotions for the end of this tradition. James believes that in addition to the funeral and a gravestone, cost would be a limiting factor, "The cost to build one would set you back..." Others mention the lack of interest by younger generations to maintain cemetery properties or to revive the tradition. Joan echoes this sentiment, "They just don't care, they just don't want to bother with it." Interestingly, only one informant actually mentions reviving this tradition. Otis, in his late-70s and not of Melungeon heritage, offers "I was thinkin' bout building one for my wife, but I didn't." He explains that he could not find anyone to build a gravehouse.

5.5. Objective Four: To identify contemporary Melungeon burial practices

I must admit that my own past attendance at funerals is limited, with similar ceremonies occurring in Central Virginia Baptist churches. After participating in the funeral of a Melungeon male, I observed several differences between this and the other non-Melungeon funerals I have attended.

I was unfamiliar with having two ministers officiate during the funeral. However, this may be common for the Central Appalachian region. Crissman (1994, 89) finds that "multiple-minister funerals are still more common in rural parts of the mountains than in sections that are urban". The fire-and-brimstone style sermon performed during the funeral was also surprising. Sheppard (1991, 218) recognizes that some mountain fundamentalist ministers from Holiness and Pentecostal churches often felt the need to "frighten sinners into repentance". After hearing the youngest minister's sermon, I believe this to be true. It was an attempt to encourage the audience to seek salvation. Formerly, I had never been made to stand row by row to view the deceased and meet with the ministers.

I observed nothing out of the ordinary during the interment, but this was only an observation of a single case. Visits to the burial site a week later and then again after six months revealed no funerary objects of interest, merely a granite gravestone (Figure 5.21). With the exception of several rituals common to the Appalachian region but not specific to

Melungeons, the funeral and subsequent internment seemed like a relatively standard practice.

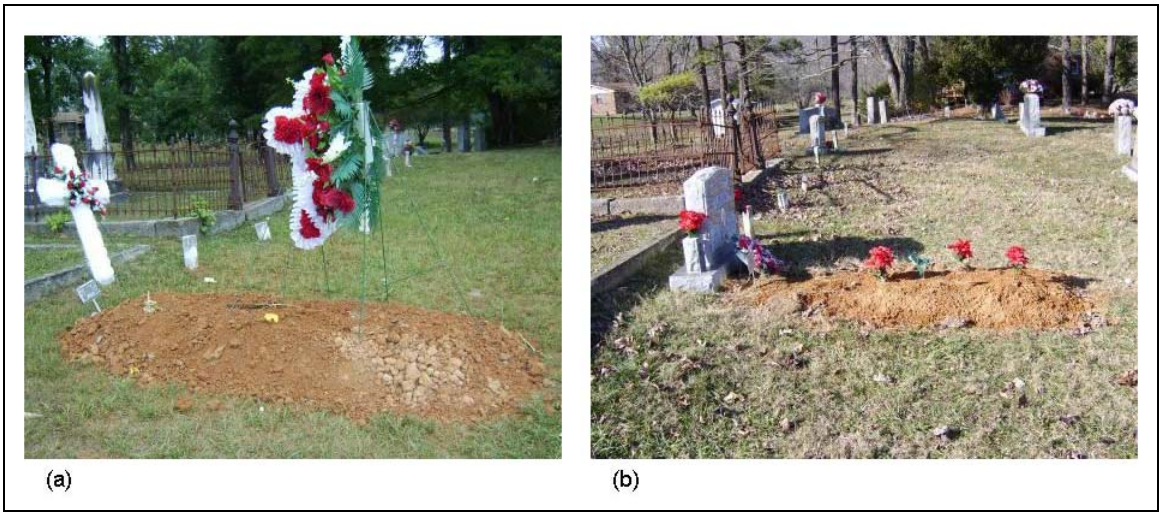

Figure 5.21 - Contemporary Melungeon burial: (a) June 2007; (b) January 2008.

5.6. Summary

The deathscape of Hancock County reflects little Melungeon influence. Presently, funerary objects of interest are not the preferred method of burial memorialization, representing less than one percent of the entire 2,913 gravemarker sample. Gravestones were the most abundant gravemarker. I found no funerary objects of interests with construction dates more recent than the 1980s, so clearly these types of gravemarkers have not seen a renewed significance. In areas of historical Melungeon settlement, I found no gravehouses. Gravehouses were outside of the Sneedville city limits farther than one might expect to find the remnants of a traditional burial practice. The gravehouses appear to be increasing in distance from the Melungeon centers of Newman's Ridge and Blackwater Valley.

Results from the MBI show very few cemeteries exhibit scores above 1.00, suggesting complete burial assimilation. This is not only the case with Melungeon material culture but also with their funerary rites. A contemporary Melungeon funeral reveals nothing distinctive and reflects common Appalachian funerary practices.

Chapter 6 - The Rise and Fall of the Melungeon Deathscape

As a sacred space, the Melungeon deathscape indicates the end of a material culture practice. In this study, graveshelters were used both to determine ethnic identity and also to measure the degree to which burial assimilation has occurred. These unique funerary objects of interest represented very few of the total number of gravemarkers. As a result, most surveyed cemeteries indicated complete burial assimilation.

When asked about the social meaning of gravehouses, an overwhelming majority of informants believe these structures perform a purely functional role: offering protection from the elements. They emphasize keeping gravesites dry. Because of the county's largely agricultural land use, several informants also mention potential destruction to the graveyard by cattle. Few refer to a more symbolic purpose, perhaps as a sign of respect or to distinguish their loved one's grave amongst more common field or gravestones, even though the scant wooden framing over the gravesite amounts to a kind of 'poor person's mausoleum.'

After direct inspection of these sites, my own observations conflict with informants' assertions because of the lack of complete protection offered by funerary objects of interest. I believe gravehouses, graveshelters, and enclosures do little to shield gravesites from environmental factors. Four of the five gravehouses (GH-02 -05/CEM-15) have unenclosed foundations that rise several inches off of the ground, supported by large stones at each of the houses' four corners. The eaves extend only slightly beyond the unfinished, lattice walls. Positioned towards the foot of a fairly steep hill is seemingly a perfect location where rain might run-off and ultimately collect. If keeping the graves dry is a priority, this location appears inadequate. Similarly, the sole graveshelter only offers protection directly above the gravesite. With the exception of a single iron enclosure (EN-02/CEM-04) and a partial cement enclosure (EN-09/CEM-56), most grave enclosures measure less than six inches in height. In agricultural areas, surely this would not act as a deterrent to grazing livestock or burrowing animals.

Contrary to the hypothesized functional role, my research suggests that gravehouses may have originally represented a symbolic tribute to loved ones. Of the 2,913 gravemarkers

recorded, 2,897 (99.45%) are either field or gravestones. The infrequent occurrences of funerary objects of interest become even more significant. These gravehouses are unique and intriguing and their overall size is quite formidable. Most gravehouses surpass eight feet in height and are visually striking. I suspect these exaggerated characteristics imply more than just a simple, functional aspect. If grave protection were the intended purpose, a smaller structure may have been easier to build, requiring less time and fewer materials for construction.

Of the 116 cemeteries surveyed, only two contain gravehouses, a burial practice frequently identified as unique to the Melungeons. Surprisingly, I found no gravehouses or graveshelters during the surveys conducted on Newman's Ridge and Blackwater Valley, sites considered of importance to studies of Melungeon culture. However, the only funerary objects of interest I found here were enclosures, commonly of more modern source materials; specifically, inexpensive plastic coated steel fencing and short, scalloped edger block used in landscaping. My research counters the belief that mountain seclusion leads to an anticipated continuance of traditional customs, including burial practices. Curiously, I found greater manifestations of traditional Melungeon burial practices in parts of the county farthest from historically Melungeon settlements.

I do not suggest that the current absence of gravehouses on Newman's Ridge and in Blackwater Valley implies that they were never present. During fieldwork in 2007 and 2008, I noticed further deterioration of the five remaining gravehouses. The wooden foundations are disintegrating because of termite damage. Large beams used to support the internal frame have fallen down, compromising the gravehouses' structural integrity. The cemeteries remain in a neglected state and the gravehouses are not receiving regular maintenance. This rapid deterioration may be a plausible explanation for why similar structures no longer exist on Newman's Ridge. According to Faith, a Melungeon in her mid-50s, the need for regular maintenance acts as a deterrent for revitalizing this practice. Even though her own great-grandparents are buried beneath the gravehouses, she says "I'd like to be out in the bigger part [of the cemetery] myself not in those houses, all kinds of things like sticks and uh leaves get all up in 'em. We have to clean 'em out all the time." She has since hired someone to care for the cemetery grounds.

The earliest gravehouse in my sample (GH-05) dates to 1866. It is located approximately four miles south of Newman's Ridge, close to the banks of the Clinch River. Built 20 years later, another gravehouse (GH-01) stands beyond the river, even farther from Newman's Ridge. I believe the locations of the few remaining gravehouses indicate the diffusion of material culture spreading outward from the original Melungeon settlements.

The three cemeteries containing gravehouses and the single graveshelter all share a common surname in their titles (Trent Valley – CEM-13, James A. Trent – CEM-15, and Snowbird Trent – CEM-32). Researchers identify Trent as a common Melungeon surname in this area (Ivey 1976; Elder 1999). Several informants directly tied to the gravehouses and graveshelter self-identified as having a Melungeon heritage. However, my research also shows an interaction between Melungeon and non-Melungeons burial practices. Gravestones are present within the graveshelter and gravehouses themselves, signifying hybrid burial practices.

While the enclosure has regained popularity within the past three decades, the gravehouse has not seen a similar revival. What is the explanation for this? Suggestions that cost may be a limiting factor seem far-fetched. Gravehouse materials consist of little more than lattice siding and tin shingles. Joan tells me, "if you can drive a nail, then you can build a gravehouse." Compared to the cost of an engraved granite headstone, running potentially into the thousands of dollars, gravehouses are a relatively inexpensive form of memorialization. In many urban centers, cemeteries have regulations preventing certain types of gravemarkers of a certain style or size. Surely, this is not the case in Hancock County, where none of the cemeteries are privately owned or managed. Most are situated on public lands.

Based on the original dates of construction, the most recent structure is the graveshelter. Initially made during the late-1930s, a tornado blew it over and in 1988 family members rebuilt the graveshelter. I was unable to find any structures with more recent dates of creation. Informants' accounts do not recognize this as a modern practice, noting that many gravehouses existed before their own births. Even literature from the mid-1940s identifies the Melungeon gravehouse as part of their "formerly practiced cultural peculiarities" (Gilbert 1946, 444).

6.1. Limitations

Although I believe this study made some progress toward understanding how the burial practices of a minority culture reflect assimilation into the majority group, several limitations exist. I did not include a temporal study of gravemarkers as Jeane (1972) proposes; he argues that it is necessary to interpret the cultural significance of the landscape. I had intended to record burial dates, but gravestone conditions prevented this. Weathering made some inscriptions illegible. The use of fieldstones is a common practice in the Central Appalachian region and this form of memorialization rarely includes engraving. I may have been able to increase the size of my cemetery sample had I used an all-terrain vehicle. Even after renting a four-wheel drive truck, I was still unable to access many parts of Newman's Ridge.

When selecting interview participants, I did not use a random sampling technique. I chose snowball sampling because Babbie (1992) shows that it is an appropriate technique for selecting informants from populations that are difficult to find; yet, the sample may not be statistically representative of Melungeons in general. Nevertheless, as an ethnographer my interest remains in ensuring validity (e.g., I am measuring what I set out to measure) versus reliability (Scarpaci 1993). My position as an outsider may have affected informant's responses during the interviewing process. I am neither of Melungeon heritage nor am I a native Hancock County resident. The median age (by decade) for my informants was 60. Clearly the inclusion of younger adults would have been beneficial, particularly in determining their interest in maintaining or reviving the Melungeon gravehouse tradition. However, the skewed demographic profile is concomitant with a disappearing cultural practice that would be of interest to folks in their later years.

6.2. Implications for Future Research

This study examined the burial practices and material culture of a single group with a multiethnic heritage. Necrogeographers have neglected groups sharing a similar multiethnic ancestry. Future research may include studies of comparable groups but in other parts of the country, like the Lumbees of North Carolina, the Brass Ankles in South Carolina, and the Red Bones in Louisiana (Gilbert 1946). There also exists the potential for refining the

Melungeon Burial Index to measure different social processes, not only assimilation, by examining different elements of the cultural landscape.

Nearly a century has gone by since a new gravehouse has been constructed in the study site. Much has changed over the past century. The modern funeral industry has a presence in Hancock County, and along with the traditional wake in the home of the deceased, other funerary practices are in decline (Stansberry 2004). If the deathscape acts as a record of change, I believe the cemeteries of Hancock County, Tennessee indicate the demise of this unique burial practice. I have no doubts that within only a few decades, photographs will be the only records left of this cultural practice.

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———. 1969c. *Kyles Ford quadrangle, Tennessee* [map]. 1:24,000. 7.5 Minute Series. Washington D.C.

———. 1969d. *Looneys Gap quadrangle, Tennessee* [map]. 1:24,000. 7.5 Minute Series. Washington D.C.

———. 1969e. *Plum Grove quadrangle, Tennessee* [map]. 1:24,000. 7.5 Minute Series. Washington D.C.

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Appendix A: List of Common Melungeon Surnames

Bolen/Bowlen/Bolling/Bowling
Bunch
Collins
Coffey
Denham
Dunaway
Gibson/Gipson
Goins/Goings
Goodman
Johnson
Kennedy
Miner/Minor
Miser/Mizer
Moore
Mullins
Roberson/Robertson/Robinson
Rose
Seals
Trent
Williams
Wise
Wolfe

Appendix B: Key Informant List

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Melungeon	Melungeon Surname	Occupation
Arlene	F	100	N	N	Assembler
Buddy	M	Early-40s	Y	Y	Factory worker
Clarence	M	Early-80s	Y	Y	Government worker
Charlie	M	Late-40s	Y	Y	Mechanic
Connor	M	Early-50s	Y	Y	Banker
Dan	M	Mid-40s	Y	N	Business owner
Ethan	M	Early-60s	Y	Y	Farmer
Faith	F	Mid-70s	Y	N Maiden name: Y	Homemaker
Gary	M	Late-70s	N	N	Farmer
James	M	Late-60	N	N	Funeral worker
Jake	M	60s	Y	Y	Historian
Joan	F	Late-70s	Y	N Maiden name: Y	Homemaker
Julie	F	Mid-50s	N	N Maiden name: Y	Beautician
Nola	F	Late-40s	Y	N Maiden name: Y	Teacher
Otis	M	Late-70s	N	N	Preacher
Paige	F	Mid-70s	Y	N Maiden name: Y	Clerk
Robert	M	Early-40s	Y	Y	Homemaker
Ruby	F	Mid-70s	N	Y	Homemaker
Sam	M	Mid-40s	N	Y	Farmer
Seth	M	Early-70s	Y	Y	Preacher
Victor	M	Late-70s	N	Y	Farmer

Appendix C: Cemetery Recording Sheet

Cemetery No.: _____
Cemetery Name (if available): _____
GPS Waypoint ID: _____
Latitude: _____
Longitude: _____
Date: _____

Gravemarker Type	Number	Description
Gravehouse		
Graveshelter		
Enclosure		
Gravestone		

Total # of gravemarkers: _____

Appendix D: Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board (IRB) Application

VirginiaTech

Office of Research Compliance
Institutional Review Board
1880 Pratt Drive (0497)
Blacksburg, Virginia 24061
540/231-4991 Fax: 540/231-0959
E-mail: moored@vt.edu
www.irb.vt.edu

FWA00000572(expires 7/20/07)
IRB # is IRB00000667.

DATE: March 7, 2007

MEMORANDUM

TO: Joseph L. Scarpaci
Sherry Tejada

FROM: David M. Moore

Approval date: 3/7/2007
Continuing Review Due Date:2/21/2008
Expiration Date: 3/6/2008

SUBJECT: **IRB Expedited Approval:** "The Necrogeography of Melungeon Cemeteries in Central Appalachia" , IRB # 07-116

This memo is regarding the above-mentioned protocol. The proposed research is eligible for expedited review according to the specifications authorized by 45 CFR 46.110 and 21 CFR 56.110. As Chair of the Virginia Tech Institutional Review Board, I have granted approval to the study for a period of 12 months, effective March 7, 2007.

As an investigator of human subjects, your responsibilities include the following:

1. Report promptly proposed changes in previously approved human subject research activities to the IRB, including changes to your study forms, procedures and investigators, regardless of how minor. The proposed changes must not be initiated without IRB review and approval, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.
2. Report promptly to the IRB any injuries or other unanticipated or adverse events involving risks or harms to human research subjects or others.
3. Report promptly to the IRB of the study's closing (i.e., data collecting and data analysis complete at Virginia Tech). If the study is to continue past the expiration date (listed above), investigators must submit a request for continuing review prior to the continuing review due date (listed above). It is the researcher's responsibility to obtained re-approval from the IRB before the study's expiration date.
4. If re-approval is not obtained (unless the study has been reported to the IRB as closed) prior to the expiration date, all activities involving human subjects and data analysis must cease immediately, except where necessary to eliminate apparent immediate hazards to the subjects.

Important:
If you are conducting **federally funded non-exempt research**, this approval letter must state that the IRB has compared the OSP grant application and IRB application and found the documents to be consistent. Otherwise, this approval letter is invalid for OSP to release funds. Visit our website at http://www.irb.vt.edu/pages/newstudy.htm#OSP for further information.

cc: File
Department Reviewer:Lawrence S. Grossman

Appendix E: Semi-Structured Interview Questions

<My name is Sherry Tejada and I am a Master's student in geography at Virginia Tech. I am currently researching the burial practices of Melungeons in the Sneedville area. I would like to know if you have any familiarity with these practices. Would you be willing to speak with me about this topic?>

1) Are you familiar with burial practices that are unique to Melungeon communities?
    a. If yes, please elaborate.
    b. If no, have you seen any unique gravemarkers in Hancock County?

2) Can you tell me more about gravehouses?
    a. Do you know who built them?
    b. Why were they built?
    c. Do you know anyone who chose this particular gravemarker?
    d. About how long have they been here?
    e. Are they still being built now?

3) Has anyone in your family been buried in this manner?
    a. If yes, why were they built for your relative?
    b. Are you from this area?
    c. How long has your family lived in Hancock County?

4) Would you consider yourself of Melungeon descent?

Appendix F: Coding for Interview Responses

Weather

Rain
Dry
Water
Weather
Wet
Snow

Tradition

Custom
Generational
Routine
Tradition
Traditional

Animals

Cattle
Cows
Dogs

Emotion

Forget
Love
Respect

Ornamental

Decorate
Distinguish

Status

Poor
Rich

Appendix G: Funerary Objects of Interest Attributes

OBJECTID	NAME	LAT	LON	Marker_Year
1	GH-01	+36.4976495	-83.1923122	1886
2	GH-02	+36.5242624	-83.1902415	1910
3	GH-03	+36.5242892	-83.1902469	1917
4	GH-04	+36.5243590	-83.1902951	1882
5	GH-05	+36.5243643	-83.1902737	1866
6	GS-01	+36.5042317	-83.2128954	1938
7	EN-01	+36.5278458	-83.2217253	1975
8	EN-02	+36.5275293	-83.2218004	1885
9	EN-03	+36.5276420	-83.2216341	1906
10	EN-04	+36.5274435	-83.2217575	1908
11	EN-05	+36.5275132	-83.2213283	1980
12	EN-06	+36.5687656	-83.2160336	1977
13	EN-07	+36.5852719	-83.1638647	1916
14	EN-08	+36.5851915	-83.1638217	1952
15	EN-09	+36.5512186	-83.1205416	1958
16	EN-10	+36.4743250	-83.2657028	1986

Appendix H: Cemetery Attributes

OBJECTID	WAYPOINTID	NAME	GH	GS	EN	STONE	TOTAL	LAT	LON	MBI	LOG
1	CEM-1	McCoy	0	0	0	11	11	36.401111	-83.309933	1	0
2	CEM-2	Turner-Seal	0	0	0	18	18	36.531951	-83.217616	1	0
3	CEM-3	Livesay-Greene-Horner	0	0	0	17	17	36.529752	-83.218849	1	0
4	CEM-4	Harrison	0	0	4	135	139	36.527714	-83.221477	1.028777	0.0123212
5	CEM-5	-	0	0	1	1	2	36.527714	-83.221209	1.5	0.1760913
6	CEM-6	Campbell Tyler	0	0	0	48	48	36.529216	-83.219332	1	0
7	CEM-7	Cody	0	0	0	32	32	36.536510	-83.220780	1	0
8	CEM-8	Cody-Lawson	0	0	0	4	4	36.536403	-83.219493	1	0
9	CEM-9	Gollihon	0	0	0	131	131	36.559967	-83.242089	1	0
10	CEM-10	Andy Gibson Cemetary [sic]	0	0	1	46	47	36.569495	-83.216828	1.0212766	0.0091434
11	CEM-11	Vardy	0	0	0	114	114	36.580342	-83.175484	1	0
12	CEM-12	Mullins	0	0	2	29	31	36.585599	-83.163731	1.0645161	0.0271522
13	CEM-13	-	1	0	0	83	84	36.497655	-83.191888	1.0357143	0.01524
14	CEM-14	-	0	0	0	26	26	36.510583	-83.177024	1	0
15	CEM-15	James A. Trent	4	0	0	36	40	36.524225	-83.190086	1.3	0.1139434
16	CEM-16	-	0	0	0	4	4	36.544309	-83.240866	1	0
17	CEM-17	-	0	0	0	6	6	36.547576	-83.250098	1	0
18	CEM-18	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.542662	-83.243204	1	0
19	CEM-19	-	0	0	0	11	11	36.546205	-83.233708	1	0
20	CEM-20	-	0	0	0	59	59	36.556666	-83.262698	1	0
21	CEM-21	Ramsey	0	0	0	2	2	36.555004	-83.263388	1	0
22	CEM-22	Maxey	0	0	0	19	19	36.546692	-83.227342	1	0
23	CEM-23	Wallen	0	0	0	2	2	36.573226	-83.034625	1	0
24	CEM-24	Baker	0	0	0	118	118	36.576827	-83.030747	1	0
25	CEM-25	Weston	0	0	0	28	28	36.575442	-83.095558	1	0
26	CEM-26	Belcher	0	0	0	3	3	36.586798	-83.114391	1	0
27	CEM-27	Kinsler	0	0	0	51	51	36.580981	-83.120208	1	0
28	CEM-28	Johnson-Fleenor	0	0	0	87	87	36.563256	-83.150120	1	0
29	CEM-29	Horton	0	0	0	19	19	36.546915	-83.190834	1	0
30	CEM-30	Taylor Ferguson	0	0	0	3	3	36.534451	-83.243181	1	0
31	CEM-31	Campbell Manness	0	0	0	57	57	36.531404	-83.226286	1	0
32	CEM-32	Snowbird	0	1	0	91	92	36.503985	-83.212160	1.0217391	0.00934
33	CEM-33	Green	0	0	0	5	5	36.504816	-83.204128	1	0
34	CEM-34	Davis- Rvr Rd	0	0	0	21	21	36.538606	-83.208560	1	0
35	CEM-35	Gaps Chapel	0	0	0	2	2	36.527527	-83.168400	1	0
36	CEM-36	Rhymer	0	0	0	8	8	36.533106	-83.190211	1	0

OBJECTID	WAYPOINTID	NAME	GH	GS	EN	STONE	TOTAL	LAT	LON	MBI	LOG
37	CEM-37	Gibson (Gaps Chapel)	0	0	0	29	29	36.532381	-83.184739	1	0
38	CEM-38	Neal Alder	0	0	0	10	10	36.539141	-83.188280	1	0
39	CEM-39	Alder	0	0	0	19	19	36.538786	-83.188309	1	0
40	CEM-40	Davis-Alder	0	0	0	4	4	36.544934	-83.197051	1	0
41	CEM-41	Louis Rhea	0	0	0	12	12	36.541474	-83.200350	1	0
42	CEM-42	Trent	0	0	0	37	37	36.543808	-83.202201	1	0
43	CEM-43	Jarvis	0	0	0	11	11	36.538738	-83.208879	1	0
44	CEM-44	Baker	0	0	0	5	5	36.546544	-83.191338	1	0
45	CEM-45	Morgan	0	0	0	55	55	36.533267	-83.223927	1	0
46	CEM-46	Seal (Miller)	0	0	0	4	4	36.528531	-83.266209	1	0
47	CEM-47	Briar Creek Ch.	0	0	0	27	27	36.510515	-83.263299	1	0
48	CEM-48	Fairchild	0	0	0	105	105	36.507189	-83.264546	1	0
49	CEM-49	Chandler Brewer	0	0	0	22	22	36.504141	-83.293232	1	0
50	CEM-50	Williams	0	0	0	5	5	36.563178	-83.168937	1	0
51	CEM-51	Burdine	0	0	0	27	27	36.563375	-83.168937	1	0
52	CEM-52	Alder	0	0	0	24	24	36.556268	-83.163697	1	0
53	CEM-53	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.529646	-83.219018	1	0
54	CEM-54	Livesay	0	0	0	114	114	36.566631	-83.069304	1	0
55	CEM-55	Livesay Chapel	0	0	0	9	9	36.551014	-83.120502	1	0
56	CEM-56	Davis	0	0	1	101	102	36.551067	-83.120563	1.0098039	0.0042371
57	CEM-57	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.574828	-83.195206	1	0
58	CEM-58	-	0	0	0	12	12	36.575089	-83.194088	1	0
59	CEM-59	-	0	0	0	2	2	36.574327	-83.192512	1	0
60	CEM-60	Mulberry Gap	0	0	0	62	62	36.577068	-83.255602	1	0
61	CEM-61	-	0	0	0	2	2	36.576958	-83.255912	1	0
62	CEM-62	-	0	0	0	26	26	36.572821	-83.268702	1	0
63	CEM-63	Thomas Chapel	0	0	0	1	1	36.556898	-83.316634	1	0
64	CEM-64	-	0	0	0	6	6	36.548926	-83.335842	1	0
65	CEM-65	-	0	0	0	12	12	36.545540	-83.345206	1	0
66	CEM-66	Edd	0	0	0	8	8	36.573826	-83.399732	1	0
67	CEM-67	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.577891	-83.403533	1	0
68	CEM-68	Owen	0	0	0	2	2	36.581428	-83.388434	1	0
69	CEM-69	-	0	0	0	20	20	36.571239	-83.380410	1	0
70	CEM-70	-	0	0	0	6	6	36.570975	-83.382522	1	0
71	CEM-71	Breeding	0	0	0	5	5	36.565696	-83.393555	1	0
72	CEM-72	Lemarr	0	0	0	7	7	36.559375	-83.408815	1	0

OBJECTID	WAYPOINTID	NAME	GH	GS	EN	STONE	TOTAL	LAT	LON	MBI	LOG
73	CEM-73	-	0	0	0	1	1	36.566857	-83.392394	1	0
74	CEM-74	-	0	0	0	4	4	36.547092	-83.368174	1	0
75	CEM-75	-	0	0	0	10	10	36.538229	-83.363093	1	0
76	CEM-76	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.538310	-83.362953	1	0
77	CEM-77	-	0	0	0	17	17	36.558410	-83.308191	1	0
78	CEM-78	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.555475	-83.318286	1	0
79	CEM-79	-	0	0	0	21	21	36.565761	-83.294921	1	0
80	CEM-80	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.570888	-83.279598	1	0
81	CEM-81	-	0	0	0	5	5	36.572331	-83.269943	1	0
82	CEM-82	-	0	0	0	9	9	36.568484	-83.247883	1	0
83	CEM-83	-	0	0	0	16	16	36.557183	-83.258041	1	0
84	CEM-84	-	0	0	0	5	5	36.555195	-83.264954	1	0
85	CEM-85	-	0	0	0	37	37	36.533700	-83.250837	1	0
86	CEM-86	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.530510	-83.259904	1	0
87	CEM-87	-	0	0	0	48	48	36.506326	-83.288799	1	0
88	CEM-88	Greene-Willis	0	0	0	107	107	36.501465	-83.300504	1	0
89	CEM-89	Brewer's Chapel	0	0	0	8	8	36.501987	-83.309970	1	0
90	CEM-90	-	0	0	0	4	4	36.501866	-83.303895	1	0
91	CEM-91	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.507349	-83.289615	1	0
92	CEM-92	-	0	0	0	5	5	36.504799	-83.260767	1	0
93	CEM-93	-	0	0	0	72	72	36.507254	-83.243078	1	0
94	CEM-94	Seals	0	0	0	2	2	36.515205	-83.224023	1	0
95	CEM-95	-	0	0	0	5	5	36.462856	-83.260038	1	0
96	CEM-96	Yount	0	0	0	22	22	36.459025	-83.265692	1	0
97	CEM-97	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.451609	-83.276876	1	0
98	CEM-98	McCoy	0	0	0	14	14	36.448353	-83.304049	1	0
99	CEM-99	Antrican	0	0	0	61	61	36.447707	-83.302542	1	0
100	CEM-100	-	0	0	0	31	31	36.449227	-83.307662	1	0
101	CEM-101	Johnson	0	0	0	2	2	36.449693	-83.319329	1	0
102	CEM-102	Miles	0	0	0	8	8	36.438002	-83.303213	1	0
103	CEM-103	Winkler	0	0	0	9	9	36.453045	-83.294852	1	0
104	CEM-104	-	0	0	0	5	5	36.460783	-83.273693	1	0
105	CEM-105	-	0	0	0	16	16	36.471968	-83.262193	1	0
106	CEM-106	Yellow Branch Baptist Ch.	0	0	1	28	29	36.474365	-83.265573	1.0344828	0.0147233
107	CEM-107	Greene-Minor	0	0	0	48	48	36.507318	-83.166785	1	0
108	CEM-108	Stony Gap Baptist Ch.	0	0	0	6	6	36.506552	-83.157752	1	0

OBJECTID	WAYPOINTID	NAME	GH	GS	EN	STONE	TOTAL	LAT	LON	MBI	LOG
109	CEM-109	-	0	0	0	28	28	36.502564	-83.157390	1	0
110	CEM-110	-	0	0	0	1	1	36.492063	-83.185190	1	0
111	CEM-111	-	0	0	0	4	4	36.504341	-83.202796	1	0
112	CEM-112	-	0	0	0	8	8	36.504768	-83.204456	1	0
113	CEM-113	-	0	0	0	7	7	36.498338	-83.194841	1	0
114	CEM-114	-	0	0	0	3	3	36.497688	-83.193832	1	0
115	CEM-115	Brooks Cemetery	0	0	0	22	22	36.536199	-83.129059	1	0
116	CEM-116	Mabe	0	0	0	5	5	36.529562	-83.138530	1	0