

*On the Hallowed Hill:
An Analysis of Historic Cemeteries within
the Great Smoky Mountains National Park*

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Abstract

Though a number of authors have stressed the importance of using cemetery data to study culture change through time, most of the available studies in this regard have been general in nature and completed without statistical analysis. Few studies have concentrated specifically on small, rural cemeteries, and fewer still have concentrated on regions outside of New England. The southern Appalachian Mountains are but one of the many regions that has yet to be studied in-depth. This thesis is an attempt to bridge some of the aforementioned gaps. Historic cemetery data collected in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park will be analyzed to examine hypotheses about the way headstones differ between age groups and genders through time. It is hypothesized that stones will increase in size and possess more intricate detail through time, a result of increasing modernity and improved access to goods and services. It is also hypothesized that stones will display differences in status between genders and age groups. The data indicate that stones have become larger and more ornate through time, that there is little difference between how men and women were treated in death, that religious faith has remained more or less constant for the past century and a half, that stones tend to display less personalized information in recent years, and that children under the age of five often possess more personal information, including kin terms, on their stones.

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Chapter I: Introduction

Death, mortuary practice, and the cemetery have long been a topic of intrigue for both the scholar and the layman. However, it has not been until recently that scholars have realized the importance of cemetery data and its relevance to the study of the living community in industrialized societies. As Edwin S. Dethlefsen has remarked, “A cemetery should reflect the local, historical flow of attitudes about community. It is, after all, a community of the dead, created, maintained, and preserved by the community of the living” (1981:137).

Each gravestone, from the simple, unmodified river rock to the elaborate, commercially produced monument, has a story to tell about the deceased and those the deceased left behind. A marker’s shape, the material it’s made from, and the method employed in its manufacture can tell us a great deal about the status of the individual, the financial standing of the family, and the available resources in the community. The amount of information provided on a gravestone, as well as the nature of that information, helps us to understand changing attitudes toward life, death, and eternity. All of this knowledge, especially when combined with a monument’s location and orientation in the cemetery, provides us with insight about the community’s treatment of different genders, age groups, status levels, and ethnic backgrounds.

It has long been recognized that graveyards provide the researcher with considerable insight into the living community. The first recognized study of American cemeteries was Harriette Merrifield Forbes’ *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653 – 1800* (1927). In this work, Forbes identified traits specific to select gravestone carvers and attempted to classify markers with respect to cultural and religious influences of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While this was considered to be a monumental work of significant influence, it is interesting to note that little more was published in the realm of

American cemetery studies until 1966, when two well-known publications were released: Allan Ludwig's *Graven Images: New England Stonecarving and Its Symbols 1650–1815* and Deetz and Dethlefsen's *Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries*. Both publications examined the symbolism found on New England gravestones and observed that the symbols changed through time, seemingly in concert with the shifting Puritan ideology of the period. As orthodox Puritan beliefs gradually grew less imposing, so too did the symbolism and epitaphs seen in the region's gravestones. Winged death heads slowly gave way to heavenly cherubs, and later to surprisingly secular and depersonalized willow trees. Epitaphs display a similar shift, though variations on the oldest traditional epitaphs are still seen well into the twentieth century.

A great many graveyard studies followed during the next three decades. Some of the most frequently cited works include: Dickran and Ann Tashjian's *Memorials for Children of Change: The Art of New England Stone Carving* (1974), Peter Benes' *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689–1805* (1977), and Diana Williams Combs' *Early Gravestone Art in Georgia and South Carolina* (1986). Most of the work that has been published since the 1960's deals chiefly with stylistic change in the art of stone carving or the way in which cemeteries have changed, as a whole, over the last three centuries. Primary emphasis has been placed on large memorial gardens, and most studies have concentrated on the New England area. Few studies have concentrated specifically on small, rural cemeteries, and fewer still have concentrated on regions outside of New England (Meyer 1989). The southern Appalachian Mountains are but one of the many regions that has yet to be studied in-depth.

Additionally, though a number of authors have stressed the importance of using cemetery data to study culture change through time (Brown 1994; Edgette 1989; Goody 1975; Jackson and Vergara 1989; Sloane 1991; Stannard 1975), most of the available studies in this regard have been general in nature and completed without statistical analysis, the only

notable exception being Dethlefsen's *The Cemetery and Culture Change* (1981). In this study, Dethlefsen examines typological categories such as stone size, epitaphs, motifs, and inscriptions. He hypothesizes that culture traits are represented by these typological categories, and that the use of these categories changes through time. Though this study deals specifically Alachua County, Florida, Dethlefsen implies that these trends can be seen beyond a regional level. Using the historic cemetery data from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, headstone size will be analyzed using analysis of variance, and frequency of epitaphs, symbols, and kin terms will be examined using chi square tests to see whether the patterns Dethlefsen identified in Florida will generalize to southern Appalachia.

Though many historic cemetery surveys have been completed in the Appalachian region, most have been done by genealogists or cemetery groups wishing to preserve the names of interred individuals, and the product of these studies is generally limited to a list of names and dates. There are a few notable exceptions to this, however. James K. Crissman's *Death and Dying in Central Appalachia* (1994) examined every stage of the process surrounding a death in detail, from community support for the family to interment of the deceased. While Crissman's work is undeniably an impressive compilation of information gathered from the literature, hundreds of interviews, and a great deal of personal experience, it concentrates primarily upon the sociological aspects surrounding death and dedicates little more than half a chapter to cemeteries and gravestones. The only other real resource of information on historic cemeteries in Appalachia concerns the Upland South folk cemetery complex (see Jeane 1969, 1978, 1989), but this work deals more or less with cemeteries as a whole and gives little consideration to individual graves aside from their decoration and treatment. At the present time, no cemetery studies in the southern Appalachian region have dealt specifically with individual gravestones and the way in which stones differ between genders and age groups through time. This thesis is an attempt to bridge some of the aforementioned gaps.

In the summer of 1993, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park began an intermittent survey of its historic cemeteries. Students from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville and volunteers from the local area began to collect data in the park's cemeteries, trained and supervised by the author, who was employed as an archaeologist by the National Park Service¹. Currently, complete data is available for three regions of the park: Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek. These historic cemetery data will be analyzed to examine questions about the way headstones differ between age groups and gender through time. For instance, it is hypothesized that the size of a person's headstone is more or less proportional to the wealth and/or status of that individual² (Dethlefsen 1981). Bearing this in mind, it is hypothesized that adults will possess larger stones than children, as they have interacted with the community more and have achieved greater status among their neighbors.

The paternal head of household is generally thought to possess the larger, more elaborate stone in the family, and Dethlefsen notes that age-sex patterns of design selection begin to emerge after 1890. Based upon this general theory, it is hypothesized that males will usually possess larger stones than their female counterparts.

D. Gregory Jeane notes that the advent of the automobile, improved roads, and changing local employment patterns after the turn of the twentieth century had a profound effect on the southern United States (1989). This modernization, he notes, is seen in the cemeteries of the South. Additionally, though few archaeological surveys have been completed in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, recent surveys in Cataloochee have noted that the material culture present suggests a level of modernity not generally associated with isolated communities (Riggs 1999). This modernity would manifest itself in larger headstones; it is therefore thought that stones will increase in size through time.

¹ For a more detailed description of these data and how they were collected, refer to Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection and Chapter V: Data Collection Methods. For a more detailed description of the analysis of these data, refer to Chapter VI: Data Analysis.

² Or the wealth and/or status of that individual's family

Another aspect of headstones that will be examined is the presence or absence of epitaphs and symbols, attributes that provide insight into the ideology of a community. Dethlefsen has noted that the use of epitaphs dropped off somewhat in the late nineteenth century³, and that their use continued to decline steadily throughout the twentieth century (1981). However, Crissman suggests otherwise (1994). The availability of commercially produced headstones allowed for a freedom of expression that was much more difficult to attain through hand-hewn markers. Commercially produced stones allowed for increased use of epitaphs and symbols, as well as increased biographical information. This, coupled with Jeane's aforementioned theory of increasing modernization of the southern cemetery, suggests that epitaph and symbol use will increase through time.

There is little or no evidence to suggest that the overall frequency of epitaphs will differ significantly between age groups or gender. However, it is hypothesized that the subject matter of epitaphs will vary significantly. Dethlefsen notes that the use of religious epitaphs decreases through time, and that religious epitaphs and symbols are found more frequently on the stones of females than on those of males, especially during the latter half of the twentieth century (1981). It is hypothesized that these trends will be seen in the available southern Appalachian cemetery data as well.

Dethlefsen notes a "clear retreat from expressions of individuality" in funerary markers sometime after 1920 (1981:154). It is hypothesized that this trend will also be seen in the Great Smoky Mountains cemetery data, based upon the amount of personal information provided in epitaphs. It is also thought that younger individuals will display more personal information in their epitaphs, as the death of a younger individual is often met with more anguish than the death of an older person. There is little evidence in the literature to suggest that the amount of personal information on stones will differ significantly between genders.

³ Dethlefsen notes that, while epitaph use decreased during this period, the use of symbols remained more or less constant.

Yet another attribute of headstones and footstones is the use of kin terms, such as “mother,” “father,” “wife,” “husband,” “daughter,” “son,” “sister,” and “brother.” Dethlefsen notes that females are more frequently identified as parents than are males (1981). It is hypothesized that this will be seen in the Great Smoky Mountains cemetery data as well. There is little reason to believe that the use of kin terms will change through time, but the use of kin terms may vary between age groups. As with personal information in epitaphs, kin terms bring attention to the youth of the deceased.

There are perhaps dozens of other topics that might be addressed using the available data, but these subjects are an excellent first step toward learning more about cemeteries in the southern Appalachian region.

Chapter II: Definition of Terms

Before proceeding, it is necessary to define a few of the key terms that will be used throughout this thesis.

The term *cemetery* comes from the Greek word *koimeterion*, meaning sleeping chamber or burial place, and refers to a place of interment for the dead (Merriam-Webster 1999). Though some say that the word *cemetery* refers to modern burial grounds and the word *graveyard* refers to more historic, less commercial burial grounds, the two shall be used herein interchangeably.

The term *grave* refers to a specific place in a cemetery where a body is buried. The terms *grave* and *plot* are used herein interchangeably. Though a grave generally is reserved for one individual, it is not altogether uncommon for two or more individuals to be buried together; this generally occurs only in the case of twins, though there are exceptions.

The term *headstone* refers to a stone marker placed at the head of a grave. The terms *headstone*, *marker*, *monument*, and *gravestone* are used herein interchangeably.

The term *inscribed* refers to writing on a stone. Thus, the phrase *inscribed stone* refers to stones that bear writing, while the phrase *uninscribed stone* refers to stones which do not⁴.

The term *footstone* refers to an additional stone marker that is often found at the end of a grave opposite from where the headstone is located. Though it is not always the case, the footstone is generally smaller than the headstone⁵.

⁴ Inscriptions on stones vary greatly in the amount of information they provide. Some stones provide only a surname, while other stones not only provide the full name and dates of birth and death for the deceased, but cause of death or occupation in life. In this thesis, only those stones which possessed enough information to determine the deceased's age, gender, and date of death were used in analysis. For more information, see Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection.

⁵ Other stones may be present at a grave, in addition to a headstone or footstone. The use of headstones, footstones, and additional stones is discussed in more detail in Chapter VI: Data Analysis. When referring generally to any stone found in association with a grave, the more ambiguous term *stone* will be used rather than *headstone* or *footstone*.

The term *inscription* refers to any writing present on any stone associated with a grave. The information given varies greatly from grave to grave, but usually includes the name, date of birth, and date of death for an individual at minimum⁶.

The term *epitaph* refers to a special section of a stone's inscription that generally consists of a statement about the religion or life of the deceased. For example, the phrase "from the arms of mother to the arms of Jesus" would be considered a religious epitaph, while the phrase, "a loving mother and affectionate wife" would be considered a secular epitaph of personal significance. Kin terms such as "mother" or "father," or information about an individual's military rank, are considered to be additional information, and not an *epitaph*⁷.

The term *motif* refers to any picture, illustration, or symbol found on a stone⁸.

The term *age* refers to the age of an individual at the time of their death. In this study, age was calculated by subtracting the year of birth from the year of death. When possible, the months of birth and death were used to determine the actual age. For example, the age of a person born in January of 1900 who died in April of 1910 lived ten years and three months, or 10.25 years.

⁶ Additional information is often given in inscriptions, including (but not limited to) date of marriage, name of spouse, name of mother and/or father.

⁷ For a more detailed discussion of epitaphs, refer to Chapter VI: Data Analysis.

⁸ For a more detailed discussion of motifs, refer to Chapter VI: Data Analysis.

Chapter III: Regional Background

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park occupies an area of over 520,000 acres⁹, and straddles the border between western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee (Figure 1). Established in June of 1934, the park was created to protect the unique natural environment of the southern Appalachian Mountains. Unlike parks of the same era that were created in the western United States¹⁰, land for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and other eastern parks such as Shenandoah were purchased from private landholders. Encouraged by the idea of preserving the few tracts of virgin timber that had not yet been cut by logging companies, restoration of thousands of acres that had already been leveled, and the economic security of having a national park at their backdoor, citizens of western North Carolina and eastern Tennessee lobbied heavily and pressed diligently for the creation of a national park in the Smoky Mountains, despite the fact that it would displace hundreds of long-time residents (Frome 1997).



Figure 1. Location of Great Smoky Mountains National Park

⁹ Approximately 800 square miles

¹⁰ Parks in the western United States were generally established on lands already owned by the federal government.

The bulk of the land needed for the park, about 85 percent, was purchased from commercial timber and pulpwood companies. The remaining 15 percent of the land consisted of approximately 1,200 farms of varying acreages and over 5,000 summer homes and lots. In all, over 6,600 individual tracts would be acquired for the creation of the park. Additional tracts along the park's southern boundary would later be purchased by the Tennessee Valley Authority for the construction of Fontana Dam and the creation of Fontana Lake (Oliver 1989). Those lands not inundated by the reservoir along the park's boundary were later incorporated into the Great Smoky Mountains National Park as well.

The communities that once flourished on the lands now owned by the Great Smoky Mountains National Park have a great deal in common. Most of the communities were settled during the early to mid nineteenth century. The residents of these communities lived in close concert with the land, but relied also on stable ties with other communities. They established churches, schools, stores, and post offices. Their settlements grew and flourished for approximately 100 years. By the middle of the twentieth century, the people of each community were forced to establish new residences away from the land they had called home for so long. The cemeteries in the park are perhaps the most vivid reminder of the residents that once flourished in these valleys and watersheds. While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide the reader with a comprehensive history of these communities, a brief historical account of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek is provided herein to help the reader better understand the backdrop of this study.

Cades Cove

Cades Cove occupies a broad, fertile basin in the northwestern portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, in Blount County, Tennessee (Figure 2). Occupying an area approximately four miles long and one mile wide, the cove appears to derive its name from

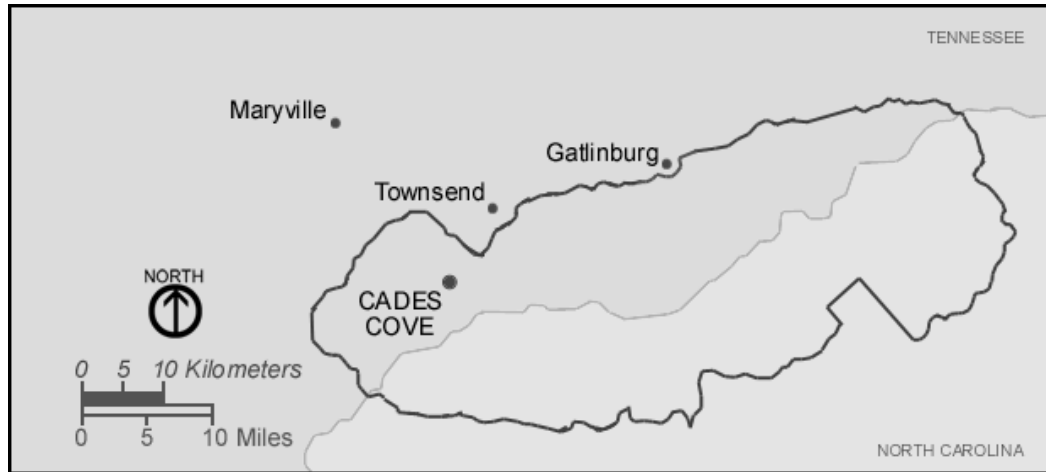


Figure 2. Location of Cades Cove within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

either a Cherokee chief named Cade¹¹ who at one time claimed land in the cove, or from Kate, the wife of a Cherokee chief named Abram (Coggins 1999). Cades Cove is currently the most visited portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, hosting nearly two million visitors annually. On a typical summer day, it takes about two hours to drive the cove's eleven mile loop road in bumper to bumper traffic, but life in Cades Cove was not always so hectic.

Evidence of homesteading efforts in Cades Cove date to as early as the 1790's (Shields 1977). Though legal claims to land could not be made until the signing of the Calhoun Treaty in 1819, it is thought that the first permanent white settlers arrived in the cove one year prior to that date, in the fall of 1818 (Dunn 1988). Those settlers were John and Lucretia Oliver and their baby daughter, Polly. They entered the cove from the north over Rich Mountain, having come from Carter County, Tennessee, and planned to settle in Cades Cove to see if it was habitable. If so, they hoped that others from Carter County would join them in a year or so. Having moved to the cove in the fall of the year, they had little time to prepare for the coming winter. It was too late to plant crops, and the creeks were running low on water. They located a small spring on higher ground in the eastern end of the cove, where

¹¹ May also have been spelled "Kade"

they constructed a small, rudimentary cabin¹². Though they encountered some difficulty making it through their first winter, the Olivers found the cove to be fertile and filled with wildlife. Joshua Jobe, his family, and several friends from Carter County joined the Olivers in 1821, the first of many whites who would settle in the cove during the mid nineteenth century.

Early settlers probably entered into Cades Cove through one of two primary routes (Shields 1981). The first route entered from the northeast, and accommodated those traveling from upper east Tennessee; it followed the Pigeon River, then passed through Wear's Cove to Little River and Tuckaleechee Cove before traversing Rich Mountain¹³. The second route entered the cove from the south, and accommodated those who traveled from southern North Carolina and South Carolina¹⁴.

Tracing the early settlement of the cove is a difficult undertaking, because many of the early settlers, like John Oliver, either entered onto their land illegally or delayed obtaining legal rights to the land. According to the 1830 census, most residents of Cades Cove had failed to register their deeds with the county courthouse, and a portion of them did not do so until after the Civil War. Subsequently, few records, if any, document those settlers who entered the cove only to leave again without ever having been counted in a census.

William ("Fighting Billy") Tipton received the first legal land grant in Cades Cove in 1821, for 640 acres (Dunn 1988; Shields 1977). This grant was the first of many, and Tipton eventually owned most of the bottom land in the cove. Tipton never lived in Cades Cove himself, but sold most of the land to close relatives and friends from Carter and Johnson counties in eastern Tennessee. It was from Tipton that Joshua Jobe purchased his initial 426 acres. Tipton sold another 426 acres to Isaac Tipton in 1822, 107 acres to Jacob Tipton in 1824, 80 acres to Martha Tipton Hart in 1825, 103 acres to James Henry in 1827, 640 acres to Thomas Tipton in 1830, and 1,600 acres to Robert Shields in 1831. Despite these and other

¹² Later, in the early 1820's, Oliver constructed a more substantial cabin that still stands today.

¹³ This was probably the route that the Olivers took when migrating to the cove.

¹⁴ Today, U.S. Highway 129 and Parson Branch Road closely follows this route.

land sales, Tipton still possessed over 1,700 acres at the time of his death in 1848 (Dunn 1988).

Though a number of families moved in and out of Cades Cove over the years, a few key families came to the area and stayed; these are the families whose surnames are most frequently seen in the cemeteries of the cove. John and Isabella Anthony, Noah and Nancy Abbott, Robert and Elizabeth Burchfield, Peter and Catherine Cable, Russell and Susan Gregory, Dan and Mary Jane Lawson, James and Unity McCaulley, John and Mary Myers, Dr. John Calvin and Martha Post, Robert and Margaret Shields, and Nathan and Eliza Jane Sparks were the first of their respective families to settle in the cove. There are undoubtedly a great many more individuals who had some hand in the settlement of the area; that process has been recounted in detail in other publications, and need not be repeated here (see Dunn 1988; Shields 1977, 1981).

The community of Cades Cove grew and prospered, reaching a population of 671 by 1850 (Dunn 1988). Though the population decreased sharply to only 296 individuals in 1860, it recovered and climbed steadily, ultimately peaking at 709 in 1900. At the turn of the century, Cades Cove possessed four churches¹⁵, four schools, three general stores, a post office, a rudimentary phone system, and a resident physician (Dunn 1988; Shields 1977).

Life continued to progress in Cades Cove as it did in any other small Appalachian community of the day. In 1922, a new road was completed¹⁶, making the cove more easily accessible by automobile (Dunn 1988). The residents of Cades Cove were aware of the fact that their out-of-the-way valley was peaceful and scenic, and that the establishment of this new road would allow them to develop a tourist industry. In 1924, rental cabins became

¹⁵ For information about individual churches, see Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection.

¹⁶ This is the same road used to access Cades Cove today.

available in the cove, and John Oliver¹⁷ began offering his services as a hiking guide. In 1925, Gregory Cave was equipped with electric lights and opened to the public.

It was also at this time that the plan to create a national park in the Smoky Mountains was beginning to gain momentum. Though the people were aware that the proposed area for the park included Cades Cove, they had been told on numerous occasions that the creation of the park would in no way affect their day to day lives; property would not be taken from them, and residents of the cove would not be forced to leave. It seemed to many in Cades Cove that a national park was the perfect answer to stopping nearby logging companies and controlling forest fires in the area. It was not until after the passage of the final park bill in 1927, which allowed for the seizure of homes within the proposed park boundary through eminent domain, that the people of Cades Cove realized their fate.

Many sold their homes willingly to the government. Others, not so willing, took the state to court, exhausting all possible appeals before they finally conceded defeat. Still others opted to sell their land at a reduced price, with the option to in turn lease that same land from the government. This final group was allowed to remain on their land, though many of their means of existence, such as their ability to hunt, cut timber, and graze livestock, were heavily restricted or curtailed altogether under the policies of the National Park Service. Those that stayed were also forced to bear witness as the community was disbanded, their neighbors' vacant homes were razed, and the forest reclaimed many of the once well-tended fields. Many found it unbearable to stay, and ultimately moved from the cove to seek residence elsewhere. The final resident in the valley was Lois Caughron, who left the valley in 1999 after the death of her husband, Kermit.

In later years, though some who were affected by the incorporation of the cove into the Great Smoky Mountains National Park remained bitter, others came to realize that the park had in some way preserved their history. When asked in the early 1990's to give his

¹⁷ A descendant of the first John Oliver

opinion on the best thing the park had done for the Smoky Mountains, former resident Randolph Shields replied, “The Park Service saved Cades Cove” (Frome 1997: xviii).

Cataloochee

Cataloochee is situated in northwestern Haywood County, North Carolina, in the eastern most portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (Figure 3). “Cataloochee” is actually a collective term for three distinct, yet historically interrelated areas: the valleys of Big Cataloochee and Little Cataloochee, and the watershed of Caldwell Fork. The people of these areas were closely related to one another by blood, by friendship, and by commerce (Goetcheus and Lott 1997).

Physiographically, the area is characterized by steep mountain ridges and slopes, which probably gave the area its aboriginal name, *Ga-da-lu-tsi* (Powers 1983). Translated, this phrase means “standing in rows or ranks,” and probably referred either to the high mountain peaks that surround these valleys, or the droves of tall, pointed firs that lined the ridges. Regardless, the settlers of European and Canadian descent who later inhabited these valleys stuttered over the Cherokee syllables, eventually settling on the name “Cataloochee.”

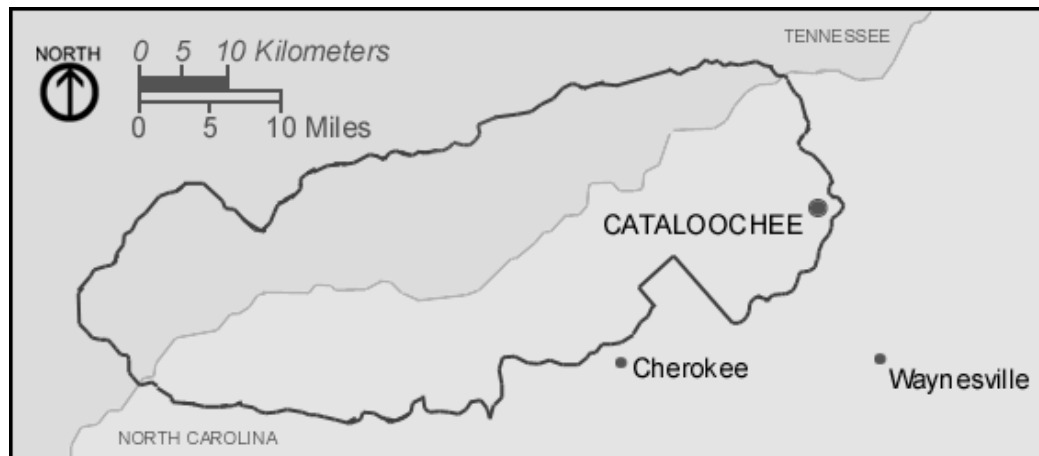


Figure 3. Location of Cataloochee within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

In 1796, two of the largest post-colonial land grants west of the Blue Ridge¹⁸, including the region of Cataloochee, were issued to John Gray Blount and David Allison¹⁹ (Goetcheus and Lott 1997). John Strother, a land agent for Blount, purchased the region including Cataloochee in 1798, but returned the property to Blount through his will at the time of his death. Colonel Robert Love and his son James acquired the region including Cataloochee for \$3000 in 1834 after Blount's death. Love's various holdings, often referred to as the "Love Speculation," totaled over 375,000 acres by 1865.

The earliest recorded land entry in Cataloochee was made by Henry Colwell²⁰ in 1814 for a hunting cabin in Big Cataloochee (Powers 1983). However, it was not until 1839 that Evan and Elizabeth Hannah, with their sons John Jackson and Benjamin, and Elizabeth's father, William Noland, became the first permanent white settlers to claim land in the area. Levi B. Colwell and his father, James, settled in Big Cataloochee in 1841²¹. George and Polly Starrett Palmer entered the area with their family in 1848. Jonathan Woody moved to the area in 1851 with his first wife, Malinda Plemmons, and her family. It is from these early roots that four of the most prominent families in Cataloochee gained their foothold.

Those traveling to Cataloochee more than likely accessed the valley via the Cataloochee Turnpike (Flaugh 1999). This road traversed the mountain, providing access to the communities of Big Creek and Mt. Sterling from the north and to the communities of Cove Creek, Jonathan's Creek, and Waynesville to the east. The road is mentioned in the early notes of John Strother in 1799 and by William Davenport in 1821, suggesting that this was an acceptable route of travel in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Givens 1978).

¹⁸ Totaling 570,880 acres

¹⁹ This was done despite the fact that land grants in this region could not legally be issued until the signing of the Treaties of Tellico in 1798.

²⁰ Spelling of this surname was later changed to "Caldwell"

²¹ There is some disagreement among sources as to whether the first settler was a Hannah or a Caldwell, but all agree that it was one of the two. Because Love allowed payment for these claims to be deferred by as many as 20 years, there is no formal record of their first dates in the valley.

By the mid nineteenth century, this road received so much traffic that it was widened to a width of four feet and turned into a toll road. Though the local residents of Cataloochee were exempt from paying the tolls, each able-bodied man who lived close to the turnpike was required to donate six days of free labor per year for the upkeep of the road.

Compared to Cades Cove, Cataloochee's flat, fertile bottomlands were in much shorter supply, and the earliest settlers quickly acquired the prime spots. Later settlers to the region often lived in smaller cabins on the hill sides, and worked as tenant farmers on the larger farms in the flatter portions of the valleys. One way to adjust to the lack of flat land was to grow apple orchards, and many either supplemented their endeavors or based their economy in this regard. The wealthiest man in the valley, William Messer, had 600 apple-bearing trees.

The population of the Cataloochee township²² peaked with 1,251 people in 1910 (Flaugh 1999). Though the population was reduced to a mere 931 in 1920 as a result of the influenza epidemic, Cataloochee maintained enough residents to support two churches²³, four schools, three post offices (which contained general stores), and several saw and grist mills.

As in other areas of what would later become the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, commercial logging operations were conducted near Cataloochee. Though the effects of these commercial endeavors were relatively unnoticeable to most of the area's residents, the scars of the timber cuts, as well as the damage of a fire set by a disgruntled Parson Pulp and Lumber Company employee in 1925, were visible from the upland grazing areas. Some would argue that the lumber companies did not adversely affect Cataloochee, but rather supported its residents by providing jobs and a market for their agricultural products.

Like Cades Cove, Cataloochee residents began to see the potential for tourism (Goetcheus and Lott 1997). In Cataloochee, the primary draw for tourism came in the form of

²² Cataloochee Township, it should be noted, included the outlying areas of Big Creek and Mt. Sterling Gap in addition to Big Cataloochee, Little Cataloochee, and Caldwell Fork.

²³ For information about these churches, see Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection.

trout fishing. Jarvis Palmer built three fishing cabins for tourists on his property between 1917 and 1924, and charged for access to Cataloochee Creek. In the early 1920's, W. M. Hall built a series of tourist cabins and dug a three acre lake, which he stocked; he charged tourists one dollar for each fish that they caught (Hannah and Hannah 1996). The Woody family also stocked the streams near their home and provided camping facilities (Flaugh 1999).

Not long after the residents began to develop their land to increase tourism, the North Carolina Park Commission began to purchase land in Cataloochee for the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Like their counterparts in Cades Cove, some Cataloochee residents sold their land willingly to the government, while others were forced to leave after the state acquired their land through condemnation proceedings. A few took the state to court, unsuccessfully. Still others chose to remain in the valley through special arrangements with the National Park Service. As in Cades Cove, most of the residents who chose this option were unable to live with the restrictions on hunting, grazing, and farming, and subsequently moved from the area. A few remained indefinitely; in 1940, Cataloochee contained 11 farms, comprised of 66 individuals in 16 families. The last resident to live in the valley was Lush Caldwell, who resided in Cataloochee until 1968.

Hazel Creek

Located in the southwestern portion of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Swain County, North Carolina, Hazel Creek's source originates high on Welch Ridge, near the crest of the Smoky Mountains, and surges downstream, eventually flowing into Fontana Lake (Figure 4). The creek is named for a shrubby flowering plant, the American hazel²⁴ (Coggins 1999). Today, Hazel Creek is a famed destination for those seeking beauty, solitude, and rainbow trout, but just half a century ago this area boasted one of the largest logging operations in the Smoky Mountains.

²⁴ *Corylus americana*

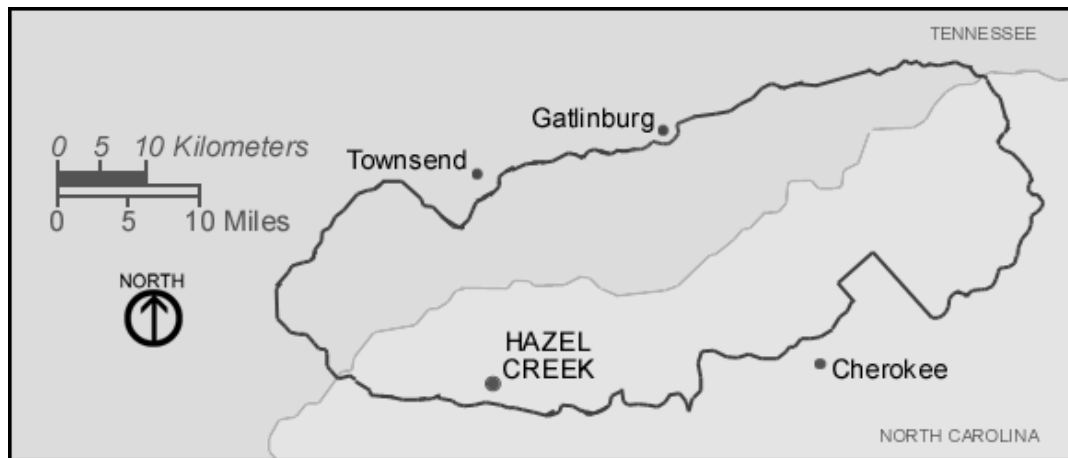


Figure 4. Location of Hazel Creek within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park

The first documented permanent white settlers on the creek were Moses Proctor, his wife Patience, and their son William (Oliver 1989). Moses Proctor was originally from north Georgia, where he had married and sired a son. Leaving his spouse and child, he ventured north into eastern Tennessee, where he met Patience Rustin. The two were married, and moved a short distance to Cades Cove, where they remained briefly. It was the late 1820's, and the cove's population of 54 households seemed too crowded for Proctor. He decided to venture out again just before 1830, and this time settled in a secluded woodland hollow near Hazel Creek. The location he chose was a mere 25 miles on foot from Cades Cove, and it is thought that Moses Proctor probably made an advanced trip to the area to choose the location for their home before bringing his wife and son to the area. Though the route across the mountain from Cades Cove was not terribly easy to negotiate in those days, different accounts suggest that the Rustin family traversed the mountain as well, and aided the Proctors in constructing their first cabin, on or about the location of the present day Proctor Cemetery²⁵. The location chosen for their first cabin is somewhat surprising, as it is situated on extremely

²⁵ For more information, see Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection.

high ground, with no spring, and is a substantial walk from the creek; it did, however, afford a commanding view of the surrounding mountains, and was located beside a heavily used aboriginal trail²⁶.

The Proctors maintained a solitary existence on the creek for some time. In 1832, they had their second son, Hiram. It was not until three years later that other whites would venture into their corner of the world to stay. Samuel and Elizabeth Cable, also from Cades Cove, entered the Hazel Creek area in 1835, but settled two miles away on what came to be known as Cable Branch. The Cables brought their seven children with them, which, when coupled with the Proctor family after the birth of their third child, Catherine, brought the population of Hazel Creek to a mere 14.

Though settlers came and went over the next few years, it was not until 1852 that anyone else entered the watershed and stayed. Joseph Washington Welch entered the area from Forney Creek, the next watershed upriver²⁷, and married Catherine Proctor. In that same year, Moses and Patience had purchased additional land in the area and built a new home. Their daughter Catherine and her new husband settled into a two-room log cabin on this new property as well.

Eighteen fifty-two was a fairly exciting year on Hazel Creek, for it was also about that same time that Josiah and Sarah Bradshaw settled in the area, between the old and new Proctor farms. In later years, Josiah Bradshaw would build the first grist mill on the creek and become the creek's first Justice of the Peace.

Four families, the Bradshaws, Cables, Proctors, and Welches, inhabited the creek until 1860. It was not until after the Civil War that settlers really began to flow into the area. Additional surnames, such as Birchfield, Brooks, Cook, Davis, Gourley, Hall, Higdon, Laney,

²⁶ This is the same trail that the Proctors had used to travel from Cades Cove.

²⁷ At this time, prior to the formation of Fontana Lake, Hazel Creek flowed into the Little Tennessee River, and Forney Creek flowed to the Tuckasegee River, which in turn flowed into the Little Tennessee River.

and Walker were introduced to the area. One of the most well known residents to settle on the creek in the latter half of the nineteenth century was Jessie Craten "Crate" Hall, who arrived about 1877 from Jackson County, North Carolina. He settled midway up Bone Valley Creek, a tributary of Hazel Creek, six miles from the nearest neighbor. His second cabin, completed in 1892, stands today and is currently the most remote maintained historic structure in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Marion Medlin arrived on the creek in 1880 and established a post office and store; it was from this post office that the creek's most famous resident, the writer Horace Kephart, sent most of his mail during his three and a half years in residence. Also important to the community was George Brooks, who arrived in about 1880; he was a Civil War veteran, and became the unofficial dentist and midwife on the upper reaches of the creek until the first doctor arrived about 1910. Another prominent settler on the creek was Joshua Calhoun, a Baptist preacher who arrived in 1886 and helped establish the first churches and schools on upper Hazel Creek.

Mining and timber became the primary economy on the creek beginning about 1889 with the opening of the Adams-Westfeldt Copper Mine (Holland 1994). A local logging operation was conducted in the area from 1892 to 1898; three splash dams were built on the creek and its tributaries for transporting logs, and one million feet of board lumber were removed. However, these operations did little to damage Hazel Creek compared to what would happen next.

In 1902, the now well-settled watershed of Hazel Creek supported two post offices, three general stores, and four schools that also served as churches (Oliver 1989). Representatives from the W. M. Ritter Lumber Company were sent to the area to choose the best place for their next logging operation. Hazel Creek was chosen from among all the nearby watersheds, and preparations were made for a major undertaking. Logging began in 1910, using small gauge rail to enter the most remote tributaries along Hazel Creek. The

operation was completed in 1928, after removing over 200 million board feet of lumber, enough to build approximately 20,000 homes (Holland 1994). Though the operation destroyed most of the virgin forest in the area, and permanently altered the flow of the creek, it did support the community. At its peak, it is estimated that the creek supported over 1,500 permanent residents and transient loggers (Oliver 2000). The now well-established town of Proctor, near the spot where Moses Proctor had settled on the creek nearly a century before, supported about 1,000 people and boasted many fine homes and stores, a post office, and even a movie theatre. The town consisted of two main streets, Struttin' Street and Calico Street, each having three rows of houses. The town of Proctor was incorporated, and had an elected mayor.

The town of Proctor fell on hard times when the W. M. Ritter Lumber Company completed its work on the creek, and many left the creek in search of work elsewhere. Ironically, just as the creek had been supported economically by the devastating work of Ritter, so too would it find economic solace in the hands of the Tennessee Valley Authority, which proposed to construct a major dam and reservoir nearby. To supply the increased demand for electricity²⁸, the Tennessee Valley Authority began construction of Fontana Dam in January of 1942. The government hired thousands of workers, some from Hazel Creek, and work was conducted around the clock, with patriotic music played over loudspeakers to urge the laborers in their task. In this way, the largest dam east of the Rocky Mountains was completed and brought online in an astonishing 36 months. Once inundated, the Fontana Lake Reservoir covered over 10,000 acres, destroyed at least six established towns, and forced the relocation of 11 cemeteries, consisting of over 1,000 graves. Though Hazel Creek was not inundated by the reservoir, its roads were. They were now trapped between the newly established reservoir to the south and the decade-old national park that surrounded them on the remaining three sides. In much the same manner as was used to acquire lands

²⁸ Needed for the production of aluminum, chemicals, and defense-related materials

for the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the Tennessee Valley Authority purchased and condemned homes north of Fontana Lake. Regretfully, the people of Hazel Creek moved their residences, and the lands they had once owned were later incorporated into the national park through an agreement with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection

As mentioned previously, the three communities of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek were chosen for analysis of their historic cemeteries because these were the three regions of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park for which complete data sets were available. Information for this study was collected from 33 different cemeteries. Cemeteries were chosen for analysis if they possessed stones containing sufficient data²⁹. As no subsurface testing was conducted, graves were identified through the presence of either a headstone or footstone³⁰. Using this method, 1,256 graves were examined. Nearly half of these graves, 619, were located in Cades Cove, while Cataloochee and Hazel Creek possessed 309 and 327 identified graves, respectively. Of the graves examined, 1,183 possessed a headstone. Two-thirds of these headstones (785) were commercially manufactured, 221 were hand-hewn, and 177 are simple, unmodified stones.

In order to accurately analyze the stones in this sample with regard to the questions put forth in Chapter I, only those stones which possess information concerning the deceased's age, gender, and date of death were used. Of the 1,183 headstones present, only 857 bear inscriptions. These inscriptions were examined to determine the deceased's age, gender, and date of death. A total of 624 stones contained this information, and was analyzed in this thesis³¹. The majority of these stones, 98.5%, were commercially manufactured. The stones analyzed originated in 20 cemeteries (see Table 1). A discussion of each cemetery follows³².

²⁹ This is discussed in further detail later in this chapter.

³⁰ Oblong depressions in the ground, or changes in ground cover, both of which may indicate the presence of a grave, were not used as criteria, as subsurface testing would be required to confirm the presence of a grave. Information on stones which appeared to have been moved from their original context (lying loose on the ground, or found outside the boundaries of the cemetery), was not analyzed.

³¹ For further details on this analysis, see Chapter VI: Data Analysis.

³² A map and burial inventory for each cemetery that contains graves analyzed in this thesis are provided in the appendix.

Table 1. Cemeteries Surveyed in this Study

Region	Cemetery	Number of Graves Present	Number of Inscribed Graves	Number of Graves Analyzed in this Thesis
Cades Cove	Boring Family Cemetery	4	4	0
	Cable Family Cemetery	46	43	34
	Davis Cemetery	5	3	0
	Graveyard Hill Cemetery	12	2	1
	Ike LeQuire Cemetery	16	0	0
	Lawson Family Cemetery	25	22	12
	Methodist Church Cemetery	114	108	85
	Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery	55	53	47
	Noah Burchfield Cemetery	16	7	1
	Post Family Cemetery	3	2	0
	Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery	323	293	202
Cataloochee	Carson Messer Cemetery	2	0	0
	Dock Caldwell Cemetery	5	5	5
	Lawson-Jenkins Cemetery	2	1	0
	Little Cataloochee Church Cemetery	68	62	27
	H. D. Burris' Child Grave	1	1	1
	Hiram Caldwell Cemetery	7	7	3
	Hannah Cemetery (Hoaglan Place)	12	3	3
	Hannah Cemetery (Long Bunk Trail)	55	52	38
	Negro Graveyard	4	0	0
	Palmer Chapel Cemetery	106	40	35
	Palmer Family Cemetery	28	21	21
	Robert Palmer Cemetery	5	0	0
	Sutton & McGhee Cemetery	11	1	0
Shelton & Caldwell Cemetery	2	0	0	
Hazel Creek	Bone Valley Cemetery	83	26	13
	Bradshaw Family Cemetery	17	12	8
	Hall Family Cemetery	18	18	14
	Higdon Family Cemetery	22	10	5
	Lone Grave	1	1	0
	Proctor Cemetery	180	96	69
	Walker's Creek Cemetery	5	0	0
	Wyke Cemetery	2	1	0

Cades Cove

National Park Service maintenance records indicate that there are 14 cemeteries in Cades Cove (Trout [n.d.]). The locations of three of these cemeteries are unknown: the Brown's Hill Cemetery, the Feezell Family Cemetery, and the Bote Mountain Cemetery. It is believed that the stones of the Brown's Hill Cemetery were removed in the early twentieth century by a land tenant who desired to plant a vegetable garden (Kermit Caughron, personal communication, 1997). The Feezell Cemetery, believed to be north of the Cades Cove Methodist Church, is no longer visible due to neglect (Inez McCauley Adams, personal communication, 1997). Local legend holds that the Boat Mountain Cemetery contains the grave of a young girl who was murdered on Boat Mountain and buried on the spot (Trout [n.d.]). It is unlikely that the locations of these three cemeteries will ever be known.

Four additional cemeteries are present in Cades Cove that were not used in this study because they did not possess any stones which contained sufficient data for analysis. The first of these is the Boring Family Cemetery, which is located in the southwestern portion of Cades Cove at the northern terminus of Parson's Branch Road, in the area historically known as Chestnut Flats (see Figure 5). Four visible graves are present, three of which have cedar trees planted near their headstones that appear to coincide with the active dates of the cemetery. One recently placed commercial marker indicates that four individuals, Millie A. Rawlins, Millie Boring, Martha A. Thompson Boring, and Mary E. Thompson Boring, are buried here, all having perished in 1898 from typhoid.

The Davis Cemetery is located southeast of the Noah Burchfield Cemetery, as seen in Figure 5. It contains five graves, three of which appear to have been inscribed at some time in the past. Two graves in the cemetery possess identical sandstone markers, and the name "Davis" is barely legible upon one of these. It is probable that the cemetery is named for one or both of these graves. The third inscribed grave belongs to George M. Oliver, the infant son of John and Lucretia Frazier Oliver, who were the first white settlers of Cades Cove. The stone

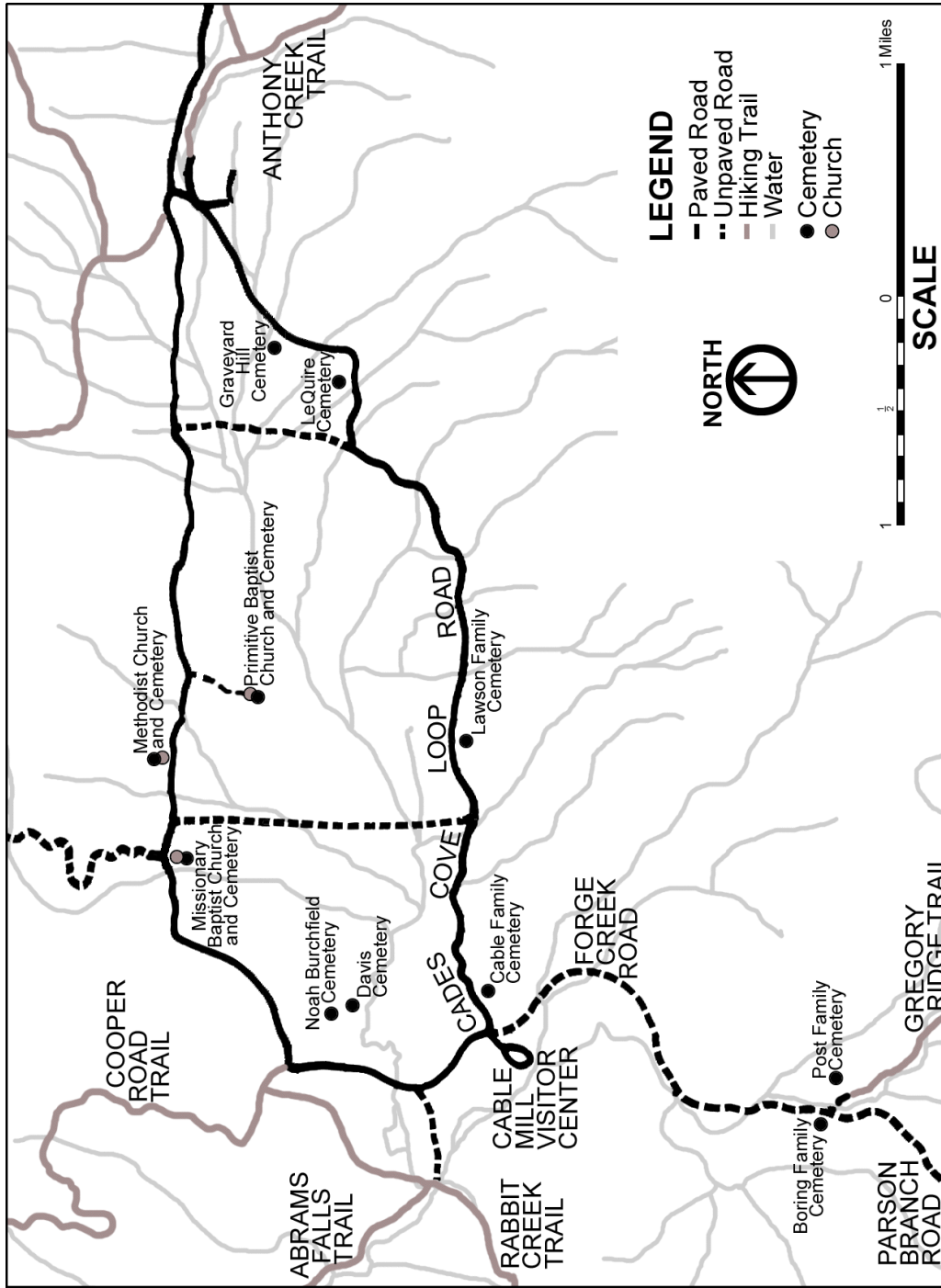


Figure 5. Location of Cemeteries in Cades Cove

present on his grave is made of commercial marble, and appears to have been placed sometime during the twentieth century.

The Ike LeQuire Cemetery is located in the eastern end of Cades Cove, as seen in Figure 5. This cemetery contains no inscribed graves, and the stones present are restricted to small fieldstones. It has been greatly neglected over the years. There appear to be 16 graves present, but animal activity and fallen trees have contributed to the now confusing pattern of stones. Through surface reconnaissance alone it is impossible to accurately determine how many individuals are interred here.

The Post Cemetery is located near the end of Forge Creek Road, as seen in Figure 5. This cemetery contains three graves, each marked by simple fieldstones. Two of these graves have recently been marked by a shared commercial granite marker that designates them as belonging to Alyea and Alyea, daughters of Dr. Calvin and Martha Post. The third grave, according to Randolph Shields, belongs to Armenta "Menda" Wilcox, who lived from 1879 to 1896 (Shields 1981).

Data from the remaining seven cemeteries in Cades Cove were used for analysis in this study. The first of these, the Cable Family Cemetery, is located in the southeastern portion of Cades Cove, as seen in Figure 5³³. The earliest legible grave in the cemetery belongs to an infant child of Calvin Post, Jr., who died in 1871, while the most recent burial, belonging to Phillip J. Schlosshan, occurred in 1974. The Cable family dominates the cemetery. John Primer Cable and his wife, Elizabeth Whitehead Cable, are interred here; they moved to the cove in 1867 from Carter County, Tennessee (Shields 1977). John P. Cable is best known for constructing a water-powered saw and grist mill on nearby Forge Creek. Also interred in the Cable Family Cemetery is Rebecca Cable, one of the most

³³ A map of the cemeteries that contain graves used in this thesis can be found in the Appendix (Figures A1-A20), and a list of known individuals interred accompanies each map (Tables A1-A20).

respected members of the community, who lived nearby in what is thought to be the first frame house constructed in the cove³⁴.

The Graveyard Hill Cemetery is located in the eastern end of the cove, as seen in Figure 5. There are two inscribed stones, one of which is a commemorative marker, placed in 1974 by Vernie Burchfield. It does not mark the actual location of a grave, but rather pays tribute to “Charlotte Wilson Burchfield and eight other unknown pioneer citizens of Cades Cove.” The second inscribed stone, which is used in the data analysis of this study, marks the grave of John R. Cooper, who passed away in 1891.

The Lawson Family Cemetery is located in the south-central portion of the cove, as seen in Figure 5. The earliest legible inscribed grave belongs to J. J. Abbott, who died in 1892. The most well known Cades Cove citizen in this cemetery is Daniel Byrd Lawson, whose log cabin still stands nearby. Lawson once served as the cove’s justice of the peace, as well as post-master (Dunn 1988). He was a faithful member of the Methodist community in the cove, and built the Northern Methodist Church, which once stood near this spot. Though the church was donated to the community as a whole, it was said that the church remained a “family affair” (Dunn 1988:120). Daniel B. Lawson is buried beside his wife, Mary Cable Lawson. One of their daughters, Mary Catherine Lawson, occupies the most recently placed grave, having been laid to rest in 1932. Their other daughter, Leannah Lawson Chambers Spangler, has a stone in this cemetery, next to her first husband, L. A. Chambers, but is interred outside the cove (and indeed outside of the park) with her second husband, John Spangler (Shields 1981).

The Methodist Church Cemetery is located in the north-central portion of Cades Cove, as seen in Figure 5. This cemetery is one of three in the cove that remains associated with an extant church. There is very early documentation of the Methodist faith in Cades Cove, but

³⁴ This structure, now known as the “Becky Cable House,” was constructed by Leason Gregg about 1879, and was probably constructed using timber from John Primer Cable’s mill. The structure was originally located upstream from its present location, and served as a general store until 1896.

meetings were conducted without a formal building until 1840 (Dunn 1988). The structure built in that year was a simple, almost crude log building, and functioned as both church and school (Shields 1977). The present-day frame church was built in 1902, in more or less the same location as its log predecessor. The earliest legible inscribed grave, belonging to Sarah J. Feezell, bears the date 1856, while the most recent grave, that of Audrain Tipton Peacock, was placed in 1994. Perhaps one of the cove's most well known contemporary descendants, Randolph Shields, is interred with his wife here; Shields moved from the cove at the age of 13, and went on to achieve a doctorate degree from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. He had a long and accomplished career as a biologist, but is perhaps better known as a caretaker of Cades Cove's history. He was the author of *The Cades Cove Story* and *The Families of Cades Cove 1821-1936*. He was also a wonderful and cherished source of information during the course of this project.

The Missionary Baptist church was established in 1839, when 13 members of the Primitive Baptist Church of Cades Cove split off into their own congregation, a process known as the Anti-Mission Split that was occurring throughout East Tennessee between 1825 and 1845 (Dunn 1988). The most recently constructed Missionary Baptist Church in Cades Cove still stands, and is closely associated with the cemetery. This present-day structure was constructed in 1915, and the earliest legible inscription in the cemetery³⁵, from 1919, coincides well with this general time period. The most recent grave, placed in 1994, belongs to Peggy Sue Sparks Hornburg.

The Noah Burchfield Cemetery is located in the western portion of Cades Cove, near the Davis Cemetery, as seen in Figure 5. Interestingly enough, the cemetery is named for Noah Burchfield, and indeed the cemetery is situated on land once owned by that individual. However, Noah Burchfield and his wife are buried elsewhere in the cove, in the aforementioned Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery. Noah Burchfield is descended from the

³⁵ This stone belongs to Jesse Burchfield.

first Burchfield in Cades Cove, Robert. Robert Burchfield is interred here, buried beside his first wife, Elizabeth Hill, with whom he had ten children (Shields 1977). Upon her death in 1841³⁶, Robert married Mary M. Gregory, a daughter of Cades Cove's most famous resident, Russell Gregory, and had seven more children; she was 37 years his junior, which was considered a bit of a scandal in that day and time (Shields, personal communication, 1997). The most recent grave in this cemetery belongs to Robert Burchfield, Jr., who was laid to rest in 1908.

The Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery is located in the north-central portion of Cades Cove, as seen in Figure 5. It is the largest cemetery in the cove (and indeed within the entire park), with 323 visible graves. There are countless other graves in this cemetery, though they no longer possess standing stones³⁷. The Primitive Baptists have a long history in Cades Cove. Tradition holds that the cove's first residents, John and Lucretia Oliver, found the Lord during those first lonely years, in approximately 1819 or 1820 (Dunn 1988). The Olivers petitioned in vain during the early 1820's for a Baptist Church in Cades Cove. It was not until 1827 that the church officially met for the first time, and it was not until 1829 that the church was admitted to the Tennessee Baptists Association (Shields 1977). The church met in private homes until 1832, when a crude log structure was built. This coincides well with the oldest documented grave in the cemetery, which dates to 1837. A more modern structure, still standing, was built at the site in 1887 (Dunn 1988). Though its use has declined somewhat in recent years, the cemetery is still used as a resting place for former Cades Cove residents; the two most recent graves date to 1995.

A number of prominent residents of Cades Cove are interred within the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery. The first white settlers in the cove, and founding members of the

³⁶ Elizabeth Hill Burchfield's grave is the earliest known grave in the Noah Burchfield Cemetery.

³⁷ At present, the National Park Service allows for burials in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, as long as the deceased lived in the park for a significant period of time and/or is related by direct lineal descent to others interred in there. Currently, all graves are dug by hand in this cemetery in the interest of protecting what are believed to be numerous unmarked graves. A number of stones that are no longer visible, primarily simple field stones, can be seen in historical photographs of the cemetery.

church, John and Lucretia Oliver are interred here, as is William Howell Oliver, who served as the church's pastor for nearly 60 years, from 1882 until his death in 1940 (Dunn 1988).

Russell Gregory, the man for whom Gregory's Bald is named, is interred here, with the well-known epitaph that alludes to the mysterious story of his demise, "Killed by North Carolina rebels." A number of other well-known characters are buried here, each with their own story.

Cataloochee

National Park Service maintenance records indicate that there are 15 cemeteries in Cataloochee (Trout [n.d.]). All but one of these cemeteries, a lone grave belonging to an individual named McMahan, was found during the course of this study. Six of the remaining cemeteries present in Cataloochee were not analyzed because they did not possess any stones which contained sufficient data for analysis. The first of these is the Carson Messer Cemetery, which is located on the Caldwell Fork Trail, as seen in Figure 6. This cemetery contains two marked graves, but local tradition holds that there are actually three individuals buried here (Trout [n.d.]). It is said that one grave contains an unknown female, while the second grave contains the bodies of two Civil War soldiers.

The Lawson-Jenkins Cemetery is located on Highway 284, along the historic Cataloochee Turnpike, near Asbury Crossing, as seen in Figure 6. This cemetery contains two graves, only one of which is inscribed. Both graves are believed to be those of infants.

A slave cemetery, historically referred to as the Negro Graveyard, is located near the Lawson-Jenkins Cemetery (see Figure 6). This cemetery contains only four visible graves, none of which are inscribed. According to Mark Hannah, one-time Cataloochee resident and the first park ranger employed in the area, a white man named Taylor is buried among the slaves (Hannah and Hannah 1996). He died while passing through the area, and was interred here because no one knew much about him.

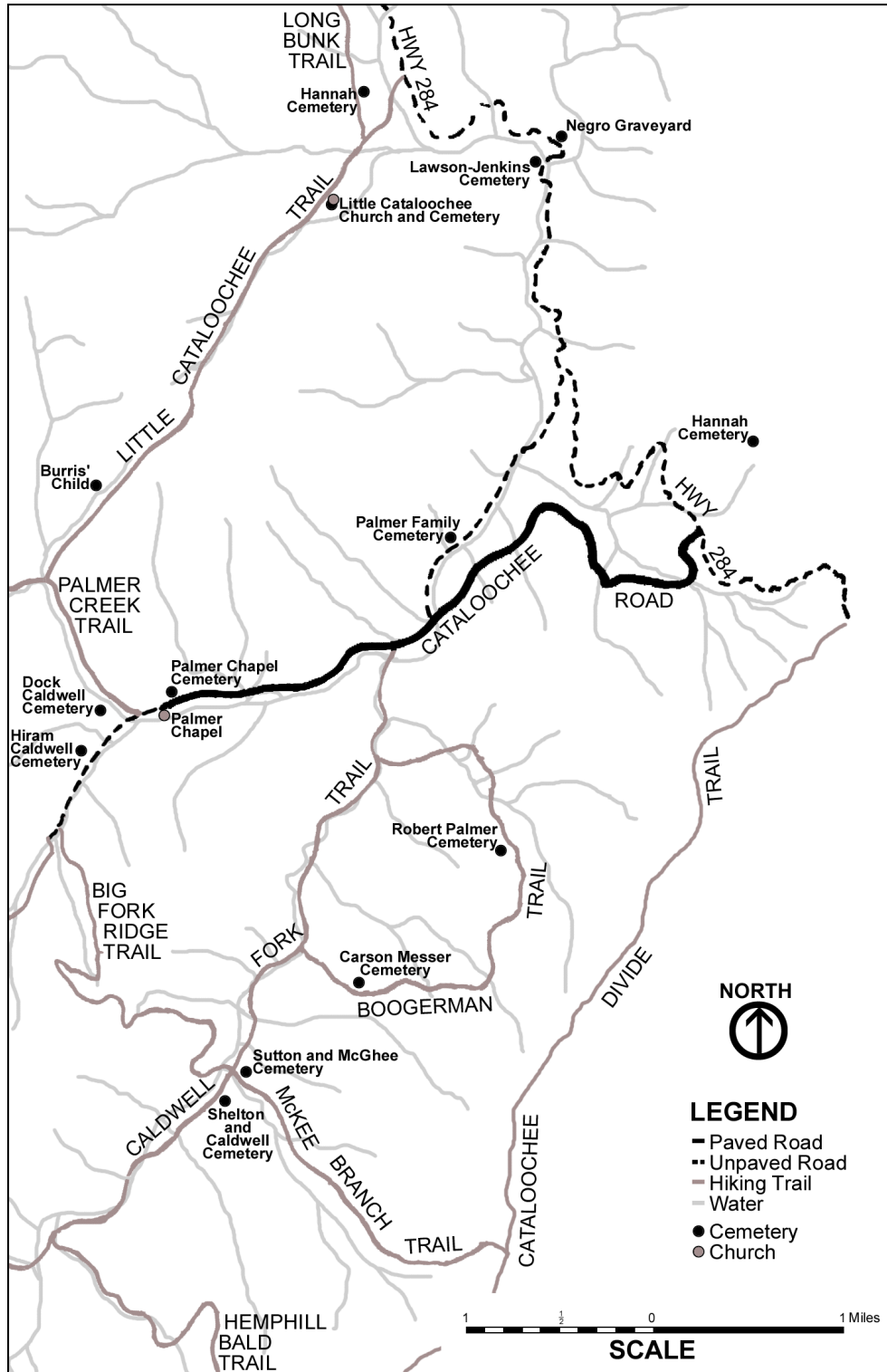


Figure 6. Location of Cemeteries in Cataloochee

The Robert Palmer Cemetery is located on the Boogerman Trail, as seen in Figure 6. This is a small cemetery, containing five graves, all uninscribed. The majority of the graves are marked with wood; soon, the graves will be visible only through the slight depressions that are present. Judging by the graveyard's location and name, Robert Palmer is probably among the deceased buried here. He was a well-known member of the community, and held 225 acres in this location (Givens 1978).

The Sutton and McGhee Cemetery is situated just off the McKee Branch Trail, near its junction with the Caldwell Fork Trail, as seen in Figure 6. There are 11 visible graves here, but only one is inscribed. That grave belongs to Jessie McGhee, a Civil War veteran who died in 1902.

The Shelton and Caldwell Cemetery, located high on a ridge just off the Boogerman Trail (see Figure 6), contains two graves, marked with uninscribed fieldstones, enclosed by a barbed-wire fence.

Eight cemeteries in Cataloochee contributed data to the analysis in this study. The first of these is the Dock Caldwell Cemetery, located atop a steep trail northeast of the main Cataloochee Valley, as seen in Figure 6. The cemetery is named for Doctor L. Caldwell, who lived from 1855 to 1901. Doctor was Mr. Caldwell's first name, but not his profession (Caldwell 1997). Like most Cataloochee residents, he was a farmer, and died from complications of a broken leg, which he sustained while herding hogs. He was a relatively young man, only 46, and his wife had died just two years prior from tuberculosis. He left behind several young children, who were taken in by neighbors and family. The cemetery was used for a 35 year period, from 1893 to 1928, and contains no recent burials.

The Little Cataloochee Church Cemetery, as its name implies, is situated in Little Cataloochee (see Figure 6). The Little Cataloochee Church, a frame structure which still stands today atop a ridge above the cemetery, was constructed in the 1890's and served as both the Missionary Baptist church and school for a period of time (Flaugh 1999; Hannah and

Hannah 1996). It is important to note that this cemetery contains several graves that are marked with recently placed commercial granite markers, each with a number upon it. The stones were paid for from a fund collected from Cataloochee residents at family reunions, and were erected in the summer of 1992. The numbers on the stones correspond to a list compiled by the former residents and descendants of Cataloochee. The list has been posted in the nearby church on several occasions, but has been removed each time. Fortunately, the list was made available to this survey by the late Mark Hannah. The names from that list are included in the burial inventory for this cemetery, which can be found in the appendix.

The grave of H. D. Burris' child is a lone grave located on the Little Cataloochee Trail as it descends from Davidson Gap into Big Cataloochee (see Figure 6). Little is known about this grave, aside from the fact that it belongs to Charlie B. Burris, the two year old son of H. D. Burris³⁸.

The Hiram Caldwell Cemetery is located northeast of the main Cataloochee Valley, atop a steep hill. The cemetery is named for Hiram Caldwell, a prosperous farmer who owned a great deal of flat bottomland in the valley below the cemetery. His home, springhouse, and barn still stand nearby. This cemetery was used for 41 years, from 1896 until 1937, and contains no recent graves.

The Hannah Cemetery at the Hoaglan Place is situated near the junction of Highway 284 and the main Cataloochee Road, along the historic Cataloochee Turnpike (see Figure 6). It contains 12 visible graves, three of which are inscribed. As there are so few inscribed graves, it is difficult to determine the period of use for this cemetery with any degree of certainty, but the earliest legible inscribed grave dates to 1878, and the most recently placed legible marker dates to 1901. The first Hannahs to settle in Cataloochee, Evan and Elizabeth Hannah, are interred here.

³⁸ Because this is a lone grave, no map or inventory are provided in the appendix.

A second Hannah Cemetery is located on the Long Bunk Trail, near its junction with the Little Cataloochee Trail, as can be seen in Figure 6. This Hannah Cemetery is substantially larger than the one found at the Hoaglan Place, and contains 55 visible graves. The earliest legible inscribed grave, which belongs to John A. Hannah, dates to 1878. The most recent grave belongs to William Cordell Smith, who was laid to rest in 1975. As its name implies, the cemetery is dominated by the Hannah family. John Jackson Hannah, who constructed a log cabin which still stands nearby, is interred here. Like the nearby Little Cataloochee Church Cemetery, it contains a series of numbered stones that correspond to a list of names. These names are included in the burial inventory for this cemetery in the appendix.

The Palmer Chapel Cemetery is situated north of the Palmer Chapel³⁹ in Cataloochee (see Figure 6). A number of the valley's most common surnames can be found in this cemetery, including Bennett, Caldwell, Messer, Palmer and Sutton. The first Colwells to settle in Cataloochee, Levi B. Colwell and his wife Mary, are interred here. The cemetery is situated a considerable distance from the associated church, probably because bottomland was at a premium in Cataloochee. The cemetery itself is on a hill, and a number of the graves are terraced into this hill due to the lack of flat ground. From the few legible inscribed stones, the cemetery appears to have been used for over a century, from 1864 to 1969.

The Palmer Family Cemetery is located northeast of the main valley, as seen in Figure 6. Like the Palmer Chapel Cemetery, many of the 28 visible graves are terraced into the steep terrain. The earliest legible inscribed grave belongs to George Palmer, who was laid to rest in 1859 at the age of 65. The most recent stone, placed in 1929, belongs to Roosevelt Palmer, who died at age 25.

³⁹ Also referred to as the Palmer Methodist Church.

Hazel Creek

National Park Service maintenance records indicate that there are seven cemeteries on Hazel Creek (Trout [n.d.]). The locations of all of these cemeteries are known. Three of these cemeteries were not used in the analysis of this study because they did not possess any stones which contained sufficient data for analysis. The first of these cemeteries is the lone grave of a young girl, who is buried on the upper reaches of Hazel Creek, as seen in Figure 7.

The second cemetery on Hazel Creek not used in this thesis is the Walker's Creek Cemetery, which, as its name implies, is situated on Walker's Creek, a tributary of Hazel Creek. It contains five graves, none of which are inscribed. The graves are marked by large, flat fieldstones. The location of this cemetery is given in Figure 7.

The final cemetery on Hazel Creek not used in this study is the Wyke Cemetery. This cemetery is located atop a ridge at the end of an extremely steep trail, northeast of the Walker's Creek Cemetery. It contains two visible graves, which occupy most of the available space on this short, narrow ridge. Both graves are marked with simple fieldstones. A commercial granite marker has recently been placed upon one of these graves, indicating it to be the grave of Flarrie Wyke, who lived for a brief period during the year 1896. The location of this cemetery is given in Figure 7.

Five cemeteries from Hazel Creek were analyzed in this study. The first of these is the Bone Valley Cemetery, located near Bone Valley Creek, as seen in Figure 7. The name Bone Valley is not derived from the presence of the cemetery, but rather an event that occurred near this spot in 1888: a man drove his cattle to this valley to graze early in the spring of that year and was trapped in an unexpected blizzard. Most of his cattle were lost to the cold, and their bones remained visible in the valley for a number of years (Coggins 1999). The earliest legible inscribed grave in this cemetery, belonging to John T. Newman, dates to 1862, while the most recent grave, that of Jesse Hall, dates to 1942.

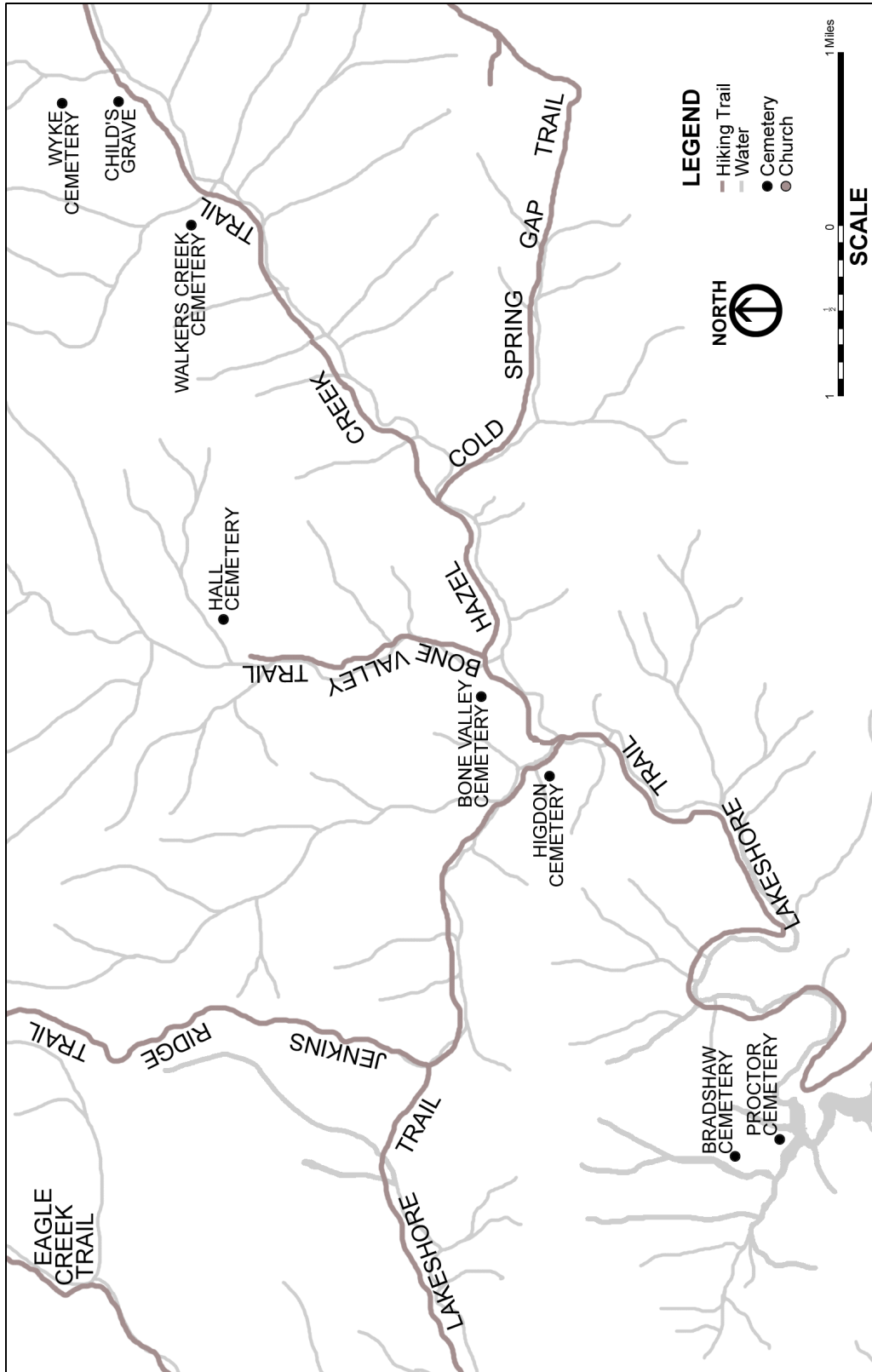


Figure 7. Location of Cemeteries on Hazel Creek

The Bradshaw Cemetery is a small family graveyard located near Hickory Bottom Branch in Possum Hollow, as seen in Figure 7. This cemetery is named for Josiah Bradshaw, Hazel Creek's first justice of the peace, who lived nearby (Oliver 1989). The few legible inscribed stones present indicate that this cemetery was used for a period of at least 33 years, from 1899 to 1932.

The Hall Family Cemetery is located north of Hazel Creek, approximately three miles by trail, near Bone Valley Creek. The Hall Family Cemetery is named for Jessie Craten "Crate" Hall and his family, who lived a few hundred yards from the cemetery, and nine of the 18 graves here bear the Hall surname. The Hall family's second cabin still stands nearby. Two of the graves present have no inscribed date of death, but the remaining headstones here indicate that this cemetery was used from approximately 1884 until 1925.

The Higdon Family Cemetery is situated just off Hazel Creek, on Sugar Fork (see Figure 7). This cemetery is best known locally for the presence of a simple granite stone that reads "A Black Man," with no further information given. This grave, which is set apart from the rest of the burials in the cemetery and is oriented north to south, belongs to an African American who lived on Hazel Creek during the logging era. He tended to the sick during the influenza outbreak of the early twentieth century, but fell ill himself and later died. Unfortunately, despite this man's service to the community, no one living can remember his name or who he was, though many are aware that he gave his life serving the people of Hazel Creek.

The final cemetery used in this study is the Proctor Cemetery, located in Possum Hollow near the mouth of Hazel Creek (see Figure 7). This cemetery is located near the spot where Moses Proctor and his wife Patience, the first documented white settlers on Hazel Creek, built their first home. No exact date is known for when the Proctors entered onto Hazel

Creek from Cades Cove, but it is known that they were present during the census of 1830⁴⁰. Moses Proctor passed away in 1864, and was buried near their first home on the creek. Other graves followed, and the Proctor Cemetery is now the largest cemetery on Hazel Creek with 180 known graves. The cemetery was in use for over 80 years; the last person interred here was Rosa R. Gourley, who was laid to rest in 1948. Like the other cemeteries on Hazel Creek, Proctor Cemetery has received little or no use since the inundation of the Fontana Lake Reservoir.

⁴⁰ Local tradition holds that Moses Proctor's excellent homemade brandy was well known throughout the region, which lured the census taker to their remote hollow. This is the explanation given for how three remote individuals would be picked up in a census during that era (Oliver 2000).

Chapter V: Data Collection Methods

In the summer of 1993, the Great Smoky Mountains National Park began an intermittent survey of the park's historic cemeteries. The ambitious goal of this project was to survey all of the park's known historic cemeteries, which included over 150 sites dispersed over the park's half-million acres. This work was conducted primarily with the help of unpaid volunteers and anthropology students from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, who were trained and supervised by the author⁴¹.

Locating cemeteries was accomplished using a variety of sources. Park maintenance files included an antiquated map that gave the approximate location of each cemetery (Trout [n.d.]). Unfortunately, this map was often difficult to read due to its age, and occasionally included erroneous information. Supplementing this map were the maintenance files themselves, which provided narrative descriptions for most of the known historic cemeteries in the park. These files, when combined with the park's map, were often extremely useful. They were, however, collated during the 1960's and 1970's, and were therefore somewhat out of date. Occasionally, landmarks mentioned in the narratives included trees which had long since fallen, or trails that had been rerouted or closed. When these sources of information were not sufficient to locate a cemetery, the author sought out former residents of the area, park rangers, or park maintenance employees who had knowledge of that cemetery's location. This combination of sources allowed for the successful location of most of the park's cemeteries, though a few remained hidden.

⁴¹ The author was employed as an archaeological technician by Great Smoky Mountains National Park.

Before collecting data, surface reconnaissance was conducted in each cemetery to locate the presence of all visible graves. This was accomplished by slowly walking through the cemetery, searching for markers which were visible. Occasionally, this resulted in locating graves that were situated outside the main context of the cemetery, or discovering stones that had been discarded after the placement of more modern markers. Only those stones that retained their original provenience were included in the survey, unless enough information was present on the stone to restore it to its original location⁴².

After determining the presence of each stone, a sequence for collecting data was established based upon the topography and layout of the cemetery (see Figure 8). In most cases, this resulted in a pattern of data collection which began with the southern-most stone in

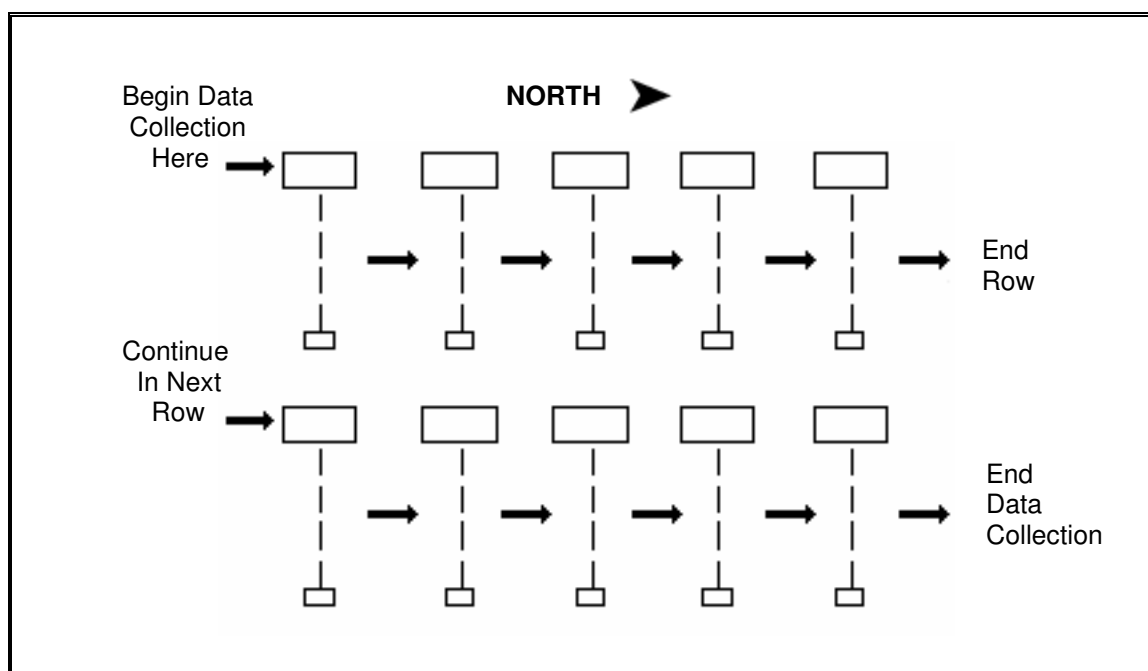


Figure 8. Typical Pattern for Collecting Data

⁴² Often, original headstones were discarded into the woods after a more modern stone was placed upon the grave. If the information on an original stone and a more recently placed marker were exactly identical, an effort was made to restore the discarded headstone to its original location. Headstones were considered to be in their original provenience if they were well set within the ground at a grave.

the western-most row, proceeding north to the end of each row, then continuing with the southern-most stone in the next row to the east.

After determining a sequence for collecting data, information was gathered for the stones associated with each grave. Data were collected first for the original headstone, then for any complementary markers⁴³, and finally for the footstone. The information collected is shown in Figure 9. While some of the fields of data listed in Figure 9 are self-explanatory, others may require clarification.

Method of Manufacture refers to whether the stone is natural, hand-hewn, or commercially produced. Natural stones possess no cultural modification. Hand-hewn stones have been reshaped or inscribed without the use of modern stone cutting machinery. Commercially produced stones are generally characterized as possessing one or more of the following attributes: precision-cut edges, mechanically inscribed information and motifs, or production from a man-made material, such as concrete.

Headstone:	Last Name, First Name, Middle Initial, Maiden Name, Jr./Sr./Dr./Rev. Method of Manufacture Material Used in Manufacture Condition of Stone (<i>with explanation</i>) Length, Width, and Height of Stone (<i>in centimeters</i>) Complete Inscription (<i>verbatim, including symbols and epitaphs</i>)
Complementary Marker:	Method of Manufacture Material Used in Manufacture Condition of Stone (explain) Length, Width, and Height of Stone (cm) Complete Inscription (verbatim)
Footstone:	Method of Manufacture Material Used in Manufacture Condition of Stone (explain) Length, Width, and Height of Stone (cm) Complete Inscription (verbatim)

Figure 9. Data Collected for Each Stone

⁴³ Often, families will place a second headstone upon a grave to complement the original headstone. This is generally done to supplement information not contained on the original marker.

Material Used in Manufacture refers to the type of stone used. Natural, unaltered stones used for marking graves possess the widest range of stone types; granite, limestone, marble, quartzite, sandstone, and slate are all commonly used. Hand-hewn stones are typically made from limestone, sandstone, or slate, because they are easily altered and receptive to carving. Modern stone cutting tools allow for precision carving of even the hardest stone types; granite, marble, and quartzite are the most commonly found commercially produced stones⁴⁴.

Condition of Stone was characterized on a scale of 0 to 4, with 0 meaning poor and 4 meaning excellent. The data collectors then substantiated their opinion by describing any problems with the stone's condition. Typical problems included cracks, chips, instability, lichen, moss, and weathering⁴⁵.

Length, Width and Height of Stone refers to the dimension of each stone, taken in centimeters. Length is measured along the longer horizontal axis of the stone; because most stones are oriented facing east, this measurement is generally consistent with the north to south axis of the stone. Width is measured along the shorter horizontal axis of the stone, typically east to west. Height is measured vertically from the surface of the ground to the highest protruding point on the stone. If the stone sits upon a base, and the base contributes to the overall height of the stone, it is also included when measuring length and width.

⁴⁴ The students and volunteers who collected data for this survey often had a difficult time discerning the difference between various stone types, as revealed during spot-checks of collected data. Subsequently, statistics pertaining to the use of various stone types are not included in this study.

⁴⁵ This category of data was taken primarily to supplement the National Park Service's maintenance records, and to give them a general idea of the condition of these cemeteries. Due to the large number of individuals who collected data, and the possible inconsistencies in opinion from one observer to the next, statistics pertaining to the condition of stones are not included in this study.

Chapter VI: Data Analysis

Aside from invaluable genealogical information, the markers found in this study possess information about the treatment of different groups of individuals in the southern Appalachian Mountains during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There are perhaps dozens of questions that could be addressed utilizing the information found in this study, but I will instead concentrate on three stylistic attributes found on these stones and the way they differ between genders and age groups through time. These attributes include the overall size of headstones, the use of epitaphs, and the use of symbols.

It is hypothesized that the graves in this data set will demonstrate increasing modernity through time, as seen in augmented size and more frequent use of epitaphs and symbols. It is expected that males will possess slightly larger stones than females, a result of higher status in the family and community. Similarly, it is hypothesized that adults will possess larger headstones than infants and children. It is expected that epitaphs, in addition to increasing in frequency through time, will display less religious subject matter and less personal information with the passage of time. The subject matter contained in epitaphs is expected to be more religious among females, and more personal among the young. Finally, it is expected that the stones of females will more frequently display kin terms which identify their place in the family.

As stated previously, a population of 624 inscribed graves was chosen from the 1,256 stones surveyed during the course of this study⁴⁶. These stones were chosen because they possessed sufficient information to accurately ascertain the deceased's age, gender, and date of death, allowing us to place them in the appropriate category for each analysis. In preparation for analyzing the data, each stone was placed in one of three categories based upon the age of the deceased at the time of death. These categories included *infants* (0.00 to

⁴⁶ See Chapter IV: Sample Identification and Cemetery Selection.

4.99 years of age), *children* (5.00 to 15.99 years of age), and *adults* (>16 years of age). Each stone was then examined, and placed in a gender category, either male or female, based upon a combination of the deceased's first name, the presence of a maiden name, or the use of a kin term such as mother or father, wife or husband, or sister or brother. Finally, using the date of death for the deceased, each stone was placed into one of three temporal categories: early settlement to the turn of the twentieth century (1837 – 1899), the beginning of the twentieth century to the creation of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park (1900 – 1934), or from the creation of the park through the current day⁴⁷ (1935 – 1994⁴⁸).

It was originally hoped that cross comparisons might also be made between Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek. However, after examining the final sample of 624 graves by community, this was deemed inappropriate for two reasons (see Tables 2 and 3). Only 41 children are present in the total sample. Upon dividing these graves by region, Cataloochee and Hazel Creek possess only seven and nine child graves, respectively – a rather small sample for simple analysis. A similar problem occurs when dividing the sample by time period: Hazel Creek, which was settled slightly later than either of the other two regions, possesses only five graves with sufficient information that date to the nineteenth century. The collective use of the Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek data sets is appropriate, as there are no significant differences in the demographic make up of these three communities, χ^2 (df=4, N=624) = 1.0214, p = 0.9065. It is important to note, however, that the settlement and periods of use between these three communities do differ significantly, χ^2 (df=4, N=624) = 30.4818, p << 0.001. This is a matter which is addressed further in Chapter 7.

⁴⁷ Burials are still allowed in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, as long as the deceased lived in the park for a significant period of time and/or is related by direct lineal descent to others interred in a specific cemetery.

⁴⁸ An ending date of 1994 was chosen because it was the date of the most recently inscribed grave available in this study.

Region	Infants (0 - 4.99 Years)	Children (5 - 15.99 Years)	Adults (16+ Years)	Total
Cades Cove	102	25	255	382
Cataloochee	34	7	92	133
Hazel Creek	29	9	71	109
Total	165	41	418	624

Table 2. Number of Graves Analyzed per Region, by Age Category

Region	Early (1837 - 1899)	Middle (1900 - 1934)	Late (1935 - 1994)	Total
Cades Cove	91	207	84	382
Cataloochee	41	67	25	133
Hazel Creek	5	84	20	109
Total	137	358	129	624

Table 3. Number of Graves Analyzed per Region, by Time Period

Size of Headstones

According to Edwin S. Dethlefsen, the size of a person's headstone is generally proportional to the wealth and status of that individual and/or the wealth and status of his or her family (1981). It is hypothesized that status increases with age, as older individuals have interacted more and have had time to make more contributions to the community. This increased status will be demonstrated through the presence of larger stones placed on the graves of older individuals. Such a phenomenon is demonstrated in the cemeteries of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek. Infants, on average, possess stones with a volume of approximately 35,100 cubic centimeters. Children's stones are slightly larger, possessing an average volume of approximately 51,200 ccm. The average adult stone is well over twice that volume, approximately 135,000 ccm, on average (see Figure 10). This variation in headstone size among age groups is also seen statistically. An analysis of variance was conducted and the effect of age on headstone size was significant, $F(df=2, N=624) = 3.01, p = << 0.001$.

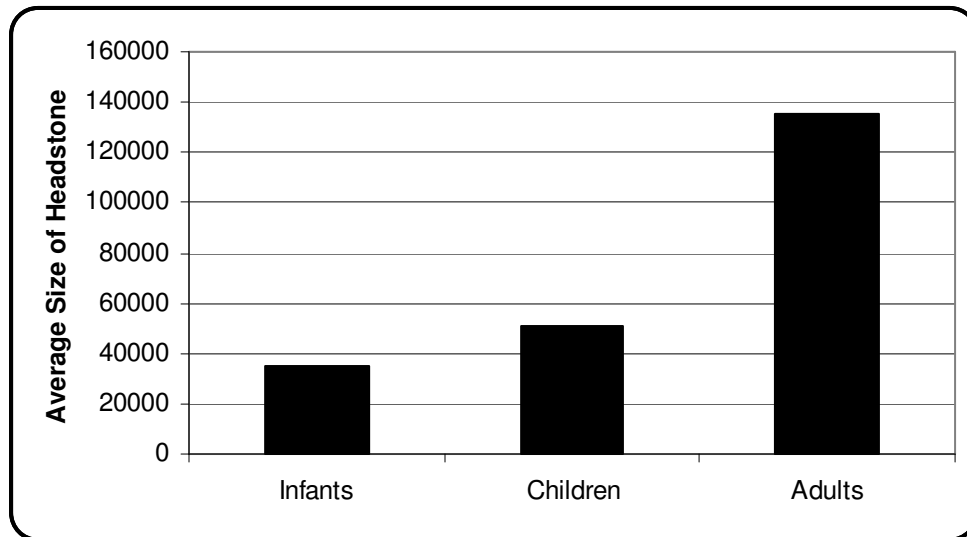


Figure 10. Size of Headstones as a Function of Age

Based upon the differences seen in headstone size between age groups, this same technique was used to discern any differences in status between males and females in the population. The average male headstone in the sample possesses a volume of approximately 103,000 ccm, while the average female headstone is actually a bit larger, around 103,300 ccm (see Figure 11). Though females do appear to possess slightly larger headstones, this difference is not statistically significant, $t(df=614, N=624) = 0.0347, p = 0.4862$.

As discussed in Chapter III, the areas used in this study were rural and primarily agrarian based prior to the turn of the century. With the coming of the automobile, improved roads, telephone systems, and other modern amenities, these communities began to interact more and more with neighboring communities and nearby economic hubs. While the residents of these communities were already purchasing commercial stones, improved transportation methods probably facilitated the import of larger, heavier gravemarkers. This trend would probably continue throughout the remainder of the twentieth century.

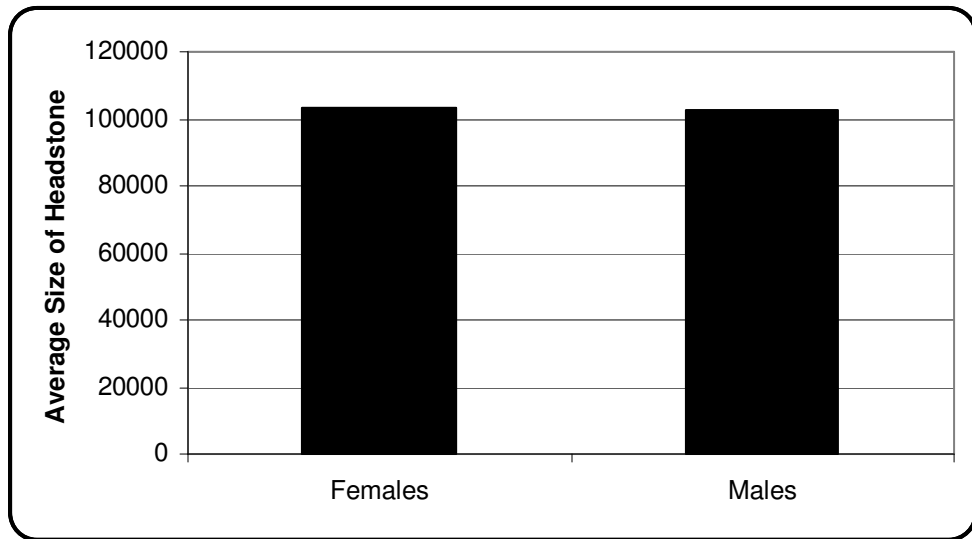


Figure 11. Size of Headstones as a Function of Gender

This change in headstone size, a result of both augmented wealth and increased access to goods, is seen in the cemeteries of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek. Headstones from the early period possessed an average volume of approximately 47,100 ccm. This figure nearly doubles during the middle period, in which headstones possess an average volume of approximately 97,500 ccm. Headstones during the late period possess an average volume of about 178,200 ccm, a substantial increase in size from the previous period. This increase in size is shown in Figure 12. This trend is statistically significant based on variance with $F(df=2, N=624) = 3.01, p << 0.001$.

It is important to note that shared headstones are present in the above sample as well. Though shared stones are generally larger than unshared stones, their omission skews the sample. The majority of the shared stones in the sample, nearly 82%, are shared between spouses, while the remaining stones are shared between siblings (8%), parent and child (2%), grandmother and granddaughter (2%), or between persons of unknown relation (4%).

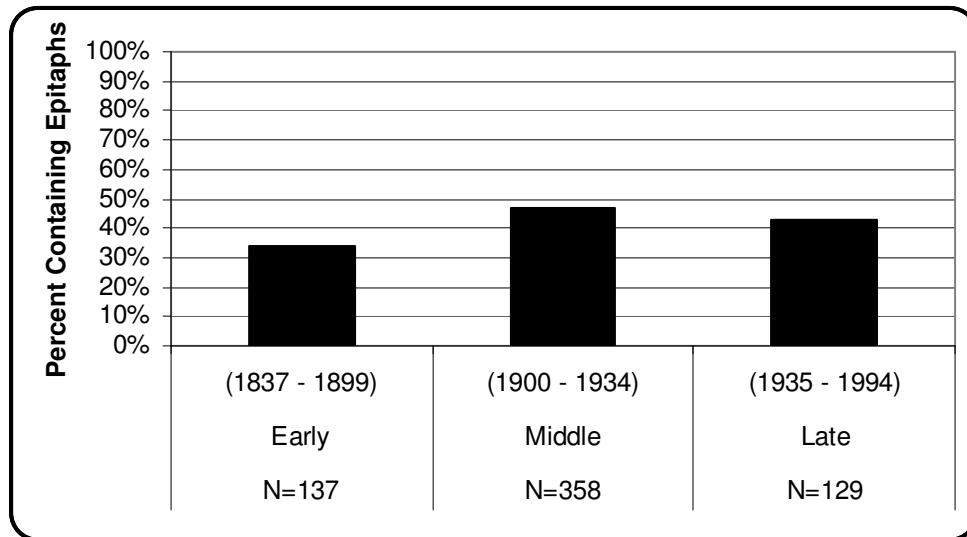


Figure 12. Percent of Headstones Containing Epitaphs as a Function of Time

Epitaphs

Though often poetic and frequently filled with emotion, epitaphs can provide some insight into the ideology of a community (Brown 1994; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Dethlefsen 1981; Wasserman 1972). The use of epitaphs in Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek appears to have increased slightly over the past 150 years. Percentages of stones possessing epitaphs during the early, middle, and late periods examined in this study are 34%, 47%, and 43%, respectively. These percentages do differ significantly from one another, ($N = 624$, $\chi^2 = 7.8443$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.0198$). These findings are congruent with Jeane's statement that cemeteries in the South have become increasingly more modern. There appears to be no significant difference in the use of epitaphs between age groups ($N = 624$, $\chi^2 = 1.4116$, $df=2$, $p = 0.4937$) or genders ($N = 624$, $\chi^2 = 0.0984$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.9519$).

While the presence of epitaphs appears to be unchanged between genders and between age groups, it is possible that the content seen in epitaphs may differ. Epitaphs in the population were examined for religious content and personal references made about the deceased.

A majority of the epitaphs present, 68%, possessed some religious content. The most common religious epitaphs seen, in order of frequency, include variations of the following:

- Gone but not forgotten.
- At rest.
- Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord
- Budded on earth to bloom in Heaven.
- Our darling
- From mother's arms to the arms of Jesus

The presence of religious epitaphs does not appear to change over the past century and a half, ($N=624$, $\chi^2 = 1.5401$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.4630$). Similarly, differences in the frequency of religious epitaphs do not appear between age groups ($N=624$, $\chi^2 = 2.3828$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.3038$). However, there does appear to be a significant difference in the use of religious epitaphs between genders ($N=624$, $\chi^2 = 4.0833$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0433$). This last finding does coincide with Dethlefsen's estimation that the stones of females are more apt to contain some sort of religious content than those of males.

Slightly more than a quarter of the epitaphs present, 28%, made some sort of personal reference to the deceased as a spouse, a family member, or as part of the community. Though they represent a substantially small percentage of the total population, these more personal epitaphs are much more diverse. There are a few standard epitaphs, some of which are mentioned above, that make reference to the deceased's age⁴⁹, such as "Farewell dear, parents and all, from you a son Christ doth call." Other epitaphs, however, are

⁴⁹ Children's epitaphs are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

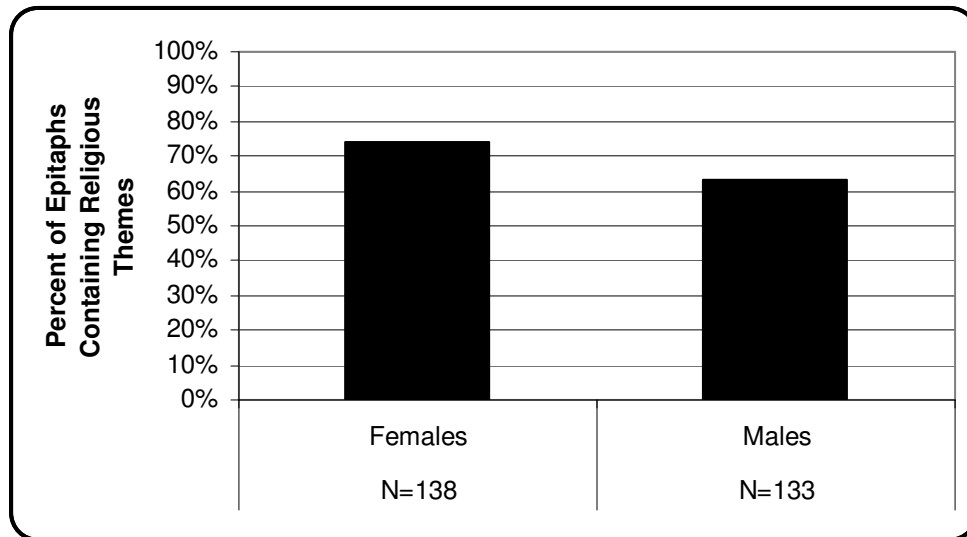


Figure 13. Use of Religious Epitaphs as a Function of Gender

more original. The stone of one man reads, “He was a lover of the woods and nature.” The stone of a woman reads, “Was blind here, but now sees the beauties of Heaven.” The stone of one young man who died at the age of sixteen in 1905 reads, “Upright and just in all his ways, a bright example in degenerate days,” while the stone of another man reads, “Professed faith in Christ at the age of nine years.” Some epitaphs specifically address the death of the individual, as in “Her end was peace,” or “Killed by North Carolina rebels.”

The use of personal information in epitaphs appears to peak in the earliest period and decline thereafter. Stones from the early period display personal information in epitaphs 43%, while stones from the middle and later periods each display personal information 25% of the time. This change is significant ($N=624$, $\chi^2 = 6.4971$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.0388$), and appears to coincide with Dethlefsen’s findings in Florida, where individuality among markers seems to decrease with time.

While there does not appear to be a difference in the use of personal information in epitaphs between genders ($N=624$, $\chi^2 = 0.1063$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.7444$), there does seem to be a difference between young and old. As seen in Figure 14, personal information is seen in the

epitaphs of infants nearly twice as often than in the epitaphs of children or adults. This difference is significant, (N=624, $\chi^2 = 10.398$, df = 2, p = 0.0055), and may stem from the fact that premature death is often met with more anguish and emotion than deaths of older individuals, though it is difficult to say why the percentage of children’s stones possessing personal information is not slightly higher.

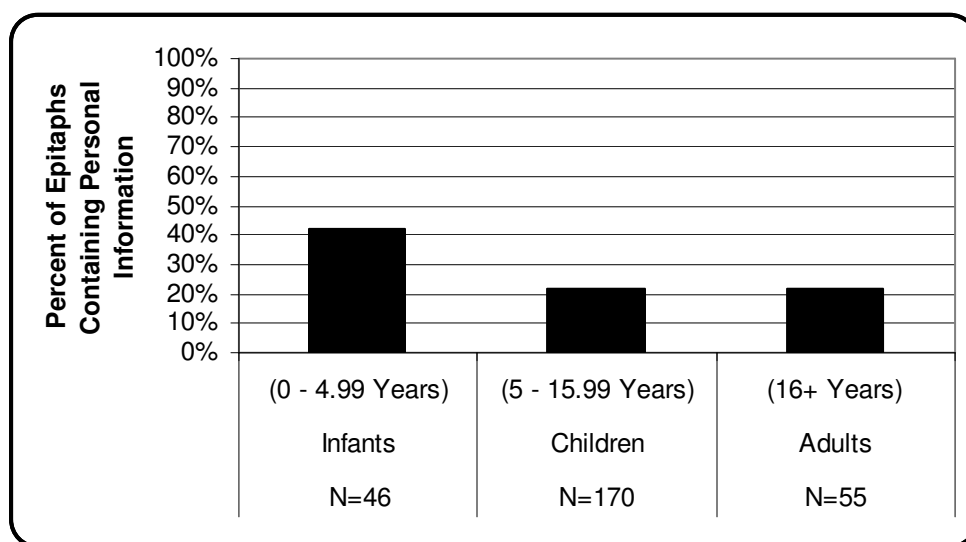


Figure 14. Use of Personal Information in Epitaphs as a Function of Age

Symbols

Symbols, like epitaphs, sometimes tell us a great deal. They may provide personal insight, profess religious conviction, or indicate social values. However, the meaning behind many symbols is a matter of some speculation. One scholar may feel that flowers “[emphasize] rebirth and [put] death into a context of celestial machinery” (Brown 1994:21), while another may feel that they are simply decoration. A few symbols, however, possess clear meaning, such as the Bible, cross, and lamb motifs.

In the cemeteries of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek, 45% of the stones used in this study possess some sort of motif or statue, and some possessed multiple motifs.

The most frequently seen motif is the flower, followed by the dove, lamb, Bible, dogwood, and hand pointing toward heaven (Figure 15). The use of symbols does appear to increase through time⁵⁰, coinciding with Crissman's statement that southern Appalachian populations utilized symbols with increasing frequency as technology and funds would allow (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 10.2636$, df = 2, p = 0.0059). There does not appear to be any significant difference in the use of symbols between age groups (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 0.1951$, df = 2, p = 0.9071), or between gender (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 0.0886$, df = 1, p = 0.7659).

Kin Terms

The use of kin terms such as mother, father, daughter, and son, are seen throughout the headstones and footstones of Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek. Their use appears to have remained steady over time; though some slight fluctuations exist in the frequency of kin term use through time, this fluctuation is not statistically significant (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 4.4880$, df = 2, p = 0.1063). While it does appear that the stones of females possess kin terms more often than those of males, this difference is not statistically significant (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 2.8875$, df = 1, p = 0.08927). The use of kin terms varies significantly between age groups, however (N = 624, $\chi^2 = 71.2474$, df = 3, p >> .001). Kin terms are found in significantly higher numbers on the stones of infants, a result of their close identification to their parents as a son or daughter.

⁵⁰ The students and volunteers who collected data for this survey often had a difficult time interpreting certain symbols during data collection, as revealed during spot-checks of collected data. Subsequently, statistics pertaining to change in frequency of specific symbols through time are not included in this study.

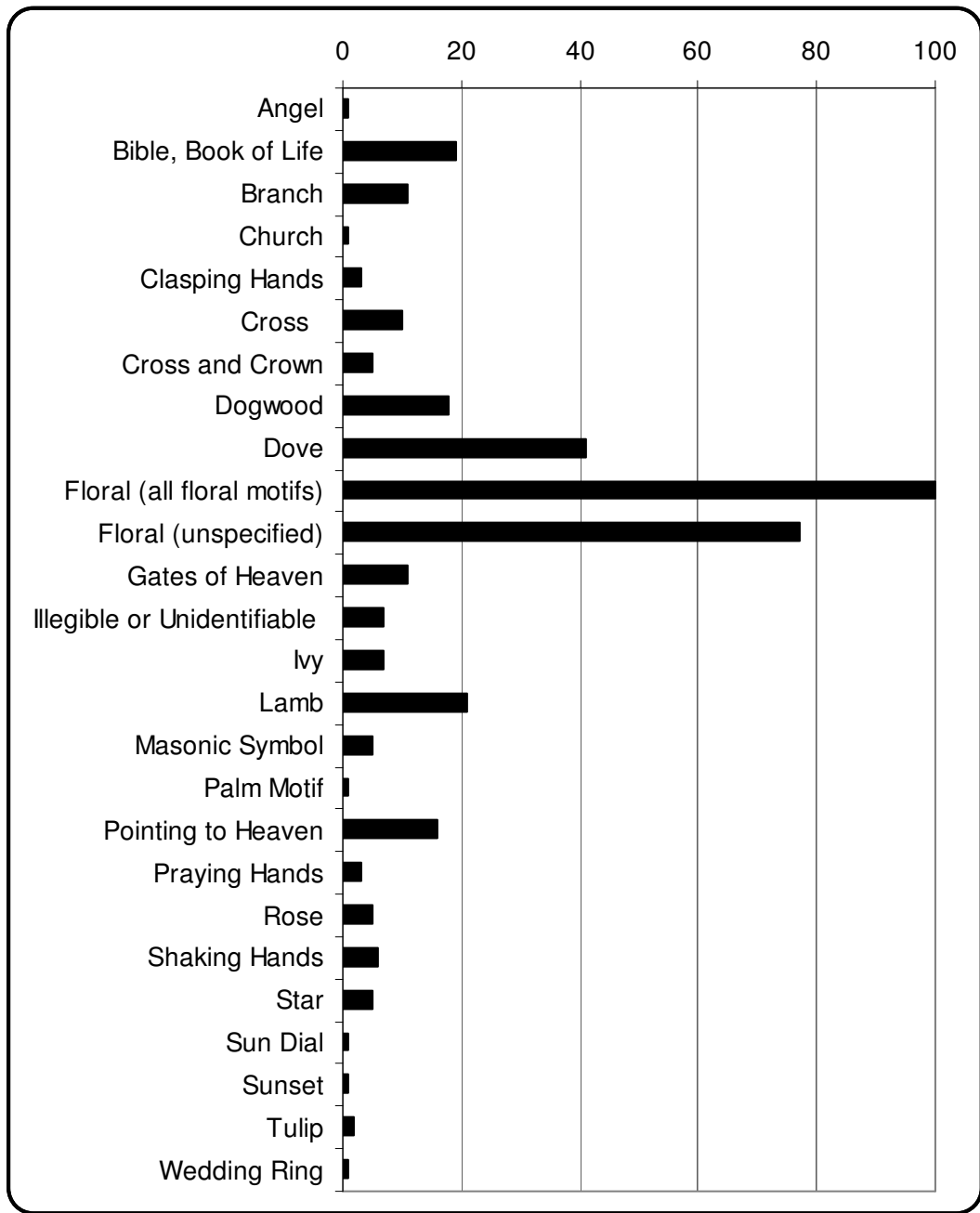


Figure 15. Frequency of Motifs

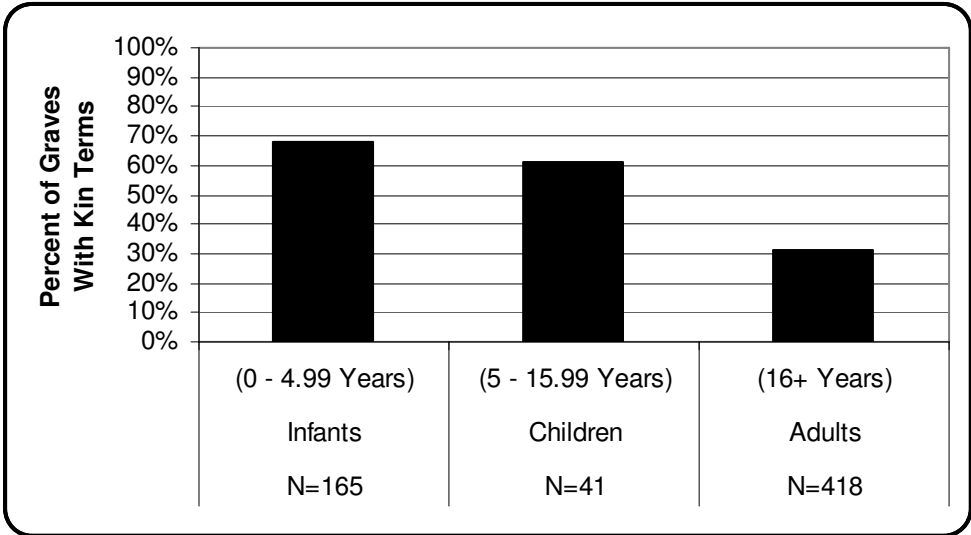


Figure 16. Use of Kin Terms Among Age Groups

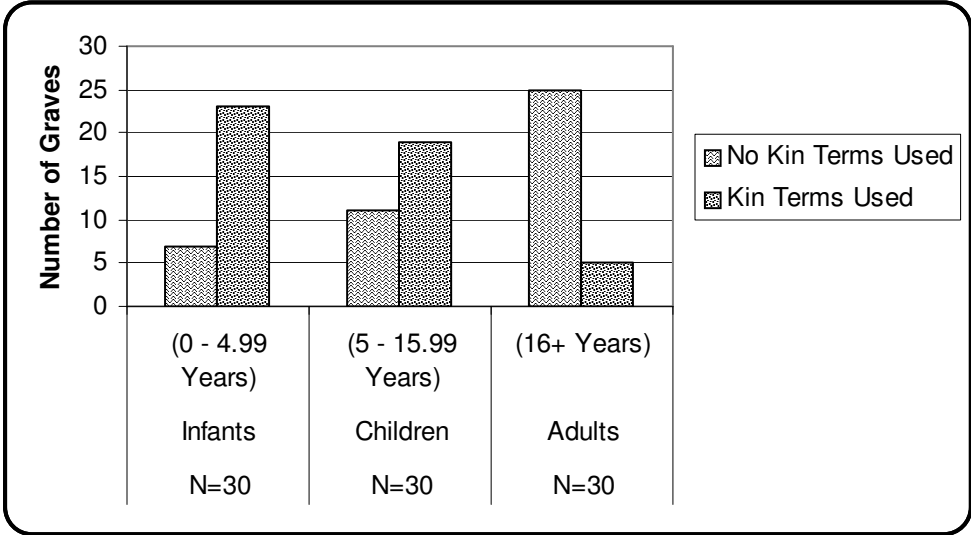


Figure 17. Presence of Kin Terms as a Function of Age

Chapter VII. Results and Conclusions

Cemeteries often provide insight into subjects not specifically covered in archives and history books. Their coverage of these topics includes not only the way individuals feel about their immediate kin, but how these individuals wish to be perceived by their peers. The stones of the cemeteries in this study are no different. Not only do they contain a great deal of genealogical history for these communities, they also allow us to analyze subjects such as status, modernity, and changing attitudes.

The historic cemetery data from the Great Smoky Mountains National Park indicate that stones have become larger and more ornate through time. Though this differs slightly from Dethlefsen's work (1981), which indicates that stones in Florida tend to become smaller and less obtrusive over time, it does demonstrate increasing modernity in the southern Appalachian cemetery. As stated by Jeane (1989), this increasing modernity, seen in larger, more ornate stones, is a result of better access to goods and services. This is also congruent with other studies in the southern Appalachian Mountains which have found that early characterizations of the region's communities as geographically and culturally isolated are greatly exaggerated (Frankenberg 1990; Perdue and Martin-Perdue 1980, Riggs 1999). The finding that stones contain more epitaphs and symbols through time also agrees with the work of Crissman (1994), though his comparisons included a far larger percentage of hand-hewn stones and lacked statistical analysis. As Crissman notes, "central Appalachian pioneers made few attempts to carve anything on a grave marker until professionally cut headstones became available" (1994:124). Thus, hand-hewn stones often lack sufficient data for comparison. Such was the case in this thesis; 98.5% of the stones in this study were manufactured commercially. While these stones contained the data of age, date of death, and gender needed for comparison, the overall lack of hand-hewn stones in the analysis indicates that the full population is not being represented. Individuals in poor financial standing who

could not afford a stone, those passing through the area who lacked ties to the community, or families which moved on before being able to place a more formal marker are not addressed in this thesis.

The data presented here indicate that there was little difference between how men and women were treated in death in these communities. While the stones of women tend to display slightly more religious content, the stones are more or less similar between genders; there is no significant difference in the size of stones, or in the use of epitaphs, use of motifs, or use of kin terms. The increased use of religious content on females' stones might be attributed to the fact that women were often more active on a daily basis in the church. While not in positions of leadership, women often participated to a greater extent in other religious-based activities, such as visiting and caring for the ill. Older, devout females were often regarded as matriarchs of the church (McCauley 1991, 1995). As the primary caretakers of children, women were also responsible for a great deal of the religious upbringing of their offspring.

With respect to his Florida research, Dethlefsen noted a decrease in religious epitaphs and symbols over time, and stated that God is a rare presence in late period cemeteries. This appears not to be the case in southern Appalachian cemeteries, as the use of religious epitaphs has remained constant over time. Such a finding is not altogether unexpected, however, as the southern Appalachians are generally associated with strong religious faith (McCauley 1995).

The data presented here do concur with Dethlefsen on another key point, however. Stones possess less personal information over time, perhaps a product of what Dethlefsen terms "a clear retreat from individuality" (1981:154). This may also be a product of the fact that later burials in these cemeteries are often of individuals who have lived most of their life outside the immediate area. While people still wish to be buried with their kin folk in Cades Cove, they are less aware of what it was like to be part of that community. Consequently,

information of a personal nature inscribed on a stone may be less appropriate due to a lack of familiarity with others interred in the cemetery.

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park historic cemetery data also indicate that individuals under age five tend to possess more epitaphs of a personal nature, and are more often identified through kin terms such as “daughter” or “son.” This is likely due to the fact that the death of a child strikes us in a different way than the death of someone of more advanced age. Epitaphs on child stones allude to their innocence, to being taken before their time. This finding was expected. Also expected was the pronounced gap in the size of stones between young and old. While the death of a younger person is often fraught with more emotion, the status of someone who has been a long time member of the community is generally well represented through a larger stone.

The hypotheses tested herein and the methods employed in their analysis are but the start of what can be examined using these data. It is the hope of the author that more questions will be asked of this data set, as well as others yet to be surveyed. It should again be stressed that, while Cades Cove, Cataloochee, and Hazel Creek are similar demographically, their settlement patterns, periods of use, and economies differ significantly. While Cades Cove and Cataloochee were settled in the mid nineteenth century and relied primarily on an agrarian-based economy, Hazel Creek was settled substantially later and relied primarily on logging as a source of income during its boom years. Further research is necessary to see how these three communities differ, as well how as pre- and post-industrial headstones differ in Hazel Creek. Further research is also necessary to see how cemeteries in these regions differ based on religious affiliation. Research should be conducted to examine the distribution of uninscribed stones or stones which possess limited data, coupled with census records, in order to better address the entire population of these communities. Questions of proxemics in the burial patterns of spouses, children and adults, kin and non-kin are also not examined here. The change of shape in headstones through time is not

addressed, nor is the use of statutory. While this thesis has addressed a number of issues, there are a great many questions yet to be asked of these data. It is my sincere hope that these data will soon be complemented with data from other nearby populations, and that more questions will be addressed.

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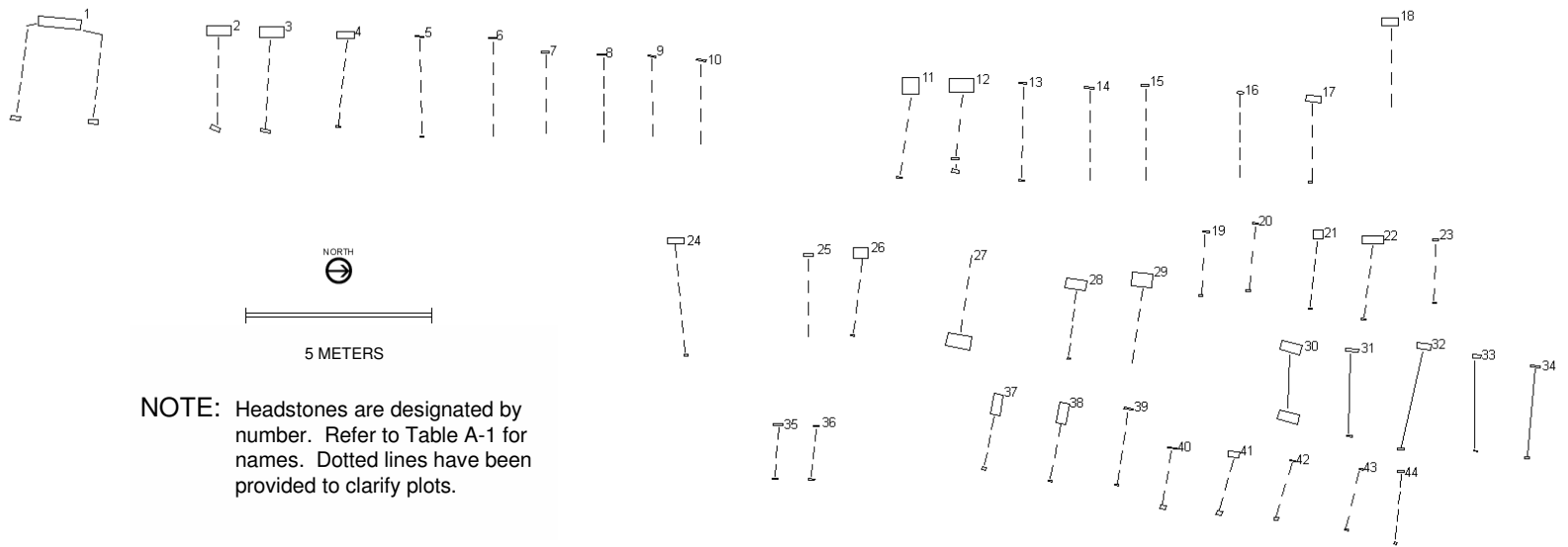
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Appendix:
Cemetery Maps and Burial Inventory



NOTE: Headstones are designated by number. Refer to Table A-1 for names. Dotted lines have been provided to clarify plots.

Figure A-1. Map of the Cable Family Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-1. Individuals Buried in the Cable Family Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1a	Wilcox	W.	Paul		M	74.08	1894/04/13	1968/05/25
1b	Wilcox	Elsie	A		F	73.08	1893/06/14	1966/07/18
2	Schlosshan	Phillip	J		M	89.25	1884/10/23	1974/01/04
3	Schlosshan	Maude	A.		F	51.75	1903/05/23	1956/02/21
4	Wilcox	Sarah	M		F	57.25	1870/01/16	1927/04/26
5	Wilcox	Flossie			F	21	1905/00/00	1926/00/00
6	Wilcox	Elmina			F	18	1907/00/00	1925/00/00
7	McLennon	Werna			F	1	1917/00/00	1918/00/00
8	McLennon	Millie			F	21	1896/00/00	1917/00/00
9	Wilcox	Harley			M		1913/00/00	1913/00/00
10	Wilcox	Richard			M		1912/00/00	1912/00/00
11	Smith	J.	Roddy		M	26	1881/09/05	1907/09/26
12	Burchfield	Rebecca	Jane		F	34	1877/00/00	1911/00/00
13	Gregg	Julis			M	76	1842/00/00	1918/09/01
14	Gregg	Betty			F	68	1843/03/27	1911/00/00
15	Wilcox	Amanda			F	9	1890/00/00	1899/00/00
16	Uninscribed							
17	LeQuire	W.	M.			85.5	1833/02/02	1918/08/02
18	LeQuire	Mary	Catharine		F	79.42	1847/10/30	1927/03/14
19	Cable	Riley				1.75	1927/04/05	1929/01/11
20	Cable	Dewey	G.		M	6.83	1920/02/11	1926/12/21
21	Cable	Benjamin			M		1862/10/08	0000/09/09
22	Wilson	Florence		Wilson	F	52	1872/01/15	1924/01/20
23	Cable	James			M	1	1894/09/15	1895/09/18
24	Cable	J.	W.		M	17.67	1903/03/30	1920/11/20
25	Cable	Ethel	E.		F	31.08	1891/02/02	1922/03/27
26	Cable	Martha	Alice		F	47.08	1871/11/19	1918/12/24
27	Cable	James	V.		M	81.5	1849/01/17	1930/07/04
28	Burchfield	Susan	E.		F	59.92	1851/11/02	1911/10/10
29	Cable	Calvin	R.		M	31.25	1893/12/21	1925/03/15
30	Cable	Rebecca			F	96	1844/12/07	1940/12/09
31	Cable	J.	P.			72.67	1819/01/13	1891/09/06
32	Cable	Elisabeth		Whitehead	F	69.75	1821/03/13	1890/12/06
33	Cable	Marthey	J.		F	59.33	1851/03/09	1910/07/18
34	Cable	Casper			M	56	1856/09/08	1912/09/28
35	Law	Infant						
36a	Law	Infant						
36b	Law	Infant						
37	Cable	B.	T.		M	18.25	1881/11/00	1900/02/05
38	Cable	Casper	D.	L.	M	17.75	1878/12/08	1896/09/01
39	Cable	Ann			F	26	1884/11/02	1911/05/21
40	Cable	Infant			M	2	1884/12/10	1886/12/27
41	Cable	L.	A.		F	8.92	1874/08/27	1883/07/18
42	Post	Infant			M	0	1871/09/15	1871/09/15
43	Uninscribed							
44	Uninscribed							

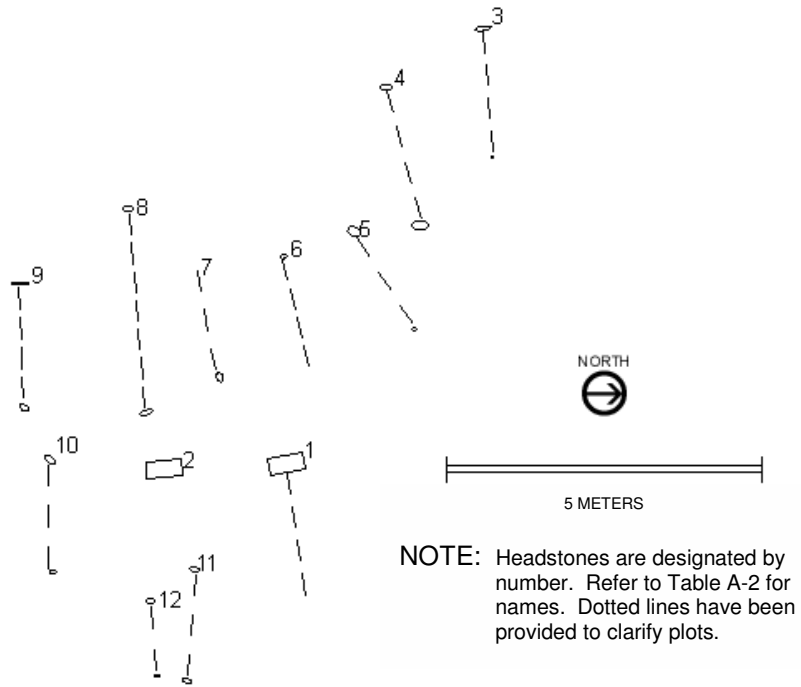


Figure A-2. Map of the Graveyard Hill Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-2. Individuals Buried in the Graveyard Hill Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Cooper	John	R.		M	88	1803/00/00	1891/00/00
2	Burchfield	Charlotte		Wilson	F			
3	Uninscribed							
4	Uninscribed							
5	Uninscribed							
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Uninscribed							
9	Uninscribed							
10	Uninscribed							
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							

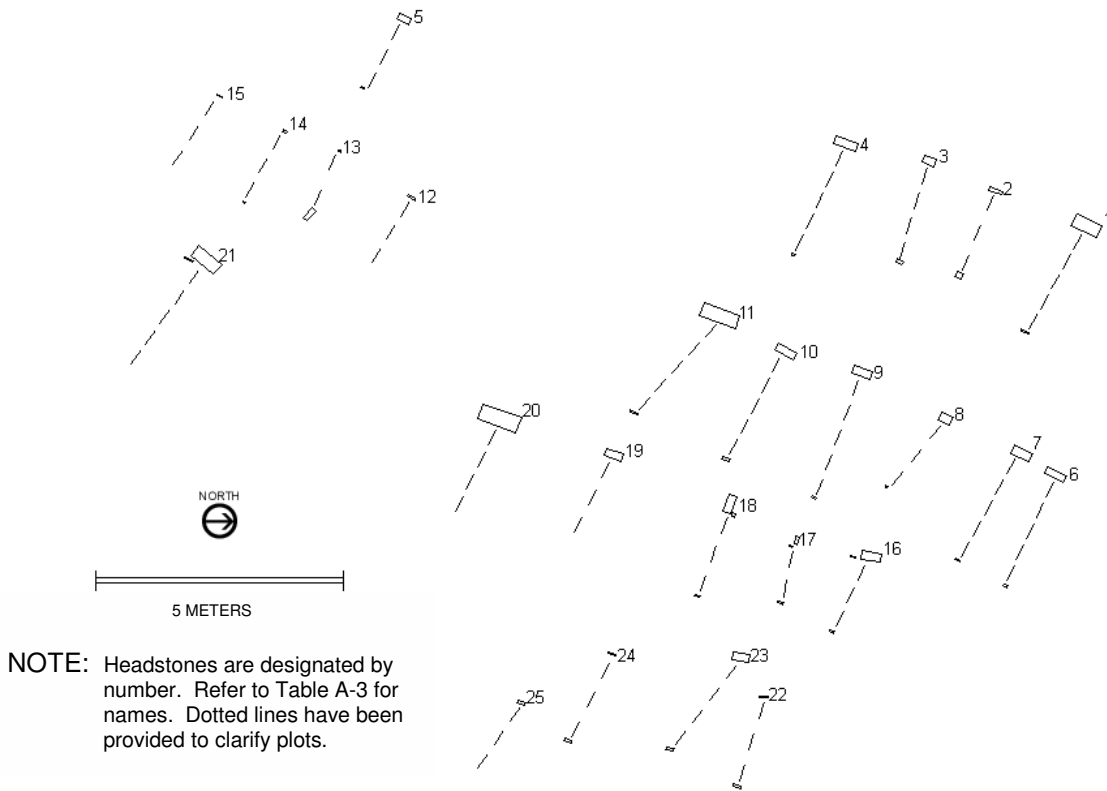


Figure A-3. Map of the Lawson Family Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-3. Individuals Buried in the Lawson Family Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Abbott	John			M	62.1	1863/10/27	1925/11/26
2	Abbott	N.	D.		M	0.66	1892/01/12	1892/09/02
3	Abbott	J.	J.		M	5.08	1887/07/27	1892/08/11
4	Abbott	Annie			F	22.7	1901/05/11	1924/01/21
5	Whitehead	M.	S.		M	0.75	1905/04/16	1905/12/03
6	Spangler	Leannah	Lawson	Chambers	F		1853/02/01	0000/00/00
7	Chambers	L.	A.		M	61.6	1848/11/01	1910/06/12
8	Lawson	Infant			F	0	1898/07/06	1898/07/06
9	Lawson	Mary		Cable	F	74.2	1827/01/09	1901/03/18
10	Lawson	D.	B.		M	77.9	1827/05/17	1905/04/01
11	Lawson	Mary	Catherine		F	82.2	1851/08/23	1932/10/03
12	Harmon	Geneva			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
13	Uninscribed							
14	Uninscribed							
15	Uninscribed							
16	Abbott	Ethel			F	4	1910/00/00	1914/00/00
17	Abbott	Viola			F	1	1912/00/00	1913/00/00
18	Abbott	Mary		Frye	F	22	1890/00/00	1912/00/00
19	Abbott	Erma	Christine		F	1.09	1929/00/00	1931/00/00
20	Abbott	Mary	Angeline	Garland	F	23	1908/00/00	1931/00/00
21	Harmon	John	Goolby		M	80	1840/05/07	1920/05/07
22	Proctor	Marvie	Jr.		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
23	Proctor	Wilford			M	1.42	1925/07/11	1926/12/05
24	Proctor	Lester			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
25	Proctor	Margaret			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00

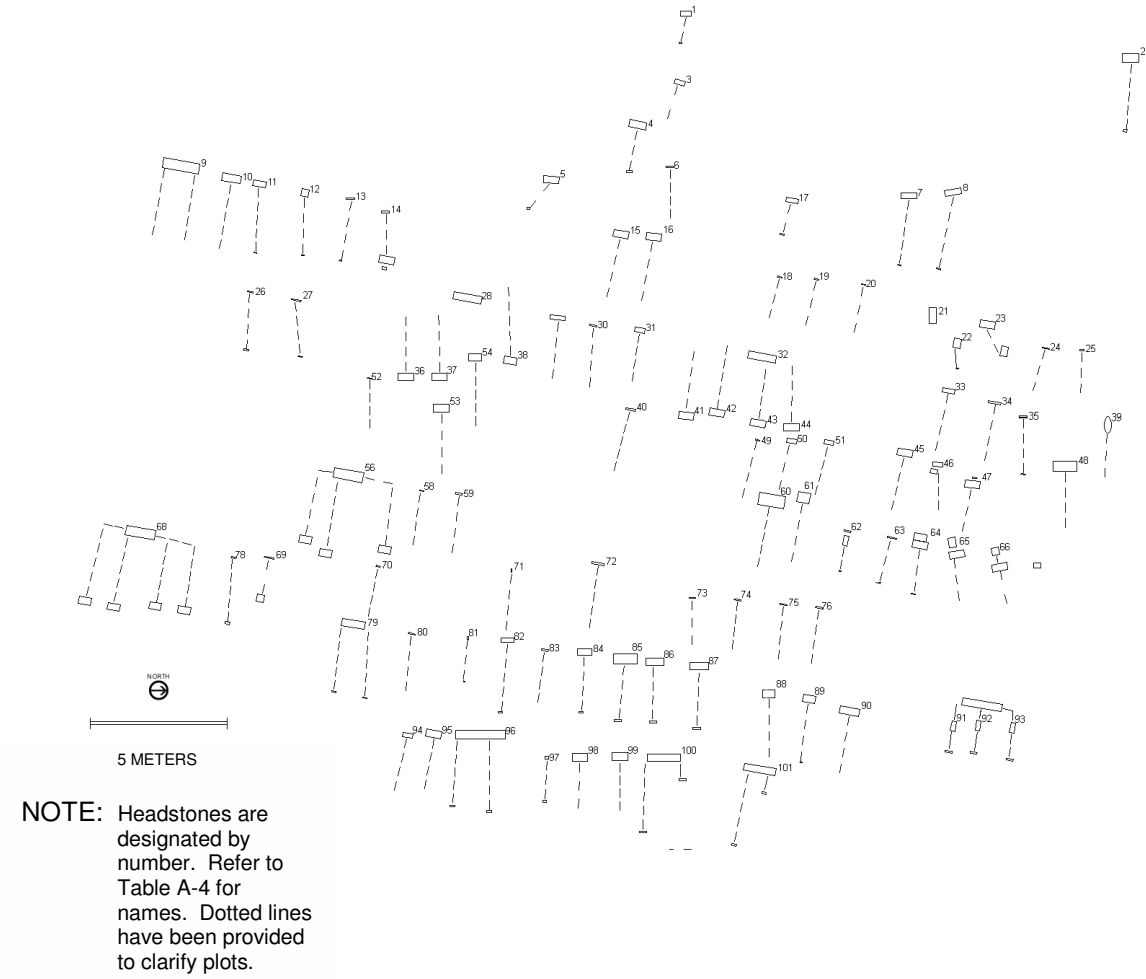


Figure A-4. Map of the Methodist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-4. Individuals Buried in the Methodist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

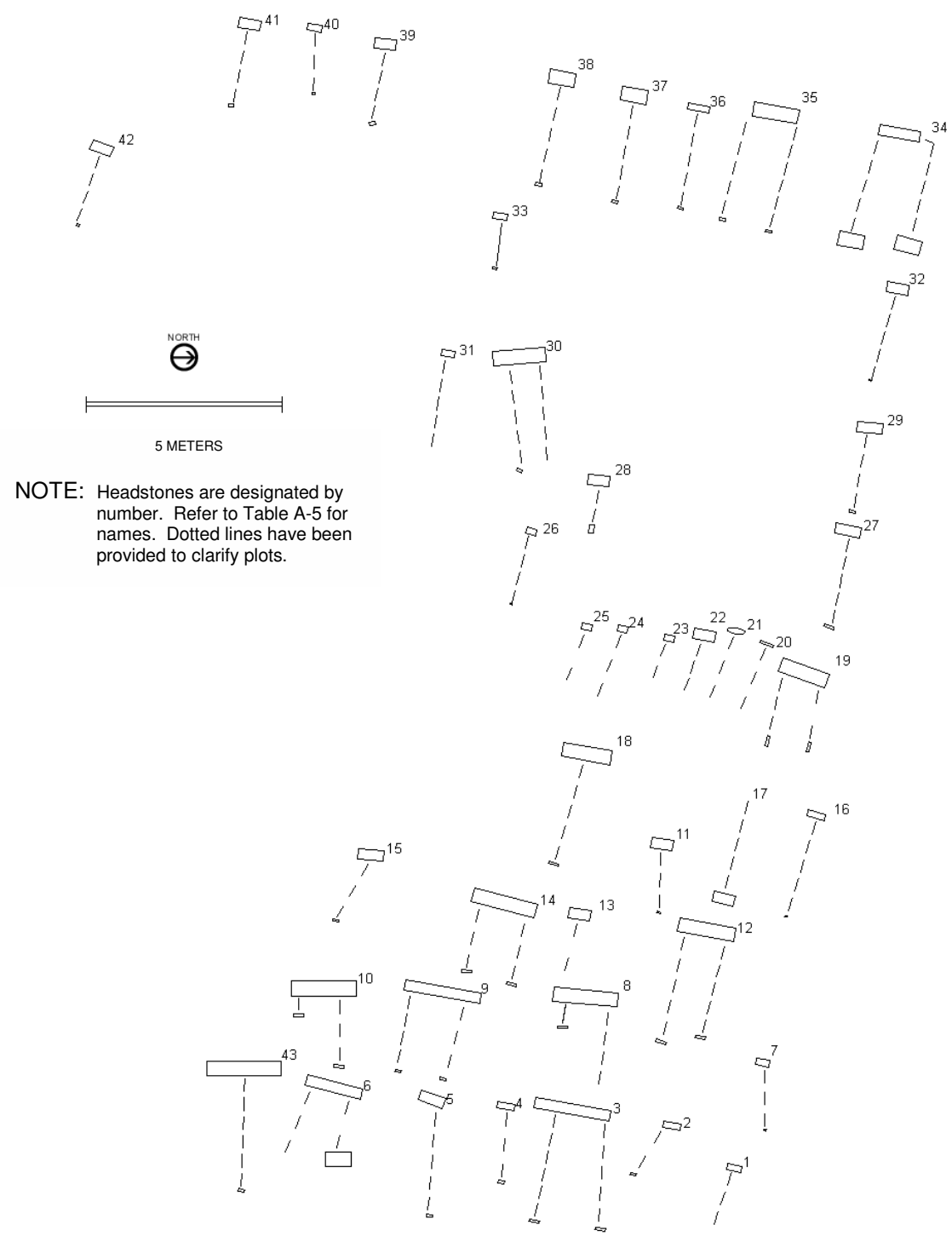
ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Sparks	Bonnie	Gean		F	0	1932/07/17	1932/07/17
2	Seaton	George	W.		M	75	0000/00/00	1921/09/30
3	Sparks				F	0	1925/03/15	1925/03/15
4	Chambers	Granville			M	20.4	1907/07/01	1927/12/01
5	Sparks	Tom			M	67.3	1859/03/28	1926/07/16
6	Chambers				F	0	1916/09/07	1916/09/07
7	Myers	H.	W.		M	62.8	1860/11/27	1923/09/14
8	Myers	Susan	C.		F	62.5	1864/06/24	1926/12/07
9a	Hodge	Herman	T.		M	67.5	1900/05/16	1967/11/08
9b	Hodge	Anna	H.		F	86.2	1905/07/13	1991/09/15
10	Lawson	Martha	L.		F	94	1871/10/22	1965/10/14
11	Hodge	Raymon			M	18.9	1894/06/28	1913/05/02
12	Hodge	Carl			M	10.1	1904/04/23	1914/05/11
13	Lawson	Nellie			F	0.75	1914/06/16	1915/03/30
14	Lawson	Luke			M	22.4	1896/05/04	1918/10/08
15	Gregory	Luther			M	0.33	1907/09/22	1908/01/01
16	Gregory	Catherine			F	0.17	1906/09/28	1906/11/18
17	Garland	Hazel	Ivaleen		F	0	1914/12/27	1914/12/27
18	Myers	Huston	Clinton		M	0.08	1910/10/18	1910/11/03
19	Myers	William	Clifford		M	0.25	1910/10/18	1911/1/13
20	Myers	Otis			M	0.08	1918/03/18	1918/04/02
21a	Shields	Arthur	Randolph		M	83	1913/04/08	1996/04/15
21b	Hope	Arta	Grace		F	76.4	1912/05/05	1988/10/18
22	Shields	Cecil			F			
23	Shields	Josie	Snodgrass		F			
24	Snodgrass	Lenard			M	10.3	1898/03/17	1908/06/11
25	Uninscribed							
26	Pearson	T.	F.					
27	Uninscribed							
28	Tipton Family Monument							
29	McCauley	Stella			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
30	McCauley	James			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
31	McCauley	May			F	2.75	1903/12/28	1906/09/21
32	Myers Family Monument							
33	Wilson	G.	G.		M	33	1880/06/22	1914/06/30
34	Wilson	Jasper			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
35	Wilson	Caroline			F	67.9	1838/02/14	1906/01/23
36	Tipton	Martin			M	74.8	1889/07/20	1964/05/28
37	Tipton	F.	Elsie	Shields	F	76.8	1894/09/03	1971/06/12
38	Tipton	Leona	I.		F	5.25	1915/02/04	1920/05/24
39	Gregory	L.						
40	Myres	John			M	79.1	1827/05/04	1906/06/06
41	Myres	Maryann			F	92.9	1831/01/08	1923/02/22
42	Myers	Bessie	Shields		F	65.5	1890/05/12	1955/11/28
43	Myers	Labe	Houston		M	20.3	1894/08/03	1914/12/14

Table A-4 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Methodist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
44	Myers	Thelma	Hazel		F	0.08	1912/11/23	1912/12/29
45	Craig	Alf	A		M	43.8	1892/03/07	1936/01/07
46	Abbott	Infant			M	0	1922/01/27	1922/01/27
47	Gregory	Ethel			F	2	1900/06/16	1902/06/23
48	Abbott	Earl			M	32.3	1893/08/25	1925/12/17
49	Tipton	George	C.		M	1.5	1914/02/08	1915/08/07
50	Tipton	Arnold	L.		M	1.33	1920/03/26	1921/07/14
51	Tipton	Mary	C.		F	1.25	1927/03/04	1928/06/05
52	Gregory	Mary	E.		F	7.75	1893/05/24	1901/02/12
53	Peacock	Audrain		Tipton	F	77.8	1916/11/26	1994/08/31
54	Tipton	Elmer	C.		M	0.5	1920/06/15	1920/12/12
56a	Myers	Mary	M.		F	54.8	1872/10/05	1927/07/25
56b	Myers	L.	J.			43.3	1864/02/06	1907/06/11
56c	Myers	Laura	E.		F	19.1	1872/04/01	1891/05/25
58	Myers	Infant			M	0	1891/05/24	1891/05/24
59	Myers	Gladys	E.		F	0.92	1923/09/30	1924/08/27
60	Gregory	J.	J.		M	62.3	1870/10/05	1933/01/23
61a	Craig	Leon			M	0.5	1928/00/00	1928/00/00
61b	Craig	Ella-Mae			F	1.08	1930/04/01	1931/05/08
62	Gregory	John	Murphy		M	2.58	1900/01/027	1902/08/14
63	Gregory	Etha			F	0.08	1892/08/12	1892/09/06
64	Sparks	Martha	Jane		F		0000/00/00	1867/00/00
65	Sparks	Amanda			F		0000/00/00	1861/12/00
66	Feezell	Sarah	J		F	31	1825/00/00	1856/02/25
67	Unknown							
68a	Sands	Gilbert			M	25.1	1893/11/17	1918/12/17
68b	Sands	J.	D.			23.3	1888/12/14	1912/12/14
68c	Sands	H.	A.			72.3	1857/01/05	1929/04/01
68d	Sands	Laura	T.		F	35.9	1867/02/11	1903/01/05
69	Burchfiel	W.	R.			4.17	1859/07/07	1863/09/07
70	Tipton	Infant			M	0	1893/10/22	1893/10/22
71	Uninscribed							
72	Shuler	Mary	Lee		F	82.1	1866/05/26	1948/06/083
73	LeQuire	Pearly			M	17	1884/01/29	1901/01/29
74	LeQuire	L.	C.		F	14.8	1882/01/17	1896/10/29
75	LeQuire	J.	S.		M	32.1	1861/03/26	1893/04/22
76	LeQuire	Mary	A.	Myers	F	72.8	1862/06/06	1925/03/09
77a	Shuler	Clyde			M	75.6	1905/04/15	1980/11/17
77b	Shuler	Georgia	Lane		F		1913/03/25	
78	Uninscribed							
79a	Tipton	Martin	W.		M	85	1829/00/00	1914/00/00
79b	Tipton	M.	L.	Handley	F	58	1936/00/00	1894/00/00
80	Jonathan	C.			M	23.8	1860/01/15	1883/10/05
81	Sparks	L.	J.		F	0.08	1888/06/15	1888/07/04
82	Sparks	W.	R.			28.3	1861/11/25	1889/03/27
83	Sparks	Susan	Katherine		F	60.2	1862/11/25	1923/01/30

Table A-4 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Methodist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
84	Sparks	Jim			M	20.5	1897/04/19	1917/10/10
85	Sparks	Mary	L.		F	66.4	1869/10/31	1936/03/01
86	Sparks	David	W.		M	77.2	1863/03/28	1940/05/04
87	Sparks	John			M	71	1899/07/11	1970/07/31
88	LeQuire	Joseph			M	75.8	1830/10/22	1906/07/17
89	LeQuire	Martha		Womach	F	74.8	1835/02/05	1909/12/18
90	LeQuire	W.	G.			58.2	1867/10/20	1925/12/26
91	Hill	Infant			M	0	1918/10/19	1918/10/19
92	Hill	Infant			M	0	1916/02/18	1916/02/18
93	Hill	Otis	A.		M	0.58	1917/02/27	1917/09/05
94	Tipton	Neller	I.		F	0.17	1906/06/01	1906/08/02
95	Merritt	H.			M	81.1	1901/12/29	1983/01/16
96a	Tipton	Margarett		Burchfield	F	48.6	1913/02/27	1964/07/29
96b	Tipton	George			M	64.5	1857/08/05	1922/02/20
97	Uninscribed							
98	Tipton	William	Carson		M	74.7	1898/05/25	1973/01/21
99	Tipton	Murphy	Charles		M	47.3	1927/08/02	1975/12/27
100a	Sparks	France			M	60.8	1904/06/09	1965/03/10
100b	Sparks	Josie			F		1914/07/29	
101a	Williams	Bobby	James		M	47.8	1943/05/18	1991/03/01
101b	Williams	Bonnie		Sparks	F		1942/08/11	



NOTE: Headstones are designated by number. Refer to Table A-5 for names. Dotted lines have been provided to clarify plots.

Figure A-5. Map of the Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-5. Individuals Buried in the Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Sparks	May	Bell		F	0.33	1935/11/01	1936/03/01
2	Sparks	Jamie			M		0000/00/00	1973/12/10
3a	Sparks	Laura	Cooper		F	74.1	1917/08/14	1991/09/02
3b	Sparks	John	Woodrow	Sr.	M	64.3	1911/05/15	1975/08/14
4	Evans	James	Phillip	Jr.	M	0	1980/12/06	1980/12/06
5	Hatcher	Jonas	Wade		M	24.3	1957/09/16	1981/12/15
6a	Cooper	Thelma		Flanagan	F		1926/00/00	
6b	Cooper	James	Harvey		M	62.1	1925/01/24	1987/02/11
7	Whitehead	Myrtle	E.		F	1.25	1924/04/06	1925/07/09
8a	Wilson	Lynn	M.		M		1941/00/00	
8b	Wilson	Dorothy		Whitehead	F	40.3	1941/09/26	1981/12/22
9a	Whitehead	John	T.,	Sr.	M	80.7	1899/05/30	1980/01/09
9b	Whitehead	Lillie	M.		F	90.4	1900/06/16	1990/11/30
10a	Whitehead	Betty			F		1947/00/00	
10b	Whitehead	Bobby			M	52.6	1939/03/05	1991/10/19
11	Cooper	Willey			M	1.58	1921/08/20	1923/03/04
12a	Russel	Laura	Belle	Cooper	F	66.1	1923/03/14	1990/01/11
12b	Cooper	Vina		Hearon	F	75.3	1881/10/07	1957/01/05
13	Tipton	Infant			F	0	1932/09/12	1932/09/12
14a	Tipton	George	W.		M	92.1	1892/09/26	1984/10/11
14b	Tipton	Katie		Proctor	F	34.3	1899/06/04	1935/10/22
15	Delk	Johnathan	David		M	0	1987/02/22	1987/02/22
16	Tipton	Lula		Burchfield	F	34.1	1888/01/28	1922/02/22
17	Tipton	Samuel	Odas		M	68.8	1921/06/19	1990/03/13
18a	Tipton	William	Jack		M	46.1	1879/01/27	1925/11/21
18b	Tipton	Nancy		Birchfield	F	78.1	1883/06/11	1961/07/17
19a	Burchfield	Susan			F	90.1	1882/06/30	1972/07/23
19b	Burchfield	Jesse			M	33.7	1885/06/02	1919/02/25
20	Uninscribed						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
21	Uninscribed						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
22	Burchfield	Glen	H.		M	0.08	1948/09/23	1948/12/13
23	Birchfield	Pauline			F	5.66	1939/02/04	1944/09/28
24	Birchfield	Charles	L.		M	3.08	1937/08/29	1940/09/28
25	Birchfield	Johnie	H.		M	0.16	1943/10/18	1943/12/05
26	Myers	R.	A.		F	40.5	1879/06/26	1919/12/08
27	Burchfield	Margaret	Tennessee	Tipton	F	46.8	1880/11/15	1927/09/25
28	Burchfield	M.	T.		M	0	1953/12/10	1953/12/16
29	Gregory	Mike	H.		M	6.33	1914/10/23	1921/06/14
30a	Burchfield	Kara	L.		M	29.9	1924/08/07	1954/07/31
30b	Burchfield	Lydia			F	89	1891/01/11	1980/01/25
31	Burchfield	Johnie	Ray		M	2.41	1951/10/30	1954/03/01
32	Myers	Jonathan	W. H.		M	38.3	1885/12/10	1924/04/20
33	Chambers	J.	C.	Jr.	M	0.08	1927/12/24	1928/01/31

Table A-5 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
34a	Burchfield	Mary	Jane		F	73	1876/09/09	1949/09/06
34b	Burchfield	Russell	D.		M	50.7	1874/05/14	1925/01/06
35a	Burchfield	Sarah	J.		F	88.3	1848/12/20	1936/04/25
35b	Burchfield	Noah			M	85.8	1849/03/01	1934/12/23
36	Myers	Martha	A.		F	71	1870/00/00	1941/00/00
37	Myers	Sarah	Elizabeth		F	76	1906/12/13	1982/12/25
38	Myers	Pearlie			M	71.4	1812/10/27	1983/03/10
39	Burchfield	John	Luther		M	71.4	1908/09/15	1980/04/15
40	Burchfield	Charles			M	0	1929/05/23	1929/05/23
41	Burchfield	Laura			F	21.1	1911/02/15	1932/03/04
42	Burchfield	Laura		Payne	F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
43	Hornburg	Peggy	Sue	Sparks	F	40	1954/01/05	1994/01/24

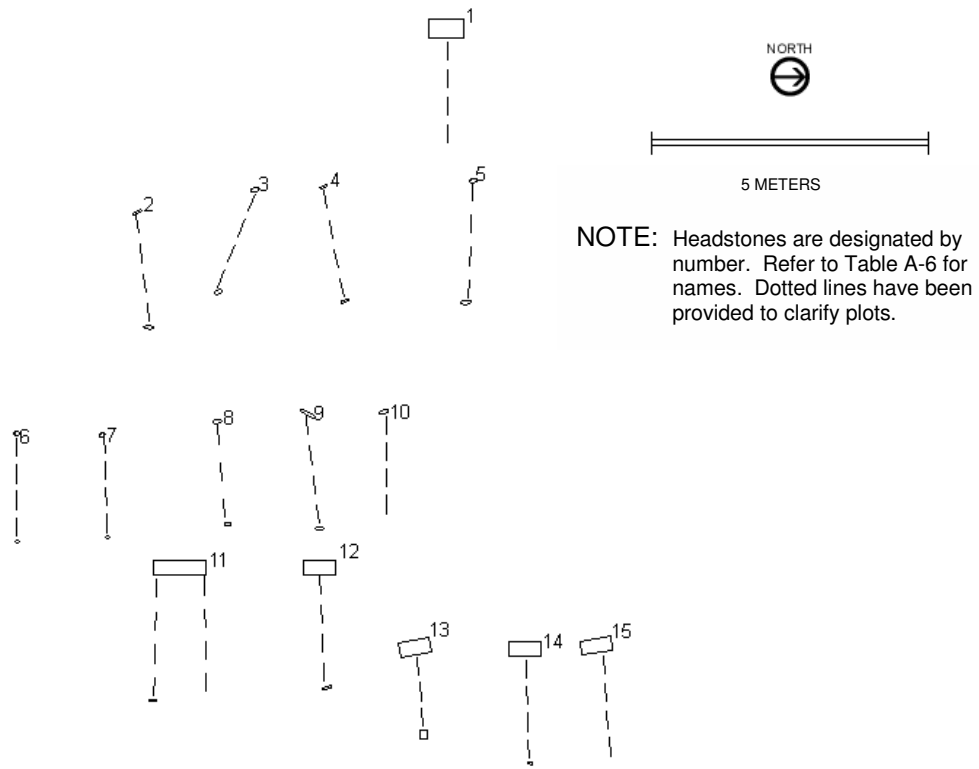


Figure A-6. Map of the Noah Burchfield Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-6. Individuals Buried in the Noah Burchfield Family Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Wilson	Alexander			M	74.3	1828/06/15	1902/09/01
2	Uninscribed							
3	Uninscribed							
4	Uninscribed							
5	Uninscribed							
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Uninscribed							
9	Uninscribed							
10	Uninscribed							
11a	Burchfield	Robert			M	86	1774/00/00	1860/00/00
11b	Burchfield	Elizabeth	Hill		F	66	1776/00/00	1842/00/00
12	Burchfield	Drewry			M	36	1855/00/00	1891/00/00
13	Burchfield	Mary	Jane		F	4	1871/00/00	1875/00/00
14	Burchfield	Robert		Jr.	M	12	1897/00/00	1908/00/00
15	Burchfield	Mary	M.	Gregory	F	93	1811/00/00	1904/00/00



NOTE: Southern half of cemetery;
 northern portion on next page.
 Headstones are designated by
 number. Refer to Table A-7 for
 names. Dotted lines have been
 provided to clarify plots.

Figure A-7. Map of the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Gades Cove

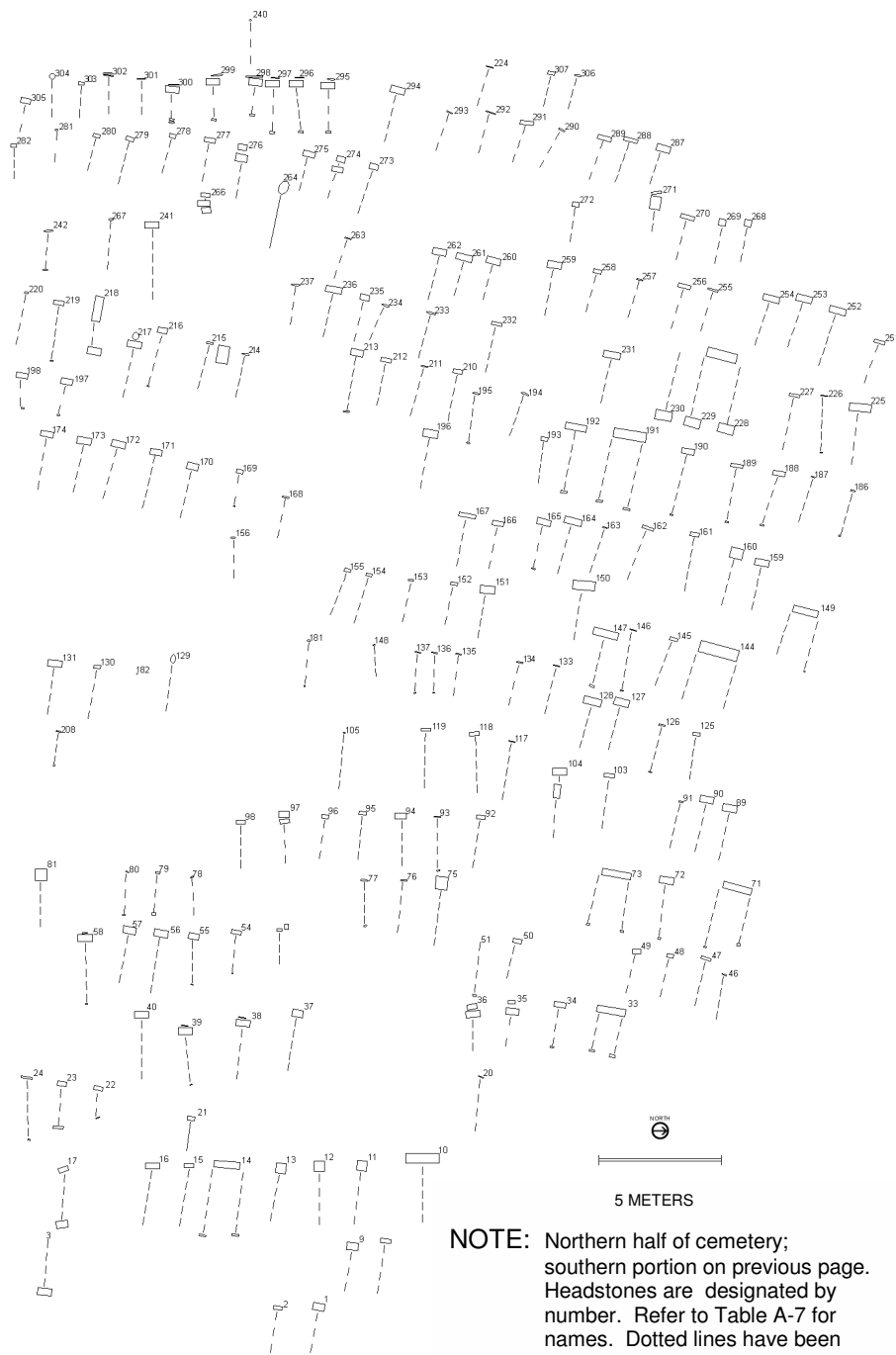


Figure A-7 (continued). Map of the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

Table A-7. Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Meyers	Glen			M	0.66	1926/05/11	1927/01/19
2	Meyers	Mary			F	0.08	1954/05/21	1954/05/30
3	Uninscribed							
4	Harmon	Austin	Hale		M	77.6	1904/07/06	1982/01/25
5	Harmon	Kenneth	Leroy		M	31.5	1939/05/16	1970/11/07
6	Gregory	Susan	M.		F	48.8	1880/07/02	1929/03/07
7	Gregory	Infant			M	2.58	1920/03/12	1922/10/15
8	Myers	Infant			F	0.08	1911/04/20	1911/05/24
9	Myers	Ray			M	5.92	1923/12/03	1926/11/16
10	Caughron	Delia		Myers	F	79.6	1884/08/17	1964/03/20
11	Sparks	Vina		Myers	F	21.8	1886/05/19	1908/08/10
12	Myers	Peter			M	57.6	1859/07/23	1916/12/08
13	Myers	Maggie		Shields	F	84.3	1856/09/22	1940/11/06
14a	Myers	Sherman			M	64.3	1888/07/31	1952/11/29
14b	Myers	Paralee			F	98	1897/11/04	1995/11/27
15	Wright	Martha			F	1.08	1912/06/04	1913/09/08
16	Wright	Elmer	E.		M	45.4	1879/11/02	1925/04/10
17	Harmon	Minnie		Proctor	F	57.3	1907/05/08	1964/09/08
18	Coad	Martha	Loutricia	Welch	F	79.3	1849/05/14	1928/09/03
19	Uninscribed							
20	Myers	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
21	Myers	Ethel	L.		F	3.58	1903/05/25	1906/12/18
22	Gregory	Lora	Estella		F	0	1911/02/03	1911/02/03
23	Proctor	James	N.		M	73.2	1874/12/19	1948/02/24
24	Proctor	Milly			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
25	Proctor	James			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
26	Maynard	Jane			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
27	Proctor	Lydia			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
28	Myers	Harry			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
29	Maynard	Nettie		Proctor	F	75.5	1879/12/13	1955/06/07
30	Gregory						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
31	Gregory						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
32	Gregory						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
33a	Oliver	Rosie	Bell		F	30.2	1888/10/18	1918/12/22
33b	Oliver	Zackres			M	53.4	1880/08/20	1934/01/11
34	Oliver	Giles	P.		M	4.5	1916/12/23	1921/06/12
35	Ledbetter	Infant					1893/00/00	1893/00/00
36	Ledbetter	Mary	Ann	Sands	F	31.1	1862/06/10	1893/07/26
37	Leadbetter	M.	S.			74.1	1850/12/14	1925/01/12
38	Gregory	Celia	J.		F	75.3	1830/11/30	1906/03/20
39	Gregory	Charles			M	77	1823/05/30	1900/05/16
40	Gregory	William	M.		M	45.8	1864/07/04	1910/03/01
41	Brown	Effie	L.		F	4.17	1894/10/08	1898/12/13
42	Unknown	Drury			?		0000/01/00	0000/00/00
43	Whitehead	J.	T.		M	16.5	1880/04/21	1896/10/21

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
44a	Whitehead	Mary	Jane		F	79.2	1860/12/16	1940/02/11
44b	Whitehead	Isaac	Taylor		M	78.5	1853/07/24	1932/01/19
45	Sprinkle	Hazel	Ann	Whitehead	F	88.1	1907/05/23	1995/06/29
46	Shields	Pearly	I.		F	0.42	1898/12/11	1899/05/26
47	Wilcox	Caleb			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
48	Uninscribed							
49	Wilcox	Mary Ann	B.		F	75	1853/00/00	1928/00/00
50	Burchfield	John	Noah		M	45.6	1872/06/17	1918/01/04
51	B.	M.						
52	Uninscribed							
53	Ledbetter	Bettie	Jane		F	20.7	1883/03/05	1904/01/25
54	Ledbetter	John	H.		M	0.92	1900/11/18	1901/10/24
55	Ledbetter	J.	Allen		M	63.7	1851/01/30	1914/09/02
56	Leadbetter	Angeline			F		0000/00/00	1887/06/08
57	Leadbetter	Caroline			F	11	1882/00/00	1893/00/00
58	Brown	J.	R.		M	8.58	1897/03/17	1905/10/28
59	Brown	W.	M.			43.3	1858/03/15	1901/07/09
60	Hamby	William			M	96	1744/00/00	1840/00/00
61	Brown	Elisabeth		Headrick	F	54.9	1834/06/04	1889/05/23
62	Brown	R.	H.		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
63	Cooper	Minerva	Angeline	Brown	F		0000/00/00	1890/03/07
64	Cooper	Martha	E.		F	0.08	1890/03/07	1890/04/09
65	Cooper	Infant			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
66	Gregory	Willie	J.		M	4.75	1881/10/02	1886/07/18
67	Gregory	Ruth			F	74.5	1852/12/28	1927/06/11
68	Gregory	Carl			M	25.3	1907/09/29	1933/01/14
69	Shields	Iva	Lee		F	5.92	1910/08/13	1916/07/27
70	Shields	Infant			M	0	1927/00/00	1927/00/00
71a	Abbott	Elizabeth		Oliver	F	87.7	1863/12/07	1951/10/06
71b	Abbott	N.	F.		M	23.4	1862/06/27	1885/11/30
72	Brown	Martha	J.	Oliver	F	30	1853/05/22	1883/06/09
73a	Oliver	Mary		Lawson	F	67.8	1830/04/19	1898/02/25
73b	Oliver	Elijah			M	75.9	1829/03/20	1905/02/22
75	Blair	Commodore	L.		M	22.1	1880/02/01	1902/03/10
76	Myers	Daniel			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
77	Myers	Vina			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
78	Uninscribed							
79	Uninscribed							
80	Uninscribed							
81	Gregory	Susan		Hill	F	84	1796/00/00	1880/00/00
82	Gregory	Russell			M	69	1795/00/00	1864/00/00
83	Gregory	Leah			F		0000/00/00	1848/00/20
84	Gregory	Drewry			M	56.3	1818/09/07	1875/01/16
85	Brown	Martha	A.		F	58.6	1833/05/05	1891/10/10
86	Gregory	Catherine	E.	Myers	F	21.9	1858/08/03	1880/07/30

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
87	Gregory	R.				0.17	1853/08/00	1853/10/00
88	Unknown							
89	Anthony	L.				32.2	1862/08/13	1894/10/23
91	Anthony	Bennie	H.		M	2.92	1888/10/22	1891/09/24
92	Lawson	Bryson	A.		M	11.9	1893/11/07	1905/10/06
93	Lawson	M.	J.	Blair	F	30.3	1868/08/06	1898/12/05
94	Lawson	D.	Jasper		M	71.1	1860/02/14	1931/12/28
95	Lawson	Lydia			F	4.33	1857/06/03	1861/10/27
96	Lawson	Elvina			F	6.66	1855/02/17	1861/10/05
97	Cable	Catherine		Hollows	F	64	1784/00/00	1848/00/00
98	Cable	Peter			M	73.1	1792/12/20	1866/01/27
99	Welch						0000/00/00	0000/08/03
100	Unknown	John (?)			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
101	Birchfield	Rutha	Oliver	Gregory	F	58.3	1833/06/16	1891/09/24
102	Spradling	William	M.		M	1.58	1884/06/12	1886/01/07
103	LeQuire	Isaac			M	71.9	1840/04/26	1912/03/04
104	LeQuire	Harriet		Bowers	F	60.6	1841/03/24	1901/10/17
105	Uninscribed							
106	Tipton	Mary	Jane		F	1.33	1873/06/03	1874/10/12
107	Tipton	Infant			F	0	1877/02/12	1877/02/15
108	Tipton	N.	H.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
109	Tipton	N.	K.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
110	Anthony						0000/01/29	0000/02/01
111	Gregory	Millard			M	0	1917/05/02	1917/05/10
112	Gregory	Loyd			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
113	Gregory	Odie					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
114	Gregory	Fannie			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
115	Gregory	Josie					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
116	Uninscribed							
117	Hodge	Elizabeth			F	65.7	1839/05/22	1905/01/09
118	Hodge	Thomas			M	59.2	1928/09/08	1887/11/09
119	Hodge	Jake			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
120	Millsaps	R.	E.				0000/00/00	1879/10/05
121	Millsaps	J.	H.				0000/00/00	1879/10/19
122	Tipton	Infant			M	0	1914/12/25	1914/12/26
123	Tipton	Pauline			F	0.75	1923/11/01	1924/08/05
124	Tipton	Earl			M	0	1914/03/09	1914/03/10
125	Gregory	J.	A.		M	0	1892/07/15	1892/08/09
126	Gregory	James	C.		M	16.6	1888/06/29	1905/01/05
127	Gregory	Sarah	Ellen		F	70.6	1861/10/22	1932/05/11
128	Gregory	James	Elias		M	80.1	1855/12/14	1936/01/18
129	Tipton	Infant			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
130	Uninscribed							
131	Burchfield	Mary	Ann	Shular	F	63	1843/00/00	1906/00/00
132	Burchfield	Samuel	Carson		M	67	1837/00/00	1904/00/00
133	McCauley	L.	A.	Gregory	F	32	1869/07/14	1901/07/04

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
134	McCauley	L.	C.	Tipton	F	26.5	1869/09/22	1896/03/24
135	Rose	Dixie			F	3.17	1895/08/08	1898/10/15
136	Rose	Infant				0	1892/08/10	1892/08/10
137	Rose	Infant				0	1885/04/08	1885/04/08
138	Greer	James	M.		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
139	Tipton	John	J.		M	65.5	1816/02/04	1881/08/15
140	Tipton	Naomi		Abbott	F	59.9	1831/03/24	1891/02/16
141	Sparks	Ethey	E.		F	1.08	1891/05/20	1892/06/08
142	Sparks	James	A.		M	53.6	1853/10/20	1907/03/28
143a	Myers	Lurena	A.		F	39.6	1859/04/11	1898/11/23
143b	Myers	Daniel	H.		M	84.9	1854/12/03	1939/11/28
144a	Oliver	Eld.	W.		M	83.3	1857/05/16	1940/09/13
144b	Oliver	Elizabeth	J.		F	69.1	1855/12/18	1925/01/05
145	Oliver	Infant			M	0.83	1898/03/31	1899/01/15
146	Oliver	William	J.		M	22	1883/09/16	1905/09/10
147	Oliver	Lucy	Mae		F	63	1892/03/10	1955/03/16
148	Unknown							
149a	LeQuire	Willie			M	1.83	1892/05/15	1894/02/12
149b	LeQuire	Fred			M	43.9	1897/07/10	1940/06/20
150	Myers	Louisa		Tipton	F	23.6	1885/11/17	1907/06/27
151	Wilson	Lucrecia	E.		F	67.9	1849/01/08	1916/12/18
152	Sparks	Henry	R.		M	0.17	1892/07/10	1892/09/20
153	Potter	Alf	D.		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
154	Potter	John			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
155	Potter	Jim			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
156	Uninscribed							
157	Uninscribed							
158a	Tipton	Harriet			F	76.6	1853/12/22	1929/09/17
158b	Tipton	John			M	47.3	1855/05/17	1902/08/10
159	Sparks	Samuel	L.		M	75.6	1868/12/18	1944/07/28
160	Sparks	Laura	T.		F	51.4	1876/04/13	1927/11/21
161	Sparks	Offa			F	0.17	1908/04/08	1908/06/03
162	Feezell	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
163	Sparks	H.	L.		F	0	1893/05/11	1893/05/13
164	Oliver	George			M	58.3	1868/09/20	1927/01/21
165	Sparks	Jane	L.		F	97.9	1828/01/19	1925/12/21
166	Sparks	N.	H.		M	63.7	1828/01/22	1891/09/29
167	Sparks	N.	A.		M	20.3	1863/06/04	1884/10/24
168	Potter	Davis			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
169	Shular	Edward	W.		M	4.25	1922/ 08/22	1926/11/19
170	Everett	Winnie	E.		F	0.17	1903/09/25	1903/11/13
171	Anthony	Marion			M	0	1885/09/02	1885/11/06
172	Anthony	Isabel	Polly	Timmons	F	76	1804/00/00	1880/00/00
173	Anthony	John	Jackie		M	85	1795/00/00	1880/00/00
174	Anthony	Elizabeth			F	90.9	1822/01/15	1912/12/02
175	Anthony	John			M	84.6	1831/06/20	1916/01/13
176	Frazier						0000/00/00	0000/00/00

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
177	Frazier						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
178	Frazier						0000/00/00	0000/00/00
179	Anthony	J.	B.		M	0	1928/01/31	1928/02/02
180	Cooper	Hannah	J.		F	80.7	1829/04/22	1909/12/12
181	Uninscribed							
182	Uninscribed							
183	Tipton	Infant			M	0	1926/01/24	1926/01/27
184	Uninscribed							
185	Crawford	John	D.		M	64.5	1906/05/14	1970/11/15
186	Unknown							
187	Shields	Samantha	J.		F	0.92	1894/01/05	1894/12/08
188	Shields	A.	C.	Walker	F	38.8	1857/11/08	1896/08/21
189	Shields	A.	W.		M	79.1	1850/03/06	1919/04/20
190	Shields	Mary			F	69	1851/12/06	1920/12/07
191a	Anthony	John			M	75.7	1855/01/15	1930/09/26
191b	Anthony	Sarah	A.		F	92.1	1863/04/27	1955/05/08
192	Oliver	Sarah		Upton	F	67.2	1872/02/04	1939/04/21
193	Unknown							
194	Unknown							
195	Uninscribed							
196	Shuler	James	H.		M	62.8	1832/12/21	1895/10/14
197	Anthony	Elgin	O.		M	6.66	1857/01/28	1863/09/00
198	Anthony	Martha	J.		F	4.33	1859/05/13	1863/09/00
199	Anthony	William	E.		M	10.3	1853/05/06	1863/09/00
200	Anthony	Charlie			M	2.58	1899/02/02	1901/09/22
201	Unknown							
202	LeQuire	Andrew	P		M	14	1876/00/00	1890/01/189
203a	Tipton	Isaac			M	72	1856/12/06	1928/12/12
203b	Tipton	Cansada	Louisa		F	78.8	1857/04/25	1936/02/06
204	LeQuire	Debora	A.	Shields	F	42.7	1859/10/25	1902/06/21
205	LeQuire	Willis	W.		M	66.2	1853/10/25	1919/12/05
206	Greer	John			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
207	McCaulley	Infant			F	0	1882/00/00	1882/00/00
208	Unknown							
209	Shields	Martha			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
210	Oliver	Callie			F	1.08	1923/06/28	1924/07/30
211	Oliver	William			M	61.9	1837/09/06	1901/08/02
212	Oliver	Lee			M	27	1887/03/01	1914/03/25
213	Oliver	Martha	H.		F	73	1846/00/00	1919/00/00
214	Oliver	Lurena			F	93	1795/00/00	1888/11/24
215	Oliver	John			M	71	1793/00/00	1864/00/00
216	Shields	Martha			F	43.3	1819/07/28	1864/10/18
217	Oliver	Lazarus			M	75	1827/00/00	1902/00/00
218	Shields	Robert			M	66	1784/00/00	1850/00/00
219	Feezell	Mary		Shields	F	20.2	1842/09/19	1862/11/30
220	Shields	Richard	Harison		M		0000/00/00	1873/05/05
221	Shields	Henry	Harrison		M	73.8	1817/04/20	1891/02/26

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
222	Shields	Mary	E.		F	30.3	1855/06/11	1885/10/25
223	Shields	Emily	E.		F	83.7	1824/01/19	1907/09/27
224	Bur	Hardy					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
225	Gregory	Giles	P.		M	43.8	1885/03/27	1929/01/22
226	Gregory	Sam	T.		M	27.4	1879/12/22	1907/05/02
227	Gregory	Roy			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
228	Oliver	Nancy	Ann	Whitehead	F	68.8	1878/09/15	1948/06/26
229	Oliver	John	W.	Elder	M	87.8	1878/10/14	1966/07/09
230	Oliver	John	Winston		M	46.9	1919/08/30	1966/07/27
231a	Shields	F.	D.		M	78.5	1852/07/04	1931/01/18
231b	Shields	Phoebe	J.		F	52.2	1855/03/01	1907/05/08
232	Oliver	Sara	E.		F	71.9	1888/09/04	1960/08/26
233	Oliver	Rutha	E.		F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
234	Oliver	Mary	E.		F	6.92	1875/10/04	1882/09/15
235	Oliver	Martha		Brecky	F	49	1838/00/00	1887/00/00
236	Oliver	Lazarus			M	75	1827/00/00	1902/00/00
237	Oliver	Mary			F		0000/00/00	1871/00/00
238	Sparks	William	A.		M	20.5	1888/01/05	1908/07/28
239	Uninscribed							
240	Uninscribed							
241	Roberts	Samuel	H.		M	3.58	1887/03/01	1890/10/10
242	Shields	John	M.		M		0000/00/00	1879/04/07
243	Shields	Mary		Oliver	F	74.8	1817/07/18	1892/05/31
244	Shields	Fredrick			M	70.5	1813/07/25	1885/01/21
245	Unknown							1888/10/09
246	Uninscribed							
247	Uninscribed							
248	Myers	Lulie	Maie		F	11.9	1894/05/21	1916/04/16
249	Fan	Martha			F		0000/00/00	1923/07/00
250	Uninscribed							
251	White	Mollie			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
252a	Oliver	Infant			F	0	1912/08/08	1912/08/08
252b	Oliver	Infant			F	0	1912/08/08	1912/08/08
253	Oliver	Frona	Mae		F	0.08	1903/05/18	1903/05/30
254	Oliver	Irene	Ryan		F	46.6	1905/02/07	1951/09/22
255	Whitehead	Matilda		Shields	F	81.5	1842/07/02	1924/01/23
256	Whitehead	Henry			M	63.5	1851/04/21	1914/10/10
257	Whitehead	Mary	A.	McGinley	F	62.7	1844/06/15	1907/02/13
258	White	David	P.		M	58.8	1896/05/17	1837/08/22
259	Ditmore	Virginia			F	3.08	1861/08/23	1864/09/22
260	Oliver	Arthur	J.		M	78	1908/00/00	1985/00/00
261	Oliver	John	B.		M	44.3	1880/05/09	1924/08/29
262	Oliver	Annie	Boring	Gregory	F	19	1888/00/00	1907/00/00
263	Oliver	M.	L.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
264	Oliver	M.	J.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
266	Shields	Willie	Fay		M	0.42	1919/03/02	1919/08/19

Table A-7 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery, Cades Cove

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
267	Uninscribed							
268	Gregory	Infant			M	0	0000/00/00	0000/00/00
269	Gregory	Infant			M	0	0000/00/00	0000/00/00
270	Moody	Delzenie					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
271	Myres	Nancy			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
272	Burchfield	Harve			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
273	Shields	Infants					1900/00/00	1900/00/00
274	Shields	Mary	Geneva		F	2.25	1916/02/17	1918/05/25
275	Shields	William	T.		M	36.5	1882/05/12	1918/11/25
276	Shields	Eva	Irene		F	8.5	1910/06/28	1918/12/03
277	Whitehead	Carrie	Mae		F	1	1906/12/16	1907/12/27
278	Uninscribed							
279	Law	Melviney					0000/00/00	1890/01/11
280	Uninscribed							
281	Uninscribed							
282	Moody	R.	M.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
283	Shields	William	H.		M	43.3	1859/01/23	1902/05/20
284a	Shields	A.	J.		M	63	1863/06/23	1926/06/26
284b	Shields	V.	A.		F	8.33	1867/05/01	1947/09/30
285	Quiett	S.	R.			19.3	1881/09/14	1900/12/03
286	Payne	Kimzes	H.			0.75	1915/11/05	1916/08/17
287	Cooper	Harriette	E.	Powell Cooper	F	79.8	1874/02/22	1953/11/27
288	Powell	Tilda			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
289	Powell	Ann			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
290	Powell	George	W.		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
291	Burchfield	Pleas					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
292	Sands	Anderson			M	76	0000/00/00	1871/08/12
293	Uninscribed							
294	Burchfield	Sam			M	77	1840/00/00	1917/00/00
295	Garland	James	C.		M	35.8	1889/07/04	1925/04/25
296	Garland	Sally			F	22.1	1893/09/29	1915/10/15
297	Garland	William	Louis		M	23.2	1885/12/21	1909/10/18
298	Garland	Willie			M	0	1905/12/05	1905/12/09
299	Garland	Charles	Wesley		M	2	1902/05/01	1904/05/17
300	Garland	Thomas	McKenzie		M	1.17	1895/07/19	1896/09/28
301	Uninscribed							
302	Uninscribed							
303	Roberts	S.	J.				0000/00/00	0000/10/10
304	Aiels	F.	J.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
305	Unknown							
306	Uninscribed							
307	Uninscribed							
308	Bur	H.					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
309	Anthony	Infant			M	0	1932/06/07	1932/06/07
310	Crawford	Aron			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
311	Tipton	Pat					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
312	W.	William			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00

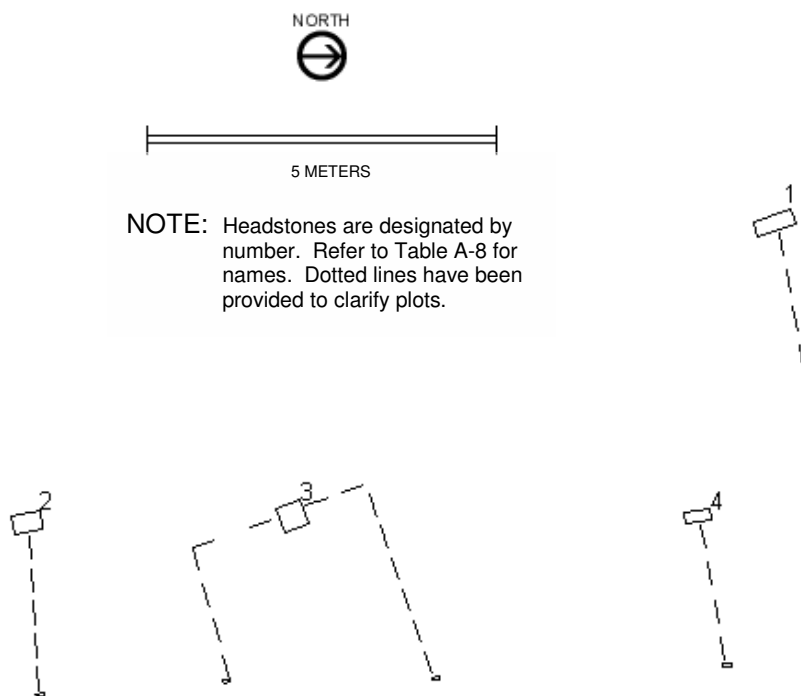


Figure A-8. Map of the Dock Caldwell Cemetery, Cataloochee

Table A-8. Individuals Buried in the Dock Caldwell Cemetery, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB		DOD	
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Caldwell	George	H.		M	70.5	1857/12/20		1928/06/25	
2	Caldwell	Herbert	E.		M	16.6	1887/04/17		1903/11/01	
3a	Caldwell	Doctor	L.		M	46.1	1855/10/12		1901/11/19	
3b	Caldwell	Sarah	E.		F	32.3	1867/03/20		1899/06/30	
4	Caldwell	George	L.		M	4.92	1888/11/25		1893/10/14	

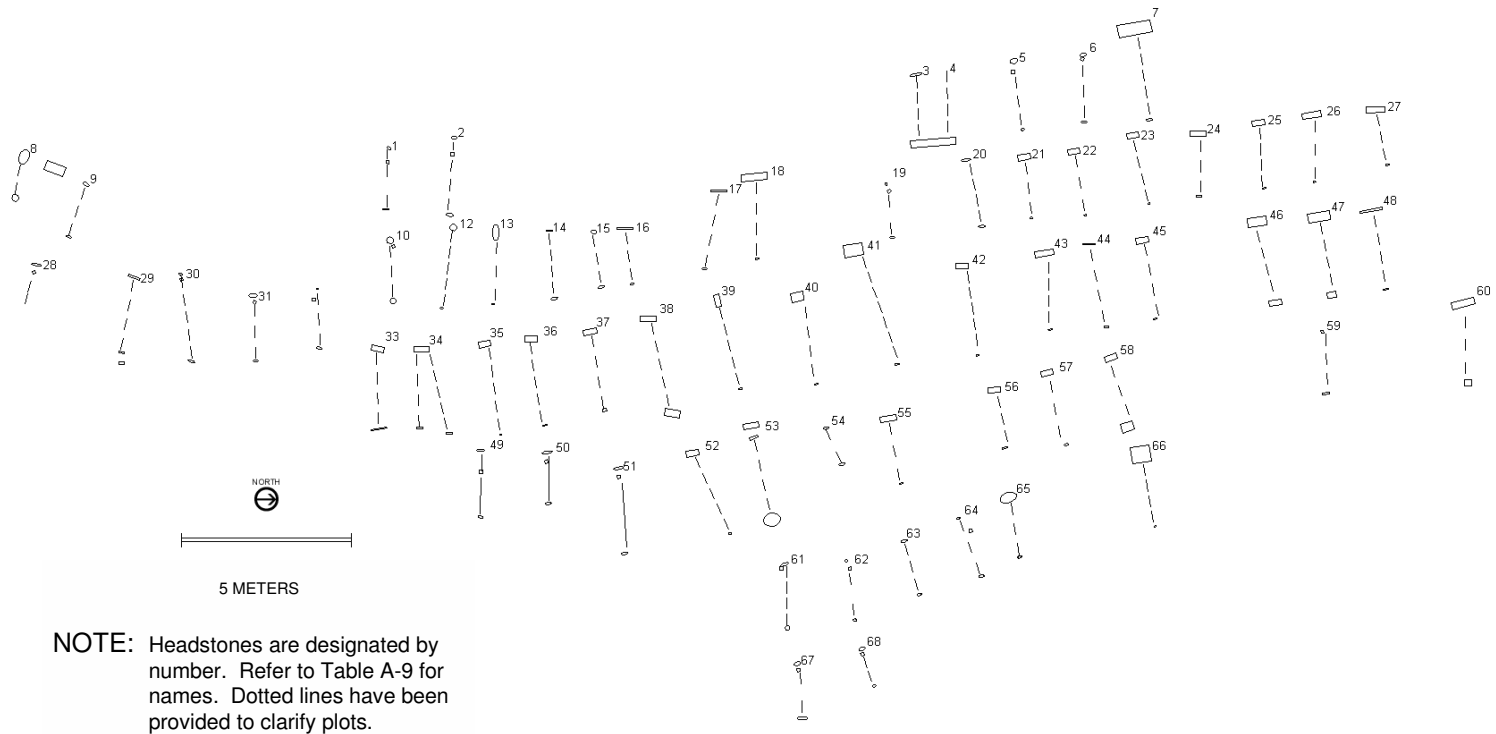


Figure A-9. Map of the Little Cataloochee Church Cemetery, Cataloochee

Table A-9. Individuals Buried in the Little Cataloochee Cemetery, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Bennett	Infant						
2	Bennett	Infant						
3	Bennett	Manson	Turner		M		1849/00/00	0000/00/00
4	Bennett	Laura	S.	Noland	F		1850/00/00	0000/00/00
5	Lockman	Homer			M			
6	Lockman	Amanda		Hall	F			
7	Hall	John	W.		M	91.8	1834/12/04	1926/10/23
8	Ewart	Mary			F			
9	Ewart	Fred	O.		M	0.08	1915/10/16	1915/12/10
10	Hall	Infant						
11	Nelson	Willie	CL		M	1	1925/00/00	1926/00/00
12	Nelson	Martha	M		F		1920/00/00	1920/00/00
13	Nelson	Annie	E		F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
14	Nelson	Hardy	E		M	3	1903/00/00	1906/00/00
15	Woody	Nan			F		0000/00/00	1931/03/15
16	Jenkins	Mary			F		0000/00/00	1928/00/00
17	Woody	J.	V.		M	82.1	1844/02/14	1926/03/26
18	Conard				F			
19	Uninscribed							
20	Burgess	Rufus	L.		M	0.75	1904/04/01	1905/01/15
21	Burgess	Reuben			M	0.67	1905/11/25	1906/07/04
22	Burgess	Owen			M	3.67	1907/09/20	1911/05/09
23	Morrow	Lennis	Mae		F		0000/00/00	1921/12/19
24	Messer	Leola			F		0000/00/00	1928/11/12
25	Palmer	Mildred			F	1.42	1928/12/13	1930/04/15
26	Palmer	Norma			F	0	1931/04/23	1931/04/23
27	Uninscribed							
28	Cole	Marshall	Allen		M	30.6	1904/07/19	1935/03/17
29	Conard	Manson			M			
30	Conard	Lloyd			M			
31	Conard	Lille			F			
32	Hannah	Melissa	C		F	64	1877/00/00	1942/00/00
33a	Hannah	John	M.		M		1895/00/00	1895/00/00
33b	Hannah	Milia	E.		F		1901/00/00	1901/00/00
34	Woody	Major	J		M	54.8	1883/12/24	1938/10/23
35	Woody	Thurman			M	18.6	1891/10/31	1910/06/03
36	Woody	Rebecca	E.		F	49.3	1859/01/09	1909/06/18
37	Woody	Jackson			M	44.4	1856/01/11	1901/07/02
38	Woody	Inas	A.			1.5	1897/03/08	1898/09/13
39	Woody	Jonathan	H.		M	82.7	1812/03/09	1894/11/30
40	Woody	Matilda			F	58.6	1837/08/12	1896/03/17
41	Woody	Stephen	J.		M	23	1882/02/26	1905/03/17
42	Cook	Harriet	E.		F	16.3	1887/06/11	1903/10/25
43	Cook	D.	J.			73.8	1834/04/21	1908/01/17

Table A-9 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Little Cataloochee Cemetery, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
44	Messer	E.	A.			74.3	1836/03/27	1910/07/30
45	Messer	Vienna	Vanalee		F	0.75	1917/11/15	1918/07/28
46	Messer	Ollie			F	15.9	1904/03/06	1920/02/28
47	Valentine	Loretta			F	23.1	1897/01/28	1920/03/09
48	Uninscribed							
49	Uninscribed							
50	Unknown				M			
51	Brown	Sichie	Jane		F	33.3	1886/09/16	1920/01/01
52	Coggins	David			M	71	1845/00/00	1916/00/00
53	Uninscribed							
54	Bennett	William	J.		M	42.1	1857/05/10	1899/06/15
55	Bennett	Carmel	L.		M	0.92	1899/01/26	1899/12/26
56	Bennett	Lawrence	A.		M	0.67	1897/05/01	1898/01/14
57	Hall	Effie	E.		F	2.75	1903/01/25	1905/10/16
58	Hall	Zona			F			
59	Gardner	Kenneth	P		M	23.6	1942/12/10	1966/07/03
60	Conard							
61	Conard							
62	Uninscribed							
63	Conard							
64	Conard	N.	Y.			30.6	1892/05/10	1922/12/03
65	Bennett	Zola				14.4	1913/04/24	1927/09/23
66	Teague	Infant						
67	Cook	Infant						

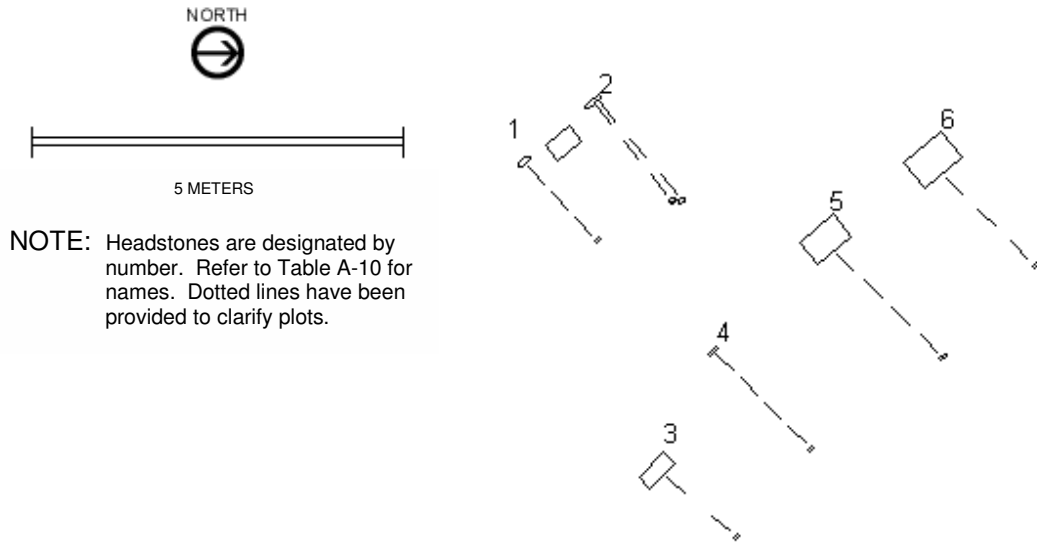


Figure A-10. Map of the Hiram Caldwell Cemetery. Catalogochee

Table A-10. Individuals Buried in the Hiram Caldwell Cemetery, Catalogochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Caldwell	Infant			M	0	1912/02/18	1912/02/18
2a	Caldwell	Infant			F	0	1913/01/15	1913/01/15
2b	Caldwell	Infant			F	0	1913/01/15	1913/01/15
3	Caldwell	Nell	N.		F	4.92	1924/02/24	1929/01/04
4	Caldwell	John	Connie		M	0.92	1895/09/11	1896/09/02
5	Caldwell	H.	J.			70.9	1851/06/03	1922/05/19
6	Caldwell	Mary	E.	Howell	F	82.4	1855/03/17	1937/08/25

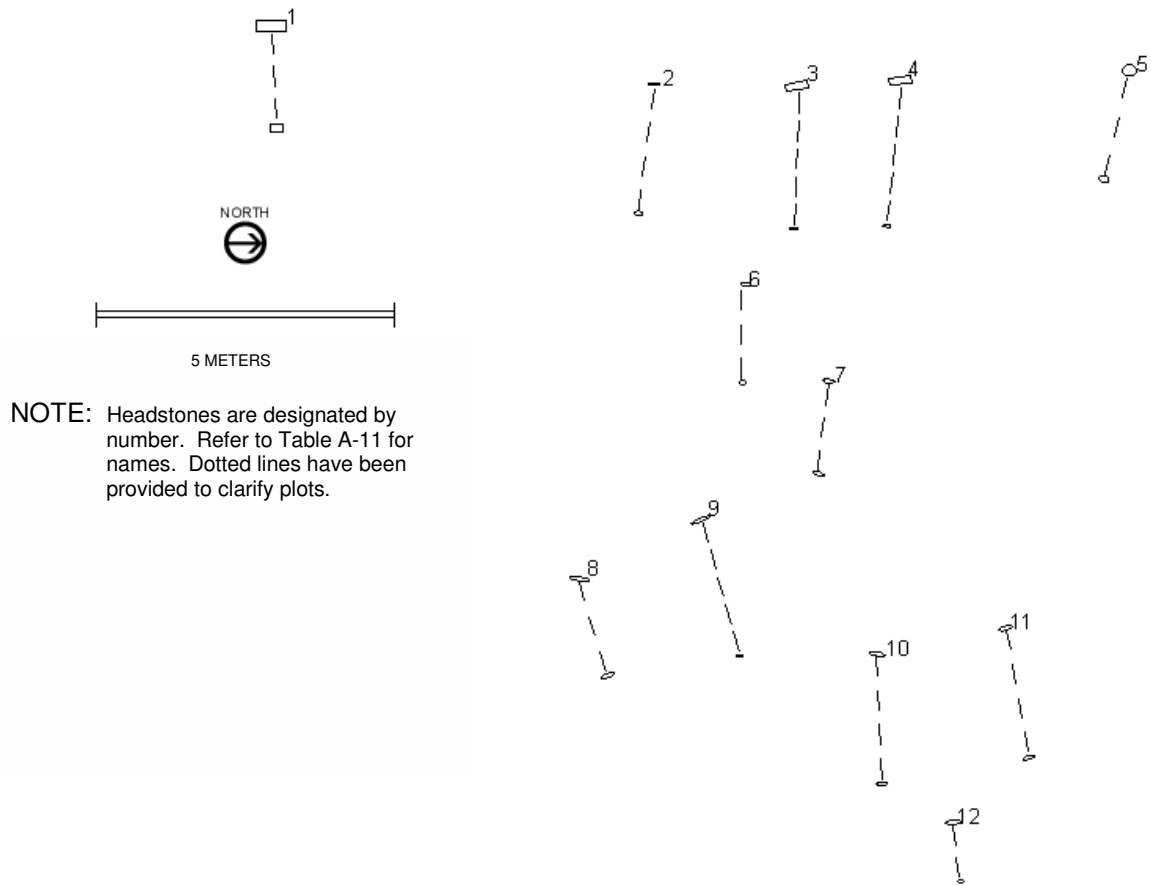


Figure A-11. Map of the Hannah Cemetery at the Hoaglan Place, Cataloochee

Table A-11. Individuals Buried in the Hannah Cemetery at the Hoaglan Place, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Hannah	Lyle			M	45	1844/00/00	1889/00/00
2	Uninscribed							
3	Hannah	Evan			M	76	1802/00/00	1878/08/20
4	Hannah	Elizabeth			F	97	1804/00/00	1901/02/15
5	Uninscribed							
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Uninscribed							
9	Uninscribed							
10	Uninscribed							
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							

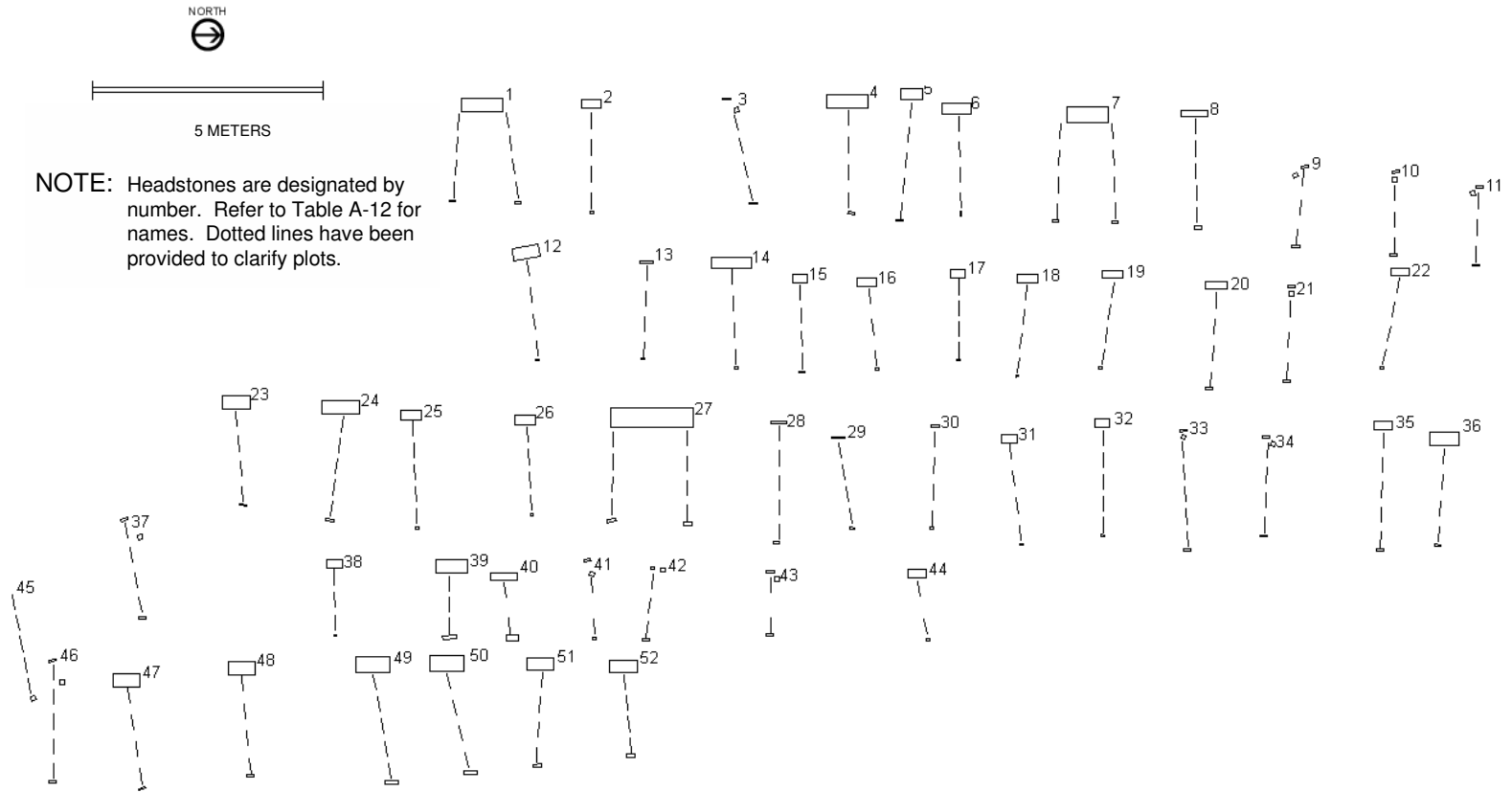


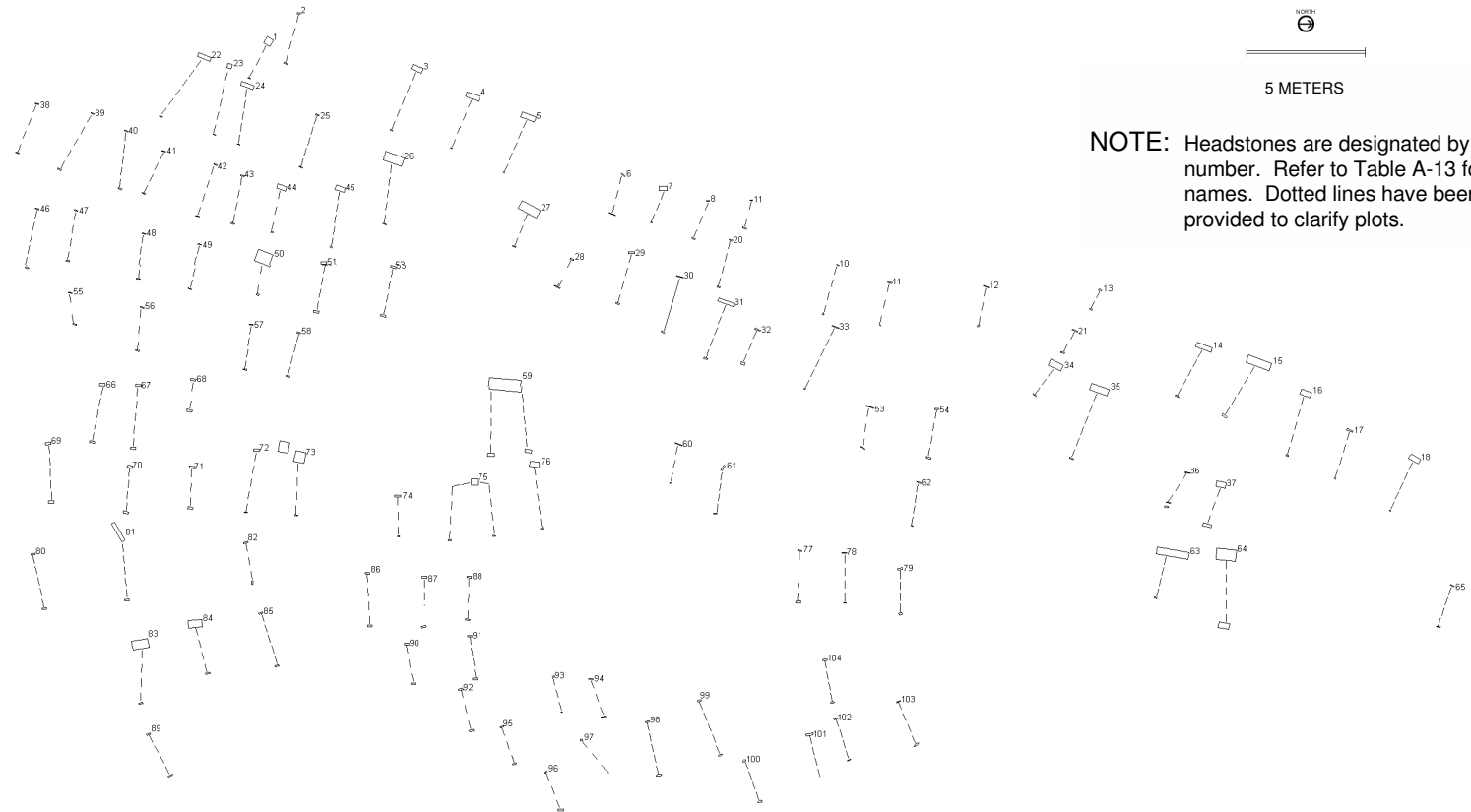
Figure A-12. Map of the Hannah Cemetery on the Long Bunk Trail, Catalogochee

Table A-12. Individuals Buried in the Hannah Cemetery on the Long Bunk Trail, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1a	Hannah	Logan			M	88.2	1839/07/04	1927/09/15
1b	Hannah	Elizabeth			F	80	1835/00/00	1915/00/00
2	Hannah	Hufford	R.		M	3.83	1923/06/09	1927/04/14
3	Dunn	Laura		Hannah	F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
4	Valentine	Mila		Woody	F	62.4	1898/09/16	1961/02/20
5	Woody	Eddie	Vincent		M	67.8	1898/12/24	1966/10/29
6	Woody				F	72.6	1864/10/25	1937/05/30
7a	Hannah	John	Jackson		M	78.3	1831/07/28	1909/10/14
7b	Hannah	Martha	Ann		F	86.4	1833/08/20	1920/01/10
8	Hannah	James	A.		M	75.2	1871/06/22	1946/08/25
9	Messer	Lloyd			M	3	1902/02/21	1905/00/00
10	Messer	Walter			M	5	1900/02/03	1905/00/00
11	Messer	Frank			M	10	1895/11/11	1905/00/00
12	Hannah	James	Blaine		M	61	1892/02/02	1953/02/18
13	Hannah	Edward	L.		F	7.08	1922/11/24	1929/12/26
14	Hannah	Charles	S.		M	39.3	1890/03/12	1929/07/18
15	Hannah	Franklin	Carl		M	8.92	1900/01/03	1908/11/09
16	Hannah	Martin	Luther		M	19.1	1883/04/09	1902/05/12
17	Hannah	Thomas	Franklin		M	0.42	1896/09/10	1897/02/07
18	Hannah	Sarah			F	37.1	1859/09/14	1896/10/30
19	Hannah	Andrew	Thomas		M	44.4	1857/07/06	1901/12/30
20	Unknown	Jackson	L.		M			
21	Jackson	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
22	Seay	Harley			M	0	1903/06/03	1903/06/03
23	Hannah, Sr.	John	T.		M	48.2	1921/03/13	1969/05/06
24	Hoyle	William	Monroe		M	59.3	1875/04/03	1939/08/29
25	Hannah	Nick	W.		M	47.3	1889/12/04	1937/03/10
26	Hannah	William	Cleveland		M	45.5	1885/01/07	1930/06/16
27a	Hannah	Mack	W.		M	83	1859/00/00	1942/00/00
27b	Hannah	Fannie	I.		F	77	1867/00/00	1944/00/00
28	Hoyle	Rebecca			F	77.1	1842/03/15	1919/04/18
29	Hannah	George	H.		M	30.4	1887/06/14	1917/11/22
30	Hannah	Mattie	E.		F	3.67	1882/12/21	1886/08/07
31	Hannah	Lucy	Ellen		F	0.42	1879/11/02	1880/04/23
32	Hannah	John	A.		M	0.08	1878/09/02	1878/10/22
33	Conard	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
34	Conard	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
35	Denton	John	A.		M	73.3	1822/08/09	1896/05/23
36	Jenkins	Fannie		Hannah	F	79.6	1881/04/15	1961/01/03
37	Uninscribed							
38	Hannah	Martha	Elizabeth		F	0.92	1905/08/24	1906/07/03
39	Smith	E.	M.			0.02	1927/09/14	1927/09/21
40	Johnson	W.	F.					
41	Uninscribed							
42	Manor	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
43	Uninscribed							

Table A-12 (*continued*). Individuals Buried in the Hannah Cemetery on the Long Bunk Trail,
Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
44	Woody	Floria	Bell		F	0.83	1888/10/15	1889/08/15
45	Smith	William	Cordell		M	64.4	1910/10/10	1975/03/17
46	Smith	Unknown			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
47	Smith	Orvil	V. J.		M	42.3	1918/06/25	1960/09/03
48	Smith	John	V.		M	76.9	1881/05/25	1958/06/04
49	Smith	L.	E.			20.9	1912/02/03	1932/12/26
50	Smith	J.	O.			47.7	1881/09/29	1929/06/02
51	Caldwell	Jane	S.		F	83.1	1850/04/16	1933/05/18
52	Caldwell	Zora	M.		F	19	1914/08/27	1933/09/03



NOTE: Headstones are designated by number. Refer to Table A-13 for names. Dotted lines have been provided to clarify plots.

Figure A-13. Map of the Palmer Chapel Cemetery, Cataloochee

Table A-13. Individuals Buried in the Palmer Chapel Cemetery, Catalogochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Messer	Linton			M	0.75	1886/10/00	1887/07/00
2	Messer	Elizabeth			F	62.3	1825/05/10	1887/08/03
3	Caldwell	Rudolph			M	21.3	1884/09/08	1905/12/25
4	Caldwell	Susan		Woody	F	80.8	1848/03/28	1929/01/06
5	Caldwell	William	Harrison		M	85.4	1844/02/09	1929/07/20
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Uninscribed							
9	Uninscribed							
10	Uninscribed							
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							
13	Uninscribed							
14	Palmer	George	N.		M	80.9	1858/01/24	1939/01/16
15	Palmer	Alice		Caldwell	F	74.3	1873/05/27	1947/09/28
16	Caldwell	Eva		Palmer	F	17.9	1891/05/08	1909/02/22
17	Palmer	Alvin	H.		M	1.75	1911/09/22	1913/06/16
18	Palmer	Andy	G.		M	24.8	1906/02/01	1930/12/30
20	Uninscribed							
21	Uninscribed							
22	Messer	Elijah	M.		M	91.6	1844/11/14	1936/06/04
23	Messer	Chanie	E.		F	7.58	1873/03/12	1880/10/26
24	Messer	Christine	M.		F	35.6	1847/06/18	1883/02/15
25	Uninscribed							
26	Sutton	Mitchel	William		M	53.3	1869/08/31	1922/11/24
27	Sutton	William	B.		M	27.7	1900/07/16	1928/03/21
28	Uninscribed							
29	Uninscribed							
30	Uninscribed							
31	Caldwell	Riley	Bailey		M	31.3	1938/09/20	1969/12/12
32	Uninscribed							
33	Uninscribed							
34	Caldwell	Bessie	E.		F	0.17	1919/03/18	1919/05/20
35	Caldwell	James	Roscoe		M	43.4	1882/02/11	1925/07/26
36	Uninscribed							
37	Sutton	Lloyd			M	2.92	1921/09/15	1924/08/07
38	Uninscribed							
39	Uninscribed							
40	Uninscribed							
41	Uninscribed							
42	Uninscribed							
43	Uninscribed							
44	Caldwell	Essis			F	9.92	1894/04/10	1904/03/26

Table A-13 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Palmer Chapel Cemetery, Catalogochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
45	Caldwell	Charlie			M	12.9	1891/03/15	1904/03/11
46	Uninscribed							
47	Uninscribed							
48	Uninscribed							
49	Uninscribed							
50	Caldwell	Mollie	C.		F	0.75	1877/10/02	1878/07/02
51	Uninscribed							
52	Uninscribed							
53	Uninscribed							
54	Uninscribed							
55	Uninscribed							
56	Uninscribed							
57	Uninscribed							
58	Uninscribed							
59a	Caldwell	Andrew	C.		M	70.8	1845/05/09	1916/02/02
59b	Caldwell	Charlotte	O.		F	84.6	1850/10/15	1935/05/20
60	Uninscribed							
61	Unknown							
62	Uninscribed							
63	Palmer	Pauline			F	3.08	1903/11/10	1906/12/03
64	Palmer	William	A.		M	70.1	1856/09/11	1927/10/31
65	Uninscribed							
66	Uninscribed							
67	Uninscribed							
68	Uninscribed							
69	Uninscribed							
70	Uninscribed							
71	Uninscribed							
72	Colwell	Levi	B.		M	49.1	1815/10/14	1864/11/04
73	Colwell	Mary	A.		F	73.8	1817/05/27	1891/02/18
74	Calwell	James	W.		M	3.5	1877/03/13	1880/09/10
75a	Owen	Julia	A.		F	57.8	1828/12/28	1886/09/11
75b	Owen	O.	F.		M	72.7	1826/04/09	1899/13/26
76	Caldwell	Gudger			M			
77	Uninscribed							
78	Uninscribed							
79	Uninscribed							
80	Uninscribed							
81a	Bennett	Allie		Mease	F	80	1811/00/00	1891/00/00
81b	Bennett	Young			M	82	1812/00/00	1894/00/00
81c	Bennett	Creighton			M			
82	Uninscribed							

Table A-13 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Palmer Chapel Cemetery, Catalogochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
83	Lockman	Warren	J.		M	79	1840/00/00	1919/00/00
84	Williams	Sara	Eliza		F	60	1840/00/00	1900/00/00
85	Uninscribed							
86	Uninscribed							
87	Uninscribed							
88	Uninscribed							
89	Uninscribed							
90	Uninscribed							
91	Uninscribed							
92	Uninscribed							
93	Uninscribed							
94	Uninscribed							
95	Uninscribed							
96	Uninscribed							
97	Uninscribed							
98	Uninscribed							
99	Uninscribed							
100	Uninscribed							
101	Grooms	Dillard			M			
102	Uninscribed							
103	Uninscribed							
104	Unknown							

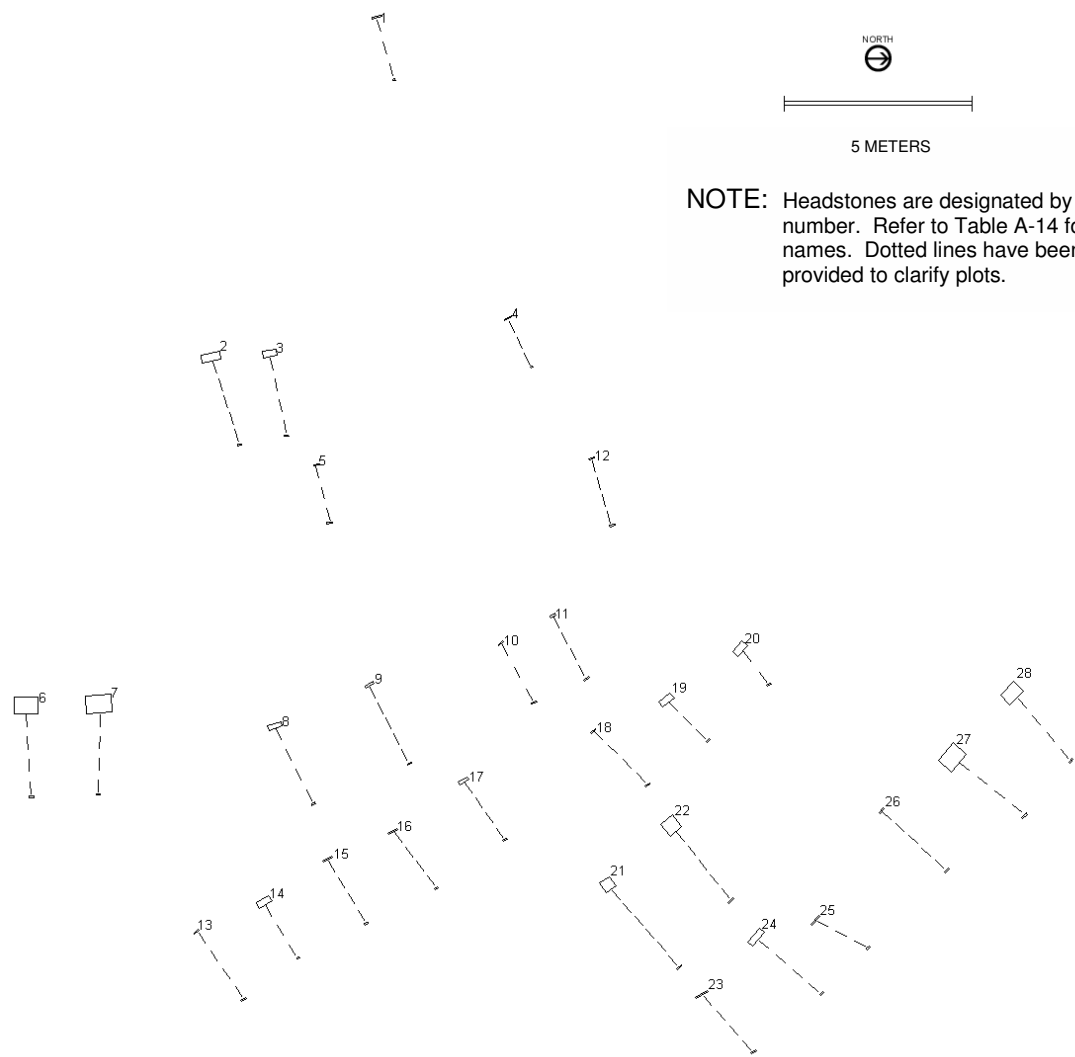
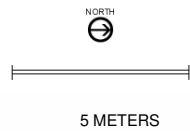


Figure A-14. Map of the Palmer Family Cemetery, Cataloochee

Table A-14. Individuals Buried in the Palmer Family Cemetery, Cataloochee

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Palmer	Vola	May		F	0.18	1919/05/07	1919/07/11
2	Palmer	Sarah	P.		F	20.3	1868/04/01	1888/07/19
3	Palmer	Laurence	G.		M	2.83	1905/12/05	1908/10/15
4	Palmer	Myrtle	Josie		F	2.33	1896/08/12	1899/01/06
5	Uninscribed							
6	Woody	Mary		Palmer	F	50.5	1862/03/23	1912/09/17
7	Woody	Charles	A.		M	18.8	1893/08/23	1912/05/14
8	Palmer	George			M	65	1794/01/15	1859/01/15
9	Palmer	Polly	A.		F	75.8	1801/01/24	1876/10/10
10	Uninscribed							
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							
13	Uninscribed							
14	Hannah	Mandy	M		F	0.5	1863/04/09	1863/10/03
15	Vess	Ruth	E		F	35.6	1824/03/09	1859/10/29
16	Palmer	Julia	C.		F	49.4	1826/06/06	1875/12/18
17	Palmer	Jesse			M	1.75	1873/08/14	1875/05/18
18	Uninscribed							
19	Jarrett	Mamie	Jane		F	2.5	1891/01/06	1893/07/01
20	Jarrett	Ina	Pauline		F	5.42	1888/02/02	1893/07/12
21	Palmer	George	Lafayette		M	73.7	1836/07/17	1910/04/28
22	Palmer	Nancy	Jane		F	77.2	1841/09/09	1918/11/22
23	Palmer	Jessie	R.		M	62.3	1833/06/28	1895/09/08
24	Palmer	Mary	A.		F	79.9	1834/10/07	1914/09/11
25	Palmer	Elizabeth			F	24.8	1871/09/20	1896/07/15
26	Uninscribed							
27	Palmer	Jesse	Frank		M	61.3	1864/12/20	1926/04/21
28	Palmer	Roosevelt			M	25.5	1903/12/01	1929/06/15



NOTE: Headstones are designated by number. Refer to Table A-15 for names. Dotted lines have been provided to clarify plots.

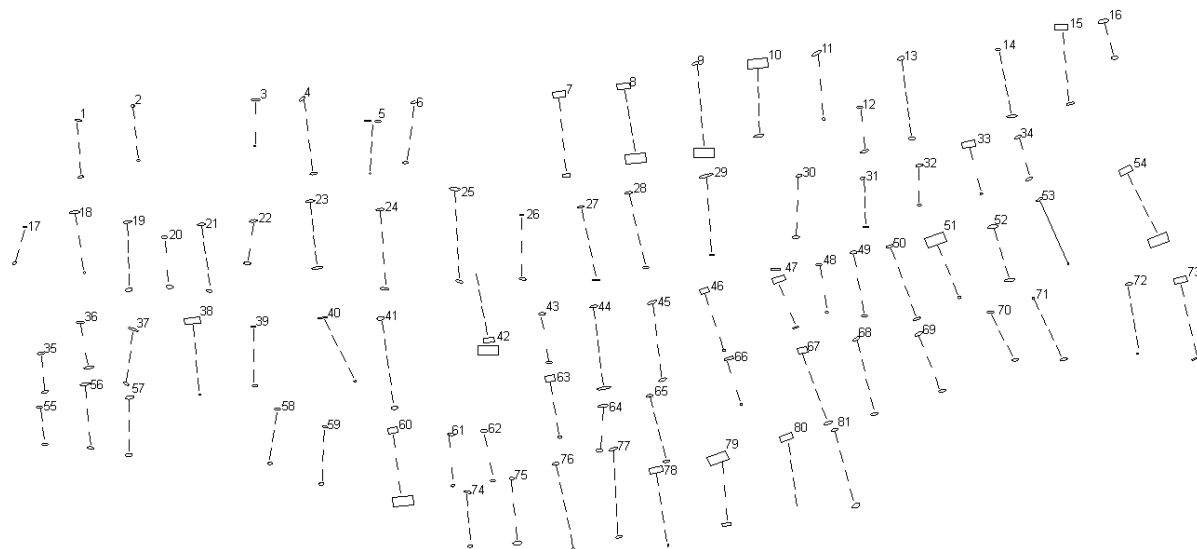


Figure A-15. Map of the Bone Valley Cemetery, Hazel Creek

Table A-15. Individuals Buried in the Bone Valley Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Uninscribed							
2	Uninscribed							
3	Uninscribed							
4	Uninscribed							
5	Uninscribed							
6	Uninscribed							
7	Laney	Nancy	J.		F	81	1857/00/00	1938/00/00
8	Laney	Peter	G.		M	75.3	1840/01/06	1915/04/25
9	Laney	Marcus	M.		M	76	1842/00/00	1918/00/00
10	Newman	John	T.		M	36	1826/00/00	1862/00/00
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							
13	Uninscribed							
14	Uninscribed							
15	Bowers	Tilda			F	27.9	1895/03/14	1923/02/28
16	Uninscribed							
17	Uninscribed							
18	Uninscribed							
19	Uninscribed							
20	Uninscribed							
21	Uninscribed							
22	Uninscribed							
23	Uninscribed							
24	Uninscribed							
25	Uninscribed							
26	Uninscribed							
27	Uninscribed							
28	Uninscribed							
29	Uninscribed							
30	Uninscribed							
31	Uninscribed							
32	Uninscribed							
33	Wright	Frances			F	23.1	1900/01/27	1923/02/17
34	Uninscribed							
35	Uninscribed							
36	Uninscribed							
37	Uninscribed							
38	Laney	Grace	Marr		F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
39	Uninscribed							
40	Unknown							
41	Uninscribed							
42	Hall	Jacob	Fonslow		M	60.2	1838/10/02	1898/12/25
43	Uninscribed							

Table A-15 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Bone Valley Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
44	Uninscribed							
45	Uninscribed							
46	Unknown							
47a	Brooks	Infant				0.42	1891/02/02	1891/07/00
47b	Brooks	Infant				0.42	1891/02/02	1891/07/00
48	Uninscribed							
49	Uninscribed							
50	Uninscribed							
51	Wilson	John				52	1843/00/00	1895/00/00
52	Uninscribed							
53	Uninscribed							
54	Tipton	Frank	M.			26.8	1898/01/09	1924/10/15
55	Uninscribed							
56	Uninscribed							
57	Uninscribed							
58	Uninscribed							
59	Uninscribed							
60	Cook	Marion	D.		M	41	1844/00/00	1885/00/00
61	Uninscribed							
62	Uninscribed							
63	Unknown	Roy	Lee		M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
64	Uninscribed							
65	Uninscribed							
66	Unknown							
67	Unknown							
68	Brooks	Greenberry			M			
69	Uninscribed							
70a	Walker	W.	R.		M	5.17	1931/04/06	1936/06/14
70b	Walker	F.	O.		M	0.92	1918/10/02	1919/09/02
71	Uninscribed							
72	Uninscribed							
73	Curtis	Dollie		Laney	F	24.3	1902/10/24	1927/02/05
74	W.	Fred			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
75	Uninscribed							
76	Uninscribed							
77	Uninscribed							
78	Hall	Jesse			M	71.8	1870/11/07	1942/08/23
79	Burlingame	Orson	Paul		M	89.5	1852/09/21	1942/03/30
80	Brooks	Matilda			F	73	1853/00/00	1926/00/00
81	Uninscribed							

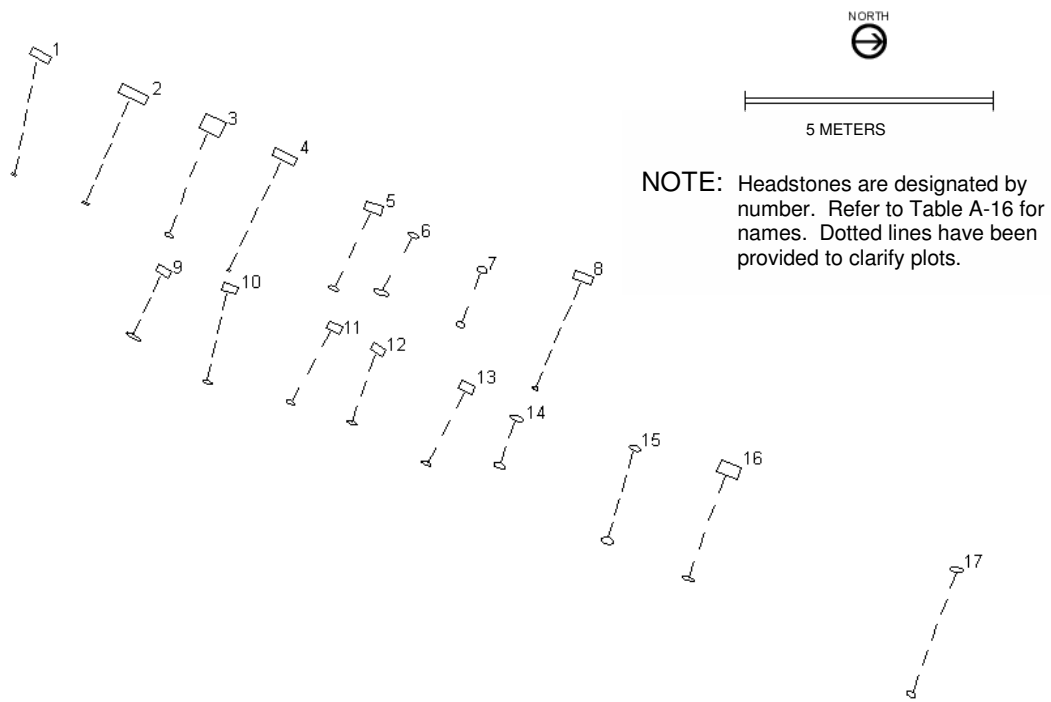


Figure A-16. Map of the Bradshaw Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

Table A-16. Individuals Buried in the Bradshaw Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Bradshaw	Maybell			F	37.8	1888/05/05	1926/02/11
2	Bradshaw	Sarah			F	75.3	1848/10/10	1924/02/10
3	Bradshaw	Josiah	R.	(Sr?)	M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
4	Bradshaw	John	E.		M	36.9	1878/02/11	1915/01/31
5	Gunter	Zeb			M	8.83	1895/09/00	1904/07/10
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Gunter	Talitha	M.		F	79.8	1852/09/30	1932/07/00
9	Bradshaw	Joseph	A.		M	0.25	1900/01/28	1900/03/15
10	Bradshaw	Mary	A.		F	0.08	1899/03/13	1899/03/16
11	Cogdill	Nellie			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
12	Cogdill	James			M		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
13	Unknown							
14	Uninscribed							
15	Uninscribed							
16	Bradshaw	George	C.		M	5.75	1895/11/10	1901/08/16
17	Uninscribed							

NORTH



5 METERS

NOTE: Headstones are designated by number. Refer to Table A-17 for names. Dotted lines have been provided to clarify plots.

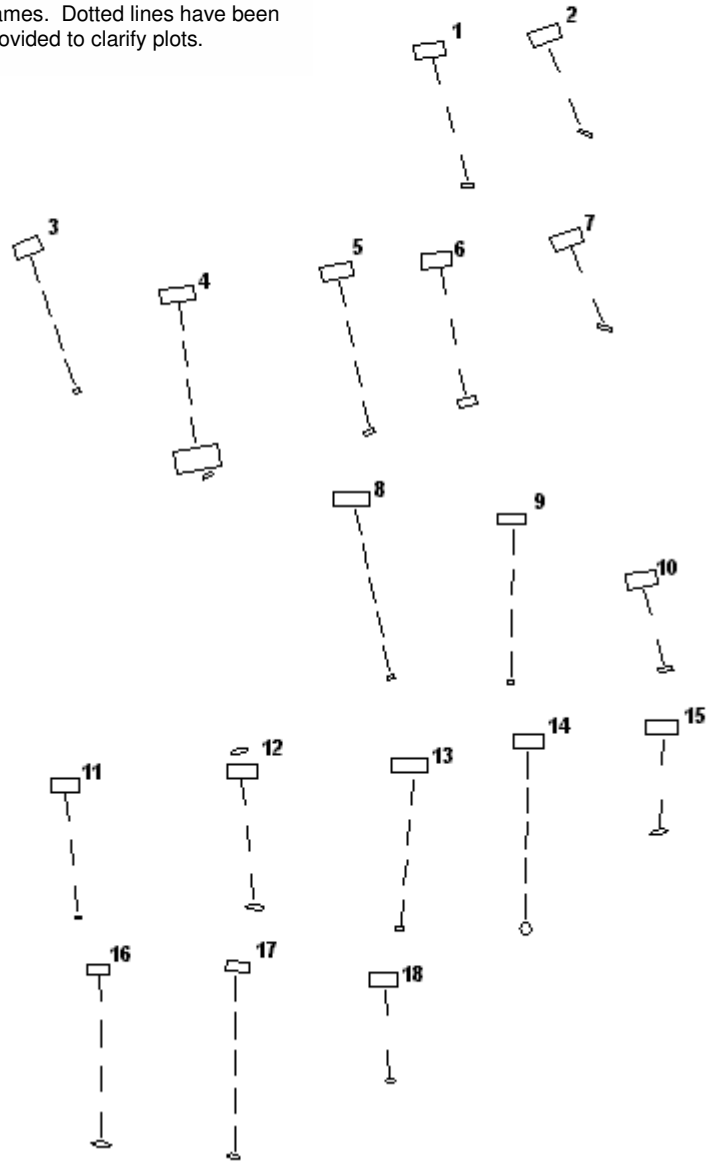


Figure A-17. Map of the Hall Family Cemetery, Hazel Creek

Table A-17. Individuals Buried in the Hall Family Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Akers				F	35	1883/00/00	1918/11/03
2	Akers	Marble	Irene		F	0	1918/02/13	1918/02/13
3	Hall	Ruby			F	4.92	1920/04/16	1925/03/29
4	Hall	William	H.		M	25.1	1896/01/22	1921/02/13
5	Hall	F.	Peyton		M	30.8	1872/06/29	1903/04/05
6	Hall	Narcissus	S.			69.4	1815/02/21	1884/07/18
7	Hall	Elizabeth	Narcissus		F	1.25	1882/04/19	1884/07/18
8	Hall	Craten			M	54.2	1849/10/28	1903/12/11
9	Hall	Root			M	3.33	1904/10/07	1908/02/28
10	Queen							
11	Williams	Vern			M	0.17	1922/06/16	1922/08/09
12	Hall	Julie	S.		F	21	1893/00/00	1914/00/00
13	Stewart	Elizabeth			F	73.7	1838/11/08	1912/07/30
14	Wike	William			M	19	1901/00/00	1920/00/00
15	Queen							
16	Davis	Arthur			M	31	1889/00/00	1920/00/00
17	Davis	Minnie			F	28	1890/00/00	1918/00/00
18	Hall	Lillian	Elizabeth		F	0	1916/00/00	1916/00/00

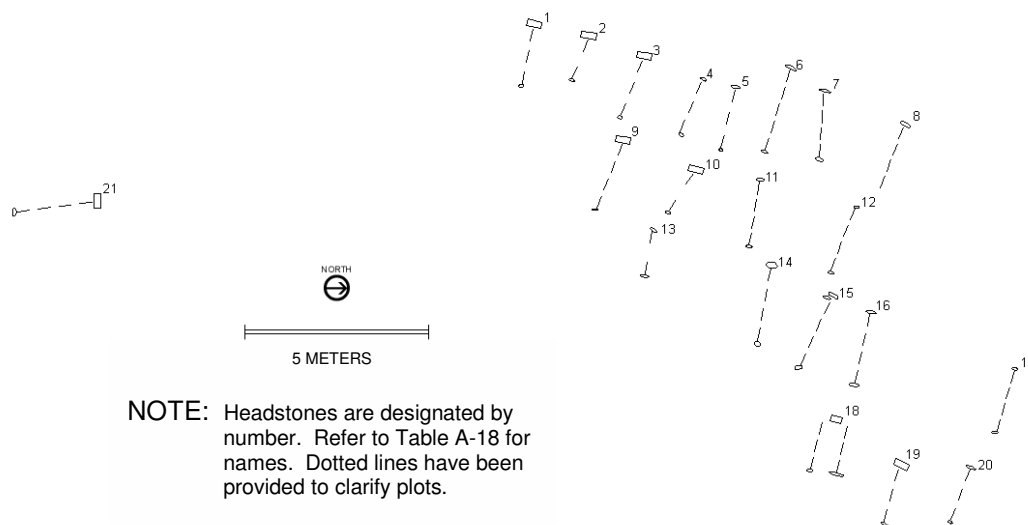


Figure A-18. Map of the Higdon Family Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

Table A-18. Individuals Buried in the Higdon Family Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
1	Wike	Dallas	Spake			64	1864/08/24	1928/00/00
2	Cable	James	Franklin		M	0	1941/05/11	1941/05/11
3	Laney	Ethel			F	5	1915/07/08	1920/00/00
4	Uninscribed							
5	Uninscribed							
6	Uninscribed							
7	Uninscribed							
8	Uninscribed							
9	Laney	Carrie		Wyke	F	32	1896/00/00	1928/08/17
10	Laney	Myrtle	Gladis		F	0.08	1928/05/06	1928/05/16
11	Uninscribed							
12	Uninscribed							
13	Uninscribed							
14	Uninscribed							
15	Unknown	J.	T.		M			
16	Uninscribed							
17	Uninscribed							
18a	Stewart	Infant						
18b	Stewart	Infant						
19	Hutchin	Robert			M	37	1890/01/22	1927/08/10
20	Uninscribed							
21	Unknown	"Black Man"						

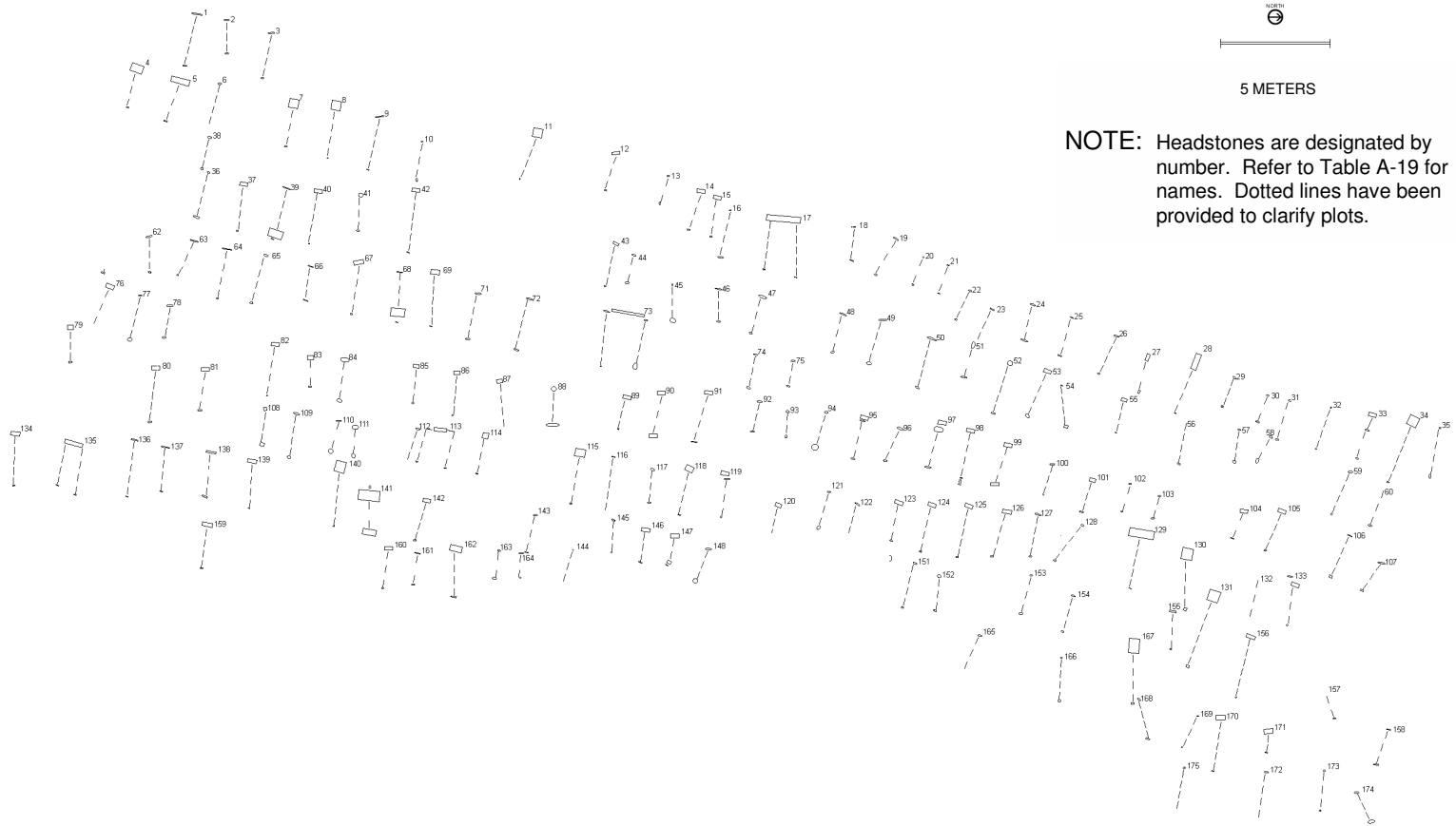


Figure A19. Map of the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek

Table A19. Individuals Buried in the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
1	Russell	James	E.		M	24.8	1912/08/20	1937/06/05
2	Uninscribed							
3	Laney	Edd			M	56.8	1873/05/15	1930/01/23
4	Hall	Violet			F	20.9	1923/03/10	1944/02/13
5	Moore	William	A.		M	32.8	1909/08/30	1942/05/12
6	Uninscribed							
7	Welch	Charley			M	19.5	1895/02/27	1914/08/05
8	Welch	Granville			M	12.3	1904/08/10	1916/11/15
9	Welch	Katie	C.		F	22.6	1900/04/15	1922/11/29
10	Uninscribed							
11	Welch	Maggie			F	43.3	1881/12/14	1925/03/25
12	Nelms	Genevieve			F	1.83	1925/05/26	1927/03/00
13	Guthbertson	John	D.		M	0.42	1921/04/23	1921/09/22
14	Forrester	Peal	Ann		F	0.75	1919/06/26	1920/03/31
15	Forrester	Lester			M	0.08	1925/04/22	1925/05/20
16	Uninscribed							
17a	Hicks	Alice	J.		F	25	1886/03/22	1911/03/22
17b	Hicks	Samuel	S.		M	55.4	1856/01/27	1911/06/22
18	Uninscribed							
19	Uninscribed							
20	Uninscribed							
21	Hughes	Idora			F		0000/00/00	1921/10/17
22	Uninscribed							
23	Birchfield	E.			F		0000/00/00	0000/09/13
24	Uninscribed							
25	Uninscribed							
26	Uninscribed							
27	Burchfield	Jessie			M	32.5	1882/02/22	1914/08/21
28	Birchfield	Cyntha	E.		F	72.3	1844/12/17	1917/03/13
29	Uninscribed							
30	Uninscribed							
31	Uninscribed							
32	Uninscribed							
33	Birchfield	Virgie			M	4.42	1924/01/19	1928/07/03
34	McMahan	Nancy			F	69.5	1866/12/12	1936/06/13
35	Uninscribed							
36	Uninscribed							
37	Welch	Joseph	W.		M	15.8	1892/12/04	1908/10/20
38	Uninscribed							
39	Welch	Joseph			M	77	1834/02/09	1911/02/17
40	Welch	Nancy			F	96.6	1839/09/25	1936/04/19

Table A19 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
41	Uninscribed							
42	Farley	John	S.		M	57.7	1875/09/30	1933/05/04
43	Gilland	Mary	K.		F	0	1920/09/04	1920/09/05
44	Uninscribed							
45	Uninscribed							
46	Uninscribed							
47	Uninscribed							
48	Welch	J.	O.			0.08	1892/03/16	1892/04/30
49	Welch	J.	H.					
50	Welch	I.	A.			14	1884/09/14	1898/09/12
51	Uninscribed							
52	Welch	L.	E.			36.8	1862/01/21	1898/10/01
53	Welch					0	1900/10/00	1900/10/00
54	Uninscribed							
55	LeQuire	Edith				0.08	1920/01/04	1920/01/20
56	Uninscribed							
57	Uninscribed							
58	Uninscribed							
59	Uninscribed							
60	Uninscribed							
61	Uninscribed							
62	Uninscribed							
63	Welch	Ardella			F	10.5	1897/11/27	1908/05/19
64	Welch	Benjamin			M	28.8	1873/05/13	1902/02/04
65	Uninscribed							
66	Uninscribed							
67	Welch	F.	D.			64.2	1866/04/28	1930/06/24
68	Welch	Joseph	W.		M	83	1833/06/17	1916/06/05
69	Welch	Catherine			F	92.1	1837/02/04	1929/03/13
70	Uninscribed							
71	Uninscribed							
72	Uninscribed							
73a	Proctor	Moses			M	70	1794/00/00	1864/00/00
73b	Proctor	Patience		Rustin	F	69	1801/00/00	1870/00/00
74	Uninscribed							
75	Uninscribed							
76	Rogers	Bettie	Jean		F	0.25	1936/04/26	1936/07/19
77	Uninscribed							
78	Uninscribed							
79	Watkins	Bert			M		0000/00/00	1940/00/00
80	Welch	Elvira			F	50.5	1888/04/01	1938/10/01

Table A19 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
81	Welch	George	W.		M	74.6	1861/04/11	1935/11/01
82	Lynn	S.	B.		M	27.6	1892/04/15	1919/11/05
83	Lynn	Beryl				0	1919/06/09	1919/06/09
84	Uninscribed							
85	Bradshaw	Carrie	M.		F	0.75	1907/11/16	1908/08/28
86	Bradshaw	M.	A.		F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
87	Bradshaw	Sylvester			M	0.92	1905/11/04	1906/10/02
88	Uninscribed							
89	Lynn	Nora			F	1.33	1903/03/17	1911/07/11
90	Cook	Allen	Thomas		M	2	1903/00/00	1905/00/00
91	Farley	Frankie	Jane		F	67.9	1843/08/19	1911/07/05
92	Uninscribed							
93	Uninscribed							
94	Uninscribed							
95	Bishop	Della			F	47.5	1874/05/10	1921/11/06
96	Uninscribed							
97	Cook	Etta			F	4.17	1904/06/08	1908/08/18
98	Benson	H.		Rev.	M	76.1	1831/05/04	1907/06/18
99	Cook	Margaret			F	82.8	1834/08/12	1917/06/14
100	Uninscribed							
101	Brooks	Theodore			M	2.67	1905/12/03	1908/08/08
102	Uninscribed							
103	Uninscribed							
104	Payne	Mary	S.		F	38.8	1884/03/17	1923/01/18
105	Payne	Vate	E.		M	39.3	1882/09/26	1921/12/17
106	Rich	R.	C.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
107	Johnson	Goleman			M	0	1929/09/16	1929/09/16
108	Uninscribed							
109	Uninscribed							
110	Uninscribed							
111	Uninscribed							
112	Uninscribed							
113a	Walker	Oklee			M	0.08	1924/07/08	1924/08/06
113b	Walker	Mare			F	0.08	1924/07/08	1924/07/30
114	Walker	Luther			M	5.08	1917/09/01	1922/10/09
115	Proctor	Ania			F	30	1895/04/11	1925/04/09
116	Uninscribed							
117	Uninscribed							
118	Davis	George			M	24.4	1900/02/08	1924/07/31
119	McClure	Estes			F	21	1911/00/00	1932/00/00
120	Moore	Hilman			M	16	1925/00/00	1941/00/00
121	Uninscribed							
122	Uninscribed							
123	Cook	Sally			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00

Table A19 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB	DOD
							(Yr/M/Day)	(Yr/M/Day)
124	Cook	Bob			M	69	1858/00/00	1927/00/00
125	Cable	Mary	Lee		F	0	1920/08/26	1920/08/27
126	Cable	Henry			M	40.9	1880/11/28	1921/10/26
127	Uninscribed							
128	Uninscribed							
129	Jenkins	W.	T.			39.8	1875/05/26	1915/02/18
130	Hughes	John			M	50	0000/00/00	0000/00/00
131	Hughes	Wesley			M	21.8	1908/09/03	1930/07/12
132	Uninscribed							
133a	Abbott	Rhoda			F		0000/00/00	0000/00/00
133b	Abbott	Infant					0000/00/00	0000/00/00
134	Hayes	D.	L.		F	77.6	1846/03/05	1923/10/14
135a	Jones	N.	E.		F	90.9	1848/03/16	1939/02/10
135b	Hayes	Tinie		Jones	F	72.3	1867/04/01	1939/07/15
136	Gourley	George	W.		M	37.3	1900/07/04	1937/10/09
137	Gourley	Clyde			M	24.3	1908/06/11	1932/10/17
138	Gourley	Rossie			F	15.3	1910/07/07	1925/10/12
139	Gourley	Dave			F	57.8	1872/03/19	1930/01/21
140	Gourley	Rosa	R.		F	42.8	1905/08/26	1948/05/21
141	Danielson	Helena			F	7.42	1920/10/16	1928/03/13
142	Myers	Mag			F	22.6	1904/09/15	1927/04/05
143	Uninscribed							
144	Uninscribed							
145	Uninscribed							
146	Hall	Liddie	Louise		F	0	1931/00/00	1931/00/00
147	Hall	Ruby	Zora		F	0	1932/00/00	1932/00/00
148	Uninscribed							
149	Uninscribed							
150	Uninscribed							
151	Uninscribed							
152	Uninscribed							
153	Uninscribed							
154	Uninscribed							
155	Cunningham	Evan			M	0.17	1915/01/04	1915/03/21
156	Woodward	Mettie		Martin	F	50	1880/08/03	1930/08/24
157	Uninscribed							
158	Uninscribed							
159	Higdon	Dixie		Dean	F	35.2	1888/10/08	1929/12/06
160	Hall	Evelyn			F	4.83	1929/07/18	1934/05/02
161	W.	J.	R.				0000/00/00	0000/00/00
162	Myers	Harley			M	31.8	1906/12/25	1938/10/01
163	Uninscribed							
164	Uninscribed							
165	Uninscribed							
166	Uninscribed							
167	Woodard	W.	M.		M	56.6	1880/03/07	1936/10/07

Table A19 (continued). Individuals Buried in the Proctor Cemetery, Hazel Creek.

ID Code	Last	First	Middle	Maiden or Additional	Sex	Age	DOB (Yr/M/Day)	DOD (Yr/M/Day)
168	Uninscribed							
169	Uninscribed							
170	Oliver	Catherine			F	69.2	1850/03/18	1919/05/06
171	Ensley	Infant			F		0000/00/00	1922/08/11
172	Uninscribed							
173	Uninscribed							
174	Uninscribed							
175	Uninscribed							

Vita

Jacqueline Lott received her Bachelor of Arts degree, *Magna Cum Laude*, from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 1995 with a major in anthropology and minors in French and biology. She received her Master of Arts degree in Anthropology from the University of Tennessee at Knoxville in 2000. Lott currently resides in the small coastal Tlingit village of Yakutat on Alaska's southeast coast, and works as an archaeologist for Wrangell-St. Elias National Park and Preserve.