

RICH MAN, POOR MEN: OBSERVATIONS
ON THREE ANTEBELLUM BURIALS
FROM THE GEORGIA COAST

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CLARK SPENCER LARSEN

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ABSTRACT

Crews from the American Museum of Natural History excavated three historic period graves as part of a long-term project studying coastal Georgia prehistory. Two individuals were found, quite by accident, during the excavation of a 3000-year-old aboriginal burial mound on St. Catherines Island, Liberty County, Georgia. These individuals, apparently slaves, lived at a nearby settlement and died shortly before 1800. A third

skeleton was exhumed prior to the restoration of a historic grave on Colonel's Island, Georgia. This individual, the 18-year-old son of a wealthy plantation owner, died in December 1859. The skeletal morphology and burial practices are analyzed and compared, with particular emphasis on status differences evident between slaves and their masters during the antebellum period in coastal Georgia.

INTRODUCTION

All societies must cope with the recurring problem of how to dispose of their dead, and these decisions are concretely reflected in the archaeological record. Over the past century, literally scores of volumes have been written to describe the diverse prehistoric burial practices found throughout the world. Mortuary customs are studied in great detail by modern archaeologists who attempt to answer a wide variety of research objectives (see Brown, 1971): morphological characteristics are clues to prehistoric population movements; skeletal remains preserve evidence of prehistoric diseases and their treatments; the human bones can be dated and used to construct prehistoric chronologies; grave goods reflect the social position of the deceased within his own society; cemetery populations reflect, to some degree, the population dynamics of that society.

Despite this concern with prehistoric mortuary practices, archaeologists have paid little systematic attention to burial practices among historic populations. Some notoriety is given to exhumations of the famous personages unearthed from time to time, primarily out of historic curiosity. Some well-known examples are Christopher Columbus (Dozier, 1974); Abraham Lincoln (Kunhardt, 1963); James Smithson, founder of the Smithsonian Institution (Grosvenor, 1975); and Button Gwinnett, a signer of the Declaration of Independence (Williams, 1966). One of the authors (South) is currently involved in the discovery and excavation of the remains of

General William Moultrie, revolutionary war hero of the fort that bears his name.

But these remain isolated instances, and archaeologists have shown great reluctance to study historical burial populations. It seems clear that social and religious sanctions against disturbing the recently dead account in part for this reluctance; archaeologists are certainly forbidden from planning mass exhumations of historical cemeteries. Nonetheless, these cemeteries are constantly threatened by on-going construction, and "salvage archaeology" can and should be undertaken in such instances. In 1926, for example, physical anthropologist Harry L. Shapiro analyzed a skeletal series from an eighteenth-century cemetery discovered during the construction of the New York City Rapid Transit System. Shapiro (1930) measured the colonial era skeletons prior to their reburial in Westchester County. More recently, the Nez Perce Tribe contracted archaeologists from the University of Idaho to unearth, describe, then rebury dozens of historic Indian graves threatened by construction of the Lower Granite Dam Reservoir in southeastern Washington (Rodeffer, 1973). Although more projects of this sort will doubtless be attempted in the future, comparative data on historical period skeletal materials are almost as scarce today as when Shapiro conducted his study nearly 50 years ago. Angel (1976) has recently discussed skeletal changes from colonial to modern times in the United States, the first such study since Shapiro's work in 1930. The fact that

Angel could muster a sample of only 82 individuals from 1675 to 1879 underscores the paucity of such historical studies.

The present report documents three antebellum burials from coastal Georgia. The human skeletons are described and the cultural practices surrounding their interment are discussed. The skeletons have since been reburied. We hope that efforts of this sort will encourage archaeologists to record, whenever possible, data relating to historic mortuary practices.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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CUNNINGHAM MOUND BURIALS

The American Museum of Natural History began a long-term archaeological project on St. Catherines Island, Liberty County, Georgia in November 1974 (fig. 1). Sponsored by the Edward John Noble Foundation, this project was designed to provide a broad scale analysis of the prehistory and cultural ecology of St. Catherines Island. From the outset, the research was envisioned in two phases. The initial phase attempted to refine the cultural sequence through stratigraphic analysis of burial mounds. Not only would the radiocarbon determinations stabilize the sequence, but considerable information could be gathered regarding the burial practices and biological anthropology of the prehistoric Island inhabitants. The second phase of research would rely upon this chronology to seriate the hundreds of archaeological sites, establish the prehistoric seasonal round, and reconstruct the cultural ecology of this barrier island.

The first project attempted by crews of the American Museum was an intensive excavation of the Cunningham Mound group, located near the center of St. Catherines Island. Seven prehistoric mounds are situated within a half-square kilometer area. One mound (South New Ground Mound) appears to have been tested by Moore in the late nineteenth century (Moore, 1897, p. 81); the six remaining mounds were first explored by crews from the American Museum in 1975 and 1976. These excavations will subsequently be published in detail.

During the routine test excavation of Cunningham Mound D, we made an unusual find (fig. 2). The mound itself contains ceramics and other artifacts of the Deptford and Refuge cultural periods (Waring, 1968; Waring and Holder, 1968; Milanich, 1971). Two radiocarbon determinations are presently available for this mound: 1020-1050 B.C. ± 70 (UGa 1255) and A.D.

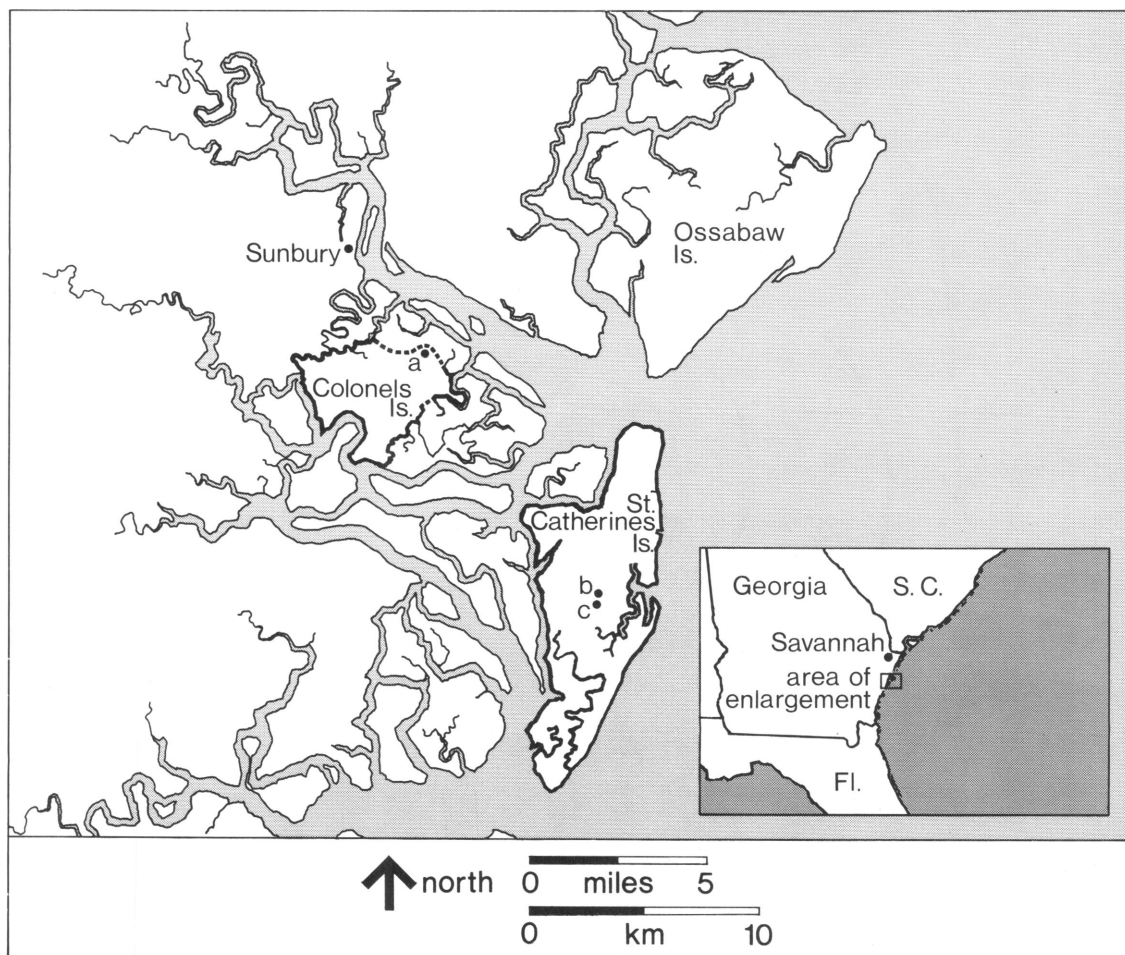


FIG. 1. General map showing location of burial sites: a. tomb of W. J. L. Harris, b. Middle Settlement, c. Cunningham Mound D.

570 ± 70 (UCLA 1997D).¹ The older date is associated with burial 1 and apparently dates the initial mound construction. The later date probably results from a secondary, intrusive burial. These dates indicate that Cunningham Mound D is among the earliest burial mounds known in the Southeast.

Approximately 40 percent of the mound has been excavated, and five aboriginal burials were

¹These dates have been corrected according to the standard bristlecone chronology (Ralph, Michael, and Han, 1973). The raw determinations are: 2805 ± 60 (UGa 1255) and 1430 ± 60 (UCLA 1997D).

encountered. The skeletons are in extremely poor condition due to their antiquity and the porous nature of the mound fill. The burials are generally in flexed or extended positions, although this is often difficult to determine because of their fragmentary condition.

Given these rather uniform aboriginal interments, it came as a surprise in November 1975, when one extremely well-preserved individual was found near the center of the mound (figs. 3, 4). Once the skeleton (burial 3) was entirely exposed, it became clear that the individual was associated with historic artifacts and rested inside

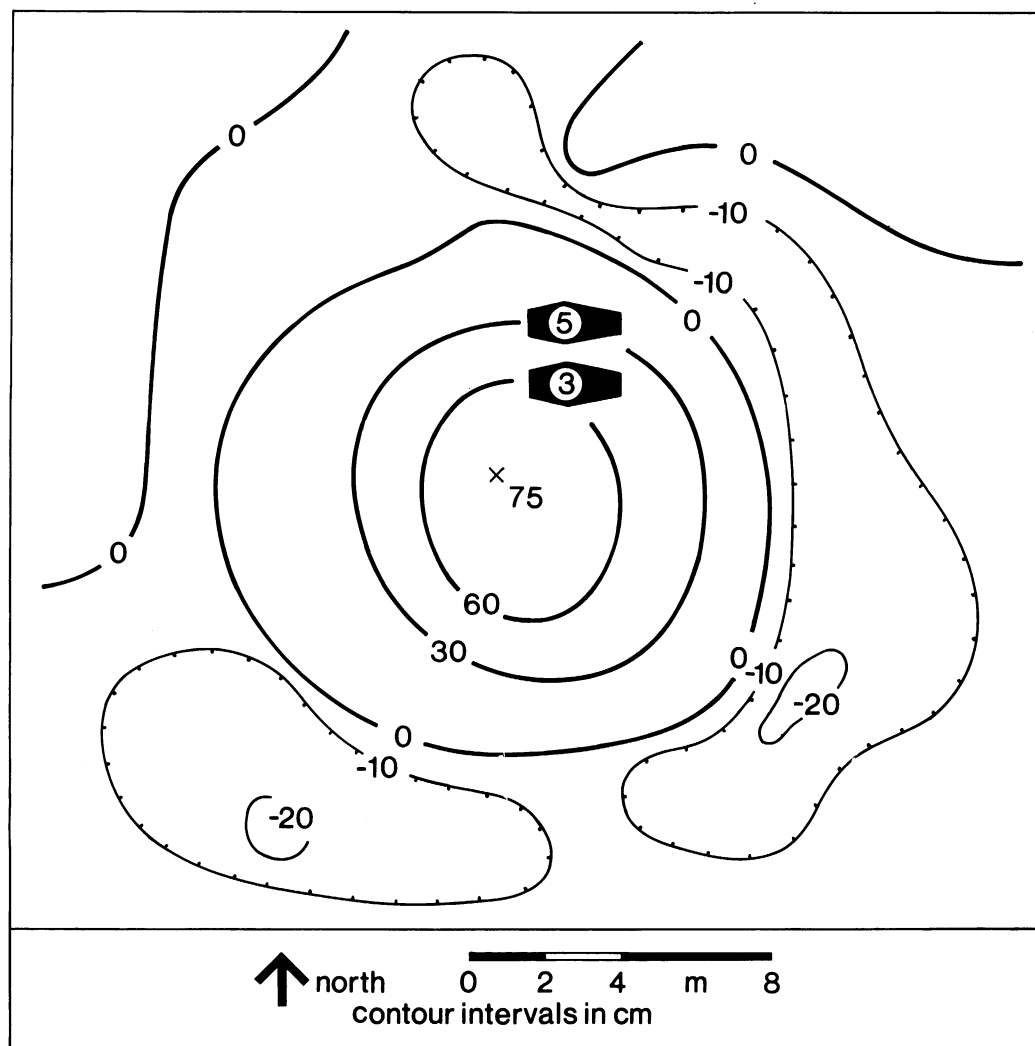


FIG. 2. Topographic map of Cunningham Mound D. Schematic coffins indicate placement of antebellum burials.

the remains of a coffin. From preliminary *in situ* field observations, we quickly determined that this individual was an American Black, probably a slave. Although we had not intended to excavate a historical burial, we were forced to remove the bones from the matrix in order to protect them from further deterioration, and also to allow further excavations of the aboriginal mound. In May 1975, a second non-aboriginal interment (burial 5) was discovered adjacent and parallel to burial 3 (figs. 5, 6).

Subsequent investigation, discussed in the following sections, indicates that the two individuals are Blacks, probably buried about 1800. The history of St. Catherines Island is somewhat sketchy for this early period. The Spanish are known to have abandoned the Georgia coast in the 1680s and St. Catherines Island eventually passed into the hands of the Bosomworth family in 1760, then on to Button Gwinnett in 1765. When Gwinnett died from wounds suffered in a duel in 1777, ownership of the island reverted to

Thomas Bosomworth, to whom Gwinnett was under heavy financial obligation. Ownership of St. Catherines Island for the next three-quarters of a century is recorded under the name of Waldburg, then for a few years under the name of Rodriguez. In 1876, the Rauers family of Savannah purchased the Island and converted the property to a country estate and private game preserve (see Vanstory, 1970, p. 26).

Despite this rather imprecise account, it seems clear that St. Catherines Island was owned by the Waldburg family shortly before 1800. The Island was a working plantation at that time, so it seems safe to conclude that any Blacks buried on St. Catherines during this period were indeed slaves, probably owned by the Waldburg family.¹

The following sections document the available facts and interpretations regarding these unusual burials: antebellum slaves interred in a 3000-year-old aboriginal burial mound.

THE HUMAN REMAINS

Because of their similar nature, burials 3 and 5 are discussed together. Both individuals are in good condition and represented by all bones. Burial 3 evidences some erosion of the frontal and parietal bones, mandibular condyles, distal humeri and clavicles, ribs, ilia and pubes. Both pubes in burial 5 are completely eroded as is the left mandibular ramus and the proximal left fibula; the iliac fossa of the right ilium, the right scapula and ribs are fragmented. Cranial and postcranial measurements are assembled on tables 1 and 2.

Based on observation of the left pubic symphyseal face, we estimate the age at death to be 30 to 40 years for burial 3. Although partially obliterated due to ground erosion, the surviving bone appeared to represent Todd's (1920) Phases VI to VII. The auricular surfaces of the ilia corroborate this estimation (see Kobayashi, 1967; Lovejoy, n.d.).

¹Moreover, the population structure of antebellum coastal Georgia would strongly argue that any Blacks present in the early 1800s were almost certainly slaves. The 1850 census for Liberty County, Georgia indicated the following: White males, 1,021; White females, 981; free Black males, 6; free Black females, 10. Total free population, 2,118; slaves 5,908 (from White 1954:514).

As nothing remained of the pubic symphyseal faces of burial 5 this individual's age was based

TABLE 1
Cranial Measurements (in Millimeters)

Description	Burial 3	Burial 5	Harris
maximum length ^a	(183)	180	—
maximum breadth ^a	127	146	—
basion-bregma ^a	131	133	—
nasion-bregma	106.4	115.5	—
frontal arc	124	126	—
nasion-lambda	178	176	—
bregma-lambda	115.2	109.4	113
parietal arc	132	123	131
bregma-inion	141	144	—
lambda-inion	58.4	68.1	—
lambda-opisthion	90.3	112	—
occipital arc	104	113	—
lambda-basion	117.1	121	—
inion-basion	76.1	76.1	—
nasion-basion ^a	106	100	—
prosthion-basion ^a	102.4	(88.7)	—
nasospinale-basion	97	85	—
prosthion-bregma	165	(170)	—
nasopinale-bregma	150	155	—
porion-porion	110	115	—
foraminal length	35.5	38.8	—
formainal breadth	32.9	29.6	—
minimum frontal breadth	91	94.4	—
total facial height	—	—	—
upper facial height ^a	64.5	62.9	—
bizygomatic breadth ^a	(124)	134	—
nasal height	49.2	50.3	—
nasal breadth ^a	26.7	29.5	—
orbital height	36.1	34.5	—
orbital breadth	34	38.2	—
palatal length	46	(47)	—
bimaxillary breadth	86.5	105.4	—
asterion-asterion	98	112	—
parietal thickness			
at bregma	—	—	4.5
bicondylar breadth	—	(116)	—
gonion-gonion	94	(85.7)	—
ascending ramus height	(62) ^b	64	—
minimum breadth,			
ascending ramus	33	28.6	—
mandibular symphyseal			
height	31	26.8	—
foramen mentalic			
breadth	43.5	42.1	—
mandibular length	(105)	105.8	—

^aGiles and Elliot (1962) race discriminant function.

() Estimated measurement.

TABLE 2
Postcranial Measurements (in Millimeters)

	Femur		Tibia		Fibula		Radius		Ulna		Humerus		Clavicle	
	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l
Length														
3	442	444	369	374	(355)	362	255	252	(273)	272	(312)	307	—	(147)
5	488	485	414	418	(404)	(404)	264	263	(280)	280	(335)	334	149.7	149
H	(480)	(480)	—	(415)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bicondylar breadth														
3	74.6	75.4	(75.1)	(75.1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5	(75)	(76)	(72)	(72)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Head diameter														
3	46.2	46.4	—	—	—	—	(23.5)	(22.7)	—	—	—	(45.9)	—	—
5	50.0	51.6	—	—	—	—	(21)	(24)	—	—	(42)	(43.7)	—	—
H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maximum diameter midshaft														
3	28.9	31.8	30.3	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	23.5	24.9	—	—
5	28.3	31.2	32.4	33.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	23.8	22.6	—	—
H	28.2	28.3	30.1	30.3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 2 - (Continued)

	Femur		Tibia		Fibula		Radius		Ulna		Humerus		Clavicle	
	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l	r	l
Minimum diameter midshaft														
3	28	29.7	23.2	22.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	21.4	23.7	-	-
5	26.5	26.2	22.4	23.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	16.9	18.9	-	-
H	24.5	24.9	19.9	22.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Circumference midshaft														
3	88.4	93	86.2	89.0	-	-	-	-	48.5	52	69	72.7	43.3	40.7
5	84.7	90.5	83.4	86.3	-	-	-	-	45.7	49.3	65.1	65.1	39.0	37.5
H	82.1	84.3	80.0	82.3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Subtrochanteric														
a-p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	25.0	26.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	26.3	26.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H	26.1	25.8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
m-l	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	33.7	35.1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	33.4	34.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
H	29.8	30.5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note: () = Estimated measurement.

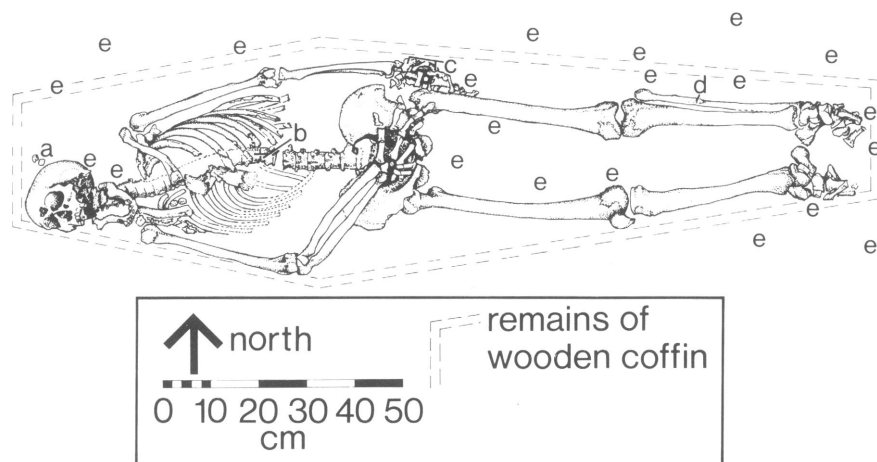


FIG. 3. Drawing of burial 3, Cunningham Mound D: a. buttons, b. fused eleventh and twelfth thoracic vertebrae, c. fused proximal and medial phalanges of the second finger, left hand, d. fractured and healed left fibula, e. nails.

on the auricular faces of the ilia, which most closely correspond to Lovejoy's (n.d.) Phase VI (40-45). Since this material is unpublished, the description of Phase VI is quoted at length:

"Marked increase in macroporosity which occurs in significant islands, usually on inferior half of surface, but may develop anywhere on face. Increasing relief of ventroinferior margin, with appearance of distinct lippling in most cases. Dominant feature in most cases is the appearance of macroporosity over approximately 1/4 to 1/3 of face." There was also a close similarity to age 40-50 as described by Kobayashi (1967, p. 123).

Both individuals appear to be male as the mastoids are large, glabellas prominent, femoral head diameters large, and sciatic notches narrow. Both individuals are robust, with all areas of muscle attachment well developed. In burial 3 there is no ventral arc or subpubic concavity, and the medial aspect of the ischio-public ramus is markedly broad (Phenice, 1969). Furthermore, in this individual the subpubic angle is narrow and no preauricular sulcus is present (Bass, 1971; Houghton, 1971).

Race of both individuals can be determined by standard morphological and metrical observations. The skull of burial 3 is very prognathic. That of burial 5 was not, due to maxillary and

mandibular alveolar resorption. The occipitals are long, low, and bunned. The nasal angles are flat with guttered nasal margins and wide nasal apertures. The discriminant function for race derived by Giles and Elliot (1962) utilizing eight cranial measurements (maximum length, maximum breadth, basion-bregma, nasion-basion, prosthion-basion, upper facial height, maximum bizygomatic breadth, and nasal height) further substantiates the morphological conclusion that these individuals are American Blacks.¹

Utilizing the Trotter and Gleser (1958) American Negro regression equations for stature (femur plus the tibia), we estimated height to be 165.59 cm \pm 3.68 (5 ft. 5 ins.) for burial 3 and 174.45 cm \pm 3.68 cm (5 ft. 9 ins.) for burial 5.

The dentition of burial 3 is represented by 13 teeth (table 3). Resorption is virtually complete in the areas of pre-mortem tooth loss. The left maxillary central incisor is worn mesially and distally, leaving a high point at the central part of the occlusal surface. This wear probably resulted from masticatory action rather than from artificial deformation.

¹The discriminant values for burial 3 were 99.49 for male White-Negro and 15.68 for male White-Indian. The values for burial 5 were 95.09 for male White-Negro and 4.39 for male White-Indian.

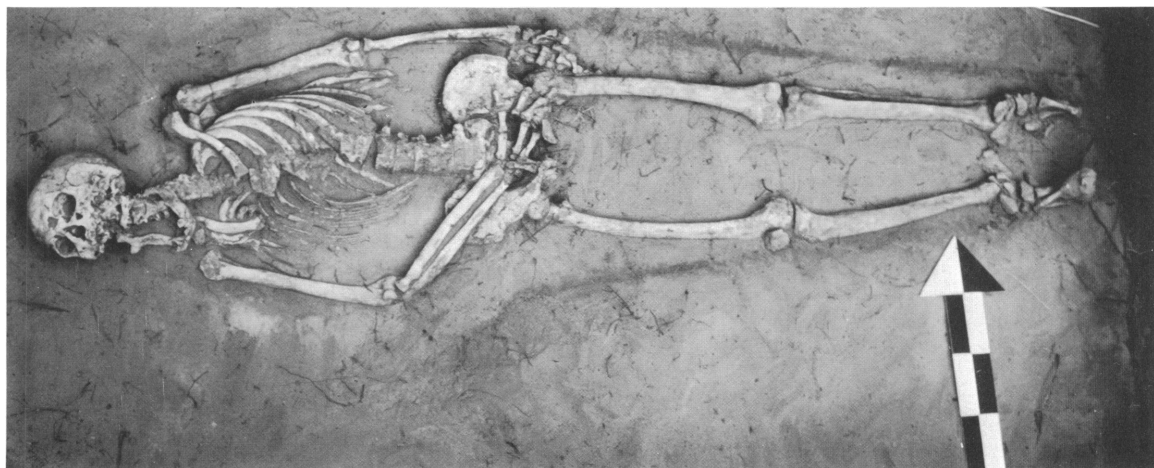


FIG. 4. Photograph of burial 3, Cunningham Mound D.

The dentition of burial 5 is represented by only five teeth which were in very poor condition at the time of death (table 3). The entire crown and superior root were very worn in four of the five teeth, making identification and measurement impossible. They are all single-rooted teeth. The fifth tooth is a maxillary left canine with a "medium degree" of calculus deposition (see Brothwell, 1972, p. 150). Both maxillary and mandibular alveoli are resorbed.

The following pathologies were noted in burial 3: (1). Ankylosis of the proximal and medial phalanges of the second digit of the left hand at a 55-degree angle from the horizontal (fig. 7). A similar case reported by Brothwell (1972, p. 144) was diagnosed as rheumatoid arthritis. (2). Osteophytosis on the ninth thoracic vertebra through the fifth lumbar with fusion of the eleventh and twelfth thoracic vertebrae (fig. 8), also characteristic of arthritis. Given that there has only been change in an interphalangeal joint and spine, and also that there is an absence of juxta-articular osteoporosis, psoriatic arthritis seems an equally likely diagnosis (Jacobson, 1972, p. 71). The spinous process of the fifth lumbar vertebra is bifurcate (*spina bifida*). (3) Healed fracture of the left fibula which is probably the origin of periostitis of the entire diaphysis of the left fibula and the lateral aspect of the articulated tibia (fig.

9). This infection might have led to death as the cortical bone is quite porotic despite the fact that the fracture had almost entirely remodeled.

Burial 5 had the following pathologies: (1). Incomplete union of the acromion to the spine of the right scapula. Normally union occurs at about 17 to 19 (Krogman, 1962, pp. 32-33) and as late as 21 (Kobayashi, 1967, p. 117). (2). White stain 1 cm. in diameter on the iliac fossa of the right ilium 1.2 cm. below the approximate midpoint of the iliac crest. This is a result of the lead shot resting on that location (see Cultural Associations below). No damage to the bone was observed, but still is suspected as the cause of death as there was no obvious bone remodeling in response to the bullet. (3). On the frontal bone 43.8 mm. anterior of bregma is a green discoloration, probably copper, oriented laterally measuring 40.4 by 13.8 mm. Its origin is unknown as no copper artifacts were located in the cranial area of burial. (4). 10 mm. anterior to the green discoloration, also on the frontal, is a small roughened depression that appears traumatic in origin. If so, it is completely healed. The proximity to the discoloration leads us to suspect a possible relationship.

A number of cranial non-metric variants were also observed (after Berry and Berry, 1967; Brothwell, 1972). In burial 3 these include a pa-

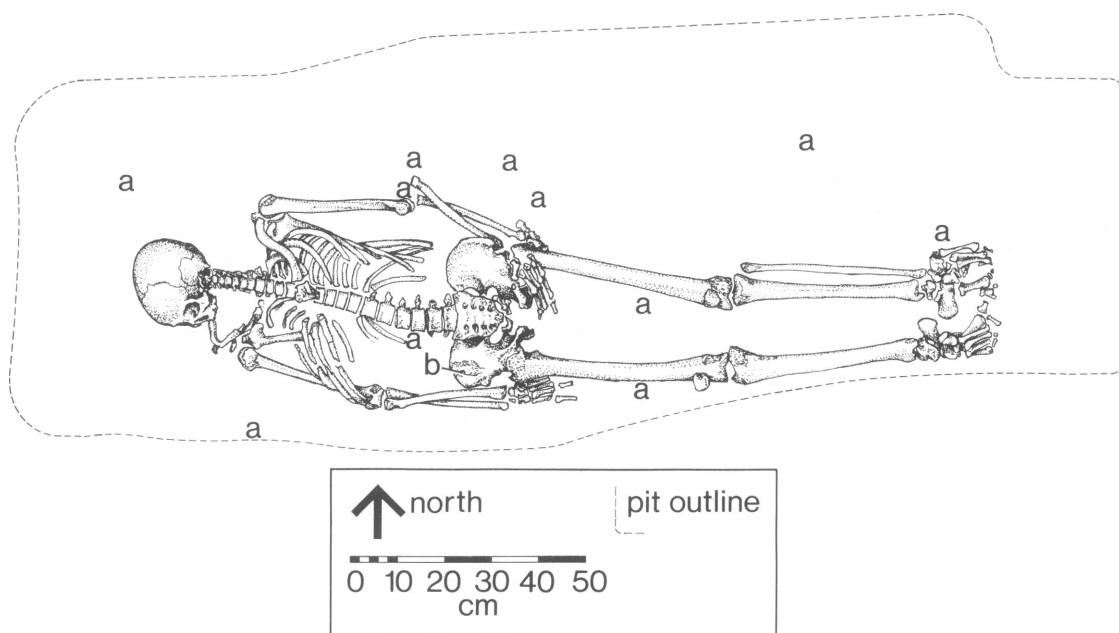


FIG. 5. Drawing of burial 5, Cunningham Mound D; a. iron hardware, b. lead shot.

rietal notch bone (right), asterionic bone (right), double frontal foramina (left and right), double mental foramen (left). Noted in burial 5 are malar tubercles (left and right), supraorbital notches (left and right), accessory lesser palatine foramina (double-left, single-right), squamoparietal ossicles (left and right) and like burial 3, a parietal notch bone (right). A discrete trait such as that might indicate genetic affiliation between the two individuals. Brothwell (1972, p. 96), however, has shown in a sample of African Blacks that the percentage of sides with parietal notch bones was nearly 23 percent, a rather high figure.

THE CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

Our first clue to the unusual nature of burial 3 was the trace of a coffin outline (figs. 3, 4). Although no actual wood was present, the skeleton was surrounded by a faint stain, approximately 20 mm. wide. The coffin was of the "form-fit" variety and so closely outlined the skeleton that we feel certain that it was specifically made for

this individual. A second, irregular stain surrounded the coffin, but the outlines were so indistinct that we were not able to clearly delimit the burial pit outline.

While clearing the mound for excavation, we found three fragments of a historic plate in the overlying humus zone (fig. 10b). At that time, of course, we had no way of knowing that Mound D contained historic burials. The field notes indicate that the sherds were almost directly over the head of burial 3. We think that the ceramics probably represent the remains of a plate left on the surface of the grave as an offering shortly after interment of burial 3. The modern Gullah of St. Simons Island, Georgia, still place broken pottery on graves. Some say the objects are broken to symbolize the fragility of life. Other Gullahs explain that the pottery is broken simply to prevent these valuables from being stolen (Fancher, 1971, pp. 55-56; also see Combes, 1974, p. 56).

The three plate sherds are Embossed Blue Edged Pearlware, Type 9 (South, 1972; Noël Hume, 1970, p. 131). The base of this plate has



FIG. 6. Photograph of burial 5, Cunningham Mound D.

been impressed with the mark "WOOD," used by the Staffordshire potter Enoch Wood at Fountain Place, Burslem, England after 1784 (Godden, 1964, p. 685). The embossed edge is not thought to have occurred prior to 1800 (Noël Hume, 1970, p. 131), and is not known to have been used after 1818 (Godden, 1964, pp. 685-686). These dates suggest that the burial occurred during the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Several coffin nails were also found associated with burial 3 (fig. 10c). An important consideration here would be whether the nails were cut or wrought, cut nails having been developed after *ca.* 1790 (Noël Hume, 1970, p. 253). The nails associated with burial 3 are wrought with T-heads (Noël Hume, 1970, p. 253). In general, it seems that houses occupied very shortly after 1800 contain cut nails, and the early types of cut nails appear in structures of the 1790s. We just do not know what the pattern was for coffins regarding the time when cut nails replaced wrought nails. Our experience with houses suggests that coffins made during the first decade of the nineteenth century would likely contain cut nails. Combining this information with the *ca.* 1800 to *ca.* 1818 date range suggested by the plate results in a date close to 1800 for the time during which this individual was interred, probably between *ca.* 1800 and *ca.* 1810.

Five of the dozen nails were unusual in that there was a gray ashy looking substance on the

head (AMNH nos. 28/529; 28/532; 28/534; 28/537; 28/538). This ash may have been caused by a thin lead washer designed to keep moisture out of the coffin, with oxidation of the nail and lead producing a white lead oxide. Or perhaps the white substance is lead paint from the coffin which still adhered to the heads of the badly rusted nails. Scott R. Goode of the University of South Carolina Chemistry Department was asked to test for the presence of lead. A simple presence/absence qualitative test of extreme sensitivity was used on two of the nails (28/534 and 28/538), and these tests were negative. Goode stated that the manner in which the grayish substance violently reacted with nitric acid leads him to think that this substance might be a carbonate, like calcium carbonate.

Two sources of calcium carbonate can be hypothesized as connected with nails in a burial context: the remains of the burial itself, and the remains of a non-lead paint or caulking over the nail heads, like whiting. Since it is difficult to suggest how only the heads of nails holding a coffin together would come into contact with the contents of the coffin, the idea of a non-lead paint or whiting on the heads seems a likely explanation. Whiting (calcium carbonate), commonly called putty, is certainly a substance that could have been placed over countersunk nails to make them invisible. Such a procedure suggests a carefully constructed coffin. Countersinking the nails and covering with whiting also suggests that

TABLE 3
Dental Pathology and Measurements (in Millimeters)

	Tooth present	Caries					Hypoplastic enamel	Length			Breadth		
		o	l	b	m	d		3	5	H	3	5	H
maxilla													
1I	3,H	—	—	—	H	H	H	—	—	7.8	—	—	7.3
2I	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
'C	5,H	—	—	—	—	—	H	—	7.1	7.4	—	7.8	8.8
1P	H	—	—	H	H	H	H	—	—	6.4	—	—	9.2
2P	H	—	—	—	H	H	H	—	—	6.7	—	—	10.0
1M	3,H	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.1	—	—	12.0
2M	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	10.7	—	—	12.6	—	—
3M	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.6	—	—	11.4
I1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
C'	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.6	—	—	9.8	—	—
P2	3,H	H ^a	—	—	—	—	H	—	—	6.8	—	—	9.3
M1	H	—	—	H	H	—	—	—	—	10.1	—	—	13.0
M2	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	12.7	—	—	12.2
M3	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	9.2	—	—	11.2
mandible													
1I	3,H	—	—	—	H	—	H	5.7	—	5.4	6.2	—	6.9
2I	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.7	—	—	6.1	—	—
'C	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1P	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.2	—	—	8.6	—	—
2P	3,H	—	—	—	H	—	—	—	—	6.4	—	—	8.1
1M	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	11.8	—	—	11.2	—	—
2M	H	H	H	H	H	H	—	—	—	11.5	—	—	10.5
3M	H	H	—	H	H ^a	H	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
I1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.2	—	—	6.0	—	—
I2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	6.2	—	—	6.3	—	—
C'	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	7.9	—	—	7.9	—	—
P1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
P2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
M1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
M2	H	H	—	H	—	—	—	—	—	11.8	—	—	10.5
M3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Note: ^aAdvanced caries. 3 = Cunningham Mound D, burial 3. 5 = Cunningham Mound D, burial 5. H = Harris burial.

the coffin was painted. Moreover, the absence of the lead suggests the paint was whitewash made of lime (calcium carbonate). Whitewash has long been used by those in a lower socio-economic status level to paint houses and outbuildings, as opposed to those who could afford the more expensive lead-based paint. Whether this status indicator can be demonstrated to also apply to burial practices in the early nineteenth century will have to await further data on the subject.

The question of status is also raised in regard to the blue-edged pearlware in view of the association of this type ware with slave sites demonstrated by John Solomon Otto in a recent study (1975). Otto found that edged and annular wares were present in higher frequencies at slave and overseer sites than at the upper status planter site.

Also in burial 3, two buttons were found lying immediately to the north of the skull, approxi-



FIG. 7. Radiograph of fused proximal and medial phalanges of the second digit of the left hand, burial 3.

mately 2 cm. apart (fig. 10a). The larger button (30 mm. in diameter) is South's Type 7, made of white brass with a copper wire eye fastened to the back during casting. The ends of the eye were turned out to form a foot before casting; this foot is hidden by the cast boss. The irregularities of the cast back have been removed by a cutting tool as the button was held in a chock while turning. The back is slightly concave (cf. South, 1964, p. 117; Noël Hume, 1970, p. 91). This type of button has been found primarily in an eighteenth-century context dating from 1726 to 1776, but it also seems to date as late as the Civil War period (South, 1964).

The smaller button (22 mm. in diameter), which is cast in one piece of soft whitemetal (pewter), is South's Type 11. The face has a decorative motif made of 10 raised dots in a circle around a central larger dot (fig. 10a). This type has been found predominantly in the nineteenth-century deposits, although some occur in eighteenth-century contexts.

These buttons are certainly not a matched pair, and their location at the top of the skull suggests that they were not fastened to an article of clothing. The absence of any other object of clothing such as buckles, buttons, hooks and eyes, etc., suggests that a shroud was used.

One intriguing possibility regarding the buttons is that they were ritual in nature. During life, southern Negroes sometimes wore hoodoo bags on top of the head to ward off witches (Puckett, 1926, p. 165), and silver coins, bells, bullets (and perhaps silvered buttons?) were used as fetish medals to ward off evil (Puckett, 1926, pp. 288-289). This explanation might account for the two buttons of a silver colored metal being located at the head of a deceased Black man, as a fetish or talisman to ward off evil after death. Furthermore, finding a button was sometimes considered good luck (Puckett, 1926, p. 495).

Alternatively, the buttons may have been placed on the eyes of the deceased individual to keep them from opening, perhaps in lieu of coins commonly used for this purpose (Frazer, 1947, p. 31; Combes, 1974, p. 51). One thing buttons have in common with coins is their silvered ap-

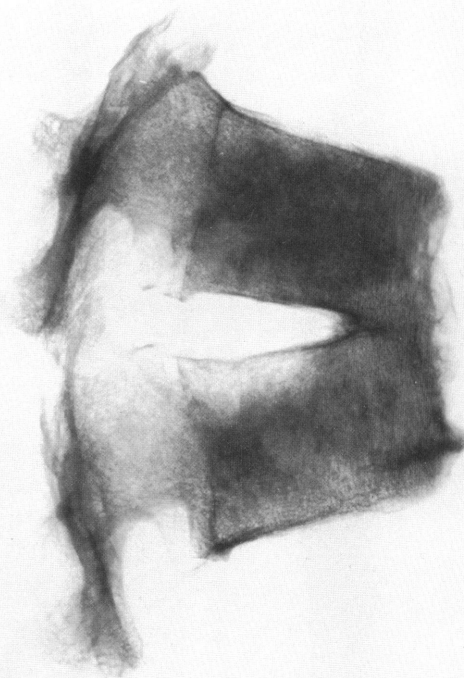


FIG. 8. Radiograph of fused eleventh and twelfth thoracic vertebrae, burial 3.



pearance when new. This is, of course, a function explanation (Puckett, 1926, p. 84, 123) suggesting that buttons could substitute for coins, particularly if there was a shortage of coins within the socio-economic level of the deceased and those burying him. There is a common folk belief that if a person is buried with eyes and mouth open, he would go to hell (Puckett, 1926, p. 85). It therefore behooved believers in hell to avoid this eventuality by closing eyes and mouth of the deceased before death, or as soon as possible thereafter. We think that this second explanation is more likely.

The absence of coffin hardware suggests that a simple, lower status burial is represented, particularly in view of the fact that it was not located in a historic period cemetery. However, little is known regarding the status indicators as revealed by early nineteenth-century coffins from an archaeological viewpoint. Also, the general pre-1859 behavior regarding the dead simply involved the laying out, the confining, and transporting of the body to the grave (Habenstein and Lamers, 1955, p. 249). Status differences were undoubtedly involved, but the recognition of such patterns through archaeological evidence must await further scientific excavations of burials from this period.

A shaped coffin was used, suggesting different behavioral implications than when no coffin was used, or when the deceased was buried in a plain, unshaped rectangular box. The orientation of the feet of the burial to the east is in keeping with traditional Christian practice, and probably relates to the expected blowing of a horn in the east by Gabriel on Judgment Day (Puckett, 1926, p. 94).

Some additional artifacts occurred in the vicinity of burial 3, but we think this association is fortuitous. Roughly 15 cm. to the south of burial 3 is a concentration of chert, mica, and human bone. In addition, a smooth pebble (such as used to polish pottery) and several projectile points were found near the slave burial. This disturbance was probably caused by excavation of the pit for burial 3 resulting in a considerable mixture of the aboriginal grave goods already present in Cunningham Mound D. That is, we

FIG. 9. Radiograph of healed fracture of left fibula, burial 3.

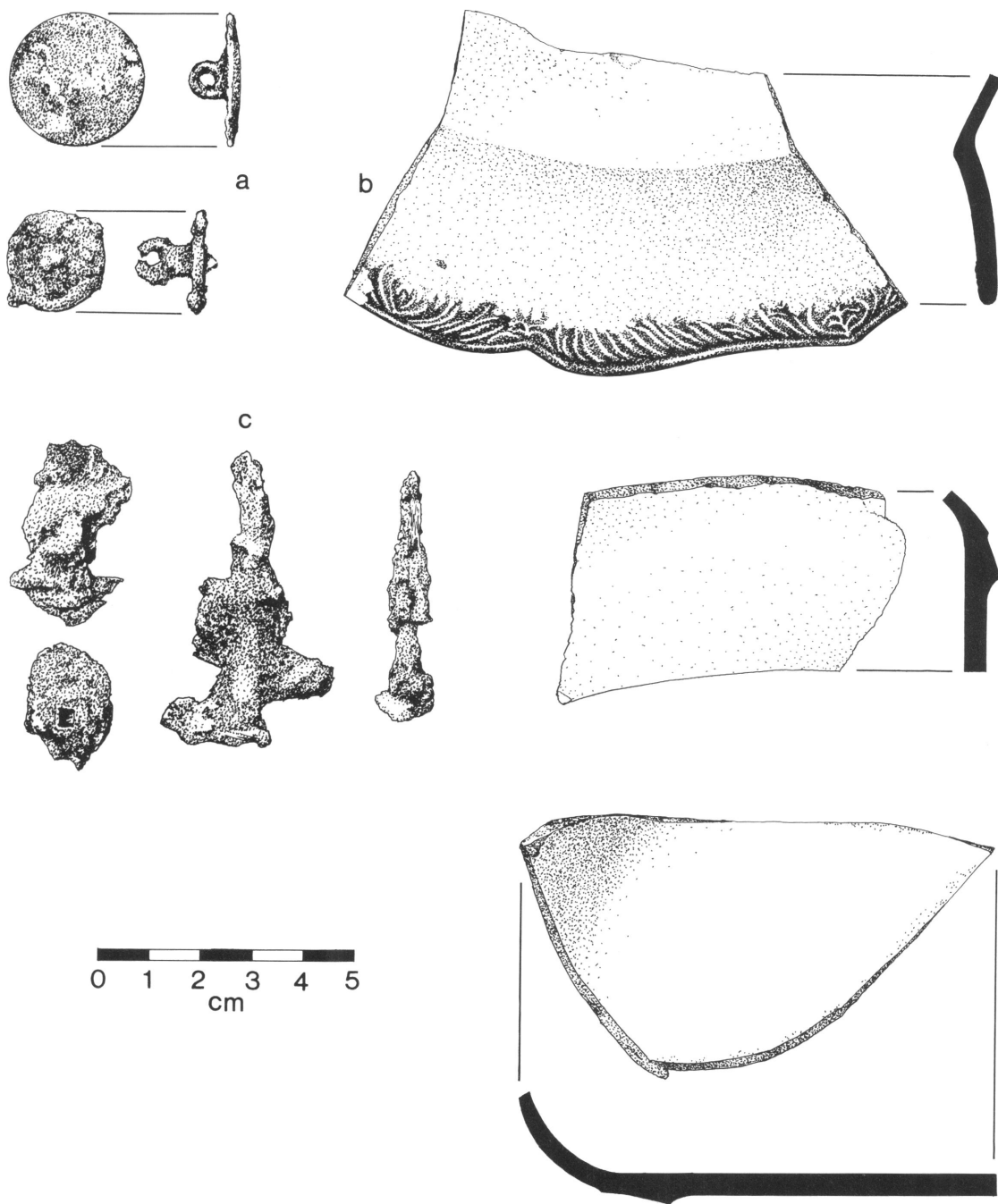


FIG. 10. Artifacts associated with burial 3, Cunningham Mound D: a. buttons (AMNH 28.0/1147, 1148), b. ceramic sherds (AMNH 28.0/347, 348, 349), c. Iron nails (AMNH 28.0/533, 535, 537).

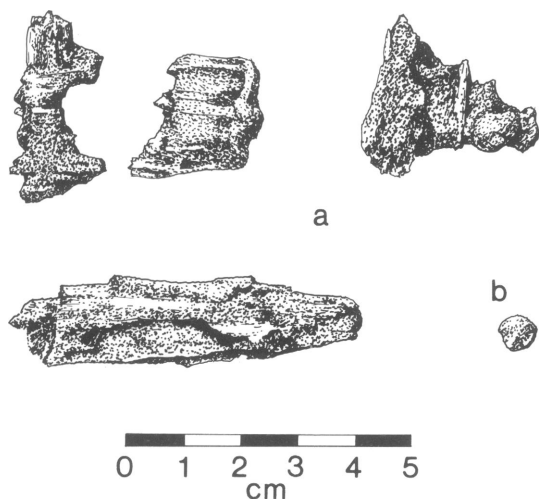


FIG. 11. Artifacts associated with burial 5, Cunningham Mound D: a. nails (AMNH 28.0/912, 942, 957), b. lead shot (AMNH 28.0/901).

interpret the prehistoric materials in the vicinity of burial 3 to be intrusive into the historical contexts.

Burial 5 was situated slightly over 1 m. north of burial 3 and was similarly oriented, suggesting a degree of contemporaneity of the alignment. These burials may represent a family graveyard on the mound; only half of the mound has been excavated.

No traces of a coffin were found although there were a number of scattered fragments of corroded nails near burial 5 (fig. 11a). These nails, generally similar to those with burial 3, suggest the presence of a coffin but the lack of any additional traces leaves the question unanswered.

In addition, a buckshot weighing 2.2 grams was found lying on the left side of the pelvis (fig.

11b). Francis Lord (personal commun.) notes that this buckshot is one of three normally used with a musket ball as a load, and known by the name of "buck and ball" (probably 70 caliber) designed to be used against humans, primarily by the military. The buckshot found on the pelvis was not necessarily the sole cause of death, because the ball may have passed through the body of this individual.

These two graves probably represent a slave burial area. The nails suggest interment prior to ca. 1800. The ceramics suggest a slightly later time period, and may represent activity on the mound some years after the period of the burials. The shaped coffin and countersunk nail evidence in the form of whiting in burial 3 suggest a socio-economic level somewhat above that indicated by a burial where no coffin was used, whereas the substitution of buttons for coins on the eyes perhaps points in the opposite direction. The absence of coffin hardware suggests a simple coffin, free of adornment that might be expected to accompany coffins of more expensive make. However, little is known about the details of coffin construction relative to status and expense of burial at various periods of time in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Although no coins were found on the eyes of burial 5, a copper stain may be from the use of some copper object to keep the eyelids closed, as the buttons from burial 3 are thought to have been used. The cause of death of the individual in burial 5 may have been the result of injury received from having been shot with a load known as a "buck and ball," probably fired by military personnel. A study of documentation relating to military activities in the area shortly before 1800 may reveal further clues to the circumstances under which military weapons may have been used against slaves.

THE W. J. L. HARRIS BURIAL

The grave of W. J. L. Harris stands on Billy Joe Point of Colonel's Island, Liberty County, Georgia. The present landowner, Mr. John Toby Woods, is constructing a house nearby and intends to restore the rather dilapidated Harris grave. Mr. Woods asked Thomas if the crew from

the American Museum would be willing to verify the authenticity and to participate in the subsequent restoration. Thomas agreed and on May 24, 1976, a crew of eight archaeologists and students from the American Museum of Natural History accompanied Mr. Woods to the property.

The excavation took two days and the bones were temporarily removed for study, prior to restoration of the grave.

The grave is situated on a point roughly 25 m. west of the existing shoreline. The site was clearly marked with a marble headstone that measured 188 cm. by 97 cm. Two large trees—a live oak and a palmetto palm—shade the grave. Both trees are quite old and we suspect that both were standing at the time of the burial.

The broken headstone, made of Georgian marble, was first removed and reassembled nearby. All pieces were present, and several rubbings were prepared. The inscription is reproduced in figure 12. The headstone was supported by a collapsing brick stanchion (fig. 13). This structure consisted of four to five subsurface courses of "tabby" brick, probably locally manufactured of lime and oyster shell. A number of fired red bricks were strewn about and we believe that the tombstone was originally supported above the ground by two courses of decorative brick, itself supported by the subsurface tabby bricks. The outside dimensions of the stanchion were 192 cm. by 79 cm.

Excavations proceeded through the soft sand until the decaying coffin lid was uncovered. We were amazed to find that the lid of the coffin lay *exactly* 6 feet below the surface; in this case, the old adage regarding "six feet under" proved precise to the inch. The coffin wood was quite moist, laying almost exactly at the high-tide mark. In many areas, the coffin was covered by a thin veneer of a claylike substance which we attribute to the decayed wood. Immediately below the coffin lid was the poorly preserved skeleton of Mr. Harris (fig. 14). The skeleton had been badly crushed when the coffin collapsed, and no bones were found wholly intact. The bone fragments were removed and the bottom of the coffin exposed.

The Harris grave has inspired a number of local legends. We were told one story, for instance, which had supposedly been handed down from the slaves who buried Harris. The coffin was reputed to be so heavy that the oxen could barely pull the wagon, and the slaves had difficulty lowering the coffin into the tomb. Perhaps the coffin had been filled with lead. Or even gold. Some local residents had heard the rumor

that Harris was drowned; this was perhaps the reason the grave had been dug on the narrow point, overlooking an inlet, rather than in a contemporary graveyard. On archaeological investigation, we found no cumbersome grave goods. In fact, we found very little at all and the skeleton was too badly damaged to allow determination of cause of death.

We were also told that young Harris had been the son of a wealthy physician, Dr. Raymond Harris. The Harris family owned a large plantation on Colonel's Island, and some details are available. The Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones

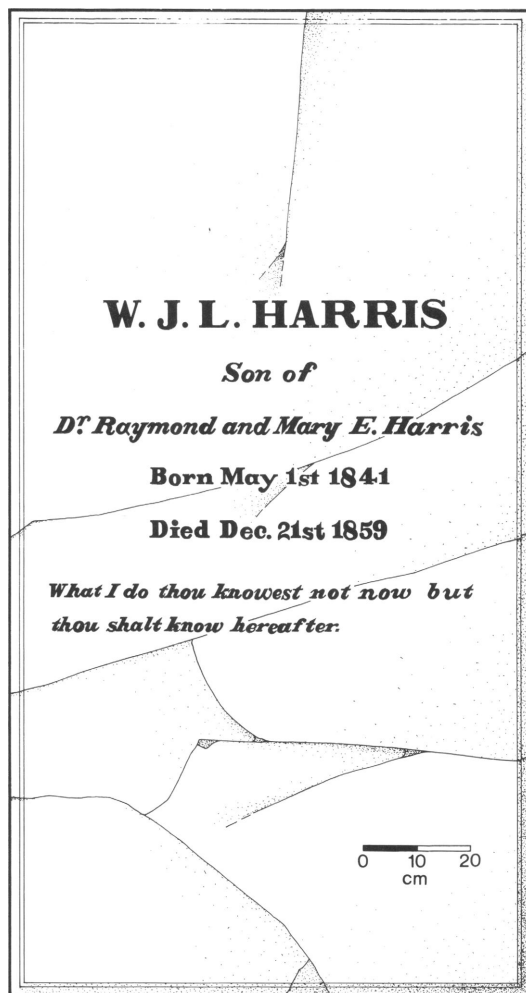


FIG. 12. Marble tombstone of W. J. L. Harris.



FIG. 13. Photograph of brick stanchion at Harris grave.

was Harris's neighbor on Colonel's Island, and a large volume of the Jones's family correspondence has recently been published (Myers, 1972). One finds several tantalizing details about the Harris family: how "old Dr. Harris" contracted yellow fever on a visit to Savannah in the fall of 1854; how Dr. Harris treated illnesses of the Colonel's Island residents; how Harris helped evacuate local Negroes to the higher parts of Liberty County in 1862. According to the Jones's letters, the Harris plantation was deliberately burned to the ground on April 17, 1865: "some say by a party from St. Catherines [Island], others that an interested person or persons destroyed them. Dr. Harris says he hopes to live long enough to find out who burned all of his houses on [Colonel's] Island" (Myers, 1972, p. 1277). Mr. Woods showed us some sparse ruins about one-third mile south of the grave which local tradition attributes to the Harris plantation.

It is curious, however, that the Harris correspondence is mute regarding W. J. L. Harris. Several references appear to two other Harris sons,

Stephen and Raymond. The Jones family engaged in an almost compulsive correspondence; no detail was considered too insignificant for their attention. It seems peculiar that the death of an 18-year-old neighbor would pass unmentioned. The tombstone places Harris's death on December 21, 1859, and Myers (1972) contains several letters from late 1859 and early 1860, but without mention of W. J. L. Harris. A search of the 4800 unpublished Jones's letters (available in the Tulane and University of Georgia libraries) also failed to disclose any mention of Harris's death. W. J. L. Harris is also not included in the biography of Dr. Raymond Harris, prepared by historian Robert Myers (and reproduced in Appendix A).

THE HUMAN REMAINS

This individual is represented by fragmented crania, postcrania, and dentition. A partial reconstruction of the skull was possible from approximately 30 fragments of frontal, parietals, and occipital. Most of the diaphyses of right and left

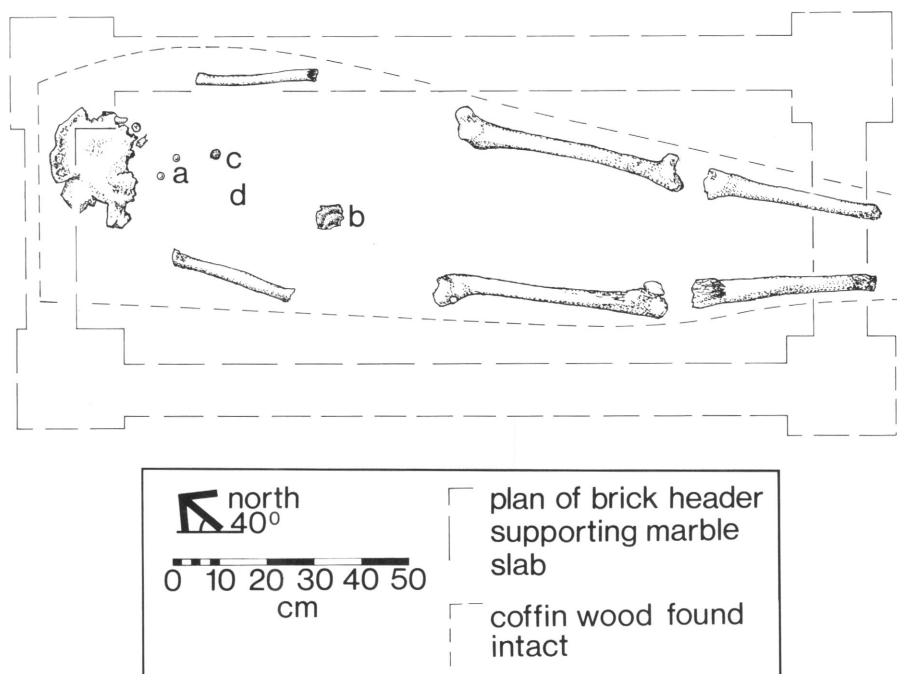


FIG. 14. Drawing of W. J. L. Harris burial: a. porcelain buttons, b. metal ornament, c. metal buttons, d. nail.

tibiae and femora are present giving good estimations of original lengths. Other postcranial fragments include innominate, clavicle, scapulae, humeri, patella, fibula, and calcaneus. The dentition is represented by 15 teeth.

Due to the fragmentary nature of the skeletal material, traditional methods of age, sex, and race determination were not possible. Fortunately, however, the tombstone overlying the burial pit gives both the birth and death dates: May 1, 1841 and December 21, 1859. Moreover, the individual was obviously a male. Because Harris was the son of a prominent plantation owner, we can safely assume that he was an American White. Thus age (18), sex (male), and race (American White) are easily and accurately determined from the tombstone.

Stature was computed by utilizing the Trotter and Gleser (1958) standard for American White Males (femur plus tibia) suggesting a height of 179.86 cm. \pm 3.74 cm. (5 ft. 11 ins.).

The dentition, though poorly represented, is in good condition. Measurement was possible on

all teeth with the exception of the mandibular left third molar. Extensive caries prevent accurate measurement of that tooth.

Carious lesions are quite high with only a few teeth unaffected. The lesion in the mandibular left third molar and the maxillary right second premolar extended well into the pulp cavity. The teeth were unworn.

Hypoplasia was also common. Transverse lines were multiple suggesting several events in the individual's life in which growth had been affected most probably by disease or malnutrition, probably the former considering the socio-economic position of his family.

THE CULTURAL ASSOCIATIONS

The coffin was manufactured mostly of fine-grained mahogany. Several iron objects were found in the fill, presumably coffin nails and fragments of coffin hardware. The coffin was of the "form-fit" variety, widest at the center and tapering to both ends. The headboard and footboard were well preserved, and seem to slope

inward, toward the head and heels. The base of the coffin was supported by several crossbeams: one at the head, another at the feet, and four supporting the middle.

The nails with the tomb did not have the diagnostic criteria identifying them as wrought or cut (fig. 15d). The cross-section of one of the concretions suggested a round nail or metal pin. The nature of the concretions suggests delicate wire nails as opposed to the more robust cut or wrought nails. Wire nails were in use by the 1850s in New York, and earlier in Europe (Nelson, 1963), and it is interesting to see their apparent use in the manufacture of coffins by 1859, as revealed by this burial. Since American wire-nail-producing machinery was not perfected until the 1860s (Nelson, 1963), there is a strong suggestion here that this mahogany coffin may have been imported from Europe, a possibility entirely in keeping with the known upper-class status of the deceased.

In addition to the nail concretions, fragments of a cast pewter or pot metal nameplate were found in a central location in the chest area of the burial (fig. 15c). Apparently this nameplate had been attached to the lid of the coffin, but no engravings could be seen on the fragments of this

nameplate. Pieces of a pot metal boss and knob were also recovered. These and the nameplate fragment suggest a far more elaborate, commercially manufactured coffin than that found with burial 3, interred some 50 years earlier. Since the Harris burial and the slave burials are separated by this time span it is difficult to know whether we are reading status in the variability seen in the grave objects or whether we are seeing the results of 60 years of technological development in the coffin-manufacturing industry. Both variables are involved, and it is tempting to suggest that the status is a controlled variable in this case. The presence of wire nails, suggesting an imported coffin in 1859, also suggests that an upper-status individual may have been involved.

Four buttons were found (fig. 15a and 15b). The two porcelain buttons are of a type predominant in a context of from 1837 and 1865 (Type 23). These buttons were recovered from the upper chest area of the body, suggesting they may have been used to fasten a burial gown (South, 1964). With this chronological range provided by the buttons, and the presence of wire nails, this burial would have been dated as having occurred no earlier than the 1850s, probably between *ca.* 1850 and *ca.* the 1860s. With the

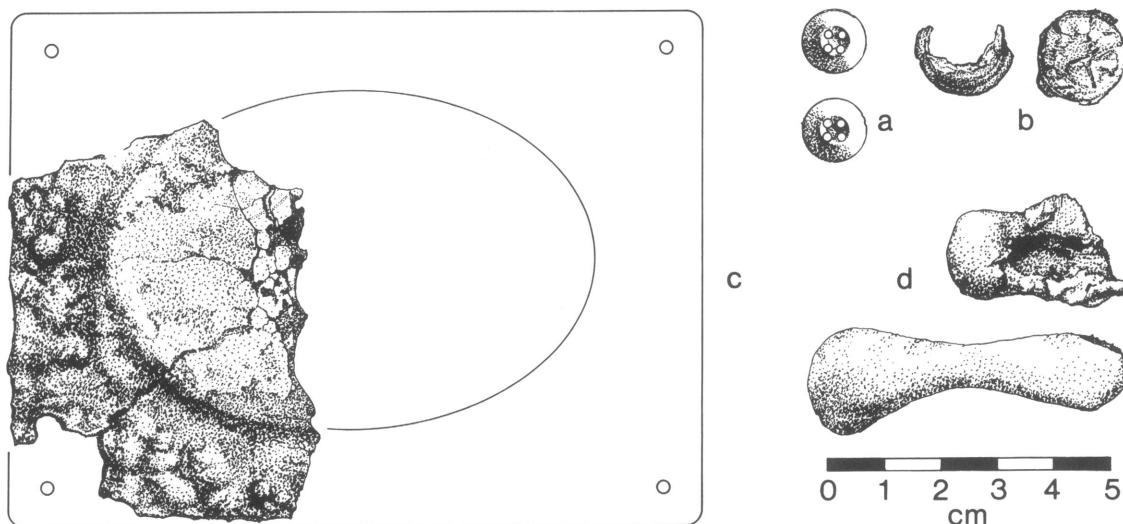


FIG. 15. Artifacts associated with W. J. L. Harris burial: a. porcelain buttons (AMNH 28.0/771, 772), b. metal buttons (AMNH 28.0/773, 776), c. cast nameplate (AMNH 28.0/770), d. metal ornaments (AMNH 28.0/777, 778).

tombstone date of 1859, we know that this button and nail date would have provided a suffi-

ciently accurate period of interment from purely archaeological evidence.

CONCLUSIONS

We have briefly discussed the specifics regarding three antebellum burials from coastal Georgia. Comparative data are quite scanty, since few burials of this time period have been systematically investigated. Because these three individuals have been reinterred, we have published as complete a description as possible, in order to document these cases and, if possible, to encourage others to record similar data whenever the opportunity arises.

Despite the paucity of comparable data, we think some tentative conclusions and comparisons are in order. Disposal-of-the-dead practices are, after all, highly structured cultural events and these three individuals represent the extremes of the antebellum social spectrum.

The skeletons, for example, provide eloquent evidence regarding the physical conditions of early nineteenth-century slave existence. Both slaves apparently died of traumatic injuries. Burial 3 had arthritis and a broken left leg that subsequently became infected. Although we have no direct cause of death, it is quite possible that the infection finally killed this anonymous slave before the age of 40.

Burial 5 fared little better; we think this individual was probably shot to death by a military-type weapon.

Both men were very robust, with strong muscle development due, no doubt, to arduous physical labor. Their dental health was abysmal. Although both men were younger than 45 years, they had only 18 teeth between them. Even these few remaining teeth were badly worn and eating must have been a rather painful experience.

The plantation owner's son W. J. L. Harris provides a useful counterpoint. Physically, young Harris was a more gracile individual, lacking strong muscle development. His was no doubt a less strenuous life compared with that of the two slaves. It is interesting to note, however, that his dental health was almost as bad as that of the slaves, despite his youth. Nearly every tooth was

diseased and several cavities extended into the pulp cavity. Harris, too, must have experienced some pain while eating.

The evidence for hypoplasia is also noteworthy. These growth-arrest lines probably indicate prolonged periods of disease. Although Harris's father was a well-known physician, the Georgian coast was rife with disease, like yellow fever and typhoid. We know from the Jones's correspondence that Dr. Harris was afflicted with yellow fever only five years before the death of his 18-year-old son. Unfortunately, we have no further evidence regarding the specific cause of young Harris's death.

The contrasts in the cultural associations also provide some clues as to antebellum social structure, despite the fact that the burials seem to span 50 years. The two slave burials, resting as they do in an aboriginal Indian burial mound, raise some interesting questions.

The nails associated with the two slave burials suggest interment prior to 1800. The ceramics suggest a slightly later time period, and might well represent activity on the mound some years after the burials. Their location in an aboriginal burial mound, however, poses an interesting situation. Roughly 250 meters north of Cunningham Mound D is a cluster of antebellum houses, known locally as "Middle Settlement" (fig. 1). Although this site has not been investigated archaeologically, a lifetime St. Catherines Island resident, Mr. John Toby Woods, thinks Middle Settlement was abandoned shortly before or during the Civil War. In addition, a *ca.* 1890 map, in the possession of Mr. Woods, denotes a "graveyard" in the vicinity of Cunningham Mound D. Mr. Woods has searched the area for decades but has found no evidence of an antebellum cemetery in the vicinity. He thinks the graves were probably marked with wooden markers that have since disappeared.

It is possible that the historic Cunningham Mound D burials are the graveyard mentioned on the 1890 map. Middle Settlement was occupied

during the early 1800s and seems to have been the residence of slaves, rather than of the plantation owners.

Because only 40 percent of Cunningham Mound D has been excavated, we do not know if more antebellum interments are nearby. Perhaps this is a family cemetery for those living at Middle Settlement. But the proximity to Middle Settlement does not explain why the slaves were interred in an aboriginal burial mound. One similar occurrence has been noted at Moundville, Alabama, where a number of former slaves had been buried in Mississippi temple mounds (Christopher Peebles, personal commun.).

These instances are particularly significant in light of the ideas commonly held by antebellum Blacks concerning disposal of their dead. John Combes (1974, p. 56) has reported:

The most important aspect of the burial area or for that matter the whole burial phenomenon is the importance attributed to the final resting place of the deceased spirit. It is imperative that the deceased be buried with the spirits of the other members of the family.

The penalty for not being interred with the family spirits is, indeed, serious and results in a wandering spirit having no final resting place. There is not one other thing more important in one's life than to insure one's place in the family cemetery.

If the emphasis on burial with one's familial spirits was as strong in the early nineteenth century as Combes suggests it was later, the fact that burials were placed in Cunningham Mound D—isolated as they seem to be—becomes a relevant factor for interpretation.

The contrasts in status with the Harris burial seem obvious. The imported mahogany coffin, the marble headstone, the brick stanchion all point to a rather elaborate funeral, as would be

expected when the son of a wealthy plantation owner died. It is somewhat ironic that despite the care lavished on W. J. L. Harris, his mortal remains fared quite poorly. Because the coffin was placed beneath the high water mark, the mahogany was alternately wet and dry, hastening its decay and ultimate collapse. When the coffin finally failed, the remains of young Harris were literally flattened. While the slaves had not received this elaborate attention—and they apparently were buried 50 years or so before Harris—their position in the top of a burial mound provided their skeletons ample protection. Thus despite the most elaborate social conventions, in death the slaves fared infinitely better than did the wealthy Mr. Harris.

In sum, the combined evidence from archaeology and physical anthropology provides some valuable clues regarding life in antebellum coastal Georgia. Not only do associated artifacts allow the burials to be placed in time, but limited inferences regarding status identification have been possible.

Certain problems, which arise when one excavates historic period burials, would be more readily solved if comparable archaeological data were available regarding chronology, status differences, technological evolution of grave furniture, and the evolution of early American burial customs. We do not, of course, advocate wholesale archaeological investigation of historic graveyards. Prevalent social and religious customs are to be respected in matters of this sort. But we do urge that as graveyards are required to be moved to make way for progress, archaeological mitigation should include adequate research designs to raise some of the germane questions regarding past human behavior and belief systems as reflected in the historical archaeological record (e.g., South, 1977).

APPENDIX

BIOGRAPHY OF RAYMOND HARRIS, FATHER OF W. J. L. HARRIS¹

HARRIS, RAYMOND (1799-1888), physician, son of Nathan Harris, a native of Brunswick County, Virginia, was born in Columbia County,

Georgia, in 1799. He attended school in Eatonton, Georgia, and while still a boy he fought in the War of 1812. He attended Jefferson Medical College (Philadelphia) without receiving a degree. After practicing medicine briefly in Savannah he removed to Bryan County, where he practiced his profession and planted for some twenty years; in 1850 he removed to Hinesville, Liberty

¹From Myers, 1972, p. 1543.

County, and in 1852 he removed to Dorchester. There he resided until after the Civil War, when he settled in Walthourville. He married first (on May 17th, 1822) Mary Elizabeth Law (1803-1871), daughter of Joseph Law 1769-1829 and Elizabeth Stevens (1777-1838), and widow of Samuel Jones (1796-1819); he married second (on January 29th, 1874) Elizabeth (Bessie) Mary Emma Anderson (1844-1879) daughter of Joseph Andrew Anderson (1820-1866) and Evelyn Elouisa Jones (1822-1849). For many years he owned a place on the northern end of Colonel's Island, contiguous to Maybank, the plantation of the Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones.

After the death of his second wife in 1879, Dr. Harris resided for some years in the home of his daughter, Susan R. Harris (born 1834), wife of Thomas Coke Howard (1817-1893), at Kirkwood, near Atlanta. He died in the home of his eldest daughter, Cornelia Elizabeth Harris (1826-1900), widow of the Rev. William Edward Screven (1822-1860), in La Grange, Georgia, on January 8th, 1888. He was buried near his two wives in Walthourville Cemetery. He practiced medicine in Georgia for more than half a century. Two of his sons were also physicians: Stephen Nathan Harris (1823-1854) and Raymond Benjamin Harris (1838-1910).

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