

*Inventory of Cades Cove Cemeteries*

**Investigator's Scientific Study Final Research Report #1**

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## ***Introduction***

Cades Cove, Tennessee, is one of the most visited destinations in the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, the most visited park in the national park system. Of 11 million visitors annually, nearly 2.4 million visit Cades Cove. Cades Cove then needs less introduction than this research which reconstructs the mountain community through its cemeteries.

Cades Cove was not legally available for settlement until the Calhoun Treaty of 1819 ceded land from the Cherokee, but that was pre-empted in 1818 with the first settlers. By 1850, its population was 671, a third of Knoxville's 2,000. The community prospered, its maximum population of 709 in 1900, supporting churches, schools, general stores, grist mills, doctors, post office, and a telephone system (Dunn 1988). As a 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Appalachian community, amenities refuted the isolation and stereotypes promulgated (e.g., see Caudill 1962; Fetterman 1967; Foster 1981; Foster and Hummel 1997; Frome 1966; Frost 1899; Kephart 1922; Raine 1924; Roberts and Roberts 1970; Thornborough 1937; Vincent 1898; Walls and Billings 1977; Weller 1965; Williamson 1995). By the time of the creation (1934) and dedication (1940) of the national park, the cove's population was in decline, as was most of rural America, the result of rural-to-urban migration (e.g., see Kim 2000), but the park hastened that decline, with resident-owners evicted by eminent domain.

The 1930 census, the last before the park was created, enumerated 424 people. The 1940 census identified 167, most, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) residents at the CCC Camp in the cove. After the park's establishment, the NPS razed many structures, leaving those deemed typical of a 19<sup>th</sup>-Century mountain community. Cemeteries are part of that cultural landscape (for more on the birth of the park and the death of Cades Cove, see Campbell 1969; Pierce 1998).

This research has three components, descriptive, analytical and processual: we descriptively present an historical narrative of and a complete cemetery inventory of Cades Cove; we analytically reconstruct Cades Cove using socio-demographic data from all engraved gravestones; we processually mapped and analyzed all artifacts (monuments, stones, and other markers) likely connected to burials in the three largest (church) cemeteries to permanently document their location, using GPS, and other geospatial technologies. This report summarizes the cemetery inventory of Cades Cove.

### *The Cemeteries of Cades Cove*

*In 1931, anticipating the inevitability of the Great Smoky Mountain National Park, William Howell Oliver lamented that it was “like selling our dead”<sup>1</sup>. Could he know about this research, we would hope that he would be assured that the dead, his dead, interred in Cades Cove, continue to be honored and empowered to speak and tell their collective story as a community.*

Some of the cemeteries of Cades Cove stand as proud and obvious as Gregorys Bald in the distance, enduring and timeless features of the cultural landscape. Others are as ephemeral as the fog shrouding the mountain tops on a still and quiet morning, as elusive as an echo. They are there, in the cove, but lost to abandonment and the incessant encroachment of nature to reclaim what is hers. Cemetery research evokes and instills a sense of urgency, as time and nature obliterate even that which has been cut in stone. Just 80 years ago, when the Great Smoky Mountain National Park was established (June 15, 1934), most cemetery locations in the cove were obvious. If not, the older, last residents could have readily recalled and disclosed their locations. But those residents are gone, many of them interred in the cove. Just 80 years ago, it was possible to read and record all of the engraved stones in the cemeteries. But nature and time have taken their toll, and continue to take their toll, obliterating and eroding the record cut in

stone; hence, the sense of urgency<sup>2</sup>. There is a professional obligation and responsibility to document what is on the verge of being lost, with as much expedience as possible.

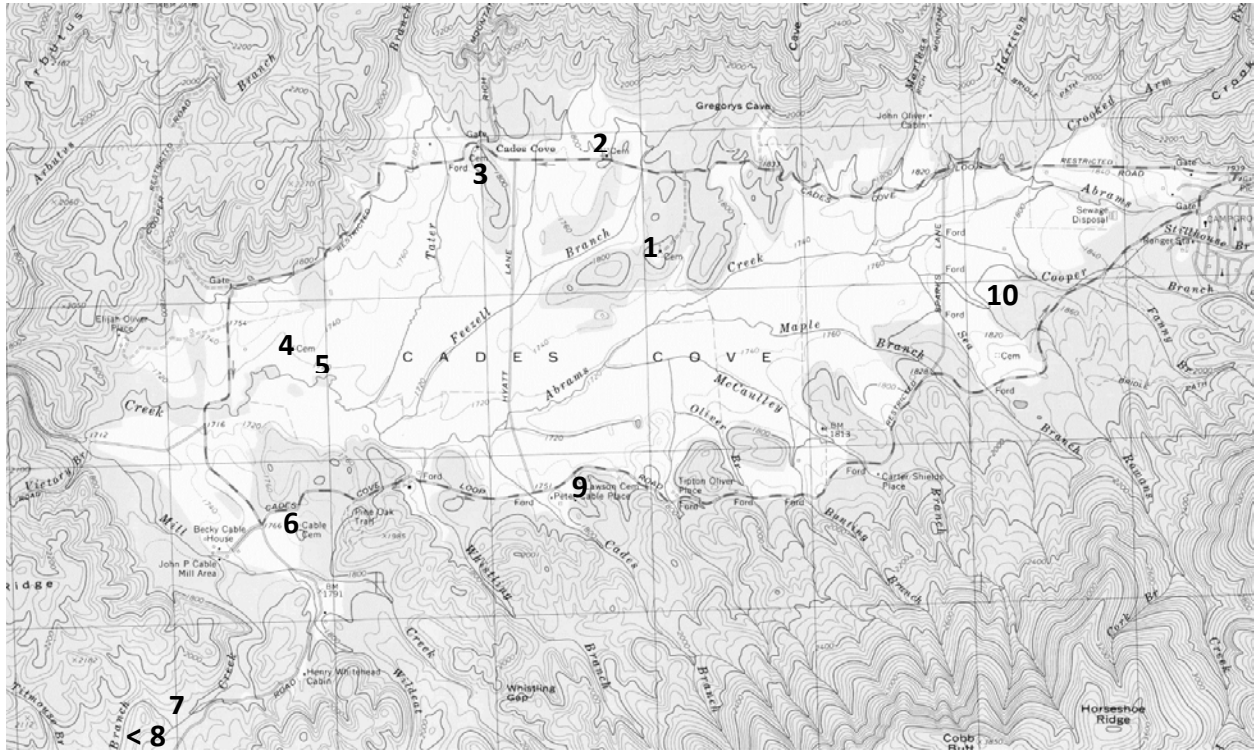
We used a number of resources to identify, confirm, and reaffirm information regarding the cemeteries and burials of Cades Cove, including published histories and accounts, diary excerpts, written recollections or collected oral histories, National Park Service documents (including 14 inventoried cemeteries), unpublished studies and theses, and the internet. We constructed a cross-referenced index of all cemeteries identified or mentioned in the cove and recorded all inscribed gravestones, with all unaltered (probable) gravemarkers enumerated. This yielded a total of 32 cemeteries in and adjacent to Cades Cove, though precise locations are no longer known for all<sup>3</sup>. In this inventory, we included all interred, the named and located, the nameless and the lost, for the sake of posterity.

Several of the lost cemeteries continue to be researched by the National Park Service<sup>4</sup>. Using remote sensing, specifically ground-penetrating radar (GPR), probable burials were detected at the suspected cemeteries of Hyatt Hill Church (19), Feezell Cemetery (4), CC 13 (4), and CC 17 (4)<sup>5</sup>. A consideration of the spatial distribution of cemeteries in Cades Cove is insightful and informative. In the spatial analysis, we examine only the cemeteries with engraved stones that empirically informed the bulk of our research (see Table 1; Fig. 1), but the spatial analysis is applicable to all cove cemeteries with known or suspected locations.

**Table 1: Cemeteries with Engraved Headstones**

Cemetery	%	Number
William Boring	1.0%	(04)
Burchfield-Wilson	2.1%	(08)
Cable	9.4%	(36)
Chestnut Flats	3.4%	(13)
Davis	0.3%	(01)
Graveyard Hill	2.1%	(08)
Lawson	4.2%	(16)
Methodist	21.0%	(81)
Missionary Baptist	4.7%	(18)
Primitive Baptist	51.9%	(200)
	100.0%	(385)

**Figure 1**  
**Map of Cades Cove Cemeteries**



1. Cades Cove Primitive Baptist Church Cemetery
2. Cades Cove Methodist Church Cemetery
3. Cades Cove Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery
4. Burchfield-Wilson Cemetery
5. Davis Cemetery
6. Cable Cemetery
7. William Boring Cemetery
8. Chestnut Flats Cemetery
9. Lawson Cemetery
10. Graveyard Hill-Rowan Cemetery

Numbered cemeteries are those used for the purposes of this research.

(Map courtesy of USGS U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Geological Survey  
Cades Cove Quadrangle, Tennessee – North Carolina 7.5-Minute Series, Topographic 148-SE)

The map (Fig. 1) suggests that the spatial distribution of the cemeteries in Cades Cove was a matter of deliberation and decision and not the result of random or capricious placement. There is an unmistakable pattern in the location of the cemeteries. They substantially ring the cove like the Loop Road. Only a few cemeteries (Primitive Baptist Cemetery, Burchfield-Wilson Cemetery, and Davis Cemetery) are conspicuous by their prominence out in the cove, and even then, they are only marginally on the cove's floor.

Obviously, church cemeteries are adjacent to churches, but the churches are closer to the perimeter of the cove than the center. Most cemeteries were family and neighborhood cemeteries, so they were in proximity to homesteads, and therefore higher than the cove bottoms. Homesteads were on higher ground for drainage, with access to springs and reliable water sources, and adjacent to forests for resources such as firewood. Wood was burned daily, summer and winter, for heating and cooking, and it would have made no sense to carry firewood further than necessary. Homesteads were made of wood, logs for the walls, shakes for roofs, rived boards for puncheon floors; hence the proximity of homesteads (and associated cemeteries) to the sloped forests. Homesteads and associated cemeteries out on the floor of the cove would have used ground that was better suited for farming and livestock. The micro-environment dictated a rationale of environmental economics involving considerations of resources, e.g., the proximity of forest wood for building and burning, and labor that determined or influenced the locations of homesteads, and associated cemeteries would assume a similar spatial pattern.

The three largest cemeteries, associated with the remaining three churches, are in the north-central section of the cove. The locations were probably determined by the land holdings of founding members who donated land for church construction. Earlier churches (and their

cemeteries), for example, Hopewell (Northern) Methodist Church and Hyatt Hill Missionary Baptist Church, were located in the southern portion of the cove for the same reason.

Cemeteries are generally placed on promontories, knolls, overlooks, or high ground. Symbolically, this placed the deceased closer to heaven. Pragmatically, cemeteries out of the low ground kept them from flooding, potentially considered a desecration. Of the cemeteries in Cades Cove with known locations and suspected locations, all typically occupy ground higher than their surroundings, and several of them have the term “hill” in their names.

The locations of approximately half of all the cemeteries are known and the locations of most of the others are generally suspected. We surveyed each cemetery to resolve conflicts and discrepancies among the data already amassed, and to permanently fix the precise locations of all graves in the largest cemeteries (Primitive Baptist, Missionary Baptist, and the Methodist church cemeteries), using cm-level, GPS (global-positioning satellite) technology. The National Park Service had already remotely surveyed some of the cemeteries of Cades Cove<sup>6</sup>; our effort confirmed and extended that work. All gravestone and cemetery data<sup>7</sup> were coded and entered into spreadsheets and loaded into a computer program for statistical analysis, allowing the data to be shared with other researchers and transferred to the National Park Service.

We cross-referenced all named and nameless cemeteries through a triangulation of direct observation, internet observation, and secondary observation (other research and written references to cemeteries in Cades Cove); the data set was cleaned, eliminating duplicate records of burials and rectifying inconsistencies/conflicts in the record<sup>8</sup>. Empirical or statistical analysis can only utilize gravestones engraved with socio-demographic data. However, we included virtually all people who lived and died in the cove, even the nameless and the anonymous, to acknowledge them as much as possible in an accounting and reconstruction of their community.

To exclude them as a methodological inconvenience or an irrelevance is to accept a socio-economic bias that distorts a more comprehensive view of the community. Our study identified 32 cemeteries and 1,026 known and suspected graves in Cades Cove, 1820-1939. Of the 1,026 suspected and known burials, 424 (41.5%) are marked by unaltered field or river stones or are illegible, offering no data; 217 (20.9%) are suspected graves, based on GPR surveys and reports; and 385 (37.6%) are marked by engraved stones<sup>9</sup>. The engraved stones came from 10 cemeteries (identified in Table 1), constituting the data upon which our empirical research rests. Engraved stones increase in frequency over time, paralleling and reflecting the evolution of economies.

Each cemetery is annotated as a matter of record. Alternative or alias names are identified. The cemeteries are presented in one of three groups: those with engraved stones; those with only unengraved/unaltered stones, but with locations known; those without locations any longer known, but part of the oral tradition of the cove.

### ***Cemeteries with Engraved Stones***

***Burchfield-Wilson Cemetery:*** This cemetery, maintained and enclosed within a wire fence, is located at the west end of the cove, east of the Loop Road and near the Elijah Oliver homestead site. It is accessible by a path that begins about 300 feet east of the parking area. Some 20 graves have unaltered field stones, and another 8 are marked by engraved stones.

***Cable Cemetery:*** This cemetery, one of the largest non-church cemeteries, is east of the junction of Loop Road and Parson Branch Road, on the south side of Loop Road. While most of the engraved stones suggest that Cable family members are interred there, the diversity of surnames indicates the cemetery accommodated extended family and other residents of the lower cove. Forty-five graves are marked with inscribed stones, 36 in our period of study (1820-1939), with another 4 probable graves marked by unaltered field stones or stones now illegible.



***Cades Cove Methodist Church Cemetery:*** This cemetery is on high ground just north of Loop Road, west of the lane to Primitive Baptist Church. A Methodist presence has been in the cove since the 1830s, and while the current church building was constructed in 1902, some interments occurred before that, associated with the 1840 church thought to have been located nearby. One-hundred-eleven graves have engraved stones, 81 in our study period; 5 gravestones are not legible, and 14 probable graves are marked with unaltered stones.

***Cades Cove Missionary Baptist Cemetery:*** This cemetery is adjacent to the south side of Loop Road, across from the junction of Rich Mountain Road. The current Missionary Baptist Church has been at this location since 1915, and most of the interments post-date that. The original church was established in 1839, its prior location on Hyatt Lane (see Hyatt Hill Cemetery). Sixty-two graves have engraved stones, 18 between 1840 and 1939. Another 16 are unreadable or unaltered, suggested by the pattern and adjacency to marked graves.

***Cades Cove Primitive Baptist Cemetery :*** This cemetery, one of the few out on the cove floor, is on a knoll approximately a quarter of a mile south of the Loop Road, accessed by a lane about a quarter mile west of the trail to Gregorys Cave. The Primitive Baptist Church was established in 1827, and the current church structure was built in 1887. Interments predating that were likely associated with the church which previously met in a log structure near the current church location. The Primitive Baptist Cemetery, the only active cemetery still in the cove, is the largest. At least 323 gravestones had previously been enumerated and recorded<sup>10</sup>, and a survey by ground-penetrating radar identified another 187 probable unmarked graves<sup>11</sup>. Of the 297 interments with engraved stones, 200 predated 1940. There are 46 probable interments marked by unaltered field stones and 29 other illegible or broken stones. The GPR survey assists in identifying available burial space for current burials, avoiding unmarked previous interments.

***Chestnut Flats Cemetery (aka Burchfield-Chestnut Flats Cemetery):*** Chestnut Flats is accessed by the Parson Branch Road exiting Cades Cove at its southwest corner, near the Becky Cable House. This cemetery is west of the Parson Branch Road overlooking Forge Creek just past Sams Gap, south of Cades Cove proper. This area, the most removed from the cove, is included because most of those interred there are referred to in the various histories of Cades Cove. Chestnut Flats is a geographical extension of the cove; historically, residents were part of Cades Cove. The Chestnut Flats Cemetery contains 18 graves with inscribed stones, 13 older than 1940. Other possible graves are indicated by unaltered native stones.

***Davis Cemetery:*** This cemetery is southeast of the Burchfield-Wilson Cemetery near the Elijah Oliver home site. It is accessed by a path leading from the Burchfield-Wilson Cemetery. Most of the 30 to 40 graves are unmarked. There is some supposition that the earliest burials in the cove occurred in this cemetery<sup>12</sup>. Three stones are inscribed, one in our study period, and two more unaltered field stones probably mark burials.

***Graveyard Hill (aka Rowan Cemetery):*** This cemetery is approximately 600 yards northeast of the south junction of Sparks Lane and Loop Road between Rowans Creek and Cooper Branch. The cemetery is accessed by a path from the LeQuire Cemetery on Loop Road. Two replacement stones honor the burials of Charlotte Burchfield and John Cooper (1803-1891), as well as the unmarked graves of 8 other unknown individuals. In addition, 7 named individuals are interred in unmarked graves<sup>13</sup>; 8 burials were prior to 1940. Physical evidence suggests 10 burials are marked with unaltered stones.

***Lawson Cemetery (aka Lawson-Abbott Cemetery, aka Hopewell Methodist Cemetery):*** This cemetery is located on the south side of Loop Road, between the Peter Cable place and the Tipton Oliver place, adjacent to the Dan Lawson place. The cemetery's impetus was Hopewell

(Northern) Methodist Church which stood on the site. Three probable graves are marked by unaltered field stones; another 22 have engraved headstones, 16 with death dates before 1940.

***William Boring Cemetery:*** This cemetery is near the intersection of Parson Branch Road and Forge Creek Road, north of the confluence of Bower Creek and Forge Creek in the west end of the cove. Just beyond the bridge crossing Forge Creek, a trail to the west leads to the cemetery south of the confluence of Coalen Ground Branch and Forge Creek. At least five graves are marked by unaltered field stones and a recent commemorative marker recognizes and honors four deceased, all of whom died of typhoid in 1898<sup>14</sup>, all included in our data base. While this is the northern-most cemetery on Parson Branch Road, eventually Parson Branch Road becomes one-way south, with no place to turn around.

#### ***Cemeteries without Engraved Stones***

***CC 13:*** This is a National Park Service designation (Cades Cove 13) identifying a site of cultural significance, a possible cemetery as indicated by historic documentation and the presence of potential head and foot stones in the form of unaltered field stones. The forested site, located next to a possible trace or road, may have been obliterated by earlier residents; ground-penetrating radar identified four possible burials<sup>15</sup>. There are reports of two cemeteries with a few graves near an old road – Unnamed Cemetery D and the Davis-Feezell Cemetery<sup>16</sup>; however, Unknown Cemetery D is in a field, not forested, with graves unmarked, and it is doubtful the National Park Service would designate the site with an inventory label if it were known by a local name. Hence, CC13 is probably a cemetery with location not precisely given.

***CC 17:*** This designation identifies a suspected cemetery because of the presence of several large, unaltered field stones perhaps serving as grave markers. Ground-penetrating radar revealed the presence of four possible burials. Its location is not precisely reported by the NPS,

but is described as being located in a field<sup>17</sup>, consistent with Unnamed Cemetery D<sup>18</sup>. The NPS report does not make reference to an old road which would have been a notable geographical feature, so while similarities are striking, the two sites are not likely the same.

***Feezell Cemetery (aka Carver Cemetery, aka Carver-Feezell Cemetery):*** The Feezell Family Cemetery, also known as the Carver Cemetery<sup>19</sup> and the Carver-Feezell Cemetery<sup>20</sup>, is a quarter-mile north of the Methodist Church, near the home sites of Feezell<sup>21</sup> and Carver. It is either on a prominent, wooded knoll just west of the headwaters of the West Fork of Feezell Branch, northwest of the edge of a meadow, or at the edge of an open meadow at the tree line. Unmaintained, meadow/forest edges change quickly and entire fields can close in a matter of decades, reclaimed by wooded stands. Geophysical, remote-sensing of both locations reveal evidence of four graves in the latter location<sup>22</sup>, though the first location hosted a rare plant species that was federally protected, prohibiting a complete GPR survey. The cemetery had not been located in years, and estimates of the number of burials vary widely, from 8-10<sup>23</sup>, to 20-30<sup>24</sup>, to as many as 68<sup>25</sup>. In immediate proximity to the cemetery (either one of the offered locations) is the possible site of the Mount Moriah Methodist Church<sup>26</sup>, the original Methodist Church, with some of its graves or gravestones moved to the present Methodist Church cemetery<sup>27</sup>. Ambiguity is compounded by reference to a Davis-Feezell Cemetery, in close proximity to the suspected location of the Feezell Family Cemetery.

***Hyatt Hill Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery (aka Hyatt Lane Church Cemetery, aka Old Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery):*** This cemetery site is located approximately 300 feet west of Hyatt Lane crossing Abrams Creek. The cemetery was associated with Missionary Baptist Church built in 1894 but abandoned when the church moved to its current location in 1915. No gravestones remain at the original site and its location has been re-established through

geophysical, remote-sensing surveys. The survey, focusing on the crest and the southern slope of Hyatt Hill, identified 19 probable graves, though other graves in the vicinity are possible<sup>28</sup>.

***Ike LeQuire Cemetery:*** This cemetery is located about 800 feet east of the south junction of Sparks Lane and Loop Road, just north of Loop Road after it crosses Sea Branch. Enclosed by a wire fence around several large trees, the cemetery is accessible by a path from Loop Road. Unaltered field stones mark 16 graves, and a seventeenth stone is engraved only with the name “Ryan Ray Feezell,” whom we know from records was a child.

***Ledbetter-Whitehead-Hearon Cemetery:*** With few references, this cemetery is located behind Abrams Creek campground in the woods. Six possible graves are suggested by unaltered stones, and oral history indicates James Ledbetter (circa 1795-1870) and his wife Martha (circa 1800-1870) are buried here<sup>29</sup>. Research regarding the Hearon surname has revealed nothing.

***Post Cemetery:*** This cemetery is near the dead end of Forge Creek Road, just across the bridge at Parsons Branch Road. The graves of two Post daughters are marked by a replacement or commemorative stone, but no additional information is engraved, offering our study no additional insight. Armenta Wilcox (1879-1896) is reportedly interred in an unmarked grave<sup>30</sup>.

***Unnamed Cemetery A (Tom Sparks Cemetery):*** This possible cemetery is near the north end of Sparks Lane, northeast of the Sparks Lane ford of Cooper Branch<sup>31</sup>, in proximity to the James A. Gregory homestead site and the Anthony Store. While the plot, approximately 50 feet square and enclosed by a wire fence with a spreading tree near its center, is not indicated on any known cove maps as a cemetery, some six unaltered stones suggest otherwise, and it has been referred to as the Tom Sparks Cemetery<sup>32</sup>.

***Unnamed Cemetery B:*** This purported cemetery is south of Loop Road on the west end, near the parking area for the Nature Trail, approximately a quarter mile southeast of the Nature

Trail itself<sup>33</sup>. This places it at the top of a ridge east of Cable Cemetery. Circumstantial evidence suggests this is a cemetery: unaltered field stones are spatially representative of interments; it is in close proximity to a purported field school once used by Hopewell Methodist Church before it moved adjacent to the Dan Lawson place<sup>34</sup>. The number of graves has not been estimated.

***Unnamed Cemetery C:*** This potential cemetery, indicated by at least two possible unaltered fieldstone-marked graves, is at the east end of the cove, north of Loop Road and west of the gate entrance to the Abrams Creek Campground, approximately 300 feet from the riding stables. This cemetery may be associated with a homestead<sup>35</sup> where clusters of rocks indicative of foundation/corner stones and chimney are present. Some reference suggests it might have been known as another Carver Cemetery.

#### ***Cemeteries Lost***

***Brown's Hill Cemetery (aka Wiseman's Cemetery, aka Orebank Hill Cemetery):*** This cemetery is purportedly on a wooded knoll on the north side of Loop Road between Forge Creek Road and Hyatt's Lane, probably between the Brown and Wiseman homestead sites. As the alleged site of three to five graves of the Wiseman family<sup>36</sup>, Brown's Hill Cemetery has also been referenced as the Wiseman Cemetery. A National Park Service report<sup>37</sup> also cites it as Orebank Hill Cemetery, though another report<sup>38</sup> cites Orebank Cemetery as separate and distinct. Without some written disclosure or clarification, the mystery and confusion will remain. Remote sensing (ground-penetrating radar) of the suspected site has failed to confirm Brown's Hill as a possible cemetery. Oral history explains the absence of any stones as attributable to having been removed circa 1903 by a land tenant to prepare a garden<sup>39</sup>.

***Crying Mother Baby Grave:*** A single grave is reportedly south, southwest of Cades Cove Methodist Church and Cemetery. On the south side of Loop Road, an established path leads to a pond in the woods, with a grave near the pond.<sup>40</sup>

***Davis-Feezell Cemetery:*** The location of this cemetery, in the immediate area of the old Billy Feezell homestead site, is some 100 yards east of an old road running north from Loop Road at Cades Cove Methodist Church where the road is bisected by a ditch<sup>41</sup>. This cemetery does not appear in any other record by this name, perhaps because the Feezell Cemetery has two possible approximate locations. The Davis-Feezell Cemetery may then reference one of the few unnamed cemeteries in the NPS records<sup>42</sup>. The number of burials is unknown.

***John (Jack) Tipton Cemetery:*** This reported gravesite is just to the east of Rich Mountain Road as it leaves Loop Road, turns sharply to the left, and begins to climb out of the cove. Ostensibly, John Tipton (1816-1881) and his wife, Naomi (1831-1891), were buried on a flat just behind their home site, and this is probably the cemetery referenced. Their stones were allegedly relocated to the Primitive Baptist Cemetery in the 1930s<sup>43</sup>, though it is doubtful that the burials, themselves, were disinterred. Their stones are present in Primitive Baptist Cemetery, and included in this research.

***Old Cades Cove Methodist Church Cemetery:*** This cemetery is in the vicinity of Cades Cove Methodist Church, associated with the 1840 Methodist edifice. To the right of the current church, a path leads up a hill, and the cemetery is purportedly on top of the hill, allegedly with multiple family plots.<sup>44</sup>

***Orebank Cemetery:*** About a quarter mile northeast of Cable Cemetery, this cemetery is reportedly opposite the George Caughron homestead, near an old road bed<sup>45</sup>. Whether a separate cemetery or simply confused with the Brown's Hill (aka Orebank Hill) Cemetery<sup>46</sup>, it is close to

the purported location of Brown's Hill, and to the extent that remote sensing failed to identify that site as a cemetery, this may be an alternative location for Brown's Hill Cemetery, made more circumstantial by the report of several graves attributed to Orebank Cemetery, as has also been attributed to Brown's Hill Cemetery. Regardless, no stones are present.

***Sparks Cemetery:*** It is claimed that "a cemetery by this name was known to have existed in the cove at one time, but the location is now unknown. This cemetery is different from the one known as 'Tom Sparks Cemetery' and located due north of the south junction of Sparks Lane and Loop Road, overlooking Maple Branch on the north side"<sup>47</sup>. There is no information on the number of interments, and no physical evidence has been located, despite walking surveys.

***Split Rail Cemetery:*** This possible cemetery, consisting of two graves, is in proximity to Primitive Baptist Cemetery, to its southwest or behind the burial ground, so close they have been considered burials intentionally placed outside the cemetery for reasons of judgement or condemnation. As recently as 1991, a rail board reportedly marked the graves.<sup>48</sup> Graves used to be marked by "grave boards" or "grave rails," with a post at the head and foot of the grave, and a rail between them over the length of the grave.<sup>49</sup>

***Unnamed Cemetery D:*** This possible cemetery, a single grave, is just east of the Rich Mountain Road near its intersection with the Indian Grave Gap Trail, near the top of Rich Mountain. Ostensibly, it is the grave of an African American male killed in the early 1900s while working on the road<sup>50</sup>. This is the northern-most burial associated with the cove, and one of very few references to African Americans associated with the cove.

***Unnamed Cemetery E:*** This possible cemetery, reported as a matter of oral history, is west of Loop Road after it turns south at its west end, and south of the Cooper Road Gate, in an



open field. Several unmarked graves were reported, but nothing remains to offer evidence of interments<sup>51</sup>. This is the western-most cemetery in the cove.

*Unnamed Cemetery F:* This cemetery is said to be in the woods in the vicinity of the Henderson place, a homestead near the Tipton Oliver Place. No size was reported, but any such cemetery has suspected affiliation with the homestead.<sup>52</sup>

*Unnamed Cemetery G:* A burial ground of unspecified size has been reported just past the Carter Shields cabin on the other side of the road in the woods. No affiliation or association has been specified.<sup>53</sup>

### Conclusions

This annotated inventory of all known, possible, and suspected cemeteries in Cades Cove has identified 32 sites, some with precise locations, many with only general locations suspected, and others lost to antiquity. It is certain that the inventory is not historically exhaustive, but as complete as the record allows. Just as graves have gone or become unmarked, and the interred have remained or have become nameless, so have entire cemeteries become lost, if not by location then at least by name. More are buried in the cove than will ever be known. We can only speculate and extrapolate the numbers, named and nameless, resting there, but in so doing, we acknowledge their lives and their eternity in the cove.

The inventory of 32 cemeteries enables a historical reconstruction of this mountain community, and while the location of some cemeteries can only be speculated, virtually all of them contain unmarked graves or graves marked only by unaltered field and river stones. We accept the estimated number of interments in those speculated and uncertain cemeteries, and include them as part of the estimated tabulation of those resting in the cove<sup>54</sup>. They lived, laughed, loved, and died there, so they should be counted. However, those who can tell us more

by way of their gravestones will ultimately reveal more about the socio-demographics of Cades Cove.

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<sup>1</sup> Dunn, 1988, p.252.

<sup>2</sup> See Foster, Gary S., and William E. Lovekamp. 2015 (in press). "Disasters and Cemeteries: A Clarion Call For Matters of Grave Urgency." *AGS Quarterly*, for the devastation that natural disasters can impose on cemeteries.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Brown's Hill Cemetery was lost in the early 1900s when the few unaltered grave stones were removed to accommodate a garden. See Lott, 2000; McGinnis, 2012.

<sup>4</sup> Several of the lost or missing cemeteries are Feezell Cemetery, Brown's Hill or Orebank Hill Cemetery, Hyatt Hill [Lane] Church Cemetery or Old Missionary Baptist Church Cemetery, and two unnamed cemeteries, designated CC 13 and CC 17. See the following study reports for additional information about these lost cemeteries: Lowry, Sarah. 2009. *Report on Ground-penetrating Radar Surveys: Cades Cove Cemeteries Within Great Smoky Mountains National Park, October 7, 2009*. Unpublished report submitted to Benjamin Zank, Geographic Information Systems, and Erik S. Kreuzsch, Park Archaeologist, Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Gatlinburg, TN; Kreuzsch, Erik, Sarah Lowry, and Benjamin Zank. 2010. *Geophysical and Archaeological Testing in Cades Cove: Cades Cove Primitive Baptist Church, Cades Cove Missionary Baptist Church at Hyatt Hill, Feezell Cemetery, and Browns' Hill Cemetery in Cades Cove, Great Smoky Mountains National Park, Blount County, Tennessee*. Report completed for the Great Smoky Mountains National Park. Gatlinburg, TN.

<sup>5</sup> It is a matter of science empowering and informing the humanity of recognizing final resting places, the graves of those unknown and unmarked. Yet, we have some better idea that they are there, and both as a matter of respect and completeness, they were included as part of the probable interred population of Cades Cove, as suggested by unaltered stones or the GPR anomalies. What little is known or suspected of the missing or lost cemeteries is reflected in our annotation of them.

<sup>6</sup> Lowry, 2009; Kreuzsch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.

<sup>7</sup> Our methodological search for (references to) all cemeteries and graves in Cades Cove was as exhaustive as possible. This ultimately resulted in the inclusion or acknowledgement of more cemeteries than any other inventory has recognized or identified in the cove, not a criticism or an implied shortcoming of previous research, but a testimony to the mystery of history. Things get lost in history, fading and evaporating with the passage of time, or covered with the dust of neglect and disinterest. Indeed, it was the body of all that previous research that enabled us to identify and sort out as much as we did. The quilt of Cades Cove cemeteries is stained, frayed, and worn by multiple cemeteries sharing the same or similar names, inviting confusion and commingling, or by single cemeteries sharing multiple names, or having no name at all, or only general and vague descriptions of locations provided.

<sup>8</sup> This research included all burials and probable burials in the cove, whether marked by engraved stones or unaltered field and river stones, or identified as probable/possible graves by remote-sensing technologies, as long as they were either reported as graves or were positioned in cemeteries in ways that were consistent with probable graves, a method likely to account for a more accurately-interred population of Cades Cove than relying only on engraved and legible gravestones. In an accounting of the deceased Cades Cove residents to historically reconstruct the community, the greater bias would be to rely upon only those gravestones that were engraved or could be read. After all, in the end, including or counting the unaltered gravestones and the suspected graves do no more than contribute to the population tabulation of those interred in the cove, and cannot skew the data or its analysis..

<sup>9</sup> Lott (2000), conducting the most comprehensive, scientific study of Cades Cove cemeteries prior to this one, utilized seven cemeteries and 619 selectively legible graves, but her time range extended beyond our 1939 terminus. McGinnis (2012) inventoried and annotated all cemeteries of Blount County, Tennessee, that were within the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, identifying 24 cemeteries within Cades Cove.

<sup>10</sup> Lott, 2000.

<sup>11</sup> Lowry, 2009; Kreuzsch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.

<sup>12</sup> McGinnis, 2012; McGinnis, 2013.

<sup>13</sup> McGinnis, 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid.

<sup>15</sup> Lowry, 2009.

<sup>16</sup> McGinnis, 2012.

<sup>17</sup> Lowry, 2009.

<sup>18</sup> McGinnis, 2012.

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- <sup>19</sup> Smoky Mountain Tourism Development Authority. 2014. "Historic Preservation." The Peaceful Side of the Smokies. [www.smokymountains.org/news/show/12](http://www.smokymountains.org/news/show/12)
- <sup>20</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>21</sup> Gourley, Mike. 2011. *The Carver Cemetery: Revisited*. (Feb. 13). [www.gosmokies.knoxnews.com/profiles/blogs/the-carver-cemetery-revisited](http://www.gosmokies.knoxnews.com/profiles/blogs/the-carver-cemetery-revisited)
- <sup>22</sup> Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>25</sup> Beckwith, David L. 2014. *Feezell Cemetery, Cades Cove, Blount County, Tennessee, US*. [www.smokykin.com/tng/showmap.php?cemeteryID=590](http://www.smokykin.com/tng/showmap.php?cemeteryID=590)
- <sup>26</sup> Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>27</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>28</sup> Lowry, 2009; Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>29</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>30</sup> McGinnis, 2012; McGinnis, 2013.
- <sup>31</sup> Lowry, 2009.
- <sup>32</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>33</sup> Lowry, 2009.
- <sup>34</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>35</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>36</sup> Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>37</sup> Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>38</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>39</sup> Lott, 2000; Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010; McGinnis, 2012; McGinnis, 2013.
- <sup>40</sup> Gourley, Mike. 2016. Cemeteries of the Smokies: Mysteries of the Cove. (July 5). <http://tombstone1960.blogspot.com/2016/07/mysteries-of-cove.html?pref=flo&m=1>
- <sup>41</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>42</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>43</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>44</sup> Gourley, 2016.
- <sup>45</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>46</sup> Kreusch, Lowry, and Zank, 2010.
- <sup>47</sup> McGinnis, 2012.
- <sup>48</sup> Gourley, 2016.
- <sup>49</sup> Mytum, Harold. 2004. *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period*. New York: Kluwar Academic Publishing. Welch, Richard E. 1983. *Memento Mori: The Gravestones of Early Long Island, 1680-1810*. Syosett, NY: Friends For Long Island's Heritage.
- <sup>50</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>51</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>52</sup> Gourley, 2016.
- <sup>53</sup> Gourley, 2016.
- <sup>54</sup> We include them as part of the estimated tabulation of those resting in the cove for three reasons; first, the number of interments attributed to any one of the cemeteries is few and numerically insignificant; second, there is confidence that far many more are interred in Cades Cove than will ever be known or estimated; third, to the extent that they contribute nothing more than their presence (frequency count) to any empirical analysis, their inclusion has no biasing effect on our empirical analysis.