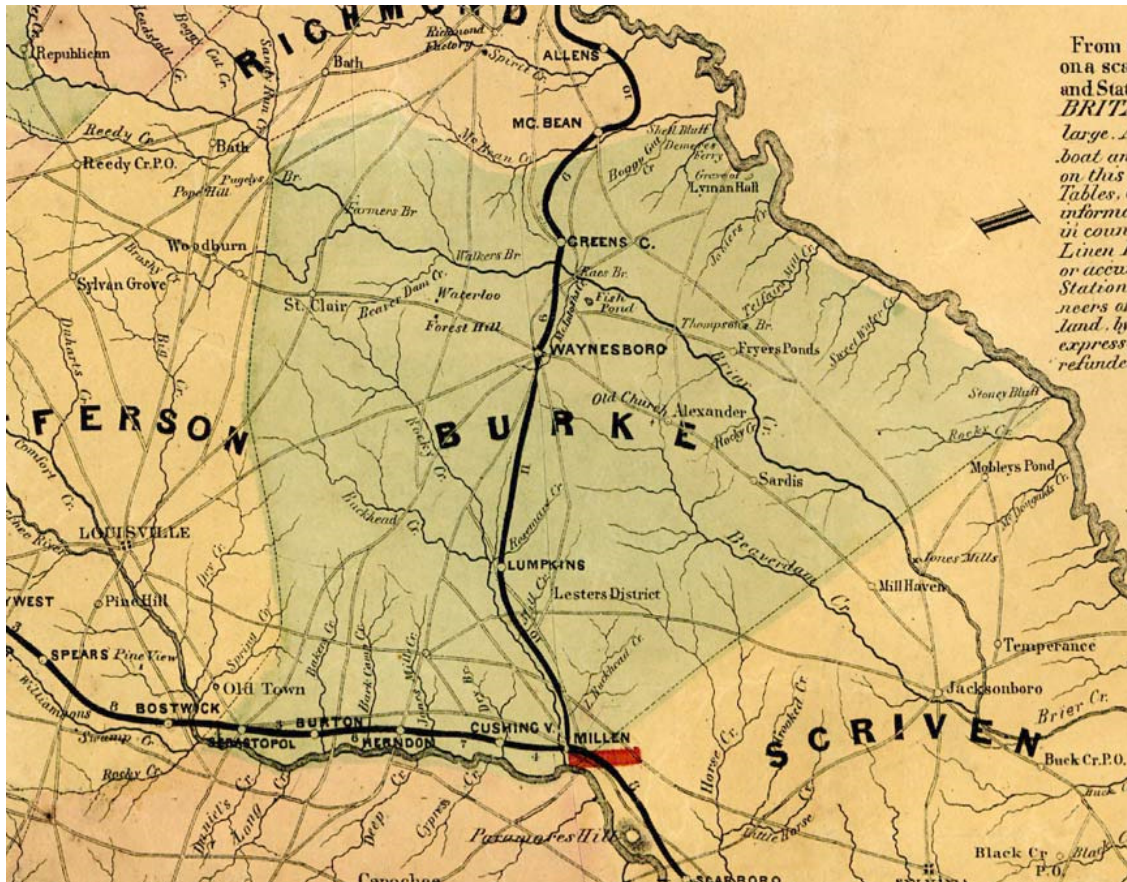


# Roland Steiner and Early Anthropology in Georgia



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**Roland Steiner**  
**and Early Anthropology in Georgia**

**LAMAR Institute Publication Series**

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The LAMAR Institute

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## Contents

Roland A. Steiner, M.D.—Anthropologist, Archaeologist, Folklorist, Physician and Gentleman Southern Planter .....	1
Steiner’s Writings .....	6
Allan Stevenson’s Trance .....	6
Superstitions and Beliefs from Central Georgia .....	7
Sol Lockheart’s Call .....	14
Brazier Robinson: Possessed of Two Spirits.....	16
Seeking Jesus. A Religious Rite of Negroes in Georgia.....	18
Observations on the Practice of Conjuring in Georgia.....	19
Negro Burial Ceremonies and Societies .....	25
Other Ethnographic Interests- Fish Traps.....	25
Then Silence .....	29
References Cited .....	34

## List of Figures

Figure 1. Keep Your Garments Clean (Steiner 1891:5).....	2
Figure 2. News Story Published in Atchison, Kansas (Atchison Blade 1893).....	3
Figure 3. Fish Trap (Peabody Museum 2015a: Peabody Number 01-27-10/56854).....	28
Figure 4. Model of a Fish Trap (Peabody Museum 2015b: Peabody Number 01-27-10/56855). .....	28
Figure 5. Model of a Fish Carrier (Peabody Museum 2015c: Peabody Number: 01-27-10/56856). .....	29

## **Roland A. Steiner, M.D.— Anthropologist, Archaeologist, Folklorist, Physician and Gentleman Southern Planter**

Roland Steiner was a Georgian who made significant contributions to anthropology, archaeology and folklore in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. He is a most obscure figure and his contributions to these disciplines are underappreciated. This volume draws together the collected works of Roland Steiner, which pertain to cultural anthropology and folklore. Steiner's cultural anthropology bibliography is small and restricted to a five-year period from 1899 to 1903. This is the second installment by the LAMAR Institute on Roland Steiner. The first publication presented Steiner's unpublished correspondence (Elliott 2010). This monograph investigates the anthropological, ethnological and folklore aspects of Roland Steiner. Readers are encouraged to consult that LAMAR Institute publication for more detailed background on Roland Steiner. The present volume does not delve into the archaeological aspects of Steiner's pursuits, as that will be addressed in forthcoming LAMAR Institute publications.

Roland Steiner was born in December, 1839 in Pennsylvania to Susannah and Henry Hagner Steiner, M.D. Roland followed in his father's footsteps by attending medical school, earning his diploma in Richmond,

Virginia. When the Civil War erupted, Roland volunteered for military service for the Confederacy.

Roland moved to Burke County about January, 1867. There established a large plantation in the northwestern part of the county and he acquired additional properties. In 1870 Roland was living with his father and mother in Augusta, Richmond County, Georgia. In 1880 he and his wife Wilhelmina, a wealthy Georgian, operated his Burke County plantation. By 1900 and widowed, Roland was living at his brother Henry H. Steiner's home in Grovetown in Columbia County, Georgia. Most, if not all, of his collection of African-American lore was an amalgam of his time spent in these three eastern Georgia counties—Burke, Columbia and Richmond (Ancestry.com 2015).

As for Roland Steiner's professional education status, he graduated from Princeton College in New Jersey in 1861 (Princeton University 1858, 1859, 1860, 1911). He received his medical degree from the Medical College in Richmond Virginia in 1864. He became a member of the Georgia Historical Society in 1886. In 1901 he became a member of the American Folk-Lore Society (1899:311) and published several articles in its journal. That same year he joined the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Roland was a founding member of the American Anthropological Association and he remained a member until his death (American Anthropological Association



1905:182; 1907:180-186, 245-250).

From about 1891 to 1903 Roland donated thousands of aboriginal relics from his collection to various museums in the northern states, including the American Museum of Natural History (New York), Field Museum of Natural History (Chicago), United States National Museum, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, D.C.) and the University of Pennsylvania. A very small percentage of the items donated by Steiner were not archaeological but were examples of split wood basketry made by African Americans in Georgia. Roland Steiner's enthusiastic involvement in American archaeology is addressed in greater detail elsewhere (Elliott 2010).

Roland undoubtedly was inspired to gather Georgia folk tales from the works of his folklore predecessors, Joel Chandler Harris and Charles C. (C.C.) Jones, Jr. Steiner followed the newspaper articles by Harris that appeared in the Atlanta Constitution in the 1870s and probably devoured his book, *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Sayings* (Harris 1881). The subsequent publication of C.C. Jones, Jr.'s, *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast Told in the Vernacular*, spurred Steiner to present his own folklore storehouse from east-central Georgia (Jones 1888). Steiner shadowed C.C. Jones, Jr. in many ways. Both men attended Princeton College and both served in the Confederacy in the Civil War. Steiner visited many of the archaeological sites first described by Jones. Jones' death in July, 1893 ushered in Steiner's heyday of

interest in African American folklore.

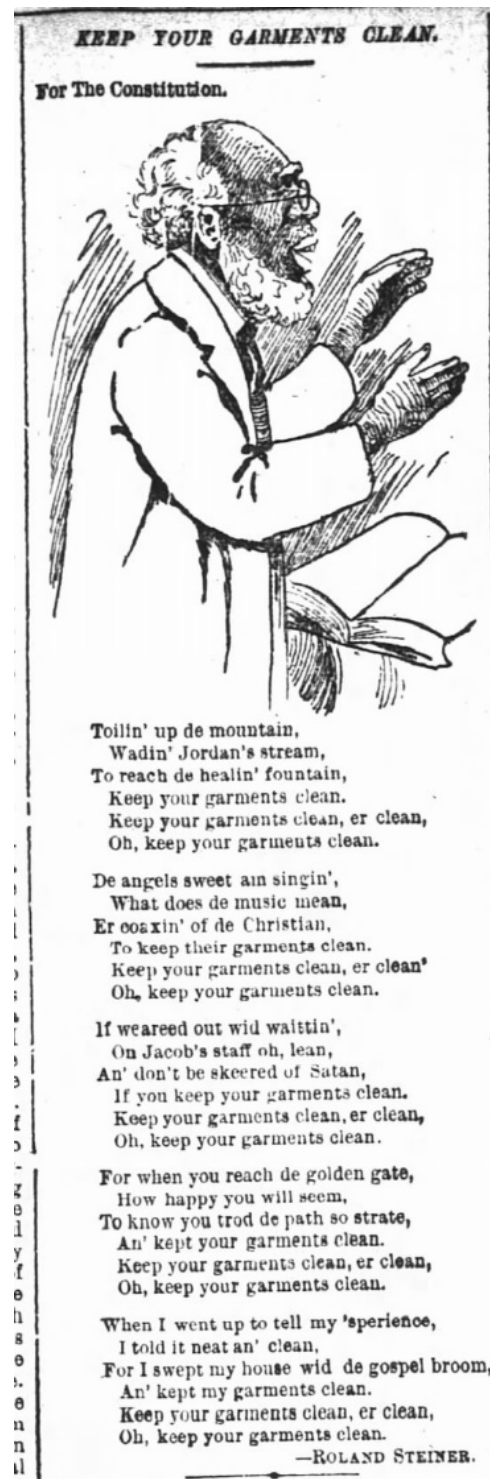


Figure 1. Keep Your Garments Clean (Steiner 1891:5).

The first print indication of Roland Steiner's interest in African-American culture appeared in the November 29, 1891 edition of *The Atlanta Constitution*, where he submitted the lyrics to a Negro spiritual, entitled, "Keep Your Garments Clean" (Figure 1). These lyrics were reprinted the following year in the magazine *Current Literature* (Steiner 1892:241-242).

Early evidence of Steiner's interest in African American folk medicine appeared in a December, 1893 newspaper article, entitled, "Cured the Snake Bite. A Negro 'Yarb Doctor' Finds a New Use for the Cotton Seed" (*Atchison Blade* 1893:3). The *Atchison Blade* was an African-American newspaper published in Atchison, Kansas from 1892 to 1898. This article appeared four times in that publication and is reproduced in Figure 2. The news article contains information provided by Steiner and then heavily edited by the newspaper.

In 1899 Steiner read two papers before Section H (Anthropology) of the American Association for the Advancement of Science at its 48<sup>th</sup> meeting in Columbus, Ohio. One of these papers dealt with prehistoric settlement in Columbia County, Georgia. The other was entitled, "Allan Stevenson's Trance". Steiner joined the Association that year. A published full text version of his paper on Allan Stevenson appeared in their *Proceedings* (Steiner 1899a:364-365). Also in 1899 Steiner presented a paper before the Society for American Folk-Lore, entitled, "Superstitions and Beliefs from Central Georgia". The full text of his paper was published in *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* and edited extracts from it were published in *Current Literature* (Steiner 1900a:206). The original full version is reproduced in this volume (Steiner 1899b:261-271).

**CURED THE SNAKE BITE.**  
**A Negro "Yarb Doctor" Finds a New Use for the Cotton Seed.**  
Dr. K. Steiner of Waynesboro, Ga., relates a rather remarkable occurrence in which a negro girl and a rattlesnake figure.  
The girl was recently bitten by a snake of this species, whose venom almost defies scientific treatment even when it is applied by the most skillful physician at once. An old negro named Jim Beale undertook the cure and succeeded triumphantly, and with a remedy never heard of before. The cotton plant has been found to serve many purposes for food and clothing, etc., but so far never was used before by any other doctor than old Jim to cure rattlesnake bites.  
Dr. Steiner says he was not told of the accident until next morning, though it happened on his farm. A rattlesnake bite usually kills in half an hour unless checked by remedies. Dr. Steiner says he saw the patient on Monday morning after being bitten on Sunday walking about. The only effect of the bite was a slight swelling of the toes on the foot bitten.  
Old Jim is a sort of "yarb doctor" and applied nature's remedies without consulting therapeutics.  
He first very wisely applied a ligature around the girl's ankle and squeezed out as much poisoned blood as he could immediately after she was bitten. After which he made a poultice of cotton seed, which contains ammonia, and applied it to the wound, and gave her also cotton seed tea to drink. Ammonia is the usual antidote for the poison of snakes (except of course, "corn juice" at fishing frolics), and old Dr. Jim was applying science in his experience. He then cut open the rattlesnake and squeezing out the blood applied a piece of the fleshy part to the wound, bandaging it on firmly.  
The girl is cured and there is the fact for your consideration.

Figure 2. News Story Published in Atchison, Kansas (*Atchison Blade* 1893).

The following year Steiner submitted a note to the Society for American Folk-Lore, entitled, "Sol Lockheart's Call", which was published in the Notes and Queries section of its journal. It is reproduced in this volume (Steiner 1900b:67-70).

Also in 1900 Steiner presented a paper entitled, "Braziel Robinson: Possessed of Two Spirits" to two audiences, the Society of American Folk-Lore and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. The latter presentation was given as part of the initial session on Anthropology for the Association at its June 25<sup>th</sup> meeting at Columbia University in New York, but the full text has not survived (Russell 1900:267; Fewkes 1900:590). Fortunately, Steiner's presentation on this topic to the Society of American Folk-Lore was published in its journal (Steiner 1900c: 226-228).

The next year Steiner submitted a brief note to the Society of American Folk-lore for publication entitled, "Seeking Jesus." A Religious Rite of Negroes in Georgia", which was published in the *Journal of American Folklore* (Steiner 1901a:172). Steiner also gave a presentation that same year to the Society of American Folk-Lore entitled, "Observations on the Practice of Conjuring in Georgia". The full text of this presentation was published in the *Journal of American Folklore* (Steiner 1901b:173-180). This particular work is frequently cited by modern researchers on the African diaspora.

Roland Steiner presented a paper entitled, "Negro Burial Ceremonies and Societies" before a joint meeting of the American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-Lore Society held in Washington, D.C. from December 30, 1902 through January 2, 1903 (American Folk-

Lore Society 1903:53-56; Steiner 1903a). While the full text of Steiner's original paper has not been located, George Grant Mac Curdy gave a short summary of it in his review of the Washington meeting, which is reproduced in this volume (Mac Curdy 1903:125).

In December, 1903, Roland Steiner submitted a "sketch", entitled, "Parson Bull's Sermon" to the *Augusta Chronicle*, who published it in the December 20, 1903 edition (Steiner 1903b: Section A, p.28). This fictional sketch, which may be based partially in fact, is heavily laced with Negro dialect and appears to be Steiner's attempt to replicate the writing career of Joel Chandler Harris. As a humorist his effort seems to have failed, however, as this is his only installment in this genre published by the Augusta newspaper.

Roland Steiner died in the City Hospital of Augusta on January 12, 1906 at the age of 66. He was buried next to his wife in the old cemetery at Waynesboro, Georgia (*The Atlanta Constitution* 1906:5; *The New York Times* 1906:9). His obituary in *American Anthropologist* stated:

Dr Roland B. Steiner, of Grovetown, Georgia, a founder of the American Anthropological Association and well known for his work in local archeology and folk-lore, died at the City Hospital of Augusta, Georgia, January 13, aged sixty-six years. Dr Steiner's collection of archeologic objects was well known throughout the country, and many specimens collected by him have gone to enrich our larger museums. He wrote little

or nothing on archeologic topics, but was an occasional writer on the folk-lore of the Southern negro, of whom, being a planter, he became a close observer (*American Anthropologist* 1906:204).

## Steiner's Writings

Steiner's published writings and publicly presented papers on folklore are presented in the following section of this report. They are reproduced without any editorial changes and retain any dialect, grammatical errors, misspellings, or factual errors written by Roland Steiner. Potentially racially offensive grammar also has been left intact to more accurately document Roland Steiner's mindset. Minor editorial comments are enclosed in brackets [].

## Allan Stevenson's Trance

[Note: The following paper was presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1899 (Steiner 1899a:364-365).]

Allan Stevenson told me the following story of his trance. He was out in the woods splitting rails, when he was approached by a big black dog, which told him to follow him. He refused to do so. He was then approached by a goat, and requested to follow him, but he again refused to do so. He was then approached by a white lamb, and requested to follow it. He followed the lamb, and it led him to the side of a large ditch and there told him that he must remain three days and three nights without either food or water. He lay there in a stupefied condition and an immense concourse of negroes assembled there from all quarters, out of curiosity, fear, and superstitious feeling of all kinds. At the end of three days, he arose from the ditch, went up to his cabin, bathed his face and hands, and called for something to eat. He said he had a message for me. He came over and told me that the Lord had sent him to me to have a large church built on my place. I told him that there was already a small church there that would answer all our purposes for the time

being.

I asked him where he had been during his trance. He told me that he had been to the end of the world, and that it turned upon a spindle, which is like a grindstone, and the spindle is now nearly worn through, and that he expected it to break through at any time, and that there would be ruin and desolation on the earth and that the end of the world would come. He said he went to hell, and there were two big black dogs guarding the gate. He was told by his good spirit, which accompanied him, not to notice these dogs at all, and that his faith would keep him secure from any attacks by them. After he had passed the dogs, he went up to where the devil and his wife were. The devil was a very dark-skinned man and all shrunken. He had on a coat and had a long tail with a spear at the end of it, and his hands were like claws. The devil's wife was dressed in red and was shrunken and shrivelled like the devil. The devil asked him if he would like to see the burning pit, and he said he would, and his good spirit told him he would go with him. He went to the edge of the burning pit and said it was a big lake of fire and brimstone and was filled with the heads of sinners, that is, only the heads of the sinners were showing. The sinners were all trying to call on the name of the Lord, but could not say Lord, but said oui, oui, oui. He said he was almost suffocated by the fumes of the sulphur, and asked his spirit to take him away from that place. As he returned from the pit, the devil's wife asked him if he would have something to eat. She had a pan in her hands and in it was something that looked like greens all mixed together, but the spirit told him not to touch any food in that region at his peril. The devil and his wife then left him and the spirit took him up the side of a high mountain and when he got to

the top, he saw a large plain with a river running through it, and that river was the river Jordan. When he got to the river Jordan, two angels with white wings, were there, and one stood on either side of him and flew across the river Jordan with him. When he got to the other side, he saw that everything was as white as snow—he was in Heaven. It was the most beautiful place he had ever seen in all his life. They asked him if he wanted something to eat. The honey was as white as snow and the cake was as white as snow. They all sat down at a long table that seemed to reach into eternity. An angel asked him if he did not want to fly and see the country all round. They put a pair of wings upon him, but it was a long time before he could fly. They had to show him how, and when he would try to fly a few feet from the ground, he would fall back and they told him that he did not have faith enough. Afterwards he succeeded, through the assistance of these two angels and got away up in the air and flew around on the ‘superbs’ of the Heavens. As far as he could see, there were angels, big and little, flying all around. There were gold houses, and silver houses, and so bright that he could hardly look at them. When he lit, as he called it, he woke up out of his trance.

This man then proclaimed to the country at large, that he was a prophet and sent in the name of the Lord to work miracles. He went into my negro quarter and saw a small child with a sore on its cheek. The child was brought to him to cure. He took some of the ashes out of his pipe and put it in the sore. I heard of it, and went down and had the ashes taken out and told him that he must not do such a thing as it would be liable to create a great deal of harm. He went to the Rocky Creek Church, in Burke County, and demanded of the colored ministers

that they baptize him. They, seeing his frantic and excited condition, refused to do so. He announced on the following Sunday that he would baptize himself. On the following Sunday, he walked about two miles at the head of a large concourse of negroes, to the Rocky Creek Church, where there were assembled at least five thousand negroes. He went into the water, and lifting up his eyes to heaven, cried with a loud voice: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I baptize thee, Allan Stevenson.

### Superstitions and Beliefs from Central Georgia

[Note: The following paper was published in the Journal of American Folklore in 1899 (Steiner 1899b:261-271).]

#### SPIRITS AND WITCHES.

1. Children born with a caul see spirits. [Caul—the amniotic membrane enclosing a fetus]
2. Negroes say that all animals can see spirits at night.
3. Negroes contend that hogs can see the wind; some maintain that all animals can do so.
4. If one is riding at night and feels a warm current of air on his face, negroes say that a spirit is passing by.
5. If you are walking or riding along, and see a mist rising from the ground, it is a sign of the presence of spirits.
6. Dogs frequently "run" spirits at night, but spirits will whip a dog, unless the dog has dewclaws. When the dog sees a spirit, he will come back whining and get behind you. The dog does not wish to fight a spirit if he can help it. I have hunted coons and opossums at night with

negroes, and, when the dogs kept running and did not see anything, the negroes "quit " and went home, saying the dogs were running spirits.

7. The left hind-foot of a graveyard rabbit is a talisman against spirits, also productive of good luck generally. I asked a negro if spirits ever bothered him. He replied, "No, sir; I totes the left hind-foot of a graveyard rabbit."

8. Negroes deem an *ignis fatuus*, or "Jack o' the Lantern," a spirit doomed to wander in swamps, seeking something it will never find.

9. To pass a haunted place, tum your pockets inside out; the haunt will not trouble you.

10. Some negroes wear the coat turned inside out, to keep off evil spirits, or to keep witches from riding them.

11. To prevent a witch from riding a person, put a case-knife, pair of scissors, or some mustard-seed under the bed or pillow.

12. If a horse's mane is tangled in the morning, it is a sign that a witch has been riding him; the little knots seen in the mane are "witches' stirrups."

13. To prevent a witch from riding horses, nail a horseshoe over the door of the stable.

14. Horseshoes, when nailed on doors or posts for good luck, are placed with the round part uppermost No witch or evil spirit can enter when they are so nailed.

#### CROSS-MARKS.

15. When a negro is going from you, and you call him, making it necessary for him to retrace his steps, he will make a cross-mark X in the

path and spit on it for good luck.

16. If you meet a stranger in the road, you must tum round, make a cross-mark, and slightly change your direction, for good luck.

17. When a rabbit runs across the road in front of you, it is a bad sign; cross yourself, or make a X in the road and spit in it, and walk backward over the place where the rabbit crossed. If a rabbit runs across the road behind you, it is a good sign; you have passed the trouble.

18. If any one wishes to trouble another, he makes a X mark on the path usually travelled by his enemy; the only way to break the spell is to walk • round it the first time, afterwards you can walk over.

19. To stop paths across a field, make cross-marks in it. Negroes may step around the X marks, but they won't step over them.

20. If the right shoestring becomes accidentally untied, it is a sign that a woman is talking good about you; if the left shoestring, that a woman is talking evil. To prevent the evil, make a cross, mark, put your foot on the mark, and retie the string.

21. Negroes keep other negroes from getting over a rail fence by sprinkling powder or graveyard dirt on the rail.

#### LUCK.

22. Negroes will not carry a hoe or axe through a house, or put one on the shoulder; to do so is very bad luck.

23. To step over a broom going forwards is bad luck; you must step over it backwards.

24. It is bad luck to sweep the dirt out of a

house at night; sweep it up into a corner and sweep out in the daytime. If obliged to sweep it out at night, take a coal of fire and throw it first in front of you.

25. One negro will not step over another while lying down. If he does, he must step over again backwards.

26. Never let the moon shine on fresh meat; it brings bad luck.

27. To pin bad luck, drive a rusty nail in the front doorstep.

28. If a negro sees a pin, and picks it up with the point to him, it is blunt luck; he will walk about in order to take it point toward him, and then it is sharp luck.

29. If a negro moves into another house, even if the house has been swept and scoured, he will scour and sweep it again for fear of "cunjer." [cunjer is conjure to make something appear unexpectedly, or to implore someone to do something]

30. If a looking-glass falls from a wall and breaks, it is a sign of death; if any one lets it fall from his hands, of seven years of bad luck.

31. Never lend salt or red pepper; if you lend it, it will give bad luck.

#### SIGNS.

32. For a cook to drop a dishrag is a sign that some one will come hungry.

33. When you drop your knife and it sticks up, it is a sign of good luck.

34 To see a measuring-worm crawling on any one is a sign that the person will have a new suit of clothes.

35. If a butterfly lights on you, it is a sign that you will die soon.

36. To see a butterfly, catch it and bite off the head, you will have a new dress the color of the butterfly.

37. In sitting in front of the fire, if the fire pops on you, you are sure to get new clothes.

38. If the fire pops with a blowing noise, it is a sign that there is going to be a fuss in the family.

39. To sit by a fire and have a "chunk " roll out is a sign of company.

40. It is bad luck for a stick of wood to roll out of the fire on the floor.

41. A rooster crowing before a door is a sign of a visitor.

42. To hear a rooster crow when he first goes to roost is a sign of hasty news.

43. When a hen crows, some evil will befall the family to which the hen belongs.

44 A dog's howling is a sign of the house catching fire.

45. For a dog to go hunting at night in winter is a sign of snow.

46. To see the new moon through the trees is a sign of bad luck.

47. Wear a string round the neck with a piece of money on it for good luck.

#### WEATHER.

48. When a peacock screams, it is a sign of rain.

49. When a hog squeals, it is a sign of cold weather.



50. When a whip-poor-will cries, it is a sign of warm, clear weather. There is no more frost.
51. When a yellow-hammer sings, it is a sign of warm weather.
52. The cooing of a turtle-dove is a sign of warm, clear weather.
53. When woodpeckers come in the spring, it is a sign of warm weather. Woodpeckers come south by night, and go north by day.
- 54- When birds come in numbers around the house, it is a sign of freezing weather.
55. When an alligator bellows, it is a sign of rain within twenty- four hours.
56. A rainbow is a sign of no more rain on that day.
- 57- When a storm is coming, buzzards fly high to get above it.
58. To hear fire make a noise like a woman walking in snow is a sign of snow.

#### SEASONS.

59. All things that grow out of the ground, such as peas, corn, and the like, must be planted in the increase of the moon, from new to full; all things that mature in the ground, like potatoes, must be planted in the decrease or waste of the moon, from full to new.
60. Plant watermelons when the Zodiac points to the heart, as the best of the melon is the heart.
61. To castrate animals, the sign of the Zodiac must be in the knee or feet.
62. If you kill a hog in the waste of the moon

and cook the meat, it will go away in grease. If in the make of the moon, it will swell up when you boil it.

63. Negroes never begin any work for themselves on Friday that cannot be finished the same day.
- 64 It is bad luck to lose Monday by not working; the loss will bring bad luck all the week.
65. Never start work on Friday you can't finish on that day.
66. To have good luck all the year, eat a piece of boiled meat on the first day of January.

#### MEMBERS OF THE BODY.

67. When the left ear burns, it is a sign that some one is talking about you ; when the right ear burns, that he is talking evil You must pull the ear and say :-

"Bad betiger, good betiger;

Hope the Devil may ride yer."

"Betiger" is a corruption of "Betide you." If good is said of you, the burning or itching will continue; if bad, it will stop.

68. If the lower part of your ear burns, some one is talking about you.
69. When your left nostril itches, it is a sign that some man whom you have never seen is coming to your house. When your right nostril itches, some woman whom you have never seen is coming.
70. When your nose itches while coming to your own house, you will see a stranger.
71. When your eye quivers, it is a sign you are

going to cry about something.

72. When your left eye jumps, it is a sign that you are going to see some trouble.

73- If the palm of your hand itches, don't tell anyone about it, but put your hand under your arm and you will have some money.

74. If the right palm itches, you are going to get some money. If the left palm itches, it is a sign that you are going to shake hands with a stranger.

75. To cut your hair, and throw the hair where birds can get it and build nests with it, you will have headaches.

#### POPULAR MEDICINE.

76. To wear one earring on the ear next a weak eye will give good eyesight.

77. An iron ring about the wrist will give strength.

78. A leather string tied about the wrist cures rheumatism.

79. A flannel rag round the wrist will cure pain in the arm.

80. To cure "biles," walk along and pick up the first little white flint rock you see, as it is found sticking in the ground. Rub the boil with the flint, then stick the flint in the ground again, in the same position as you found it. Turn around and leave it, walking backward for a few steps.

81. To cure chills and fever: After you have had three or four chills, take a piece of cotton string, tie as many knots in the string as you have had chills, go into the woods and tie the string around a persimmon bush, then turn around and walk away, not looking backward.

82. To wash your face in water in which eggs have been boiled will bring warts.

83. To take off a wart, take a grain of corn, eat out the heart or white kernel, strike or cut the wart till it bleeds, then take a drop of the blood, put it in the corn where the heart was taken out, and throw the grain to a chicken. The wart will go away.

84 To strengthen your wind in running, eat half-done corn-bread.

85. Negroes believe that if one borrows a hat from a diseased person, and the wearer sweats round the forehead where the hat rests, he will take the disease.

86. Don't step over a child; it will stop the child from growing. Stepping over a grown person is a sign of death.

87. If you cut a mole on your body till it bleeds, it will tum into a cancer and kill you.

88. To eat a peach, apple, or plum that a bird has pecked is said to be poisonous.

89. To scratch the flesh with the finger-nails till it bleeds is said to be poisonous.

90. The bite of a "blue-gummed negro" is said to be poisonous.

91. If a pregnant woman raises her hands high above her head, as for instance to carry a water-bucket on the head, it will cause the navel-string of the child to tie about the neck and choke it to death. The child will be born dead. All children so born are supposed to have met their death in this way.

92. Don't drink water out of a bucket carried on a child's head; to do so will stop it from growing.

#### CATS AND MICE.

93. It is very bad luck to kill a cat.
94. If a strange cat comes to the house, it is a sign of good luck.
95. To "move a cat," that is, to take a cat away with you, is bad luck. Negroes never move a cat.
96. A cat will suck a child's breath, and one must not be allowed to sleep in the same room with children.
97. It is bad luck to have a cat sleep in bed with you. A negro told me that one night a cat almost drew all his breath away.
98. A black cat without a single white hair on it is said to be a witch. No negro will keep a pure black cat in his house.
99. If you rub the hair of a black cat in the night, you will see the fire it has brought from hell.
100. Never give a black cat away, but lend it.
101. If you kill a mouse, the others will gnaw your clothes; if you shoot one with a gun, their friends will overrun the house and drive you from it. Mice are cats' food.
102. If a mouse eats a hole in a garment, and you darn it, you will have seven years bad luck; to avoid this, you must make a square patch.

#### SNAKES.

103. It is good luck to kill the first snake seen in the spring.
104. If you find a snake in the yard about the house, kill him and then burn him. No mouse will come about the house.
105. Negroes believe that a black snake sucks

#### cows.

106. Negroes will not kill a king-snake, as he is the enemy of rattlesnakes and other poisonous snakes.
107. If a snake bites a man, he goes and eats some snake-weed; as the blood of a man is poisonous to snake, he will die if he cannot get the weed.
108. When a king-snake fights a rattlesnake and gets bitten, the king-snake goes into the woods and gets a snake-root leaf as antidote.
109. A "coach-whip" will run you down and whip you to death.

#### BIRDS.

110. When a screech-owl "hollers" about a sick-room, the sick person will in all probability die.
111. To stop a screech-owl from "hollerin'," turn your left hand pants pocket inside out, or take off the left shoe and turn the sole up, or throw "a chunk of fire, out of the window.
112. If a screech-owl flies into a room, it is a sign of sickness or death, or of some evil. If anyone kills the owl, some member of the family will be killed or hurt.
113. It is bad luck to kill a buzzard, a mockingbird, a bluebird, a bee-martin, or a thrush; the last two oppose and keep off hawks.
114. If a buzzard flies over your house, you are going to get a letter or hear good news.
115. Jaybirds go to hell on Friday, carrying a small stick as fuel for the Devil.
116. To keep hawks from catching chickens, put a white flint rock in the fire.

117. To break up a killdee's nest is a sign that you will break a limb.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

118. In spring, cow-lice turn to gnats; hog-lice turn to fleas.

119. A toadstool is called the Devil's snuff-box, and the Devil's imps come at midnight to get the snuff. In the morning you can tell when the imps have been for the snuff, as you will find the toad-stool broken off and scattered about. The snuff is used as one of the ingredients of a "cunjer-bag."

120. If a terrapin bites you, it will never let go till it thunders.

121. A pregnant woman cannot assist in killing hogs, or in handling fresh meat. The meat will spoil.

122. If you want a hen to hatch all pullets, put the eggs under her out of the bonnet of a young girl.

123. To make a girl love you, take a piece of candy or anything she is likely to eat, and put it under either armpit, so that it will get your scent.

124. To milk a cow on the ground, she will go dry unless you throw some of the milk on her back.

125. To make a cow take a strange calf, rub the nose of the cow and the body of the calf with tea made of walnut leaves, so that the scent will be the same with both.

126. To make a stray dog follow and stay with you, put a piece of bacon in the shoe of the left foot, wear it till you see the dog and throw it to him; if he eats it, he will follow you and stay

with you. If he don't, get some hair off the dog's left ear and put it in the left pocket, or rub his left hind-foot with a piece of corn-bread.

127. To keep a strange dog with you, cut some hair off the end of his tail and bury under your doorstep.

128. If you wish a strange cat to stay with you, grease it with any kind of grease, stick the cat to the chimney back, and throw it under your bed.

129. If you want a cat to stay with you and not return to the former owner, grease the four feet of the cat in the house before taking it away.

130. Never throw keys; always hand them or lay them down, and let those who want them pick them up.

131. Negroes will not throw a knife or a key to one another, for they will certainly lose them if thrown.

132. In handing a knife to another, let the blade be shut up, and let it be handed back shut up.

133. If the blade of a knife is soft, put the blade into a piece of hot corn-bread, and put bread and knife into water.

134. To find water before seeking a spot to dig a well, negroes take a switch of willow or peach, hold it in both hands near the middle, and walk over the ground where the well is desired; when they come to the spot where is the water, the switch twists and turns in the hands, sometimes rubbing off the bark, the ends turning down to the ground.

135. To get fleas out of a house, take a pine pole and skin it. The fleas in hopping about will hop on the pole and stick to the resin that issues. Sheep about a yard will also carry them off.

136. When the dogwood-tree blossoms, fish begin to bite. (Negroes always fish with a big cork, and put the lead close to the hook in order to keep terrapins from cutting the line.)

137. When fishing, spit on your bait for luck.

138. If any one steps across the pole of another while fishing, the person whose pole has been so treated will catch no fish unless the pole is again stepped over backwards.

139. You can't swear and catch fish.

### Sol Lockheart's Call

[Note: The following paper was published in the Journal of American Folklore in 1900 (Steiner 1900c:67-70).]

A few words in regard to Sol Lockheart may not be amiss. He is well known in Grovetown, Ga., and its vicinity. He has been in my employ for many years, and during his long term of service I have never had cause for any complaint. He attends to feeding a large number of mules, horses, and cattle, carries the keys, and never has abused my confidence. He is regarded by all white and black as a man of integrity; is sober, honest, truthful, attentive to his duties, courteous and obliging in manner, and charitable as far as his limited means will admit. Nevertheless he is very superstitious, believes in ghosts, the signs of the moon and stars, does not believe in cunjer. He has odd remedies for diseases; to wit, having an attack of chills and fever, he took a cotton string, and, after he had three chills, tied three knots in the string, went to the woods, and fastened the string around a persimmon-tree, then turned and walked away; he has not had a return of the disease. He is a licensed preacher, not an ordained one; that is, he can preach when no ordained minister is

present. He is always attired in his purple gown and with bare feet when he preaches at his church, Mt. Pleasant, near Grovetown, Ga. Every year he goes off preaching when the ladder appears to him, and always goes in the direction the ladder points. I have written out his case as he gave it to me: it is free from what is known as the 'negro dialect:'—

"When a man starts to pray, he has a conscience to tell him when and where; then he has at the same time a conscience to tell him not to go and pray. The first is a good spirit, the last is a bad spirit. Maybe you may be lying in bed at midnight, eating breakfast or dinner, or between meals. The good spirit may say, 'Go in the swamp to pray,' night or day. If you follow the good one, you will receive good; if the bad one, you will get nothing.

"I have to work out and find the difference between the two spirits. I felt sometimes like obeying the good spirit and sometimes the bad, and I continued to live to obey it better, and was one morning, just at daylight, called out by it into a gully ; and when I got there and sat down, I lost my sight, and I heard a voice at my head saying : ' When a child learns to read it don't forget for seventy-five or eighty years ; write and send your mistress word and give her thanks for teaching your lips to pray, and tell her to get right, if she ain't right;' and then there rose a dead head before me, with rotten teeth ; the head seemed all torn up, a terrible sight ; the sight made me sick and blind for three days. A woman in the presence of me said, 'Give me a pipe of tobacco;' another one said, ' You don't use tobacco, just use it ; ' a voice said, ' Go and set you out a tobacco plant, and let it grow to about one and a half feet, and there is a little worm on the plant.' And he showed me the

plant, a pretty green plant, and I never saw as pretty a tobacco plant — the worm eats it and lives on it. Methodists live by the power of God, the Baptists live off of grace; go and tell all the Methodists they are wrong.

"Three days after that I was in the field ploughing, a sunshiny morning ; there came a west wind as a fire and lifted me up, and showed me a ladder from the northwest, that passed right along by me, about two miles from me; the voice told me to go to it and be baptized. I saw the church, and in it twelve people, and in the pulpit a colored man preaching. I could see half his body; the twelve people were in front of him, and I saw myself sitting behind him in the pulpit, and by that spirit and that sign I was showed I was called to preach. The end of the ladder at the church was light and bright; the end away from the church ran up into the sky and was dark; if it had a been bright I would have seen into heaven.

"I told my experience in April eleven years ago, and was baptized the third Sunday in May. As my experience I told the three deacons and our minister what I had seen and heard. When they carried me to the water I lost my sight again, got into the water about waist deep; my breath left me; a voice spoke at my right ear, ' Brother Lockheart, I baptize you.' I was sick all the time from the time I saw the head till I was baptized. Tuesday night, after I was baptized, I fell from my chair dead, and when I fell back a cloud passed over me darker than any black night, and from that I got well; that night was the best night's rest I ever had.

"Two days after that I was ploughing in the field, turned my mule round and sat on my plough-stock; a voice spoke in middy, 'What makes me a nigger?' The skin and hair shows it; if you look

upon a hill and see two black men standing, you say there stands two niggers; if you see two white men, you say there stands two white men; that is to show the difference between the two, skin and hair. I saw the master and servant walk out one day; the master got snake-bit, but by the help of God he got well, and he found the servant, the nigger, knew the snake was there before it bit him, but would not tell him. The master would never like the nigger no more for not telling him.

"The nigger wants the master to tell him the terror that is in death and hell, but he won't tell him on account of the snake. Now you can see clearly to pull the mote out of your brother's eye.

"Two days after that I saw the heavens open and a white cloud come out about the size of a man's hand ; it spread to the size of a table-cloth, closed to the size of a man's hand again, then again spread out to the size of a table-cloth and then closed out of sight, like a door closing in the heavens: then the next day, early in the morning, I saw the spirit of God, like a bird, like a rain-crow in shape, but the color of a dove: it had wide wings ; as it passed by on the right side, it burnt inside of me like a flame of fire, and run me nearly crazy for about five minutes, and then I was all right again. About a week after that I was walking along from the field, when the horn blew for dinner. I walked right up to a coffin on two little benches; it was painted a dark red, and on each side were silver handles, and when I first saw it I was badly frightened and stopped and looked in it, till when I got quiet, it was empty, but lined, with a pillow at the head. When I got over my fear a voice spoke at the head of the coffin and said, ' Your body shall lie in that and rest in the shade,'

and then, as soon as the voice ceased speaking, the coffin disappeared, and then I began preaching.

"About a year after I was called, I went on a journey preaching. I walked all the way for about forty miles. I walked, for the commandment says you must not use your critter on the Sabbath day. When I was coming home, I felt great pain, as if some one was driving nails in me. It was nine o'clock Saturday morning. Sunday morning about the same time, I saw in the road before me the likeness of a man, clothed in a long white gown; he turned my mind round, just like a wheel turning round. The next day, at the same time, I saw the same spirit again, who said to me, ' You have a purple gown made like mine.' The spirit looked like a young white man, clean-faced; his hair was kinder straw-colored, and hung down to his shoulders. For three days he kept after me till I had one made, and on a Friday I felt something in my shoes. I couldn't keep them on, until Saturday evening, and then a voice spoke and said, ' Take off those shoes and go to Cermonia church to-morrow barefoot and preach.' I now preach like the Apostles, with my purple gown on and barefoot, at my own church, Mt. Pleasant, near Grovetown, Ga.

"One night I prayed to the Lord to let me visit Heaven, and then fell into a deep sleep, and then I began a journey up in the sky. I soon came to a fine building, and it was paled round with white palings. I walked up in front of the gate; the gate was shut. I looked through the gate, and saw a white man standing in the door of the house. The house was built round, of white stone, and the house was full of windows, as high as I could see. I could not see to the top of the house. All the windows were full of little

children. I didn't see any grown folks there I expect, what I see and know in this world, they are powerful scarce up there in Heaven."

### **Braziel Robinson: Possessed of Two Spirits**

The following paper was published in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1900 (Steiner 1900d: 226-228):

Braziel Robinson, recently deceased, is a negro of about seventy-five years of age, and came to our plantation immediately after the war to test the question whether he was really free or not, and had the right to move from his former master's place. He soon established a reputation as a foreseer of events, as a root-doctor, would advise negroes when to plant their garden, when to expect rain, administered in a medical way to the many wants of the community in which he lived. Braziel had a peculiar habit, when any one asked him a question, of asking you please to give him a chew of tobacco, so that he could collect his thoughts before answering you.

The following statement is given in his own words: —

"I am not a preacher, but a member of the church, but I can make a few remarks in church, I have a seat in conference, I can see spirits, I have two spirits, one that prowls around, and one that stays in my body. The reason I have two spirits is because I was born with a double caul. People can see spirits if they are born with one caul, but nobody can have two spirits unless they are born with a double caul, very few people have two spirits. I was walking along and met a strange spirit, and then I heard a stick crack behind me and turned round and heard

my prowling spirit tell the strange spirit it was me, not to bother me, and then the strange spirit went away and left me alone. My two spirits are good spirits, and have power over evil spirits, and unless my mind is evil, can keep me from harm. If my mind is evil my two spirits try to win me, if I won't listen to them, then they leave me and make room for evil spirits and then I 'm lost forever, mine have never left me, and they won't if I can help it, as I shall try to keep in the path."

Here he took the quid of tobacco out of his mouth, and rolling it in his hand for a few minutes, resumed:—

"Spirits are around about all the time, dogs and horses can see them as well as people, they don't walk on the ground, I see them all the time, but I never speak to one unless he speaks to me first, I just walk along as if I saw nothing, you' must never speak first to a spirit. When he speaks to me and I speak back I always cross myself, and if it is a good spirit, it tells me something to help me, if it is a bad spirit, it disappears, it can't stand the cross. Sometimes two or more spirits are together, but they are either all good, or all bad spirits, they don't mix like people on earth, good and bad together.

"Good spirits have more power than bad spirits, but they can't help the evil spirits from doing us harm. We were all born to have trouble, and only God can protect us. Sometimes the good spirits let the evil spirits try to make you fall, but I won't listen to the evil spirits.

"When a person sees a spirit, he can tell whether it is a good spirit or a bad spirit by the color, good spirits are always white, and bad spirits are always black. When a person sees a bad spirit, it sometimes looks like a black man

with no head, and then changes into a black cat, dog, or hog, or cow, sometimes the cow has only one horn and it stands out between the eyes. I never saw them change into a black bird; a man told me he saw one in the shape of a black owl; but I have seen good spirits change into white doves, but, never saw one in shape of a cat, have seen them in the shape of men and children, some with wings and some without, then I have seen them look like a mist or a small white cloud. When a person is sick and meets good spirits near enough to feel the air from their bodies, or wings, he generally gets well. Any one can feel a spirit passing by, though only a few can see it. I've seen a great many together at one time, but that was generally about dusk. I never saw them flying two or three along together. Good and bad spirits fly, but a bad spirit can't fly away up high in the air, he is obleeged to stay close to the ground. If a person follows a bad spirit, it will lead him into all kinds of bad places, in ditches, briers. A bad spirit is obleeged to stay in the body where it was born, all the time. If one has two spirits, the one outside wanders about, it is not always with you. If it is near and sees any danger, it comes and tells the spirit inside of you, so it can keep you from harm. Sometimes it can't, for the danger is greater than any spirit can ward off, then one's got to look higher.

"I've heard spirits talk to themselves, they talk in a whisper like, some- times you can tell what they're saying, and sometimes you can't. I don't think the spirit in the body has to suffer for the sins of the body it is in, as it is always telling you to do right. I can't tell, some things are hidden from us.

"People born with a caul generally live to be old. The caul is always buried in a graveyard.



"Children born with a caul talk sooner than other children, and have lot more sense.

"I was conjured in May 1898, while hoeing cotton, I took off my shoes and hoed two rows, then I felt strange, my feet begun to swell, and then my legs, and then, I couldn't walk. I had to stop and go home. Just as I stepped in the house, I felt the terriblest pain in my jints, I sat down and thought, and then looked in my shoes, I found some yaller dirt, and knew it was graveyard dirt, then I knew I was conjured, I then hunted about to find if there was any conjure in the house and found a bag under my door-step. I opened the bag and found, some small roots about an inch long, some black hair, a piece of snake skin, and some graveyard dirt, dark-yaller, right off some coffin. I took the bag and dug a hole in the public road in front of my house, and buried it with the dirt out of my shoes, and threwed some red pepper all around the house. I didn't get any better, and went and saw a root-doctor, who told me he could take off the conjure, he gave me a cup of tea to drink and biled up something and put it in a jug to wash my feet and legs with, but it ain't done me much good, he ain't got enough power, I am gwine to see one in Augusta, who has great power, and can tell me who conjured me. They say root-doctors have power over spirits, who will tell them who does the conjuring; they ginerally uses yerbs gathered on the changes of the moon, and must be got at night. People git conjur from the root-doctors and one root-doctor often works against another, the one that has the most power does the work.

"People gits most conjured by giving them snake's heads, lizards, and scorpions, dried and beat up into powder and putting it in the food or water they drink, and then they gits full of

the varmints ; I saw a root- doctor cut out of a man's leg a lizard and a grasshopper, and then he got well. Some conjur ain't to kill, but to make a person sick or make him have pain, and then conjur is put on the ground in the path where the person to be conjured goes, it is put down on a young moon, a growing moon, so the conjur will rise up and grow, so the person stepping over it will git conjured. Sometimes they roll it up in a ball and tie it to a string and hang it from a limb, so the person to be conjured, coming by, touches the ball, and the work's done, and he gits conjured in the part that strikes the ball, the ball is small and tied by a thread so a person can't see it. There are many ways to conjur, I knew a man that was conjured by putting graveyard dirt under his house in small piles and it almost killed him, and his wife. The dirt made holes in the ground, for it will always go back as deep as you got it, it goes down to where it naturally belongs. "Only root-doctors can git the graveyard dirt, they know what kind to git and when, the hants won't let everybody git it, they must git it thro' some kind of spell, for the graveyard dirt works trouble 'til it gits back inter the ground, and then wears' off. It must git down to the same depth it was took from, that is as deep as the coffin lid was from the surface of the ground".

### **Seeking Jesus. A Religious Rite of Negroes in Georgia.**

[Note: The following short contribution was published in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1901 (Steiner 1900:172).]

Right after the war a great many negroes came into the interior of Georgia from the Sea Islands of South Carolina and Georgia. They brought with them a religious festival or custom called 'Seeking Jesus.' They would congregate in a

cabin, all the lights and fires would be put out, when one among the number would call out, 'Where is Jesus?' Some one would answer: 'Here is Jesus.' They would rush to the part of the cabin where the answer was given, and, of course, not finding him there, would say, 'He ain't here.' Then another voice would cry out in the darkness from another part of the cabin: 'Here is Jesus.' Another rush would be made, when the statement, 'He is not here,' would again be made. The calls and answers would be repeated for hours, sometimes all night. The women and men would become excited and frantic, would tear their hair, and scream and pray until the meeting was broken up in a religious frenzy.

### Observations on the Practice of Conjuring in Georgia

[Note: The following paper was published in the *Journal of American Folklore* in 1901 (Steiner 1901b:173-180).]

The collection of beliefs relating to witchcraft which is furnished below, and which has been obtained from informants whose confidence I have acquired, may be introduced by some account of my personal experience with "cunjer."

A family of negroes consisting of husband, wife, and son applied to me at my plantation near Waynesboro, Ga., for work. The man and woman were well advanced in years and both of the pure negro type. The woman asked that I would give them a house as far removed from others as possible, which request seemed to me rather odd, as most negroes prefer living together, or near each other. They worked as well as the average negro, and I had no cause to complain. A few months after their arrival,

when they were firmly established and were well acquainted with the neighborhood, it began to be rumored about that Hattie McGahee, the woman, was a root doctress, could relieve pains, cure diseases, foretell events, bring about estrangements between husband and wife, or effect reconciliations. She had as assistants in the occult art a perfectly black dog and cat, which were regarded as evil spirits, perhaps as Satan himself. Upon the same plantation were two negroes, Joe Coleman and Henry Jenkins, both of whom were seeking to win the affections of a young negress named Laura Jones. Henry Jenkins sought the assistance of Hattie McGahee, while Joe Coleman procured as advisor and friend a celebrated negro root doctor called Hosey Lightfoot. The black cat or dog was brought into service by furnishing a few hairs which were burned with some sassafras sticks and as a powder administered in food to Laura. The plantation was divided as to the suitors for the hand of Laura, and Hattie declared open war against all those espousing the cause of Joe Coleman. Cross marks and graveyard dirt, or small bundles of tied-up sticks, were found lying in the paths leading to the houses of the respective rivals, and many of the negroes refused to work in the same field with Hattie and her husband. Every headache or other pain, or even diseases common to the climate, were laid to the account of the different doctors. I once found a large pile of cotton lying in the field, which the negroes refused to take out, claiming that Hattie McGahee had put a spell on it. Negroes would not even walk in the paths that Hattie used, fearing the effect of some spell. Matters were at a fever-heat until a crisis was reached in the killing of Hattie McGahee's dog, which was ascribed to Joe Coleman and his friends. When the principals with their friends

met to settle the difficulty personally, the result was that Henry Jenkins was fearfully mutilated with an axe, Joe Coleman suffered a fearful beating with sticks, while others of the respective parties escaped with more or less personal injury. Joe Coleman, the aggressor, was sent to the chain gang by the county court for six months. While he was serving out his term, Henry Jenkins recovered from his injuries, and married Laura. Shortly after the difficulty, the father of Joe Coleman was kicked by a mule and killed; his death was laid at the door of Hattie McGahee, the negroes believing that she used some spell over the mule, making him kill Lewis Coleman, the father of Joe. Since I left Waynesboro, Henry Jenkins and another negro had a difficulty, in which both were killed, about the same Laura Jones whom he married. I immediately discharged the whole McGahee family, saving the young son, who refused to go with his mother and father. Wherever she went, still pursuing the calling of a dealer in the occult science, trouble followed in her wake. Hattie could interpret dreams, was a weather prophet, and in short completely proficient in her art.

Those following the profession of "cunjer doctor" rarely remain in one place for a long time, and generally wish their homes far removed from other habitations. When their work becomes known and its effect felt for the peace of all, master as well as man, it is necessary to remove them from the place.

In 1896, upon my plantation near Grovetown, Ga., I secured as cook the services of a mulatto woman by the name of Jane Jackson, who was highly recommended. She and her husband lived in the yard. At the same time I employed as milkwoman Anna Bonney, whose husband, Jim Bonney, attended to the lot. An

estrangement between Anna and Jane soon produced the following disastrous results. Anna would complain about Jane, Jane in turn would accuse Anna of taking the milk. One morning at breakfast, my brother and myself, upon drinking a little of the coffee in our cups, were made violently sick. Of course Jane was questioned very closely in regard to it; but I soon became convinced that she was not the guilty party. We never could explain the coffee incident, having failed to analyze the coffee. A negro told me that he thought powdered pecune root was put in the coffee, as it is a powerful emetic. Though Anna milked, Jane churned, and every effort to make butter failed. Jane said that Anna had put a spell on the milk. Anna retorted by saying that Jane put something in the milk to prevent the butter coming, so that she, Anna, could be discharged. Chickens about the yard began to die, the water in the well had a peculiar taste, little bundles of sticks were found in the kitchen as well as in the cow lot, graveyard dirt served its purpose in various ways and in many places. Having stopped using water out of the well, we had all the water used for drinking and culinary purposes brought from a spring that was a short distance from the house. Very soon sticks of various lengths, "devil's snuff" and graveyard dirt, was found strewed along the path to the spring. Our milk cow prematurely going dry, and a fine calf dying at the lot, together with the fact that Jim Bonney and his wife Anna were seen by a negro, Steve Olley, at midnight making repeated circuits around the well, and motioning with their hands towards the house occupied by Jane Jackson. Upon the negroes telling me of the walk around the well, I determined to make a clean sweep of everybody, and discharged all hands in any way concerned in the matter. It was with great difficulty, while all this "cunjer" was going on,

that I could get any one to enter the yard in order to perform the slightest offices. Negroes would use neither axe nor hoes kept at the yard, but would bring their own, and take them away as soon as the work was finished. Some would not even pass through the yard. When a hen was put to setting, she rarely brought off chickens. Shortly after the discharge of all parties, John Jackson, the husband of Jane Jackson, was seen, when passing on a path, to motion three times towards Anna Bonney's house. Anna was standing in the yard at the time the motions were made, and fell in convulsions. She was taken into the house, where she lingered for some weeks, and died. Her death was laid at the door of Jane Jackson. Before using the well, I had it thoroughly cleaned out, and red pepper thrown in, as well as into and under the house that was occupied by Jane Jackson, before I could get other negroes to occupy the premises, or use the water from the well. It can be well understood from the foregoing, how this matter of "cunjere," in designing hands, can work evil to the innocent. Jane and Anna, with the assistance of their husbands, were fighting a battle royal against each other. Yet I and other innocent people had parts to play in this drama.

#### HOW CUNJER DOCTORS GET PATIENTS.

(From Henry Thomas.)

Two miles from Grovetown, Ga., lived an old widowed negro woman, Sarah Davis, who had accumulated quite a sum of money. She was very close, and would neither lend nor give. A sharp negro, learning that she was sick, put the following scheme in execution to get some of it. He went along the path that led to the spring, and found a convenient spot for his purpose, dug a hole, put in it a small bottle containing

human hair, some graveyard dirt, and two small sticks ; he covered up the holes, throwing leaves over the surface of the ground to conceal his work. He then went into the house, where he found the old woman quite sick, her son and daughters were with her. After talking with her for some time, asking particularly the nature of her complaint, as to pain, etc., he plainly told her she was under a spell, or cunjered. He told her the cunjere was near her house, and that if she would give him ten dollars he would find it, break the spell, and cure her; if he did not find it, no pay. He asked that the son and daughter accompany him in the search, which proposition seemed fair enough. He told them he had with him a rod that could find it. He, with the son and daughter, began the search. He did not go on the spring path when he began the search for the cunjere, but went about the yard in opposite directions, holding in his hands the rod, a small piece of rod-iron about twelve inches long; he held the rod firmly in both hands, a hand holding each end of the rod. After searching the yard thoroughly, with no success, he went towards the lot where the mules were kept, with no better luck; the rod would not turn. At last he turned his face toward the spring, and slowly walked along, no one speaking a word. When he neared the spot where he had put the bottle, the rod began to show signs of life; when he got within two feet of the spot, the rod acted very excitedly. He sent the son after a hoe and shovels, made a circle about four feet in diameter, and began digging. He gradually approached the bottle, then began very carefully to take away a little dirt at a time, till at last he unearthed the bottle; the son and daughter were speechless. He took the bottle to the old woman, who was much relieved and paid the ten dollars, and then gave her some roots to chew. The bottle, after being broken,

was buried in the middle of the public road. The old woman recovered, and, though the trick was exposed, still believes she was cunjered, and cured by the doctor.

#### A CUNJERER.

Tom Franklin is supposed to be a "cunjerer." Whenever he comes into a house, he always puts his hands in his pockets, then on a chair, or table, or bed. When he does this, something always happens to the household. Negroes think he carries graveyard dirt, and works his spells by it. They say he works entirely with graveyard dirt, that he knows the time to get it. He was the cause of a negro named Alex Johnson giving up a farm and moving off the place; he put graveyard dirt under Alex's house, and made him very ill. Alex saw the dirt, and what he could get of it he took with a shovel and threw in a fire he had made in the road. Some he couldn't get, as it kept sinking into the ground.

Tom Franklin is also a root doctor, and practices; he collects roots at different stages of the moon.

#### (Account of Alex Johnson.)

I was cunjered last May, 1898. I felt the first pain, hoeing in the field; it struck me in the right foot, and then in the left, but most in the right foot, then run over my whole body, and rested in my head; I went home, and knew I was cunjered. I looked for the cunjrer, found a little bag under my front doorstep, containing graveyard dirt, some night-shade roots, and some devil's snuff, took the bag, and dug a hole in the middle of the public road, where people walked and buried the bag, and sprinkled red pepper and sulphur in my house. I have used

fresh urine, pepper, and salt to rub with; am going to get fresh pokeberry root on the next new moon, make a tea, and rub with it. My feet feel hot, the cunjrer put a fire in them; am going to see a new root-doctor, and find out who *worked* on me, have the spell tuk off of me, and put on the person who *spelled* me.

#### AN AFRICAN WIZARD.

Many years ago an old African, or Guinea negro, who was a trainer of race-horses, and hanger-on of the sporting ring, claimed to be a conjurer and wizard, professing to have derived the art from the Indians after he arrived in this country from Africa. This power he never used criminally against any one, but only in controlling riotous gatherings, commanding forgiveness from parties threatening him with personal violence; would cause runaway slaves to return to their masters, foretell the time they would appear and give themselves up, and compel their masters or overseers to pardon and forgive them for the offense of running away, even against their own threats of severe punishment when caught.

By rubbing any race-horse in a peculiar and secret way he would insure him to be a winner while under his training, and claimed to be able to make cards, dice, and other games subject to his will.

#### ITEMS RELATING TO CUNJER. (From various informants.)

To cunjrer a well, throw into the well graveyard dirt, an old pipe of a cunjrer doctor, or some devil's snuff.

Devil's snuff, a large species of mushroom, when broken, is full of a powder of a slatish color, and is used in cunjrer, singly or in

combination with graveyard dirt and other things.

If a person is cunjered by a negro with a blue and a black eye, he will surely die.

If cunjered by a blue-gummed negro, death is certain.

To produce blindness by cunjere, take a toad-frog and dry it, then powder it up, and mix with salt, and sprinkle in the hat of the person to be cunjered, or on the head if possible; when the head sweats, and the sweat runs down the face, blindness takes place.

Wherever any one gets killed, the spot is haunted.

All old houses, that stand off by themselves, and are unoccupied, generally get the reputation of being haunted. A cunjere doctor can lay haunts.

Graveyard dirt must be got off the coffin of the dead person, on the waste of the moon at midnight.

If you go through a place that is haunted, to keep from seeing the haunts and from their harming you, take your hat off and throw it behind you, then turn around to the right and take up your hat and walk fast by the place, so as not to aggravate the haunts to follow.

Spirits come in any shape, as men, cows, cats, dogs, but are always black. Some whine like a cat.

To see spirits, take a rain-crow's egg, break it in water, and wash your face in it.

To put a root with a cunjere-spell on it on the ground and let a person walk over it will hurt him.

If a man dies and leaves money buried, so that nobody knows where it is, his spirit will come back, and the color of the spirit is red.

A cunjere bag contains either devil's snuff, with worms, piece of snake-skin, some leaves or sticks tied with horsehair, black owl's feather, wing of a leather-wing bat, tail of a rat, or foot of a mole; any or all of these things, may be used as needed.

To carry about the person a bone from the skeleton of a human being is proof against cunjere, but the bone must be gotten out of a grave by the person.

In excavating an Indian mound on the Savannah River, Georgia, the negroes working took each a metacarpal bone to protect them against cunjere.

If a negro finds a coat or article of dress lying nicely folded, with a stick lying on it, he will not touch it for fear of cunjere. On one occasion, where some cotton was left in the field, and thought to be cunjered, I could not get a negro to touch it. When I picked it up and put it in a basket, the spell left it, as the spell leaves after being touched by a human hand, the cunjere going to the person touching it. Cunjere can only be effectual against those of the same race. A negro cannot cunjere a white man.

To prevent a hunting dog from "running spirits," take a glass button and tie around his neck.

To stop a dog from hunting, rub an onion over his nose, and he will not trail anything; a piece of wild onion is sometimes found in a cunjere bag.

To keep witches from riding, you make an X on a Bible, and put it under your pillow.

Fish-bone is good for cunjer when swelling has occurred.

Pecune root is good for cunjer to rub with.

Any trouble that befalls a negro that he can't explain is laid at the door of "cunjer."

Many negroes say that they travel round with spirits, but they are generally considered cunjurers.

To keep from being cunjered, wear a piece of money in either shoe, or both. If you eat where any one is who you fear may cunjer you, keep a piece of silver money in your mouth while eating and drinking.

Red pepper in your shoe will prevent cunjer.

To cunjer by means of a hat, take a toad-frog dry and powder, and put the powder in the hat, or the dried toad may be put up over the door, or under steps. Toads, frogs, lizards, etc., must be all gotten at night on the waste of the moon, as that will insure a wasting away of the body.

I give an illustration of cunjer by hat and by water. While Bill Marshall, a negro, well known around Grovetown, Ga., was riding in a wagon with another negro, the latter's hat blew off. Bill Marshall picked it up, and handed it to the negro, who in a few days was taken sick and died; his death was laid at the door of Marshall. Marshall went to a well to get some water; he drank out of the bucket; a negro woman came after him, drank out of the same water, and died shortly after; the death was laid to Bill Marshall. I employed him to deaden timber in new ground; none of the negroes would have anything to do with him, but said he was a bad man, a cunjer doctor; one old negro said, "Look at tree Bill cut, die in a week." I couldn't reason

the question with them; Bill could get no place to stay or cook, so I had to discharge him. He is now living in a house he built far off from his fellows, and will be forced to follow "cunjering."

Some cunjer by getting the excrement of the person to be cunjered, boring a hole in a tree, and putting the excrement in the hole, and driving a plug in tight; this will stop one up, an action on the bowels can't be had unless the tree with the plug is found, the plug taken out, and the tree cut down and burned where it stands; the smallest trees are generally selected to prevent their being found.

Some cunjer bags are made with snake-root, needles and pins, tied up with pieces of hair of the person to be cunjered in a bag of red flannel

This mode of cunjer does not produce death, but much suffering and pain.

Sol Lockheart found a cunjer bag at his doorstep, he did not look into it, but picked it up with two sticks, and threw the bag and two sticks into the fire.

Cunjer as graveyard dirt is taken from a grave one day after burial. Negroes rarely ever go near a graveyard in daytime, never at night.

One can be cunjered by shaking hands with any one, if he has rubbed his hands with graveyard dirt.

To sprinkle graveyard dirt about the yard, about a house, makes one sleepy, sluggish, naturally waste away and perish until he dies.

Take heads of dried snake, "ground puppy," scorpion, or "toadfrog, pound them up, put in the water or victuals of any one; the "varmint," when taken into one's stomach, turn

to life, and slowly eat you up, unless you can get the cunjer taken off.

Get a hair from the mole of your head, tie it around a new tenpenny nail, and bury it with the nail head down, point up, under the doorstep. This will "run one crazy"

## Negro Burial Ceremonies and Societies

Roland Steiner presented in the Folklore section at the Washington Meeting of the newly founded American Anthropological Association and the American Folk-lore Society with Section H of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in Washington, D.C. in January 1903 (*Journal of American Folklore* 1903:53-56). While Steiner's complete paper, which was entitled, "Negro Burial Ceremonies and Societies", may not have survived, George Grant Mac Curdy, an anthropologist with the Peabody Museum of Yale University, provided this synopsis (Mac Curdy 1903:125):

Dr Roland Steiner contributed a paper on 'Funeral Ceremonies among the Negroes of Georgia.' These people have a custom of putting little pieces of broken plates on the graves of their deceased relatives or friends. An old negro told the speaker that it was to propitiate an evil spirit that came over from Africa with the first negroes who landed in this country. When a negro dies, all the relatives and friends assemble at his house, and messengers are sent to announce the death to the remotest kin. They all assemble at the house that night, where supper is prepared, and keep a vigil over the dead with alternate psalms and prayers. The grave is dug and all twigs that are used in measuring are placed therein. At the grave the coffin is opened in order that those present may

view the remains. When the body is deposited in the grave; a 'holy circle' is formed, and a dance, accompanied by singing and praying, is performed, sometimes for an hour. Then the minister officiates, but this part of the service does not last very long. The tools used in digging the grave are placed upon it, to remain until the dew has fallen on them — generally over night.

## Other Ethnographic Interests- Fish Traps

While most of Roland Steiner's collecting behavior in Georgia focused on prehistoric durable relics, he also had an interest in contemporary ethnological objects from Georgia, particularly basketry. These were split oak baskets used by African Americans in Columbia County, Georgia for fishing. Steiner sent examples of these fish baskets to several northern museums, including the Smithsonian Institution, the American Museum of Natural History, the Peabody Museum at Harvard University and the University of Pennsylvania, and his anthropological correspondents on the subject included Franz Boas, Otis Mason, Frederic Ward Putnam and others.

Steiner sent two fish traps to Frederic Ward Putnam at the American Museum of Natural History in New York in 1889 (Elliott 2010:129-130). He wrote:

I send per express the two fish baskets promised—thought best to send per express—  
These baskets have come down from the Indians & are used by negro fishermen in our section—One basket is single, the other has two



compartments. They are weighted with stones, baited with corn or bread & anchored in the streams. The fish are taken into at the small end by loosening the oak withers. In all probability the [illegible] soap-stone objects—I sent to the museum played a part in the basket business—I present the baskets to the museum. There is another type of basket that is larger & used at the mouth of creeks and is set up after this fashion poles are driven in the creek bottom from each side leaving an opening at the middle where the basket is fixed. Any fish & turtle coming up the creek is caught—I can send you one of each kind. I think Dr. Boas will be interested in these baskets; comparing them with the North-west fish weir (Elliott 2010:129-130).

Roland sent another two (or three) fish traps to the American Museum of Natural History in 1900 (American Museum of Natural History 1901: 78; 1902:74). These were described as, “made by old negroes on coast of Georgia (supposed to be African survival”.

Steiner sent three fish traps and baskets to Otis Mason at the United States National Museum in 1901 (Elliott 2010:85, 86). He wrote to Mason on June 21, 1901 describing the donation:

I send you today the fish traps & baskets. The model you must take as my best. I will see you in a few weeks & explain [illegible]

all.

The two traps you have are what are called set-traps, being fixed to stakes & weighted, baited & set in rivers or large ponds or creeks. the largest of the ones I have sent you is fastened to a vine or rope, & thrown [missing segment] into a river, pond or creek, & [missing segment] when [illegible] the one in model [missing segment] in a large creek, not [illegible] -the basket is to hold fish after having taken from traps some are 4 x 6 ft- I hope they will [illegible] in your work.

The line is in the basket.

Yrs most cordially

Roland Steiner

The legs representing piles to put in [illegible] the auger pones are in the trap (Elliott 2010:85).

Steiner donated two fish traps to the University of Pennsylvania (Free Museum of Science and Art 1901:47-48; University of Pennsylvania 1900, 1902). The description in the museum bulletin is informative and is reproduced here:

One (21,970), a conical basket made of withes of live oak, 29 inches in diameter at base, and 70 inches in length, and the other (21,971) of the same material, but smaller, 13 inches

in diameter at base and 49 inches in length. The second trap is contracted at the end next the mouth for a length of 9 ½ inches.

These traps are made and used by the negroes at Grovetown. They are known as 'Indian fish traps.' The negroes who make them have a mixture of Indian blood. The two traps presented were made by an old negro fisherman named Israel Porter, living on Dr. Steiner's place at Grovetown.

Dr. Steiner states that the material of these traps is always live oak. Three different types are used. The smallest are from four to six feet in length, and from two to three feet in diameter, with a single compartment. The trap proper is ovoid in shape, the entrance being formed by the withes of the body of the trap extending out from a neck and then turning in, the loose edges

meeting in the body of the trap, allowing the fish to go in. The sharp ends meeting at a point prevent their escape.

The second size differs from the above in being larger and in having two compartments, so that the fish can pass from one to the other in trying to escape. The traps are weighted with stones and anchored in streams, and are baited with corn bread, and frequently old pieces of meat. Some have little doors at the top to take out the fish, while in others they are taken out through the mouth by reaching in with the hand (Free Museum of Science and Art 1901:47-48).

Steiner donated three split wood baskets to the Peabody Museum of Archaeology in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1901 (Harvard University 1902; Peabody Museum 1902:273; 2015a-c). Information on two examples are available online and images of these fish baskets are shown in Figures 3-5.



Figure 3. Fish Trap (Peabody Museum 2015a: Peabody Number 01-27-10/56854).



Figure 4. Model of a Fish Trap (Peabody Museum 2015b: Peabody Number 01-27-10/56855).



**Figure 5. Model of a Fish Carrier (Peabody Museum 2015c: Peabody Number: 01-27-10/56856).**

## Then Silence

The LAMAR Institute's research has not turned up publications by Roland Steiner dating after 1903. He apparently wrote little in the final three years of his life. The latest letter written by Steiner was written to George Dorsey at the Field Museum in Chicago and is dated December 22, 1904 (Elliott 1910:151). Steiner maintained his membership in the American Anthropological Association and his name remained on its rolls even after his death (American Anthropological Association 1905:182). Roland Steiner died on January 12, 1906 at the City Hospital in Augusta, Georgia after a brief illness. His obituary was widely published in American newspapers, as well as in *American Antiquity* (1906:204).

Roland Steiner probably received no formal training in either anthropology or folklore, as these disciplines did not exist when he attended college. The scholarly disciplines of anthropology and folklore in the United States were formalized in the latter decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Steiner was trained in medicine.

He was well read and self-taught on these subjects, as demonstrated from his correspondences and the people that he corresponded with. These include Franz Boas, considered the father of modern anthropology, who was an assistant curator at the American Museum of Natural History when he first met Roland; Frederic Ward Putnam was an archaeologist and ethnologist and considered the father of American archaeology, who was Curator of the Department of Anthropology at

the AMNH. He also served as president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the American Folklore Society in the years that Roland interacted with him. Otis Tufton Mason was an American ethnologist and curator at the Smithsonian Institution and an authority on aboriginal American basketry. Thomas Wilson was an archaeologist and curator at the Smithsonian Institution. He also served as Vice President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science when Roland presented before that body in 1899. Wilson was an authority on prehistoric art and symbolism and he invested considerable energy organizing and classifying Roland Steiner's archaeological collection at the Smithsonian Institution. William Henry Holmes, an archaeologist, anthropologist and Curator and Director of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution. Professor Holmes also was a close contact of Roland Steiner and they shared a common interest in understanding the Archaic period soapstone bowl industry in eastern North America. It is clear from reading Steiner's letters to these men that he deferred to the superior scholastic credentials of these men, but all of them were aware of his keen anthropological interests and they engaged him in dialogue. It is also clear that subsequent scholars' interest in Steiner's accomplishments and his massive relic accumulations rapidly declined after Steiner's death.

Although he was in the elite southern planter class, neither Roland, nor his father were born in the south. His attitudes towards African Americans are difficult to gauge. Was he a racist? His father enslaved multiple African Americans and Roland no doubt was accustomed to the slave-master relationship at

the family home. Roland was too young to be a slave owner himself, as he reached adulthood just as the Civil War erupted. He quickly adapted as the master of many sharecroppers at his Burke County and Columbia County plantations, which was a system that virtually enslaved farmers. Steiner's actions towards one African American, Arch Stokes, hint at his attitudes towards African Americans, as revealed in this 1882 new story entitled, "Arson":

Last Wednesday night the store of Mr. Roland Steiner, near Waynesboro, was burned. On the next morning Mr. Steiner went into the cotton field, where a colored boy, Arch Stokes, was picking cotton. Mr. Steiner called to him, when Arch, seeing him with a gun, ran. Mr. Steiner thereupon fired, emptying both barrels at the boy as he ran. Stokes escaped and went to Mr. Ab Rhodes', near Hepzibah, where he was arrested last Sunday night by Messrs. J.W. Grubbs, the jailor, and T.D. Oliver, the County Solicitor of Burke, and carried back to Waynesboro to await trial (*Augusta Chronicle* 1882:4).

Was Roland a religious man? As a child Roland Steiner was a member of St. Pauls Episcopal Church in Augusta, Georgia (Elliott 2010). It remains to be determined how devoted he was to Christianity in later life, although his writings contain numerous indications that he supported organized religion. This extended to providing a

church sanctuary on his property at Grovetown for his African-American tenants. Roland also was involved in politics at the local level. He never held any elected office but he did attend state conventions and his writings indicate that he was a Democrat and supporter of President William McKinley in the 1890 election. Roland enjoyed hunting and horse racing. He circulated in Georgia's "comfortable" society and his comings and goings were occasionally followed in the Society columns.

What can we learn about the people mentioned in Steiner's writings? Were they real people, or were their identities changed, or perhaps total fiction?

Who was Sol Lockheart? Sol, or Solomen Lockheart, aka Solomon Lockhart and other variant spellings, is documented as a resident of east-central Georgia from at least 1870 through 1930. Steiner notes that Sol was well known in the Grovetown vicinity of Columbia County and that he worked for Steiner. He is likely represented in the Slave schedules of the Federal Census for 1850 and 1860 but there he is anonymous. He first appears by name in the 1870 Federal Census for Jefferson County, Georgia. He also is enumerated in the 1880, 1910, and 1920 Federal censuses for Columbia County, Georgia. In 1870 he was living in the home of William Lockhart, aged 55, and Philis Lockhart, aged 45 in the Bethany community. His birth year was estimated at about 1848 and his age at 22 years. His occupation was listed as farm laborer. The 1880 census lists him as a black man and his birth year at about 1845 and his age as 35. He lived in a house with his wife Julia Lockhart, aged 30, and both were listed as laborers. By 1910 Sol was living in Grovetown, Georgia with his wife Julia, aged 60 and his

mother, Nareis Lockhart, aged 74. His age was listed at 52 (likely in error) and his occupation was given as farm laborer. The 1920 census records that He was an illiterate black man born about 1847 and was a 73 year old widow in 1920. His occupation was listed as servant in the home of the Portis R. Smith family in Grovetown, Georgia. In the 1930 census, Sol (listed as Solomon Lockhart) was living in Richmond County, Georgia. In the 1930 census, Sol was an 82 year old servant in the home of Charles R. Hill, aged 59, and his family (Ancestry.com 2015).

Who was Braziel Robinson? No one by the name of Braziel Robinson is listed in the Federal population schedules in the late 19<sup>th</sup> or early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries for Georgia, except for one white man named Brazile Robinson, who is in the 1870 census for Fannin County, Georgia. Steiner's paper indicates that Braziel was dead by 1900 and that he had lived in east-central Georgia (probably in Columbia or Burke counties where the Steiners owned property). State and county records offer some enlightenment about the man. On July 4, 1867, Brazil Robinson registered to vote in Columbia County, Georgia and he attested that he had resided in the county for the previous 12 months. Braziel Robinson is shown in the Columbia County Tax Digests for the periods 1873-1877 and 1878-1883 where he was listed as a freedman [possibly a sharecropper] employed by James L. Clanton, E. Norvill, and a Mr. [illegible] Ivy. Braziel was married to Becky West in Columbia County, Georgia on December 29, 1884 and Brazil Robinson married Kettie Clock in Columbia County on August 23, 1888 (Ancestry.com 2015). No record of his death has survived, although Roland Steiner stated that he was recently deceased in 1900.

Who was Allan Stevenson? A search of Federal census records yielded no one named Allan Stevenson in Georgia during this period. Georgia death records for 1925, however, do list a black man named Dave Stevenson of Burke County, Georgia and who was born in Augusta, Georgia to Allen Stevenson and Katie Hill around 1895 (Ancestry.com 2015).

Other people listed in Steiner's writings include: Anna and husband Jim Bonney; Lewis Coleman and his son Joe Coleman; Sarah Davis; Tom Franklin; Jane and husband John Jackson; Alex Johnson; Hosie Lightfoot; Hattie McGahee; Bill Marshall; Steve Olley and Henry Thomas. Some of these individuals were researched and are introduced below, while the others remain obscure.

Hosey Lightfoot, aka Hosea Lightfoot, is identified by Steiner as a "root doctor". Hosey Lightfoot was a resident of Subdivision 157, Burke County Georgia in 1870. He was listed as a single, black man born about 1845 and 25 years of age. Hosea Lightfoot also is listed in Freedmen District 73 of Burke County in the 1874-1876 property tax digest where he was an employee of R.H. Burton. IN 1900 Hosea Lightfoot was an "institutionalized" patient of the Little Sisters of the Poor's Home for the Aged in Savannah, Georgia. There his age was give as 70 years (Ancestry.com 2015).

Tom Frankin is identified by Steiner as a conjuror who lived in Columbia County, Georgia. In 1880 Thomas Franklin, aged 45, was listed as head of household in District 129, Columbia County, Georgia. He lived with his wife Nancy, aged 40, and their three children. He and his wife were listed as an illiterate, black laborers (Ancestry.com 2015).

Hattie McGahee was a root doctress who lived on Steiner's plantation in Burke County. Her curses and spells caused such havoc, including several attributed deaths by conjure, there that Steiner sent the entire family away from his place. Census research yielded no clues as to Hattie (or Harriett) McGahee.

Jane Jackson and John Jackson were suspected perpetrators of a conjure that contributed to the death of Anna Bonney in Steiner's account. In 1900 John Jackson, aged 66, and his wife Jane, aged 67 years lived with their 10 year old granddaughter Carrie Jackson in a rented farmhouse at Alliance Hall No. 2, Columbia County, Georgia. Both John and Jane are listed as black, illiterate farmer and farm laborer, respectively (Ancestry.com 2015).

Bill Marshall, a resident of Columbia County, Georgia, is identified by Steiner as a victim of a conjer. The Federal Census for 1910 lists a black, literate farmer named Bill Marshall, born about 1871 and age 39 years, and his wife Stassie Marshall, aged 30 years, living in Militia District 129 of Columbia County, Georgia (Ancestry.com 2015).

Lewis Coleman is described by Steiner as a victim of conjure by Hattie McGahee. The story goes that Hattie placed a spell on a mule that caused the animal to kick and kill Lewis. Lewis Coleman was a black farmer in Waynesboro, Burke County in 1880. He lived with his wife Sarah and their son Jo [Joe] Lewis was listed as 34 years old, born about 1846. Sarah was 28 years and Jo as 1 years old in 1880. Lewis Coleman is not listed in the 1900 census (Ancestry.com 2015).

For all his strength and flaws, Roland Steiner was observant and his writings on African-

American culture in east central Georgia are a unique record that has important value to modern cultural anthropologists, ethnologists, folklorists and archaeologists. Future research on Roland Steiner may reveal new aspects

about his life, thoughts and behavior, but this volume serves as a foundation for a study of Roland Steiner-a pioneer in Georgia anthropology and folklore.



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