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Trends in Grave Marker Attributes in Greenwood Cemetery: Orlando, Florida

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TRENDS IN GRAVE MARKER ATTRIBUTES IN GREENWOOD
CEMETERY: ORLANDO, FLORIDA

by

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ABSTRACT

Grave markers represent a significant amount of highly important information related to the cultural patterns of a society, as well as how these patterns have changed over time. Although, cemetery studies are popular in other regions of the United States, few studies regarding grave marker attributes have been conducted in Florida. The purpose of this research was to analyze and interpret temporal and demographic changes in grave marker attributes in Greenwood Cemetery in Orlando, Florida. Another aspect of this research focused on the possible correlation between the age and inferred sex of the deceased individual in relation to the type of epitaph and iconography chosen to represent them in their mortuary context. Data was collected from 925 headstones within Greenwood Cemetery; these headstones further represent 1,102 individuals. Attributes analyzed include marker material, marker type, iconographic images, epitaph, memorial photographs, footstones and curbs. These attributes will be analyzed and compared to trends noted within a similar study conducted by Meyers and Schultz (2016), to allow for better interpretation of trends in grave marker attributes across a range of Florida cemeteries. Results indicate multiple trends. The popularity of marble headstones decreased greatly from 51% in Pre-1900 to only 8% from 2000 to 2017. Furthermore, the prevalence of epitaph and iconography categories vary greatly on both a temporal and demographic basis. Male infants are more likely than any other demographic group to be represented by a genealogical epitaph, at 41% representation. Ultimately, these trends illustrate important aspects of cultural changes related to mortuary practice and individual mortuary contexts within Orlando, Florida.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter One: Introduction

Cemeteries are an extraordinary resource for historical information about past societies; so extraordinary, in fact, that the individuals who study cemeteries often refer to them as "museums" (Meyer, 1992). Information curated within cemeteries is a critically important resource across a wide range of disciplines; some of which include folklore, genealogy, art history, anthropology, and history (Meyer, 1992; Carmack, 2002). Historians and genealogists use cemeteries to gather information related to biographical information. Anthropologists study cemeteries in order test their understanding of cultural changes over time (Brown, 2008). Sculptures are often used by art historians to gather information related to folk art traditions and the meaning behind various styles of art (Brown, 2008). Information gathered from headstones can be used to study epidemics, socioeconomic status, infant mortality, family structure, migration, life expectancy, religion and many other factors related to past populations (Meyer, 1992; Brown, 2008; Carmack, 2002).

Although, researchers have long understood the importance of preserving and studying cemeteries, it was not until relatively recently that the study of cemeteries has evolved into a widely accepted and institutionally supported field of study. The Association for Gravestone Studies was founded in 1977; since then, the association has published an annual journal, and held an annual conference, in addition to hosting numerous special exhibits, and activities, regarding cemetery studies (Meyer, 1992). The association has proven to be of paramount importance in the effort to increase public awareness related to studying, and preserving, cemeteries in the United States.

Introduction to Mortuary Theory

Cemeteries, as well as headstones, serve multiple purposes, some of which are strictly practical while others are related to the sentimental value of personal and social memorialization. A cemetery is a purposely constructed landscape that allows for clean and efficient disposal of deceased individuals while also playing an immensely important role in the creation and maintenance of memories that establish collective social histories (Cannon, 2002). Common placement of deceased individuals, as in a cemetery, eases the feelings of personal loss, social disruption and accompanying worry related to mortality that may stem from experiencing the death of a loved one, as well as providing a location for the perpetuation of memory (Cannon, 2002). Cemeteries are deliberate creations that serve to portray aspects of the past from the perspective of the people who lived, and died, in the past (Cannon, 2002). The social memory that is perpetuated following the creation of a cemetery extends beyond personal knowledge of the deceased individual and is necessary to create an enduring belief in immortality and social inclusion as genealogical histories provide a sense of membership within a community (Cannon, 2002).

Headstones are a form of monumental architecture that serve the purpose of marking the site of a grave in order to increase organization within a cemetery (Deetz, 1977). In addition, they serve as visual displays of information related to the deceased individual, as well as a key feature in the endeavor of memory preservation (Cannon, 2002). The role and importance of the headstone itself is illustrated by the commonly chosen epitaphs "Sacred to the memory of" and "In memory of." These epitaphs refer directly to the headstone, while the former epitaph delineates the reverent status of the headstone as a memorial monument, the other informs the reader that the headstone was erected with the specific purpose of aiding in the memorialization

of the deceased individual. Recognition of the role of memory in a mortuary context allows for a better understanding of trends in mortuary practice (Cannon, 2002).

As much as headstones are a reflection of the deceased individual, they also serve as a reflection of the society in which the individual once lived. Mortuary theory serves as a framework for understanding the relationship between the mortuary context of a deceased individual in reference to their place within society (Saxe, 1970; Binford, 1971; Brown 1995). Mortuary theory relies on the notion that mortuary contexts, including headstones, do not simply represent a deceased individual, but rather a multi-faceted and complex social personality who formed relationships with other complex social personalities according to the rules determined by their particular social system (Saxe, 1970; Binford, 1971).

As individuals live, they form a variety of social identities (Saxe, 1970). For example, "a doctor," "a mother," or "a criminal." Multiple social identities ascribed to one individual may form a social persona (Saxe, 1970), meaning that one individual can be both a doctor and a mother in the same context. One individual may form multiple social personas depending on the context in which they live and the relationships formed within these contexts (Saxe 1970, Binford 1971). This notion of social identity is an important one within the framework of mortuary archaeological theory as funerary contexts are assumed to represent only one particular social persona of the deceased individual (Saxe, 1970; Binford 1971; Brown 1995). However, it is usually not the deceased individual who decides which social persona will represent them within their mortuary context (Saxe, 1970). Living individuals, the surviving family or community members, may decide which characteristics of the deceased individual are important and appropriate for immortalization in the mortuary setting; these decisions are based on the rules and structure of the larger social system (Saxe, 1970; Binford 1971). Therefore, the

mortuary context, including the headstone, of a deceased individual provides information about both the deceased individual and the values of the sociocultural system in which they lived (Saxe, 1970; Binford 1971). Values of the sociocultural system are often related to aspects of life that are deemed important, expected, or necessary within a certain society. For example, motherhood or marriage. Certain aspects of the social persona, such as the age at death and inferred sex of the individual are expected to be reflected in the mortuary context of the individual. These aspects of the life of a deceased individual may be represented in some manner within their mortuary context (Saxe, 1970; Binford 1971), possible via iconography or epitaph on a headstone. For example, the headstone of a five-year-old girl may include an iconographic imagine or epitaph that would not be present on the headstone of a sixty-year-old woman.

Although it is important to consider the framework of social persona when analyzing and interpreting data related to mortuary contexts, it is equally as important to consider the fact that mortuary contexts are not simply created to illustrate the resolute social status and social role of a deceased individual (Pearson, 1999). Mortuary contexts also exemplify a significantly altering moment within a family and community. The process of creating and maintaining a mortuary context serves multiple purposes, many of which serve the needs and interests of living individuals rather than those of the deceased individual (Cannon, 2002). Individual actions and choices related to mortuary context allow the family and community to grieve for a lost loved one, as well as to commemorate the life of the deceased individual (Cannon, 2002). Therefore, mortuary contexts are related to grief, mourning, and human agency as much as they are related to the societal influences of a specific community (Pearson, 1999; Cannon, 2012).

Mortuary theory provides an important framework for past and present cemetery studies and will serve as the framework for the current study of Greenwood Cemetery in Orlando,

4

Florida. Using this approach, I will be able to analyze data related to the possible correlation between headstone characteristics, age-at-death, and inferred sex of deceased individuals in a manner that will allow for a more meaningful interpretation of the mortuary contexts of past populations in Orlando, Florida.

Lack of Research in Florida

Although, the Association for Gravestone Studies has been successful in generating an increased interest in cemetery studies, this interest has not been evenly spread across the United States. In fact, an overwhelming majority of studies related to cemeteries, and the individuals who reside there, have focused on the northeastern portion of the United States, specifically New England, Massachusetts (Bunnel, 1992), New York (Culbertson, 1987; Goerlich, e1987; Wright, 2011), New Jersey (Veit, 2008), Pennsylvania (Renkin, 2000; Xakellis, 2002), Maryland (Vicchio, 1986), Delaware (Gillespie, 1969), Maine (Westfall, 2003), and Rhode Island (Brennan, 2011).

There has been a notable effort in recent years to study cemeteries in the southeastern United States as well. These states include states such as South Carolina (Brooks, 2011), Alabama (LaDu and Brown, 2017; Booth, 1999), and Georgia (Westfall, 1999). There has also been an inclusion of western states, such as Texas (Jordan-Bychkov, 1982), and California (Mallios and Caterino, 2011). This recent expansion in cemetery studies has been substantial, in both geography and literature; however, the new literature related to southern mortuary practices is not necessarily representative of the mortuary practices within the state of Florida.

<u>Past Research in Florida</u>

Florida has not been the subject of abundant research related to cemetery studies. However, in recent years, the Division of Historical Resources has made an effort to discuss and promote cemetery preservation. In 1989, The Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board published a book that aimed to educate readers on the importance of cemetery studies (Thompson and Strangstad, 1989). This handbook, funded by the Division of Historical Resources, is a step by step guide to cemetery preservation that was written to educate the Florida public on the importance of preserving historic cemeteries, as well as to provide certain organizations with the information necessary to conduct surveys, document, and maintain historic cemeteries in the most efficient manner. Although this handbook is not written regarding a specific research topic, it does provide some information related to known cemetery trends in various regions of Florida, as well as a detailed history of Tallahassee's Old City Cemetery (Thompson and Strangstad, 1989).

A considerable proportion of literature specific to Florida Cemeteries is written in a historical manner; the purpose being to document or inventory cemeteries, rather than to understand more about them and the people who created them. An example of this is a book that contains photographs of historic cemeteries in Tampa, as well as a historical account of multiple cemeteries, and other assorted facts about the individuals interred in each location (Bender and Dunham, 2013). Another book explores multiple cemeteries across the state of Florida, including a pet cemetery, and describes various characteristics of each cemetery, detailing stories related to the most intriguing individuals interred in each location (Haskins, 2011). Again, these books are written for a general audience, rather than a specifically academic audience, and therefore, do not

have a research focus or attempt to interpret data in any way. Although they do an exceptional job of describing important details and creating public interest.

One important study conducted in Florida that analyzed headstone attributes was by Reynolds (2012), and later condensed as Meyers and Schultz (2016). Their study included information gathered from ten cemeteries located within five separate counties in Florida. The research focused on various headstone attributes and the frequency with which these attributes appear within a specific time period across Florida. This study will be discussed in detail at a later point within this thesis as it served as the basis for the methodology used within the study at Greenwood, and as a basis for the comparison of data related to Florida cemeteries.

Research Purpose

The purpose of this research is to analyze various headstone characteristics within Block A and Block 9 of Greenwood Cemetery in Orlando, Florida and evaluate change over time. These blocks were selected because they provide both a sample size that is comparable to that of Meyers and Schultz (2016) and a sufficient temporal spread. This will allow for a comparison to data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016) to more fully understand trends in attributes of grave markers in Florida. Another aspect of this research is to investigate the impact that individual characteristics, such as age and inferred sex of the decedent, may have on the mortuary context of an individual, as well as to analyze and interpret the reason for the occurrence of observed trends. Specific research questions to be tested are as follows:

1. Have various headstone characteristics changed over time within a sample of Greenwood Cemetery?

2. Does the prevalence of iconography and epitaph within a sample of Greenwood Cemetery vary based on the inferred sex of the decedent?

3. Does the prevalence of iconography and epitaph within a sample of Greenwood Cemetery vary based on the age-at-death of the decedent?

Chapter Two: History of the American Cemetery

North America, specifically the United States, has been populated by a multitude of individual cultures during its history and even pre-history. Each of these cultures have buried their dead across the United States in various forms and fashions for thousands of years. These individuals, and cultures, created distinct burial grounds, some of which are visible today but many have been lost or destroyed over time. The development of cemeteries over time has been separated into distinct categories based on characteristics of each type of cemetery. These categories include Potter's fields, Church Graveyards, Family Burial Plots, Country Cemeteries, Garden/Rural Cemeteries, City/Urban Cemeteries, Lawn Park Cemeteries, and Memorial Park Cemeteries (Greene, 2008; Carmack, 2002). These cemeteries all fall under the over-arching category of "European Style" burial grounds, as they are not indicative of the burial practices of indigenous populations (Sloane, 1995).

The traditional type of funeral, most often associated with the European Style burial grounds, is characterized by preparation of the deceased individual, usually via embalming, placement of the prepared body into a coffin, and placement of the coffin into a burial plot within a cemetery (Beard and Burger, 2015). This type of funeral service and body disposal was originally influenced by sociocultural changes and technological advancement that took place throughout the Industrial Revolution, which took place throughout the late 1700s and early 1800s, as well as body preparation techniques that were developed during the American Civil War, which took place from 1861 to 1865 (Beard and Burger, 2015). Just as these sociocultural and technological advancements caused development within the funeral and body disposal industries in the past, current sociocultural and technological advancements continue to push the

boundaries of the mortuary industry and may completely alter the future of the American

Cemetery (Beard and Burger, 2015; Roach, 2003).

Native American Burials

Traditional Native American burial practices varied greatly depending upon geography, environment, and spiritual beliefs (Greene, 2008). Native American burial practices include above ground burial, burial of an individual in the home where they died, placing the body in underbrush to be eaten by animals, mound building, and a multitude of other unique traditional practices. Mound building is the method of burial where one, or multiple, bodies are covered in earth (Greene, 2008). The mounds ranged from simple earth coverings to complex earth structures that contain rooms, and passageways (Greene, 2008; Yalom, 2008). Many of these mounds are still visible today, mostly in Ohio and near the Mississippi River (Yalom, 2008). Many Native American burial practices were altered, or eradicated, following the appearance of European colonizers and missionaries in North America.

Early Colonial Burial Grounds

The first European colonists arrived in North America during the 1500s hoping to successfully colonize the New World. Even though European individuals traditionally put effort into the burial of their deceased friends and family members, there simply was no time or resources available to dedicate to burial practices in the New World (Greene, 2008). There dead were buried quickly and unceremoniously, often in unmarked graves, during times of famine or widespread sickness (Yalom, 2008).

Graves of New England

The original graves of New England, following the successful colonization of this area, were often influenced by Puritan ideology. The Puritans fled England and began to colonize the New World throughout the 1600s. The Puritans did not believe in churchyard burials or any sort of ornamentation on gravesites (Greene, 2008; Yalom, 2008). Graves were dug randomly and the ground was kept growing wild to symbolize darkness and death. Eventually, The Puritans grew to accept minimal amounts of ornamentation of graves (Greene, 2008). This ornamentation often emphasized the unescapable and fearsome nature of death, such as the image of the winged death's head (Greene, 2008).

Graves of the American South

Many of the original burial practices found in the Southern United States were influenced by Anglican religious ideology. This ideology celebrated death as the beginning of life everlasting (Greene, 2008). Many Southern towns had town burial grounds which were open to all white members of the community. Just as frequently, southern individuals would be buried in family burial plots. It is important to note that the south had quite a large population of slaves throughout the formative years of the United States. These slaves were not given the same rights in death as their white owners. Slaves either allowed land to bury their dead on unfertile plantation property, or buried at an undesirable location outside the limits of the town (Greene, 2008).

Potter's Field

Potter's fields are graveyards dedicated to the burial of individuals that have been rejected by a larger social group. This includes paupers, homeless individuals, orphans, strangers, and occasionally, criminals and victims of suicide (Greene, 2008; Carmack, 2002). These burial grounds are sometimes run by the city at a separate location but may be in the back of a local graveyard. Usually each individual is given their own plot, however, there have been instances of mass graves within potter's fields (Greene, 2008). The graves are not frequently adorned with headstones but may include a temporary marker provided by the city (Carmack, 2002). It is believed that Potter's fields received their name from the story of Judas, who betrayed Jesus in exchange for money (Reynolds, 2012; Greene, 2008). Following this betrayal, Judas was overcome with guilt and repented by giving the money to local priest who, in turn, purchased land used by potters to find clay and converted it into a location used for the burials of strangers (Reynolds, 2012; Greene, 2008).

Church Graveyards

Church graveyards are often considered to be Americas' first form of truly organized burial ground (Carmack, 2002). Church graveyards were created in the image of European cemetery traditions. They were organized, but often very simple in design. If headstones were present, they were usually either upright or ledgers (Reynolds, 2012). Deceased individuals were often buried underneath the floor of the church. However, only so much room was available under church floors and subsequent individuals were buried outside on church property (Carmack, 2002). An early example of a church graveyard is located in Jamestown, Virginia. This church graveyard, thought to be the first of its kind on North American soil, maintains twenty-five marked graves and several hundred unmarked graves (Yalom, 2008).

Family Burial Plot

Family burial plots have been recorded across the United States, but with the most frequency in the Southern United States due to the large number of plantations in this area. The family burial plot was born from necessity, as many individuals in the Southern United States lived on plantations and were many miles from the nearest town cemetery (Carmack, 2002; Reynolds, 2012). It was impractical, and sometimes dangerous, to transport a deceased individual the large distance from plantation to cemetery (Carmack, 2002). Therefore, many families created a family burial plot within the limits of their property. These burial plots were often located on a high point of the land, within a garden or an orchard. Family burial plots were highly respected, and continuously tended during the duration of the familys' tenure at that location (Carmack, 2002; Reynolds, 2012). Unfortunately, many family burial plots have been lost due to lack of records, and lack of continuous tending following the sale of land from one owner to another (Carmack, 2002).

City Graveyards

City graveyards are graveyards which are set up and maintained by a city for its residents (Yalom, 2008). City graveyards were often plagued with issues of overcrowding, as well as complaints of poor sanitation, smell, and even the spread of disease due to decomposing bodies (Greene, 2008). Due to these concerns, city graveyards were often relocated from their original location, usually near the center of the city, to an area outside the city limits (Carmack, 2002). City graveyards are characterized by rows of stone markers in straight paths. The ground maintained little to no foliage of any kind (Carmack, 2002; Reynolds, 2012).

Garden Cemeteries

Garden cemeteries, also known as rural cemeteries, were a new style of American cemetery, first appearing in the early 1830s, which reflected the change from small burial

grounds to large, extravagant, cemeteries that included well maintained pathways. Around the same time as the appearance of the garden cemetery, the word "cemetery" was becoming more commonplace within the American vocabulary. The word "cemetery" is derived from the Greek word "Koimeterium," which is translated to mean "a place to sleep" (Yalom, 2008). This change in vocabulary reflected both the transition from City Graveyards to Garden cemeteries, as well as the transition from the grim reality of death to a beautiful death reminiscent of eternal rest (Carmack, 2002; Yalom, 2008). These cemeteries were often adorned with ponds, trees, foliage, and even benches. Garden cemeteries were intentionally designed to maintain the beauty of natural spaces. Therefore, it is no surprise that, before the invention of public parks, Garden cemeteries were a popular location for leisurely strolls, picnics, and relaxation among the local community members (Carmack, 2002; Greene, 2008).

Garden cemeteries were deliberately separated from institutional influence, such as that of religious institutions (Tarlow, 2000). This separation, along with the large space and beauty of the environment, allowed for a more genuine mourning experience, and provided security that both the monuments and grave would remain in place for posterity (Tarlow, 2000). The placement of grave markers in attractive spaces allowed for the display of status, as well as an appropriate mourning environment, and pleasant surrounding for the memorialization of the deceased individual. Therefore, Garden Cemeteries offered many advantages in both the initial process of mourning and the ongoing relationship between living and deceased individuals (Tarlow, 2000).

Greenwood cemetery in Orlando, Florida was originally designed as a Garden Cemetery, and still maintains an atmosphere that is rich with naturally beautiful elements such as trees, foliage, ponds, fountains, and monuments.

14

Lawn Park Cemetery

The Lawn Park Cemetery plan was invented by Adolph Strauch in 1855 (Reynolds, 2012). Strauch intended to reduce extravagant design and introduce simplicity by limiting foliage and restricting marker size. Strauch set guidelines in order to attain a slightly more standardized appearance that made Lawn Park Cemeteries even more park-like than their predecessor, the Garden Cemetery (Carmack, 2002). Although not everyone was happy to conform to such guidelines, some individuals went so far as to confront Strauch regarding his "heathen principles" that limited individuality (Green, 2008, p. 45). However, the Lawn Park Cemetery plan eventually caught on with extreme fervor and quickly spread across the United States. This movement marked the beginning of cemeteries as commercialized entities as the guidelines set by Strauch allowed for less expensive lot pricing within Lawn Park Cemeteries (Carmack, 2002; Greene, 2008).

Memorial Parks

Memorial Parks, the product of the full commercialization of the American cemetery, were created by Hubert Eaton (Greene, 2008). Eaton sought to provide all necessary mortuary services in one convenient location, the Memorial Park cemetery. Eaton streamlined the burial process by providing individuals with packaged services and the option of prepayment for various mortuary expenses (Greene, 2008). Eaton not only altered the commercialization aspect of cemeteries, he also altered their outwardly appearance. He believed that Lawn Park cemeteries, and other types of cemeteries around the United States, were focused too heavily on death itself by maintaining large, visible monuments to death. He sought to remove the sight of death from the cemetery by setting guidelines that allowed only flat monuments be allowed within Memorial Park cemeteries. Not only did this remove the sight of death from the cemetery, but it allowed for easily maintained lawns (Carmack, 2002; Greene, 2008). These flat markers

often contain solely the name, birth date and death date of an individual with little to no extra information or embellishment. If a marker does contain an epitaph, it is often no more than one or two words, for example, "mother, sister, father" (Carmack, 2002).

Future of American Burial Practices

Although the traditional funeral and burial process is still the most popular form of mortuary practice performed in the United States (Beard and Burger, 2015), competition is increasing as new technologies become available which may more completely adhere to modern ideologies regarding burial and the environment. In 1963, the Vatican recanted their ban on the cremation of deceased individuals, and, almost immediately, the popularity of cremation began to grow exponentially (Roach, 2003). Cremation currently accounts for the body disposal of just under half of the deceased individuals in the United States each year, and this number continues to grow. The popularity of cremation is compounded by the wide variety of options available for the ashes which are left behind following the cremation process. These ashes may be scattered, displayed in an urn, buried in a small cemetery plot, or crafted into jewelry or various works of art, as well as quite a few equally creative and sentimental options (Beard and Burger, 2015). Cremation, and the options for repurposing ashes, adhere to the new, and popular, ideology of eco-friendly mortuary practices, both in the United States and across the world.

Other burial practices that have developed due to insistence upon eco-friendly, or green, burial practices, is the invention of various bio-degradable mortuary accommodations such as caskets, embalming fluid, and burial bags (Beard and Burger, 2015). Biodegradable caskets are often used in what might be the future of the American Cemetery, green burial sites with the goal of land conservation. In these locations, deceased individuals are placed within a bio-degradable burial bag and buried upright, rather than horizontal, to minimize land use, and an indigenous

16

plant or tree is used as a grave marker, rather than the traditional stone markers of the past (Beard and Burger, 2015).

Green burial sites may eventually replace traditional American cemeteries; however, many burial practices are developing which may limit the necessity for deceased individuals to be buried at all. An example of this would be Aquamation, the process of dissolving a body in acid until there is, quite literally, nothing left to bury (Beard and Burger, 2015). The dissolved body simply goes down the drain and into the sewage system (Beard and Burger, 2015). Another practice, which is still looked upon with much adversity, is that of human body composting. This process has multi-national support, particularly in Europe, but has yet to fully overcome the inhibitions of individuals who adhere to more traditional burial practices, including, once again, the Catholic Church (Roach, 2003). The process involves subjecting the deceased individual to various chemical reactions associated with composting, and using the product for multiple utilitarian purposes, including gardening (Roach, 2003; Beard and Burger, 2015). In the words of a pioneer in the development of human body composition at the University of Tennessee Anthropological Research Facility, "This is as close as science is going to get to reincarnation" (Roach, 2003; 264). Although, a variety of eco-friendly mortuary practices are rapidly growing in popularity, the traditional American cemetery has not yet relinquished its title as the most prevalent form of mortuary practice in the United States (Roach, 2003), and may not do so for quite some time as traditional cemeteries continue to play a key role in the grieving process, and perpetuation of memories.

Chapter Three: Greenwood Cemetery and Research Methodology

History: Greenwood Cemetery

The following information was gathered via personal correspondence with the cemetery sexton, Donald Price. Before 1880 and the existence of Greenwood Cemetery, Orlando did not have a single central location dedicated to the interment of deceased individuals. Most individuals were buried in family plots located on private property or in a number of small cemeteries in the Orlando area. This lack of organization resulted in confusion regarding the location of deceased individuals. In 1880, eight Orlando residents, C. A. Boone, I.P. Wescott, James K. Duke, Nat Poyntz, J.H. Livingston, W.R. Anno, Samuel A. Robinson and James Delaney provided the monetary funds necessary to purchase a 26-acre property with the sole purpose of creating a central location for burial of deceased individuals. Greenwood Cemetery, known in the past as "Orlando Cemetery," was purchased for a total of $1,800. In 1891, Orlando Cemetery burned down, resulting in the damage or loss of a significant number of wooden headstones, which were extremely popular at the time. In 1892, Orlando Cemetery was purchased by the City of Orlando; The City of Orlando is still responsible for the ownership and upkeep of the cemetery.

Following the acquisition of Orlando Cemetery by the local government, burials from multiple small cemeteries in the Orlando area were exhumed and reinterred at Orlando Cemetery. Stockton (2012) lists the small cemeteries included in the exhumation, and subsequent re-interment, as The Powell Cemetery, The Beasley Cemetery, and a small unnamed cemetery located in downtown Orlando. The reinterred graves are now located in section H of Greenwood Cemetery. In 1915, Orlando Cemetery was renamed "Greenwood Cemetery" by the City of Orlando. Although the cemetery was originally only 26-acres, following the acquisition of the

cemetery by the City of Orlando, the cemetery was expanded multiple times in order to accommodate the rapidly growing population of Orlando. As of 2017, Greenwood cemetery occupies 92-acres, not including the 18.5- acre wetlands park, which is considered to be an extension of the cemetery.

According to Orlando City Ordinance Sec. 16.10, an individual may only purchase a plot in Greenwood Cemetery if they meet residency requirements set forth by the city once evidence of residency has been provided to and approved by the sexton. Non-residents may only be buried in Greenwood if they are related by blood or marriage to an individual buried in the cemetery, or if they meet the requirements necessary for burial in the American Legion or veteran sections of the cemetery.

Past Research

Since its inception in 1880, the cemetery has served as an active and integral aspect of Orlando. Not only does the cemetery provide a respectable area to mourn and remember deceased individuals, it also provides a platform for the curation and preservation of the history of Orlando's citizens. As a significant historic location in Orlando, it is no surprise that it has been chosen as the subject of various cemetery related studies and surveys.

The Central Florida Genealogical Society conducted a survey of Greenwood Cemetery to create a complete listing of all available interment information for each individual plot. The listing was compiled by Stockton (2012) and published as a two-volume book set organized by section. Each entry includes the section, lot number, name, birth date, death date, age at death, undertaker, inscription, and notes. The notes column contains varied information that may be of use to genealogists (Stockton, 2012). The book set contains an immense amount of information regarding individual plots located in cemetery sections A through W; however, the purpose of

19

this listing was simply to create a readily available and organized catalog of genealogical references and did not include any sort of research question or analysis of the information collected.

Another study, conducted by Murphy (2007), focused on researching and documenting headstone iconography related to fraternal organizations. Murphy (2007) described a fraternal organization as a brotherhood in which each member takes an oath to follow a predetermined set of rules and provides aid to members in need. Both Benevolent and Social fraternal organizations, as well as Academic fraternal organizations, were identified at Greenwood Cemetery. Some of the more well-known fraternal organizations included in the study are The Boy Scouts of America, National Rifle Association, Daughters of the American Revolution, and United Daughters of the Confederacy. Aside from historical knowledge, this study provided information regarding the quantitative differences in the presence of fraternal emblem iconography on the headstones of males and females, as well as information regarding the time period in which each fraternal organization was actively interring in the cemetery. The data reveal that men were more commonly associated with iconography related to a fraternal organization than were females in Greenwood Cemetery (Murphy, 2007).

The study by Murphy (2007) provides data which confirms the presence of differences in headstone attributes between male and female individuals. Although, this study discussed differences specific to fraternal iconography between male and female individuals, the present study will collect data related to a variety of iconographic images on the headstones of both male and female individuals in order to provide a more inclusive comparison. The study by Murphy (2007) did not provide data regarding the age at death of the individuals involved with each

fraternal organization, although two youth organizations were identified and included in the study.

Overall, past research included the mention of basic quantitative differences between the headstones of male and female individuals but did not include the differences between individuals dying at varying ages. Considering the social importance of age and gender, the present study of Greenwood Cemetery will include information related to age-at-death and inferred sex of the deceased individuals in order to provide an interpretation of data that will represent the societal influence on mortuary contexts.

<u>Organization</u>

The following information was gathered via personal correspondence with the cemetery sexton, Donald Price, and was supplemented by records located in the Greenwood Cemetery office. The cemetery is composed of fifty separate blocks. As shown in Table 1, the blocks are labeled by either an alphabetic letter, a number, or a distinctive title. The alphabetic blocks include A through W. The numbered blocks include 1 through 10, 12, 13, 14, 16, through 20, and 22. The blocks that are labeled by a distinctive title include babyland #1, babyland #2, babyland #3, DCV (Daughters of Confederate Veterans), and GAR (Grand Army of the Republic). Greenwood Cemetery also contains three areas labeled as "Units;" Unit 6, Unit 7, and Unit 8 are composed of over-surveyed land. There is currently no block 11 in Greenwood Cemetery; the land formerly known as "block 11" was reorganized and re-labelled as blocks 19 and 20. There is also no block 15; however, the reason for the lack of continuity in numbering is unknown. The alphabetical blocks are representative of the original property of Greenwood, while the numbered blocks are representative of the property acquired in various expansions. Block A was the first block available for interment and is, therefore, the oldest block in the cemetery.

Although the majority of blocks are currently open to all residents of Orlando, there are several blocks, such as the Babyland Blocks and Segregated Blocks, that are reserved for specific groups of people within the population. Table 1 provides details regarding the individuals interred in each section, as well as the earliest internment date and the activity status of each block.

Block Q was reserved for deceased residents of Sunland Hospital; Sunland Hospital was a residential facility that provided care for mentally and physically disabled patients. Sunland Hospital was shut down in 1983 due to allegations of neglect and abuse, therefore, block Q is no longer selling plots or receiving new internments. Block R and a portion of block O are reserved for individuals who have been approved by the American Legion, Post 19. American Legion is an organization that serves to provide aide and certain societal benefits to veterans of the American military. In order for an individual to be interned in block R or the portion of block O reserved for the American Legion, an individual must have been a member of the American Legion prior to their death or meet specific criteria set forth by the American Legion to receive posthumous permission from the organization. Block 12 is reserved for plots that will accommodate double depth internment. Double depth internment refers to a type of burial practice in which one casket is interred on top of another casket within the same plot.

The cemetery originally contained two segregated blocks, blocks K and T. The segregated blocks were reserved for African American individuals while the remaining blocks were open to only white individuals. A third segregated block, block 3, was created after the original two segregated blocks became full. The cemetery was desegregated in the mid-1960s after the expanded segregated block, Block 3, became full. Greenwood was unique in its method

of segregation as it was the only cemetery in Orlando in which African American and white individuals were buried within the same fence line.

The Babyland Blocks are reserved for younger individuals. Although there is technically no age requirement for internment in these blocks, the deceased individual must be small enough to fit inside a casket measuring forty-two inches or smaller. Babyland block #1 is the original child block; Babyland Blocks #2 and #3 are additional child blocks created following the expansions.

As Greenwood Cemetery expanded over time, certain changes were made to the lay out of the cemetery to accommodate the rapid expansion. Each block is further broken down in sections and lots for increased organization. The location of the entrance was relocated from in between sections G, J and W in the older portion of the cemetery to an area behind section K. The office building was also built in the area behind section K, near the new entrance.
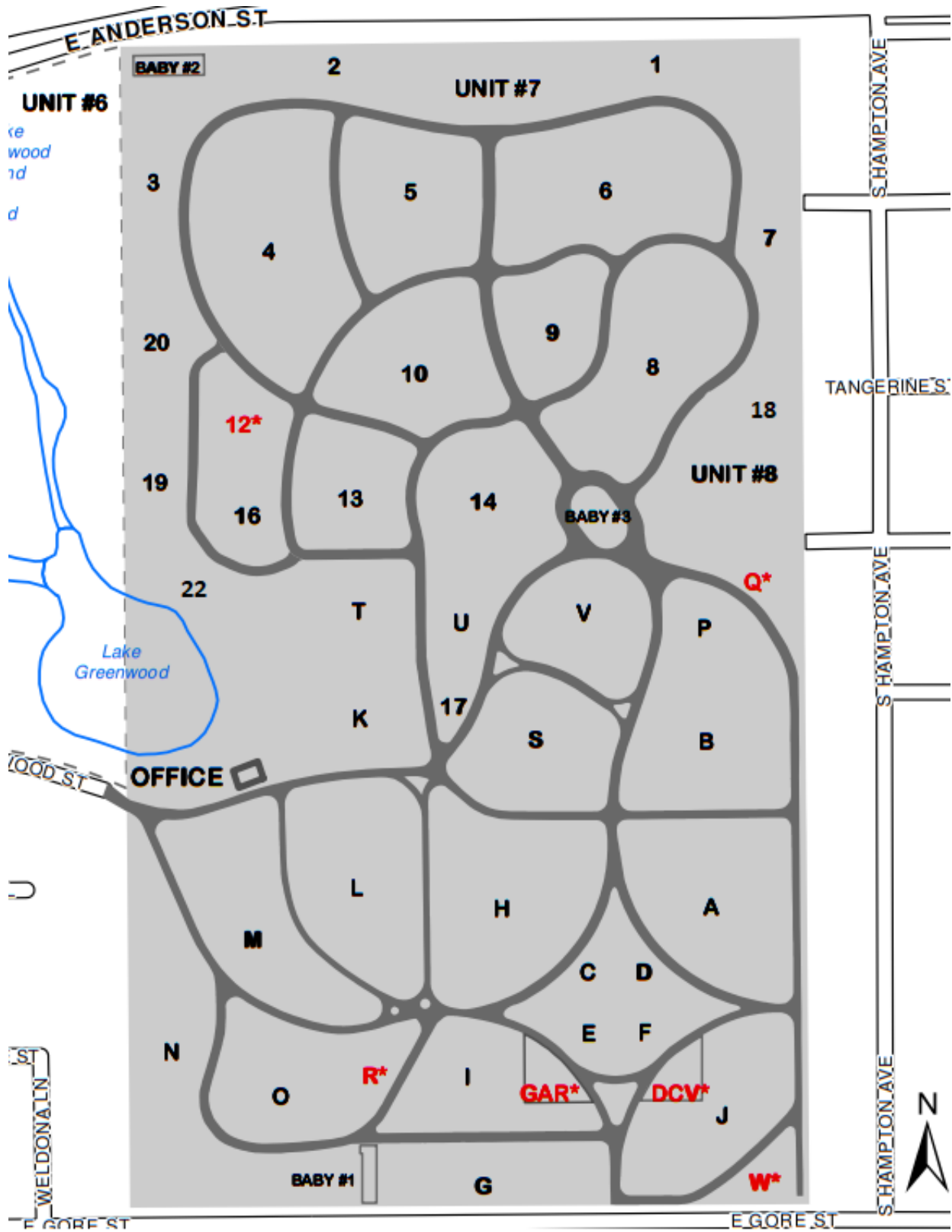
Figure 1. Modified Map of Greenwood Cemetery Sections Used with Permission of Donald Price

Table 1. Internment Dates and Population Type in Greenwood Cemetery Sections:
Information Derived from Internment Cards

Block Title	Earliest Internment	Latest Internment	Population
Block 1	1942	Active	General Population
Block 2	1969	Active	General Population
Block 3	1938	Active	Expanded Segregated
Block 4	1943	Active	General Population
Block 5	1953	Active	General Population
Block 6	1956	Active	General Population
Block 7	1954	Active	General Population
Block 8	1944	Active	General Population
Block 9	1956	Active	General Population
Block 10	1950	Active	General Population
Block 12	1986	Active	Double Depth
Block 13	1967	Active	General Population
Block 14	1941	Active	General Population
Block 16	2006	Active	General Population
Block 17	2005	Active	General Population
Block 18	2007	Active	General Population
Block 19	2008	Active	General Population
Block 20	2010	Active	General Population
Block 22	2015	Active	General Population
Unit 6	2016	Active	General Population
Unit 7	1986	Active	General Population
Unit 8	N/A	Active	General Population
A	1883	Active	General Population
B	1918	Active	General Population
C	1914	Active	General Population
D	1884	Active	General Population
E	1882	Active	General Population
F	1913	Active	General Population
G	1924	Active	General Population
H	1911	Inactive	Re-interred from other Orlando Cemeteries
I	1931	Active	General Population
J	1893	Active	General Population
K	1913	Active	Original Segregated
L	1913	Active	General Population

M	1905	Active	General Population
N	1938	Active	General Population
O	1923	Active	General Population, American Legion
P	1917	Active	General Population
Q	1915	Inactive	Sunland Residents
R	1933	Active	American Legion (Post 19)
S	1927	Active	General Population
T	1921	Active	Original Segregated
U	1927	Active	General Population
V	1930	Active	General Population
W	1926	Inactive	Spanish American War Veterans
DCV	N/A	Inactive	Daughters of the Confederate Veterans
GAR	1913	Inactive	Grand Army of the Republic
Babyland #1	1945	Active	Oldest Baby Block
Babyland #2	1956	Active	Baby Block
Babyland #3	1961	Active	Baby Block

Methodology

Permission to conduct research was granted by the Greenwood Cemetery Sexton, Donald

Price. During the data collection process, a data sheet was utilized to ensure that information

from each headstone was assembled in an organized manner. A portion of the categories of

information included in the data sheet were borrowed from the data sheet used by Meyers and

Schultz (2016) in the study regarding headstone characteristics of ten cemeteries in Florida. The

data sheet created for the current study omits certain categories included in the previous data

sheet and includes categories not included in the original data sheet. However, a purposeful

effort was made to create a data sheet that would be similar enough to allow for the comparison

of data from both the study by Meyers and Schultz (2016) and the current study, in order to

further understand cemetery trends across the state of Florida. The attributes that will be

compared to Meyers and Schultz (2016) are marker type, marker material, temporal epitaph and

iconography prevalence, and the presence or absence of memorial photographs, and footstones and curbs. No comparison will be made to data regarding trends related to the age and inferred sex of the deceased individual, as this was not a focus of the study conducted by Meyers and Schultz (2016).

The data collection sheet was created using *Google Forms.* The data sheet recorded the following information from each headstone included in the sample: name, birth date, death date, age-at-death, inferred sex of individual, time period, marker type, marker material, epitaph, iconographic images, iconography (color), memorial photographs, footstones and curbs, marker (individual or group), inscription (one-side or multi-side), and notes. Along with information recorded on the data sheet, a photograph was taken of each headstone to ensure that the information recorded on the data sheet is accurate and easily verifiable. The notes section of the data sheet includes the location of the headstone within Greenwood Cemetery, and a description of any important features that were not mentioned in the previous sections of the data sheet, such as the presence of damage.

Inscriptions: Presence and Type

Inscriptions include any form of engraving or relief on the headstone, such as iconography and epitaphs (see below). It is expected that all the headstones in the sample will include some form of inscription, possibly in the form of text or artistic design. Aside from the more specifically detailed forms of inscription, such as iconography or epitaphs, the data sheet noted whether the inscriptions existed on one side or multiple sides of the headstone. The categories for the placement of inscriptions on the headstone include: front only, front and back, front and sides, and front, back, sides.

Marker Type

The categories present on the data sheet for marker type are based on the methodology provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016), although certain categories were altered based on differences in prevalence. The categories include: beveled, cube, cross, ground, ledger, slant, upright, vaults, joint vase, obelisk and miscellaneous, as depicted in Figure 2. The miscellaneous category includes: post, table, scroll top desk, T-bar, wooden, Woodmen of the World, custom laser designs, and temporary markers. The miscellaneous category was created to include the marker types that are thought to appear less frequently, while the individual categories represent marker types which are common. Military markers were included on the data sheet provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) but were excluded from this study. A new category, Joint Vase, was not included in the data sheet provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) but was included in this study. A category will be assigned to each headstone based on the general design of the marker, mostly regarding the 3-D shape.

Another category of the marker type that will be noted on the data sheet was whether the marker is representative of one deceased individual, or multiple deceased individuals, as in the case of husband and wife. In the case of a headstone representing multiple individuals, a separate data sheet will be completed for each individual in order to account for possible differences in individualized memorial characteristics, such as epitaph and iconography.

| a. Upright | b. Cross | c. Obelisk | d. Ledger | e. Miscellaneous |

| d. Beveled | e. Cube | f. Ground |

| g. Slant | h. Joint Vase |

Figure 2. Photographs of Grave Markers Depicting Categories of Marker Type in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Marker Material

The categories present on the data sheet for marker material were based on the

methodology provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016). These include: granite, marble, bronze,

other metals, sandstone, cement, and miscellaneous. The miscellaneous category includes

ceramic tiles, paper, and wood. Again, the miscellaneous category was designed to include

marker materials thought to appear less frequently, while the individual categories represent

marker types which are common. In this case, wooden markers were once a commonality, but a

large majority of them were, unfortunately, destroyed in a fire in 1891. Therefore, wooden

headstones were not frequently noted.

a. Marble   b. Granite   c. Cement

d. Miscellaneous   e. Other Metals   f. Bronze

Figure 3. Photographs of Grave Markers Depicting Categories of Marker Material in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

<u>Iconographic Images</u>

Iconographic images are images located on the surface of a headstone. The subject matter of the iconography usually varies based on the deceased individual and what form of iconography was chosen to represent them. Iconographic images are most often chosen by the living family of the deceased individual. The categories present on the data sheet for iconographic images are based on the methodology described by Meyers and Schultz (2016), however certain categories were altered for this study. These include: animal, banner, floral, fraternal, heart, landscape, military, matrimonial, musical, open book, professional, patriotic, religious, scroll, sunburst, sport/hobby, and miscellaneous design, as depicted in Figures 4-7. The miscellaneous design category includes any design, such as a geometric shape, that does not fit into any other category as it is not meant to represent any specific object. The iconography will be assigned to a category based on the overall design, however, it is possible for one headstone, or individual, to be represented by multiple distinct categories of iconography.

Another aspect of iconographic images assessed on the data sheet will be the presence or absence of color included within the iconographic image. Although colored iconographic images are present within Greenwood Cemetery, none were noted on any of the 925 headstones analyzed in Sections A and 9. Therefore, these data were not analyzed further.

a. Sheep   b. Dove   c. Butterfly (Floral Accent)
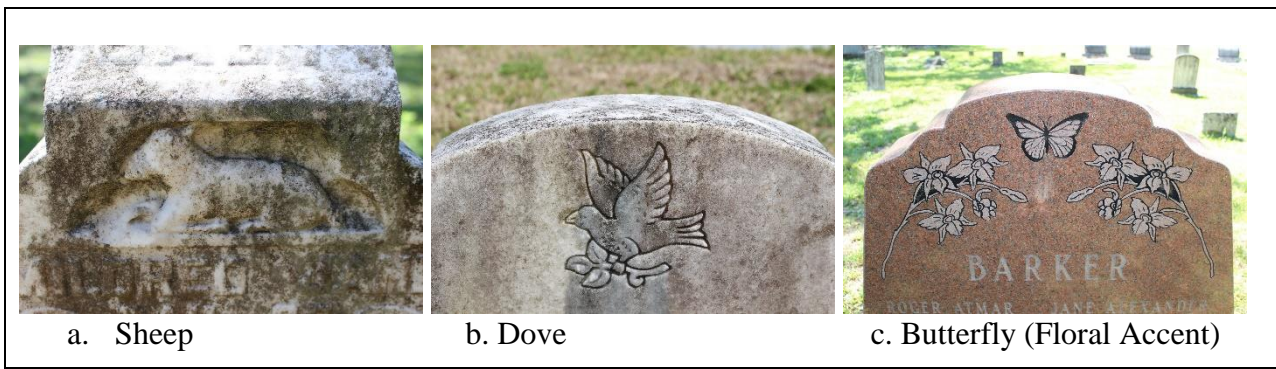
Figure 4. Photographs of Animal Iconography in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

a. Floral   b. Floral border   c. Floral

Figure 5. Photographs of Floral Iconography in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

a. Praying Hands   b. The Virgin Mary   c. Cross

Figure 6. Photographs of Religious Iconography in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Figure 7. Photographs of Additional Iconography Categories in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Epitaph

An epitaph is a literary inscription that serves the purpose of commemorating a deceased individual (Herat, 2014). Although epitaphs are constructed on behalf of the deceased individual, they also represent the thoughts and beliefs of the surviving family members, as the family members often compose the gravestone inscription in the interest the deceased (Herat, 2014).

Epitaphs are often used to provide an expanded amount of information regarding the deceased individual, their life, and family (Herat, 2014; Meyers and Schultz, 2016).

Epitaph documentation will be executed in accordance with the cemetery preservation handbook provided by the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board (Thompson and Strangstad, 2013), which emphasizes the necessity for each inscription to be copied exactly as it appears on the headstone. This includes punctuation, upper and lower-case lettering, abbreviations, and spelling. Following the documentation of the epitaph, it will be placed within a broad category based on the methodology described by Meyers and Schultz (2016). These categories include: familial, genealogical, military, memorial, personal information, religious, geographical, and other. The "other" category is meant to include any literary inscription that does not properly fit into one of the previously listed categories. Example of each type of epitaph are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Examples of Epitaph Categories in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Epitaph Category	Example Epitaph
Familial	"Beloved Mother and Grandmother" "Wife of C.E Wade"
Genealogical	"Children of Jos. B & Mae L. Davis" "Mother of Rosa Summerall"
Geographical	"Monroe City, MO."
Military	"SSGT US ARMY WORLD WAR II" "Spanish-American War. Cuba and The Philippines. Major, Medical Corps. U.S Army. World War I."
Memorial	"In sweet memory of my dear wife" "At Rest"
Personal Information	"Most Excellent Grand High Priest, Grand Chapter, Royal Arch Masons of Florida." "Aged 54 Years" "Married Oct 2, 1948"
Religious	"In thee O Lord have I put my trust" "The Lord is my Shepard"

Other	"Good and True" "Peace I leave with you. Peace I give to you."

Memorial Photograph

Memorial photographs, often made of ceramic or porcelain, provide a visual representation of the deceased individual (Meyers and Schultz 2016), usually in the form of a portrait, as depicted in Figure 8. Some memorial photographs may include other individuals along with the deceased, such as in family portraits, however, a distinction between individual or group memorial photographs was not noted in this study. They may also depict the deceased in a manner that showcases the interests, hobbies, or occupation of the individual (Reynolds, 2012). For the purpose of this research, memorial photographs were noted as either present or absent, as described in the methodology by Meyers and Schultz (2016).

Figure 8. Examples of Memorial Photographs in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Although footstones and curbs are aesthetically different, they serve a similar purpose. A

footstone is simply a stone placed at the foot of a grave; footstones are often used in conjunction

with headstones in order to represent the boundaries of the plot. Footstones may also be inscribed

with minimal information such as initials (Meyers and Schultz, 2016). Curbs also serve the

purpose of delineating the boundaries of a plot, but in a more obvious manner. Curbs consist of a

border that surrounds the entirety of the plot, but remains open in the middle. Curbs are usually

made from stone, concrete, or a similar material. Curbs may represent either one single plot, or

several plots together (Meyers and Schultz 2016). For the purposes of this research, the data

sheet describes footstones and curbs as either present or absent.

a. Curb (Individual)   b. Footstone   c. Curb (Family Plot)
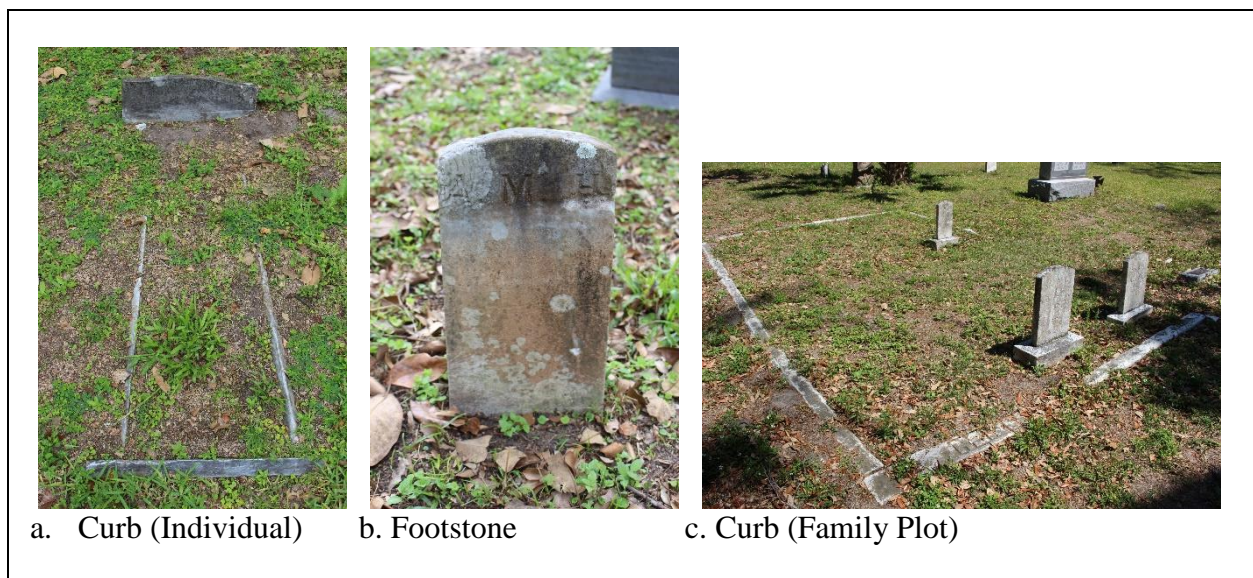
Figure 9. Examples of Footstones and Curbs in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Demographic Information

The demographic information recorded on the data sheet includes the age-at-death and

inferred sex of each individual. The age at death, in years, of each individual was calculated

based on birth and death dates inscribed on the headstone, and occasionally, an epitaph that detailed the age of the deceased individual.

The sex of each individual was inferred using the name and epitaph inscribed on the headstone. Most names are more commonly associated with either male or female individuals; neutral names will be assigned to either the male or female category if pronouns are present in an epitaph. Pronouns which allow for the determination of sex include pronouns such as "he, she, her, and him." If the name is neutral, and no definitive pronouns are included in the epitaph, the data will fall under the category of "indeterminate".

If the age at death and sex of an individual remained undetermined following headstone analysis and examination of internment records, the information related to that individual was omitted from the final analysis of individual iconography and epitaph representation due to a lack of necessary information, but was still included within the temporal analysis of iconography and epitaph as demographic information was not necessary in that context.

Sample Size

Data was collected from each headstone within Greenwood Cemetery Section A and Section 9. These sections were chosen to be included in the sample based on the dates of internment within each section. Section A is the oldest section within Greenwood Cemetery, therefore, it provided access to information related to a number of pre-1900 headstones. Section 9 opened for internment in the mid-1950s and allowed access to information from mid-century to modern day. Data were collected on 1,274 deceased individuals within Greenwood Cemetery. However, 172 data sheets related to both individual attributes and grave marker attributes were excluded due to the inability to place the data within a specific time period, age-at-death, or inferred sex group, rendering data unusable for the purposes of this study.

Data was analyzed from a total of 925 headstones representing 1,102 distinct individuals. The 925 headstones often represented more than one individual. Therefore, when analyzing trends such as iconography and epitaph related to distinct individuals, it is necessary to analyze them separately rather than as a unit. However, characteristics related to the headstone itself rather than the individual, such as marker type or marker material, will be analyzed on a headstone basis regardless of the number of individuals represented by the headstone.

Analysis of Trends

In accordance with the methodology provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016), the time period selections included in the data sheet are Pre-1900, 1900-1919, 1920-1939, 1940-1959, 1960-1979, 1980-1999, and 2000- 2017. These categories all represent a twenty-year time frame, with exception to pre-1900, and 2000- 2017. The pre-1900 category was created to combat the rarity of such early headstones in Florida (Meyers and Schultz, 2016). Data collected from headstones with no death date were not included in the analysis due to the inability to select a specific time period.

Data was compiled and analyzed based on the total frequency in appearance of each attribute compared to various factors. These factors include time period, age-at-death and inferred sex of the individual. Age-At-Death categories were created to allow for more efficient analysis of individuals within various age ranges. The units of age tested during analysis are infants, children, teenagers, young adult, middle aged adult, and old adult. Table 3 provides information on the age-at-death range for each category that was analyzed in comparison with headstone attributes which are based on cultural life stages, such as periods of schooling, working, and retirement.

Table 3. Age-At-Death Categories for Grave Marker Attribute Analysis

Age-At-Death Categories	Age-At-Death in Years
Infant	1 year or younger
Child	2 to 12
Teenager	13 to 19
Young Adult	20 to 35
Middle Adult	35 to 55
Old Adult	55 and older

The analysis was conducted using online software known as *Google Sheets*. The data were examined in multiple ways. First, a comparison of the total frequency of each attribute when compared to time period. This will allow an understanding of general temporal trends in headstone attributes without any further breakdown of specific headstone characteristics between male, female and age-at-death units.

Next, the frequency of individualizing attributes, epitaph and iconography, on the headstones of male and female individuals were analyzed in comparison to the various age-at-death units. This will allow an understanding of specific trends in headstone attributes as they relate to age-at-death and inferred sex. This comparison of frequencies will determine if there is a correlation between age-at-death, sex, and individual headstone attributes. This comparison was used to determine which headstone attributes are more commonly associated with each specific age-at-death and inferred sex combination, such as middle-aged female or teenage male.

The various frequency comparisons allow for interpretation regarding the trends in headstone attributes over time as well as the influence by which the inferred sex and age at death of the deceased individual may have contributed to the overall design of the headstone.

Chapter Four: Results

Data gathered from the sample of Greenwood Cemetery was analyzed based on frequency of specific grave marker attributes on both a temporal and demographic basis. The results, including temporal trends in grave marker design, grave marker, material, memorial photographs, footstones and curbs, iconography, epitaph, and demographic trends in iconography and epitaph are shown in Tables 4-13, and Figures 10-14.

<u>Marker Design</u>

Marker design remained highly variable throughout all time periods although notable trends are highlighted across multiple decades. Overall, upright markers were the most prevalent marker type within the total sample, representing 30% of markers across all time periods. Beveled markers were the second most prevalent marker type within the total sample, representing 25% of markers across all time periods. Slant and Ground markers were also prevalent across all time periods, representing 17% and 15%, respectively.

Upright markers were the most prevalent marker type from 1880 to 1919, ranging from 55-89%. They became the most prevalent marker type again from 2000 to 2017 at 35%. Beveled markers were the most popular marker type from 1920 to 1999, ranging from 26-35%. Obelisks were frequently noted from 1880 to 1919, decreased in popularity from 1920 to 1939, and were not present in the following time periods.

Ground markers became popular from 1920 to 1939 where they represent 14% of markers and increased in popularity throughout the following time periods, representing 29% of markers from 2000 to 2017. Slant markers were frequently noted in all time periods but peaked in popularity from 1940-1959 at 21%. Joint Vase markers were noted from 1940-1959,

representing 6% of markers, and peaked in popularity from 1960 to 1979 at 11%. Cross, Cube, Ledger, and Miscellaneous markers were not frequently noted. Vault and Custom Laser markers were not present within Section A or Section 9 of Greenwood Cemetery.

Table 4. Percentage of Temporal Grave Marker Design

	Pre 1900	1900–1919	1920–1939	1940–1959	1960–1979	1980–1999	2000–2017	Cemetery Total	Percent Overall
Beveled	12	21	29	74	63	24	9	232	25
Cross	0	2	2	1	0	0	0	5	>1
Cube	4	6	6	1	0	0	0	17	2
Ground	3	7	16	46	34	21	14	141	15
Ledger	1	11	8	1	2	0	0	23	2
Obelisk	16	8	2	0	0	0	0	26	3
Slant	13	24	19	44	35	16	4	155	17
Upright	64	89	25	30	33	18	17	276	30
Joint Vase	0	0	1	12	20	5	2	40	4
Misc.	2	4	1	0	0	1	2	10	1
Vault	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Custom Laser	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total :	115	172	109	209	187	85	48	925	100
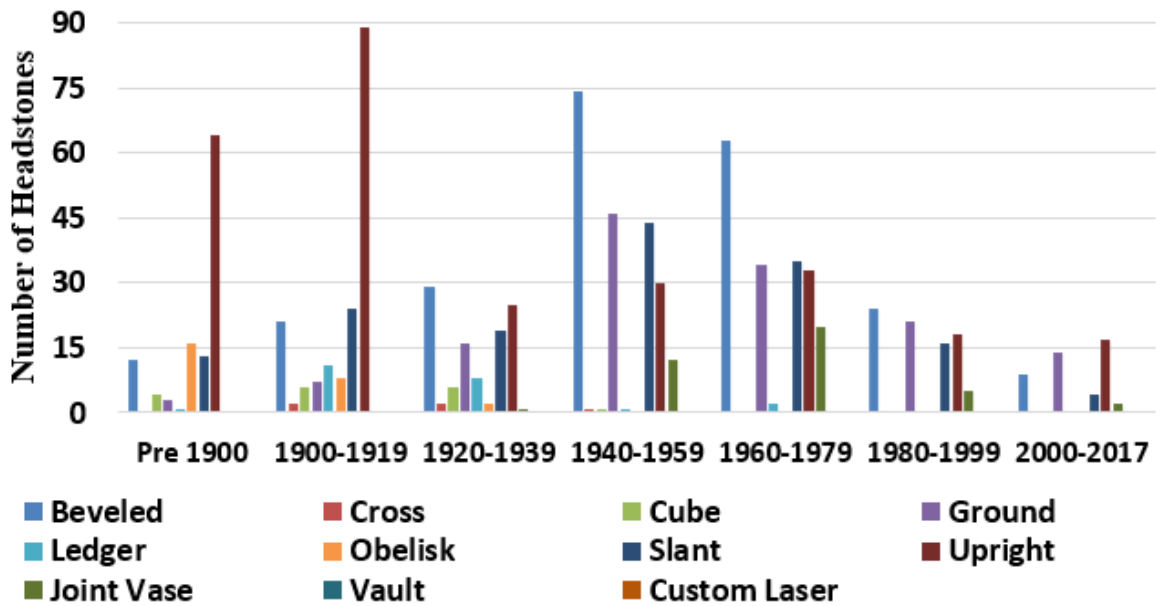
Figure 10. Bar Graph Showing Temporal Grave Marker Design

41

<u>Marker Material</u>

Grave Marker Material was highly variable among the various time periods, however, trends were noted. Granite markers are most prevalent material in majority of time periods and represent 74% of markers in the total sample. Marble is the second most prevalent type of marker material, representing 21% of markers in the total sample. All other materials represent 1% or less of markers in the total sample.

Frequency of marble markers decreased greatly from 51% from 1880 to 1899 to only 8% from 2000 to 2017. Granite markers surpassed marble in popularity from 1920 to 1939 and represent 81% of markers from 2000 to 2017. Cement markers represent 7% of markers from 1880 to 1899, decreased in popularity from 1900 to 1939, and were not observed in the following time periods. Bronze, Other Metals, and Miscellaneous Material Markers were not frequently observed. Other Metals noted within Greenwood Cemetery included a range of various metals, however, the most common of these was Zinc, especially during the earlier time periods. Sandstone was not observed in Section A or Section 9 of Greenwood Cemetery.

Table 5. Percentage of Temporal Grave Marker Material

	Pre-1900	1900-1919	1920-1939	1940-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2017	Cemetery Total	Percent Overall
Bronze	0	1	0	2	4	3	3	13	1
Granite	43	79	81	196	174	73	39	685	74
Sandstone	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marble	59	85	23	10	9	8	4	198	21
Other Metals	2	4	2	0	0	1	1	10	1
Cement	8	2	1	0	0	0	0	11	1
Misc.	3	1	2	1	0	0	1	8	>1
Total:	115	172	109	209	187	85	48	925	100
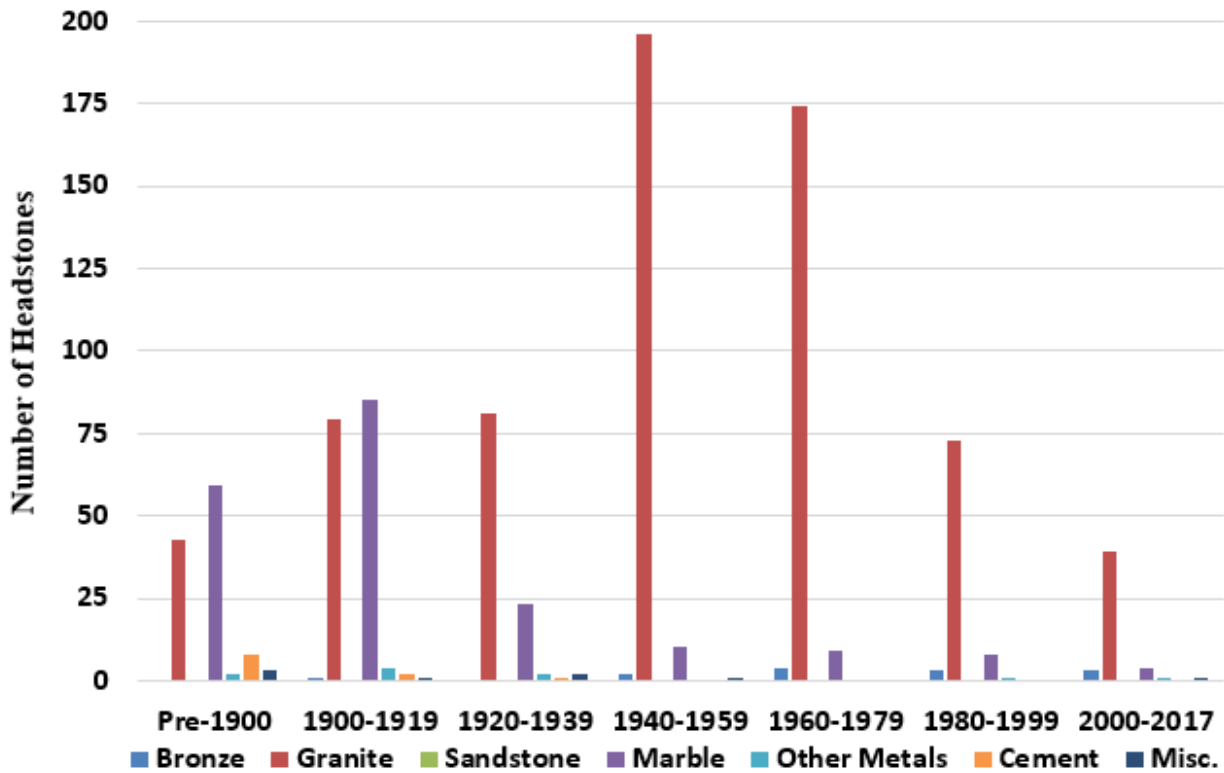
Figure 11. Bar Graph Showing Temporal Grave Marker Material

Footstones, Curbs, and Memorial Photographs

Footstones, Curbs and Memorial Photographs were infrequently observed. Only 3% of markers

in the total sample included either a Footstone or Curb. Curbs were most prevalent from 1880 to

1939, ranging from 4-6%. Footstones were most prevalent from 1880 to 1899 but were only present on 2% of grave markers.

Table 6. Percentage of Temporal Footstones and Curbs

	Pre-1900	1900-1919	1920-1939	1940-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2017	Cemetery Total	Percent Overall
Footstones	3	2	1	0	0	1	0	7	>1
Curbs	5	9	7	1	1	0	2	25	3
Absent	107	161	101	208	186	84	46	893	97
Total	115	172	109	209	187	85	48	925	100

Memorial Photographs were infrequently observed. Only 2% of grave markers in the total sample included a memorial photograph. Memorial Photographs did not appear until 1940-1959 and are most prevalent from 2000-2017 at 9%.

Table 7. Frequency of Memorial Photographs

	Pre-1900	1900-1919	1920-1939	1940-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2017	Cemetery Total	Percent Overall
Present	0	0	0	6	3	2	7	18	2
Absent	121	177	116	223	250	133	64	1,084	98
Total	121	177	116	229	253	135	71	1,102	100

Temporal Trends in Iconography and Epitaph

As illustrated in Figure 12, Iconography prevalence was relatively consistent throughout all time periods. Iconography was present on 46% of grave markers in the total sample. Iconography prevalence remained between 41-56% throughout all time periods except 1920-1939 when prevalence decreased to 33%.
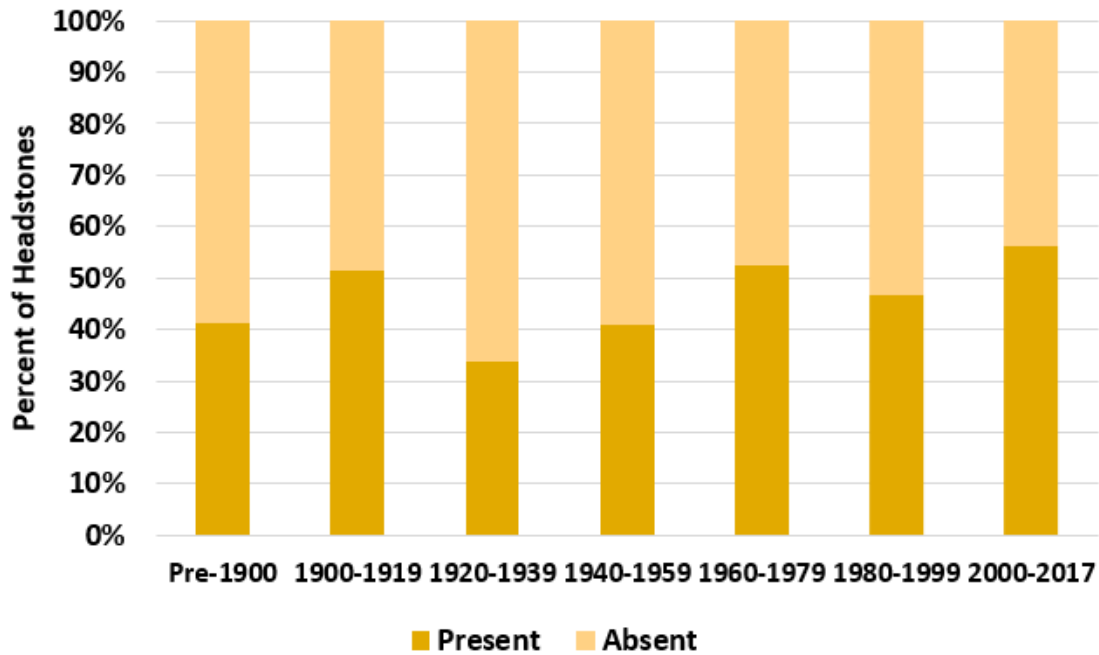
Figure 12. Bar Graph Showing Frequency of Iconographic Images

As illustrated in Figure 13, epitaph prevalence was highly variable across all time periods.

Epitaphs were present on 32% of grave markers in the total sample. Epitaph prevalence remained

over 50% from 1880-1919, decreased greatly from 1920 to 1999 to between 17-28%, and

increased to 53% from 2000 to 2017.
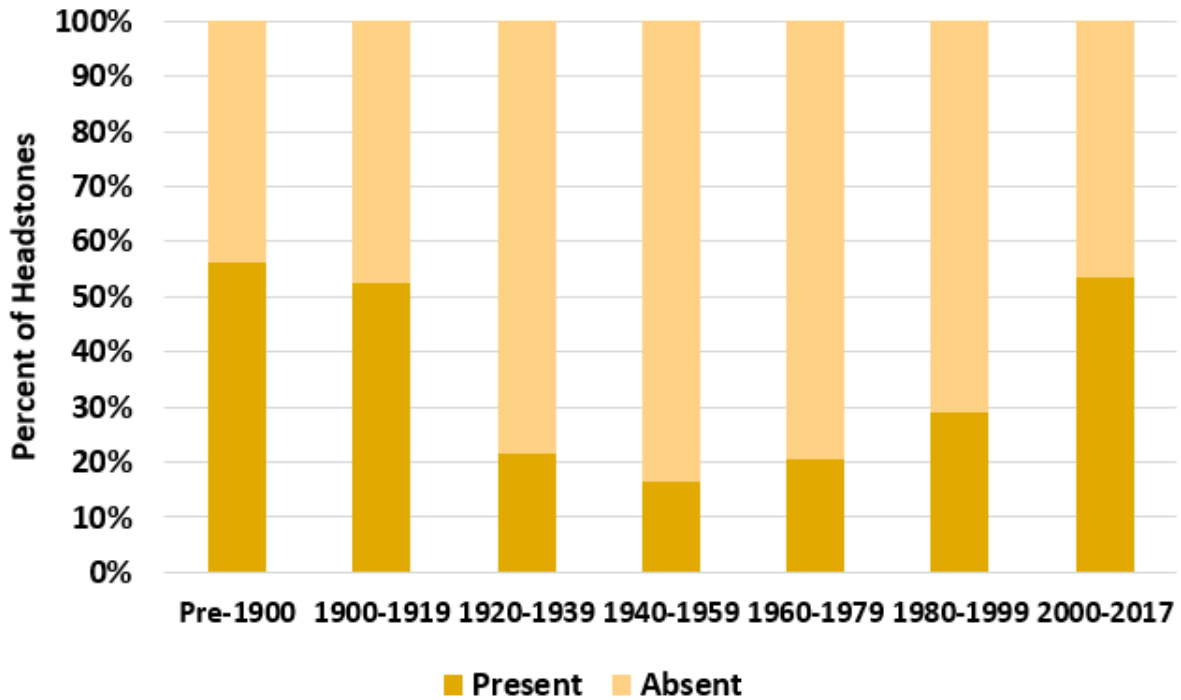
Figure 13. Bar Graph Showing Frequency of Epitaphs

As illustrated in Figure 12, the presence of iconographic images was more frequently noted than that of epitaphs in every time period except from 1880 to 1900, in which the presence of epitaph was more frequently noted. However, there are two time periods in which the presence of iconographic images and epitaphs were almost exactly equal. These periods being from 1900 to 1919 and from 2000 to 2017.
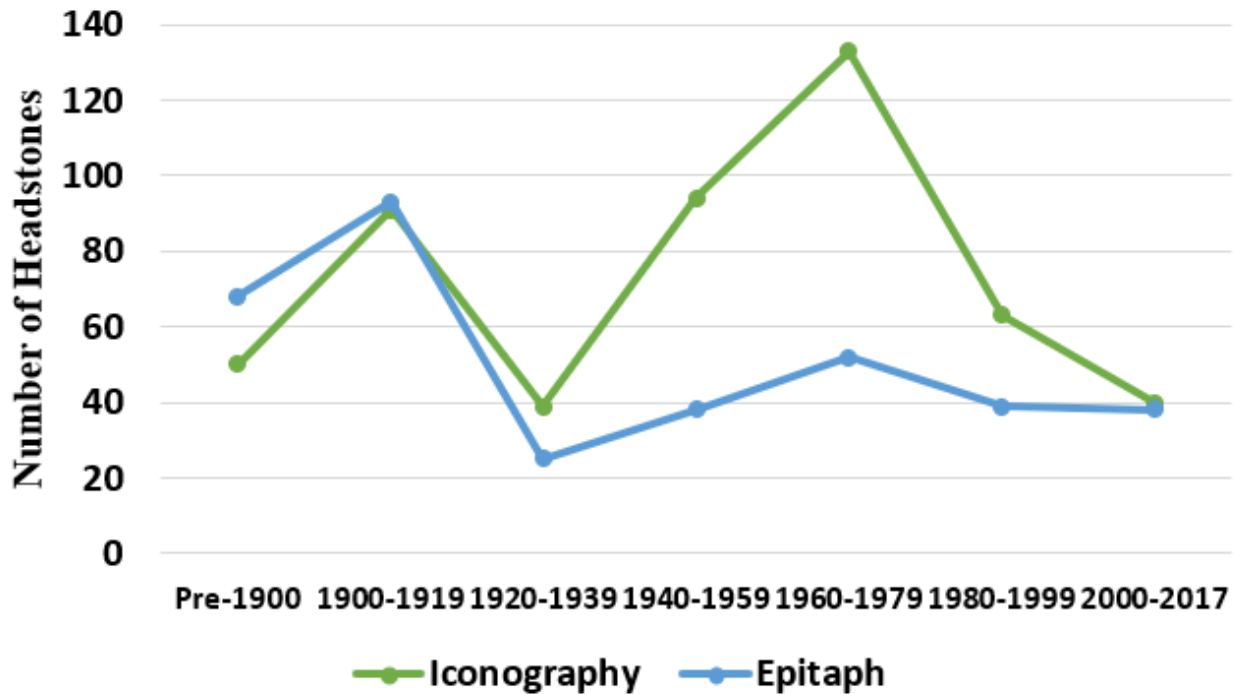
Figure 14. Variation in Prevalence of Iconography and Epitaph

Temporal trends in epitaph category were analyzed by determining the frequency in appearance of each epitaph category when compared to the number of headstones in each time period which contained an epitaph, as represented in Figure 13. Epitaph categories were highly variable, but trends were noted across time periods.

Familial epitaphs were the most prevalent type of epitaph within the total sample of Greenwood Cemetery, representing 35% of epitaphs across all time periods. Memorial epitaphs were the second most prevalent type of epitaph within the total sample, representing 21% of epitaphs across all time periods. Personal Information epitaphs represent 20% of epitaphs within the total sample.

Genealogical epitaphs were most prevalent from 1880 to 1919, beginning at 19% and decreasing slightly to 14% during this period. They continued to decrease in popularity throughout the following time periods, representing 0% of epitaphs from 2000 to 2017.

47

Geographical epitaphs represented 10% of epitaphs from 1880 to 1899, were most prevalent from 1940 to 1959 at 13%, and decreased in popularity during the following time periods. Geographical epitaphs were not noted from 1980 to 2017. Familial epitaphs were the most consistently prevalent type of epitaph throughout all time periods, representing between 24-50% of epitaphs from 1880 to 2017. Memorial epitaphs were most prevalent from 1880 to 1919, representing between 28-34% of epitaphs, decreased in popularity from 1920 to 1999, and increased in popularity again from 2000-2017, representing 24% of epitaphs. Military epitaphs were infrequently observed from 1880 to 1939, but increased in popularity throughout the following time periods. They were most popular from 1960 to 1979 at 38%. Personal information epitaphs were most prevalent from 1880 to 1939, representing between 24-35% of epitaphs. Prevalence decreased greatly from 1940 to 1979, and increased again from 1980 to 2017. Religious epitaphs were most prevalent from 1920 to 1979, representing between 28-32% of epitaphs. Epitaphs in the Other category were consistently infrequently observed but were most prevalent from 2000-2017 at 8%.

Table 8. Frequency of Epitaph Categories in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

	Pre-1900	1900-1919	1920-1939	1940-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2017	Cemetery Total
Familial	20	22	12	19	16	17	17	123
Genealogical	13	13	2	0	2	1	0	31
Geographical	7	8	1	5	1	0	0	22
Memorial	19	32	3	0	5	6	9	74
Military	0	5	1	7	20	6	5	44
Personal Information	24	25	6	1	2	9	5	72
Religious	13	14	7	12	6	2	4	58
Other	1	4	0	0	1	1	3	10
Marker Total	68	93	25	38	52	39	38	353

Trends in temporal iconography were analyzed by determining the frequency of each iconographic category when compared to the number of headstones in each time period which contained iconography, as represented in Figure 12. Iconographic images were highly variable, but trends were noted across time periods.

Floral iconography was the most prevalent type of iconography within the total sample of Greenwood Cemetery, representing 60% of iconographic images across all time periods. Religious iconography was the second most prevalent type of iconography, representing 19% of iconographic images within the total sample. Miscellaneous iconography represented 14% of iconographic images within the total sample.

Floral iconography was the most consistently popular throughout all time periods, and the most popular type of iconography from 1880 to 1899 and again from 1940 to 2017. They represent between 72-77% of iconographic images from 1940 to 2017. Open book iconography was infrequently observed from 1880 to 1959 but increased in popularity throughout the following time periods, representing between 9-18% of iconographic images from 1960 to 2017. Scroll iconography fluctuates in popularity throughout all time periods, absent from 1920 to 1939, and 11% at its highest popularity from 1940 to 1959. Animal iconography was most frequently noted from 1880 to 1889, representing 16% of iconographic images. Banner iconography was infrequently observed throughout multiple time periods, representing 6% of iconographic images at its highest prevalence from 1880 to 1899. Fraternal iconography remained consistently prevalent from 1880 to 1999, ranging from 5-10%, but was not observed from 2000 to 2017. Miscellaneous Design iconography was infrequently observed throughout all time periods except from 1900 to 1939 when it greatly increased in prevalence, representing from 49-52% of iconographic images during this time. Religious iconography continuously

increased in popularity throughout all time periods, representing of iconographic images 6%

from 1880 to 1899 and 50% from 2000 to 2017.

Sport/Hobby, Patriotic, Professional, Military, Landscape, and Musical iconography were

infrequently observed. Sunburst iconography was absent from both Section A or Section 9 of

Greenwood Cemetery. Heart iconography did not appear until 1980 to 1999 and was most

popular from 2000 to 2017 at 13%. Matrimonial iconography was infrequently observed from

1880 to 1979 but became more popular in the following time periods, representing 15% of

iconographic images from 2000 to 2017.

Table 9. Frequency of Iconographic Categories in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

	Pre-1900	1900-1919	1920-1939	1940-1959	1960-1979	1980-1999	2000-2017	Cemetery Total
Animal	8	6	0	1	0	1	1	17
Banner	3	2	2	1	1	3	0	12
Floral	21	28	12	72	96	47	30	306
Fraternal	3	9	2	7	8	3	0	32
Matrimonial	1	0	1	0	0	4	6	12
Open Book	2	1	0	0	12	8	7	30
Religious	3	7	3	14	33	19	20	99
Scroll	2	2	0	10	5	1	4	24
Sport/Hobby	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
Patriotic	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
Professional	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	3
Military	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
Heart	0	0	0	0	0	2	5	7
Musical	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Landscape	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Misc.	0	47	19	3	3	0	0	72
Sunburst	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Marker Total	50	91	39	94	133	63	40	510

Demographic Trends in Epitaph and Iconography

The distribution of iconographic images on the grave markers of female individuals of various ages was analyzed based on frequency in appearance of each iconographic category when compared to the total number of female individuals in each age group, including those who were not represented by an iconographic image. Data were collected and analyzed on 547 females interred at Greenwood Cemetery.

Iconographic image representation among females of various age groups was highly variable, although certain trends were noted. Floral iconography was by far the most prevalent type of iconography among females, representing 30% of iconographic images in the total sample of females. Floral iconography was the most popular type of iconography among female teens, young adults, and middle aged adults, representing 22%, 23%, and 28%, respectively, but tied in popularity with animal iconography among female infants at 19%. Animal iconography was most prevalent in the Infant and Child age groups among females, ranging from 17-19% but was not frequently observed among other age female age groups. The most popular type of iconography among old adult females was Floral Iconography, representing 32% of iconographic images in this age group. Banner iconography was most prevalent in the female teen and young adult age groups at 3%. Religious iconography represented between 3-8% of iconographic images among female infants, children, young adults, middle adults, and old adults but was not observed among female teens. Scroll iconography was not frequently observed among females in any age groups but was most prevalent among young and middle aged adults at 2%. Miscellaneous Design iconography was most prevalent among young and middle aged female adults representing 15% of iconography in each age group.

Fraternal and Heart iconography were not frequently observed among females in any age groups. Landscape iconography was not observed among females in any age groups. Matrimonial iconography was not common among females in any age groups except among young adult females at 3%.

Children are the least likely among the female age groups to be represented by iconographic images with 25% of headstones in this category containing iconography. Middle and old adult females are equally as likely to be represented by iconographic images with 44% of headstones in this category containing iconography. Young adult females are the most likely female age group to be represented by iconographic images with 46% of headstones containing iconography

Table 10. Age Distribution of Iconographic Categories on the Grave Markers of Female Individuals

	Infant	Child	Teen	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult	Cemetery Total
Animal	3	2	0	1	0	3	9
Banner	0	0	0	1	2	3	6
Floral	3	0	2	9	17	131	162
Fraternity	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Heart	0	0	0	0	0	5	5
Landscape	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Military	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Matrimonial	0	0	0	1	0	5	6
Music	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Open Book	0	0	0	1	1	16	18
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Patriotic	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Religious	1	1	0	1	3	32	38
Scroll	0	0	0	0	1	10	11
Sun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport/Hobby	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Miscellaneous	1	0	1	6	9	30	47
None	8	9	6	21	34	229	307
Individual Total	16	12	9	39	61	410	547

The distribution of epitaphs on the grave markers of female individuals of various ages was analyzed based on frequency in appearance of each epitaph category when compared to the total number of female individuals in each age group, including those who were not represented by an epitaph. Data were collected and analyzed on 547 females interred at Greenwood Cemetery.

Epitaph representation among females in the total sample was variable although trends were observed among age groups. Familial epitaphs are the most prevalent type of epitaph among the total sample of females representing 15% of females. Memorial and Personal Information epitaphs were the second most prevalent among the total sample of females, each representing 6%. Genealogical epitaphs are the most popular type of epitaph among female infants, representing 31% of epitaphs in this age group. Memorial epitaphs are the most popular type of epitaph among female children, representing 17% of epitaphs in this age group, but were also frequently noted among female middle adults, representing 16% of epitaphs in this age group. Family, Memorial, and Religious epitaphs are the most popular, and equally popular, epitaph among female teens, with each representing 11% of epitaphs in this age group. Female young, middle, and old Adults are most likely to be represented by Familial epitaphs, representing 23%, 25% and 14%, respectively.

Military Epitaphs account for less than 1% of Epitaphs in the female old adult age group and are not present among any other female age group. Geographic Epitaphs were most frequently noted among female middle adults, representing 5% of epitaphs in this age group, were not noted among female infants, children, teens, or young adults. Personal Information Epitaphs were most frequently noted among female young adults, representing 13% of epitaphs in this age group. Religious Epitaphs were most frequently noted among female teens,

representing 11%, but were also noted among female children, young, middle, and old adults,

representing between 5-8% of epitaphs in these age groups. Other Epitaphs were most frequently

noted among female children at 8%, but were not frequently noted among any other age group.

Female old adults, although represented by a wide variety of epitaph categories, are the

least likely to be represented by an epitaph at 26% representation. Female middle adults are the

most likely to be represented by an epitaph at 48% representation. Female children and teen

individuals are equally as likely to be represented by an epitaph at 34% representation. Female

infants are slightly more likely to be represented by an epitaph than children and teen individuals

at 38% representation.

Table 11. Age Distribution of Epitaph Categories on the Grave Markers of Female Individuals

	Infant	Child	Teen	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult	Cemetery Total
Family	1	0	1	9	15	56	82
Genealogical	5	1	0	1	1	6	14
Military	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Memorial	0	2	1	3	10	19	35
Personal Information	1	0	0	5	6	22	34
Religious	0	1	1	3	4	19	28
Geographical	0	0	0	0	3	3	6
Other	0	1	0	0	1	2	4
None	10	8	6	22	32	304	382
Individual Total	16	12	9	39	61	410	547

The distribution of iconography categories on the grave markers of male individuals of various ages was analyzed based on frequency in appearance of each iconographic category when compared to the total number of Male individuals in each age group, including those who were not represented by an iconographic image. Data were collected and analyzed on 555 male individuals interred at Greenwood Cemetery.

Iconographic images were highly variable among the sample of males within Greenwood Cemetery although trends were noted among age groups. Floral iconography was the most prevalent type of iconography noted within the total sample of males representing 26% of males. Religious iconography was the second most prevalent type of iconography noted within the total sample, representing 11% of males.

Floral Iconography is the only type of iconography which is present within each male age group, representing between 8-31% of individuals in each group. The most popular type of Iconography among male infants is Animal Iconography, representing 21% of individuals within this age group. Male children are only represented by Floral Iconography at 8% representation. The most popular type of iconography among male teens is Miscellaneous Iconography, representing 18% of individuals in this age group. The most popular, and equally popular, types of iconography among young adult males are Floral and Miscellaneous Design Iconography, each representing 21% of individuals in this age group.

The most popular type of iconography among middle adult males is Religious Iconography, representing 17% of individuals in this age group. The most popular type of iconography among old adult males is Floral Iconography, representing 31% of individuals in this age group. Fraternal Iconography was most frequently noted among middle adult males at 12%. Open Book iconography was not frequently noted among any male age group but was most

frequently noted among old adult males at 3%. Scroll Iconography was not frequently noted among any male age group but was most popular among infant, middle, and old adult males, representing between 2-3% of individuals in these age groups. Banner iconography was most frequently noted among middle adult males where it represented 7% of individuals in this age group.

Heart, Landscape, Military, Matrimonial, Musical, Professional, Patriotic, Sun, and Sport/Hobby Iconography are either absent from Male grave markers in Section 9 and Section A of Greenwood Cemetery, or infrequently observed.

Old adult males are the most likely to be represented by an iconographic image with 52% representation. Male children are the least likely to be represented by an iconographic image with only 8% representation. Male teens are represented by iconography on 28% of grave markers. Young adult and middle aged adult males are similarly likely to be represented by iconographic images, at 43% and 46% representation, respectively.

Table 12. Age Distribution of Iconographic Categories on Grave Markers of Male Individuals

	Infant	Child	Teen	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult	Cemetery Total
Animal	6	0	0	0	0	2	8
Banner	0	0	0	2	1	3	6
Floral	5	1	1	6	10	121	144
Fraternal	0	0	0	0	7	20	27
Heart	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Landscape	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Military	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Matrimonial	0	0	0	0	0	6	6
Music	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
Open Book	0	0	0	0	1	11	12
Professional	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
Patriotic	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Religious	0	0	0	2	14	45	61
Scroll	1	0	0	0	2	10	13
Sun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Sport/Hobby	0	0	0	0	0	2	2
Miscellaneous	0	0	2	6	8	27	43
None	17	12	8	16	44	188	285
Individual Total	29	13	11	28	82	392	555

The distribution of epitaph categories on the grave markers of male individuals of various ages was analyzed based on frequency of each epitaph category when compared to the total number of Male individuals in each age group, including those who were not represented by an epitaph. Data were collected and analyzed on 555 male individuals interred at Greenwood Cemetery.

Epitaph representation among males in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery is highly variable although trends were noted across age groups. The most prevalent type of epitaph noted among males within the total sample of Greenwood Cemetery are Military epitaphs, representing 8% of males. Familial epitaphs are the second most prevalent type of epitaph within the total sample, representing 7% of males.

The most popular type of Epitaph among male infants is Genealogical Epitaphs, representing 41% of individuals in this age group. The most popular type of epitaph among male children are Memorial Epitaphs, representing 15% of individuals in this age group. The most popular type of epitaph among male teens are Religious Epitaphs, Representing 27% of individuals in this age group. The most popular type of epitaph among young adult males are Memorial Epitaphs, representing 21% of individuals in this age group. The most popular type of epitaph among middle adult males are Military Epitaphs, representing 16% of individuals in this age group.

The most popular type of epitaph among old adult males are Familial epitaphs, representing 8% of individuals in this age group. Personal Information epitaphs remained relatively consistent among all age groups, representing between 8% to 11% of individuals in each age group. Geographical Epitaphs were most frequently noted among young and middle aged adult males, representing 7% of individuals in each category, but were not frequently noted among any other male age group. Other Epitaphs were most frequently noted among male children at 8%.

Familial epitaphs remained consistent within the male children, young adult, middle aged adult, and old adult age groups where they represent between 7% to 9% of individuals, but were not noted in the male infant or teen age groups. Military Epitaphs were not noted in male infant, child or teen age groups. Religious Epitaphs were most prevalent among male teens at 27%, but were also frequently noted among male infants at 21%. Memorial Epitaphs were most prevalent among young adult males at 21%, but were also frequently noted among Male Infants and Children at 14% and 15%, respectively.

Old adult males are the least likely age group to be represented by an epitaph at 29% representation. Infant males are the most likely male age group to be represented by an epitaph at 62% representation. Male children, teens, young, and middle adults are similarly likely to be represented by an epitaph at between 40% to 46% representation among these age groups.

Table 13. Age Distribution of Epitaph Categories on Grave Markers of Male Individuals

	Infant	Child	Teen	Young Adult	Middle Adult	Old Adult	Cemetery Total
Familial	0	1	0	2	7	31	41
Genealogical	12	0	1	2	0	2	17
Military	0	0	0	1	13	29	43
Memorial	4	2	1	6	4	22	39
Personal Info.	3	1	1	2	9	22	38
Religious	6	1	3	0	2	18	30
Geographical	0	0	0	2	6	8	16
Other	0	1	0	0	0	5	6
None	11	7	6	16	49	278	367
Individual Total	29	13	11	28	82	392	555

Demographic Variation in Iconographic Images

Fraternal Iconography was not observed among male or females in the infant, child, teen, and young adult age groups. Fraternal Iconography was not frequently observed among females in any age group but was observed among old adult females. Middle aged adult males are the most likely demographic group to be represented by Fraternal Iconography, at 12%.

Female infants (6%) and children (8%) are more likely to be represented by Religious Iconography than males in these same age groups where Religious Iconography was not noted, however, young adult (7%), middle aged adult (17%), and old adult (11%) males are more likely to be represented by Religious Iconography than their female counterparts. Neither male nor female teens were represented by Religious Iconography. Female children are far more likely to be represented by Animal Iconography than Male Children, at 17% and 0%, respectively.

Floral Iconography is highly variable among male and females of each age group, with varied prevalence between groups, showing few distinct trends. Male and female old adults are similarly likely to be represented by Floral Iconography, at 31% and 32%, respectively. Male children are represented by Floral Iconography at 8% while Floral Iconography was not noted among female children.

Miscellaneous Design Iconography represents 6% of female infants while Miscellaneous Design Iconography was not noted among male infants. Neither male nor female children were represented by Miscellaneous Design Iconography. Miscellaneous Design Iconography was highly variable among male and female teens, young, middle aged, and old adults, with varied prevalence, showing no distinct trends.

Banner and Scroll Iconography did alternate in popularity between males and females of various age groups, but not to a notable extent. Heart, Landscape, Military, Matrimonial, Musical, Patriotic, Sun, and Sport/Hobby iconography were not frequently noted among Males or Females in any age groups.

The prevalence of iconographic images among males and females of each age group is highly variable. Female children are more likely than male children to be represented by an iconographic image, at 25% and 8%, respectively.

Demographic Variation in Epitaph

Females are far more likely to be represented by a Familial Epitaph than their male counterparts in every age group except for children, in which Familial Epitaphs were not noted among females but represent 8% of males. Male infants are far more likely than any other age group, male or female, to be represented by Genealogical Epitaph at 41%, however, Genealogical Epitaphs are the most prevalent type of epitaph among both male and female Infants (31%). Military Epitaphs were not frequently noted among Females of any age group, and were not noted among Male Infants, Children, or Teens. Middle Adult Males are the most likely demographic groups to be represented by a Military Epitaph, at 16%.

Memorial Epitaphs are highly variable among males and females of each age groups, with varied prevalence between groups, showing few distinct trends. However, 14% of male infants are represented by a Memorial Epitaph while Memorial Epitaphs were not noted among female infants. Prevalence of Personal Information Epitaphs among Male and Female Infants, Young, Middle and Old Adults are similar. However, Male Children (8%) and Teens (9%) are more likely to be represented by a Personal Information Epitaph than their female counterparts who were not represented by Personal Information Epitaphs. Male infants are represented by Religious Epitaphs at 21% while female infants are not represented by Religious Epitaphs. Male teens are more likely to be represented by Religious Epitaphs than female teens, at 27% and 11%, respectively. Young adult males are not represented by Religious Epitaphs while 8% of young adult females are represented by Religious Epitaphs. Males are more likely than females

to be represented by Geographical Epitaphs. However, neither male nor female infants, children and teens are represented by Geographical Epitaphs.

The prevalence of epitaphs among males and females of each age group is highly variable. Infant males are more likely to be represented by an epitaph than their female counterparts, at 62% and 38%, respectively.

Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusion

As previously mentioned, Greenwood Cemetery was chosen for this study due to the important role that it plays within Orlando. Not only does the cemetery serve as the main central location for the interment of deceased individuals within Orlando, it also serves as a repository for the culture and history of Orlando, as is evident by the many important monuments, such as the Sperry Fountain and the Johnny Rebel Confederate Memorial statue, which have been moved from their original locations to Greenwood Cemetery to be protected and preserved. The significance of the cemetery only makes the study of its contents even more important as grave marker attributes offer seemingly endless amounts of information related to the cemetery itself, the deceased individuals interred within the cemetery, and the evolution of multiple sociocultural aspects of the City of Orlando. More specifically, this research provides insight into the sociocultural values of the City of Orlando within various time periods, as these values are related to aspects of life which are viewed as important, or necessary, during life, and are reflected in the mortuary context of a deceased individual (Binford. 1971; Pearson, 1999), such as marriage, military service, and religious belief.

As illustrated in Table 1, many distinct sub-populations exist the cemetery, which are separated into their own blocks, away from the general population. For example, children and infants may be buried in the Babyland blocks or buried within the general population blocks, at the discretion of the parent. Both blocks included within this study, Block A and Block 9, are inclusive of the general population, with no specific regulations attributed to interment within these blocks. Therefore, data provided by this study are representative of the general population within the cemetery but may not be representative of grave marker attributes or individual mortuary representation within blocks that are reserved for distinct subpopulations. However, it

is important to note that Greenwood is an exceptionally large cemetery and there may be a

certain amount of variation in grave marker attributes between general population blocks as well.

An effort was made to select blocks that would provide data related to a wide temporal range and

satisfactory sample size to ensure that the data collection was as representative as possible of the

collective general population.

Trends were noted within the chosen general population blocks that will provide

important information regarding the sample of the cemetery, as well as data that may be used in

the future to compare general population and sub-population blocks. These trends include

temporal trends in marker material, marker type, footstones and curbs, memorial photographs,

and iconography and epitaph category, as well as demographic trends in iconography and epitaph

category, especially as they relate to data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016) in a previous

analysis of trends in grave marker attributes in Florida.

<u>Marker Material</u>

Sandstone was once a popular material chosen for grave markers as it is widely available

across the United States and, therefore, was an easily accessible material before the proliferation

of the rail road and accompanying trade routes in the early 1800s (Snider, 2017). Following the

expansion of the rail road across the United States, materials were easily traded across long

distances, thus, marble became the more widely used grave marker material from the mid to late

1800s (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004). This is likely why sandstone was not noted in the sample of

Greenwood Cemetery, as the cemetery did not open until 1880, many years past the initial

popularity of sandstone and well into the height of the popularity of marble grave markers.

Marble markers were the most popular type of grave marker material in Greenwood Cemetery

from 1880 until 1919 when they were surpassed by granite markers, which remain the most

noted type of grave marker material. This is consistent with the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016), that states that granite is the most predominantly noted material in the entire sample, but marble was the most frequently noted material within the earliest time period, pre-1900. The trend of marble replacement by granite is noted by multiple cemetery researchers, and historians, across the entire United States (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004; Hassen and Cobb, 2017). This trend is attributed to the fact that marble is a softer substance than granite and is more likely to erode or stain due to industrial pollution and exposure to the elements, rendering inscriptions illegible within only a few decades (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004). Granite use began in the late 1800s, and slowly gained popularity as it is less expensive and more durable than marble. To put the durability of granite in perspective, it ranks a 7 on the Mohs Scale of Mineral Hardness, while marble ranks a 3-5, and diamond ranks a 10 (Snider, 2017).

The sample of Greenwood Cemetery did not include many grave markers made from metals, however, it is important to note that most of the other metal markers noted were made from Zinc, also known as White Bronze. The presence of White Bronze headstones in Greenwood Cemetery from 1880 to 1939 correlates with the historical factors which impacted the production of White Bronze headstones in the United States. White Bronze grave markers were produced by the Monumental Bronze Company in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and were available for purchase and customization through a catalogue (Snider, 2017; Meyer, 1992). White Bronze grave markers were beginning to become more popular due to their high durability and low cost, as well as their unique blue-grey coloring (Meyer, 1992). Many of the White Bronze headstones within Greenwood Cemetery are still perfectly legible and intact, except for a few metal panels which have detached from the marker, these panels are usually located on the ground near the marker. Despite the increasing popularity of White Bronze markers, World War

I began and the Monumental Bronze Company shifted its focus from grave marker production to production of guns and munitions (Snider, 2017). The Monumental Bronze Company went out of business permanently in 1939, marking the end of White Bronze grave marker production (Snider, 2017).

Figure 15. Examples of Zinc Grave Markers in Block A at Greenwood Cemetery

One aspect of the historical trends in grave marker material noted in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery that is not consistent with the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) is the popularity of cement markers. Cement markers are associated with individuals who are living outside of mainstream society, possibly due to economic factors, as cement markers are less expensive to create and may not necessitate the help of a stone carver or monument builder (Keister, 2004). Cement markers were noted by Meyers and Schultz (2016), representing 19% of the total sample, while cement markers make up roughly 1% of the total sample at Greenwood Cemetery, this variation is depicted in Figure 16. The prevalence of cement markers noted by Meyers and Schultz (2016) may be due to the composition of the sample, which encompassed a range of cemeteries, including small family cemeteries, and even a traditionally black cemetery, which may have relied on cement due to its low cost when compared to other available grave

marker materials. Variation in marker material within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery and

the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) is illustrated in Table 14.

Table 14. Percent Overall Comparison of Marker Material

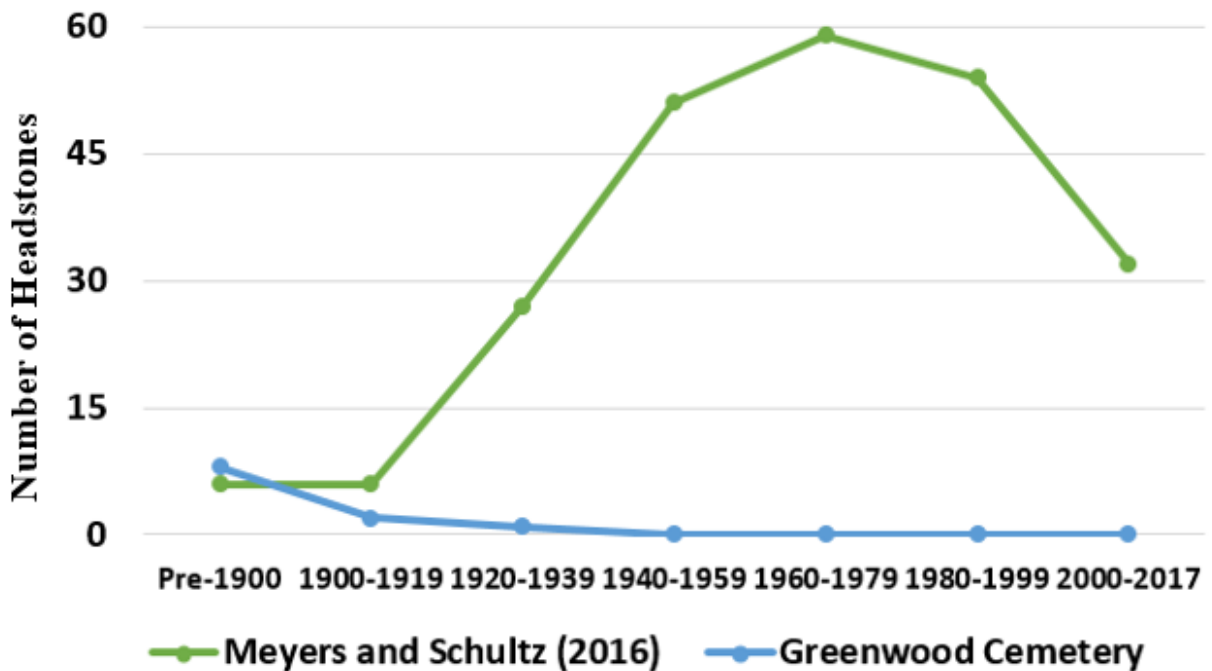|	Greenwood Cemetery: Percent Overall	Meyers and Schultz (2016): Percent Overall
Granite	74	62
Marble	21	13
Cement	1	19
Bronze	1	4
Other Metals	1	1
Sandstone	0	<1
Misc.	<1	<1

Figure 16. Cement Grave Marker Frequency Comparison

<u>Marker Design</u>

An aspect of trends in grave marker design not consistent with the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) is the popularity of obelisks in Greenwood Cemetery. Obelisks were infrequently observed within the sample analyzed by Meyers and Schultz (2016), so infrequent, in fact, that obelisks were included within the Miscellaneous category rather than analyzed on their own. The data sheet utilized in Greenwood Cemetery originally followed this methodology, but subsequently created an individual category for obelisks after discovering their popularity, representing 14% of grave markers from 1880 to 1899. The time periods in which obelisk grave markers are noted within Greenwood Cemetery are consistent with a cultural phenomenon, known as Egyptomania, within the United States at this same time. Egyptomania was a period of American fascination with Egypt following the campaign of Napoleon in Egypt (Debusk, 2018; Snider, 2017; Brier, 2004). Egyptomania was characterized by the proliferation of aspects of Egyptian culture into American popular culture. This proliferation included a large amount of Egyptian influenced architecture, including mortuary architecture, such as pyramids and obelisks (Brier, 2004). The popularity of obelisks may also have been attributed to the low cost, and the ability to place multiple individuals on the same marker, due to the four-sided structure, as was common in Greenwood Cemetery. The popularity of obelisks in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery declined, along with Egyptomania itself, and were not present following 1939.

Another aspect of trends in grave marker design in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery which is not consistent with that of Meyers and Schultz (2016) is the dichotomy between the frequency of upright and beveled headstones, represented in figures 17 and 18. In both the study of Greenwood Cemetery and the data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016), upright headstones were the most frequently noted marker design out of the entire sample. However, in

Meyers and Schultz (2016), upright grave markers remained the most popular form of marker design in all time periods except from 1940 to 1959. In Greenwood Cemetery, upright grave markers were the most popular form of grave marker design from 1880 to 1919 and became the most popular marker type again from 2000 to 2017, with beveled headstones being the most popular form of headstone design in the interim period. Meyers and Schultz (2016) concluded that beveled headstones were noted infrequently in the total sample. Within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery, the periods of popularity of upright grave markers correspond with periods in which the prevalence of both epitaph and iconography on grave markers were above 50%, except for the prevalence of iconography from 1880 to 1899 which was 41%. This is noteworthy as upright headstones are the easiest type of grave marker design to personalize, and therefore, are the most frequently chosen grave marker design for families who intend to personalize the grave marker of their deceased loved one. (Stokes Monument Company, Personal Communication, 2018). Personalization and expression on grave markers indicates an emotional attachment to the deceased individual while lack of expression on grave markers indicates a decrease in emotional attachment, as well as possible economic factors as personalization necessitates energy and resources (Cannon et al, 1989).

Furthermore, Meyers and Schultz (2016) noted 12% of vaults in their total sample while no vaults were observed in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. However, Meyers and Schultz (2016) noted that every vault was located within a traditionally African-American cemetery while none of the segregated blocks within Greenwood Cemetery were included within the sample. The prevalence of slant and ground markers are similar in the total sample of both Greenwood Cemetery and the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016). The variation

between categories of marker design noted within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery and the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) is demonstrated in Table 15.

Table 15. Percent Overall Comparison of Marker Design

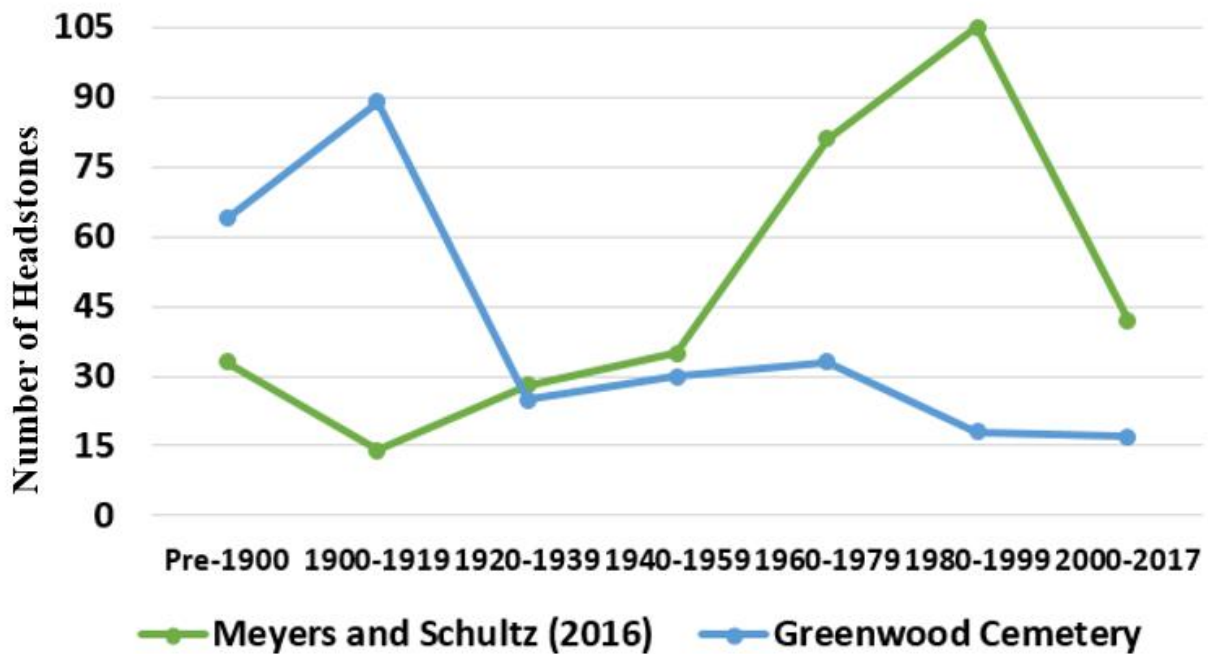|	Greenwood Cemetery: Percent Overall	Meyers and Schultz (2016): Percent Overall
Upright	30	27
Ground	15	19
Slant	17	12
Vault	0	12
Military	n/a	9
Cube	2	7
Ledger	2	5
Beveled	25	4
Cross	<1	1
Misc.	1	4

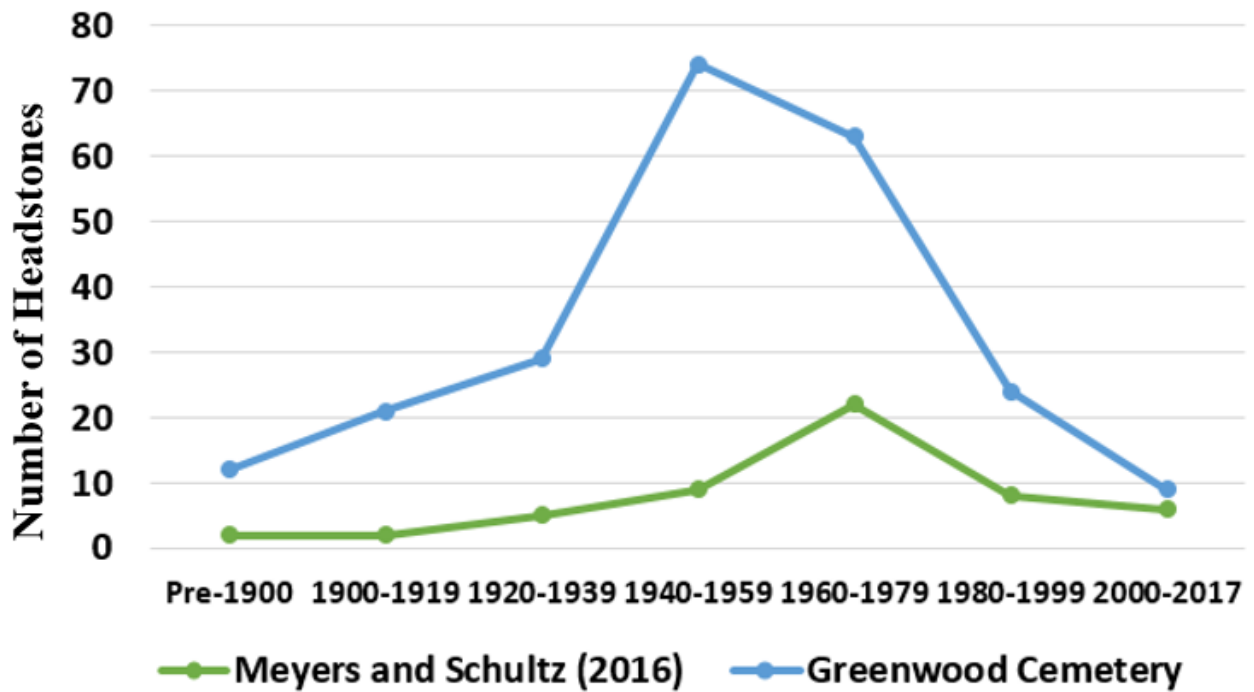**Figure 17. Upright Grave Marker Frequency Comparison**

70

Figure 18. Beveled Grave Marker Frequency Comparison

Iconography

Before an attempt is made to interpret specific iconographic images and their meaning within Greenwood Cemetery, it is important to understand that iconographic images and their relationship to symbolic associations have changed over time in multiple ways. Grave marker iconography has evolved from a highly symbolic affair to a more literal representation of an aspect of the deceased individual (Snider, 2017). For example, an image of a pelican etched on a grave marker once represented self-sacrifice and the extreme love of a parent for their children (Keister, 2004). However, on contemporary grave markers, an image of a pelican would most likely mean nothing more than that the deceased individual had a fondness for pelicans. The same is true for floral iconography, as will be discussed in detail within this chapter, as floral iconography has evolved from a highly nuanced and symbolic representation of human characteristics to an extremely common, almost expected, ambiguously placed aesthetic application to a grave marker. It is also important to remember that the interpretive meaning of

71

symbols may change over time, due to various sociocultural phenomena. For example, the swastika, which was once a Native American symbol representing peace and life, has now become a symbol of racism, war, and death, following its adoption by the Nazi party during World War II (Snider, 2017). Therefore, it is essential that individuals attempting to classify, or interpret grave marker iconography endeavor to understand the context in which each specific iconographic image may have inherited its symbolic meaning.

Both the prevalence of iconography in general, and the prevalence of specific categories of iconography are highly variable among various time periods within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. Iconographic images are present on 46% of the total sample of grave markers in Greenwood Cemetery. This is similar to the data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016) in which 43% of grave markers include an iconographic image. Floral and Religious iconography are the two most prevalent types of iconographic image in both the samples. Although, Floral iconography is most prevalent in Greenwood Cemetery while Religious is the most prevalent in the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016).

The prevalence of floral iconography in both studies is important, yet expected, as floral imagery has multiple symbolic and aesthetic purposes within a mortuary context (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004; Debusk, 2018). The symbolic meaning of floral iconography in a mortuary context may be related to either the life stage of the flower, or the species of flower itself. For example, a flower with a drooping stem, or cut stem may symbolize a life that has ended too soon (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004; Debusk, 2018). The species also has symbolic meaning, such as a rose which symbolizes love that transcends death, and flowers associated with grapes may symbolize abundance through Jesus Christ (Snider, 2017; Keister, 2004; Debusk, 2018).

The symbolic nature of floral iconography was proliferated via the study of Floriography, or the Victorian Language of Flowers, which was often used during the courting process but influenced mortuary contexts, as well. Floriography spread from France to the United States in the early 1800s, with books on the subject being published until the 1850s (Snider, 2017). The importance of specific flower species to the understanding of their symbolic meaning throughout the mid to late 1800s necessitated the clear image of each flower on a grave marker as belonging to a specific species whereas floral iconography beginning in the mid-1900s through present day is rather unambiguous and stylized, lacking distinction as a specific species (Snider, 2017). This is because floral imagery has lost a lot of its symbolic meaning and is now used frequently as simply a pleasing aesthetic addition to the grave marker, usually in the form of a border along the corner. The symbolic and aesthetic characteristics of floral iconography made it a popular choice for both males and females, among most age groups. Male and female old adults were almost equally likely to be represented by floral iconography, possibly due to the multifaceted function of floral iconography which makes it a viable option for representation regardless of the age or sex of the deceased individual, although slight variation was noted among demographic groups.

Religious Iconography was also expected to be highly popular in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery as religion remains a highly important aspect of life in the United States. Although Iconography in recent cemetery studies, such as Greenwood Cemetery, include a wide variety of secular themes (Hamscher, 2006), such as sport/hobby, heart, musical, and landscape iconography, it does so along with religious iconography, rather than at the exclusion of religious iconography. None of the secularly themed iconographic images appeared in Greenwood Cemetery until 1980 to 2017, and religious iconography continued to increase in popularity

during this time period, as well, meaning that religious and secular iconography co-existed in a mortuary setting in a manner that is not mutually exclusive.

Religious iconography was popular among males and females of almost every age group, however, variation was noted among demographic groups. Younger females, infants and children, are more likely than their male counterparts to be represented by religious iconography while older males, young, middle aged and old adults, are more likely than their female counterparts to be represented by religious iconography. This is possibly because young, middle aged and old adult male individuals are highly defined by their place within a religious community while religious iconography is representative of the innocent and virtuous potential of infants and children, especially female infants and children (Giguere, 2007).

Iconography that represents the innocent and virtuous potential of female children over male children is not restricted to religious iconography. Animal iconography was not noted among male children but was observed among female children at 17%. However, male and female infants are almost equally likely to be represented by animal iconography in the sample. This is important as animal iconography among children in the sample is restricted to depictions of lambs. Lambs are representative of innocence and sacrifice (Keister, 2004; Snider, 2017; Debsuk, 2018), and are one of the few types of animal iconography that maintain a recognizable and well known symbolic meaning within contemporary society as well as past society. Lamb iconography is the most common animal found within the mortuary contexts of children (Debusk, 2018). Few depictions of animals are noted on the grave marker of males or females within other age groups.

Miscellaneous design iconography, the third most popular type of iconography in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery, was extremely popular from 1900 to 1939, representing

between 49%-52% of iconographic images, but was not frequently noted among other time periods. Miscellaneous design iconography is simply a decoration, usually along the border of the grave marker, often a geometric design (Debusk, 2018). Miscellaneous design iconography during these time periods served a very similar aesthetic function to the ambiguous and highly stylized floral iconography noted on the contemporary grave markers in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery.

Middle adult males are the most likely demographic group to be represented by fraternal iconography at 12%. This is expected as the Freemason fraternal organization is restricted to male members. The Freemason iconographic image was the most noted fraternal iconography within the sample at Greenwood Cemetery, although, multiple others were present. Fraternal Iconography remained consistently prevalent in every time period, representing between 5%-10% of iconographic images, except from 2000 to 2017 in which it was not observed. This may be due to the fact that Greenwood Cemetery is located within a three-mile radius of two Masonic Lodges.

Epitaph

Epitaphs are described by Donald Price, Greenwood Cemetery Sexton, as "your last sentence on Earth" (Donald Price, Personal Communication, 2018). Although some people use this last chance at communication to make an amusing statement, such as an epitaph in Key West Cemetery which reads "I told you I was sick" (Snider, 2017), most indiviuals use the opportunity to delineate some important aspect of their life, society, or culture, even inadvertently, such as the many epitaphs in Greenwood Cemetery that reaffirm historically defined gender roles. Both the prevalence of epitaphs in general and the prevalence of each specific type of epitaph are highly variable throughout all time periods within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. Epitaphs

are present on 32% of grave markers in the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. This is consistent with the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) in which 35% of the overall sample contained an epitaph. Familial and Memorial epitaphs are the two most popular epitaph categories in both samples.

Familial epitaphs were also the most consistently popular temporally, meaning that familial epitaphs were prevalent and popular in every time period noted within the study. Females are far more likely to be represented by a familial epitaph than males in every age group except children. This may be expected as women, both in the past and present, are highly defined by their familial relationships while men stand on their own in society with relationships infrequently acknowledged, except the possible acknowledgment of an affluent male family member, such as a father or grandfather (Giguere, 2007). The popularity of familial epitaphs within each time period shows that the importance of family is not a fleeting trend, but rather, a continuous ideological aspect of life in Orlando. The prevalence of familial epitaphs among females, specifically, shows that society places the importance of the life of a woman within the realm of the household (Giguere, 2007). This prevalence also indicates that although females can maintain various social personas throughout their lives, the social persona that demonstrates their role as a wife or mother is often viewed as the most valuable and worthy of eternal memorialization. Epitaphs that specifically name the spouse of the decease, such as "wife of", are popular among females but were only noted once on the grave marker of one male individual within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. This is indicative of the perceived dependent status of even mature women (Giguere, 2007), especially within time periods that restricted the rights of women to own property, or work outside the home.

Memorial epitaphs are the second most popular type of epitaph within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. This is expected as Memorial epitaphs are not inherently gendered and are almost equally prevalent among both males and females within all age groups, except female infants, who were not represented by Memorial Epitaphs. Memorial epitaphs often address the topic of death in a more direct manner than any other type of epitaph. Memorial epitaphs usually do not delineate much additional information about the deceased individual themselves but may express feelings of sadness or loss on behalf of the family members and friends that have been left behind. As previously mentioned, cemeteries and grave markers serve the purpose of allowing living individuals to grieve while perpetuating the memory of the deceased individual (Cannon, 2002). Memorial epitaphs discuss grief, and memory directly, often while demonstrating the emotional attachment between the deceased individual and the living members of the family and community.

Personal Information epitaphs are the third most popular type of epitaph within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. This is not consistent with the data provided by Meyers and Schultz (2016) that states that Personal Information epitaphs were infrequently observed. Personal Information epitaphs were present in every time period within Greenwood Cemetery, most prevalent from 1880 to 1939, and were relatively consistent among the majority of male and female age groups. However, male children and teens were more likely than their female counterparts to be represented by a personal information epitaph.

Personal Information epitaphs are highly variable as to the type of information that is presented and were only considered to be Personal Information epitaphs when the presented information did not fit within one of the other epitaph categories, such as genealogical epitaphs, as the majority of epitaphs are, technically, related to some type of personal information.

Epitaphs usually contain some manner of personal information as they are literary inscriptions purposely chosen to properly represent and immortalize the deceased individual (Herat, 2014). This immortalization takes place through the delineation of facts related to the life of the deceased individual and their role within the family and community. Therefore, the inclusion of personal information is an important aspect of a mortuary context as deceased individuals continue to maintain a social persona even after death has occurred (Tarrow, 2000).

Personal Information epitaphs within Greenwood Cemetery often consisted of the age of the deceased individual, occupation of the individual, dates related to marriage, and occasionally, cause of death, such one epitaph which simply read "drowned."

Male infants are far more likely than any other age group, male or female, to be represented by a genealogical epitaph at 41%, however, Genealogical Epitaphs are the most prevalent type of epitaph among both Male and Female Infants. This is due to the fact that infants have not yet formed their own identity outside of that of their parents and, in some cases, do not yet have a name, represented solely by the phrase "Infant Son" or "Infant Daughter" followed by the names of their parents.

Middle Adult males are the most likely to be represented by a Military epitaph, at 16%. Only one female within the sample at Greenwood Cemetery was represented by a Military Epitaph. This dichotomy was expected as males are far more likely to serve in the military in the United States, especially in combat roles, or within highly ranked positions (Walter, 2018). Although women have technically served in every American war, since the Revolutionary War, women were not officially integrated into the Armed Forces until 1948, and even then, they were only allowed a place within the peacetime army (Walter, 2018). Throughout the following century, multiple laws were passed which slowly increased the presence of women within the

military, however, the full integration of women in the military did not occur until 2013 (Walter, 2018). The presence of Military epitaphs is indicative of a societal respect for members of the military, making the mention of a military career within the mortuary context of a deceased individual exceedingly important to the overall memorial characteristic of the grave marker, as well as the everlasting social persona of the deceased individual. Military epitaphs were most frequently noted from 1960 to 1979, however, this was not due to the involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War during this time period as only one of the twenty Military epitaphs transcribed during the data collection process mentioned participation in the Vietnam War. All other Military epitaphs noted during this time period were representative of individuals who had served in the military during either World War I or World War II. It is also noteworthy that Greenwood Cemetery has multiple blocks that are specifically reserved for members of the military, therefore, the representation between male and female individuals with military epitaphs in these blocks are likely to vary from that of the general population.

Religious epitaphs were most prevalent from 1920 to 1979, representing between 28-32% of epitaphs. The temporal trends in the prevalence of religious epitaphs and iconography are not consistent within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery meaning that although religion remained an important aspect of life within Orlando, the manner in which this importance was represented in a mortuary context varied along with the popularity of iconography and epitaph prevalence, as represented in Figure 19. Religious epitaphs decreased in popularity over time while Religious iconography continuously increased in popularity over time, representing 50% of iconographic images from 2000 to 2017. This may partially be attributed to the popularity of iconography over epitaphs in general within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery.
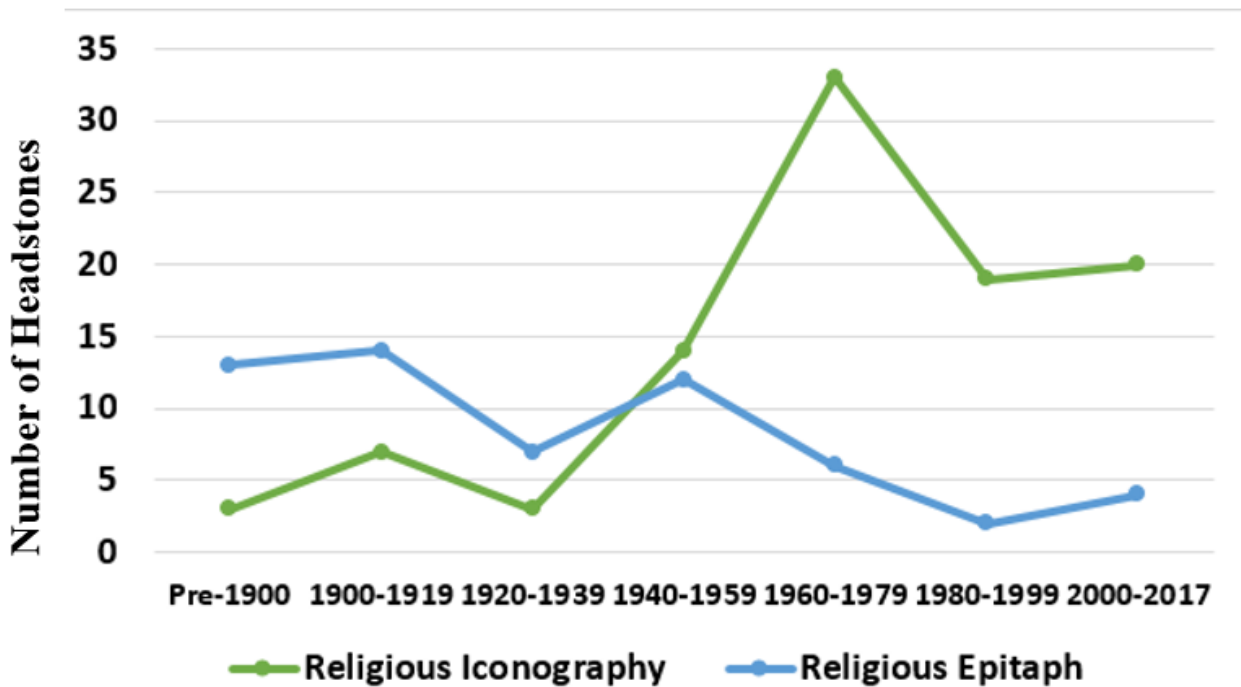
Figure 19. Variation in Prevalence of Religious Iconography and Epitaph

Memorial Photographs, Footstones, and Curbs

      Memorial Photographs, also known as cameos, were not frequently noted within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. Memorial Photographs were not observed prior to 1940 and are slowly increasing in popularity, present on 9% of grave markers from 2000 to 2017. The original lack of popularity of Memorial Photographs may be due to the increased cost of a grave marker when the additional aspect of a Memorial Photograph is added. This may also be due to the imperfect nature of Memorial Photographs and their inherent lack of durability. Many Catholic cemeteries across the United States, at one time, did not permit the use of Memorial Photographs due to the likelihood of damage that adversely affects the presentation of the grave marker (Ruby, 1995). Many cracked, faded, and altogether missing Memorial Photographs were observed within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery. However, the technology related to

securing Memorial Photographs to the grave marker has improved in recent years, due to many U.S. Patents specifically related to the durability of Memorial Photographs (Ruby, 1995).

Curbs were most prevalent from 1880 to 1939 while Footstones were most prevalent from 1880 to 1899. However, both Footstones and Curbs were infrequently observed, even within these time periods. This is consistent with data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016) in which Curbs and Footstones are noted to be most prevalent during the same period of time. It is important to note that multiple curbs were noted within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery that could not be properly assigned to a specific grave marker, or group of grave markers, due to overgrowth, and coverage of the curb by soil. Therefore, there may be slight variation between the number of curbs noted within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery and the number of curbs which were located within Greenwood Cemetery at one time.

Cemetery Preservation and Future Research

As previously mentioned, this study included only two (Block A and Block 9) of the twenty-two blocks within Greenwood Cemetery. Although these blocks are representative of the general population, much remains to be studied in relation to the multiple sub-populations within Greenwood Cemetery to allow for comparison and analysis of trends in grave marker attributes across the entirety of the cemetery.

Further research related to demographic differences between epitaph and iconography representation in Florida, and across the United States, is necessary to properly interpret the importance of the noted trends, as well as the possible variation in these trends across a wide range of geographic locations. In addition, this research identifies multiple areas of research requiring further study, such as the contemporary inclusion of color within iconographic images, as well as the possible separation of more distinct grave marker categories. For example, the

category of upright headstones could easily be broken into multiple categories to ensure the inclusion of data related to distinct characteristics such as heart shaped upright headstones, and upright headstones that incorporate a statue as these distinctions may be unique to a specific age group, sex, religion, or other sub-population. As this research was solely inclusive of general population data, future study related to possible differences between general population and sub-population data may provide unique insight into trends in mortuary contexts that were not discussed within this study. For example, a comparison of trends in grave marker attributes between the general population and the segregated population (Block K and Block T) within Greenwood Cemetery, as well as a comparison between the mortuary contexts of infants and children within the general population and those that are buried in the Babyland Blocks as these individuals may be represented in a distinct manner. The inclusion of further data within Greenwood Cemetery will allow for a more comprehensive understanding of trends in grave marker attributes as they relate to possible historic events, such as World War I and II, or simply trends related to the passage of time. Hopefully, continued research at Greenwood Cemetery will occur in the near future, as preservation via cemetery research is a necessary undertaking due to various occurrences that cause unrepairable damage to grave markers (Thompson and Strangstad, 1989).

Unfortunately, cemeteries, and the information they provide, are frequently lost, neglected, or destroyed due to several unfavorable circumstances. A variety of factors, both environmental and anthropogenic, are negatively affecting historic cemeteries in Florida (Reynolds, 2012). It is extremely important to systematically survey, and document these cemeteries before valuable information regarding the states historical record is irreversibly destroyed (Thompson and Strangstad, 1989). Factors which are known to cause damage to

cemeteries in Florida are vandalism, agricultural practices, land development, industrial

pollution, acid rain, natural weathering, abandonment, and neglect (Thompson and Strangstad,

1989). The cemeteries that are prone to accumulate the most damage from pollution are in urban

areas (Carmack, 2002), such as Orlando, Florida.

Greenwood Cemetery has been highly impacted by damaged grave markers, a few of

which are depicted in Figure 20. As previously mentioned, the cemetery was subject to a large

fire in 1891. This fire destroyed many wooden grave markers, which were popular at the time,

leaving only two wooden grave markers standing in Greenwood Cemetery. The cemetery has

also succumbed to damage because of hurricanes that impact grave markers, structural aspects of

the property, such as buildings or fences, and even wildlife that has chosen to reside within

Greenwood Cemetery. Donald Price, Greenwood Cemetery Sexton, was exceptionally distressed

to discover that Hurricane Maria, which formed in 2017, had caused multiple trees to fall,

knocked over unstable grave markers, damaged fences, and even destroyed the nest of the hawks

who have resided in Block A for many years (Donald Price, Personal Communication, 2018).

Aside from damage caused by natural disasters, grave markers in Greenwood Cemetery

are subject to damage cause simply by the passage of time. Throughout the data collection

process, multiple types of damage were noted within Greenwood Cemetery, all of which are

equally detrimental to both the memorial function and informative capability of the cemetery.

These types of damage include cracked headstones, wear on headstones that has altered shape,

color, or legibility of inscriptions, sometimes to the point of making inscriptions completely

illegible, misplaced footstones, and both curbs and grave markers, that were, quite literally,

sinking into the ground, barely visible without cutting away plant material and removing a large

amount of dirt. Another type of damage noted within Greenwood Cemetery is that of missing

aspects of grave markers such as memorial photographs, vases, and metal lettering, which have fallen from the grave marker, leaving only a barely visible impression of a previous attachment.

Greenwood Cemetery has also been the unfortunate target of vandalism on various occasions throughout its history. When asked about a specific incident of vandalism, Donald Price recounted a story of an individual who purposefully drove his van over several grave markers, causing a great amount of damage (Donald Price, Personal Communication, 2018).

Whether the damage that occurs within cemetery is an act of purposeful desecration, or simply unavoidable deterioration caused by time, the resulting loss of history is an extreme impediment to the multidisciplinary researchers who rely on cemetery data, as well as to the individuals who rely on cemeteries to provide a perpetual resting place for themselves and their loved ones (Meyers and Schultz, 2016; Carmack, 2002; Olexa et al, 2012). The dead cannot defend themselves regarding the preservation of their final resting places; the responsibility of preserving human remains, and gravesites belongs to relatives of the deceased, governments, both federal and state, as well as other individuals within the community that understand the importance of preserving cultural resources (Olexa et al, 2012). Although cemetery research is a critical way to combat the loss of cemetery data, it is equally as critical for communities to protect and maintain local cemeteries before the damage develops, or becomes irreversible. Research that focuses on cemeteries can play a key role in the attraction of positive public attention regarding cemeteries and the importance of cemetery preservation.

| a. Broken Base | b. Memorial Photograph | c. Cracked Marker | d. Cracked Marker |

| e. Cracked Marker | f. Missing Memorial Photograph | e. Missing Vase |

Figure 20. Examples of Damaged Grave Markers in Block A and Block 9 at Greenwood Cemetery

Conclusion

A grave has the unique ability to represent the social identity of individuals, and also the complex structure of a larger social system, even though the individual, or individuals, represented by the mortuary context are no longer a part of that society. Cemeteries offer a snapshot into specific moments in time, as well as the aspects of society, such as religion or family structure, which were important during that time. As such Greenwood Cemetery provides an immense amount of historical, cultural, and societal information related to the City of Orlando, from the founders to the residents of modern day. Comparison of the data from the sample of Greenwood Cemetery and the data presented by Meyers and Schultz (2016) uncovers multiple trends in each cemetery, some of which are consistent with one another, suggesting the

presence of general trends across Florida, and others that are inconsistent, suggesting the presence of trends that are determined by characteristics of specific cemeteries and their populations.

This research analyzed multiple grave marker attributes that have not previously been discussed in detail within the literature. For example, the analysis of demographic differences between epitaph and iconography representation, and the comparison of data from multiple cemeteries in Florida. The analysis of age at death and inferred sex of a deceased individual in a mortuary context is a critical aspect of cemetery research as age and sex are fundamental aspects of the life and social persona of an individual. Various demographic and temporal trends were observed within the sample of Greenwood Cemetery as grave marker attributes change over time in relation to changing aspects of society, such as the shift from predominately religious ideology to the inclusion of secular ideology. This research demonstrates that males and females of various age groups are treated differently in their mortuary contexts. These results not only indicate that sociocultural trends impact the mortuary context and monuments of an individual, such as the influence of Egyptomania on the prevalence of obelisks in Greenwood Cemetery, but also that individuals who were viewed differently by society in life will be treated differently in death, as demonstrated by the prevalence of familial epitaphs among women. Therefore, cemetery research is not only essential to understanding the past, but to preserving genealogical, cultural, societal, and mortuary history, allowing future generations the opportunity to learn from the cemetery, as well. As Greenwood Cemetery Sexton, Donald Price, says, "Life goes on. Even in the cemetery (Donald Price, Personal Communication, 2018)."

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