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The Cemetery as a Cultural Manifestation: Louisiana Necrogeography.

Tadashi Nakagawa
Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College

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The cemetery as a cultural manifestation: Louisiana necrogeography

Nakagawa, Tadashi, Ph.D.
The Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical Col., 1987

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THE CEMETERY AS A CULTURAL MANIFESTATION: LOUISIANA NECROGEOGRAPHY

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Geography and Anthropology

by

Tadashi Nakagawa
B.A., University of Tsukuba, 1980
M.S., University of Tsukuba, 1982
May 1987

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ABSTRACT

Cultural geography, in order to advance as a science, must stand on a deductive theory which is subject to empirical tests. This study establishes a scientific theory for geographical interpretation of cultural landscape by using Louisiana cemeteries as empirical objects.

Based upon the assumption that, ultimately, only individual men can play a causative role in the creation of the cemetery landscape, a theory is constructed by examining man's action modeled on the practical syllogism. Operationally defined, culture is the expression of the individual's voluntary group identity that can be identified by comparing groups.

A variety of group identities which are expressed by each individual make it possible to identify culture not only through comparison among culture areas, but also between a variety of groups. This study attempts to identify cultures by comparing the cemeteries of four kinds of dichotomous groups: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2)
Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural.

As a result of systematic analysis of 236 critically selected cemeteries, cultural distinctions are clearly discovered between North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, and between urban and rural cemeteries. The resulting three dimensional model of Louisiana cultures demonstrates the superiority of this approach over traditional culture area studies.

The survival of this theory through empirical tests indicates a sound logical basis for the assumption. The application of this theory to cultural geography leads to an effective regional classification, systematic description, explanation of distribution, understanding of the group characteristics, and recognition of man's active role in geographic transformation.
INTRODUCTION

This study is a systematic interpretation of Louisiana cemeteries as a scientific approach to cultural geography. Geographical study of the cemetery is occasionally mentioned as necrogeography, or the geography of death. Although necrogeography can theoretically include spatial analysis of any subject related to death, such as death rate, causes of death, perception of death, and mortuary practices, few people would disagree that the cemetery and related burial practices are the most tangible and effective subjects for geographical pursuit. Geographers have available, as Sauer (1941, p. 7) directs our attention, "an immediately useful restriction to the material culture complex that is expressed in the 'cultural landscape'" for systematic approach. The cemetery is the geographical expression of the burial practice. "Formal disposal of the deceased," Kniffen (1967, p. 427) writes, "is a universal practice, and in common with other elements of the occupancy pattern should be an essential consideration in individual and comparative study." Kniffen further proclaims that there are "few other subjects as untouched or as promising as the geographical study of burial practices."

The goal of this study, however, is not simply to add
A scientific method consists of constructing hypotheses or theories and testing them. The hypotheses, drawn from logical deduction, must be made operational for empirical tests. Observations and experiments then critically test the hypotheses to eliminate those which have not stood up to the tests. The distinction between the scientific method and other ways of knowing is that the hypotheses are systematically exposed by falsification (Popper 1957, pp. 133-34). Although cultural geographers have contributed to the accumulation of empirical knowledge of the forms, distribution, and historical processes of cultural landscape elements, they have generally avoided the deductive vigor of this stricter conception of science.

Cultural geography was pioneered by Sauer in the 1920s when environmentalism dominated American geography. Although Sauer did not deny the possibility of environmental influences on man, he correctly insisted that science cannot be based upon an unwarranted preconception that such influences operate (1924, pp. 18-19) In other words, "environmentalism was not disproved, only disapproved" (Rostland 1956, p. 23).

Sauer, however, introduced an alternative and equally unwarranted concept of culture in his article, "The morphology of landscape" (1925). He suggested that a goal...
of cultural geography should be an understanding of the processes that produce cultural landscape. Sauer writes: "Culture is the agent, the natural area is the medium, the cultural landscape the result" (p. 46).

Culture for Sauer is an entity above individual human beings that causes man to act. He states that human geography "is a science that has nothing to do with individuals but only with human institutions, or cultures" (1941, p. 7). Many cultural geographers applied this holistic view of culture, known as superorganic, without raising serious thoughts of how they wish to use the concept of culture (Mikesell 1978, p. 13).

The superorganic view of culture has recently met a strong geographical criticism by Duncan (1980). Duncan points out that the separation of the individual from culture is an ontological mistake because holistic concepts of culture are "impossible to link to empirical data either directly or indirectly in such a way as to demonstrate their existence as autonomous causal agents" (p. 190). Assigning causal power to superorganic culture is as rootless as environmental determinism. Science cannot be based upon the preconception that such influences exist. The superorganic concept of culture is not disproved, but must be disapproved.

Criticism must be constructive. Disapproval of the superorganic culture does not nulify irreducible findings by cultural geographers or the field of cultural geography.
itself. This study opposes Duncan's proposal of convergence between cultural and social geography (p. 198). Too much emphasis on the interaction between individuals in social geography would mislead geographers into believing that distributional and morphological studies are less important.

By redefining culture according to an operationally scientific theory, this concept gains the status of an effective means for the explanation of distribution, systematic description, regional classification, realization of man's active role in geographic transformation, and understanding of the group characteristics. The cultural geographer's task is not merely adjusting their subject to the academic movement of related social sciences, but also to offer unique theoretical and substantial contributions to social sciences by strengthening the traditional fields of culture area and landscape studies.

The purpose of this study is to present and test a scientific theory for cultural geography. The theory is constructed by deduction concerning individuals' actions that create cultural landscapes. Culture and other reified concepts are redefined to accord with the theory. The theory, then, is subjected to empirical tests of falsification. The data are presented objectively, i.e., they can be inter-subjectively verified (Popper 1959, p. 44). If the theory survives the tests, cultural
geographers must accept the methodology until a superior, but also falsifiable, theory can replace it.

The cemetery offers an ideal testing ground of cultural geographic theory. The geography of the cemetery is a microcosmic geography of the human world. Almost all people, at least in the United States, go to the cemetery after death as corpses or ashes. Although people buried in the cemetery are dead, it is the community of the living which creates and maintains the cemetery. A cemetery, therefore, is a tangible expression of the living community as a unit.

The cemetery does not consist of a single object, but a variety of items, such as graves, tombstones, decorations, roads, vegetation, fences, and gates. Those tangible items are arranged to make one or more patterns that represent the living people of the area.

Some studies demonstrate that differences among cemeteries correspond to those of the world. First, cemeteries, like the world, differ spatially. North Louisiana has cemeteries with few crosses and many below-ground burials, while South Louisiana has large central cemeteries with many crosses and above-ground vaults (Kniffen 1967, p. 427).

Second, the cemetery changes as its surrounding world does. Cemeteries in Alachua County, Florida, have been said to reflect changing values on family, community, status expression, and individuality from the Federal
Period to the present (Dethlefsen 1981).

Third, cemeteries differ ethnically. Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Texas are characterized by scraping of the ground, few crosses or statues, and grave orientation with feet pointing toward the east, while Mexican cemeteries in Texas have many crosses, statues, and miniature shrines (Jordan 1982).

Fourth, cemeteries differ from one religious group to another. Jews, Christians, and Muslims allocate much more space to the cemetery than do Hindus and Buddhists, who both cremate the dead (Sopher 1967, p. 32).

Fifth, the cemetery is not economically homogeneous. Young (1960, p. 447) compared the cemeteries of two villages of different economic status, located on the eastern Canadian seacoast, and found that the cemetery of the richer village had more large tombstones.

The cemetery, however, is not a mere miniature of the world of the living. The main difference between the cemetery and the world lies in the fact that people buried in the cemetery are dead; they have no biological or social necessities. Brunhes (1920, pp. 36-41) lists the universal needs of man as water, food, shelter, clothing, communication, breeding, social living, and play. Dead bodies require none of these. They do not even demand cemeteries, for it is physically possible to throw the cremated ashes into rivers as many Hindus do. The cemetery is not the result of man's biological necessity, but of
living men's beliefs. This uniqueness of the cemetery offers a desirable opportunity to test a cultural theory. Geographers have less excuse to be preoccupied by the ghost of environmentalism.

This study selects Louisiana as a study area, for its distinctive cultural diversity gives an excellent experimental field for the theory. Louisiana consists of two major culture areas: North and South Louisiana. The majority of North Louisiana people are Anglo-Saxon Protestants, while many South Louisiana people are French Catholics. Many previous studies have already demonstrated the distinctive cultural patterns between the two areas in houses (Kniffen 1936), language (Read 1931), place names (Detro 1971), land survey systems (Hall 1970), and surnames (West 1986). Moreover, 30 percent of the state's population is black. There also exists such ethnic enclaves as Spaniards, Italians, and Midwestern migrants. Urban-rural differences can also be examined. Several hypotheses of cultural differences can, therefore, be effectively tested in Louisiana.

Previous studies dealing with geographic aspects of the cemetery are broadly classified into four categories: (1) studies of spatial and temporal variation of tombstone styles (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967; Forbes 1967), (2) studies of cemetery location in urban land use (Pattison 1955; Darden 1972; Harwick, et al. 1972), (3) symbolic interpretation of the cemetery (Warner 1959; Isaac 1959–60;
Jackson 1967-68), and (4) interpretations of the cemetery as a cultural landscape (Price 1966; Kniffen 1967). This study takes its position in this last category.

Studies of the cemetery as a cultural landscape interpret the cemetery from visible elements and try to approach the cemetery as comprehensively as possible without limiting the analysis to a single class of element in the cemetery. This position has attracted a few intensive empirical studies.

Frankaviglia (1971), through his investigation of tombstone-style sequences and the layouts of five Oregon cemeteries and several cemeteries in five other states, concludes that the cemetery in the United States is a microcosm of the "real" world. The analysis of tombstone style and the cemetery layouts falls short, however, of generalizing comprehensive cemetery landscapes. His samples, moreover, are not only untheoretical, but also too few to permit generalization of American cultural landscapes (Jeane 1972, p. 146).

Hannon (1973) studies cemetery locations, tombstone styles, tombstone directions, and tombstone epitaphs and inscriptions of 50 cemeteries in western Pennsylvania. Although his study expands both the number of landscape elements considered and the number of surveyed cemeteries, it still lacks a theoretical framework for a systematic approach.

By contrast to the scholars who focus their attention
to the changing elements of the cemetery, Jeane (1972) claims that cultural geographers must study the cemetery type, i.e., persistent elements in the context of the culture area. In his empirical studies (1969; 1978), Jeane describes site, size, vegetation, decoration, and cults of piety of the traditional Upland South cemetery. His descriptions, however, do not allow readers to judge the generality and variation of the statement. Jeane does not, moreover, demonstrate how his concept of the type was established. In any case, the type is not a genuine entity, but an intellectual construction.

The same cultural geographic approach is also taken by Jordan (1982). Based upon the observation of more than 1,000 cemeteries in Texas, Jordan describes the location, vegetation, grave structures, grave decorations, cemetery decoration days, spatial arrangement, fences, gates, grave markers, and grave-marker inscriptions of Anglo-Saxon, Mexican, and German cemeteries. Jordan's study is, to date, the most comprehensive geographical work in its range of observation and the amount of fieldwork. Despite its substantial contribution to necrogeography, however, this study still lacks a fully developed systematic approach. Readers cannot judge the generality and variation of each ethnic type unless the study is based upon a theoretical framework.

Lack of theoretically based systematic approaches in previous studies also justifies this present study.
Graveyard studies, as Zelinski (1984, p. 120) states, only begin to "scratch the surface ... of a profoundly rich, complex set of phenomena." "There is," he continues, "an immense amount of fieldwork, analysis, and thinking still to be done."
CHAPTER I
THEORY AND METHOD

This chapter establishes a theoretical framework on which the whole thesis is founded. Based upon the logical assumption that, ultimately, only individual men can play a causative role in the creation of the cemetery landscape, this chapter examines man's action modeled on the practical syllogism. Operationally defined, culture is the individual's expression of voluntary group identity that can be discovered by comparing groups. This theory inevitably leads to the comparative method for the identification of cultures. Interpretation of the cemetery includes, first, analyzing landscapes to identify cultures and, then, synthesizing the results into a generalized ideal culture as a descriptive model. Predictions are drawn from this theory and the conditions for falsification are presented.

I-1 Man's Actions in the Creation of the Cemetery

A scientific theory for landscape interpretation must assign causative roles to actual, tangible entities rather than to reifications, such as the concept of culture as an entity. A pioneering approach is proposed by Newton and Pulliam-DiNapoli (1977) in their interpretation of historic
log houses in the South. Based upon the observation that a man is the actual entity who can actually create houses, they logically construct a theory to interpret log houses by examining man's actions through the explanatory model of the practical syllogism. This study applies and exploits their theory to establish a fully developed methodology for the interpretation of the cultural landscape, using the example of the cemetery.

Action is defined as the doing of something, or what is done by rational beings (Lacey 1976, p.1). MacIntyre (1962) categorizes man's behavior into movements and actions. When man's behavior is governed by physical laws, he calls it a movement. Actions, however, are optional and voluntary. As such, actions are logically related to man's beliefs. MacIntyre (p. 51) writes:

... actions and beliefs are not separate phenomena, any more than ... words and meanings are .... And just as words may be said to express meanings, so actions may be said to express beliefs.

The cemetery landscape was established by man's actions. The cemetery is not man's biological necessity. It is a living man's symbolic expression on the landscape. The cemetery is the result of man's purposeful and willful actions. As the actions express beliefs, so the cemetery manifests man's beliefs.

When a man establishes a material item in a cemetery, he follows an essentially logical decision-making procedure. The procedure was modeled by Aristotle's
practical syllogism.

A theoretical syllogism is a discourse in which certain things being stated, something other than what is stated follows of necessity from their being so (Flew 1979, p. 322). It consists of a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. All human beings are mortal (a major premise), and Americans are human beings (a minor premise), then the syllogism logically and necessarily leads to a conclusion that Americans are mortal.

The practical syllogism, like a theoretical one, consists of a major premise, a minor premise, and a conclusion. Unlike the theoretical one, however, the practical syllogism's major premise is man's belief and desire concerning what is fit and proper. The minor premise is man's observation of the conditions for the possibility of fulfilling the major premises. The conclusion is the action. When conditions (minor premises) needed to implement the major premise, then the action takes place—if the analysis has identified all major premises.

Major premises include many propositions such as: "All men must be buried after death." "It is proper for a Catholic cemetery to have a central cross." "Cremation is not a suitable way of the disposal of the deceased." "Above-ground burial is the ideal form of interment." "It is good for a cemetery to occupy a hill." "White and black burials must be segregated."
Minor premises also include many propositions such as: "Cremation is not forced by the state law." "I have at least as much money, and it requires so much to build an above-ground vault." "A well-drained hillside is available for a new cemetery." "Catholic church rules allow whites and blacks to occupy separate sections in the cemetery." In other words, minor premises are inter-subjectively verifiable statements of fact.

When their minor premises are fulfilled, the man acts in terms of his major premises. If a man has a desire for building an above-ground vault (a major premise), a variety of minor premises must be fulfilled. He must have enough money, tomb builders must be available, and the law and his community members must allow him to build a tomb. Minor premises are merely conditions that allow his desire to be fulfilled. If he does not want an above-ground vault in the first place, these conditions do not become minor premises at all. Conditions do not initiate his actions; rather, his desire is the key factor.

The cemetery, thus, reflects man's values as to what is fit and proper, and the physical, economic, legal, and other conditions that allow his desires to be fulfilled. Individuals' values and beliefs are the great variable factors. Conditions are not deterministic, possibilistic, or probabilistic, but opportunistic (Newton and Pulliam-DiNapoli 1977, p. 365).

The cemetery landscape, however, hardly resulted from
one man's values. One tombstone may be established by one man's choice. Another tombstone may have been installed by the family members of the deceased. The layout, vegetation, and fences may have resulted from the transaction of the whole community or, perhaps, by a single planner or a board or a committee. In conflict, they may have compromised their major premises to reach a group action. Any one cemetery landscape, thus, is a conglomeration of numerous individual and group decisions.

No one has values exactly the same as those of another. For that undeniable reason, interpreting the landscape of a cemetery seems to be impossible without investigating all decisions made in each material item. This procedure makes it awkward to interpret cemeteries on macroscopic levels. The non-superorganic concept of culture can solve this dilemma. The following section operationally defines culture and applies the concept to the interpretation of the cemetery.

I-2 Individual Values and Cultures

Different value patterns can be experientially identified among groups. Any casual observer can recognize that Catholics use crosses more than Protestants. More French Louisianians than Upland Southerners think that above-ground vaults are proper in cemeteries. For cultural geography to advance, however, it must be able to do more than follow casual observations with casual correlations.
To begin, let us suppose that two groups, I and II, exist in an area. Each group consists of 100 members. If each one of the members must purchase a tombstone, 200 practical syllogisms occur. We hypothesize that an obelisk is the most expensive tombstone that they can choose and that the economy is the only condition that may hinder the fulfillment of the agent's desire. Eighty members of Group I and 20 of Group II desired the obelisk as the most proper tombstone (Table 1). In reality, however, only 40 of Group I and 20 of Group II put their desires into action; 40 of Group I and 15 of Group II decided that an obelisk is too expensive for them. In other words, they could not reconcile their major premise with the minor premise.

The difference between Group I and II is statistically significant \( p \leq 0.001 \). Significantly more members of Group I had the desire for obelisk tombstones and installed them than did those of Group II. In other words, Group I had stronger value and action tendencies than did Group II. This study defines a statistical belief tendency of a group as a "culture" and an action tendency as a "material culture" (Table 1).

This operational concept of culture contrasts with many previous definitions. First, a culture is not necessarily shared by all members of the group or common to the group members (e.g., Kluckhohn and Kelly 1945, p. 98). Although 20 members of Group I do not believe that an obelisk is a proper tombstone, the value tendency of Group
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CULTURES</th>
<th>GROUP I (N = 100)</th>
<th>GROUP II (N = 100)</th>
<th>chi-square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Obesisk is a proper tombstone&quot; (belief)</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>72.000 (p&lt;0.001)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MATERIAL CULTURES</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the act of installing obelisks (action)</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>35.125 (p&lt;0.001)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I can still be called a culture. The culture of Group II is even negative; the tendency of people who believe that an obelisk is a proper tombstone is significantly less.

Second, this study disagrees with the idea that a culture has to be inherited (Sapir 1921, p. 221) or traditional (Mead 1937, p. 17). An obelisk tombstone was in fashion especially at the turn of this century in the United States. Few people in the eighteenth century installed obelisks. People in the nineteenth or twentieth century did not inherit the value for obelisks from the people in the eighteenth century. Even the values for such contemporary items as flat memorial-park markers or photographs of the deceased are cultures, if significant statistical patterns exist among groups.

Third, this definition of culture contrasts with the previous ones that termed culture as a complex whole (Tylor 1871, p. 1) or an integral whole (Malinowski 1944, p. 36). Even if Group I also has stronger belief tendencies for above-ground vaults, pulpit tombstones, photographs of the deceased, and shell decorations than Group II, statistical value may not be exactly equal to one another. The concept of a complex whole obscures through reification the concreteness of statistical patterns observed in each material item.

Fourth, this concept also differs from the idea that culture is a system (Linton 1945, p. 35) or an organization of phenomena (White 1943, p. 335). If culture is a system,
the people who do not conform to the system do not represent the culture. Even if Group I has strong belief tendencies for obelisks, above-ground vaults, pulpit tombstones, photographs of the deceased, and shell decorations, some people may like all but obelisks, while others may like all but shell decorations. Only the people who exactly follow the system are the participants of the system. This culture-as-a-system definition also has the fault that it cannot reasonably be made operational in terms of systematic observation of concrete objects.

Many anthropologists, sociologists, and cultural geographers have been preoccupied with the idea of culture as a shared and traditional complex whole or system. These scholars reify culture and fail to recognize that they are creating an intellectual model. The enthusiasm for a reified culture seems to be patterned after island ecology. The presumed integrity and unity of the island whole can be demonstrated by pointing to its isolation. From the point of view of what is being defined, however, the isolation is accidental and, as such, cannot be a defining characteristic. If the putative integrity, or wholeness, disintegrates upon introduction of additional components or alternate sources, then no wholeness (in any ontologically significant sense) existed before or after the introduction. In historic fact, the historic people of Louisiana have never been isolated in any effective way. They have, instead, continually received people, objects,
techniques, and ideas from other places.

Although belief tendencies for central crosses, cross markers, statue, and grave shrines are significantly Catholic traits, it is unwarranted and premature to conclude from these correlations alone that they constitute a whole, Catholic culture. Rather, they are four different cultures, each with a distinct statistical pattern. Large numbers of these Catholics also participate in other cultures: French, black, urban, and so forth. A concept that lacks integrity is not a whole. This study by no means denies the usefulness of creating such a model, for it helps us to visualize abstract concepts by giving them a simulated concrete form. The model must not, however, be substituted for the actual, mappable tangibles.

This study proposes that scientists must distinguish the model as an "ideal culture" from a "culture" that presupposes a concrete statistical value. The belief tendencies for central crosses, cross markers, statues, and grave shrines are four different "cultures" often identified in Louisiana among Catholics. They constitute, however, "an ideal culture" of the Catholic. If one Catholic changes his beliefs, cultures also change because the statistical values change, even if subtly. The ideal Catholic culture, however, is hardly affected by some individuals. Beliefs of individuals constitute cultures, but ideal cultures are generalized models largely beyond individuals. The superorganic concept of culture falls
into the fallacy of misplaced concreteness by suggesting that this generalized ideal culture is a preexisting autonomous force or being.

This operational definition of culture also clarifies the distinction between culture and material culture. Culture in this definition can only be inferred through its manifestations. Although momentary actions also manifest cultures, material items that people create, purchase, or install are the most tangible and lasting evidence of actions that geographical scholars can observe. A single material item does not constitute a material culture. A material culture of a group is a significant statistical tendency that is calculated when one compares the frequency of a material item among the group with that of other groups. In the previous example (Table 1), stronger tendency toward obelisks is a material culture of Group I, while a smaller tendency is the material culture of Group II.

The method of inferring cultures from material cultures is offered by the application of the practical syllogism. As an action takes place when both major and minor premises are fulfilled, we can identify major premise from the action and minor premises. Suppose that only material cultures are known about obelisks in the above example. As we already know the actions of the people, we must investigate minor premises. In this example, we already hypothesized that the economy is the only condition
that may hinder or encourage fulfillment of the people's desire. If the economic condition of Group I is similar to that of Group II, it is logical to estimate that their cultures correlate with their material cultures; Group I has stronger belief tendency than Group II. If Group I is much more wealthy than Group II, however, cultural identification becomes more difficult. Group I and II may have similar value tendencies, but more people in Group I have the means to fulfill their desire. With minor premises brought in as considerations, cultures may be identified through material cultures and conditions.

Material cultures, which are expressed in cultural landscape elements, therefore, may be explained by cultures and conditions. Culture is regarded as an explanatory tool, but not in the same sense that it is under the superorganic concept of culture. Operational culture can explain material culture in the sense that belief tendencies can explain action tendencies; Group I has more obelisks than Group II because more people in Group I believed that obelisks are proper tombstones.

Although explanation by operational concept of culture may sound tautological, separation of cultures from the conditions reflected in material cultures must precede any other explanations to avoid jumping to unwarranted conclusions. The scientific approach explains phenomena step by step. After identifying cultures and conditions, scientists can seek the explanations of the cultures and
the conditions individually as a different level of analysis.

The primary purpose of this study is to identify cultures from material cultures and it will not attempt to seek the explanations of cultures as a major goal. It is not only because a geographer's main task is to explain landscape rather than culture, but also because it will avoid confusion to distinguish one level of analysis (explaining cultural landscape) from another (explaining culture).

Geographers who accept the superorganic definition of culture, by contrast, seek to explain cultural landscape from an entity called culture. Although it certainly avoids tautology, it requires an act of faith to assert that culture actually compels people to create the landscape and that it does so beyond individual control.

I-3 The Group

The group is a key concept for interpreting cultures from the cemetery, for cultures are, by definition, identified by the comparison of groups. Without agreement on the group concept, the culture concept remains in obscurity.

The group is an assemblage of individuals. The group can theoretically be of any kind to combine individuals into larger units as long as the defining criterion can be unambiguously recognized. The category can be sex, race,
area of occupancy, social class, or even blood type. However skillfully the grouping is made, no homogeneous group exists, for no individual is exactly the same as another. A group is a framework of tangible individuals, but the group itself is not a tangible entity. Rather, the group is relative to the standpoint and purpose of the person who attempts to draw our attention to it.

Cultures are the people's group-identity patterns. Material cultures exist because individuals express their group identities through cultural landscapes. Many Catholics in Louisiana express their identity through crosses, crucifixes, statues, and miniature shrines, while Protestants do so through arranging their subterranean burials with their feet pointing toward the east and, significantly, by avoiding use of "Catholic" symbols.

Among many groups to which each individual belongs, the person expresses the identity only with certain specific groups through the cultural landscape. When a man installs a cross marker on the grave of a relative, he may have expressed identity with the Catholic religion, while he neglects such expression of identity with other groups to which he or his relative also belongs, such as occupation, age, sex, club, or social class. The logical establishment of groups for cultural identification, therefore, requires, first, theoretical examination of all possible ways for grouping and, then, selection of the groups that people find significant as expressions of
their identity through landscape.

As a comprehensive grouping scheme, this study proposes three kinds of dimensions: spatial, temporal, and topical (Fig. 1). All human beings, past and present, can be located somewhere in the spatial and temporal dimensions. The maximum spatial dimension is the entire earth. The maximum temporal dimension is between the beginning of man and the present.

The grouping can be made by dividing maximum spatial-temporal dimensions into fragments of any arbitrary scale. The spatial dimension can be divided into Asia, Europe, Africa, America, and Oceania in a global scale. People on each one fragment of the earth are referred to as a group. If we change the scale, we can categorize America into either Anglo and Latin America, or into North, Central, and South America, depending upon the analytical purpose. The United States may be divided into North, South, Midwest, and West. Louisiana may be classified into North and South Louisiana. At the local level, it is theoretically possible to group people into neighborhood units, such as the wards of a city.

Temporal dimension can also be subdivided into arbitrarily defined periods of any size. Maximum temporal dimension may be categorized into historic and prehistoric periods. The historic period in Europe consists of Ancient, Medieval, and Modern periods. In the United States, people often use such terms as Colonial, Federal,
FIG. 1

A three-dimensional classification of groups
Ante-bellum, Civil War, and Depression periods. On the micro-temporal level, it is possible to distinguish one decade, year, month, or even a day from another.

A variety of topical dimensions may be added to the spatial and temporal dimensions as options. The dimension can be age, race, sex, religion, social class, income, marital status, occupation, or any other attribute of man that can be used to categorize people. Like spatial or temporal dimensions, any kinds of scale are applied. The religious dimension, for example, is categorized into Christians, Buddhists, Hindus, Muslims, Jews, and others on a global scale. Christians can be divided into Catholics and Protestants, and Protestants into Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Methodists, Presbyterians, and so forth.

Any grouping must be made with the recognition of the spatial and temporal scale setting. Geographers, except for historical geographers, tend to neglect the temporal dimension, while historians tend to overlook the spatial dimension. When some sociologists discuss social classes, they tend to forget that they draw generalizations from the limited data of contemporary-western temporal-spatial setting. Any one of the topical dimensions must be related to a spatial-temporal dimensions.

When people refer to culture, they, albeit often unconsciously, compare groups that they distinguish by different dimensions and scales. An example will more
clearly illustrate this delineation.

Consider an above-ground vault in a New Orleans cemetery. The granite vault has a cross ornament, English inscriptions, and permanently affixed photographs of the occupants. Included with these positive traits are such negative traits as not cremated and not placed within the church.

Along the spatial dimension, several qualifiers can be noted at several scales. On the macro-spatial scale, the avoidance of cremation identifies this interment as belonging generally to the traditional Western world. The presence of English inscription places this grave in the American spatial setting. On the relatively macro-spatial scale, the above-ground vault belongs to the region of South Louisiana, although such interments also occur in other parts of the European world.

Along the temporal dimension, the burial feature includes traits more characteristic of some periods than of others. On the macro-temporal scale in New Orleans spatial setting, cemetery burial replaced burial in church buildings after the mid-eighteenth century, while English inscriptions supplanted French inscriptions in the late nineteenth century. By micro-temporal analysis, the granite tomb gained fashionable prominence since about 1940 and photographs after about 1960.

Important aspects of the topical dimension appear in this grave's standing relative to others, both nearby and
far away. On a macro-religious scale, the avoidance of cremation identifies this burial with Christianity in contrast with Buddhists or Hindus. The cross ornament is also a material culture trait of Christianity. Catholic church membership of the deceased and his family are indicated on a relatively micro-religious scale by the presence of cross in comparison with the Protestant. On a racial dimension in contemporary Louisiana, the presence of the photograph suggests the white race.

One tomb, thus, expresses the identity of many groups of various dimensions and scales. The observer, however, cannot recognize the cultures if he analyzes only a single tomb. He, even unconsciously, compares the frequency of the item of one group with another. Cultures can only be identified on group levels, although each individual follows many cultures.

A material item may represent a material culture on one scale, but not on another scale. An English inscription in a current cemetery does not represent material culture in a city, county, or state-level comparison, for the English inscription is now commonly used almost everywhere in the United States. It becomes, however, a material culture on an international-scale comparison. As people in France usually inscribe tombstones in French, Germans in the German language, and Latin Americans in Spanish and Portuguese, the English inscriptions in the United States, as well as other English
speaking countries, stand out as distinctive material cultures.

Each material culture has its own identification level. In the above example, material culture identification level of the English inscription is the global-scale of contemporary temporal setting or the century-scale temporal level in New Orleans spatial setting. Cremation is identified as a material culture in global-level comparison or inter-religious comparison in the current world. Material cultures concerning the cross ornament can be identified by comparing either Christianity with other religions or Catholics with Protestants.

These facts refute Lewis' statement that "most items in the human landscape are no more or no less important than the others—in terms of their role as clue to culture" (1979, p. 18). The importance of material items differ, depending upon what culture a scholar wants to identify. If he wants to identify current New Orleans culture in comparison to eighteenth century New Orleans culture, the cemetery burial, in contrast to the church burial, becomes an important clue, but not the absence of cremation. If he wants to identify current South Louisiana culture in comparison to current North Louisiana, the vault burial becomes an important clue, but not the cemetery burial. The usefulness of material items for cultural identification differs from one dimension or scale to another. Two traits hardly ever become equal in
usefulness.

Scholars, finding it convenient to identify levels of material cultures, have coined the terms of **folk culture** and **popular culture**. Each concept designates a general class of items that can be identified as material cultures by comparison to other items in similar scales. Yet, despite the importance and usefulness of these concepts, cultural geographers have not given any clear explanation of the means of deciding that a material culture belongs to one folk or popular group rather than another. The use of scale and dimensions provides such a means.

Popular culture items, such as flat memorial-park monuments and photographs of the deceased, usually become material cultures when one compares current America with older America, current America with current other countries, or current urban America with current rural America. Folk culture items, such as scraped-earth and toy decorations, become material cultures by comparing North Louisiana with South Louisiana, old North Louisiana with current North Louisiana, or rural North Louisiana with urban North Louisiana.

These concepts of folk and popular culture are useful as long as scholars realize that they are merely convenient catch-all terms; confusion arises, however, when they reify the concepts. Scholars who are preoccupied with the reified idea of folk or popular culture, try to describe each concept. Folk culture has been characterized as
traditional, local, and rural, while popular culture has been recognized as contemporary, American, and urban (Redfield 1947; Poster 1953; Glassie 1968; Geist and Nachbar 1983; Nye 1983). Clearly, these are comparative terms that depend on scale and dimension, even if their proponents do not explicitly state the dependence.

Scholars who reify folk and popular cultures as they characterize them have an academic responsibility in principle to define all other categories as well. If folk culture is traditional, rural, and popular culture is contemporary urban American, what are other cultures, such as traditional rural American and traditional urban American cultures? If they conceive of all culture as either folk or popular, they must prove that other categories do not exist.

Popular culture items occasionally become local material culture. When minority migrants accept the memorial-park monument earlier than the natives, the memorial-park monument becomes a local material culture at a certain period. Folk and popular cultures cannot be characterized deterministically. They must be used merely for convenience. It is more operational to use such specific terms as "current North American culture" or "rural South Louisiana culture."

How can we understand current culture change in the United States without folk and popular culture concepts? A hypothetical example of North and South Louisiana will
demonstrate the meaning of culture change (Table 2).

Suppose that only three cemetery types exist in Louisiana: Upland South, French Louisiana, and memorial park. In both 1930 and 1980, the Upland South type is a material culture of North Louisiana, while the French Louisiana type is that of South Louisiana. Percentages of those "folk" material items in 1980, however, are considerably less than those in 1930 in both areas. Instead, the memorial park type has increased.

The memorial park type, nonetheless, is not really a material culture of either North and South Louisiana in either period. Instead, it is a North American material culture. Through the material items, many people have expressed their shift of identity from local groups to a national one. This shifting identity typifies current culture change.

Each individual shows his identity at least somewhat differently from another. A conservative man expresses his identity by following local material cultures more often than a progressive man does. One man betokens his shift in identity from a local group to a national one by installing a modern tombstone, another by affixing a photograph of the deceased. A man exhibits a variety of group identities through numerous choices of material items. No one has exactly the same set of identities as others. Patterns exist, however, on group levels.

How, then, can we choose groups from all the possible
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CEMETERY TYPE</th>
<th>NORTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>SOUTH LOUISIANA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1930(%)</td>
<td>1980(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPLAND SOUTH TYPE</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRENCH LOUISIANA TYPE</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMORIAL PARK TYPE</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
theoretical groups? If cultures are the patterns of people's group identities, people are usually conscious of the group with which they identify. People's conception of groups, therefore, can be effective clues to guide the selection of groups for cultural identification. As different cultures may lead to different material cultures, landscape variation can also serve as an index of grouping.

Let us consider how people in Louisiana express identity along the spatial, temporal, and topical dimensions. Along the spatial dimension, people clearly conceive the cultural difference between North and South Louisiana. The majority of North Louisiana people descend from Anglo-Saxon peasants, while South Louisiana consists predominantly of French descendants.

Along a temporal dimension, people conceive such distinctive periods as Ante-bellum, Civil War, Reconstruction, and Depression. People's shifting values on family, individual, and status expression may well be expressed in the cemetery (e.g., Dethlefsen 1981). In the recent period, moreover, people's identity has been rapidly shifting from local groups to a national one.

Along the topical dimensions, several distinctive dimensions require special attention. When people think of death and cemeteries, they are probably most conscious of their religious affiliations. Christians and Jews rarely mix in the cemetery. Even among Christians, Catholics and Protestants usually have different cemeteries, if their
religious identities outweigh at the time of dying their identity with national culture. Familial feelings might also overbear national feelings, leading otherwise progressive persons to place a relative in a traditional cemetery. For our geographical purposes, however, those individual decisions are handled statistically so as to refocus on the landscape of the group.

Racial segregation is also evident in many cemeteries. Black people, especially black Protestants, usually have their own church or community cemeteries. Many city cemeteries in North Louisiana consist exclusively of whites. Different group identities between the two races are expected.

Urban and rural people also may have their own distinctive identities. The town cemetery is a commercial arrangement of "blocks" separated by "streets." Family groupings take precedence over nearly all other kinds of arrangement. Markers are all stylish, according to the time when they were installed. Decorations are all nationally approved. The rural cemetery, by contrast, belongs either to a church or a family. Burials are arranged according to very local values, and family plots are exceptional. Markers, as often absent as present, cover a wide range from natural objects to commercial.

Among five contrasting groups established on the spatial, temporal, and the topical dimension, this study selects (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and
Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural for examination. Intensive study of the temporal dimension, although worthy of examination, is beyond the scope of this present study, for it requires a different survey method.

As no homogeneous tangible group exists, effectiveness for study can justify a fairly arbitrary definition of group. This study uses two concepts of groups: heuristic and ideal. Heuristic groups are established upon previous knowledge to identify cultural patterns. North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural groups are heuristically defined for analytical purpose. If the heuristic groups deviate from people's actual identity, a regular residual pattern will appear. By examining the residual pattern, scholars can approach closer to ideal groups.

I-4 Comparative Method and Areal Association

Identification of cultures through, for example, cemeteries requires comparison of the landscapes of one group with those of another. The comparisons presented here are based upon a systematic state-wide survey. First, material cultures will be identified by comparing the trait frequency of one heuristic group to that of another. Simple chi-square tests can exhibit the probability that the trait distribution is fortuitous. This study sets the level of significance at 0.001 (one chance in a thousand)
as the criterion for rejecting the null hypothesis, i.e.,
that the trait distribution between the two groups is not
significantly different. In addition, cultures will be
identified through material cultures considered in the
context of the physical, economic, and legal conditions of
the groups.

This study combines the comparative method with a
geographical method of areal association. The map is a
powerful tool for geographical interpretation of the
cemetery landscape elements. Each trait can be analyzed
more precisely in the distribution expressed in a map by
asking the meaning of presence, absence, massing, or
thinning of the trait (Sauer 1941, p. 6). The basic
assumption of areal association is that if things are found
together, they must respond to the same causes. This study
relates the causes with the group identities and physical,
economic, and legal conditions, as well as with some
historic processes that brought about the cultures and
conditions.

The combined use of both methods, moreover, can lead
to the identification of ideal groups. Another
hypothetical example will demonstrate the method. Suppose
that material cultures are identified through three
material items A, B, and C in Groups I and II (Table 3).
Although Group I has more action tendencies for all three
items, the distribution patterns differ. The majority (98
percent) of Group I have trait A, while the majority (90

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>GROUP</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GROUP I</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUP II</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
percent) of Group II reject it. It is very likely that the acceptance of trait A corresponds to the identity of Group I, while the refusal, per se, signifies the identity of Group II. In this case, the remaining 2 percent of Group I and 10 percent of Group II may well express the identity of another heuristic group. Distribution of the residual cemeteries can be interpreted by examining the gap between heuristic and the ideal groups.

 Trait B shows another pattern. The majority (98 percent) of Group I accept the trait, while half of Group II accept it. The distribution of this trait does not tell much about Group II identity. It does show, however, that 2 percent of Group I reject that aspect of their own heuristic group. The logical next step is to locate those residual cemeteries for further interpretation.

 Distribution of Trait C shows that this trait is the material culture of Group I, although the majority (70 percent) of them do not express their identity through this item. It is more important to note that the 2 percent of Group II express identity with Group I. Locating those residual cemeteries can lead to better interpretation.

 The most effective clue for the identification of ideal groups lies in such opposing trait frequencies as that of Trait A. Combination of opposing trait distributions with high chi-square values can help in approaching ideal groups.
I-5 Analysis and Synthesis

The interpretation of the landscape consists of analysis and synthesis. Analysis divides a complex landscape into its constituent elements for separate study. Cultures are identified in each element by comparison of groups. Synthesis generalizes cultures identified in each group to create an ideal culture as a descriptive model.

Landscape elements are observable material or attributes of a cemetery at any scale. They include not only readily visible tombstones, decorations, vegetation, fences, and gates, but also such more refined measurable elements as acreage, orientations of graves, or the number of graves. Elements themselves are no more than raw facts of a cemetery. If there are one million tombstones in Louisiana, for example, they are one million different elements of the landscape. It is not effective to analyze each single item individually. They become operational only when they are expressed as traits of each cemetery for inter-cemetery comparisons.

This study establishes the cemetery as a landscape unit and arranges the constituent landscape elements into traits of the cemetery. The cemetery is presumed to express the smallest tangible unit of a group identity. Crosses (landscape elements), for example, are expressed as "ten percent or more graves with crosses" (a cemetery trait). Each cemetery can be categorized into either "the
trait present" or "the trait absent." The percentage of
the cemeteries with the trait is, then, calculated for each
group for comparing it with that of another group. Through
this statistical comparison, material cultures may be
identified.

This study defines each trait upon the basis of its
effectiveness for cultural identification. Such elements
as gates, fences, and central crosses can be converted into
traits by defining them in terms of their presence or
absence in a cemetery. Other elements, such as
below-ground burials, need more complicated manipulations,
for the elements are present in almost all cemeteries.
Analysis of these traits are based upon criteria
appropriately effective for the specific traits; e.g.,
"below-ground burials more than 30 percent" or
"below-ground burials more than 50 percent."

Although it is ideal to select a critical value which
can most effectively distinguish one group from another,
any one value, in reality, hardly has the same
distinguishing powers in all four dichotomous categories.
Even if "below-ground burials more than 44 percent" most
powerfully differentiate North and South Louisiana, for
example, the same value may not be the most adequate to
identify urban and rural cultures. Critical values are,
therefore, established fairly arbitrary in such rounded
numbers as 10, 20, 30, 40, and 50 percent for avoiding
unnecessary complications. Maps with different criteria,
then, are compared to select the critical value that effectively exhibits geographical patterns.

Analysis, thus, consists of the discovery of critical traits, the examination of each trait to identify cultures through comparison between heuristic groups, and areal association of each trait to make possible the scientific interpretation of its distribution.

This study synthesizes the results of analysis into four pairs of contrasting landscapes: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural. First, traits with high culturally diagnostic values are selected based upon the results of the analysis. Second, from the similarities of cultures indentified in a group, the cultures are generalized into an ideal culture as a descriptive model. If a group has cultures that value the cross, crucifix, central cross, and the statue, for example, their ideal culture may be described as a strong value tendency for following Catholic traditions. The ideal culture is the result of synthesis. It is not a preexisting, determining force. Although it has lost the concreteness of each ungeneralized culture, it is effective for visualizing the landscape as a whole.

Finally, this study identifies ideal groups, i.e., actual patterns of group identity expressed in the cemetery by examining residual patterns of the distribution.
I-6 Assumptions, Predictions, and Falsification

A scientific theory is subject to falsification tests. This section summarizes the basic assumptions on which this theory is based, presents predictions drawn from the theory, and demonstrates conditions for falsifying this theory through empirical tests.

The basic assumptions of this theory are summarized as follows. (1) Only individual persons can play causative roles in creating the cemetery landscape. Such reified concepts as superorganic culture, culture area, society, group, company, community, and physical environment do not have any logical basis for assuming causative roles. (2) When an individual acts, he essentially follows a logical decision-making procedure that can be modeled by the practical syllogism. In this model, the individual's belief is the initiating factor, while economic, legal, natural, and other conditions merely allow the person's desire to be fulfilled. (3) An individual usually exercises his free will by, consciously or unconsciously, choosing the belief pattern of one of many groups to which he expresses his identity. (4) On a group level, a culture (a belief tendency) is identified by comparison with other groups as a result of people's voluntary group identity expressions through material cultures. (5) People express their identity with certain groups more strongly through some material items than through other items. Each
material culture has different levels of identification. (6) People express their identity more strongly with some groups than with other groups. (7) As people's strong identities lead to distinctive material cultures, cultural landscape variation and people's group consciousness are the effective clues for establishing heuristic groups.

Based upon the observation of the cemetery landscape variations and group identities, this study predicts that four different kinds of cultures would be identified: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural.

The four dimensional approach to Louisiana cultures differs from any previous studies. The majority of geographical studies (e.g., Kniffen 1936; Detro 1971) employ only the spatial dimension in culture area studies. North Louisiana is characterized as Anglo-Saxon Protestant and South Louisiana as French Catholic. These characterizations are justified as long as those indicies are used solely for descriptive purposes. Implicit assumptions of the homogeneity of a culture area overlook, at the very least, the existence of Catholics in North Louisiana and Protestants in South Louisiana. If this study can reveal the differences between North Louisiana and Protestant cultures on the one hand and between South Louisiana and Catholic cultures on the other, the superiority of this multi-dimensional approach over one-dimensional culture area studies will have been
demonstrated.

As cultures are the people's selection of groups with which they want to identify, majority groups are assumed to express more consistent identity patterns than the minorities. North Louisiana Protestants and South Louisiana Catholics probably show the consistent cultural patterns, while South Louisiana Protestants, North Louisiana Catholics, and other minorities may well face many conflicts in choosing the groups with which they want to identify.

At the border between North and South Louisiana, either the shifting of identity to another group or the strengthening of their own group identity is expected, depending upon how people conceive neighboring groups. If different groups interact amicably with each other, people may be willing to borrow material cultures of another group. If they have a low regard for each other, they may well strengthen their separate identities. As the disregard has been decreasing recently, mixed group identities may well be increasing.

As cultures are the result of individual's choices, some exceptions to the pattern should always be expected. At the same time, unexpected local group identity patterns may well be identified as residuals in parts of Louisiana.

The theory is falsified by the following conditions.

(1) Only North and South Louisiana cultures are identified. If no Protestant, white, black, urban, or rural cultures

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are successfully identified, then the multi-dimensional approach has no basis for claiming supremacy over traditional culture area studies. (2) The differences between North Louisiana and Protestant cultures and between South Louisiana and Catholic cultures are not identified. This result would verify traditional North Louisiana Protestant - South Louisiana Catholic dichotomy and, hence, demonstrate no necessity of this new theory. (3) Trait distributions demonstrate the homogeneity of groups. If one group shows a uniform (no statistically significant difference) trait distribution in all material items, or the intra-group variation only reflects the different conditions outside cultures, the heterogeneity assumption of this study will be falsified. (4) Substantial evidence suggests that a variety of cultures identified in a group constitute a complex whole or a system. If all identified cultures indicate the same statistical values, the ideal culture may literally consist of cultures. In other words, "cultures" equal to "an ideal culture."

I-7 Sampling

Data collecting for this study requires fieldwork. Inability and impracticality of surveying all Louisiana cemeteries make sampling an essential procedure.

An ideal sampling strategy meets the following requirements. First, the cemeteries must be distributed throughout Louisiana for complete, comprehensive coverage.
Second, the samples must include both North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural cemeteries. The specimens of each pair in each contrast must be numerous enough to meet the requirements of the statistical tests. Third, cemeteries must be sampled without subjective bias.

Some limitations, however, exist for the ideal sampling. The only exhaustive resource for cemeteries is the United States Geological Survey's large-scale topographic quadrangles (Zelinski 1976, p. 193). Although the maps contain the locations and, in some cases, the names of the cemeteries, they lack race, denomination, and date of establishment.

Uneven size of the cemetery makes the consideration of denomination essential. Ascension Parish, for example, has 5.6 times more Protestant cemeteries than Catholic ones, although 85 percent of the religious adherents are Catholics (Nakagawa 1985). Random sampling may well miss large Catholic cemeteries that represent the values of more people in the parish.

This study reconciles the ideal sampling and the limitations by simultaneous use of two geographical stratified sampling methods. The first method chooses the cemetery closest to the center of each 15 minute map within Louisiana. The maps covering more area of other states than of Louisiana are excluded. To be eligible for analysis, two criteria must be met: (1) the cemetery must
have been established before 1930, and (2) it must be still in use. If the cemetery closest to the center of the map does not fulfill both requirements, the next closest one is surveyed. These criteria give this study a somewhat controlled experimental field for testing the theory by making all cemeteries share at least half a century of the same active period. By this method, 178 cemeteries were chosen.

This method has two deficiencies: (1) urban cemeteries are not numerous enough, and (2) denominations are neglected. To offset these deficiencies, the second sampling method selects one cemetery from each parish seat. If more than one cemetery exists in a parish seat, the cemetery chosen is either older, larger, predominantly white, or its composition reflects the dominant denomination of the parish. By this method, 62 additional cemeteries were chosen. Cemeteries were not identified in Bossier City (Bossier Parish) and in St. Joseph (Tensas Parish). By combining these two methods, the total sample cemeteries reached 236 (Appendix I). Four parish seat cemeteries were already included in the sample by the first method.

I-3 Fieldwork

Data were collected through field surveys. Fieldwork includes observations, measurements, and photographing of the landscape elements and interviews with the local
people. Data were recorded on six-page survey forms (Appendix II).

A tentative survey form was made based upon previous studies and the author's observations. Preliminary fieldwork of more than 100 cemeteries was conducted between July and October 1984 to test the effectiveness of the form. The final form was completed after seven revisions. The main fieldwork was carried out between December 1984 and May 1985. A quarter-million graves were observed in nearly 400 cemeteries and 3,000 photographs were taken as a result of 20,000 miles travel.
CHAPTER II

LOUISIANA: STUDY AREA

Before the interpretation of the cemetery landscape of Louisiana, this chapter presents study area data that are essential for analysis and synthesis. First, heuristic groups are defined and described as the basic knowledge about the actor. Second, physical, economic, and legal conditions are portrayed as the objects of the people's observation about the possibility of fulfilling their desires. Third, distribution of all identifiable cemeteries are presented as the population of sample cemeteries.

II-1 Groups

According to the analytical purpose presented in Chapter I, this section defines and characterizes four kinds of heuristic, dichotomous groups: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural.

North and South Louisiana. Precise definition of the boundary between North and South Louisiana differs from one scholar to another. Although most definitions agree that the Mississippi River is the northeastern boundary of South Louisiana between Pointe Coupee and West Baton Rouge.
Parish, some include southern Florida Parishes along the lakes into South Louisiana (e.g., Knipmeyer 1956, plate 1), while others totally exclude southern Florida Parishes to set the boundary in southern Orleans Parish (e.g., Havard et al. 1963, p. 68; Fig. 2). The northwestern boundary of South Louisiana is even more controversial. A map that overlays several previous definitions compiled by Newton (1975, p. 48) shows that the boundary shifts somewhere in Avoyelles, Evangeline, Allen, Acadia, Jefferson Davis, Calcasieu, and Cameron parishes, depending upon the scholar's conception and the period examined.

This study sets the eastern boundary at the southern and western limit of the Florida Parishes (Fig. 2). The exclusion of the southern Florida Parishes from South Louisiana is mainly for conventional reasons: (1) some definitions totally exclude Florida Parishes, (2) it is difficult to decide where to set a line if the southern Florida Parishes are included, and, furthermore, (3) sample cemeteries in the southern Florida Parishes more closely resemble those in North Louisiana than those in South Louisiana.

The more important issue of this eastern boundary, however, is the inclusion of New Orleans in South Louisiana. Although New Orleans Creoles are conceived of as different from rural Cajuns, both are French Louisianians on a macroscopic level. The New Orleans cemetery landscape, moreover, represents that of South
INDEX MAP

- FLORIDA PARISHES
- NORTH SOUTH BOUNDARY
- STATE CAPITAL
- PARISH SEAT

FIG. 2
Louisiana. Some evidence even suggests that New Orleans initiated in Louisiana the use of the above-ground vaults, which are characteristic of South Louisiana. Exclusion of New Orleans from South Louisiana would make the analysis largely meaningless in that area.

The western boundary is defined as including Marksville, Ville Platte, Oberlin, and Lake Charles in South Louisiana, for the sample parish-seat cemeteries in those cities resemble those of South Louisiana in their religious composition (Fig. 2).

Sample cemeteries are categorized into North and South Louisiana cemeteries by this geographical boundary. Some socio-economic data essential for the discussion in this chapter, however, are available only by parish. When census statistics are used, this chapter discusses North and South Louisiana parishes instead of the area defined by the boundary. Allen Parish is categorized as a North Louisiana parish, while Avoyelles, Evangeline, Jefferson Davis, Calcasieu, and Cameron are classified as South Louisiana parishes.

North Louisiana is often referred to as Anglo-Saxon Louisiana, while South Louisiana as French. The North-South distinction, however, is not based upon the topical dimension, but upon the spatial. Although the dominance of those different ethnic groups characterizes the areas, North Louisiana also has people of French origin, while South Louisiana has Anglo-Saxons as well.
Both areas, moreover, have a substantial number of black people, as well as a variety of ethnic minorities.

The majority group in North Louisiana is occasionally called the "Upland South." These "Anglo-Saxons" are heavily Scotch-Irish. They developed their own group identity and material culture in the backcountry in the Lancaster-to-Augusta hearth between 1725 and 1775 (Newton 1974a, pp. 148-150). Upland Southerners were preadapted to a new environment and migrated to the vast areas throughout the South, including North Louisiana, between 1775 and 1825. Their preadaptive traits include dispersed settlement, a peasant economy, log construction, evangelical Protestantism, an open class system, and the courthouse town system (Newton 1974a, p. 152). In addition to North Louisiana, they were originally distributed also along the chenier plain in Cameron and Vermilion parishes as extension of Texan Upland Southerners, although they are now largely absorbed into French Louisianians (Fig. 3).

The majority group in South Louisiana is of French origin. Under the French colonial governments, two of the oldest towns, Natchitoches and New Orleans, were founded and settled by French in 1714 and 1718, respectively. The majority of French Louisianians, however, descend from Acadian exiles that settled in Louisiana between 1765 and 1785 during the Spanish regime (1763-1803). Acadians first arrived along the Mississippi at today's Ascension and St. James parishes and after about 1800 spread down to Bayou.
Lafourche. A few also settled in Pointe Coupee and Avoyelles; still more occupied Bayou Teche. The Acadians are distinguished by the term "Cajun" from other Louisiana French who are called "Creoles." French people are now distributed throughout South Louisiana. Natchitoches stands out as an ethnic island in North Louisiana (Fig. 3). Traits of French people include linear settlement along the river, half-timber construction, filled walls, and Roman Catholicism. Many French Louisianians still speak French.

Lowland Southerners are distributed on the plantation areas of both North and South Louisiana, especially along the Mississippi, Red River, Bayou Lafourche, and in St. Mary Parish (Fig. 3). The important cities include Franklin and Donaldsonville in South Louisiana, and St. Francisville and Alexandria in North Louisiana. They descend mostly from Anglo-Saxon planters from Britain and coastal Virginia and coastal Carolina who settled in Louisiana at the turn of the nineteenth century and through the Ante-Bellum Period. Their traits include square outbuildings, open fields, and Episcopal churches (Newton 1986, p. 111).

Midwesterners occupy southwestern prairies (Fig. 3). The completion of the railroad in 1882 and cheap land brought Midwestern farmers into this area. They changed their corn-and-hog economy into rice cultivation that could be achieved by the introduction of irrigation. Although Midwestern I houses and square houses used to characterize
the area, the landscape is losing its ethnic tone, partly because of the continuing invasion of French people into this area, but mainly because of the recent dominance of standard American culture (Kniffen 1968, pp. 156-160).

In spite of Spain's political dominance (1776-1803) in Louisiana, Spanish settlers were not numerous. Spaniards already lived around Los Adaes in Natchitoches Parish in 1776 and their descendants still live there and in Zwolle in Sabine Parish. During the Spanish dominion, some Spanish administrators and officials lived in New Orleans, Baton Rouge, Monroe, Alexandria, Natchitoches, St. Martinville, and Opelousas. In addition to living in the towns, Spaniards also settled along Bayou Terre aux Boef (St. Bernard), Bayou Manchac (Ascension), and Bayou Teche (Newton 1986, pp. 106-107; Fig. 3). Although survival of the Spanish language and customs is reported along Bayou Terre aux Boef (New Orleans States-Item 1977), along Bayou Manchac (Hawley 1976, p. 25), and in the Zwolle area (Gregory 1983, p. 55), they have largely lost their original cultural distinctiveness.

Black people compose 29 percent of the state population in the 1980 census. The majority of them live in the urban or the former plantation areas (Fig. 4). Parishes with more black than white population include East Carroll, Madison, Tensas, West Feliciana, and St. Helena.

The earlier slave importation was made by French trade to supply the West Indies sugar colonies. It is estimated
that Louisiana received 28,300 slaves between 1701 and 1810 (Curtin 1969, p. 215). The majority of later black arrivals descend from those imported to the Atlantic seaboard by British North American trade. Slaves, purchased by the Lowland South planters, migrated into the cotton and sugar growing areas of Louisiana after 1803 (Spitzer 1979b, p. 277).

Substantial numbers of blacks in South Louisiana speak French. French-speaking blacks are mostly distributed along the Bayou Teche to the southwestern prairies (Fig. 5). Although some of them descend from blacks of the French-speaking West Indies, their Cajun accent indicates their assimilation of Cajun culture (Spitzer 1979a, p. 138). Fewer blacks along the Mississippi and the Bayou Lafourche speak French, probably because they descend from slaves of English-speaking Lowland South planters.

Catholic and Protestant. Cemeteries in Louisiana can be classified into either Catholic or Protestant according to the majority religion. The only substantial exceptions are the cemeteries of Jewish people, who compose 0.4 percent of the total Louisiana population in 1984 (American Jewish Yearbook 1985).

The topical dimension of Catholic-Protestant grouping must be distinguished from that of the spatial North-South grouping. Identity to religious groups sometimes conflicts with spatial group identity. Crosses, for example, are used more favorably among Protestants. They are, at the
FIG. 5

Source: James P. Allen and the Cartography Lab, n.d.
same time, more popular in South Louisiana than in North Louisiana. Protestants in South Louisiana must choose which identity to take—Protestant or South Louisiana—by accepting or rejecting crosses. Analysis of the Catholic and Protestant cemetery landscapes can lead to the understanding of a person's expression through religion of regional identity.

The area of Catholic dominated parishes in 1971 overlaps, but not conterminously, South Louisiana (Fig. 6). This is mostly because French people are usually Catholic. The majority of Spaniards and Italians are also Catholic. Among Protestant-dominant Anglo-Saxon people, Upland Southerners belong to the evangelical denominations—Southern Baptist, followed by Methodist and Presbyterian. Lowland Southerners are typically affiliated with the Episcopal church. Almost all blacks in North Louisiana are Protestants. There are more black Protestants than black Catholics, even in South Louisiana.

Churches in the settlement landscape differ between North and South Louisiana. The contrast is most evident in parish seats. A typical North Louisiana parish seat has several white Protestant churches of different denominations near (but not usually adjacent to) a courthouse. An average South Louisiana parish, by contrast, is characterized by a single, massive Catholic church that has both white and black adherents, plus a scatter of marginal Protestant churches.
CATHOLIC MEMBERS
1971

- at least 50 percent of the population
- at least 50 percent of the adherents

Source: Johnson, et al., 1974

FIG. 6

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White and black. Besides race, whites and blacks are distinct in their origins and historical backgrounds. Whites descend from Europeans, while blacks descend from Africans. Whites have been free, while the great majority of blacks were slaves until emancipation. Civil rights of blacks were restricted until the 1960s. There have been great gaps between whites and blacks in terms of occupation, income, social class, education, and many other social and economic aspects. Material cultures of whites and blacks, therefore, are not merely the reflections of different values that may have originated in different ancestries.

Urban and rural. The urban group contrasts with the rural one in several aspects. The majority of the urban people have non-agricultural occupations, while more rural folk in Louisiana engage in agriculture. Educated elites, such as administrators, teachers, lawyers, and doctors, live mostly in the city. Elites tend to identify themselves more with the national group than the local one. While many social activities revolve around the local community in rural areas, urban people have somewhat less involvement in the immediate community. Urban people, therefore, identify less with the local group. Being located at the transportation center, urban areas have more access to new ideas. The extent that funeral homes or monument distributors in urban areas have direct access to the national producers of new merchandise, nationally
uniform new material items easily flow into urban cemeteries. The difference between urban and rural group, thus, is generally characterized by progressiveness versus conservativeness and by identity with the national rather than with local standards.

According to the census definition, 68 percent of Louisiana's population was urban in 1980. The rate is smaller than the United States percentage of urban (73 percent).

Census defines urban areas as places with 2,500 or more population. Applying this definition to this study causes two problems. First, many towns with less than 2,500 population have typically urban landscape with commercial, social, and residential functions. Second, some parish seats are excluded from the urban area, simply because they do not reach the arbitrarily defined population.

Geographical separation of cemeteries from living spaces causes another practical problem. Some cemeteries are located outside the city corporation limits, although they belong to the city dwellers. Other cemeteries outside the city have both urban and rural people. At the same time, many country cemeteries serve almost exclusively rural populations.

The solution to those problems is to combine some criteria for a conventional purpose. This study defines an urban cemetery as the one located (1) in a parish seat, (2)
in a place with 1,000 or more population, or (3) within one mile from a city corporation limit.

II-2 Physical, Economic, and Legal Conditions

In the practical syllogism, a man acts when he believes a certain thing good or proper (a major premise) and when he observes that the conditions allow him to fulfill his desire (minor premises). Physical, economic, and legal conditions constitute the minor premises for establishing and maintaining cemetery landscape elements.

Physical conditions. People in Louisiana relate physical elements with the cemetery in at least three ways. They ask if the physical setting provides suitable sites for establishing cemeteries, to dig graves deep enough, or to plant trees or vegetation that they desire.

Louisiana consists of four geomorphic regions: hills, terraces, floodplain, and marsh (Fig. 7). Hills occupy the northwestern part of the state. They are gently sloping features, mostly no higher than 400 feet. Terraces occupy the north-central part of the state, southwestern prairies, and Florida Parishes. Few major obstacles for cemetery location exist either in hills or in terraces. Neither do these regions present problems for digging six-foot graves, for the watertable usually lies far below the ground surface.

Notable floodplains lie along the Red River, Atchafalaya River, Bayou Teche, and Bayou Lafourche.
After Newton, 1972

FIG. 7
Relief features on floodplains are subtle, but the most important for cemeteries are natural levees, which have the highest elevations on the floodplains. Natural levees slope gently from highest elevations near the stream to lower areas in the backswamp. While backswamp areas are subject to frequent flood, the crests of the natural levees flood only infrequently. Since prehistoric times, natural levee crests have provided settlement sites and, hence, cemetery sites.

Marshland is generally found along the Gulf margins of the state at elevations of less than 5 feet. It is always wet and frequently flooded. They are also susceptible to high-tide floods during hurricanes. Such settlements as occur in the marsh region occupy natural levee ridges or chenier ridges (beach ridges).

Swamps and marshes are poor locations for cemeteries. The free-water level is generally high, above the ground level during floods. The possibility of digging graves four-to-six feet deep needs case-by-case examination, for the conditions depend upon exact locality and time.

Natural vegetation is a good index for such physical conditions as climate, drainage, and soils, as well as an opportunity from which people apply cemetery vegetation. Natural vegetation types in Louisiana include forests, savannas, and grasslands (Fig. 8).

Forests are categorized into upland pine forests, upland hardwood forests, and bottomland forests. Upland
pine forests are most characteristic of the hill areas of western and northwestern Louisiana, and the Florida Parishes, where people can establish cemeteries without special drainage problems. Pine trees, especially the longleaf pines, are fire-tolerant by contrast to fire-susceptible hickories, magnolias, and oaks. Longleaf or shortleaf pines, therefore, are the most easily available trees also for the cemetery, while magnolias and oaks are less readily available.

The upland hardwood forest occupies the areas of loess soils in West Feliciana Parish and the north-central Louisiana. The species include deciduous oak, live oak, hickory, and magnolia. Among these species, live oaks usually occupy south of 30.5 degree latitude in Louisiana. It does not grow in saturated soil where winter temperatures drop much below freezing (Newton 1986, p.32).

In addition to the upland sites, hardwood forests also occur in the drier parts of the natural levees. These hardwood forests in the floodplain are a good index for fairly good drainage and, hence, a good location for the cemetery.

In the poorly drained area of the floodplain, such species as cypress, gum, and willow constitute swamp forests. Those species dominate the swamp area because they can survive, while others cannot. These regions are the poor sites for trees, settlements, and for cemeteries.

Savanna regions, known as flatwoods, occupy southern
Florida Parishes and southwestern Louisiana as transitional zones between forests and grasslands. Such trees as pines, yaupon, and myrtles are scattered irregularly on grass-covered ground. These regions also provide opportunities for suitable cemetery locations and the cemetery vegetation.

Grasslands consist of coastal prairies and marsh. The Louisiana coastal prairies occupy the terraces of southwestern Louisiana. They are flat grassland on the prairie soils, which have a strong claypan between the A- and B-horizons. The claypan interrupts the movement of free water, causing the A-horizon to be very wet to very dry. Although the poorly drained soil structure does not make the prairies the ideal region for the cemeteries, they at least allow locating cemeteries.

The marsh is a low wet grassland with varying degrees of salinity. Only in the fairly dry cheniers, such trees as live oaks and palmettos can survive. Marsh and prairie dwellers are limited in their selection of tree species from the natural vegetation.

Economic conditions. Economy is probably the most important minor premise. People select certain commercial tombstones, monuments, and decorations by balancing their desire and the cost of its fulfillments. The wealthy person can more readily achieve his desire than can the poor. Different income characteristics among groups lead to different material cultures.
Louisiana, like other Southern states, has had a lower per capita income than that of the United States. It amounted to 61 percent of the average United States per capita income in 1940, 74 percent in 1960, and 88 percent in 1980. Louisiana ranked 34 in the 1980 census for per capita income.

Per capita income in the 1980 census is, in general, higher in South Louisiana and in urbanized parishes (Fig. 9). Among 19 parishes with a per capita income of $6,000 or more, 14 are in South Louisiana. Higher income in South Louisiana results mostly from oil and gas mining and related chemical industries. Lower mean per capita incomes generally occur in parishes that rely mainly on agriculture and forestry.

Income distribution within Louisiana varies also with time: industries flourished in particular areas in particular periods. Because of the longevity of any given cemetery, each tends to represent a fluctuation in economic prosperity. The lumbering industry that flourished between 1890 and 1910 caused economic advancement in St. Mary Parish, along Bayou Teche, and along the lower Mississippi in South Louisiana. In North Louisiana, major mills were established in parts of Washington, Vernon, and Beauregard parishes. This local affluence may have led to population increase in the area and, hence, the death increase. Many cemeteries in these areas may have originated in the lumbering period.
PER CAPITA INCOME 1979

Source: U.S. Census 1980

FIG. 9

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The most drastic economic influence, however, has been petroleum and its related industries that started early in this century. Early boom towns include Shreveport, Baton Rouge, and Monroe. Recent development since the 1960s, however, has been concentrated in South Louisiana coastal areas and in such cities as Lafayette, Houma, and Lake Charles. This economic boom may have stimulated the establishment of new cemeteries, increased the tombs in the already established cemeteries, and provided easier fulfillment of the people's desire to create ideal graves.

Urban per capita income is higher than rural. Following the census definition of urban and rural, urban per capita income in 1979 was $6,767, while rural income was $5,697. Urban people, in general, had somewhat better economic conditions to achieve major premises.

The most striking contrast is found between white and black. Per capita income in 1979 was $8,253 for white and $3,628 for black. An average white earns 2.2 times the income of an average black. Black people clearly have more restrictions to fulfilling their desires than do whites.

The economic conditions may help explain the material culture distinction between North and South Louisiana, urban and rural, and especially between white and black cemeteries because of the different means to fulfilling the people's desires. The local affluence in a certain period may explain some residuals to the pattern.

Legal conditions. Louisiana law did not enforce many
regulations on cemeteries until 1974, when the new state constitution was written. The proliferation of commercial cemeteries induced the establishment of exhaustive provisions. The sections of Title 8 of the Louisiana revised statutes ("Cemeteries") increased from 211 to 904. Prior to 1974, the law concerned mostly public cemeteries, and it merely allowed municipal corporations to establish cemeteries and regulations governing them. The state law did not regulate the depth of burial or the standard of structures in the cemetery. It merely determined that municipal cemeteries be established within one mile of the city limit.

The main concerns of the current law are registration, supervision, and taxation of commercial cemeteries. Because non-profit religious, community, or family cemeteries are tax-exempt, the majority of them are still unregistered. The major parts of the new additional regulations are based upon previous custom. The majority of burial custom, therefore, did not result from legal regulation.

Although some cities set the rules for the maintenance of city cemeteries, only New Orleans has enacted numerous regulations since the late eighteenth century. The focus of the early law was on public health. In 1784, for example, New Orleans prohibited interments into walls or floors of church buildings. Such locations had been considered prestigious by Catholics (Huber 1974, p. 4).
City Ordinances repeatedly encouraged interments in newly established cemeteries instead of already occupied ones. It did not, however, encourage either above-ground or below-ground interment. The New Orleans City Ordinance of 1831 merely stated that the below-ground graves had to be dug four feet or more deep and that the graves had to be at least 3 feet apart. The material of an above-ground vault was required to be bricks and the wall to be more than 12 inches. The city code of 1956 lists modified regulations for the grave depth to be three feet or more and for an above-ground vault to be built with brick or stone with its wall of nine inches or more.

Those facts seem to indicate that the people's faithfulness to traditional burial custom did not require written regulations until new commercial cemeteries became numerous. Laws seemed to be changed when people did not follow them, as implied in the case of the grave depth or the thickness of the wall of an above-ground vault. Custom made laws rather than vice versa. Legislation on cemeteries tends to summarize and codify custom. In any event, the Civil Code of Louisiana formally recognizes custom as a source of law.

II-3. Distribution of Cemeteries

Sample cemeteries were chosen from the population of all identifiable cemeteries in Louisiana. Some 3,180 cemeteries were identified from the large-scale topographic
North Louisiana parishes have considerably more cemeteries than South Louisiana parishes. The number of cemeteries per unit area in North Louisiana is 1.5 times greater than that in South Louisiana, and the number per unit population in North Louisiana parishes is 3.1 times greater than that in South Louisiana. Eighty-two percent of North Louisiana parishes have ten or more cemeteries per 10,000 population, which is significantly greater than the 33 percent of South Louisiana parishes (chi-square = 15.7).

The denser distribution in North Louisiana is attributed to the large number of small cemeteries. Many cemeteries belong to single or extended families (Jeane 1969, p. 39; Newton 1974b, p. 348). By contrast, Catholics, who dominate South Louisiana, prefer large, central, and consecrated church cemeteries (Nakagawa 1985).

Within North Louisiana, the Florida Parishes have the densest distribution (Fig. 10). The average cemetery density of the Florida Parishes is 17.0 per 100 square miles, which is 2.3 times that of North Louisiana parishes. The dense cemetery distribution in the Florida Parishes may be related to their older settlement history. The Florida Parishes came under British sovereignty in 1763 as a result of the Treaty of Paris. A land policy of Governor Peter Chester, which granted land to veterans of French and Indian War who would settle on it, induced the migration of
## TABLE 4
CEMETORIES BY PARISH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>CEMETERIES</th>
<th>PARISH</th>
<th>AREA</th>
<th>CEMETERIES</th>
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<td>N**</td>
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<td>ORLEANS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>PLACQUEMINES</td>
<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>AVOYELLES</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>POINTE COUPEE</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<td>SABINE</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>ST. BERNARD</td>
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<td>ST. CHARLES</td>
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<td>ST. JAMES</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>CLAIBORNE</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<td>N</td>
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<td>S</td>
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<tr>
<td>E BATON ROUGE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>ST. MARY</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E CARROLL</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>ST. TAMMANY</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E FELICIANA</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>TANGIPAHOA</td>
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<tr>
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<td>55</td>
<td>TENSAS</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRANKLIN</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>TERREBONNE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>35</td>
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<tr>
<td>GRANT</td>
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<td>42</td>
<td>UNION</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>88</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBERIA</td>
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<td>VERMILION</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>51</td>
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<tr>
<td>IBERVILLE</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>VERNON</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>70</td>
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<tr>
<td>JACKSON</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>WASHINGTON</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>170</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEFFERSON</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>WEBSTER</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEFFERSON DAVISS</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>W BATON ROUGE</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAFAYETTE</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>W CARROLL</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAFOURCHE</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>W FELICIANA</td>
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<td>40</td>
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<td>LA SALLE</td>
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<td>44</td>
<td>WINN</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LINCOLN</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIVINGSTON</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>2,363</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>MADISON</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>817</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOREHOUSE</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>LOUISIANA TOTAL</td>
<td>3,180</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

* S: SOUTH LOUISIANA PARISH  
** N: NORTH LOUISIANA PARISH

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LOUISIANA
DISTRIBUTION OF CEMETERIES

□ HILLS & TERRACES
□ FLOODPLAIN & MARSH

EACH DOT REPRESENTS ONE CEMETERY

FIG. 10
planters along the Mississippi and the Bayou Manchac. Moreover, the Upland Southerners settled most heavily in the Florida Parishes in rural North Louisiana by the early nineteenth century. The General Land Office system was established after the Adams-Oniz Treaty in 1819. By the time the General Land Office survey system was fully implanted upon the cadastral map of Louisiana (1850), 43.6 percent of the land of the Florida Parishes had been confirmed as private land claims. Most of North Louisiana, however, was at that time still unsettled (French 1978, p. 112).

People in the Florida Parishes organized themselves into a small unit or group, called the "settlement," which was loosely identified with a church. Each settlement usually established its own cemetery, although some members of the settlement also had their own family cemeteries (Newton 1974b, pp. 344-348). The result was the emergence of many cemeteries throughout the Florida Parishes.

The distribution of cemeteries also differs from one geomorphic region to another. In the hills and terraces, cemeteries are scattered widely, generally on tops of hills or relatively higher ground. On the floodplain, cemeteries are confined to sites on natural levees. In marshes, the cemetery locations are limited to chenier ridges.

Relatively elevated locations of cemeteries in any geomorphic region indicates people's consistent desire for higher grounds as one of the major premises. Elevated
locations are fairly common in the United States (Price 1966, p. 202; Jeane 1969, p. 39; Frankaviglia 1971, p. 505; Darden 1972, p. 4; Hannon 1973, p. 27). Whatever the original meaning of this location was, the burials in the elevated ground had been a custom of the Anglo-Saxons, French, and the Indians alike (Hannon 1973, p. 27). Through the tradition, people tend to think it proper to establish cemeteries on the high ground.

This belief seems to be related to people's fear of saturation. People tend to think that the cemetery must be relatively dry, even in the hills or terraces where no flood occurs.

People with this same major premise put their desire into the creation of the different distribution patterns among geomorphic regions because of the different minor premises. Few geomorphic obstacles in the hills and terraces allowed for wide distribution of cemeteries in these regions. People could find relatively high ground fairly easily. In contrast, the limited distribution of higher ground in the floodplains and marshes gave people less option; their choice was confined to the natural levees or the chenier ridges.

The elevated location is merely one of the major premises. Other premises include the relative proximity to the city plan for municipal cemeteries, and proximity to the church for church cemeteries. When some major premises conflict with others, cemeteries occasionally occupy lower
land. For example, St. Peter Street Cemetery, established in the 1720s and the oldest New Orleans cemetery, was located at the fringe of the city plan, which was the most poorly drained section of the established city area. The St. Louis I Cemetery, the second oldest cemetery (1789), was established at a place even further from the Mississippi to separate the cemetery from the world of the living; i.e., a major premise of classical town planning (Huber 1974, pp. 3-4).

In summary, cemetery distribution seems to reflect people's norms of cemetery ownership and ideal size, as well as the desire for the elevated ground as major premises. Settlement history is also related to the different cemetery densities within the state. Physical restrictions led to different opportunities in the different geomorphic regions as minor premises.
CHAPTER III

CEMETERY LANDSCAPE ELEMENTS

Landscape interpretation consists of two basic procedures: analysis and synthesis. This chapter deals with analysis. First, the cemetery landscape is divided into elements. Second, each element is converted into a trait. Third, material cultures are identified in each trait by comparing North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural. Two-tailed chi-square tests are repeated for each comparison (for the results, see Appendix III). Fourth, cultures are inferred by examining material cultures and minor premises, such as physical, economic and legal conditions. Finally, residuals are discussed by areal association.

Landscape, as employed here, embraces nine broad aspects: general attributes, cemetery structures, vegetation, interment forms, grave structures, grave arrangement, grave decorations, grave markers, and grave marker motifs. Each category is further divided into smaller elements in separate sections.
III-1 General Attributes

This section introduces sample cemeteries. First, sample cemeteries are classified into heuristic groups. Then, their general attributes are analyzed: these include religious composition, racial composition, ownership, size, date of establishment, and decoration days.

Classification. The categories of North and South Louisiana and urban and rural cemeteries rest upon the definitions set in Chapter II. Catholic, Protestant, white, and black cemeteries are defined by the dominant religion or race. The information was obtained by observation and interview.

Two problems arose after the data collection. First, the sample includes one Jewish cemetery. For convenience, it is categorized as Protestant and white because it most closely resembles those. On the map, however, it is distinguished as a Jewish cemetery for an effective areal association. A second problem concerns the deviated racial composition of cemeteries: black cemeteries contain solely Protestants, while black Catholics share plots in white-dominant Catholic cemeteries. White and black categories may have lost their effectiveness to a certain degree. This study, however, maintains the original definition for statistical tests. Black Catholics are discussed qualitatively to validate the comparison.

As a result of following these definitions, 236 sample...
cemeteries are categorized into 148 North Louisiana and 88 South Louisiana, into 61 Catholic and 175 Protestant, into 178 white and 58 black, and into 76 urban and 160 rural cemeteries. The sample does not contain National, military, or memorial-park cemeteries.

The cemeteries are mapped, each with symbols of heuristic group identities (Fig. 11). North or South Louisiana identity can be estimated by the location. Urban cemeteries are marked either with the letter S (parish seat) or with the letter U (non-parish seat urban). Cemeteries without letter symbols are rural.

Catholic, Protestant, white, and black cemeteries are distinguished by shapes of the symbols. Catholic is symbolized by a circle, white Protestant by a square, black Protestant by a triangle, and Jewish by a diamond. Protestant cemeteries represented on the map include the categories of white Protestant, black Protestant, and Jewish. White cemeteries include Catholic, white Protestant, and Jewish cemeteries. Black cemeteries are only those of the Black Protestant.

The location of each cemetery stated in terms of the grid numbers 1 to 16 on the Y axis and A to S on the X axis: e.g., 1A, 8C, and 15N. Parish seat cemeteries are distinguished from others by the addition of the letter S as a prefix: e.g., S2A and S11P. If more than one parish seat cemetery exists in a grid cell, cemeteries are specified by the suffix 1, 2, or 3: e.g., S11L1, S11L2, and

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FIG. 11
Although the suffixes are not added on a map, those cemeteries can be identified by referring to Appendix I.

Sample cemeteries clearly reflect the religious and ethnic composition of the state. North Louisiana has significantly more Protestant cemeteries than South Louisiana (chi-square = 124.2; Table 5). The only two sample Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana reflect non-Anglo-Saxon origin. Campti Catholic Cemetery (map location 5D) contains French and Italians. Campti, as well as Natchitoches, lies in the permanent French outlier in North Louisiana. Old St. Joseph Cemetery in Zwolle (6E) stands near the site of the early Spanish Mission in the late eighteenth century. These people are of Spanish origin, although they have become extensively mixed with other ethnic groups after many generations.

By contrast, 67 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries are Catholic. Among 29 sample Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana, 24 are black cemeteries, located mainly along the Mississippi and Bayou Teche. One is a Jewish cemetery in New Orleans. Four sample white Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana have non-French origins. Franklin (S13K) was the original Anglo-Saxon enclave in South Louisiana, although it has been encroached by French. The other three white Protestant cemeteries in the sample occupy the western fringe of South Louisiana, which was originally the area of Anglo-Texan extension.

The urban cemetery contains significantly more

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TABLE 5
CEMETERIES BY GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CATH.</th>
<th>PROT.</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>109</td>
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<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
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<td>29</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>128</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
<td>112</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>48</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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</table>
Catholic than Protestant, and more white cemeteries than black cemeteries (chi-square = 8.8 and 7.8 respectively; Table 5). The sample reflects the fact that Catholics prefer large centralized cemeteries, more often located in urban areas. Moreover, the sampling method leads to inclusion of parish-seat cemeteries that are also white dominant.

**Religious composition.** The majority of the cemeteries are exclusively Catholic or Protestant (Fig. 12). This study defines as mixed religion any cemetery in which at least 10 percent of the deceased have different religion from that of the majority. Protestant denominational differences are neglected. Although people hardly know how many percent are of different religion, the existence of as little as 10 percent of other religion makes people realize the cemetery's mixed character.

Only 16 mixed religion cemeteries exist in the sample. Urban cemeteries have significantly more mixed religion cemeteries (chi-square = 10.5), mainly because municipal cemeteries are non-denominational.

Many of them occupy the area of the major ethnic mixture. Seven cemeteries (9G, S10E, 11D, S11L1, S11P, 12B, S10D) lie on the border of North and South Louisiana where Catholics are gaining in the percentage of the population. Two mixed religion cemeteries in South Louisiana (13J, S13K) lie in the original Anglo-Saxon territory that is becoming less distinct. Similarly, the
MIXED RELIGION

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

FIG. 12
sample cemetery at Natchitoches (S5D) lies in an area of original French settlement, but one where Protestants later became dominant.

Religious segregations are distinct between Christians and Jews. Farmerville Cemetery (S1G) and Oakland Cemetery (S2A) have separate Jewish sections segregated by a fence. Segregation of Catholics from Protestants are not as deliberate, although Catholic burials cluster in the southern corner of Magnolia Cemetery (S11L1) and in the south central section of Amite Municipal Cemetery (S1ON). In other words, people prefer uniform religious composition in the cemetery. People tend to disregard the mixture of Christians and Jews more than that of Catholics and Protestants.

Racial composition. Although the majority of Louisiana cemeteries (85 percent) consists exclusively of one race (Fig. 13), racial mixture is the trait of South Louisiana, Catholic, white, and urban cemeteries. Among them, the Catholic-Protestant contrast is the most significant (chi-square = 39.1).

Thirty-nine percent of Catholic cemeteries are racially mixed, while only 4 percent of Protestant cemeteries are racially mixed. Racial mixture in Catholic cemeteries derives from the practice of giving black Catholics portions of predominantly white Catholic cemeteries, instead of establishing separate black Catholic cemeteries.
FIG. 13

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Segregation of white and black plots is less evident in Catholic than in Protestant cemeteries. Racial segregation in some Catholic cemeteries results from economic differences: blacks purchased the remaining plots at the corners after wealthy white families bought family burial plots close to the central cross or to the church building. A few Catholic cemeteries, however, still show racial segregation. In St. Thomas Cemetery (S14Q), for example, blacks occupy the west and whites share the east of the central passage. In St. Alphonsus Cemetery (12H), blacks have a separate section and a second central cross. The tendency of the segregation, nevertheless, is blurring in those cemeteries. The fence between the white and the black sections in St. Alphonsus Cemetery was removed in the late 1960s.

By contrast, evident racial segregation continues to this day in Protestant cemeteries. Among 11 racially mixed cemeteries, 9 have black sections separated by fences. Black and white sections hold the same cemetery name, but they are virtually two different cemeteries with different legal registrations and cemetery decoration days.

Catholic-Protestant contrast reflects cultural differences. Desire for racial segregation is either stronger or more effective among Protestants than among Catholics in Louisiana. The value may have derived from different religious activities. Catholicism emphasizes unity of the believers under church leadership. The group
unit represented by a Catholic cemetery is larger than that of a Protestant cemetery. Under the Roman Catholic church, socialization between white and black is relatively frequent. Protestants, by contrast, emphasize the individual's relationship with God through Jesus Christ. The Protestant group unit, white or black, is smaller, and each individual plays a significant role in the activities. Whites and blacks, therefore, form different groups.

Racial mixture is also more frequent in urban cemeteries. Racial mixture occurs in 32 percent of urban, but only 6 percent of rural cemeteries. The weaker identity to local communities of urban people may have led to less resistance to the racial mixture.

Ownership. Cemetery ownership occurs in several types: family, community, church, municipal, and other. The family cemetery belongs to a single or extended family. The community cemetery is owned and maintained by a community. This category includes cemeteries legally owned by cemetery associations whose members are mostly those of the community. The church cemetery is owned by a church or religious association whose members belong to one church. The municipal cemetery is owned and maintained by a city. Other cemeteries include fraternal, commercial, and non-religious association cemeteries. The ownership of the cemetery sometimes changes. Many that were originally family cemeteries were later transferred to churches. This study classifies the ownership as based upon the current
ownership for consistency and to avoid additional historical investigation. As a result, 34 family cemeteries, 46 community cemeteries, 117 church cemeteries, 22 municipal cemeteries, and 17 other cemeteries are identified (Table 6, Fig. 14).

Ownership pattern differs considerably from one group to another. Family, community, and municipal ownerships are the traits of North Louisiana, Protestant, and white cemeteries, while church ownership is the trait of South Louisiana, Catholic, and black cemeteries.

Catholics express the sacredness of the cemetery through rituals. The cemetery must be attached to the church and regularly consecrated. The cemetery for Protestants is also usually a sacred place, but it does not require formal, liturgical consecration. The maintenance of the cemetery is the matter of political concern. It is the city, community, or the family that is responsible for the establishment and maintenance.

The majority of the black cemeteries (77 percent) belong to churches. Although black cemeteries are Protestant, they resemble Catholic cemeteries in terms of ownership. Like white Protestant cemeteries, however, they do not require formal consecration. Black Protestant churches, usually smaller in size than white churches, are the social units around which a variety of community activities takes place.

The differences between urban and rural cemeteries
TABLE 6
Cemeteries: Group by Ownership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Community</th>
<th>Church</th>
<th>Municipal</th>
<th>Other</th>
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<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
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<td>34</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13</td>
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<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>PROTESTANT</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
reflect the scopes of the groups that own the cemeteries. Urban cemeteries are generally owned by municipalities and organizations, whereas rural cemeteries are more often owned by families and communities.

In summary, cemetery ownerships reflect Catholics' value for the rituals, Protestants' less value for religious formalities, and blacks' value for churches as important community centers. Urban cemeteries reflect the more complex social scope of large organizational units, while rural cemeteries reflect the smaller scope of values of smaller groups.

Size. The size of a cemetery is best described by the number of graves that it contains. In this study, one grave is defined as an identifiable assigned burial place for one corpse. The above-ground vault was counted by the number of its chambers, although each chamber is usually used for multiple burials. Mausoleums or walled vaults are not counted as graves, but are regarded as separate structures in the cemetery.

Size of the cemetery considerably differs among groups (Fig. 15). Larger cemeteries are typically South Louisiana, Catholic, white, and urban (Table 7). Catholics have the value for larger religious associations than Protestants. Blacks prefer smaller community units than whites. Urban cemeteries are larger not only because of the larger population in the area, but also because the sampling method requires inclusion of large parish-seat
FIG. 15
TABLE 7
NUMBER OF GRAVES BY GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CEMETERIES</th>
<th>GRAVES</th>
<th>MEAN</th>
<th>MAXIMUM</th>
<th>MINIMUM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>61,351</td>
<td>414</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>74,650</td>
<td>848</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>65,166</td>
<td>1,068</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>70,835</td>
<td>404</td>
<td>4,000</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>129,050</td>
<td>725</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>6,951</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>400</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>103,042</td>
<td>1,355</td>
<td>6,000</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RURAL</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>32,959</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>1,900</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
cemeteries.

**Date of establishment.** Few cemeteries have documented histories. Although it is possible to assess the date of establishment from the dates of the markers, it is probable that people did not use durable markers in an earlier time, as is still the case in many black cemeteries. A date of origin for each can, however, be placed in one of three broad categories: 1830 or before, between 1831 and 1880, and between 1881 and 1930 (Fig. 16). As a rule, when the judgment was difficult to make between two categories, the cemetery was assigned to the later category. Thus, the majority of black cemeteries were placed into the latest date because their graves were previously unmarked.

Twenty-three sample cemeteries, established by 1830, are located in the areas of the early settlement. Eighteen of these are parish seat cemeteries. Thirteen are church cemeteries and all are Catholic except for one Episcopal (S9K). Generally, each has 800 or more graves.

During the period between 1831 and 1880, the majority of other parish seats established cemeteries. Among 91 cemeteries in this period, however, 56 (62 percent) are rural and mostly located in North Louisiana. During this period, Upland South migrants created their own family, community, or church cemeteries across the broad expanse of North Louisiana and the Florida Parishes, while in the later part of the period, Midwesterners and Cajuns established cemeteries on the southwest prairies. At the
FIG. 16

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same time, gaps in the older settlement areas were filled in.

Many of the cemeteries classified as beginning after 1881 actually have uncertain dates of origin. The majority of the cemeteries in the prairie, marsh, and chenier regions, as well as those in the swamp basin, were definitely established in the twentieth century.

Decoration days. Public attitudes toward proper burial customs are maintained through the social activities that revolve around the cemetery, i.e., the rites of filial piety toward the dead. Those activities are the socially approved means of expressing respect for departed members of the family and the community (Newton 1986, p. 158). Although data for 63 cemeteries could not be obtained through a field survey, distinct regional patterns of the rites are clearly identified (Fig. 17).

For Catholics, All Saints' Day (November 1) is the day of the cemetery rite. Some Catholic cemeteries have the ritual on All Soul's Day (November 2) or the Sunday before or after All Saints' Day. Some families start the preparation for All Saints' Day in late October. They pull weeds from the grave sites or whitewash the tombs. On All Saints' Day, people visit the cemetery, pay the cemetery maintenance fee at the gate, and decorate the graves with chrysanthemums. People gather at the central cross or an equivalent place, and a mass is celebrated by a priest (Fig. 18). After the mass, the priest consecrates each
FIG. 18
An All Saints' mass in front of the central cross.

FIG. 19
A Catholic priest consecrating a tomb with holy water.
Ascension Catholic Cemetery (S11M1), Ascension Parish.
October, 1984.
grave with holy water (Fig. 19).

The All Saints' Day ceremony exists in almost all Catholic cemeteries in Louisiana. Black Protestants in and around South Louisiana visit cemeteries on All Saints' Day to decorate the graves with flowers, although they do not have mass or consecration. Two white Protestant cemeteries in the Florida Parishes (10L, 11Q) also make All Saints' Day a cemetery decoration day. Protestants in South Louisiana accept the custom of the dominant Catholic people of the region, although the contents of the rites are different from those of the Catholics.

In North Louisiana, by contrast, rural cemeteries traditionally have cemetery working days. Those days are also called "cemetery clearing days," "cemetery decoration days," or "homecoming." The day is usually a Saturday in April or May. Some cemeteries have additional working days in summer or in fall. On that day, community members gather at the cemetery and decorate the graves and scrape the cemetery ground. In traditional Upland South cemeteries, the ground is literally hoed to prevent weed growth (Jeane 1978, p. 901; Jordan 1982, p. 14). This labor is done by women and children, as well as men. At the noon meal, a lunch is spread on a table that has been set up in the cemetery. Unlike Catholic cemeteries, no formal religious rituals are performed at the cemetery.

Cemetery working days exist only in the rural cemeteries. Municipal, fraternal, or commercial cemeteries
are maintained by employees. Even in rural cemeteries, the
decoration days are disappearing. Unlike All Saints' Day
rituals, cemetery clearing in the Upland South is not
directed by the church authority. As people became more
individualistic and as social ties loosened among rural
people, the custom was abandoned. Current practice is to
plant grass in the cemetery and to have it mowed by a
caretaker.

III-2 Cemetery Structures

This section analyzes cemetery structures that were
established by cemetery owners (family, community, church,
city, or other organizations). The structures include
fences, gates, central crosses, walled vaults, and
mausoleums that usually resulted from group decisions
instead of individual ones.

Fences. Among 236 cemeteries, 161 (68 percent) are
enclosed, mostly by wire fence (Fig. 20). Elaborate iron,
stone, or brick fences are used only in a few old urban
cemeteries (e.g., S2A, S76, S12D, S13P).

Significant contrast exists only between white and
black cemeteries. The majority of white cemeteries (81
percent) are fenced, while only 27 percent of black
cemeteries have fences (chi-square = 58.5). Economy
undoubtedly contributes to the pattern. The existence of
different values for fencing between whites and blacks is
difficult to identify.
Gates. A gate is defined as an entrance of a cemetery that is made distinguishable from other parts of the fence by an arched gateway or different construction materials.

Unlike the common perception, the gate is not a common structure. Only 57 cemeteries (24 percent) have gates (Fig. 21). Significant contrast can be found between urban and rural, and between white and black. The latter is related to the pattern observed concerning fences: blacks, generally lacking fences, do not have gates.

The contrast between urban and rural cemeteries is most striking: 46 percent of urban cemeteries have gates as compared with 13 percent of the rural cemeteries (chi-square = 29.3). The pattern reflects the value of professional designers who planned urban cemeteries. Educated elites prefer the decorative symbolic structures. Rural folk, by contrast, place less value on gates to dignify cemeteries.

Arched gateways, sometimes called "lichgates" by scholars, are more common among North Louisiana or Protestant cemeteries. The lichgate, widely seen also in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries in Texas (Jordan 1982, p. 26), is regarded as of British origin (Burgess 1963, p. 26). Lichgates may well have been brought by the Anglo-Saxon settlers.

Central crosses. The central cross is a distinctive trait of Catholic cemeteries (Fig. 22). No Protestant cemetery in the sample has a central cross, while 67
FIG. 21
percent of the Catholic cemeteries have central crosses (chi-square = 142.3). The central cross is the material culture trait of South Louisiana and of white cemeteries because those groups have more Catholics than their counterparts.

The central cross is the focal point of the Catholic cemetery liturgical activities. All Saints' Day mass is held at the central cross, and the priest consecrates the cross with holy water before proceeding to consecrate the graves. The site of the central cross is the most prestigious in the cemetery. Some Catholic cemeteries have graves of the priests in front of the cross. In St. Bernard Catholic Church Cemetery (13Q), above-ground vaults are arranged to encircle the central cross. In some cemeteries, the front of the central cross is more highly esteemed than the back. Black burials in St. Mary's Cemetery (12M), for example, are located back of the central cross.

Some Catholic cemeteries without central crosses have alternative symbols that signify their central points. A new mausoleum serves as the central feature in LeBau Cemetery (11F), and an above-ground vault for priests in St. Thomas Cemetery (S14Q). Catholic cemeteries have the appearance of coherency around those symbols. Protestant cemeteries, by contrast, are less unified by central symbols.

Walled vaults. Walled vaults are structures of brick
or marble in New Orleans and the vicinity (Fig. 23). Walled vaults consist of three to six stories of chambers for caskets, built above the ground (Fig. 24). They usually surround the cemetery as walls. The first walled vaults in Louisiana were established in St. Louis I Cemetery (S13P1) in 1789 as introductions of Spanish customs (Huber 1974, p. 9). Although the use of walled vaults became common in the nineteenth century in the New Orleans area, it did not diffuse to the other parts of Louisiana.

**Mausoleums.** Mausoleums consist of many above-ground casket containers, but unlike walled vaults, they are always made of granite (Fig. 25). Hope Mausoleum in New Orleans, first in Louisiana, was erected by Victor Huber in 1931. Seeing community mausoleums on a trip to the West Coast, he thought that the form, which was similar to that of the above-ground vault, would be successful in New Orleans (Huber 1974, p. 47). The idea of the mausoleum spread from Hope Mausoleum to other parts of Louisiana, but mainly the South (Fig. 23).

Mausoleums are material culture items of South Louisiana, Catholic, white, and urban cemeteries. Among 34 cemeteries with mausoleums, 33 are in South Louisiana, 34 are white, and 21 are urban.

The majority of the mausoleums were established after 1960, and the number is still increasing. The awareness of many cemetery managers of the shortage of space in

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FIG. 24

FIG. 25
cemeteries, especially in urban areas, may have contributed to the recent proliferation. Building mausoleums is an expedient because churches and other cemetery owners profit by selling the space. In Ascension Catholic Cemetery (S12M1), for example, a bottom chamber of a six-story mausoleum sold for $1,740, while a top chamber for $1,240 in 1984. Catholics may have noticed the merits of mausoleums through frequent contact with people from other churches of the same diocese.

Their prior acceptance of above-ground vaults preadapted South Louisianians and Catholics for the introduction of mausoleums. They even make a mausoleum interment almost as prestigious as the interment in an above-ground vault. Mausoleums hardly reached North Louisiana, probably because people are much less accustomed to above-ground burials. More cemetery managers in North Louisiana are likely, however, to try to introduce mausoleums as profitable investments.

Black cemeteries are devoid of mausoleums, mainly because of the lack of money. Few black people can afford to purchase mausoleum spaces in Catholic cemeteries.

III-3 Vegetation

This section discusses vegetation of the cemetery. The element includes ground vegetation and trees.

Ground Vegetation. Like other parts of the United States, lawns are the typical cemetery vegetation in
Louisiana. While many have improved lawn grasses, some cemeteries grow wild grasses, occasionally mowed like lawn.

One notable exception to this pattern is the intentional removal of ground vegetation. People scrape or hoe the ground so that no weeds may grow. Although scraped-earth cemeteries used to be common in rural areas of the Upland South, they have become rare. Among the sample cemeteries in Louisiana, only five still have their grounds entirely scraped (Fig. 26). After the abandonment of scraping as a community activity, some families keep their own burial plots bare of grass in 20 cemeteries. The distribution of cemeteries with scraped plots corresponds to the area of greater region of entirely scraped cemeteries.

Scraped earth, either entirely or partially, is a trait of North Louisiana, Protestant, and of rural cemeteries. All scraped-earth cemeteries are rural North Louisiana Protestant. The traditional value for scraping among Upland Southerners has almost entirely vanished in urban areas and remains merely among some conservative rural folk.

Trees. Trees are grown in 76 percent of the cemeteries (Fig. 27). Significantly more North Louisiana cemeteries (86 percent) have trees than South Louisiana cemeteries (58 percent; chi-square = 24.5). The North-South contrast may be related to the natural vegetation. Treeless cemeteries are located mainly in the
FIG. 26

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FIG. 27

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prairies, swamp, and marsh regions, which generally have fewer natural forest trees. Cultural identification requires more detail analysis of each species.

The cedar (*Juniperus* sp.), often mentioned as "the cemetery tree," is the most popular tree in Louisiana cemeteries and is grown in 32 percent of the cemeteries (Fig. 28). It became the cemetery tree partly because it functionally replaced the yew tree of British Isles. The cedar was planted, as the yew, in pairs in cemeteries as well as in front of homes and churches. In both cases, the tree is associated with luck, friendship, and immortality (Cornish 1946). Paired cedar trees were observed in front of markers (Fig. 29), along the central passage (Fig. 30), and even as head and foot markers (Fig. 31). Cedar trees, however, are also planted individually or used in multitude as surrounding hedges of cemeteries.

Cedar trees are used in both Catholic and in Protestant cemeteries. White and black cemeteries, however, contrast in terms of the use of cedar trees. More white cemeteries (36 percent) planted cedar trees than black cemeteries (13 percent). Judging from the absence of paired cedar trees in black cemeteries, the cedar seems to have little symbolic value for blacks. This contrast indicates different cultures which derived from different origin of the people.

Crape myrtle (*Lagerstroemia indica*) is planted in 10 percent of the cemeteries. It is also more popular in
FIG. 28

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FIG. 29
FIG. 30

FIG. 31
Cedar trees used as head and foot markers. Old Sparta Cemetery (3D), Bienville Parish. March, 1985.
North Louisiana (Fig. 32). Twenty-two of 24 cemeteries with crape myrtle are in the north. Like cedar, crape myrtle is one of the ornamental trees favored by the Upland Southerners (Jeane 1978, p. 896; Jordan 1982, pp. 28-29).

Magnolia (*Magnolia grandiflora*), used in 7 percent of cemeteries, is distributed in both North and South Louisiana (Fig. 33). Magnolia is more often planted in urban cemeteries. Twelve of 17 cemeteries with magnolia are urban. Unlike cedar or crape myrtle, magnolia is not a traditional Upland South cemetery tree. Because it is the state tree of Louisiana, magnolia may have seemed a proper tree for the cemetery to urban elite cemetery designers.

Pine trees (*Pinus* spp.), grown in 11 percent of cemeteries, are distributed in both Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural cemeteries (Fig. 34). Although more pine trees are grown in North Louisiana cemeteries, it is notable that the majority occur in non-pine areas or the margins of pine regions. In the major pine wood regions, people plucked pine trees from the cemetery plot to plant cedar, crape myrtle, or other ornamental trees. Pine trees seem to have no symbolic value there. In non-pine area, by contrast, people may have planted pine trees. Although it is difficult to draw reliable conclusions from the limited research, symbolic value of the pine outside natural pine areas is worth investigating. One possible answer is that the pine has gained the status of immortality symbol like the cedar.
Louisiana Cemeteries

CRAPE MYRTLE TREES

- CATHOLIC
- WHITE PROTESTANT
- BLACK PROTESTANT
- JEWISH
- PARISH SEAT
- URBAN

FIG. 32

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FIG. 33

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FIG. 34
Live oak (*Quercus virginiana*), planted in 14 percent of the cemeteries, occurs more frequently in South Louisiana cemeteries, partly because it naturally grows south of the 30.5 degree latitude (Fig. 35). Live oak is usually favored by Lowland South planters, who often use the tree in plantation gardens and public parks, as well as in cemeteries. North of 30.5 degrees, the use of live oaks in cemeteries largely corresponds with the area of the Lowland South settlement. Two Episcopal cemeteries (S7G, S9K), representing Lowland South culture, have live oaks. They were deliberately planted because of the Lowland Southerners' strong preference for the live oak as a proper cemetery tree.

In summary, Upland Southerners favor cedar and crape myrtle trees as suitable cemetery trees. Urban elite cemetery designers tend to think it proper to plant the magnolia as a state symbol. Lowland Southerners have the desire for live oaks. Pine trees have little symbolic values for the people in the major pine wood regions. They may have, however, some significance where few pine trees naturally grow.

### III-4 Interment Forms

This study classifies all interments into three categories based upon the location of the casket in relation to the ground surface. These are above-ground burials, below-ground burials, and concrete vault burials.
FIG. 35
(Fig. 36). Above-ground burials take place in vaults constructed upon the ground surface (Fig. 37). They are made of bricks, stones, or concrete. Roof forms include flat-roof, stepped-roof, pitched-roof, and rounded-roof structures. The number of chambers in the majority of the tombs is one, two, or four. A variety of architectural styles, such as Greek Revival, Italianate, or Gothic Revival, are applied to the tombs of the wealthy families in urban areas, notably in New Orleans (McDowell 1974). Those stylistic features, however, are found in few rural cemeteries.

One of the distinctive characteristics of above-ground burial is the use of a chamber for successive burials. Several years after the burial (legally, at least one year), people reopen the tomb, take out the bones and remains from the casket, put them into the underground pit or push them to the rear of the chamber, and use the same space for a new corpse. The same family tomb is used for many generations in this manner (Fig. 38).

Below-ground burials lie completely beneath the ground surface. Usually, a four-to-six-foot deep grave is dug in which a concrete vault or a metal or wooden casket container is placed, and finally covered with one to four feet of earth. A fresh burial plot is usually mounded. Although the mound is kept for years in some traditional cemeteries, in most cemeteries the ground is made flat and a lawn grown over it (Fig. 39).
FIG. 37

FIG. 38
FIG. 39

FIG. 40
Masonry curbing, commonly and legally called "coping," is a popular structure at the burial plot (Fig. 40). The coping is used not only for marking the individual plot, but also for grouping family graves (Fig. 41). Some copings are filled with sand, gravel, or marble chips. Instead of coping, some people place a masonry slab at the burial (Fig. 42).

A new form of below-ground burial is the use of an underground crypt (Fig. 43). The underground crypt consists of a two-foot-deep square hole completely sealed with concrete. After a casket is placed in the underground crypt, concrete slabs cover the crypt as lids, and finally marble chips are placed on the slabs. Some graves have large granite slabs as lids instead of concrete slabs.

The false crypt is a structure of brick, stone, or concrete, built up above the ground surface to cover below-ground interment (Fig. 44). The actual casket is located four to six feet below the ground. Many of these structures are difficult to distinguish from above-ground vaults without asking the native people.

The grave shed is a small house built over the below-ground burial site. It occurs only in a few cemeteries in Louisiana. Traditional grave sheds cover scraped burial plots (Fig. 45). The roof is made of wooden shingles or, later, tin; the sides are either left open or covered with weatherboard siding.

The forms of some grave sheds reflect the period of
FIG. 41
Burials grouped by copings. Mt. Olivet Cemetery (S7G), Rapides Parish. August, 1985.

FIG. 42
Concrete slabs. Mt. Olivet Cemetery (S7G), Rapides Parish. August, 1985.
FIG. 43

FIG. 44

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FIG. 45

FIG. 46
the establishment in some stylistic features. A grave shed established in 1894 in Pine Grove Cemetery in Vernon Parish has decorative cutwork on the ends of the pickets that reflects the late Victorian style (Fig. 46). A grave shed built in 1932 in Prewitts Chapel Cemetery (7C) has exposed rafters, characteristics of the Bungalow style (Fig. 47). A structure of 1954 in Pleasant Hill Cemetery (1B) has an aluminum roof and granite columns (Fig. 48).

The depth of a burial depends upon the interment form. Six feet has been the most traditional depth of the burial. People in New Orleans and some other parts of South Louisiana have traditionally dug four feet. Based upon the traditional practice, Louisiana statutes determined in 1974 that the underground interment should be sufficiently deep to allow for at least two feet of soil to cover the entire area of the casket (Revised Statutes 1983, 8:13, Section 902). Since 1974, four feet has been gaining popularity because it is legally permitted.

The same law made the coping, underground crypt, and concrete vault the exceptions to the rule; the law follows custom. Although the majority of coping burials are four to six feet deep, underground crypts take place in two foot deep holes. The depths of concrete vault burials ranges from zero to six feet.

The concrete vault is a manufactured casket container. It is normally placed below ground, but also occurs partially or wholly above the ground surface (Fig. 49). In
FIG. 47

FIG. 48
FIG. 49

FIG. 50
this study, "concrete vault burial" signifies an interment that is at least partially visible; it excludes those placed completely below ground.

The origin of the concrete vault remains obscure, but it was evidently used in New Orleans in 1920 (personal correspondence, Henri Gandolfo, 1985). Its popularity has been increasing since 1930. Since the 1960s, people in South Louisiana have begun to place one concrete vault upon another (Fig. 50). This double concrete vault has become increasingly popular since 1980.

**Above-ground burials.** Above-ground burials are distributed mainly in South Louisiana (Fig. 51). Fifty percent of South Louisiana cemeteries have at least 10 percent above-ground burials, while only 1 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have 10 percent or more above-ground burials (chi-square = 83.2).

North-South contrast is attributed to the different cultures (value tendencies), not to minor premises, although popular belief states that high water table caused above-ground vaults. This popular belief presupposes that people could not fulfill their desire for below-ground interments because of the high water table; they had no alternative but to accept above-ground burials. The fallacy for this reasoning is twofold.

First, the below-ground burial was possible in all sample cemeteries. All cemeteries contain below-ground burials because it was feasible. More burials are
ABOVE-GROUND BURIALS

- □ 10 percent or more
- □ □ Less than 10 percent
- □ □ □ Absent
- □ □ □ □ Only after 1930

Legend:
- CATHOLIC
- WHITE PROTESTANT
- BLACK PROTESTANT
- JEWISH
- PARISH SEAT
- URBAN

FIG. 51

50 miles
80 kilometers
below-ground than above-ground in the majority of the cemeteries. Even in the area of very low elevation, above-ground burial is not always a dominant form of interment. Among 31 cemeteries separately surveyed in New Orleans, only 11 cemeteries consist predominantly of above-ground vaults. High water table could not be their minor premise because they could bury the deceased below the ground if they desired.

Second, oral and material evidence indicates that many people in South Louisiana regard the above-ground burial as an ideal form of interment. The majority of the informants expressed their preference for above-ground vaults. Some stated that they would build above-ground vaults if they had sufficient money. The cost of an average two-story above-ground vault with two chambers in Ascension Catholic Cemetery (S12M1), for example, was $3,000 in 1985, whereas that of a concrete vault was $500. People placed concrete vaults above ground as alternatives to above-ground vaults. Above-ground vaults were not their necessity, but their desire.

The high water table, however, may have contributed to creating their desire. Many natives fear the saturation of the casket by high water table. The fear of high water for the people in the flood plain may have derived from the experience of the flood. Funeral directors, from the intention of earning better profit, may have recommended above-ground vaults by emphasizing the fear of the high
water table. The high water table itself did not, as a minor premise, cause the acceptance of above-ground vaults, but the fear of high water table may have contributed to the desire for above-ground vaults as a major premise.

The origin of above-ground vaults lies more likely in Spain than in France. New Orleans Creoles did not introduce above-ground burials. St. Peter Street Cemetery, the first recorded cemetery in New Orleans, was established in the 1720s under French colonial government. It then consisted solely of below-ground burials (Huber 1974, p.4). Nor did Cajuns bring the custom from Nova Scotia, for above-ground burials are not among the traditions of French Canada. The distribution of above-ground vaults in the world are Mediterranean parts of Europe, Caribbean, Middle America, and parts of South America where the Spanish influences are evident (personal correspondence, Robert C. West, 1985).

The first documented cemetery with above-ground vaults is St. Louis I Cemetery in New Orleans, established in 1789 after the Spanish colonial government had taken over rule of New Orleans. The Spanish designer of the cemetery probably introduced the above-ground vaults into St. Louis I Cemetery. The Protestant section of the cemetery, however, includes some below-ground burials, which shows that some Anglo-Saxons did not accept the custom in the beginning. The above-ground vaults became common in both Catholic and Protestant cemeteries for whites and blacks in New Orleans in the nineteenth century. Above-ground vault
became a status symbol for New Orleans except for the Jews, who maintained their identity and religion without being "polluted" by Gentile customs.

Above-ground vaults in other parts of Louisiana probably resulted from the acceptance of the knowledge and values originated from New Orleans. New Orleans was the provincial and state capital between 1718 and 1813, and between 1862 and 1882. It has been also an economic center of Louisiana through which commodities flow. Above all, New Orleans has been the seat of the Catholic Archdiocese of Louisiana; religious customs have tended to be readily accepted by Catholics in other parts of Louisiana. By the end of the nineteenth century, the value for the above-ground burials had taken root among the people in South Louisiana.

Urban people may have more readily accepted the custom than the conservative rural people. Now, 76 percent of the urban and 31 percent of the rural cemeteries in South Louisiana have at least 10 percent above ground burials.

North Louisiana people did not accept above-ground vaults in the nineteenth century, probably because of their religious enmity with Catholics, lack of communication with South Louisiana, and because of their conservatism. More positively, they had a strong preconditioned value that the burials must be six-foot deep.

Since 1930, however, the practice of the above-ground burial has been spreading to the urban areas of North
Louisiana (Fig. 51). The above-ground burials in North Louisiana are mainly along the Mississippi, Ouachita, and Red River where some French, blacks, or Lowland Southerners live. Upland Southerners still seem to have a strong resistance to the above-ground interment. Although above-ground burials rarely exceed 10 percent of the total burials, 59 percent of urban and 11 percent of rural cemeteries in North Louisiana have above-ground burials (Table 8). For North Louisiana people, it has gradually become an alternative form of fashionable burial. The construction of an above-ground vault may be the expression of the desire of a person who wants to be different from other North Louisiana people. The multiple burial practice of New Orleans, however, is not accepted in North Louisiana cemeteries.

Concrete vault burials. Concrete vault burials are distributed throughout South Louisiana (Fig. 52). Whereas only 16 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have 20 percent or more concrete vault burials, 84 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries have at least 20 percent concrete vault burials (chi-square = 108.6). Concrete vaults are used not only among Catholic cemeteries, but also in white and black Protestant cemeteries in and around South Louisiana. The custom of placing concrete vaults at least partially above the ground derived from the desire of people who wanted above-ground vaults, but could not afford them. More black cemeteries (50 percent), consequently,
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ABOVE-GROUND BURIAL</th>
<th>NORTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>SOUTH LOUISIANA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RURAL(%)</td>
<td>URBAN(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RURAL(%)</td>
<td>URBAN(%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRESENT</td>
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<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AT LEAST 10 %</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIG. 52
have 20 percent or more concrete vault burials than white cemeteries (28 percent; chi-square = 9.4).

Until the early twentieth century, below-ground burials dominated the majority of South Louisiana cemeteries. The introduction of concrete vaults, however, has extensively changed the cemetery landscape there. Although the custom of placing concrete vaults partially above the ground is widespread throughout the United States, its popularity in South Louisiana is far beyond the average.

The public desire for above-ground vaults is reflected in the concrete vault forms. In Catholic cemeteries, the majority of the vaults are whitewashed like above-ground vaults. White vaults, according to Catholic laymen and priests, look sacred and suitable for Catholic cemeteries.

The double concrete vault also manifests the value for the above-ground vault. People often explain the reason as the lack of land or as the desire for the deceased to be buried close to the spouse. Observation shows, however, that there is often a wide space left next to the old concrete vault. Many churches offer the cemetery lot without charge to the adherents, thus the economy does not explain the existence.

The distribution of the double concrete vault is strictly in South Louisiana except for two cemeteries in Baton Rouge (S11L1, 11L; Fig. 53). More black cemeteries (24 percent) have double concrete vaults than white
FIG. 53

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cemeteries (17 percent). In racially mixed Catholic cemeteries, more blacks tend to have double concrete vaults than whites. The double concrete vault seems to be the expression of blacks' desire for the above-ground vault.

Below-ground burials. The below-ground burial is the most common form of burial in the United States and occurs in all sample cemeteries in Louisiana. The percentage of the below-ground burials, however, contrasts clearly between North and South Louisiana cemeteries (Fig. 54). Whereas 94 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have more below-ground burials than non-below-ground burials, non-below-ground burials dominate 81 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries (chi-square = 140.4).

Distribution of below-ground burials clearly shows that this burial form identifies North Louisiana (a spatial group) instead of that of Protestant (a topical group). Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana (5D, 6B) have at least 70 percent below-ground burials, while the majority of Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana have less than 30 percent below-ground burials. The category of 50 to 69 percent below-ground burials is distributed mainly in the boundary region between the north and the south.

Originally, the majority of South Louisiana cemeteries consisted mostly of below-ground burials. The introduction of concrete vault burials, however, led to the materialization of the people's desire for above-ground interment in a substituted form. North Louisiana people,
by contrast, have maintained their value that below-ground burials are fit for the cemetery.

III-5 Grave Structures

Grave structures are material constructions that cover below-ground burials. They include copings, slabs, false crypts, and grave sheds. Grave structures are the result of individual or family decisions, while cemetery structures resulted from the decisions of the cemetery owners.

**Copings.** The coping is a material culture of North Louisiana, white, and urban cemeteries (Fig. 55). Among them the urban-rural contrast is the most significant (chi-square = 20.6). While 38 percent of rural cemeteries have copings, 69 percent of urban cemeteries contain copings. Urban cemeteries, especially in North Louisiana, tend to be subdivided into family burial plots by copings. This urban-rural contrast is derived from the different requirements of legal order. In rural areas, people can identify the boundary between one burial and another without written codes. Urban people, however, must express their claim with such tangible forms as copings.

The contrast between white cemeteries (54 percent) and black cemeteries (29 percent) is also related to the black's small community orientation which does not require legal expression of territoriality. Apparent lack of orderly concern in black cemeteries, however, also suggests
the black's less emphasis on regular arrangement.

Distribution of copings also shows a rather distinctive pattern. More North Louisiana cemeteries (56 percent) have copings than South Louisiana cemeteries (34 percent), indicating that the coping is the trait of North Louisiana. The majority of copings in South Louisiana, however, are curiously confined to the area along the Mississippi and Bayou Lafouche, while only a few copings exist west of the Atchafalaya.

Those patterns seem to indicate that this North Louisiana trait has diffused from the Florida Parishes into the area along the Mississippi River. Further examination, however, indicates that the copings along the Mississippi River are the result of the diffusion from New Orleans.

Copings, which are numerous in New Orleans, have different forms from those in North Louisiana. The majority of the copings in New Orleans are raised one-to-three feet above the ground (Fig. 56). Although the origin of the New Orleans coping is not certain, its possible introducers are Jews. Although some Jewish cemeteries are located in the poorly drained area of the city, they have never established above-ground vaults. City ordinance of New Orleans in 1831, however, ordered that graves had to be dug not less than four feet (New Orleans City Ordinance 1831, Burial Grounds, Art. 4). The raised coping may have been their alternative means to fulfill the legal requirement.
FIG. 56

FIG. 57
Jews in New Orleans already had the knowledge of copings as did those of other parts of Louisiana. They probably reinterpreted the ordinance that the depth could be measured from the ground surface even if they raised it by adding earth. They dug merely two feet for the burial, but they built the coping raised two feet above the ground. The bottom of the casket, as a result, came to rest four feet from the top of the coping.

The custom was accepted by non-Jewish people in New Orleans. Unlike Jews, however, Gentiles used copings for multiple burials like above-ground vaults. Several years after the burial, family digs out the casket, takes out the bones and remains, drop them in the hole, and place a new casket on top of it. Each raised coping, for New Orleans Gentiles, is a family grave for generations. Some Catholics whitewash copings like above-ground vaults. Since the improvement of the drainage system in the twentieth century, the majority of the graves are literally dug four feet, and new copings are not as high as t’ old ones.

Whitewashed copings in other parts of South Louisiana resemble those in New Orleans more than those in North Louisiana, although they are not as high (Fig. 57). Unlike New Orleans, however, caskets are traditionally placed four-to-six feet below the ground. Multiple burial practices could be identified in the sample only in the New Orleans area (13P, S13P2) and in Lafayette (S12I). This
phenomenon indicates that a style can diffuse out of its original context.

Scarcity of copings in western South Louisiana requires further investigation for its interpretation. One of the reasons is that many copings in that area are filled with concrete; it was difficult to distinguish copings from concrete slabs.

Copings contrast regionally not only in height, but also in the material that fills the coping. Sand is used for the filling only in North Louisiana (Fig. 58). All but one cemetery where sand filling occurs are rural. Using sand probably derives from the same value as scraping the burial plot, as sand will keep the ground ungrassed and make the appearance "clean" to the Upland South rural folk. Because the coping prevents the encroachment of grasses, it became a solution to maintain the scraped-earth appearance of the burial plot in the cemetery even where cemetery working days have disappeared.

Marble chip fillings, by contrast, are used both in North and South Louisiana (Fig. 59). Statistical North-South contrast derives from the contrast of coping frequencies of those areas rather than the filling itself. Marble chip seems to have different meaning between North and South Louisiana. North Louisiana cemeteries use marble chip as a modern alternative to the scraped ground. South Louisiana people use marble chip, partly because the white color matches the whitewashed copings and the neighboring

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COPINGS WITH SAND FILLING

FIG. 58
COPINGS WITH MARBLE CHIP FILLING

FIG. 59

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white above-ground and concrete vaults.

Slabs. The category of slabs includes not only prefabricated slabs placed upon the burial plot, but also copings with concrete filling, for it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them.

The inability to separate different kinds of slabs leads to a rather ambiguous regional pattern (Fig. 60). In general, the precast concrete slabs prevail in North Louisiana, while concrete-filled copings dominate South Louisiana. This contrasting distribution indicates that the concrete-filled coping is regarded as different from other kinds of copings.

Concrete-filled copings are fairly recent practices spread along with concrete vaults. The burial plot with a concrete-filled coping appears similar to one with the lid of a concrete vault projecting partially above the ground surface. Some people paint the concrete-filled coping white as their neighbors do the above-ground vaults or concrete vaults. Those similarities between above-ground vaults, concrete vaults, copings, and slabs lead to the assumption that the people in South Louisiana think it proper to mark the burial plots with traits characteristic of vaults.

Most of the simple slabs are made of concrete, although some urban cemeteries contain marble or granite slabs. Unlike whitewashed concrete-filled copings in South Louisiana, slabs in North Louisiana are rarely painted.
North Louisiana people do not attach special symbolic value to the paint colors.

**False crypts.** False crypts may have remained unidentified in South Louisiana, where it is difficult to distinguish false crypts from single level above-ground vaults. The result, therefore, may be invalid for statistical comparison.

According to the limited findings, false crypts are found in both Catholic and Protestant and white and black cemeteries (Fig. 61). As the false crypt is reported in East Texas, Kentucky, and South Carolina (Jordan 1982, pp. 18-19), it may be a material culture trait of the South generally. Further interpretation requires additional investigation over wider areas.

**Grave sheds.** Very few grave sheds could be found in Louisiana. Only six cemeteries in the sample contain grave sheds (Fig. 62). All are North Louisiana, Protestant, and white cemeteries. Five of six cemeteries are located in rural areas and are isolated from the main roads.

Grave sheds have traditionally been few. Few people knew the existence of grave sheds even in the area close to the cemeteries with grave sheds. A few local informants indicated some more grave sheds in Vernon, Natchitoches, and Sabine parishes. A few grave sheds that had existed in East Feliciana and some other Florida Parishes had vanished by the early 1970s.

Grave sheds are distributed sparcely in the Upland
South (Fig. 63). They are found in the Appalachian areas of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee, and the Upland South area of the Mississippi, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas. The distribution seems to indicate that grave sheds are material culture traits of Upland Southerners and Indians, although they are not numerous.

### III-6 Grave Arrangement

This section discusses three aspects of the grave arrangement pattern: (1) grave orientation, (2) husband-wife arrangement, and (3) family groupings.

**Grave orientation.** Previous studies have indicated that traditional Upland South cemeteries are distinct in the orientation of their constituent burials. Graves are arranged along an east-west axis, with the feet pointing toward the east (Jeane 1969, p. 40; Jordan 1982, p. 30). Catholic cemeteries, by contrast, tend to have the grave arranged as a matter of convenience (Jordan 1982, p. 70). Hannon also reported that the Catholic cemeteries in West Pennsylvania are less likely to have their graves arranged along an east-west axis (1973, p. 34; personal correspondence, 1985).

Feet-to-east burials are widespread not only in the United States, but also in Great Britain, Mediterranean Europe, Northwestern Europe, and parts of Africa (Jordan 1982, p. 30). Whatever the origin of this custom is, the continuation of the feet-to-east burial practice in North
GRAVESHEDS IN THE SOUTH

Modified from Jordan, 1982

FIG. 63

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Louisiana seems to be related to the literal interpretation of the Bible, a characteristic of evangelical Protestantism. It is often explained by the natives that this orientation is so that the body will rise to meet Christ when he comes from the east.

This study defines a feet-to-east cemetery as a cemetery with at least 90 percent of graves with feet directing between magnetic north 60 degrees east and south 60 degrees east. With this definition, contrasts between North and South Louisiana, and between Catholic and Protestant are extremely evident (Fig. 64). Ninety-three percent of North Louisiana cemeteries follow feet-to-east, while 31 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries have feet-to-east orientation (chi-square = 102.8). Feet-to-east orientation, however, more likely represents Protestant than North Louisiana identity. While 90 percent of Protestant cemeteries follow feet-to-east orientation, only 13 percent of Catholic cemeteries are feet-to-east (chi-square = 132.1). The popularity of the feet-to-east orientation among Protestants may be attributed to their religious emphasis on resurrection. The body must be maintained, for "the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible" (I Corinthians 15:52).

The acceptance of the trait of another religious group is found at the proximity to different groups. Four of the eight feet-to-east Catholic cemeteries lie in North Louisiana or near the North-South boundary (5D, 10F, 10G,
FIG. 64
Crowley (S12G) and Patterson (14K) are in areas formerly dominated by Anglo-Saxons and Midwesterners. The shifting identity may be because people acquired the alternative idea through the contact with another group.

South Louisiana Protestants have less feet-to-east cemeteries than North Louisiana Protestants (Table 9). All non-feet-to-east Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana belong to blacks. This pattern seems to indicate that black people in South Louisiana tend to express the identity of the Catholics predominant in the area.

Some Protestant cemeteries in North Louisiana are close to feet-to-east, although they are not feet-to-east by definition. In four cemeteries near Red River (2A, S2A, 7F, S7G), graves face northeast. This orientation may be because people arranged the graves perpendicular to the Red River. As local people think that Red River flows from north to south, the line perpendicular to the river represents east-west axis for the grave arrangement.

Husband-wife arrangement. Jordan (1982, pp. 31-32) states that the traditional position of the husband's burial is to the right of the wife in the majority of Texas Anglo-Saxon cemeteries. This custom, according to Jordan, derives from a British Christian folk belief that Eve was created from the left rib of Adam.

This study labeled a cemetery as "wife buried left of husband" when at least 70 percent of husband and wife graves follow this pattern. Limitation of time, however,
TABLE 9
FEET-TO-EAST CEMETERIES BY GROUP

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CATHOLIC (%)</th>
<th>PROTESTANT (%)</th>
<th>TOTAL (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
made the survey far from exhaustive.

The resulting distribution shows that at least 14 white Protestant cemeteries in North Louisiana follow this pattern (Fig. 65). This frequency does not, however, lead to the conclusion that "wife buried left of husband" is the trait of North Louisiana, Protestant, or white cemeteries in Louisiana. First, the number of cemeteries following this pattern is small. Second, few people questioned thought that such a pattern exists. Third, all cemeteries have exceptions. There may be as many cemeteries with a "wife buried right of husband" pattern, but this item was not surveyed.

This result does not show that "wife buried left of husband" is the trait exclusively of the white Protestants. As the majority of black cemeteries are largely devoid of headmarkers, it was impossible to identify the pattern. Cemetery with above-ground vaults are not suitable subjects of this survey because the concept of left or right does not obtain.

This study neither refutes nor supports the idea that the "wife buried left of husband" pattern can be applied to Louisiana, but it did fail to identify the pattern as strong, even in North Louisiana or Protestant cemeteries.

Family groupings. Families are often grouped into one unit by copings, slabs, fences, or above-ground vaults. "Grouped burials at least 50 percent" is a trait of South Louisiana, Catholic, white, or urban cemeteries (Fig. 66).
WIFE BURIED
LEFT OF HUSBAND

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

FIG. 65
BURIALS GROUPED

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

percent
■ 50 - 95
■ 30 - 49
□ 0 - 29

FIG. 66

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The dominant grouping form of South Louisiana or Catholic cemeteries is the above-ground vault, while that of North Louisiana or Protestant cemeteries is the coping. South Louisiana or Catholic people prefer being interred in a family tomb. By applying multiple burial practices, the family is united in the same tomb for many generations. North Louisiana or Protestant people, by contrast, express more individuality. Each corpse has its own burial spot, loosely connected with others by the coping.

The strongest contrast is found between urban and rural cemeteries. Forty percent of urban cemeteries as compared with 6 percent of rural cemeteries have their burials grouped at least 50 percent (chi-square = 40.5).

In North Louisiana, urban cemeteries have more copings than rural cemeteries. Urban people require the official claim of the family burial plots, while intimacy among rural people makes formal claim unnecessary. Some urban cemeteries were first neatly subdivided into family burial plots in which copings were established before burial took place. Rural cemeteries still prefer traditional individual burials. Contrary to the common perception (e.g., Jordan 1982, p. 31), the subdivision of the cemetery into family plots is not a universal custom in the Upland South.

In South Louisiana, urban cemeteries have more above-ground vaults than rural cemeteries. Rural cemeteries have more concrete vaults and concrete-filled
copings than above-ground vaults. Although copings and double concrete vaults are gaining popularity, they still contribute less to the grouping than above-ground vaults.

The white-black contrast is also vivid. All cemeteries with at least 50 percent of their burials grouped are white dominant; no black cemetery has more grouped burials than ungrouped burials. Black cemeteries in North Louisiana have fewer grouped copings. Graves are arranged without geometric order, except for following feet-to-east orientation. South Louisiana black cemeteries have fewer above-ground vaults than white cemeteries in the same area. Recent popularization of double concrete vaults still has little effect for increasing the percentage of grouped burials.

III-7 Grave Decorations

It is reported that some traditional Upland South cemeteries contain bare-earth mound burials decorated with a variety of items, such as bottles, razors, tea sets, chairs, broken crockery, pieces of glass, coffee cans, pitchers of water, and flags (Jeane 1969, p. 41; Jordan 1982, pp. 19-21). Although native informants spoke of the existence of such cemeteries in the Florida Parishes and Vernon Parish, the typical one could not be found in the survey. It is likely that the tradition has been discontinued because the appearance of such graves embarrasses the current generation. This section discusses
decoration forms that could be identified through the survey. The items include shell, toy, and flower-pot decorations and photographs of the deceased decorating tombstones.

**Shell decorations.** One of the most striking decorative forms of the grave is the use of shells, which include clam, mussel, conch, oyster, and cowrie shells. If shells are used at all, they most frequently cover the burial mound (Fig. 67). Some shells are placed on a coping or on a tombstone (Fig. 68).

Jordan (1982, pp. 21-23) shows that the shell-decorated graves are distributed all across the Coastal plain, from the Carolina Tidewater to Central Texas, in Anglo-Saxon, German, Mexican, and, less frequently, in black and Indian cemeteries. In Louisiana, shell-decorated graves are not numerous, but more occur in North Louisiana (16 percent) than in South Louisiana (4 percent; Fig. 69).

The contrast is also found between white and black cemeteries. Whereas 15 percent of white cemeteries contain shell decorations, no black cemeteries studied have shell-decorated graves (chi-square = 10.3). The shell decoration seems to be a material culture of North Louisiana whites.

**Toy decoration.** Toys may be used for the decoration of child burials. Ceramic animal figures, such as puppies, deer, and frogs, are the most common decorations (Figs.
FIG. 67
Clam shells on burial mounds. Union Spring Cemetery (1C), Webster Parish. March, 1985.

FIG. 68

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Louisiana Cemeteries

SHELL DECORATIONS

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

FIG. 69

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Although toy decorated graves are too few to validate chi-square tests, the distribution suggests that the toy decoration is a trait of North Louisiana, white, and rural cemeteries (Fig. 72).

**Flower pot decorations.** A few cemeteries contain grave mounds with two to eight, most often four, flower pots (Fig. 73). In South Louisiana, flower pots are arranged on concrete vaults (Fig. 74). The pots, usually wrapped with aluminum foil, contain fresh or plastic flowers.

The distribution of this flower pot decoration shows two areas of concentration: the northwestern part of Louisiana and the lower Florida Parishes (Fig. 75). Flower pot decorations are also found in some non-sample black cemeteries in Ascension, St. James, and St. John the Baptist parishes on the east of the Mississippi. This local distribution pattern is likely an expression of the local group identities.

Although it is difficult to read the distribution, some interpretations are possible. First, flower pot decorations developed independently in the two areas. Second, the practice of one area was transplanted by an individual to another area. Third, flower pot decorations used to be practiced in several areas of North Louisiana, but only two areas maintain the practice. More investigations are required for further discussions.
FIG. 70

FIG. 71
FIG. 72

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FIG. 73

FIG. 74
Photographs of the deceased. Photographs of the deceased have gained popularity since the 1960s. A photograph of an individual or of husband and wife in a special oval mount is attached on a tombstone. The recent proliferation may signify the people's increasing desire for expressing their own existence, as well as keen salesmanship.

Photograph decorations are more common in white graves than black ones (Fig. 76). Fifty-seven percent of white cemeteries have photograph decorations, while only 6 percent of black cemeteries contain them (chi-square = 44.9). The contrast may be attributed to economic differences between the two groups, considering the fact that many black graves are still unmarked.

Catholic-Protestant variation is also significant. While 34 percent of Protestant cemeteries contain photograph decorations, 73 percent of Catholic cemeteries have photograph decorations (chi-square = 27.6). The popularity among Catholics may be related to their religious value that respects saints' figures. This distribution also indicates some local concentrations in the Marksville area (7H, 7I, S8H, S1). Although it may partly resulted from the local salesmanship, it is also possible to assume local group identities in these areas.

III-8 Grave Markers

Although the focus of the graveyard scholars'
PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DECEASED

- 2 percent or more
- Less than 2 percent
- Absent

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

FIG. 76

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attention has been on tombstones, it must be realized that some graves lack markers (Jeane 1972, p. 147). Markers, moreover, are not only stones, but also wood, natural rock crosses, and statues. This section, therefore, first identifies unmarked graves and head and foot markers and then discusses marking forms that include wood, natural rock, cross, statue, reliquary, fraternal, and commercial markers.

Unmarked graves. The unmarked graves characterize black cemeteries (Fig. 77). While all white cemeteries have more marked than unmarked graves, 58 percent of black cemeteries are predominantly unmarked (chi-square = 121.9). Two cemeteries (5K, 9I) are completely devoid of markers. Black cemeteries with few marked graves often look chaotic. Although they usually arrange the graves with the feet-to-east orientation, the arrangement of the graves does not follow a geometric pattern. New burials are identified by the mounds and the remnants of plastic flowers that were used for the funeral. Years after the burial, the grave site becomes a hole as the wooden casket container collapses with the weight of the earth.

Unmarked graves in black cemeteries mainly resulted from the low economic status of the blacks. They apparently have the desire for the marker, but they could not fulfill it because they could not afford to purchase markers.

The possibility exists, however, that their desire for
Louisiana Cemeteries

UNMARKED GRAVES
At Least 50 Percent

FIG. 77
the marker is weaker than that of the white.
Identification of individuals after death may be less significant for blacks than whites. More blacks could place wooden, steel, natural rock, or some other inexpensive markers if their motive were strong. Lack of orderly care tends to support the assumption. Plastic flowers are often left on the burials long after the funeral. No marking may result in the unconscious digging of a new grave where another corpse lies. Cultural identification through unmarked graves requires more subtle observation.

**Head and foot markers.** Some burials have both head and foot markers. The head marker is usually larger and more elaborate than the foot marker. The commercial head marker usually contains the inscription of at least the dates of birth and death and the name of the deceased, while the commercial footstone has the person's initial.

The use of both head and foot markers is less common than the use of the head marker alone. Head and foot markers are dominant grave marking forms only in 16 cemeteries. Forty-four percent of the sample cemeteries, however, have at least 10 percent of head and foot markers (Fig. 78).

The contrast between North and South Louisiana is evident. The majority of North Louisiana cemeteries (69 percent) have at least 10 percent of graves with head and foot markers, whereas only 2 percent of South Louisiana
FIG. 78

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cemeteries have 10 percent or more (chi-square = 101.2). This pattern resulted from the dominant use of above-ground and concrete vaults in South Louisiana. The vault itself functions as a permanent burial marker. It does not merely mark the head and foot of the burial site; it marks the complete area of the burial. People in South Louisiana do not desire to place the unfunctional footmarker with the extra cost.

The difference between white and black cemeteries is also significant. Fifty-five percent of white as compared with 12 percent of black cemeteries have at least 10 percent of graves with head and foot markers. This is largely attributed to the fact that blacks have less tendency to mark the grave.

Wooden board markers. Several forms of non-commercial marker can be found in rural cemeteries in Louisiana. In Old Sparta Cemetery (3D), for example, natural rock, wood, iron machine parts, pipe, steel, and even cedar trees are used as markers (Figs. 31, 79, 80). In black cemeteries, home-made concrete markers are often used (Fig. 81). In South Louisiana, iron, concrete, or wooden crosses are the common markers both in Catholic and in black Protestant cemeteries (Fig. 82).

One of the traditional forms of non-commercial markers is the wooden board: pine, cedar, or cypress. Most commonly, the sawn board is shaped to be a rounded tablet (Fig. 83). Some forms, however, are uniquely seen in
FIG. 79

FIG. 80
FIG. 81
A home-made concrete marker in a black cemetery.

FIG. 82
WOODEN MARKER FORMS

FIG. 83
wooden board markers. They consist of a wide top and bottom, and a narrow central section. The top section is either square, round, or lozenge-shaped. T-shaped wooden boards are also found.

Wooden boards are distributed in both North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural cemeteries (Fig. 84). There are no special regional patterns except for some concentration in the St. Tammany and Plaquemines parishes.

Natural rock markers. Another traditional non-commercial marker is natural rock, which is more durable than the wooden board. Stones are crudely worked and often devoid of inscription. One notable kind of natural rock markers is that of iron rock (Fig. 85). Iron rock is a dark reddish-brown, fine-to-medium-grained, highly ferruginous sandstone, which was used not only for tombstone, but also for the piers of houses, chimneys, well curbings, stone steps, syrup mills, and storm cellars in the nineteenth century in North Louisiana around Lincoln Parish (McCarter and Kniffen 1955).

The distinctive concentration of natural rock markers in North Louisiana derives from physical condition rather than from the people's value. Among 21 cemeteries with natural rock markers, 20 are on hills where rock is easily available (Fig. 86). Iron rock is used mostly on or near Cook Mountain Formation, which is the most abundant source of the iron rock. People in South Louisiana did not use
FIG. 84

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FIG. 85

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FIG. 86
natural rock, probably because it was not readily available.

Cross markers. Catholics and Protestants attach contrasting symbolic values to the use of the cross markers. Although the cross is favored by Catholics of any ethnic background, Protestants tend to avoid it, regarding the cross marker as the symbol of Catholicism (Burgess 1963, p. 35). The use of the cross has been considered as taboo for Protestants of the Upland South (Jordan 1982, pp. 50-51). This tendency is remarkably evident also in Louisiana (Fig. 87). Whereas 90 percent of Catholic cemeteries have 10 percent or more graves with crosses, only 10 percent of Protestant cemeteries have 10 percent or more graves displaying crosses (chi-square = 135.0).

The contrast between North and South Louisiana is almost as significant as the Catholic-Protestant difference. Seventy-six percent of South Louisiana as compared with 4 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have at least 10 percent of graves with cross markers (chi-square = 134.2). Catholics in North Louisiana tend to have fewer cross markers, while Protestants in South Louisiana have more cross markers (Table 10). Frequent contact with the people of other religious affiliation, including inter-religious marriage, seems to have induced the identification shift in terms of the use of crosses.

Crucifix markers show the similar distribution to that of "cross markers at least 10 percent" except for their
CROSS MARKERS
At Least 10 Percent

FIG. 87
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CATHOLIC(%)</th>
<th>PROTESTANT(%)</th>
<th>TOTAL(%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
paucity in black cemeteries (Fig. 88). Only one crucifix marker could be found in a black cemetery in St. Mary Parish (13J). Other Protestant cemeteries with crucifix markers also lie in the proximity to South Louisiana.

Crucifix markers are usually few. Thirty-four percent of Catholic cemeteries have no crucifix markers. Among 46 cemeteries with crucifixes, 29 (65 percent) have five or fewer, and 14 (30 percent) have only one in each cemetery. One exception in the sample, Our Lady of Prompt Succor Cemetery (13P), has 76 crucifix markers, most of which are attached to new standardized above-ground vaults.

Although the use of the crucifix marker is a traditional practice among Catholics, the majority of the crucifixes were established after 1960. Some types of catalogued commercial above-ground vaults, already equipped with crucifix, have led to recent increase of its use.

**Statue markers.** Catholics characteristically favor statues as grave markers or decorations, but Protestants tend to avoid statues that they believe to represent Catholicism. Whereas 75 percent of Catholic cemeteries have at least one percent graves with statues, only 10 percent of Protestant cemeteries have as many as one percent of graves with statues (chi-square = 97.0; Fig. 89).

More than half of the statues are Madonna figures (Fig. 90). They are used not only among Catholics, but also among black Protestants in South Louisiana. Angel
FIG. 88

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FIG. 89

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FIG. 90

FIG. 91
An angel statue as a child grave's marker. Magnolia Cemetery (S11L1), Baton Rouge. August, 1984.
statues, the second most popular figure, are used by a few white and black Protestants, as well as by Catholics (Fig. 91). Christ and Christian saints' statues are exclusively for Catholics, plus a few black Protestant exceptions.

Reliquary markers. A few Catholic graves have miniature shrines or small reliquaries as grave markers. The forms include round or square concrete structures, gabled or flat roofed wooden boxes, and built-in shrines inside crosses (Figs. 92-95). Some of them have Madonna or Christ statues in the structures, while others have plastic flowers. Unlike colorful reliquaries of Mexican cemeteries in Texas (Jordan 1982, p. 79), the structure in Louisiana is painted white only.

In Louisiana, reliquaries are found solely on Catholic graves (Fig. 96). Although they are not numerous, 50 percent of Catholic cemeteries have at least one reliquary.

Fraternal markers. Some fraternities offer distinctive forms of markers or symbols. The most notable marker is that of Woodmen of the World (WOW), a benefit life insurance society. A typical WOW monument is the form of a truncated tree with a society symbol (Fig. 97). In South Louisiana, a monument with a cross is most often used as a Catholic variation (Fig. 98).

WOW monuments are distributed both in North and South Louisiana (Fig. 99). While 80 percent of urban cemeteries contain WOW markers, only 31 percent of rural cemeteries have WOW monuments (chi-square = 49.6). This reflects that
FIG. 92

FIG. 93
FIG. 94

FIG. 95
FIG. 97

FIG. 98

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FIG. 99

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urban cemeteries have more graves; they have more tendency to contain WOW markers as well. Moreover, no black cemeteries display WOW markers. Although this society has both white and black members, black members may not be able to afford to buy the monument.

The Order of Masons erects markers with Masonic symbols (Fig. 100). Masonic markers are seen mostly in North Louisiana, Protestant, white, and urban cemeteries (Fig. 101). Although Catholics usually do not belong to the Masonic society, some exceptions are seen around New Orleans, Crowley, Plaquemine, and Donaldsonville.

Commercial monuments. The majority of the markers in a cemetery were commercially made. Although the shapes and materials of commercial markers are the same throughout Louisiana, the popularity of certain styles differs regionally. A time lag in the popular stage of stylistic markers also exists between North and South Louisiana, between Catholic and Protestant, between white and black, and between urban and rural cemeteries. Those differences reflect different values of the people toward the burial custom as major premises, plus minor premises such as economic situation.

Commercial tombstones did not become numerous until 1880 except in some old urban cemeteries. Before 1880 the majority of the markers were simple homemade ones including wooden boards, natural rock, and crosses. Only a few commercial marble tombstones were applied to wealthy white
FIG. 100
FIG. 101
burials. Slate gravestones, which flourished until the early nineteenth century in the northern states (Dethlefsen and Jensen 1977, p. 37), hardly entered Louisiana, for few people applied commercial markers in that period.

From 1880 until 1930, marble markers were frequently used, mostly in white Protestant cemeteries. The most popular commercial marker was the tablet form (Fig. 102). The Gothic tombstone, characterized by its pointed top, is also used. Use of obelisk monuments for either entire families or individuals culminated in the 1900s (Fig. 103). Pulpit tombstones reached their peak in the 1920s. During this period, commercial marble markers were accompanied by such symbols as the lamb, dove, and clasped hands.

These decorative elements coincided with Late Victorian architectural characteristics. Victorian styles in Louisiana became common two decades later than in the northern states, mainly because of Reconstruction. By the turn of the century, people of status and wealth could learn of and purchase decorative styles, motifs, and inscriptions that were fashionable in the north.

In the late 1920s, marble markers began to lose their popularity, and simple uniform granite markers became more dominant in the 1930s (Fig. 102). The forms include block, raised-top inscription, and slant. The motifs are simple flower or vines preinscribed in the stones. Since the late 1940s, tombstones shared between husband and wife have been increasingly popular, mostly in the white burials. The
COMMERCIAL TOMBSTONES

MARBLE MARKERS - 1940

PLATE GOTHIC TABLET OBELISK PULPIT

GRANITE MARKERS 1920 - PRESENT

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SINGLE</th>
<th>JOINT</th>
<th>DOUBLE-WING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BLOCK</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAISED-TOP INSRIPTION</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLANT</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAWN</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>w/o</td>
<td>NOT AVAILABLE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TN

W: WITH BASE  W/O: WITHOUT BASE

FIG. 102
FIG. 103

Obelisk and pulpit markers by decade

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form of the shared marker is either joint or double-wing (Fig. 102). Status gains expression no longer by the decorative motifs or inscriptions, but by the inclusion of more options at purchase. Customers can choose whether tombstones should be shared or single, or whether they buy a base for the stone or vases for flower decoration. These modular gravestones are typical of today's American culture, which values quick and efficient response to situations.

The proliferation of paired gravestones represents the increasing emphasis on the core husband and wife unit instead of on extended family (Dethlefsen 1981, p. 156). Very often, the names of both husband and wife are inscribed when one or both are still alive.

A growing trend since 1950 is the memorial-park type of cemetery. These neglect almost all traditions, using only flat ground-level markers to let the lawnmower work freely without any above-ground obstacles.

This obvious depersonalization of gravemarkers since 1930 may reflect the secularization of the American people. People express their individuality more in the living world, and the cemetery becomes more a functional place for the disposal of the dead than the sacred realm. Expression of individuality now lies not in the Christian motifs on gravestone, but in a more personal secular form. The popularity of photograph decorations since 1960 reflects this secularization.
These changes do not occur simultaneously in all cemeteries. Black cemeteries are still largely unmarked. Although raised-top-inscription markers are increasing there, shared tombstones are still not common. Catholic cemeteries contain many graves with crosses instead of the commercial markers. The above-ground vault commonly has an inscription plate at the side as well as a cross marker. Cultures are, thus, reflected in chronological patterns as well as spatial distribution.

To uncover cultures expressed in tombstone chronology, dates of monuments were recorded and arranged by decade in relation to North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, white and black, and urban and rural cemeteries. This study takes obelisk and pulpit markers for case studies. Because their fashion has already passed, they can be used to review the beginning, the peak, and the end of their popularity.

The obelisk marker is the material culture trait of North Louisiana, white, and urban cemeteries (Fig. 104). The contrast between white (61 percent) and black cemeteries (15 percent) is the most evident (chi-square = 37.4). The number of obelisk markers owned by blacks are merely 13 of the 2,005 total obelisks in the sample cemeteries (Fig. 105). The difference resulted mostly from the inferior economic condition of blacks. Blacks' priority has been to install markers rather than to have fashionable monuments.
FIG. 104

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OBELISK

FIG. 105

Obelisk markers by decade
While 60 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries contain obelisk markers, only 32 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries include the monuments (chi-square = 17.1). The number of obelisks of North Louisiana is nearly four times that of South Louisiana. The decade in which the obelisk was the most popular is the same between the two groups. Although this fashion reached its peak in South Louisiana as early as in North Louisiana, it did not gain wide acceptance in South Louisiana. The obelisk was not functional in most South Louisiana cemeteries, which had many above-ground vaults. After spending much money for the vault construction, people in South Louisiana did not desire to spend more for the fashionable marker.

Sixty-nine percent of urban cemeteries have obelisk markers, whereas 41 percent of rural cemeteries contain obelisks (chi-square = 16.7). The density of this monument is also higher in the urban cemetery. One obelisk can be found for each 60 graves in urban cemeteries, and one in each 110 graves in rural cemeteries. The peak of the popularity was between 1900 and 1909 in urban cemeteries and between 1910 and 1919 in rural cemeteries. Urban elites readily accepted the contemporary fashion, but they also shifted to other styles earlier than rural folk. More urban people may have been able to afford this expensive monument than rural people.

The pulpit marker is the material culture trait of white and North Louisiana people (Fig. 106). Sixty-six
FIG. 106

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percent of white as compared with 13 percent of black cemeteries have pulpit tombstones (chi-square = 49.5). Only 15 of 939 pulpit markers in the sample are those of black cemeteries (Fig. 107). Economic inferiority made blacks unable to purchase the monument. Although a cultural difference may exist, it is difficult to identify.

More North Louisiana cemeteries (64 percent) have pulpit markers than South Louisiana cemeteries (35 percent; chi-square = 19.5). North Louisiana contains 6.7 times more pulpit monuments of these of South Louisiana. The peak of the popularity was one decade earlier in South Louisiana. The pulpit, however, did not gain popularity in South Louisiana where many above-ground vaults existed.

More urban cemeteries have pulpit markers than rural cemeteries because urban cemeteries contain more graves. The density of pulpit monuments, however, is higher in the rural cemetery. One out of 170 urban graves has a pulpit, while one out of 98 rural graves has a pulpit. Unlike expensive obelisk markers, simple pulpit tombstones were more readily accepted by rural people. The peak of the popularity is the 1920s in both urban and rural cemeteries.

III-9 Grave Marker Motifs

The popularity of certain gravestone motifs also differs chronologically, regionally, religiously, and ethnically. As the same motif can be applied to different kinds of markers, motifs can be examined separately from...
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PULPIT</th>
<th>NORTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>PROTESTANT</th>
<th>SOUTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>CATHOLIC</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N=817</td>
<td>N=837</td>
<td>N=122</td>
<td>N=102</td>
<td>N=824</td>
<td>N=604</td>
<td>N=15</td>
<td>N=335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1900</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG. 107**
Pulpit markers by decade
the markers.

This study has chosen six motifs that appeared fairly frequently from the late nineteenth century until the 1930s: the weeping willow, a finger to heaven, the clasped hands, the dove, the lamb, and the cross and the crown (Fig. 108). Except for the weeping willow motif, which is the least numerous, all motifs follow the curve of popularity with the highest peak at the center, the curve termed a "battleship-shape" by archaeologists (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1967, p. 83; Fig. 109). The six motifs have different peaks: the weeping willow in the 1860s and the 1880s, a finger to heaven and the clasped hands in the 1890s, the dove and the lamb in the 1900s, and the cross and the crown in the decade starting 1910.

Weeping-willow motif. The weeping willow is a symbol of mourning. Combined with the urn motif, it was a common symbol in New England graveyards in the early to the middle nineteenth century (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966, p. 505).

The weeping-willow motif appears more often in North Louisiana than in South Louisiana (Fig. 110). In South Louisiana, this motif is found in the original Anglo-Saxon territories (13B, S13C, S13K) and near the North-South boundary (S8H). This distribution seems to indicate that the weeping-willow motif is a trait of the early Anglo-Saxon settlers of Louisiana. No black cemetery contains this symbol.

The peak of the popularity of the weeping-willow motif
GRAVESTONE MOTIFS

WEEPING WILLOW

A FINGER TO HEAVEN

CLASPED HANDS

DOVE

LAMB

THE CROSS AND THE CROWN

FIG. 108

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FIG. 109

Gravestone motifs by decade
FIG. 110

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of rural cemeteries was two decades earlier than that of urban cemeteries (Fig. 111). This is mainly because Felder Cemetery (11M) installed seven tombstones with this motif in the 1860s. The settlers of that particular area may have had a special preference of this motif. The small number of incidence in the sample restricts the generalization of the urban–rural pattern from this example.

**Finger-to-heaven motif.** A-finger-to-heaven motif represents the desire for heaven. This motif is distributed mostly in North Louisiana (Fig. 112). While 35 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries contain a-finger-to-heaven motif, only 7 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries have this symbol (chi-square = 22.5). In South Louisiana, only Protestant cemeteries (12P, S13K) and Catholic cemeteries near North Louisiana (S10H, 11E, S12D, S12G) include this motif. No Catholic cemetery in eastern South Louisiana contains this symbol.

Only two black cemeteries have the gravestones with this motif (3C, 4C). They are located in North Louisiana, and the tombstones were erected between 1900 and 1919 when the popularity was beginning to decline from the peak (Fig. 113).

Although more urban cemeteries have a-finger-to-heaven motif, the density of this motif per unit graves is 52 percent of that of the rural cemetery. The popularity of this style, however, reached its peak in the urban cemetery.
FIG. 111

Weeping-willow motif by decade

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FIG. 113

A-finger-to-heaven motif by decade
a decade earlier than in the rural cemetery (Fig. 113). The decline of its popularity is also earlier in the urban cemetery, probably because urban people shifted to other new styles.

**Clasped-hands motif.** The clasped-hands motif is a symbol of brotherly love. This symbol is also dominant in North Louisiana (Fig. 114). More than half (55 percent) of North Louisiana cemeteries exhibit the clasped-hands motif, whereas 15 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries bear it (chi-square = 35.6). Gravestones with this symbol in North Louisiana are five times as numerous as those of South Louisiana (Fig. 115).

The contrast between white and black cemeteries is also significant. Only 11 of 307 appearances in the sample are those of black graves.

The density of this symbol in rural cemeteries is three times that of urban cemeteries, showing that this motif was favored by rural people. The peak of its popularity in rural cemeteries, however, was four decades later than urban cemeteries. Although the popularity of this motif declined gradually in urban cemeteries, its frequency in rural cemeteries abruptly decreased in the 1930s. It is assumed that the damage of the economic depression during this decade made rural people refrain from purchasing decorative motifs in this period. When they recovered from economic suffering, the fashion of gravestones had already shifted to granite markers that did

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FIG. 114

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FIG. 115
Clasped-hands motif by decade
not apply this symbol.

**Dove motif.** The dove, the symbol of the Holy Spirit and of Christian devotion, is the motif popular for child and young adult burials.

This symbol is also more typical in North Louisiana than in South Louisiana (Fig. 116). Sixty-one percent of North Louisiana cemeteries as compared with 25 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries embody this motif (chi-square = 29.4). North Louisiana cemeteries have six times more dove motifs than South Louisiana cemeteries (Fig. 117).

The contrast between white and black cemeteries is even stronger. Fifty-nine percent of white cemeteries have this symbol, while 12 percent of black cemeteries exhibit the dove motif (chi-square = 39.5). Only 10 of 382 motifs are those of the black graves.

Unlike the motifs previously examined, urban and rural cemeteries share the same peak of popularity. As a common Christian symbol, the idea of dove motif was readily accepted by rural people as well.

**Lamb motif.** The lamb, the symbol of Jesus Christ or of an innocent person, is the most popular of the motifs under study. It is used mostly for child burials.

North Louisiana people tend to apply this motif more than South Louisiana people. While 34 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries accept the lamb motif, 68 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries use the lamb motif (chi-square = 29.4; Fig. 118). The lamb motif in North Louisiana
Louisiana Cemeteries

DOVE MOTIF

CATHOLIC
WHITE PROTESTANT
BLACK PROTESTANT
JEWISH
PARISH SEAT
URBAN

0 50 miles
0 80 kilometers

FIG. 116
FIG. 117
Dove motif by decade
gradually reached its popularity peak in the period between 1900 and 1909 and has been declining gradually, although a substantial number of graves still apply the symbol (Fig. 119). Its popularity in South Louisiana does not have any special peaks. South Louisiana people may use this motif not as a temporary fashion, but as a constant symbol for child gravemarkers.

The difference between white and black cemeteries is also evident. While 66 percent of white cemeteries contain the lamb motif, 24 percent of black cemeteries include markers with the lamb motif (chi-square = 31.5).

The popularity curve of black cemeteries is completely different from white cemeteries. In black cemeteries, the lamb began to be popular in the 1920s when its popularity was declining in white cemeteries, and its number is still increasing. This is due to the use of the concrete lamb figure on top of a concrete marker, which is used almost exclusively among black cemeteries in North Louisiana (Fig. 120). There may be some monument manufacturers that make this monument for black people. Blacks do not restrict the use of this symbol to child graves. The symbolism of the lamb seems to be different for black people.

**Cross-and-crown motif.** The cross-and-crown, symbolizing Christ's victory over death, is much less widespread than the lamb or the dove (Fig. 121). Unlike other motifs, the difference between North and South Louisiana cemeteries is small (chi-square = 1.0). There is

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FIG. 119
Lamb motif by decade
FIG. 120
A lamb motif on a concrete marker in a black cemetery.
virtually no difference between Catholic and Protestant cemeteries (chi-square = 0.0). This similarity may be because the symbol of the cross attracted Catholics. The peak of the popularity in South Louisiana was one decade later in South Louisiana than in North Louisiana (Fig. 122). This was largely due to Ascension Catholic Cemetery (S12M1), which has 14 markers with this motif. Eight of them were erected between 1910 and 1919. Successive use by particular families and relatives in certain period can change the pattern of the popularity.

All cross-and-crown motifs in the sample are in white cemeteries. As black people apply lamb, dove, or other simple motifs if they use any symbols, this fairly rare motif was not accepted.

The urban-rural contrast is also evident. While 36 percent of urban cemeteries have the cross-and-crown motif, 7 percent of rural cemeteries contain the symbol (chi-square = 31.5). The cross-and-crown is the only motif that is more densely distributed per unit graves in urban cemeteries than in rural cemeteries. The popularity reached urban cemeteries earlier than rural cemeteries, although the peak period was the same.

Summary. All symbols reviewed are predominantly distributed in North Louisiana, Protestant, and white cemeteries, although the pattern of the cross-and-crown motif is less significant. While 50 percent of North Louisiana cemeteries have at least three kinds of those
### CROSS AND CROWN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Decade 1900</th>
<th>Decade 1950</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>PROTESTANT</td>
<td>61</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>CATHOLIC</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHITE</td>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>91</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BLACK</td>
<td>RURAL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**FIG. 122**

Cross-and-crown motif by decade
motifs, 13 percent of South Louisiana cemeteries contain
three or more kinds of the symbols (chi-square = 32.5; Fig.
123). More Protestant (43 percent) than Catholic (18
percent) and more white (47 percent) than black cemeteries
(5 percent) have at least three kinds of the motifs.

These contrast must be examined in the context of the
total burial customs. In an average North Louisiana
cemetery, the tombstone has been the single most effective
marking form. People express their respect toward the
deceased by purchasing decorative tombstones or by
inscribing the motifs in fashion. In South Louisiana, by
contrast, marking the burial takes a variety of forms. The
visible vault is in itself the marking of a burial plot.
The above-ground vault usually has a large square marble or
granite name plate as a lid of the chambers. Crosses,
statues, and reliquaries can also serve as alternatives for
tombstones. After purchasing costly vaults, people in
South Louisiana did not spend more money for decorative
motifs.

Black cemeteries have fewer motifs, mainly because of
their inferior economic status. Their priority was to
purchase tombstones rather than choosing motifs.

One distinctiveness of black cemeteries could be
identified in the use of the lamb symbol. Black people
applied the lamb motif on concrete markers and used them
not only for child burials but also for adult graves.
Tombstone manufacturers for blacks may have created a
MOTIFS
At Least Three Kinds

Louisiana Cemeteries

FIG. 123

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different stream of the fashion.

Black cemeteries in South Louisiana are devoid of the motifs, probably because, as in Catholic cemeteries, they often use concrete vaults or simple crosses for distinguishing their burial plots.

The difference between urban and rural cemeteries requires special attention. The clasped-hands and a-finger-to-heaven motifs reached their peak of popularity in urban cemeteries earlier than in rural cemeteries. The popularity also faded earlier in urban cemeteries. It seems to reflect the urban people's readiness to accept new fashion as compared with the conservativeness of rural people. The weeping-willow motif does not follow the same pattern, probably because it was the fashion of the early eighteenth century when few people applied any motifs in Louisiana; few occurrences hardly make distinctive patterns.
CHAPTER IV

LOUISIANA CEMETERIES AS CULTURAL MANIFESTATIONS

Chapter III discussed cultures reflected in each element of the cemetery landscape. Although many elements indicated cultures, each trait had a distinct diagnostic value, both in intensity and in the kinds of groups to which it tends to give identity. Comprehensive interpretation of the cemetery requires another procedure: synthesis.

This chapter synthesizes the elements into four kinds of cemetery landscapes: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural. First, material cultures of each heuristic group are identified through statistical analysis of trait distribution (Appendix III). The traits are arranged from highest to lowest chi-square values to discern the material culture patterns of the group. Second, cultures of the groups are identified by discussing minor premises and material cultures. Third, the culture traits of each group are generalized into an ideal culture by discussing the similarities of cultures. Through these procedures, the cemetery is pictured as a manifestation of an ideal culture.

This chapter also identifies the ideal groups, i.e.,
actual patterns of group identity expressed in the cemetery. This study chooses a few traits that have strong diagnostic values for the groups. By combining those traits, cemetery types are established that include (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, (3) white and black, and (4) urban and rural. Ideal groups will be inferred by discussing both the general pattern and the residuals of the distribution of types.

The final part of this chapter further synthesizes the ideal cultures identified in each group into a new descriptive model of Louisiana cultures. The supremacy of this model over previous ones is then demonstrated.

IV-1 North and South Louisiana Cultures

The majority of the landscape elements examined clearly reflect a contrast between North and South Louisiana cemeteries. Defining the significance level at 0.001, at least 30 sets of material cultures are identified (Table 11).

These contrasts are derived from the different value tendencies of the groups that make up North and South Louisiana. Minor premises merely played some significant roles in the material culture traits involving the use of trees and natural rock markers; North Louisiana has more of both elements than South Louisiana. Other material culture traits are almost entirely the direct reflection of cultural variations.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>North (%)</th>
<th>South (%)</th>
<th>Chi-Square*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Below-ground burials at least 50%</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>140.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross markers at least 10%</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>134.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete vault burials at least 20%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>108.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feet-to-east</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>102.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head and foot markers at least 10%</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>101.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above-ground burials at least 10%</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>83.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double concrete vaults</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>80.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central crosses</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>77.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crucifix markers</td>
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<td>46</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statue markers at least 1%</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>62.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Reliquary markers</td>
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<td>62.2</td>
</tr>
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<td>37</td>
<td>60.6</td>
</tr>
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<td>Clasped-hands motifs</td>
<td>55</td>
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<td>35.6</td>
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<td>Motifs at least 3 kinds</td>
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<td>13</td>
<td>32.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dove motifs</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamb motifs</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete slabs</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>25.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masonic markers</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>13</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trees</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>24.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-finger-to-heaven motif</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church ownership</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>21.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed race</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>20.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulpit markers</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copings with sand filling</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obelisk markers</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>17.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scraped earth</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouped burials at least 50%</td>
<td>10</td>
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<td>Copings with marelle chip filling</td>
<td>27</td>
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<td>12.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Copings</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*All chi-square values signify the probability of less than 0.001.
North Louisiana people prefer below-ground burials, feet-to-east burial arrangement, head and foot markers, copings, and scraped earth. South Louisiana people, by contrast, have a stronger desire for cross markers, concrete vault burials, above-ground burials, double concrete vaults, central crosses, crucifixes, statues, reliquaries, mausoleums, church ownership, and grouped burials.

Many cultural differences relate to values concerning the burial location relative to the ground surface. North Louisiana people strongly maintain their traditional value for the below-ground burials, whereas South Louisiana people frequently desire above-ground interments.

In North Louisiana, where the below-ground burial is the dominant form of interment, most people use commercial head and, sometimes, foot markers as the main structures of marking burials. North Louisiana people spent more money on the stylish markers when they desired to honor the dead. They accepted the latest fashion and, thus, each marker or motif occurrence follows a typical battleship curve.

Other forms of marking in North Louisiana are subordinate to the head and foot markers. In traditional rural cemeteries, graves have burial mounds. Community members and the families are supposed to honor the dead by periodically maintaining the mounds, redecorating them, and scraping the earth around them. Discontinuance of the cemetery working days and migration of the families of the
deceased, however, made the burial mounds ephemeral. Copings, which have been used to mark family burial plots, have also become common to mark individual plots as durable alternatives of burial mounds. Some people fill-in the copings with sand, thereby making the grave look like a scraped burial mound.

South Louisiana people, by contrast, commonly prefer above-ground burials. Many people who cannot afford above-ground vaults use concrete vaults as cheaper alternatives. Mausoleums and double concrete vaults also reflect their desire for above-ground burials.

Those visible vaults, in themselves, play the roles of durable markers; they not only mark the head and foot, but also indicate the sites of the whole bodies of the deceased. Head and foot markers, therefore, could serve no useful function. After spending a considerable amount of money to build above-ground tombs, people are less willing to purchase stylish commercial tombstones. As crosses, statues, reliquaries, and name-plate lids of tomb chambers are also used as markers, commercial tombstones are notably less popular in South Louisiana.

Cemeteries reflect religious values: Catholicism in South Louisiana and Protestantism in North Louisiana. Catholics have traditionally highly esteemed the cross, crucifix, statue, and central cross, while most Protestants consider these "Popish" structures, unfit for their cemeteries.
Different concepts of death may be reflected in the burial practice. Almost all North Louisiana graves have feet-to-east orientation and burial six feet below the ground. Individual bodies are supposed to be maintained as intact as possible until the Resurrection Day to face the returning Messiah. This custom has been faithfully followed, at least partly because of the constant reassuring of the Second Coming of Christ through evangelical Protestant preachers. A smaller incidence of grouped burials may reflect the Protestants' emphasis on the individual's relationship with God through Jesus Christ.

Many South Louisiana cemeteries, especially those of Catholics, do not exhibit the feet-to-east orientation; in these, orientation is simply a matter of convenience. A body has a claim in preservation only until another family member has to take the same place in an above-ground vault. The bones and remains will be removed from the casket and dropped into an underground receptacle. He will, then, become merely a memory of the family. Waiting for the Second Coming of Christ or resurrection by arranging graves has little apparent significance in South Louisiana. Family unity, instead, seems to be of more importance. By connecting members in above-ground tombs, concrete-filled copings, or in double concrete vaults, South Louisiana people strongly express their identity as family members.

North Louisiana cemeteries are, thus, pictured as the
manifestation of the people's values for traditional below-ground burials, individuality, evangelical Protestantism, and anti-Catholicism. South Louisiana cemeteries reflect people's desire for above-ground burials, family unity, and their respect for Catholic traditions.

North and South Louisiana types are established by combining five strongest indicies of South Louisiana cemeteries: (1) non-below-ground burials less than 50 percent, (2) cross markers at least 10 percent, (3) concrete vault burials at least 20 percent, (4) non-feet-to-east, and (5) head and foot markers less than 10 percent. Inasmuch as a type is not a preexisting entity, but an intellectual product, the effectiveness of the taxonomy depends on a fairly arbitrary combination. Because these five trait contrasts show very high chi-square values of greater than 100, their combination powerfully confirms the identity of these ideal groups.

All South Louisiana cemeteries have at least one South Louisiana trait (Table 12). By contrast, rejection of South Louisiana traits is evident in North Louisiana; no cemetery has all five traits, and 61 percent have no South Louisiana traits. The North-South contrast becomes most significant when the South Louisiana type cemetery is defined with three or more traits and the North Louisiana type as with two, one, or no South Louisiana trait (chi-square = 187.7). Almost all North and South Louisiana
### TABLE 12
CEMETERIES BY SOUTH LOUISIANA TRAITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SOUTH LOUISIANA TRAITS</th>
<th>NORTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>SOUTH LOUISIANA</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
types fit into their own heuristic areas (Fig. 124). Only 7 of 148 heuristic North Louisiana cemeteries belong to the South Louisiana type, while 5 of 88 heuristic South Louisiana cemeteries are the North Louisiana type.

This pattern clearly indicates the significance of establishing North and South Louisiana groups apart from Catholic and Protestant groupings. Catholic cemeteries in North Louisiana belong to the North Louisiana type, while the majority of even Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana identify with South Louisiana. Those two kinds of groups differ in principle and in the material cultural patterns that express these principles.

The majority of the residual cemeteries occupy the area near the heuristic North-South boundary. Three interpretations are possible for those cemeteries. First, the cemeteries may be unique. The only Jewish cemetery in the sample (12P) falls into a residual because Jews have their own distinctive identity.

Second, the heuristic boundary may not reflect the people's actual identity. Baton Rouge (11L S11L1) may belong to South Louisiana in terms of people's expression of group affiliations, or the Baton Rouge specimens may reflect a changing identities.

Third, two types tend to juxtapose with each other near the boundary. The boundary line usually does not exist, but the pattern gradually shifts from one type to another around the area. The great majority of the
South Louisiana Traits: (1) below-ground burials less than 50 percent, (2) cross markers at least 20 percent, (3) concrete vault burials at least 20 percent, (4) non-feet-to-east, and (5) head and foot markers less than 10 percent.

FIG. 124
residual cemeteries probably can be interpreted in this manner.

Ideal North and South Louisiana groups, thus, closely overlap with heuristic groups. The hypothesis of North and South Louisiana cultures is successfully supported.

IV-2 Catholic and Protestant Cultures

Catholic and Protestant cemeteries show distinctive material cultures. Twenty-four trait contrasts have a probability of random occurrence of less than 0.001; five of these differences have chi-square values of greater than 100 (Table 13).

Material cultures of Catholics and Protestants in Louisiana derive from different value tendencies. Minor premises, such as physical, economic, and legal conditions, cannot explain the distinctiveness of material cultures.

Catholic cultures emphasize crosses and saints figures. Their desire for crosses is reflected in the frequent use of central crosses, cross markers, and crucifix markers. Their respect for saints becomes manifest in reliquary markers and statue markers. Protestants tend to reject those structures as symbols of Catholicism. For Protestants, crosses, statues, and reliquaries represent Catholics' paganized idol-worship customs.

Protestants place considerable significance on the resurrection of the dead, showing that desire by arranging
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TRAIT</th>
<th>CATHOLIC (%)</th>
<th>PROTESTANT (%)</th>
<th>CHI-SQUARE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL CROSSES</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>142.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS MARKERS AT LEAST 10%</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>135.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRUCIFIX MARKERS</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>111.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIQUARY MARKERS</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>106.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATUE MARKERS AT LEAST 1%</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>97.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAUSOLEUMS</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>88.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BELOW-GROUND BURIALS AT LEAST 50%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>86.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABOVE-GROUND BURIALS AT LEAST 10%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>81.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAD AND FOOT MARKERS AT LEAST 10%</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>47.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOUBLE CONCRETE VAULTS</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>43.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIXED RACE</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>39.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCRETE VAULT BURIALS AT LEAST 20%</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>38.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUPED BURIALS AT LEAST 50%</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>34.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONCRETE SLABS</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>31.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DECEASED</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>27.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAVES AT LEAST 800</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>21.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TREES</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNMARKED GRAVES AT LEAST 50%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOODMEN OF THE WORLD MARKERS</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>13.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-FINGER-TO-HEAVEN MOTIFS</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLASPED HANDS MOTIFS</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTIFS AT LEAST 3 KINDS</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OWNERSHIP</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>12.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All chi-square values signify the probability of less than 0.001.
the burial along an east-west axis, with the feet pointing toward the east. The present custom of Louisiana Protestants rests on their expression of the Christian faith in the literal interpretation of the Bible. Catholics, by contrast, do not consider the arrangement as of special importance.

Catholics and Protestants express a different concept of the cemetery. The cemetery for Catholics is a sacred realm. It is a large, centralized, theocratic necropolis with a central cross at the middle and a headquarter (church) beside the cemetery. The necropolis contains several neighborhoods, both white and black. The city official (the priest) conducts the ritual of consecration in front of the whole congregation once a year on All Saints' Day. The congregation, in turn, are supposed to decorate their own family tombs. Although not required, people think it proper to whitewash above-ground vaults, concrete vaults, concrete-filled copings, slabs, statues, and reliquaries to make the appearance holy.

The cemetery for Protestants is a resting place of sacred bodies, but the estate itself has less ritualistic significance than for Catholics. Although the cemetery size depends upon how large the community is, people tend to think it more comfortable to have smaller cemeteries. Unlike Catholic cemeteries, Protestant cemeteries do not need central structures, such as central crosses. People express more individuality than the unity of the community.
or of the family. Although copings are sometimes applied to connect family graves, the family involvement is apparently looser than among Catholics. The maintenance of the Protestant cemetery depends upon the community; today, some hire people, while others establish separate decoration days. Unlike All Saints' Day for Catholics, the Protestant's cemetery decoration is not conducted by the church authority, but by the community.

Catholic and Protestant types are defined by the combination of five Catholic traits: (1) central crosses, (2) cross markers at least 10 percent, (3) non-feet-to-east, (4) crucifix markers, and (5) reliquary markers. As all five traits have the chi-square values greater than 100, their combination can be a strong index for ideal group identification.

Catholic traits are concentrated in heuristic Catholic cemeteries (Table 14). All Catholic cemeteries have at least one Catholic trait, 83 percent have at least three, and 29 percent have all five Catholic traits. The rejection of Catholic traits in Protestant cemeteries is extremely evident. No Protestant cemetery has more than two Catholic traits, and 82 percent of Protestant cemeteries have no Catholic traits. The distinctive Catholic-Protestant contrast indicates the people's faithfulness to their own religious customs.

Definition of Catholic and Protestant types depends upon the effectiveness of distinguishing two heuristic
TABLE 14

CEMETERIES BY CATHOLIC TRAITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATHOLIC TRAITS</th>
<th>CATHOLIC</th>
<th>PROTESTANT</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
groups. If the Catholic type is defined as the cemetery with at least three Catholic traits and the Protestant type as that with fewer than three, the distinction is the strongest (chi-square = 186.6). If the Catholic type is established as the cemetery with at least two Catholic traits, the definition leads to almost identical significance (chi-square = 186.0). This study, therefore, establishes three types instead of two for detailed examinations: Catholic, hybrid, and Protestant types. A Catholic type cemetery has at least three Catholic traits, a hybrid type cemetery has two, and a Protestant type cemetery has one or no Catholic trait.

All Catholic cemeteries are heuristic Catholic cemeteries, whereas all but one Protestant cemetery are heuristic Protestant cemeteries. The one Protestant type heuristic Catholic cemetery is in Zwolle (6B) in North Louisiana (Fig. 125). It does not have a central cross, crucifixes, or reliquary markers. The cross markers are applied to only 5 percent of the graves. Being mixed with and surrounded by Protestants, Catholic people in Zwolle may have lost the desire to express their strong Catholic identity through burial customs. They merely reject the feet-to-east grave orientation of the Protestant.

Among 19 hybrid type cemeteries, 9 are heuristic Catholic, and 10 are heuristic Protestant cemeteries. Catholic hybrid cemeteries tend to occupy the area of the former Anglo-Saxon territories. Patterson (14K) and Grosse
Catholic Traits: (1) central crosses, (2) cross markers at least 10 percent, (3) non-feet-to-east, (4) crucifix markers, and (5) reliquary markers.

FIG. 125
Tete (11K) were originally the Anglo-Saxon enclaves in South Louisiana. St. Eugene Cemetery (14E) is located in the original Texas Anglo-Saxon extension area. Dillot Cemetery (8H), Manuel Cemetery (10F), and Le Bau Cemetery (11E) lie at the North-South boundary.

Protestant hybrid cemeteries are located in or near South Louisiana. Although they never accept central crosses or reliquary markers, they tend to accept cross markers. Black Protestants also use statue markers as do of Catholics.

These patterns seem to indicate that the proximity to the other group explains the residual cemeteries. The shifting of identity to another group actually occurred through frequent contact between those two groups in business, friendship, and marriage. The decrease in the law regard for another group seems to be reflected in the distribution patterns.

IV-3 White and Black Cultures

Material cultures of the white and black groups are not as distinct as those of the North and South Louisiana or of the Catholic and Protestant groups, although 26 traits indicate the probability of chance distinction of less than 0.001 (Table 15).

Material cultures of the white and the black are derived more from income difference than from cultures. Blacks' material cultures indicate that lower income
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trait</th>
<th>White (%)</th>
<th>Black (%)</th>
<th>Chi-Square</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UNMARKED GRAVES AT LEAST 50%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>121.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOODMEN OF THE WORLD MARKERS</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>63.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FENCES</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PULPIT MARKERS</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE DECEASED</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DOVE MOTIFS</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>39.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBELISK MARKERS</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>37.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MOTIFS AT LEAST 3 KINDS</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>33.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HEAD AND FOOT MARKERS AT LEAST 10%</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLASPED-HANDS MOTIFS</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>32.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LAMB MOTIFS</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHURCH OWNERSHIP</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRAVES AT LEAST 800</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-FINGER-TO-HEAVEN MOTIFS</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>19.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MASONIC MARKERS</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GROUPED BURIALS AT LEAST 50%</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>16.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CENTRAL CROSSES</td>
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<td>16.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CROSS-AND-CROWN MOTIFS</td>
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<td>0</td>
<td>15.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CRUCIFIX MARKERS</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ENTRANCE GATE</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MIXED RACE</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAUSOLEUMS</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RELIQY MARKERS</td>
<td>17</td>
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<td>11.9</td>
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<tr>
<td>COPING</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHELL DEPOSITIONS</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* All chi-square values signify the probability of less than 0.001.
hinders blacks' fulfilling their desires. Black cemeteries have fewer markers, fences, tombstone decorations, tombstone motifs, entrance gates, and grouped burials than white cemeteries.

A few material cultures may reflect cultures more strongly than minor premises. Blacks prefer small church cemeteries. The church seems to be an important social core for blacks, at least for the black Protestant. They feel comfortable in small communities centered around church activities.

The symbolism of blacks also seems to differ from that of whites. The cedar tree, a popular tree for the white, is not as common in the black cemetery, probably because blacks do not regard it as the cemetery tree as whites do. Paired cedar trees, symbols originated in Europe, have little meaning for blacks, who descend from Africans.

Absence of shell decorations in Louisiana sample black cemeteries may also indicate a different value for the shells. Although shell decorations are reported in some black cemeteries in Texas (Jordan 1982, p. 21), their obvious paucity in black cemeteries shows the lack of popularity of the shells for blacks.

Although material cultures of white and black cemeteries can be clearly identified, cultures are difficult to discern by the methods of this study because of the distinctively different economic conditions between the two groups. This study merely suggests some possible
interpretations.

The white and black types are established by using five black traits as indices. They include (1) unmarked graves at least 50 percent, (2) no Woodmen of the World marker, (3) no fence, (4) no pulpit marker, and (5) no photograph of the deceased.

Black traits are seen mostly in heuristic black cemeteries (Table 16). All black cemeteries have at least one black trait, and 39 percent have all five black traits. Heuristic white cemeteries, by contrast, contain fewer black traits. No white cemetery has all five black traits, and 24 percent of the white cemeteries have no black trait.

The definitions of a black type as a cemetery with four or five black traits and of a white type as a cemetery with three or fewer black traits leads to the strongest distinction (chi-square = 141.9). Whereas 75 percent of black cemeteries belong to the black type, 2 percent of white cemeteries are of black type.

White-type black cemeteries are scattered in both North and South Louisiana and in both urban and rural areas (Fig. 126). Residuals are difficult to interpret. As 11 of 14 white-type black cemeteries have three black traits, the majority of the residuals also have the appearance of black cemeteries.

Five black-type white cemeteries include three Catholic and two Protestant cemeteries. All are small rural cemeteries, three of which have fewer than 100
TABLE 16
CEMETERIES BY BLACK TRAITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BLACK TRAITS</th>
<th>WHITE</th>
<th>BLACK</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Black Traits: (1) unmarked graves at least 50 percent, (2) no Woodmen of the World marker, (3) no fence, (4) no pulpit marker, and (5) no photograph of the deceased.

FIG. 126
graves. As graves are not numerous, they have less
tendency to have Woodmen of the World markers, pulpit
markers, and photographs of the deceased. Those
black-type white cemeteries do not represent people's
identity with the black group, but they simply reflect the
small size of the cemeteries.

The hypothesis of white and black cultures is not
strongly supported because of the distinctively different
economic conditions between the two groups.

IV-4 Urban and Rural Cultures

Twenty-two sets of material cultures are identified
that are significant at 0.001 level (Table 17). No traits
have chi-square values of over 50 except for "graves at
least 800," indicating that urban and rural material
cultures are the least distinctive among those examined.

Although the most distinctive material culture trait,
"graves at least 800," partly derived from the deliberate
selection of larger parish seat cemeteries, the bigger size
of the cemeteries is obviously a trait of the urban
cemetery. Urban people, especially city planners, think it
proper to have large cemeteries in populous areas.

Some other traits are related to this larger size of
urban cemeteries. As an urban cemetery contains more
graves than a rural cemetery, the urban cemetery tends to
embrace more kinds of monuments and motifs. The density of
each monument or motif per unit graves in the urban

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TABLE 17
MATERIAL CULTURE TRAITS OF URBAN AND RURAL

| TRAIT                                      | URBAN (%) | RURAL (%) | CHI-SQUARE *
|--------------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|--------------
| GRAVES AT LEAST 800                       | 61        | 2         | 107.1        |
| WOODMEN OF THE WORLD MARKERS               | 80        | 31        | 49.6         |
| GROUPED BURIALS AT LEAST 50%               | 40        | 6         | 40.5         |
| CROSS-AND-CROWN MOTIFS                     | 36        | 7         | 31.5         |
| ENTRANCE GATES                             | 46        | 13        | 29.3         |
| MIXED RACE                                 | 32        | 6         | 28.9         |
| ABOVE-GROUND BURIALS AT LEAST 10%          | 38        | 10        | 24.8         |
| MASONIC MARKERS                            | 55        | 23        | 23.8         |
| COPINGS                                    | 69        | 38        | 20.6         |
| FALSE CRYPTS                               | 27        | 6         | 20.6         |
| A-FINGER-TO-HEAVEN MOTIFS                  | 43        | 16        | 19.1         |
| CRUCIFIX MARKERS                           | 35        | 11        | 18.3         |
| WEEPING-WILLOW MOTIFS                      | 21        | 3         | 18.2         |
| OBEISK MARKERS                             | 69        | 41        | 16.7         |
| MOTIFS AT LEAST 3 KINDS                    | 55        | 28        | 16.3         |
| MAUSOLEUMS                                 | 27        | 8         | 15.8         |
| SCRAPED EARTH                              | 0         | 15        | 13.2         |
| MAGNOLIA TREES                             | 15        | 3         | 12.3         |
| COPINGS WITH SAND FILLING                  | 1         | 16        | 11.3         |
| MIXED RELIGION                             | 14        | 3         | 10.5         |
| DOVE MOTIFS                                | 63        | 40        | 10.4         |
| LAMB MOTIFS                                | 71        | 48        | 10.3         |

* All chi-square values signify the probability of less than 0.001.
cemetery is not necessarily higher than that of the rural cemetery. Only the obelisk marker and the cross-and-crown motif are more numerous per unit graves in the urban than in the rural cemetery.

Urban people seem to have stronger desire for above-ground burials. It may derive partly from people's conception of the lack of the land. The fear of the high water table may be emphasized by commercial monument builders in urban areas of South Louisiana. Above-ground burials in North Louisiana are mostly in the urban area, partly because urban people have more readiness to accept new styles, and partly because new migrants with new idea were likely to move to the city.

Urban people's liberalism is also reflected in the early popularization of the obelisk marker, the clasped-hands motif, and a-finger-to-heaven motif. The popularity of those styles also faded earlier in the urban cemetery.

The conservatism of rural people manifests in the scraped-earth custom that survives in a few rural cemeteries. The coping with sand filling is also more frequent in rural cemeteries as a modern alternative of the scraped burial mounds.

The values of the elite reflect some elements of the urban cemetery. Urban educated people tend to express legal territorial claim through copings. They also prefer such symbolic features as the gate to dignify the cemetery.
The urban and rural types are established from five urban traits: (1) graves at least 800, (2) Woodmen of the World markers, (3) grouped burials at least 50 percent, (4) the cross-and-crown motif, and (5) entrance gates.

Urban traits are observed in fewer heuristic rural cemeteries (Table 18). No rural cemetery has five urban traits, while 58 percent of the rural cemeteries have no urban trait. Urban traits, however, are distributed randomly in heuristic urban cemeteries. Only 10 percent of the urban cemeteries have all five urban traits, while, strangely, 15 percent of the urban cemeteries have no urban traits. Urban traits do not successfully summarize the characteristics of heuristic urban cemeteries. They do, however, represent the non-urbanness of heuristic rural cemeteries.

The urban type is defined as a cemetery with at least three urban traits and the rural type as that with two or fewer urban traits. With this definition, 59 percent of the urban cemeteries and 3 percent of the rural cemeteries belong to the urban type (chi-square = 104.0).

Urban-type cemeteries are distributed both in North and South Louisiana and among Catholics and Protestants (Fig. 127). Although many rural-type urban cemeteries exist, white cemeteries in the cities with more than 50,000 people are all urban type except for St. John the Evangelist Cemetery in Lafayette (S12H). No black urban cemeteries belong to the urban type, because black
### TABLE 18

CEMETERIES BY URBAN TRAITS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>URBAN TRAITS</th>
<th>URBAN</th>
<th>RURAL</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
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</thead>
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<td>93</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>76</strong></td>
<td><strong>160</strong></td>
<td><strong>236</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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FIG. 121

A.D. 1480-1550.

1. Cross - and - crown motifs; and (5) entrance gates.

Urban Tracts: (1) Graves at least 800; (2) Woodmen of the

URBAN TRAITS
Louisiana Cemeteries

URBAN TRAITs

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q R S T U V W X Y Z

80 kilometers

50 miles

0

0
cemeteries have fewer identifiable graves and fewer motifs.

The majority of rural cemeteries are the rural type. Urban-type rural cemeteries include four Catholic and two Protestant cemeteries. They are considered to be exceptions to the pattern. Each Protestant cemetery has one individual, each of whom applied the cross-and-crown motif. Two Catholic cemeteries have entrance gates, possibly because the individual taste of the cemetery designers.

The hypothesis of urban and rural cultures is supported, although the distinction between the two groups is not as strong as that between North and South Louisiana, or between Catholic and Protestant.

IV-5 A Three-Dimensional Model of Louisiana Cultures

Louisiana cemeteries manifest North and South Louisiana, Catholic and Protestant, and, less evidently, urban and rural cultures. This study cannot successfully identify distinctive white and black cultures because most of the landscape differences are related to contrasting economic conditions between the two groups.

In summary, North Louisiana cultures are characterized as people's preferences for below-ground burials, individualism, evangelical Protestantism, and anti-Catholicism, while South Louisiana cultural traits include people's desire for above-ground burials, family unity, and the respect for Catholic traditions.
Catholic cemeteries reflect the people's values for crosses, saint figures, and religious rituals, whereas Protestant cemeteries manifest the adherents' belief in the resurrection of the dead, literal interpretation of the Bible, and emphasis on personal relation with God through Christ rather than through church organizations or rituals. Sacredness for Protestants rests on the bodies lying beneath the ground rather than on the cemetery ground itself.

Urban cemeteries show the people's liberalism that promotes the early acceptance of new styles. Rural cemeteries, by contrast, reflect the people's conservatism that led to the maintenance of scraped earth cemeteries and to the late acceptance of new styles.

Cultural differences between white and black people are merely suggested in the blacks' values for small church-oriented communities and in the absence of symbolic significance that whites attach to even such inexpensive items as cedar trees and shell decorations.

Louisiana cemeteries, thus, manifest at least three dimensional cultures: (1) North and South Louisiana, (2) Catholic and Protestant, and (3) urban and rural (Fig. 128). Louisiana cultures, therefore, can be described either from one dimension, two dimensions, or from three dimensions.

This section creates a three dimensional model as a conclusion of synthesis. Types are established simply by
FIG. 128

A three-dimensional model of Louisiana cultures
combining three kinds of types. Hybrid type established for Catholic-Protestant distinction is categorized as Protestant.

Among the eight types established, only the North Louisiana urban Catholic type is devoid of members (Table 19). This pattern empirically demonstrates the supremacy of this three-dimensional model of Louisiana cultures over a traditional culture area model.

The multi-dimensional model is based upon the assumption that no homogeneous culture area or type exists. Its purpose is to holistically visualize a complex diversity of cultures into simpler forms by categorizing cemeteries according to intellectually and objectively established criteria. The culture area model, by contrast, implicitly assumes the cultural homogeniety within a culture area. This three-dimensional model, with three different categories of the North Louisiana types and four categories of South Louisiana types, clearly refutes the homogeniety assumption.

One of the most flagrant inadequencies of the traditional model lies in its determination that Louisiana cultures consist of the simplistic dichotomy of North Louisiana Protestant and South Louisiana Catholic. The new model, presented here, refutes the dichotomy by identifying North Louisiana Catholic and South Louisiana Protestant cultures. Although the Catholic type is identified only in one cemetery in North Louisiana, 45 percent of South

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>CATHOLIC</th>
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<th>PROTESTANT</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>RURAL</td>
<td>URBAN</td>
<td>RURAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>0</td>
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<td>25</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOUTH LOUISIANA</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Louisiana sample cemeteries are Protestant. Despite the smaller size of Protestant cemeteries, substantial Protestant elements in South Louisiana cannot be denied.

Protestant patterns in South Louisiana are found in the area originally settled by Anglo-Saxons (Fig. 129). This pattern demonstrates that people tend to accept elements of thought to identify with a neighboring group where members of the two groups often interact with one another.

The three-dimensional model of the distribution of cemeteries shows the people's overlapping group-identity pattern. When people belong to the majority group of the area (Protestant in North Louisiana and Catholic in South Louisiana), they strongly identify with their own groups. When people belong to the minority, their choices vary. In general, however, cultural patterns expressed in Louisiana cemeteries indicate people's positive identity with the group to which they are affiliated.
FIG. 129
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This study presents a scientific theory for a geographical interpretation of cultural landscape by using the cemetery as an empirical object. The theory is made operational for falsification tests. This concluding chapter demonstrates the results of the empirical tests.

The theory is based upon the logical assumption that only individual men, not a superorganic entity of culture or the physical environment, can play causative roles in creating the cemetery landscape. Each man initiates actions based upon his values and beliefs. Physical, economic, and legal conditions play the role of minor premises in the practical syllogisms required for the fulfillment of men's desires. In this study, culture is regarded as the individual's expression of voluntary group identity.

Empirical data and their analysis explicitly support the assumption of this study. First, as the theory predicted, no two elements have the same distributions among 53 cemetery landscape elements. Even the fairly similar distributions, such as "below-ground burials at least 50 percent" and "feet-to-east orientation" do not completely overlap. As no two individuals have exactly the
same set of beliefs, it is logical that each trait
distribution differs from another.

Second, no two statistical material culture patterns
are the same. Although different physical, economic, and
legal conditions are reflected in the material cultures,
those conditions alone fall far short of explaining the
different statistical patterns. The traits of "double
concrete vaults" and "central crosses," for example, have
completely different spatial distribution, while their
statistical distributions as between North and South
Louisiana are fairly close. It is more logical to support
the assumption of this theory that each individual
expresses his group identity differently from others.

Third, this study successfully identifies Catholic,
Protestant, urban, and rural cultures, as well as North and
South Louisiana cultures. This result clearly supports the
assumption that each individual expresses a variety of
group identities. It refutes the homogeneity assumption of
traditional culture area studies and demonstrates the
superiority of this new theory. Although this study fails
to identify white and black cultures as strong patterns,
the failure does not refute the theory; it merely
demonstrates that individuals do not express racial
identity as strongly as they do regional or religious group
identities through the cemetery landscape.

Fourth, as predicted, this study identifies the North
Louisiana Catholic and South Louisiana Protestant cultures.
This result tends to verify the assumptions that individuals are not compelled to act as Protestants in North Louisiana or as Catholics in South Louisiana. The individual has at least some freedom to choose his identity. The result clearly refutes the assumption of traditional concept of a superorganic culture as an autonomous force that has the effect of making culture area homogeneous.

Fifth, local group identity patterns are also identified in the traits, "flower-pot decorations" and "photograph decorations." Individuals are not forced to express their identities only with such presumed groups as North and South Louisiana; rather, local material culture patterns show the existence of local identities within the larger heuristic culture, thus lending support to the assumption of the theory that individuals express a variety of group identities.

Sixth, majority groups express more consistent identity patterns than the minorities. This pattern is explicit in the feet-to-east burial orientation. Protestants in South Louisiana are less likely to follow the feet-to-east orientation than those in North Louisiana, for some South Louisiana Protestants express their identity with the majority group in the area. The pattern is even clearer in the cross markers. Nearly half of Protestant cemeteries in South Louisiana have at least 10 percent of graves displaying crosses, mainly because they express the
identity to South Louisiana rather than to Protestant. These patterns support the assumption that a culture is the aggregate pattern of the individual's group identity.

The new theory of cultural landscape interpretation, thus, survives the empirical tests. The operationally defined concept of culture proves its superiority over the traditional superorganic concept for the explanation of distribution, for systematic description, for regional classification, for recognition of man's active role in geographic transformation, and for the understanding of group characteristics. As this scientific theory explains the tangible phenomena more logically and powerfully than the traditional superorganic theory, there is greatly diminished basis for cultural geographers to cling to the old paradigm. Unless superorganicists can logically justify their position and demonstrate its superiority over this theory, cultural geographers have an academic responsibility to accept this theory.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


State University.


------. 1925. The morphology of landscape. Univ. of California Publications in Geography 2, no. 2: 19-54.

------. 1941. Foreword to historical geography. Annals


LIST OF THE SAMPLE CEMETERIES

The site number of each cemetery is stated in terms of the map location identified by the grid number from A to S on the X axis and 1 to 16 on the Y axis: e.g., 1A, 8C, and 15N. Parish seat cemeteries are distinguished from others by the addition of the letter S as a prefix: e.g., S2A and S11P. If more than one parish seat cemetery exists in a grid cell, the cemeteries are specified by the suffix 1, 2, or 3: e.g., S11L1, S11L2, and S11L3. Heuristic group categories are stated in the parentheses.

(N) North Louisiana  (S) South Louisiana
(C) Catholic          (P) Protestant
(W) white            (B) black
(U) urban            (R) rural

Each cemetery belongs to four heuristic groups: e.g., (NPWR): North Louisiana, Protestant, white, and rural.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NUMBER</th>
<th>NAME AND LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1A</td>
<td>Hosston Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hosston, Caddo Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1B</td>
<td>Pleasant Hill Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Plain Dealing, Bossier Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1C</td>
<td>Union Springs Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cotton Valley, Webster Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1D</td>
<td>Phipps Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Camp, Claiborne Parish</td>
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<td>S1D</td>
<td>Arlington Cemetery (NPWU)</td>
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<td>Homer, Claiborne Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>1E</td>
<td>Friendship Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Summerfield, Claiborne Parish</td>
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<td>1F</td>
<td>New Land Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
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<td>Bernice, Union Parish</td>
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<td>1G</td>
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<td>S1G</td>
<td>Farmerville Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Farmerville, Union Parish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

296
1H Reppond Cemetery (NPWR)
Marion, Union Parish

1I Washington Chapel Cemetery (NPBR)
Bastrop, Morehouse Parish

S1I Christ Church Cemetery (NPWU)
Bastrop, Morehouse Parish

1J St. Luke Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)
Bonita, Morehouse Parish

S1K Oak Grove Cemetery (NPWU)
Oak Grove, West Carroll Parish

1L Cane Ridge Church No.1 Cemetery (NPBR)
Lake Providence, East Carroll Parish

S1L Lake Providence Cemetery (NPWU)
Lake Providence, East Carroll Parish

2A Blanchard Cemetery (NPWR)
Blanchard, Caddo Parish

S2A Oakland Cemetery (NPWU)
Shreveport, Caddo Parish

2B Sunlight Cemetery (NPBR)
Bossier City, Bossier Parish

2C Antioch Cemetery (NPWR)
McIntyre, Webster Parish

S2C Minden Cemetery (NPWU)
Minden, Webster Parish

2D Gilgal Cemetery (NPWR)
Langston, Claiborne Parish

2E Alabama Baptist Church Cemetery (NPWR)
Northeast of Arcadia, Lincoln Parish

S2E Arcadia Cemetery (NPWU)
Arcadia, Bienville Parish

2F Colvin Cemetery (NPWR)
Ruston, Lincoln Parish

S2F Greenwood Cemetery (NPWU)
Ruston, Lincoln Parish

2G Smyrna Cemetery (NPWR)
Downsville, Union Parish
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<td>Old City Cemetery (NPWU)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2I</td>
<td>Wham Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
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<tr>
<td>2J</td>
<td>Shanks Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
<td>On Boef River, Richland Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2K</td>
<td>Bethany Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
<td>Floyd, West Carroll Parish</td>
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<td>2L</td>
<td>Henderson Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
<td>Henderson, East Carroll Parish</td>
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<td>Friendship Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
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<td>Waterloo Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
<td>Magenta, Bossier Parish</td>
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<td>3C</td>
<td>Shehee Cemetery (NPBP)</td>
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<td>Taylor Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
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<td>3F</td>
<td>Mt. Zion Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
<td>Hodge, Jackson Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3G</td>
<td>Prantom Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
<td>Chatham, Ouachita Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3H</td>
<td>Union Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
<td>Longtown, Ouachita Parish</td>
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<td>3I</td>
<td>Alto Presbyterian Church Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
<td>Alto, Richland Parish</td>
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<td>S3I</td>
<td>Rayville Masonic Cemetery (NPWU)</td>
<td>Rayville, Richland Parish</td>
</tr>
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<td>3J</td>
<td>Sunflower Cemetery (NPWR)</td>
<td>Baskinton, Franklin Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>3K</td>
<td>Waverly Cemetery (NPBR)</td>
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Waverly, Madison Parish

3L Mt. Cella Cemetery (NPBR)
Tallulah, Madison Parish

S3L Silver Cross Cemetery (NPWU)
Tallulah, Madison Parish

4A Gamble Cemetery (NPWR)
Longstreet, De Soto Parish

4B Calvery Baptist Church Cemetery (NPWR)
Mansfield, De Soto Parish

S4B Mansfield Cemetery (NPWU)
Mansfield, De Soto Parish

4C St. Pauls Cemetery (NPBR)
Coushatta, Red River Parish

S4C Springville Cemetery (NPWU)
Coushatta, Red River Parish

4D Hathorn Cemetery (NPWR)
Ashland, Natchitoches Parish

4E Pine Ridge Cemetery (NPWR)
Goldonna, Winn Parish

4F Transport Cemetery (NPWR)
Jonesboro, Jackson Parish

S4F Jonesboro Cemetery (NPWU)
Jonesboro, Jackson Parish

4G Hebron Cemetery (NPWR)
Sikes, Winn Parish

S4H Columbia Cemetery (NPWU)
Columbia, Caldwell Cemetery

4I Ogden Cemetery (NPWR)
Liddieville, Franklin Parish

4J Cuba Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)
Como, Franklin Parish

S4J Old Wnnsboro Cemetery (NPWU)
Winnsboro, Franklin Parish

4K Shackleford Cemetery (NPBR)
Shackleford, Tensas Parish
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Number</th>
<th>Cemetery Name and Location</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4L</td>
<td>Canton Cemetery (NPBR) Newellton, Tensas Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5A</td>
<td>Barber Cemetery (NPWR) Zwolle, De Soto Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5B</td>
<td>Pelican Cemetery (NPWR) Pelican, De Soto Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5C</td>
<td>Ajax Cemetery (NPWR) Pleasant Hill, Natchitoches Parish</td>
</tr>
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<td>5D</td>
<td>Campi Catholic Cemetery (NCWR) Campi, Natchitoches Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5D</td>
<td>American Cemetery (NPWU) Natchitoches, Natchitoches Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>5E</td>
<td>Couley Cemetery (NPWR) Winnfield, Winn Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5F</td>
<td>Corinth Tabernacle (NPWR) Winnfield, Winn Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>S5F</td>
<td>Winnfield City Cemetery (NPWU) Winnfield, Winn Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5G</td>
<td>Nelson Cemetery (NPWR) Urania, Winn Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5H</td>
<td>Pleasant Ridge Cemetery (NPWR) Olla, La Salle Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5I</td>
<td>Catahoula Cemetery (NPWR) Enterprise, Catahoula Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S5I</td>
<td>Harrisonburg Cemetery (NPWU) Harrisonburg, Catahoula Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5J</td>
<td>Pilgrim Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR) Sicily Island, Catahoula Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5K</td>
<td>Helena Cemetery (NPBR) Helena, Tensas Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6B</td>
<td>Old St. Joseph Cemetery (NCWR) Zwolle, Sabine Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6C</td>
<td>Fort Jesup Cemetery (NPWR) Fort Jesup, Sabine Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S6C</td>
<td>Many Cemetery (NPWU) Many, Sabine Parish</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6D Bayou Blue Cemetery (NPWR)
Provençal, Natchitoches Parish

6E Union Grove Cemetery (NPWR)
Montgomery, Grant Parish

6F Hebron Cemetery (NPWR)
Iatt, Grant Parish

6G Colfax Cemetery (NPWU)
Colfax, Grant Parish

6H McKay Cemetery (NPWR)
Pollock, Grant Parish

6I Nolley Memorial Cemetery (NPWU)
Jena, La Salle Parish

6J Young Cemetery (NPWR)
Jonesville, Catahoula Parish

6K Concordia Cemetery (NPBU)
Ferriday, Concordia Parish

7B Little Flock Baptist Church Cemetery (NPWR)
Negreet, Sabine Parish

7C Prewitts Chapel Cemetery (NPWR)
Hornbeck, Vernon Parish

7D Booly Cemetery (NPWR)
Kisatchie, Natchitoches Parish

7E Flatwoods Cemetery (NPWR)
Flatwoods, Rapides Parish

7F St. Matthew Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)
Rapides, Rapides Parish

7G Mt. Triumph Cemetery (NPBU)
Pineville, Rapides Parish

7H Paul Cemetery (NPWR)
Deville, Rapides Parish
7I Nicholas Cemetery (NPWR)
Larto, Catahoula Parish
7J Bougere Cemetery (NPWR)
Slocum, Concordia Parish
8C Kay Cemetery (NPWR)
Leesville, Vernon Parish
8SC Percusion-Dennis Cemetery (NPWU)
Leesville, Vernon Parish
8D Franklin Cemetery (NPWR)
North Folk Folk, Vernon Parish
8E Upper Mt. Moriah Cemetery (NPWR)
Cora, Vernon Parish
8F St. Mark Cemetery (NPBR)
Melder, Rapides Parish
8G St. John Cemetery (NPBR)
Lamourie, Rapides Parish
8H Dillot Cemetery (SCWR)
Isla de Cotes, Avoyelles Parish
8H St. Joseph Cemetery No.1 (SCWU)
Marksville, Avoyelles Parish
8I St. Peters Catholic Cemetery (SCWR)
Bordelonville, Avoyelles Parish
8J Oak Grove Cemetery (SPBR)
Torras, Pointe Coupee Parish
9C Old Cypress Cemetery (NPWR)
Cypress Creek, Vernon Parish
9C De Ridder City Cemetery (NPWU)
De Ridder, Beauregard Parish
9D Smyrna Baptist Cemetery (NPWR)
Smyrna, Beauregard Parish
9E Blackjack Cemetery (NPWR)
Elizabeth, Allen Parish
9F Oakhill Cemetery (NPWR)
Oakdale, Allen Parish

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9G  Adams–Johnson Cemetery (NPWR)
   Turkey Creek, Evangeline Parish

9H  Little Rock Cemetery (SPBR)
   Bunkie, Avoyelles Parish

9I  Mt. Olive Cemetery (SPBR)
   Odenburg, Avoyelles Parish

9J  Mt. Zion Cemetery (SPBR)
   Lacour, Pointe Coupee Parish

9K  St. Mary Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)
   Wakefield, West Feliciana Parish

S9K  Grace Episcopal Church Cemetery (NPWU)
    St. Francisville, West Feliciana Parish

9L  New Zion Baptist Church Cemetery (NPBR)
    Gurley, East Feliciana Parish

S9L  Clinton Confederate Cemetery (NPWU)
    Clinton, East Feliciana Parish

9M  Day's Chapel Cemetery (NPWR)
    Clinton, East Feliciana Parish

9N  Hutchinson Cemetery (NPWR)
    Greensburg, St. Helena Parish

S9N  Greensburg Cemetery (NPWU)
    Greensburg, St. Helena Parish

9O  Beulah Cemetery (NPWR)
    Bolivar, Tangipahoa Parish

9P  Sweet Home Cemetery (NPBU)
    Franklinton, Washington Parish

S9P  Ellis Cemetery (NPWU)
    Franklinton, Washington Parish

9Q  Pierce Cemetery (NPWR)
    Vernado, Washington Parish

10B  Franks Cemetery (NPWR)
    Bivens, Beauregard Parish

10C  Havens Cemetery (NPWR)
    Singer, Beauregard Parish

10D  Prusha Cemetery (NPWR)
    Longville, Beauregard Parish

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1CE  Simmons Cemetery (NFWR)
     Oberlin, Allen Parish

S1CE Oberlin Cemetery (SCWU)
     Oberlin, Allen Parish

1CF  Manuel Cemetery (SCWR)
     Oberlin, Allen Parish

1CG  Pine Point Cemetery (SCWR)
     Mamou, Evangeline Parish

S1CG  Sacred Heart Cemetery (SCWU)
      Ville Platte, Evangeline Parish

1CH  New Bethel Baptist Church Cemetery (SPBR)
      Plaisance, St. Landry Parish

S1CH  St. Landry Catholic Church Cemetery (SCWU)
      Opelousas, St. Landry Parish

1CI  St. Mary Cemetery (SPBR)
      Port Barre, St. Landry Parish

1CJ  Little Union Baptist Church Cemetery (SPBR)
      Fordoche, Pointe Coupee Parish

1CK  Chenal Cemetery (SCWR)
      Chenal, Pointe Coupee Parish

S1CK  St. Mary Cemetery (SCWU)
      New Roads, Pointe Coupee Parish

1CL  Shaw-McHugh Cemetery (NPWR)
      Zachary, East Baton Rouge Parish

1CM  Salem Cemetery (NPWR)
      Weiss, Livingston Parish

1CN  Bankston Cemetery (NPWR)
      Independence, Livingston Parish

S1CN  Amite Municipal Cemetery (NPWU)
      Amite, Tangepahoa Parish

1CO  Narretto Cemetery (NPWR)
      Smiles, Tangepahoa Parish

1CP  Fussell Cemetery (NPWR)
      Folsom, St. Tammany Parish

1CQ  Grantham Cemetery (NPWR)
Bush, St. Tammany Parish

11B Clarks Cemetery (NPWR)
Starks, Beauregard Parish

11C Alston Cemetery (NPWR)
De Quincy, Beauregard Parish

11D Birdnest Cemetery (NPWR)
Lake Charles, Calcasieu Parish

11E Le Bleu Cemetery (SCWR)
Fenton, Jefferson Davis Parish

11F Bertrand Cemetery (SCWR)
Jennings, Jefferson Davis Parish

11G Frey Cemetery (SCWR)
Eunice, Acadia Parish

11H Sunrise Baptist Church Cemetery (SPBR)
Church Point, St. Landry Parish

11I Ring Zion Cemetery (SPBR)
Arnaudville, St. Martin Parish

11J Rising Sun Cemetery (SPBR)
Ramah, Iberville Parish

11K St. Joseph Cemetery (SCWR)
Grosse Tete, Iberville Parish

11L Laboring Society Cemetery (NPBU)
Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge Parish

S11L1 Magnolia Cemetery (NPWU)
Baton Rouge, East Baton Rouge Parish

S11L2 Holy Cemetery (SPBU)
Port Allen, West Baton Rouge Parish

S11L3 St. Johns Cemetery (SCWU)
Flaquemine, Iberville Parish

11M Felder Cemetery (NPWR)
Fort Vincent, Livingston Parish

11N McKinney Cemetery (NPWR)
Killiam, Livingston Parish

S11N Red Oak Cemetery (NPWU)
Livingston, Livingston Parish
11O  Mitchell Cemetery (NPWR)
     Ponchatoula, Tangipahoa Parish

11P  Helping Hand Club No.1 Cemetery (NPBR)
     Houltonville, St. Tammany Parish

S11P Wilson Cemetery (NPWU)
     Covington, St. Tammany Parish

11Q  Peace Grove Memorial Cemetery (NPWR)
     St. Tammany, St. Tammany Parish

12B  Comier Cemetery (NPWR)
     Toomey, Calcasieu Parish

12C  Dutch Cove Cemetery (SPWR)
     Sulphur, Calcasieu Parish

S12D Orange Grove and Graceland Cemetery (SCWU)
     Lake Charles, Calcasieu Parish

12E  Lorrain Cemetery (SCWR)
     Hayes, Calcasieu Parish

12F  Andrus Cove Cemetery (SCWR)
     Lake Arthur, Jefferson Davis Parish

S12F  Calvary Catholic Cemetery (SCWU)
     Jennings, Jefferson Davis Parish

12G  Lyons Point Cemetery (SCWR)
     Crowley, Acadia Parish

S12G Old Crowley Cemetery (SCWU)
     Crowley, Acadia Parish

12H  St. Alphonsus Catholic Church Cemetery (SCWR)
     Maurice, Vermilion Parish

S12H  St. John the Evangelist Cemetery (SCWU)
     Lafayette, Lafayette Parish

12I  Mallalieu United Methodist Church Cemetery (SPBU)
     St. Martinville, St. Martin Parish

S12I1  St. Michael Cemetery (SCWU)
     St. Martinville, St. Martin Parish

S12I2  St. Peter's Catholic Church Cemetery (SCWU)
     New Iberia, Iberia Parish

12J  Mt. Zion No.2 Cemetery (SPBR)
     Loreauville, Iberia Parish

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12L  St. Paul Cemetery (SPBR)
     White Castle, Iberville Parish

12M  St. Mary's Cemetery (SCWR)
     Union, St. James Parish

S12M1 Ascension Catholic Cemetery (SCWU)
       Donaldsonville, Ascension Parish

S12M2 St. Michael Cemetery (SCWU)
       Convent, St. James Parish

12N  St. Peters Catholic Church Cemetery (SCWU)
     Reserve, St. John the Baptist Parish

S12N St. John the Baptist Cemetery (SCWU)
      Edgard, St. John the Baptist Parish

12O  Providence Cemetery (SPBU)
     Laplace, St. John the Baptist Parish

12P  Hebrew Rest Cemetery (SPWU)
     New Orleans, Orleans Parish

12Q  Fields Cemetery (NPBR)
     Salt Bayou, St. Tammany Parish

13B  Head of the Hollow Cemetery (SPWR)
     Johnsons Bayou, Cameron Parish

S13C Kelly-Rogers Cemetery (SPWU)
     Cameron, Cameron Parish

13D  Sacred Heart Cemetery (SCWR)
     Crede, Cameron Parish

13E  Chenier Perdue Cemetery (SCWR)
     Grand Chenier, Cameron Parish

13F  Gueydan Cemetery (SCWR)
     Gueydan, Vermilion Parish

13G  Suire Cemetery (SCWR)
     Forked Island, Vermilion Parish

13H  Bancker Cemetery (SCWR)
     Bancker, Vermilion Parish

S13H Old St. Mary Magdalen Cemetery (SCWU)
      Abberville, Vermilion Parish

13I  St. Marcellus Cemetery (SCWR)
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<th>Parish</th>
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<td>Sorrell Community Cemetery (SPBR)</td>
<td>St. Mary Parish</td>
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<td>13K</td>
<td>Oaklawn Cemetery (SPBR)</td>
<td>St. Mary Parish</td>
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<td>S13K</td>
<td>Franklin Cemetery (SPWU)</td>
<td>St. Mary Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>13L</td>
<td>Immaculate Conception Church Cemetery (SCWR)</td>
<td>Assumption Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>S13L</td>
<td>St. Anne Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>Assumption Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13M</td>
<td>Our Lady of Prompt Succor Cemetery (SCWR)</td>
<td>Lafourche Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13M</td>
<td>St. Joseph Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>Lafourche Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13N</td>
<td>St. Lawrence Cemetery (SCWR)</td>
<td>Lafourche Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13O</td>
<td>Mt. Airy Cemetery (SPBR)</td>
<td>St. Charles Parish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S13O</td>
<td>Philadelphia Baptist Church Cemetery (SPBU)</td>
<td>St. Charles Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>13P</td>
<td>Our Lady of Prompt Succor Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>Jefferson Parish</td>
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<td>S13P1</td>
<td>St. Louis I Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>Orleans Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>S13P2</td>
<td>Hook and Ladder Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>Jefferson Parish</td>
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<td>13Q</td>
<td>St. Bernard Catholic Church Cemetery (SCWU)</td>
<td>St. Bernard Parish</td>
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<td>S13Q</td>
<td>Ellen Cemetery (SPBU)</td>
<td>St. Bernard Parish</td>
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<td>14E</td>
<td>St. Eugene Cemetery (SCWR)</td>
<td>Cameron Parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>14G</td>
<td>Pecan Island Community Cemetery (SCWR)</td>
<td>Vermilion Parish</td>
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</table>
14K  St. Joseph Cemetery (SCWU)  
Patterson, St. Mary Parish

14L  Milton Cemetery (SPBR)  
Amelia, St. Mary Parish

14M  Christ Baptist Church Cemetery (SPBR)  
Houma, Terrebonne Parish

14N  Matherne–Rogers Cemetery (SCWR)  
Houma, Terrebonne Parish

S14N  St. Francis Cemetery No. 1 (SCWU)  
Houma, Terrebonne Parish

14O  Holy Rosary Church Cemetery (SCWU)  
Larose, Lafourche Parish

14P  Fisher Cemetery (SCWU)  
Lafitte, Jefferson Parish

14Q  St. Joseph Cemetery (SPBR)  
Phoenix, Plaquemines Parish

S14Q  St. Thomas Cemetery (SCWU)  
Point a la Hache, Plaquemines Parish

15N  Holy Family Cemetery No. 2 (SCWR)  
Dulac, Terrebonne Parish

15O  Our Lady of Prompt Succor Cemetery (SCWU)  
Golden Meadows, Lafourche Parish

15P  Picciola Family Cemetery (SCWR)  
Leeville, Lafourche Parish

15R  Tropical Bend Cemetery (SPBR)  
Tropical Bend, Plaquemines Parish

15S  Bura's Family Cemetery (SCWR)  
Venice, Plaquemines Parish

16Q  Grand Isle Cemetery (SCWU)  
Grand Isle, Jefferson Parish
# APPENDIX II

## SURVEY FORM

### LOUISIANA CEMETERY SURVEY

Tadashi Nakagawa  
Graduate Student, Department of Geography & Anthropology  
Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, LA 70803

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Survey Information</th>
<th>Location Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Site Number:</td>
<td>Parish:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name of the Cemetery:</td>
<td>Address:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date of Survey:</td>
<td>Topographic Quadrangle:</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roll No. B&amp;W:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame Numbers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll No. Slide:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frame Numbers:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Social & Historical Information

Ownership: ( ) single family  
( ) community  
( ) church  
( ) commercial  
( ) municipal  
( ) other  
Date of Establishment: _____  
Ethnicity: ____________________  
Denomination: ____________________  
Cemetery Decoration Days: ____________________  
Cemetery Type: ____________________

### Description of the Cemetery:

Draw a layout of the cemetery:  
Physical Setting:  
Elevation: _____ ft.  
Estimated area: _____ sq. meters  
Number of graves:  
( ) entrance gate  
( ) fence  
( ) central cross  
Arrangement of different ethnics or denominations: ____________________

310
Persons who told you the facts about the cemetery:
Name and address          Age        Reason for knowing the facts.

Documents seen by you and having a bearing on the cemetery

Structures present on the cemetery: (  ) office (  ) privy
(  ) mausoleum (  ) walled vaults (  ) grave sheds
(  ) false crypts (  ) tabernacle (  ) reliquary
(  ) others

Vegetation & landscaping:
Ground: (  ) scraped (  ) gravel (  ) lawn (  ) wild grass
(  ) shells (  ) other
Roads in the cemetery: (  ) not present (  ) not paved
(  ) gravel (  ) grass (  ) shell (  ) concrete
(  ) other
Trees and shrubs: (  ) cedar (  ) magnolia (  ) live oak
(  ) willow (  ) crape myrtle (  ) pecan
(  ) pine (  ) sycamore (  ) other

Types of interment (%):
_______ subterranean (____ coping)
_______ subaerial
_______ concrete vault
(  ) underground vault

Location of concrete vaults (%):
_______ mostly beneath the ground
_______ mostly above the ground
_______ completely above the ground
_______ double concrete vaults      frequency ____

Historical change of the burial practice:
(  ) from subterranean to concrete vault burial practice
(  ) from subaerial to concrete vault burial practice
(  ) from subterranean to subaerial burial practice
(  ) others
Spatial Arrangement:

1. Orientation of graves: number of axes
   ( ) feet to east ( ) feet to the central road
   ( ) others _______________________

2. Husband-wife arrangement:
   ( ) wife buried left of husband (more than 70 %)
   ( ) no pattern

3. Location of child burials: ( ) no pattern
   ( ) next to parents ( ) special plots for children

4. Grouping forms (%):
   _______ above ground vaults
   _______ copings
   _______ fences
   _______ others

Copings: ( ) multiple burial practice

1. Composition (%): individual coping _______
   double coping ______ multiple coping ______

2. Height (cm): maximum ___ minimum ___ median ___

3. Material (%): concrete ___ brick ___ stone ___
   wood ___

4. Fillings (%): no special fillings ___ concrete ___
   gravel ___ shells ___ marble chips ___

Concrete Vaults: ( ) use of concrete vaults for
subterranean interment

1. Forms (%):

   common form (draw)
   _______ other forms

2. Paintings of vaults:
   ( ) white ( ) gray ( ) silver ( ) blue ( ) brown
   ( ) yellow ( ) red ( ) others _________
Above Ground Vaults: ( ) multiple burial practice

Percentage of above ground vaults by the number of chambers: 1. ___ 2. ___ 3. ___ 4. ___ 5 or more ____ maximum ____

Grave Markers:

1. Arrangement (%): headstone & footstone __________ headstone only ____ footstone only ___ no markers ______

2. Material (%): wood ____ stone ____ concrete ____ others ____

Cross: number ____ percentage ______

1. Material (%): wood ____ iron ____ concrete ____ stone ____ others ______

2. Crucifix motif (in number): crucifix ______
   Chi Rho _____ INRI ______ TBA _____ IHS _____
   crucifix relief on a vault _____

Statues: number _____ percentage ______

Madonna ____ Christ ____ angel ____ lamb ___
   draped women ____ confederate soldier ____
   others ____________________________

Decorations of Graves: ( ) shells ( ) bricks ( ) lamp ______
   ( ) four flower pots ( ) broken crockery ( ) bottles ( )
   marbles ( ) toys ( ) dishes ( ) others ______

Gravestone Styles and Symbols (in number): obelisk ___
   pulpit ____ broken column ____ picture ____
   dove ____ lamb ____ clasped hands ____
   the cross & the crown ____ the cross & the sheep ____
   the hand with a cross ___ a finger to heaven ___
   weeping willow ____ inverted torch ___
   kinds of symbols ___________

Fraternity Symbols: ( ) Woodmen of the World ( ) Masonic ( ) Odd Fellow ( ) Independent Order of Foresters ( ) Woodmen Circle ( ) Knights of Pythias ( ) Others ____________________________
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commercial Tombstones and Tombstone Motifs</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 1900 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 unkn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>obelisk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulpit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>broken column</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dove</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lamb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clasped hands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross &amp; crown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross &amp; swords</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross &amp; sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand with cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a finger to heaven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>weeping willow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inverted torch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roll</td>
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### Appendix III

#### Material Culture Traits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Culture Traits</th>
<th>North/South Cat./Prof. White/Black Urban/Rural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(%) (Chi-Sq.) (%) (Chi-Sq.) (%) (Chi-Sq.) (%) (Chi-Sq.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Religion</td>
<td>7/ 5 0.2 4/ 7 0.4 8/ 1 3.1 14/ 3 10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed Race</td>
<td>6/28 20.4* 39/ 4 39.1* 19/ 0 13.5* 32/ 6 28.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church Ownership</td>
<td>37/69 21.8* 66/42 12.2* 40/77 24.1* 42/53 2.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graves 800 or More</td>
<td>15/31 8.6 42/14 21.4* 26/ 0 21.1* 61/2107.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fences</td>
<td>71/62 2.1 73/66 1.1 81/27 58.5* 69/67 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Entrance Gates</td>
<td>25/22 0.1 27/22 0.6 50/ 5 15.1* 46/13 29.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Crosses</td>
<td>0/35 77.0* 67/0142.3* 23/ 0 16.1* 26/13 6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mausoleums</td>
<td>0/37 60.6* 50/ 1 86.4* 0/19 12.9* 27/8 15.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scraped Earth</td>
<td>16/ 0 16.6* 0/14 9.7 13/ 1 6.3 0/15 15.2*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trees</td>
<td>86/57 24.5* 57/82 15.3* 77/70 1.1 80/73 1.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cedar Trees</td>
<td>39/19 10.6* 24/34 3.1 38/13 11.9* 44/26 8.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Crape Myrtle Trees</td>
<td>14/ 2 9.5 3/12 4.2 12/ 3 3.8 17/ 6 5.9</td>
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<td>Magnolia Trees</td>
<td>8/ 4 1.4 4/16 0.6 16/ 3 1.6 15/ 3 12.5*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pine Trees</td>
<td>18/ 5 4.9 9/12 0.2 11/ 0 0.0 9/12 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Live Oak Trees</td>
<td>10/21 5.8 18/13 0.8 12/18 1.2 21/11 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Above-Ground 10%</td>
<td>1/50 85.2* 59/ 5 61.6* 21/13 1.5 36/10 24.8*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete Vaults 20%</td>
<td>8/75108.6* 65/22 38.0* 28/50 9.4 30/35 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Double Concrete Vests</td>
<td>1/48 80.7* 47/ 9 43.2* 17/24 1.2 69/54 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below-Ground 50%</td>
<td>94/19140.4 18/65 86.8* 69/56 3.2 55/11 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copings</td>
<td>56/34 11.3 31/34 9.6 54/29 11.1* 65/38 20.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copings Sand Filling</td>
<td>18/0 18.1* 0/15 10.6* 14/ 3 4.8 1/16 11.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copings Marble Chips2/7</td>
<td>7/12 5.2 9/23 5.2 24/ 6 8.1 17/21 0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Concrete Slabs</td>
<td>51/84 25.5* 93/53 31.7* 65/58 0.8 75/58 6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palese Crypts</td>
<td>17/ 5 6.8 8/14 1.7 14/ 8 1.3 27/ 6 20.6*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grave sheds</td>
<td>4/ 0 3.6 0/ 3 2.1 3/ 0 2.0 1/ 3 0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt-To-East</td>
<td>93/31102.8* 13/90132.1* 66/54 6.9 57/76 8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wife Left Of Husband</td>
<td>9/ 0 8.8 0/ 6 5.1 7/ 0 4.8 1/ 8 4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grouped Burials 50%</td>
<td>10/30 15.9* 42/ 9 34.6* 23/ 0 16.5* 40/ 6 40.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shell Decors</td>
<td>16/ 4 7.1 6/13 2.2 15/ 0 10.9* 13/11 0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toy Decorations</td>
<td>7/ 1 4.5 3/ 5 0.5 6/ 1 1.7 1/ 6 3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flower Pot Decorants</td>
<td>6/ 1 3.9 0/ 6 4.0 4/ 5 0.0 2/ 5 1.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photographs Decorants</td>
<td>36/55 6.6 73/34 27.6* 57/ 6 44.9* 57/38 7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked Graves 50%</td>
<td>12/17 0.7 0/19 13.8* 0/58121.9* 9/16 2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Read &amp; F Markers 1069/2</td>
<td>2101.2* 6/7 47.9* 55/12 37.2* 35/48 5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wooden Boards</td>
<td>12/15 0.0 11/13 0.0 7/ 0 0.0 1/ 0 0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Rocks</td>
<td>14/ 0 13.7* 11/11 5.3 10/ 3 2.8 3/ 11 3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross Markers 10%</td>
<td>4/76134.2* 90/10135.0* 33/24 1.6 36/27 2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crucifix Markers</td>
<td>3/46 65.6* 65/311.3* 25/ 1 15.4* 35/11 18.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statue Markers 1%</td>
<td>9/36 62.6* 75/10 97.0* 30/15 5.2 35/23 4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliquary Markers</td>
<td>0/36 62.2* 52/0106.2* 17/ 0 12.0* 21/10 5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodmen Of The World45/4</td>
<td>48.0 67/40 13.4* 61/ 1 65.0* 80/31 49.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masonic Markers</td>
<td>45/13 24.7* 18/38 8.8 41/10 16.4* 55/23 5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oakliss Markers</td>
<td>60/32 17.1* 42/53 2.0 61/15 37.4* 69/41 16.7*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pulpit Markers</td>
<td>64/35 19.5* 45/56 2.0 66/13 49.5* 64/48 5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weeping Willow</td>
<td>12/ 4 3.7 3/ 11 3.5 12/ 0 7.9 21/3 18.2*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Finger To Heaven</td>
<td>35/ 7 22.5* 8/31 12.8* 32/ 3 19.5* 43/16 19.1*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glascied Hands</td>
<td>55/15 35.6* 21/47 12.7* 51/ 8 32.7* 52/25 6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dove</td>
<td>61/25 29.4* 32/53 7.5 59/12 39.5* 63/40 10.4*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lane</td>
<td>66/34 21.7* 49/58 1.5 66/24 31.5* 71/48 10.3*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross And Crown</td>
<td>18/13 1.0 18/16 0.0 22/ 0 15.6 36/ 7 31.5*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motifs 3 Kinds</td>
<td>50/13 32.5* 18/43 12.5* 47/ 5 35.1* 55/28 16.5*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*significant at 0.001
VITA

Tadashi Nakagawa was born May 28, 1957, in Toyama, Japan. He received the Bachelor of Arts degree in geography in 1980 and the Master of Science in geography in 1982 from the University of Tsukuba. Since 1982 he has been pursuing his Doctor of Philosophy in geography at Louisiana State University.
EXAMINATION AND THESIS REPORT

Candidate: Tadashi Nakagawa

Major Field: Geography

Title of Thesis: THE CEMETERY AS A CULTURAL MANIFESTATION: LOUISIANA NECROGEOGRAPHY

Approved: 

[Signatures]

Dean of the Graduate School

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

[Signatures]

Date of Examination:

December 16, 1986