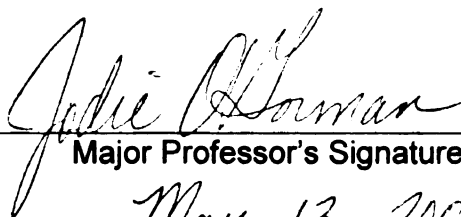This is to certify that the
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A STUDY OF ETHNICITY IN AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN
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A STUDY OF ETHNICITY IN AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN CEMETERY IN
FLINT, MICHIGAN

By

Nicole Jennifer Burritt

A THESIS

Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

A STUDY OF ETHNICITY IN AN ORTHODOX CHRISTIAN CEMETERY IN FLINT, MICHIGAN

By

Nicole Jennifer Burritt

This thesis examines ethnicity through the lens of changing gravestone attributes in an Orthodox Christian Cemetery in Flint, Michigan. Immigrants from Central and Southeastern Europe as well as second-generation and later Americans are represented in the cemetery. Attributes on gravestones are compared among individuals based on their origin (categorized as North American- or foreign-born) to explore changing styles which represent negotiations of identity as an immigrant population becomes increasingly integrated into mainstream American culture. By situating these results within the broader realm of gravestone studies and anthropology, changes sensitive to ethnic identity and assimilation can be examined in concert with changes due to larger societal trends. One of the key findings in this study is the identification of pronounced differences in the way that ethnic identity markers (such as language of inscription) are selected for the gravestones of foreign-born as compared to North American-born individuals. This suggests that ethnic identity as represented in the cemetery may vary greatly among individuals based on their origin, despite a broader shared status as "ethnics." This has implications for subsequent research on ethnicity in cemeteries, as it is common in past studies for gravestones to be grouped as "ethnic" without consideration to individual origin.

To My Family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis was completed with the continuing support and inspiration of my family. In particular, my husband Jake provided unfaltering and constant encouragement and enthusiasm for this project, and provided valuable assistance in recording this cemetery. His sense of humor and enthusiasm for all things historical make him an excellent companion on any adventure. Both he and my family early on decided to exercise patience and acceptance of my need to stop at old cemeteries wherever travels take us; sometimes they even join in. The idea for this thesis grew out of such stops, and Michigan itself possesses such a rich immigrant history that I found it impossible not to combine these two interests of mine.

Many thanks go to my committee for their assistance and support. My advisor, Dr. Jodie O'Gorman, encouraged my initial idea for this project and provided suggestions and guidance throughout. Dr. Lynne Goldstein lent valuable insights into the field of mortuary studies and statistical analysis. Dr. Ken Lewis offered enthusiasm as well as indispensable advice in conducting historical research. Dr. Keely Stauter-Halsted guided me to key resources in the field of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Eastern European history. Both faculty and students in the department also assisted me during my time at Michigan State. In particular, Drs. Bill Lovis, Bob Hitchcock, and John Norder were always available for discussion and support.

Outside of the Anthropology Department, much gratitude goes to Dr. David Prestel, Chair of the Linguistics Department, for the application of his diverse language skills in the translation of weathered gravestone inscriptions. Drs. Bill and Yvonne Lockwood lent insights into Southeastern European culture. I also extend gratitude to the

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Statement of Problem

Cemeteries represent concentrations of the material culture of death, in which elements such as gravemarkers, associated funerary structures, and grave site decorations can reveal insights into social organization, behavior, identity, and beliefs. Historical archaeology in particular offers the opportunity to explore ethnic identity in a mortuary context using a combination of material evidence and documentary sources. This thesis will examine the negotiation of ethnic identity as evidenced by changing gravestone attributes among North American-born and foreign-born (immigrant) individuals in an Orthodox Christian cemetery in Flint, Michigan using both a quantitative and qualitative approach. In this paper, the term "Orthodox" refers to Eastern Orthodox Christianity, of which a number of branches, commonly associated with specific ethnicities or nationalities, exist (such as Russian Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, and Ukrainian Orthodox). The results will be situated in the context of existing research on ethnicity as evidenced in the historical cemetery and on ethnic and religious identity negotiation and acculturation among immigrants and their descendants, as well as archaeological approaches to ethnicity and material mortuary culture.

Richard E. Meyer's 1993 introduction to *Ethnicity and the American Cemetery* states: "Collectively, America's ethnic cemeteries represent largely untapped resources for the study of evolving patterns of ethnicity in American culture" (Meyer 1993:3). In 2007, Gary Collison, in the introduction to the annual publication of the Association for Gravestone Studies, *Markers*, noted "there are many potential topics I would like to see covered in future issues of *Markers* including…ethnic cemeteries, especially the so-

1

called 'national' cemeteries for immigrant groups" (Collison 2007:v). A number of

studies followed Meyer's original suggestion (e.g. Gradwohl 1993, Watters 1994;

Garman 1994; Bennett 1994; Jamieson 1995; Handler 1996; Zucchi 1997; Prince 2002;

Eckert 2002; Goldstein and Buikstra 2004; Hodge 2005, Gradwohl 2007), making clear

the vast and ever-expanding range of possibilities for research on historical ethnic

cemeteries, as well as the need for both comparative data and research on often neglected

ethnic groups. The proposed thesis will build on this important and growing body of

work, while contributing to the literature of historical ethnic cemeteries.

Review of Literature

A number of previous works have addressed the topic of ethnicity in historical

American cemeteries. Perhaps the most comprehensive contribution to this area of study

has been Richard E. Meyer's *Ethnicity in the American Cemetery* (1993). This edited

volume features essays on a variety of different ethnic cemeteries (e.g. Native American,

Jewish, Euro-American, Mexican-American, Polynesian, and Asian). Similarly, Richard

E. Meyer's *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (1989) also

includes essays on ethnic cemeteries (e.g. African-American, Mexican-American). In

both volumes, the essays are primarily descriptive, and interpretations are based largely

on comparative ethnographic, historical, and documentary sources on the ethnic groups.

Similarly, *Markers* has also published a number of articles on ethnic cemeteries,

primarily those representing Western European-American, Native American, and

African-American populations. The essays and articles noted above provide valuable

examples on how issues of ethnic identity and acculturation in the historical cemetery can

be explored. Primarily, they rely on a qualitative approach, but studies on ethnic

cemeteries also benefit from the use of quantitative approaches and the exploration of different facets of ethnic identity among less-studied groups.

Historical Cemeteries as Places to Study Ethnic Interaction

A common theme in studies on historical ethnic cemeteries in America has been the interaction between native or oppressed cultures (i.e. African American, Native American) and Euro-American culture. In particular, such studies address issues of acculturation and resistance as manifested in mortuary artifacts (such as gravemarkers). For example, Prince (2002) and Blackman (1973) focus on above-ground mortuary materials in First Nation and Native American cemeteries, and what these reveal about the processes of Euro-American cultural oppression and Native identity negotiation. Garman (1994) examines the negotiation of race as evidenced by the selection of attributes for African-American and Euro-American gravestones, as does Tashjian and Tashjian (1989), while Jamieson (1995) and Watters (1994) explore African slave burial practices. All of these articles focus on the interaction between cultures and the resultant tensions in symbols of ethnicity, a theme relevant to the research proposed here.

Likewise, Hodge (2005) examines burial practices at a eighteenth century Wampanoag Quaker cemetery to examine the ways in which Wampanoags resisted some acculturation efforts, while adopting certain Quaker burial practices that coincided with their beliefs. Similarly, Whelan (1991) examines a nineteenth century Dakota cemetery in southeastern Minnesota with the goal of identifying Dakota gender categories signified using both Native and Euro-American grave goods.

On the other hand, Euro-American burial practices in America have lent insight into how European immigrants adapted to their new environment, and which mortuary

practices they maintained or modified. Goldstein and Brinkmann (2008) explore Russian burial practices, among others, at the California Fort Ross colony, and suggest that an adherence to Russian Orthodox burial practices may represent a way to provide "comfort or even an insurance policy" in the face of foreign environmental hazards (Goldstein and Brinkmann 2008:17). Jeane (2007) also identifies the retention of mortuary practices among Euro-Americans. He argues for an English rather than Native American origin for graveshelters by noting their antiquity in England cemeteries, and the continuity of their usage from England to America. Jeane suggests that Native Americans may have adapted this practice from English immigrants who modified it from lych-gates. These articles point to the ways in which ethnic interaction and mortuary behavior retention and adaptation can be explored in cemeteries. In particular, a focus on Native-American, African-American, and Western Euro-American mortuary practices (with the exception of Goldstein and Brinkmann 2008) can be observed in ethnic cemetery literature. The next section explores studies on Eastern European ethnic cemeteries in America, with special emphasis on Orthodox Christian cemeteries.

Eastern European Orthodox Cemeteries in North America

Studies on Eastern European Orthodox cemeteries in North America are underrepresented compared to those of other ethnic and religious immigrant groups. This is due in part to the relatively recent arrival of Eastern Europeans in the U.S.; Orthodox Eastern Europeans did not arrive in any significant numbers to this continent until the late nineteenth century. Of the research on Orthodox Christian cemeteries in North America, studies on Orthodox Ukrainian cemeteries appear to be the most common (e.g. Carlson-Cumbo 1989, Kostecki 1989, Medwidsky 1989, and Graves 1993). These examine

Ukrainian-Canadian, (and in Grave's case, Ukrainian-American) gravemarkers for what they can reveal about acculturation and identity retention among Ukrainian immigrants and their descendants. Specifically, these articles focus on symbols of ethnicity on gravestones, although the observed data are not quantified.

In addition to the aforementioned studies, Paraskevas (2006) and Eckert (2002) both examine language use patterns among immigrants and their descendants. Greek immigrants are discussed in the former article, and Czech (non-Orthodox) immigrants in the latter. Both authors observe the different changes that language use in inscriptions undergoes, and how it becomes more formulaic and less specific or personalized through time as language fluency is lost in subsequent generations. These approaches are quite valuable for what they reveal about the process of acculturation among Eastern Europeans. However, the field of ethnicity and historical cemetery studies can also benefit from studies that employ a quantitative approach, which adds an additional layer of understanding to observed phenomena.

Quantitative Approaches to Ethnic Cemeteries

A number of historical above-ground cemetery studies do utilize quantitative approaches, such as Clark (1987) and McGuire (1988) in which gravestone characteristics between "nonethnics" and "ethnics" are quantitatively compared. Similarly, Gorman and DiBlasi (1981) take a quantitative approach to examining differences in gravestone characteristics between immigrants and native-born; these categories are determined based on birth place information provided in gravestone inscriptions (Gorman and DiBlasi 1981:82). In addition, Mallios and Caterino (2007) demonstrate a comprehensive quantitative approach to the study of gravemarker

attributes in San Diego County cemeteries, although they do not directly address ethnicity. Gradwohl (1988, 1993, 2007) employs quantitative methods in his ethnoarchaeological approach to intra-diversity in Jewish cemeteries, specifically in the quantitative comparison of gravestone attributes such as language. These studies demonstrate ways in which a quantitative approach adds to an understanding of ethnicity in historical cemeteries, and serve as a basis from which additional quantitative research can build.

A quantitative approach can provide a more nuanced understanding of patterned change through time among gravestone attributes by making explicit quantifiable differences, and reveal the ways in which attributes relate to one another. In addition, the careful and controlled recording of gravestone attributes (including text) preserves the cemetery data even after gravemarkers may be removed or destroyed. A variety of comparative approaches are enabled through the use of quantitative techniques, for example both inter- and intra-cemetery studies are facilitated, which is important for gaining an understanding of these issues across space, time, and ethnic affiliation.

Ethnicity and Identity

A brief mention should be made here regarding the use of the terms "ethnicity" and "identity" (the meanings behind these terms are explored in greater depth in Chapter 2). The two terms themselves can introduce confusion if their meaning as understood here is not made explicit. A number of publications have raised issues surrounding the use of the terms "ethnicity" (e.g. Barth 1969, Stein 1975, Stern 1977, Morawska 1977, Cohen 1978, Patterson 1978, Kushner 1980, Padgett 1980, McGuire 1981, Brubaker 2004, Trimble and Dickson) and "identity" (Bennett 1978, Hammond 1988, Naylor 1997,

Brubaker and Cooper 2000), and the intersection between the two (i.e. "ethnic identity").

In this research project, the concept of ethnic identity needs to be understood in a way

that is relevant to its study as manifested by above-ground material culture in a historical

cemetery. Therefore, identity as used in this project refers to the variety of social roles

(social persona) that an individual occupies in life (e.g. wife, mother, factory worker,

practicing Orthodox Christian, Macedonian, immigrant, priest, president of fraternal

organization), and the roles that are made visible through the process of selection of

attributes for an individual's gravemarker by friends or family. Identity can become

implicit or explicit depending on context (i.e. situational identity) (Trimble and Dickson

2008.)

Ethnicity is defined here as the association (by self-ascription or group

acceptance) with an ethnic group, which is in turn defined as a group of individuals who

are connected by certain shared cultural and social traits, which might include language,

religion, common ancestry, place of origin and nationality, that are perceived as requisite

for membership in the group. Specific symbols, reflecting the requisite cultural and

social traits, are utilized to maintain and adapt boundaries between members and

nonmembers. This definition accepts the basic tenets of ethnicity as set forth by

Vermeulen and Govers (1994), and acknowledges the social and cultural (and indirectly,

psychological and behavioral), aspects of ethnicity noted by others. In addition, the view

of ethnic groups as maintaining and adjusting barriers with "nonmembers" is also

retained (e.g. Barth 1969, McGuire 1981). I accept the assumption that ethnicity persists,

but often in adaptive permutations, particularly as the expression and content of ethnic

identity changes through time (and generations). This view is advocated by Bodnar (1976), Stern (1977), Scourby (1980), and Erdmans (1995), among others.

With the exception of a small number of pre-need gravestones, individuals in the cemetery of interest do not appear to typically choose their own gravestones. However, I argue that one's identity as seen by relatives and the ethnic community is different depending on whether one originated from America (as the descendants of immigrants) or was an immigrant oneself. This perceived identity affected the attributes that were selected for one's gravestone, as did the identities of those who chose the gravestone. It is important to recognize that, although individuals themselves are not choosing the attributes for their own gravestones in the vast majority of cases, their identity in life still has meaning within their family and ethnic community that influences the gravestone attributes that are ultimately selected.

Background of Dataset

The dataset for this thesis was recorded at the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery in Flint, Michigan. The cemetery's associated church, the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, was established under the Russian Missionaries Diocese in 1916. The land for the St. Nicholas Orthodox cemetery was purchased by the church on April 16, 1918. The cemetery was initially referred to in obituaries as the "Russian Cemetery," and later became known by its present name (Biernacki 1995:9). The earliest gravestone dates to 1918. Although a total of approximately 255 gravestones or gravestone locations were noted, the published burial records list a total of over 450 individuals buried (Hardy 2000). Part of the discrepancy may come from the fact that many are shared gravestones; however, it appears that some gravestones may be missing, due to decay or vandalism.

Chapter 3 provides a more in-depth examination of the circumstances surrounding

Southeastern and Central European immigration in the late nineteenth and twentieth

century; however, a brief overview is provided here. Immigrants from the Austro-

Hungarian and Russian Empires composed the early congregation of the church

associated with the cemetery. Their countries of origin included Russia, Yugoslavia,

Austria-Hungary, Poland, Macedonia, Romania, Czechoslovakia, and Ukraine. These

individuals had emigrated from primarily agricultural areas, in which a number of social,

political and economic upheavals were in flux. Land reforms which divided up

communal land holdings into individual plots that were often too small for subsistence,

rapid population increases, agricultural depression, and the transition from a feudal goods

and services exchange-based economy to a modern, money-based economy were all

factors in the decision to immigrate (Morawska 1984, Blank 1994).

Such changes resulted in a large, excess agricultural population who did not have

enough land to support themselves; they began migrating to find money-based labor jobs

within Europe. Industrial America soon became a draw. Peasants could earn

substantially more in America than in Europe. Letters home from relatives and friends

who had already migrated to America, or their demonstrations of success upon returning,

provided a positive impetus for those considering the move. Many of these migrants did

not intend to stay in America, but rather desired to earn enough to return home and buy

an adequate amount of land in their home village. However, due to circumstances and

the formation of new ties, a number of migrants remained in America.

Flint offered a draw for immigrants because of its burgeoning industry in the early

twentieth century. Flint housed a number of auto manufacturing plants during this time,

and during both World Wars manufactured war-time equipment such as tanks. The economic down-turn Flint experienced beginning in the 1960s (Thomas 2005) likely reduced its appeal for new arrivals, effectively preventing an influx of new immigrants from Central and Southeastern Europe following the removal of immigration restrictions in the 1960s (Vrga 1971). Chapter 4 examines the social and economic history of Flint, and explores the ways in which Eastern European immigrants adapted to life in industrial Flint.

Immigrants from Central and Southeastern Europe filled low-level factory jobs in early twentieth-century America. They also suffered discrimination, and were the focus of a number of Americanization movements designed to fully assimilate the immigrants (Graham and Koed 1993). Central and Southeastern European immigrants were frequently viewed with suspicion and distrust, especially following the Bolshevik revolution, and the "red scares" of the 1950s (Roucek 1969). The 1924 Immigration Act drastically restricted immigrants from these regions (Gabaccia 1996). This served to facilitate assimilation, and also resulted in a "culture clash" between the "old" Central and Southeastern European immigrants (those from the late nineteenth and early twentieth century) and their descendants, and the "new" immigrants from the same regions who arrived in the 1960s following the removal of restrictions with the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Vrga 1971).

Church Affiliation and Composition of the Congregation

From 1916 to 1949, the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church was a member of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America, which at that time was also known as the Metropolia (Biernacki 1995:22). In August of 1949, a decision was made to bring

the parish under the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Synod Abroad. Twenty-eight years later, the parish and the Bulgarian Diocese of Toledo rejoined the Orthodox Church in America (formerly the Metropolia). The Orthodox Church in America, with which the St. Nicholas Church is still affiliated today, incorporates multiple Orthodox churches without aligning itself with a specific ethnicity or nationality. Father Znamensky, who became priest of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in 1944, made a point to emphasize the multi-ethnic character of the congregation to enhance unity and encourage the parish to expand. He also instituted a gradual transition in the language of worship from Church Slavonic to English in the mid 1940s (Biernacki 1995:21), suggesting that English had become the common language of the congregation by this time.

Although the multi-ethnic nature of the congregation may seem anomalous, in light of the fact that Orthodox Churches are often affiliated with specific ethnicities or nationalities (e.g. Serbian Orthodox, Russian Orthodox, Ukrainian Orthodox, Greek Orthodox), it was not unusual for different ethnicities to share a church when congregation numbers precluded the formation of separate churches by ethnicity (Hoerder 1996:245). Smith states "in the Old World, the developing sense of people-hood depended heavily upon religious identification, in some cases more so than upon language or myths about common descent" (Smith 1978:1161). This speaks to how the immigrants were able to overcome ethnic and linguistic differences and unite to a certain extent under their shared religion for the purpose of worship and a sense of community. The history of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church is addressed in greater detail in Chapter 4.

Research and Methodology

Chapter 5 provides a detailed description of methodology and research techniques utilized in this study, however, a summary is provided here. In October of 2007, a number of variables were recorded at the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery. These included size, shape, style, and material of gravestones, iconography, names, dates, and other inscriptions, language used for inscriptions, and the size of symbols and inscriptions relative to the area of the gravestone face. In addition, gravestones were photographed, and epitaphs in Church Slavonic, Macedonian, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, and Ukrainian were translated into English. See Appendix A for the dataset.

Initially, variables on all gravestones were analyzed to determine general trends through time within the cemetery. Descriptive statistics were compiled for continuous variables, and consisted of total number of cases, mean, median, mode, minimum, maximum, and standard deviation (Appendix B). Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) was used to analyze both continuous and meristic variables for the total cemetery dataset. The chi-square test was performed on categorical, non-parametric data, including form, style, and material of gravestones, the language of inscription, number of motifs per gravestone, and cross type on gravestones. In all cases, the cut off level for significance was $\alpha=0.05$. Variables which exhibited significant results are addressed below. See Appendix C for the chi-square results.

These statistical tests were carried out to determine if variation between time periods was due to random "sampling" variation, or if there was in fact significant patterned differences between time periods. Following these initial analyses, the burial records from the church (Hardy 2000), as well as immigration, naturalization, and census

records, were utilized to assign origin to individuals for the purposes of comparison between North American- and foreign-born gravestones.

General Trends in the Cemetery

Variables that exhibited patterned change through time for the whole cemetery were gravestone form, style, and material, language of inscription, number of motifs per gravestone, and cross type. Variables that did not exhibit patterned change through time include epitaph length, the direction gravestones face, and number of individuals per gravestone.

Differences between North American- and Foreign-Born

Following these analyses, the gravestone dataset for the cemetery was divided into two groups based on an individual's place of origin: North American-born, designating those who were listed in the Church's burial register as from Canada or America, and foreign-born, those listed as originating from Central or Southeastern Europe. This was done to highlight gravestone attribute choices that can lend insight into the process of acculturation and identity negotiation through time. Gravestones were the units of analysis rather than individuals, although individual place of origin was used to assign a gravestone to a category.

Exploratory Data Analysis was then used to compare trends among North American-born and foreign-born. Line graphs were constructed to examine how the occurrence of certain gravestone attributes changed through time for the two groups. The results show that differences between North American- and foreign-born gravestone attributes in an Orthodox cemetery include: language of inscription, variety in number of motifs, use of cross type, and form and material of gravestones. In addition, changing

patterns of immigrants are revealed through the graphing of gravestones by place of origin for each time period. The nature of these changes was interpreted using multiple lines of evidence concerning the community, economic and historical trends in Flint, Michigan, and characteristics of this ethnic and religious group. Results for all analyses are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Historical research was undertaken concerning the Eastern European Orthodox community in Flint, and centered on exploring the ways in which this community intersected with the larger non-Orthodox community, the institutions and community groups they formed, and broader economic, social, and historical trends in Flint. This research utilized census data, city directories, newspapers, and church records. Studies of acculturation of Orthodox and Eastern European immigrants in America were also drawn on to develop a framework of analysis for identifying acculturation and identity negotiation in a mortuary context; this is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Significance of Research to the Field of Anthropology

This thesis contributes to the literature on ethnicity and historical cemeteries by taking a quantitative approach that utilizes statistical and Exploratory Data Analysis techniques. The quantitative analysis of specific gravestone attributes allows patterned change through time among North American- and foreign-born Orthodox Christians to be observed and quantified, and enables statistically relevant interpretations to be made regarding these changes. By quantifying changes and differences in gravestone attributes, one moves beyond the anecdotal observation stage and can make testable statements regarding choice of gravestone attributes in an ethnic and religious

community. This approach also allows for comparisons to be made with other cemetery datasets.

As the study of ethnicity in historical cemeteries becomes increasingly recognized for the contribution it can make to the understanding of mortuary beliefs, issues of identity negotiation, and change through subsequent generations, there is a growing need for data on often neglected immigrant groups. Few studies have been done on Orthodox Christian gravemarkers in the United States (Paraskevas 2006, Carlson-Cumbo 1989, Kostecki 1989, Medwidsky 1989, and Graves 1993), and virtually none of these utilize a quantitative approach. It is hoped that this thesis will facilitate subsequent quantitative studies on historical gravemarkers in Orthodox cemeteries in the United States. Likewise, this research contributes to the growing literature utilizing quantitative methods in historical cemeteries, as well as generates additional data and interpretations on an often-neglected religious and ethnic group.

Chapter 2: Ethnicity and Identity

This chapter addresses some of the issues concerning the study of ethnic identity, with the goal of constructing working definitions of the terms for interpretation and discussion within this thesis. Although research on ethnic identity has proliferated since the 1960s, the concepts of "ethnicity" and "identity" have since come under scrutiny. Brubaker and Cooper (2000) reject the term "identity" itself, arguing that this concept is made to do too many types of analytical work, even at times hosting conflicting definitions and analytical categories. Others (Cohen 1978, Stern 1977, Patterson 1978, Kushner 1980) take a closer look at the concept of "ethnicity," which came into usage in the social sciences in the 1960s, contemporaneous with the rise of ethnic and other identity movements (Trimble and Dickson 2008), and question its current usage and role in analysis.

Given the debates surrounding the usage of these terms, it becomes necessary to delve into their contested meanings, determining which concepts are applicable to my own area of research. I then provide definitions of the terms so that they are available for application in this thesis without entering the pitfalls of ambiguity and contradictoriness.

Identity

The term *identity* has been employed in countless ethnic studies, much of the time without critical evaluation of its meaning. In fact, as often as not an author does not define it, perhaps because the word itself seems to be ubiquitous, and therefore assumed to be common knowledge. But as Brubaker and Cooper state, "if identity is everywhere, it is nowhere" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:1). They argue that the term's ubiquitous usage does not qualify it as a category of analysis, nor does it necessarily imply that

"identities" actually exist (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:6). "Identity" is used to refer to often contradictory concepts, for example, in some cases, its usage "highlight[s] *fundamental sameness* – sameness across persons and over time – while [other] uses reject notions of fundamental or abiding sameness" (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:8, emphases in original).

Because of its at times conflicting meanings, Brubaker and Cooper advocate the replacement of the term with a host of others, among these "identification," which is a processual and active term, and allows, but does not require, the specification of the agents that do the identifying. Brubaker and Cooper also emphasize that the end result of "identification" is not necessarily identity – instead, it is the process that is important for analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:16). Others also note the dangers of focusing on the "end result" (Erickson 1973, Stein 1975). Stein critiques the new ethnicity movement as "mistak[ing] identity consciousness raising for the identity process itself" (Stein 1975:277). These examples illustrate the view of identity as a process.

Some authors observe that "identity" can refer to either an essential and persisting sameness, or an ongoing process as mentioned above. Hammond (1988) describes Mol's (1978) views on identity as referencing either an immutable core personality or a "transient and changeable self as persons move from one social encounter to another" (Hammond 1988:2). This is echoed in Fitzgerald, as quoted in Bennett (1978): "identity...is of two sorts, a more or less fixed equation, and a more situationally specific...the former might be called cultural identity, and the latter social identities" (Fitzgerald 1974:3, quoted in Bennett 1978). This latter approach is more commonly referred to as "situational identity," which refers to the way in which individuals are able

to manage multiple layers of identity depending on the context they are operating in (Naylor 1997:120).

Situational identity, (specifically, situational ethnicity) is particularly relevant to studies concerning the descendants of immigrants. This is because those of subsequent generations may appear as a "nonethnic" American in certain contexts, but can chose to emphasize their ethnic identity in other contexts (Bennett 1978, Padgett 1980, Erdmans 1995). In other words, ethnic identity and allegiance to that identity is voluntary for the second or later generation[1] white ethnic, but not for the immigrant (Erdmans 1995:182.) Naylor cautions that situational ethnicity must take into account the variety of factors comprising interactive networks in which ethnicity can manifest, and advocates a both subjective and objective focus with consideration of psychological, cultural, and social elements (Naylor 1997:120). Padgett in turn seeks to examine a different facet of situational identity, termed *voluntary identity*, to determine "how, when, and under what circumstances members of specific groups choose to assert their ethnic identity" (Padgett 1980:55).

Toward a Definition of Identity

Because the research in question concerns markers of identity in an Orthodox Christian cemetery in Michigan, it is necessary to evaluate which definition of "identity" will function as a concept for analysis, or if another term (for example, as proposed by Brubaker and Cooper 2000) should be used instead of "identity." It is important to note that there are certain key differences in this approach compared to the studies of living individuals cited above. In the study of "identity" within a cemetery, the "processual" view of identity is only relevant in the sense that the community's view of itself may be

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[1] In this thesis, "first generation" refers to the immigrant generation (i.e. foreign-born).

changing through time, and this can manifest through the popularity and decline of certain gravestone attributes over time. But, an individual's own process of self-understanding or self-identification is not visible in the available material culture in most cases. Therefore, this study will not be concerned with processual views of identity, except in the sense of changing attributes within the cemetery through time. Secondly, situational identity is relevant in the sense that family members or friends are choosing to emphasize certain facets of the deceased's identity through selection of gravestone attributes, but the deceased themselves are not actively exhibiting "voluntary" ethnicity or identity (very few of the markers in this cemetery are pre-need).

Therefore, I argue for the use of "identification" to describe the process of the selection of attributes for an individual's gravemarker, with the recognition of "identity" as the end result of that process. Brubaker and Cooper use "identification" in one sense to refer to a process in which individuals are identifying another individual "by membership in a class of persons sharing some categorical attribute"; in this case, the "classes" include religion, ethnicity, family, and community (Brubaker and Cooper 2000:15). They emphasize that "identification" need not result in "identity," and perhaps that is especially relevant to examine here, since the attributes on an individual's gravestone, as selected by others, do not reflect directly the individual's own self-understanding while living.

In contrast to Brubaker and Cooper, I argue that the selection of gravestone attributes does create an "identity," in the sense that a deceased individual becomes identified with certain roles (e.g. son, priest), certain organizations (e.g. member of religious congregation), and certain ethnic groups (e.g. Macedonian) through the

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presence of "identity" markers on their gravestone. And in this sense, I feel the term

"identity" is relevant as the "end result" of the process of identification in which

individuals select gravestone attributes for others, thereby affixing "identities" to the

deceased. In this sense, "identity" denotes the association of an individual with specific

roles or categories through "identification," the selection of gravestone attributes,

particularly symbols and text, for the deceased's gravemaker. This is not to say that an

individual cannot request of their loved ones certain symbols or text to be placed on their

gravestone, but the assumption is that in this Orthodox cemetery, ultimate selection of

gravestone attributes falls to individuals other than the deceased in the vast majority of

cases.

Ethnicity

The term "ethnicity" proves to be nearly as problematic as "identity," and of

course they often appear together, generating additional layers of ambiguity particularly

if both fail to be defined. In the 1960s and 1970s, the term ethnicity proliferated in

literature and in common speech. Minority-led movements, such as Black Power,

ushered in a time of "identity politics," much of which centered on ethnicity (Trimble and

Dickson 2008, Stein 1975). In addition, the descendants of Southern, Eastern, and

Central European immigrants were beginning to claim their own ethnic identity as "white

ethnics" (Novak 1974, Stein 1975, Brubaker and Cooper 2000). Despite the profusion of

literature on ethnicity, in a 1974 analysis of 65 anthropological and sociological studies

of ethnicity Isajiw found that 80% of these did not give an explicit definition of ethnicity

(Isajiw 1974, quoted in Morawska 1977:xv). The need to define ethnicity is particularly

important since a number of disagreements have arisen concerning its meaning and

application, whether it persists among immigrants and their descendants, and if so, in what forms.

Morawska (1977) identifies a number of themes that can be found in ethnic literature, such as the debate over the decline of ethnicity, which some assert is being replaced by religious differences, and the new ethnicity movement, in which ethnicity has come to involve "self-consciousness and situational choice." In addition, scholars are divided over whether or not a revival of ethnicity is taking place, whether it has persisted all along, which aspects of ethnicity persist, and if values identified as "ethnic" are in fact inextricably tied to "class" (Morawska 1977, Patterson 1979). This variety of themes highlights some of the areas of controversy.

Stein (1975) for example, feels that the new ethnicity movement involves the selective recreation of past heritage to claim and justify power in the present. He also feels that it works to artificially homogenize ethnic groups. Patterson critiques what he terms the "academic ethnicity industry," claiming that academics are churning out articles on "ethnicity" that herald "the slightest symbols of ethnic distinctiveness as proof of ethnic pluralism in America" (Patterson 1979:104). Instead, he feels that most symbolic ethnic-based activities such as ethnic picnics and dance groups do not indicate true ethic pluralism in America, "since a majority of those involved have lost the language and other important cultural markers" (Patterson 1979:104). However, Patterson does not define what these markers are, despite the fact that he claims "there are pockets of real ethnicity, especially in Canada" (Patterson 1979:105); again without defining what constitutes "real ethnicity."

Kushner (1980) offers a valid critique of Patterson, citing the lack of definitions and support in Patterson's argument. Kushner also notes that, contrary to Patterson's assertion that numerous studies point toward ethnic decline through assimilation, in fact ethnic identity is more adaptive and persistent than Patterson recognizes. Kushner states "the loss of traits such as 'language and other important cultural markers' and 'attendance at... symbolic ethnic-based activities may...be evidence of the persistence of ethnic distinctiveness rather than assimilation" (Kushner 1980:124). Scourby (1980) and others (e.g. Bodnar 1976) also acknowledge that ethnicity is persistent, adaptive, and fluid, existing on a continuum. Similarly, ethnicity takes on different forms in subsequent generations (Scourby 1980:44-45, Erdmans 1995, Stern 1977).

In addition to the debate over the persistence of ethnicity, attempts to define the term usually focus on which realm to emphasize when it comes to ethnicity: cultural, social, or psychological (or all three). Brubaker, after lamenting the ambiguity of the term, cautions against equating ethnicity with either common descent or culture, but nonetheless does not provide a succinct definition (2004:136-7). Lockwood (1981), following Barth (1969) argues that ethnicity is social rather than cultural, in that it is the social boundary, rather than cultural traits, which is relevant to how the members of the group define themselves. Similarly, the social boundary is determined by specific cultural features, for example, religious and linguistic affiliation, as is the case in Bosnia-Herzegovina (Lockwood 1981:71-72).

In most cases, researchers recognize aspects of more than one realm. For example, Bennett (1978) defines ethnic identity as "a feeling of attachment to and affiliation with an ethnic group that is based upon learning meaningful cultural symbols,

values, and behaviors that are incorporated into the social life of the group and upon learning social roles appropriate for interaction within an ethnic group" (Bennett 1978:11). Morawska (1977), on the other hand, defines ethnicity as "a *social-cultural value* which, in a given structural context, *somehow* determines mechanisms of adaptation in a pluralist environment" (Morawska 1977:xx, emphasis in original). While Morawska recognizes that a process is occurring, she does not elucidate the ways in which the mechanism of adaptation are determined, nor by what. However, both of these definitions point to the difficulty in separating out social, cultural, and psychological aspects of ethnicity.

Vermeulen and Govers, in their edited volume that represents an evaluation of work following Barth's 1969 *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*, note that the central tenets in Barth's work concerning ethnicity still hold true. These tenets are as follows " 1) ethnicity is a form of social organization; this implies that 2) 'the critical focus for investigation becomes the ethnic boundary that defines the group rather than the cultural stuff that it encloses' (Barth 1969:15); [and] the critical feature of ethnic groups is 3) the characteristic of self-ascription and ascription by others" (Vermeulen and Govers 1994:1). These assumptions are particularly relevant to the study of ethnicity as evidenced in material culture, because they support the view that the markers of the ethnic boundary itself are important for examination. This view will be explored in greater depth below.

It appears that, in a research context, social scientists often approach self-ascribed ethnicity by the use of questionnaires and observation of behavior (i.e. Padgett 1980, Bennett 1978, Bennett 1981). Similarly, Brubaker describes a shift in recent years in the

conception of ethnicity from "objective commonalities" to "participant's beliefs, perceptions, understandings, and identifications," leading to "an increasing concern with categorization and classification" (Brubaker 2004:64). Subsequently, Brubaker advocates the cognitive approach, in which ethnicity is a perspective *on* rather than a "thing" *in* the world (Brubaker 2004:65). Brubaker argues for a move beyond Barth's view of ethnicity as "practices of classification and categorization," by and of both self and others, encouraging the asking of "how, when, and why people interpret social experience in...ethnic...terms" (Brubaker 2004:87). He states that a cognitive perspective will aid in recognizing the mechanisms by which ethnicity is reproduced daily.

Toward a Definition of Ethnicity

While acknowledging the importance of the cognitive approach to ethnicity, which focuses on how people act and interpret social circumstances in ethnic terms, the study I will be undertaking is dealing with the material culture end results of actions, interpretations, and decisions that people have made, rather than the decision-making process itself. A cemetery represents an accumulation of the end results of choices, some of which determine the identity markers a gravemaker exhibits. Therefore, a definition of ethnicity that allows for the study of the facets of identity that concern group membership of a religious, national, linguistic, cultural, and common descent nature through material culture is necessary.

In this context, subtle boundaries are established through the utilization of symbols and text on gravemarkers. This raises certain questions: which facets of an individual's identity are made salient? How does this reflect the living community itself?

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How does the choice of identity markers change through time and in association with which other attributes? Brubaker notes that "the schemes of perception and interpretation through which the social world is experienced in…ethnic…terms – is social in a double sense: it is socially shared knowledge of social objects" (Brubaker 2004:86). I do not rule out a cognitive aspect in my approach to ethnicity, but instead note that a study of mortuary material culture focuses on the end result of individual decisions operating from Brubaker's "socially shared knowledge of social objects."

McGuire (1981) specifically addresses the issue of ethnicity in historical archaeology. He states "the nature and persistence of ethnic groups depend on the existence of an ethnic boundary (Barth 1969:144) which ethnic groups maintain through the manipulation and display of symbols (Spicer 1971:796)…these symbols may be behavioral or material in form" (McGuire 1981:161). Although Brubaker makes a valid argument for viewing "ethnicity without groups", the study of ethnicity in a cemetery concerns boundaries in a very real sense. The Orthodox cemetery itself is spatially separated from neighboring cemeteries by a physical barrier (fencing), and various visual cues are used to proclaim ethnic and religious identity (among other forms of identity) through gravemarkers, proclaiming a barrier between members and nonmembers.

This research therefore utilizes the following definition of *ethnicity*: the association (by self-ascription or group acceptance) with an *ethnic group*, which is defined as a group of individuals who are connected by certain shared cultural and social traits, which might include language, religion, common ancestry, place of origin, and nationality, that are perceived as requisite for membership in the group. Specific symbols, reflecting the requisite cultural and social traits, are utilized to maintain and

adapt boundaries between members and nonmembers. This definition accepts the basic tenets of ethnicity as set forth by Vermeulen and Govers (1994), and acknowledges the social and cultural (and indirectly, psychological and behavioral), aspects of ethnicity noted by others. In addition, the view of ethnic groups as maintaining and adjusting barriers with nonmembers is also retained. I accept the assumption that ethnicity persists, but often in adaptive permutations, particularly as the expression and content of ethnic identity changes through time (and generations). This view is advocated by Bodnar (1976), Stern (1977), Scourby (1980), and Erdmans (1995), among others.

This chapter has reviewed the current issues surrounding the use and definitions of the terms "ethnicity" and "identity," with the purpose of formulating a workable definition for each term that is applicable to the study of ethnic identity in an Orthodox Christian cemetery composed of Southeastern and Central European immigrants and their descendants. It is recognized that "ethnicity" is one facet of identity, and that gravemarkers feature a variety of identity markers, which signal religious, ethnic, community, occupational, and kinship identities. Which identities are selected for representation on gravemarkers is of interest, including how this selection changes through time, and whether it is linked to an individual's place of origin, immigrant or descendant status, age, or gender. It is the hope that the meanings of "identity" and "ethnicity" outlined above will provide a basic framework which these research questions can be addressed.

Chapter 3: The Immigration of Central and Southeastern Europeans to America in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries

Assimilation versus Acculturation

Much attention has been given to the process immigrants undergo upon arrival in America. Acculturation and assimilation are two terms that have been used to describe this process, although their meanings vary. In particular, "assimilation" is falling out of favor in modern literature, likely due to its association with the outdated "melting pot" concept in which immigrant members of one culture are said to be fully absorbed into the host culture (Speek 1926, Kishinevsky 2004). Kishinevsky, in her study of late twentieth-century Russian immigrants in America, describes *acculturation* as "the adaptive process of cultural adjustment and adoption of new competencies, which occurs as the result of contact and interaction between two distinct cultures" (Kishinevsky 2004:6). She contrasts this with Taft's (1977) equation of full acculturation with *assimilation*, in which case the assimilated individual will not be distinguishable from a member of the dominant society (quoted in Kishinevsky 2004:7). Gordon stated that acculturation can occur without assimilation, with the latter suggesting "the disappearance of the ethnic group as a separate entity" (Gordon 1964:81).

It appears, therefore, that both acculturation and assimilation refer to changes in an immigrant's mind and behavior, due to internal conditions (e.g. age, family status, education level, personal attitudes) and external conditions (e.g. size of immigrant group, political atmosphere, and social supports in the host society) (Kishinevsky 2004:8). However, the concept of acculturation allows for the retainment of characteristics from the culture of origin, and/or psychological or behavioral innovations outside of the strict definition of "American," while assimilation suggests that an immigrant becomes

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indistinguishable from non-immigrant Americans. Similarly, Archdeacon (1985)

cautions against the equation of assimilation and acculturation, suggesting that

assimilation is based more on a national expectation ideal than the reality of immigration

and ethnicity in America (Archdeacon 1985:113). In addition, Gordon (1964)

acknowledges that the process of acculturation can affect the cultural patterns of the host

group as well as that of the immigrants. In this thesis, acculturation is considered from

the immigrant's point of view. Both internal and external, objective and subjective

factors and conditions contribute to the experience of acculturation that an immigrant

undergoes (Hoerder 1996, Morawska 1982, 1984). More consideration will be given to

these factors, and the forms that acculturation can take, below.

Impetus to Migrate

Conditions contributing to emigration from Europe, particularly Central and

Southeastern Europe, included rapid fragmentation of land, increasing proletarianization

among segments of rural society, rapid population growth, and prolonged agricultural

depression in the late nineteenth century (Morawska 1984:388, Blank 1994:235). Areas

with the highest dependence on agriculture in the Austro-Hungarian Empire also had the

highest levels of emigrants (Fassmann 1994:281). This was because a number of factors,

including those above, had made a living based on agriculture untenable for many. The

transition from feudal to industrial society heralded a change from a system that operated

on the exchange of labor and goods to one based on monetary exchange. Suddenly, labor

was a means of acquiring money on which the "new" economy now operated (Morawska

1984:388). In Russia, as elsewhere in Eastern Europe, land reforms were coupled with

peasant emancipation laws. Land that had been communally worked was parceled out in

small amounts to individual peasants, an unfamiliar form of land tenure. Because there

was not enough land for everyone to have subsistence-sized parcels, such reforms led to

individual land shortage and indebtedness (Blank 1994:215). Contemporaneous with

increasing modernization, which led to a surplus of agrarian populations in the nineteenth

century, was an increasing mobilization of the peasantry, as wage work rose in economic

importance (Fassmann 1994:268, 264). The 1848 Austro-Hungarian emancipation from

serfdom allowed for unrestricted internal migration (Fassmann 1994:266).

Hoerder (1996) emphasizes the importance of considering not only conditions in

the country of origin when examining the impetus to migrate, but also the "mental

disposition" of migrants. He states that "the 'objective' push factors become the

subjective ones," meaning that individuals form personal interpretations as a result of

changing political, economic and social conditions in larger society, which can then

prompt them to action (Hoerder 1996:217). Likewise, an individual's networks,

personality traits, the information they receive about migration opportunities and

potential outcomes, family structure and situations, and the migration behavior of those

close to them are all important factors (Hoerder 1996:217, 218).

One of the important conceptual shifts that occurred among peasants in

Southeastern and Central Europe is termed by Hoerder the "secularization of hope." In

premodern peasant society, religious teachings situated the present between a glorious

past and a better world that death would bring. There was little hope of improving one's

socioeconomic standing during one's lifetime. However, with the advent of

modernization, a monetary economy, and migration to obtain better paying jobs, peasants

were introduced to the idea of "secularized" hope, which replaced the idea that fate or

spiritual beings predetermined life courses (Hoerder 1996:219). Even so, one form of myth replaced another, as the "American myth" was often "more real than reality" (Hoerder 1996:220). The opportunities in America were aggrandized by those writing home or returning from America, and the costs of the increased wages were often left to be read between the lines. More than one author quotes a common saying among immigrant Slavic peasants: "America for the oxen, Europe for the men," which underlined the extremely harsh living and working conditions that immigrants faced in America (Hoerder 1996: 234, Morawska 1984:392).

It is important to examine both push and pull, objective and subjective factors within the context of the immigrants' point of view. Despite adverse conditions, not everyone in parts of Southeastern and Central Europe chose to migrate, just as everyone who migrated did not choose to stay in America. Those who made the decision to migrate were influenced by a variety of factors which was not limited to external conditions, but also included their own unique experiences and perspectives.

Traditional versus Modern Societies?

Bodnar (1976) and Hoerder (1994) caution against a dichotomy of traditional versus modern societies, in which the transition from a traditional to a modern culture necessitates the destruction of the traditional culture and the full embracement of the modern. Instead, these authors argue for a new model allowing for both the persistence of aspects of traditional culture, as well as change and innovation. Bodnar states that many of the conditions which peasants encountered in industrial America may have actually necessitated the persistence of certain traditional patterns. In other words, these patterns may have persisted because of the conditions encountered in America, not in

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spite of them (Bodnar 1976:45). For example, a survey of household data collected by the United States Immigration Commission in the early twentieth century reveals that Serbians and Croatians lived in extended family households more than all other American immigrant groups. This patrilineal, extended family household, known as the *zadruga*,[2] was the primarily family structure among "premodern" Serbians and Croatians in Yugoslavia (Bodnar 1976:46). Supek and Čapo (1994) examine the *zadruga* system in Croatia, and argue that, despite women's lack of control in the system, they actively contributed to its disruption and break-up in the Old World in the later part of the nineteenth century. When the dowry custom was introduced in the second half of the nineteenth century, women took control of the inheritance patterns of their dowry, which they passed on to their daughters. This directly contrasted with the traditional pattern of patrilineal inheritance, which had applied to all property (Supek and Čapo 1994:317). This is an interesting example of how a system that was changing in the Old World was apparently revitalized, at least for a time, in New World conditions.

In particular, patterns such as pooling of family resources and keeping of farm animals allowed the southern Slavs to survive in America in poverty conditions where work was irregular and pay low (Bodnar 1976:45). Hoerder and Morawska also observe that the pattern of peasants substituting other tasks in the downtime of agricultural labor worked to their advantage as industrial laborers. In America, they filled in with subsistence activities such as raising pigs and goats, chopping wood, and tending gardens when industrial work was scarce (Hoerder 1996:231, Morawska 1984:396). Their flexible work "identity" facilitated such adaptive behaviors; "by living a semipeasant

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[2] See Todorova 2006 for a discussion of the problematic nature of the term "zadruga."

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lifestyle, peasant-workers could live through long periods of unemployment or strikes by relying on other income" (Hoerder 1996: 231).

Ethnic Identity and the Importance of Religion

Ethnic identity is far from a straight-forward concept in immigration studies. In her study of immigrants from the former Soviet Union, Kishinevsky notes that immigrants from Russia, Ukraine, and the Caucasian regions could be categorized by their country of origin, the language they spoke, or their religion (Kishinevsky 2004:10). Padgett observes that immigrants who arrived prior to WWII identified themselves by their provincial origin (Padgett 1990:263). Similarly, during community-building processes, migrants preferred to aggregate with those from the same village or region. Loyalty was to the local culture rather than to "nationality" (Hoerder 1996: 245), no doubt in large part because of the multi-national ethnic empires controlling most of Southeastern and Central Europe during the time of immigration.

In addition to the significance of local villages or communities, religious affiliation played an important part in self-identification. Smith (1978) states "in the Old World, the developing sense of people-hood depended heavily upon religious identification, in some cases more so than upon language or myths about common descent" (Smith 1978:1161). Peasants in the area between the Polish and Russian territories in the first two decades of the twentieth century identified themselves by their religion (Catholic or Orthodox) rather than by ethnicity (Hoerder and Blank 1994:75). Likewise, Morawska (1982) observes that immigrants from border regions typically identified their ethnicity by their religious background, while at the same time indicating confusion. Hoerder and Blank note that in many parts of Southeastern and Central

Europe, "religious leaders of autocephalous Churches were considered political leaders of their respective groups...in these a change of a person's religion meant leaving the ethno-cultural groups as well as the political unit" (Hoerder and Blank 1994:44).

Religion played a central role in community life in both the old country and the new (Bodnar 1976:47, Hoerder 1996:247). Likewise, priests served an important function as "professional migrants," who could mediate between the working-class immigrants and the host society; however, it was important that they "remain sufficiently close to their own people in order to hold on to their economic base" (Hoerder 1996: 216). Inter-cooperation among ethnic groups, for example Orthodox Slavs, was particularly common when aggregations were still small. Hoerder notes that "it took years to establish a community with associations, a parish, and informal networks", because of this, churches were often used jointly by various ethnicities for these purposes (Hoerder 1996: 245, 246). Smith observes that mixed nationality churches were common in the Minnesota Iron Range, as the individual ethnic communities were not large enough to independently form organized congregations (Smith 1966:207).

The formation of immigrant communities was often a catalyst for individuals to assert their ethnic identity and national loyalty (Puskás 1994:402). Nonetheless, because it was not uncommon for more than one ethnic group to share a religion, church, or congregation, as mentioned above, "ethnic priests also had an important role in cementing community cohesion when ethnic interests had to be articulated in the face of an ethnically different church hierarchy" (Hoerder 1996:248). However, not all ethnic pairings worked; some mixed congregation groups, though of the same religion, split due

to differences, such as the short-lived Polish-Slovenian Catholic Church (Smith 1966:220).

The congregation acted as a substitute for the kin group and community left behind in the old world (Smith 1966:217). However, there were some differences, because although the church had a similar spiritual role in America as in the Old Country, the new social setting in which it was situated was different (Hoerder 1996:247). For that reason, the congregation had to act in ways that both "preserve[d] as well as refashion[ed] an ancient faith" (Smith 1966:217). Church functions were activity centers for both sexes, but particularly for women. Formal associations in which "class and ethnicity merged into a shared community" were also founded, such as benevolent societies (Hoerder 1996:246). These provided a much-needed safety net to immigrants who operated in an otherwise uncertain world.

Immigrants had a variety of facets to their identity, including on the language(s) they spoke, their ethnicity, nationality, and religion. Religion proved to be an important focal point of community organization; however it also brought together different ethnicities that did not always maintain their links once they were able to construct their own separate churches. Identity was likewise affected by the shifting of political boundaries and the rise and fall of empires in the Old World. The way in which immigrants organized their communities reveals much of the way they viewed themselves.

Intra-Ethnic Conflict

As discussed, cooperation among different ethnic groups could at times give way to conflict, such as in the splitting off of mixed-ethnicity congregations. However,

conflict could also arise within an ethnic group. One cause of intra-ethnic conflict came from the arrival of other waves of immigrants, namely those arriving after World War II as political refugees, and those who followed with the lessening of restrictive immigration quotas in the 1960s. Erdmans (1995) describes the conflicts that arose between "new" Polish immigrants arriving in Chicago in the 1960s, and the established Polish-American community (made up of "old immigrants" arriving before WWII and their descendants). The new immigrants possessed a different socioeconomic background, including a greater level of formal education, and came from a very different Poland than the "old" Polish immigrants, who had been peasant class, and came from a Poland that was very much of the past to the new immigrants. The new immigrants found the Polish-American organizations, which centered on cultural preservation, to be totally inadequate for their basic needs of finding employment, housing, and information on citizenship. On the other hand, the "Old Poles" were suspicious of these new immigrants, who seemed to want a "free handout" without demonstrating an interest in sharing and contributing to the ethnic identity that they were trying to sustain. These differences between immigration waves occurred within other Eastern European ethnic groups as well.

For example, Vrga (1971) examines the dramatic schism that took place in the Serbian Orthodox Church during the early 1960s and finds that the split occurred largely along the lines of the old (pre-WWII) and new (post-WWII) Serbian immigrants. The schism arose when the Serbian Orthodox Church in Yugoslavia tried to divest Bishop Dionysus and divide the single Serbian Orthodox diocese in North America into three separate dioceses. The supporters of the bishop claimed that the Serbian Orthodox

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Church in Yugoslavia was operating under communist pressure, and was trying to subjugate free Serbs. Vrga outlines a number of factors that may have contributed to the pattern of new immigrants supporting the bishop (what he terms the "autonomy" stance), and the old immigrants and American-born Serbs supporting the "unity" stance.

Like Erdmans, Vrga identifies long-suppressed tensions between the two groups, arising from issues such as political and economic differences, and the inadequacy of "old immigrant" organizations to meet the needs of the "new immigrants," resulting in the formation of a number of new organizations to which only new immigrants belonged. In general, old immigrants migrated for economic reasons, while new immigrants migrated for political ones. New immigrants were therefore more likely to be sensitive to issues concerning the political shifts in the country of origin beginning in the 1960s, following their migration, compared to old immigrants and their descendants. This is not to say that old immigrants remained impartial to the Old Country after their migration, as it was not uncommon for them to send money, and often men, back to their homeland to provide aid in times of hardship and war (Evanoff 1989).

Discussion

In the Old World, would-be immigrants experienced and participated in a variety of life-altering processes: peasant emancipation, land reforms, the rise and fall of empires, increasing modernization, industrialization, and mobilization, and demographic changes. In the process of becoming immigrants, they underwent the voyage and transition to American society in which identity was renegotiated and the process of acculturation took place. Throughout, identity was not just a given, but constantly determined by both external and internal circumstances. It was something that was

worked and reworked by peasants in their culture of origin, and in the ethnic

communities that they built in America. A further negotiation of identity occurred with

the arrival of subsequent waves of immigrants: the new immigrants of the 1960s had

different concepts of what it meant, for example, to be Polish or Serbian in America than

the Polish-Americans and Serbian-Americans that they encountered upon arrival.

Ultimately, the exploration of the immigrant experience, and the ways in which identity

changes across borders and time reveals much about ethnicity, culture and individual

identity. Terms such as acculturation encompass complex, multi-faceted processes,

which warrant exploration from a variety of angles: historical, anthropological, political

and sociological, to further elucidate the complexities of the immigrant experience.

Chapter 4: Central and Southeastern Europeans in Flint

One of the potential pitfalls of a cemetery study is the focus on stationary, inanimate objects as stand-ins for individuals. Gravemarkers can offer much when it comes to the understanding of identity, both during life and as assigned after death. However, it is equally important to consider information on the living community associated with a cemetery, including the lives of the individuals represented by gravemarkers, when available. There is a danger of losing sight of the fact that gravestones represent (and fail to represent) a multitude of facets of individual life. Here, the history of the Central and Southeastern European community in Flint, and its place within the economic and cultural life of the city, is explored. This is done to provide a better understanding of the historical and cultural context in which the individuals represented in this study lived. First, an overview history of Flint is provided to establish the historical context for the city and its patterns of industry and ethnic relations. Then, the Eastern European ethnic community of Flint is explored in greater depth, along with a discussion of the cultural institutions and socioeconomic characteristics of the community.

A Brief History of Flint, Michigan

In the early nineteenth century, the area that was to become the city of Flint was home to the Ojibwe people. The present-day city of Flint is located along the Flint River, which merges with the Cass, Shiawassee, Pine, Chippewa, and Tittabawassee Rivers to form the Saginaw, which eventually empties into Saginaw Bay. One of the primary Ojibwe villages in the area was located near the present day town of Montrose, Michigan, which is approximately 20 miles northwest of Flint. In 1819, the Ojibwe were pressured

into selling 6 million acres of land including the area of modern-day Flint at a council called by Lewis Cass at Saginaw. That same year, Jacob Smith, a fur trader who had served as guide for Cass and who acted as a mediator in the treaty, established a trading post at what was to become Flint. By the 1830s, settlers began moving into the area in large numbers (Gustin 1976).

Flint's initial draw came from its location on the Saginaw trail between Detroit and Saginaw, but its proximity to the Flint River and dense forests soon turned it into a center for lumber. In 1838, Flint's population was around 300, and it boasted a post office, bank association, grocery and dry goods stores, sawmill, and edge-tool factory, as well as the title of county seat. The year before, a settler noted: "The tide of emigration is rapidly increasing. We cannot cast our eyes toward the road any day without seeing people teaming ...to or from Saginaw, the 'great city of the West'" (Gustin 1976:31). By 1862, "Flint was a prosperous lumbering town of 3,000" led by lumber baron Henry Howland Crapo (Gustin 1976:49).

Flint's success as a lumbering town was eventually eclipsed by its success in the carriage-making industry, which also had early roots in Flint. In 1839, a carriage business was established, which was joined by "several other wagon and carriage makers in the Flint area" in the 1840s (Gustin 1976:79). This industry continued to prosper, and would eventually evolve into automobile production at the turn of the century. Another booming industry in late nineteenth-century Flint was cigar-making. In 1899 there were eight cigar companies operating there, and, as well as being the highest paid workers, cigar makers were one of the earliest workers to organize a local union in Flint, in 1882 (Gustin 1976:112).

In 1898, Judge Charles H. Wisner built the first "horseless carriage" in Flint (Gustin 1976:112). Wisner's design did not have lasting success; however, soon after David Dunbar Buick and his associate Walter L. Marr joined forces with Flint Wagon Works to produce their version of the automobile. Because the Flint Wagon Works did not have the necessary starting capital, James H. Whiting, one of the company's directors, appealed to the Durant-Dort Carriage Company, then "the largest volume producer of carriages in the United States, if not the world" (Gustin 1976). It was a successful partnership that went on to establish contracts with other companies to produce parts for their model. This included the Weston-Mott company, which was granted an exclusive contract to produce wheels and axles for Buick. W. C. "Billy" Durant, treasurer of the Durant-Dort Carriage Co. which he started with J. Dallas Dort, began incorporating companies under the General Motors Company in 1908. This included, in addition to Buick, Oldsmobile, Cadillac, Oakland (forerunner of Pontiac), AC Spark Plug, and later Chevrolet (Gustin 1976). Although Durant eventually lost control of General Motors as a result of massive debt, General Motors went on to become the world's largest automobile producer, a position it held from 1930 to 2007 (Lienert 2008).

With the expanding number of auto factories after 1900 came the first large-scale wave of immigrants to Flint. Primary employers included the Buick, Chevrolet, AC Spark Plug, Weston-Mott Axle, and Fisher Body factories (Hart 2007:44). New arrivals in search of labor came not only from European, but also the southern United States. Between 1900 to 1920, the African-American population of Flint increased by 600%; much of the increase was due to arrivals from the South (Gustin 1976:171). Poles and

Hungarians were the most numerous immigrants from Eastern Europe, although a significant number of Southeastern Europeans immigrated as well. A lack of housing was a problem at first for many of the new arrivals. This was soon mediated with the construction of the Buick Barracks, an on-site housing complex at the Buick factory; in addition, many immigrant families in the St. John Street neighborhood east of the Buick factories took in boarders as a source of extra income (Hart 2007:46).

The St. John Street Neighborhood

Just east of the Buick factories was the area known as the St. John Street neighborhood. This area flourished as a vibrant ethnic enclave in the industrial city during its peak from the 1920s to the 1950s. Populated predominantly by Eastern Europeans, along with mix of Western Europeans and African Americans, the neighborhood soon became largely self-sufficient, with its own groceries, bakeries, doctors, churches, school, restaurants, and cultural halls (Edsforth 1987). The earliest South Slavs began arriving in Flint around 1909, with most settling east of the Buick factory so they could walk to work. Numerous ethnic groceries, bakeries and restaurants, as well as other immigrant-run businesses were opened in the neighborhood. One of fixtures of the community was the International Institute, which provided English lessons and classes in U.S. citizenship, as well as a gathering place for various ethnicities who came together for social events such as festivals and dances (Evanoff 1989).

Perhaps the primary source on the ethnic life of the St. John Street neighborhood is Michael Evanoff's *St. John Street Through the Melting Pot: An Ethnic Historical Remembrance, Flint Michigan, 1874-1974*. In this memoir, Evanoff offers a dense, evocative portrayal of the individuals and organizations that made up this neighborhood.

Evanoff himself is Macedonian, but his book addresses nearly all the ethnicities of the neighborhood with equal attention to names and details. Evanoff observes "the nearest thing to life in our 'old country' or 'stari kraj,' as we call it, was our life in the International Village era of St. John Street" (Evanoff 1989:290). Perhaps the most striking aspect of the St. John Street neighborhood is not the diversity of ethnicities, but the ways in which their lives intertwined, built largely on a foundation of mutual respect and reliance. Although there were certainly tensions that manifested as a result of cultural and racial differences, a perusal of the census and City Directories reveal many different ethnicities living as neighbors on the same street. This neighborhood was not divided up into distinct enclaves, and the businesses, social halls, and gathering areas were shared by groups with histories of conflict in the home countries (Evanoff 1989, Hart 2007, Flint City Directory 1918 and 1919/1920).

The International Institute

One of the first places that immigrants could turn after arriving in Flint was the International Institute. Founded in 1922, the Institute offered English lessons, citizenship training, information in adjusting to American life, and contacts with others of the same ethnicity. Their services were designed not just to instruct immigrants, but to help with loneliness and homesickness through providing a forum for shared experiences. Classes in dancing, music, arts and crafts, as well as fairs and festivals, were held at the Institute (Evanoff 1989). The International Institute, around since the beginning of the mass immigration to Flint, and through the changing composition of new arrivals, only recently closed in 2007 due to a lack of funding. Mexican-American Services, a new consulting

business in Flint, will be the sole organization offering assistance to immigrants in the area (Onile-Ere 2007).

Churches

Another very significant institution for immigrants arriving in Flint was a church of their own faith. In some cases, this meant that ethnic groups shared a church when their numbers were not large enough to warrant a separate church. One of the best examples of this is the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, originally named the Russian Orthodox Church. Founded in 1916, this church soon incorporated many other ethnicities in addition to Russians: Macedonians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Ukrainians, and Romanians, among others, were all part of the congregation. The church originally belonged to the Metropolia, also known as the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church in America. In 1950, the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church joined the Russian Orthodox Synod Abroad, which was distinct from the Metropolia. Later, the church was placed under the Bulgarian Diocese of the United States and Canada by a decree of the Russian Orthodox Synod Abroad. Then, in 1977, Bishop Kyrill brought the Bulgarian Diocese under the Orthodox Church in America, which the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church is part of to this day (Biernacki 1999, Hart 2007).

Initially, Assyrians were part of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in addition to the ethnicities named above, but due to tensions over changing demographics in the congregation as new ethnicities joined, they split off in 1922, first attending the Assumption Greek Orthodox Church, and later founding the St. George Orthodox Church, which is part of the Antiochian Archdiocese (Biernacki 1999:9, 65). In addition, Flint City Directories of the 1920s list St. Michael's Greek Orthodox Church as another

church of the Orthodox faith in the area (Flint City Directory for 1921, 1923, and 1924).

Currently, there is also the St. Mary Magdalene Orthodox Church, part of the Orthodox

Church in America, located in Fenton, Michigan, just south of Flint. Likewise, at one

time there was St. Volodymyr, a Ukrainian Orthodox Church founded by the post-WWII

Ukrainian immigrants to Flint (Gustin 1976). In 1975, the Holy Cross Society was

established, to serve as an interfaith cooperation between the three Orthodox Churches in

the Flint area: the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, the Assumption Greek Orthodox

Church (part of the Greek Archdiocese), and the St. George Orthodox Church. The

purpose of the group is to combine services for major feasts and fasts within the

Orthodox calendar, as well as cooperate in youth and adult programs (Biernacki

1999:65).

Along with these churches, temporary churches were sometimes set up when the

presence of a priest permitted. For example, a school building used by the Serbians to

provide children lessons in their native language also functioned as a church when a full-

time Serbian Orthodox priest was available (Evanoff 1989:338). In immigrant America,

priests might travel across the country providing services to ethnic communities, and

were often appointed to various different newly formed congregations during their

lifetime (Hoerder 1996: 216). Father Alexander Znamensky, the longest-serving priest at

St. Nicholas Church, headed parishes in Montreal, Edmonton, Vancouver, and Windsor

Canada before coming to St. Nicholas Orthodox Church in 1944 (Biernacki 1999:12).

In addition to churches of the Orthodox Faith, Eastern European Catholic

immigrants also founded their own churches. Polish immigrants established the All

Saints Parish in 1910 (Evanoff 1989:34), and the Hungarian Reformed Church and

Hungarian Baptist Mission were both established before 1920. Similarly, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Hungarian Church lasted from its establishment in 1921 to its closure in 1973. At that time, the congregation merged with the Blessed Sacrament Church, founded in 1957 in Burton (Brenner 1989:14). Even today, the Hungarian members of the Blessed Sacrament strive to hold a monthly Hungarian Mass (Lowe 2008).

Benevolent and Relief Societies

Benevolent societies were an important component of immigrant's lives, providing financial and social security against the hazards of daily life. One example of such a society is Flint's Serbian fraternal lodge, St. John the Baptist. This lodge was founded in 1916 and even in the first year, women joined as well as men. The lodge offered sickness benefits to members, death benefits to members' families, supported national causes, supplied volunteers to fight the Austro-Hungarian Empire during WWI, and made donations to the American and Serbian Red Crosses and the Serb National Defense. A youth group, *Kolo Podmladaka*, was also formed in 1928. In the 1970s, perhaps in response to another wave of immigration, an additional society, the Serbian Benevolent Society, formed a chapter in Flint (Hart 2007). The Serbian Benevolent Society later joined with St. John the Baptist lodge. Similarly, the Croatian Zrinski-Frankopani Fraternal Order and the Croatian Fraternal Union no. 561, as well as other benevolent societies were founded in Flint to provide aid and social opportunities for immigrants (Evanoff 1989:139).

In addition to forming benevolent societies, immigrants in Flint also formed relief organizations that would provide supplies and financial aid to their countries of origin. Two of these groups, the United American Slav Committee and the Russian Progressive

Society, formed to provide overseas assistance during WWII. While the Russian Progressive Society sent food and clothing to their homeland (Gustin 1976:209), the United American Slav Committee raised money to send to Slavs overseas to offer relief during the time of war and poverty (Cetinich 2003:66, Evanoff 1989:92). Many immigrants across America returned to fight for their homelands in both world wars (Cetinich 2003). In addition, in 1930 Hungarians in Flint held a "Justice for Hungary" meeting to raise awareness about the ramifications of the Treaty of Trianon which 10 years earlier had reduced Hungary's land by two-thirds. Shortly after, a "Flight to Hungary" was arranged, in which two local Hungarians served as captains. Likewise, Macedonians in Flint organized to send petitions and delegations arguing for the unification of Macedonia (Evanoff 1989:163, 167). Although the Macedonian cause was not successful, they as well as other immigrant groups continued to have an active interest in and passion for their homelands.

Schools

Fairview was the neighborhood school for the St. John Street area. Before the school opened in 1915, children attended school in a series of structures on St. John Street and Massachusetts Avenue known as the "St. John Street School." An article on the closing of the Fairview school in 1971 notes "almost everyone in the area spoke a foreign language," and at one point, there were 32 different nationalities represented among the students (Lethbridge 1989). Likewise, the student body was racially mixed, accommodating the changing composition of the St. John Street neighborhood in the 1950s. During WWII, increasing numbers of African Americans moved into the area to

work at the defense plants, at the same time that Eastern Europeans began moving out of the neighborhood (Lethbridge 1989:122).

In addition to the neighborhood's main school were Sunday schools associated with the churches, as well as ethnic schools formed by members of the immigrant community who wanted to ensure that their language and culture were passed on to the next generation. Todor Veljkov, a Serbian immigrant, opened a school in which lessons were taught in Serbian. The classes were held on Saturday morning, with a regular attendance of 25-30 children (Hart 2007:50, Evanoff 1989:338). Similarly, Evanoff's mother, Lenka Evanoff, held classes in Bulgarian and Macedonian for several years at the Bulgarian Hall. Lenka notes that "many of our people who are now in their middle years learned to speak Bulgarian and Macedonian because of these classes. They could not always learn at home because of their parents not...taking time to teach them... [and] because it was necessary to teach with grammar" (Evanoff 1989:273).

Gathering Places

Picnic spots, in which traditional food could be cooked and served amid festivities and conversation, were a favorite gathering place for St. John Street residents. These included Pulaski Park in the Mt. Morris township, frequented by various ethnicities, Daisy Beach along the Flint River, which was used by the Bulgarians and Macedonians, the Connell farm, which was owned by a Dr. Connell and his Serbian wife, Stella, and the Murphy Drive park, which had been purchased and developed for use as a picnic ground by St. John the Baptist Lodge, and was also popular with various ethnicities (Evanoff 1989, Hart 2007). Churches would frequently hold events at such gathering places, as well as on their own property when space would allow. Evanoff notes that "not only

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Yugoslavs but Bulgarians, Hungarians, and many other nationalities would attend the various functions, such as those given at St. Nicholas Church" (Evanoff 1989:339). Although the Balkan Bakery would cook pigs and lambs for a fee, the communities enjoyed the opportunity to roast their meats outdoors on traditional-style spits (Hart 2007).

Halls

A number of halls and cultural clubs were established by St. John Street immigrants to provide a venue for social events. These included the Assyrian Hall, Bulgarian-Macedonian Hall, Croatian-Slovene Hall, the Hungarian American Cultural Club, Kovacs Hall, the Tilden Hall, which was later replaced by Dom Polski, and the Ukrainski Narodny Dom (Ukrainian National Home), popularly known as Mississippi Hall (Evanoff 1989). Some of the halls occupied parts of buildings, such as the Bulgarian-Macedonian Hall, located on the second floor of the furniture store owned by the Hertz family, who were Jewish. Other halls were quite large and utilized by many different ethnic groups, such as the Dom Polski, which was two stories high with a bar on the first floor and banquet area on the second (Hart 2007:48).

One significant feature of ethnic halls was that they were frequented by diverse ethnicities. Not only did, for example, Serbs hold weddings and wakes in the Croatian-Slovene Hall and the Ukrainian National Homes, but different cultural groups came together in the halls to experience times of joy and sorrow. Evanoff includes a variety of photographs of weddings and funerals in his publication, and a glance over the names of those attending includes a diversity of origins. Hungarians, Macedonians, Slovaks, Croatians, and Serbians might come together to mark the loss of a Bulgarian well-loved

in their multi-ethnic neighborhood. Such intersections of diverse cultural origins were not uncommon in many different amalgamations; at another time, a variety of ethnicities converged at the Croatian-Slovene Hall to see Zebich the Serbian Strongman (Hart 2007:54). Another type of shared entertainment at such halls was local bands. Tamburitza groups were popular in Flint, and represented a shared joy of Balkan music (Hart 2007:53, Evanoff 1989:143). Lenka Evanoff notes "Besides our activities in the International Institute, we were very active with the Bulgarian-Macedonian and Croatian-Slovene Halls in all the plays, dances, weddings, theatrical presentations and all kinds of cultural educational activities that took place there" (Evanoff 1989:273).

This theme of inter-ethnic relations is echoed many times in Evanoff's writing. In his capacity as a lawyer, he at times made trips to Southeastern Europe to execute wills of Flint residents who still had relatives overseas, managing to merge these trips with visits to his own relatives in the old country. Evanoff describes a number of instances in which he utilizes his ability to not only speak multiple languages, but to participate in the music and dancing of various Southeastern European ethnic groups, to gain entry into local social interactions. This type of ethnic awareness (in the form of multilingual ability, and knowledge of the social mores, music, and dance forms of various cultures) characterized the St. John Street Neighborhood. This multi-ethnic awareness was not unique to the Southeastern European immigrants: Evanoff wonders at the curiosity an outsider to Flint might feel when hearing an African American from the neighborhood engage in social pleasantries in the Macedonian language.

This is not to say that there were no ethnic or racial tensions in the St. John Street Neighborhood; certainly there were. But there was also an awareness among the

neighborhood residents of the benefits that came with demonstrating flexibility and acceptance in social interactions. Southeastern Europeans (as well as other ethnicities in the neighborhood) were brought together in the shared social sphere of their neighborhood. They frequented the same gathering places, relied on the same institutions, and worked for the same employers. They intermarried, were neighbors and friends to one another. Although ethnic tensions existed, they existed within the context of human relations in the neighborhood, and they were not the only source of tension in immigrants' lives. Class, gender, language barriers, and the stresses of poverty were all present. Residents of the neighborhood found common ground to meet on most of the time, and in the process embraced the food, music and festivities of their diverse neighbors. Evanoff himself personified this attitude, and the benefits that came with it. He sums it up by noting: "it pays to know your ethnicities" (Evanoff 1989:313).

Additional Sources of Tension in the St John Street Neighborhood

In addition to tensions among the residents as a result of ethnic differences, working conditions in the factories, and the relative poverty in which many residents lived, were a source of stress. The majority of men (adult and adolescent) in the neighborhood worked in the factories associated with the automobile industry. In the 1930s, tensions between the workers and their employers concerning worker's rights were reaching a boiling point. Beginning December 29, 1936, Flint autoworkers in two different factories, Fisher Plants Number 1 and 2, went on strike, causing General Motors automobile production to cease (Hart 2007:49). The workers who were striking locked themselves into the plants. Although GM decided to wait them out by denying them food, water and heat, the wives and daughters of the strikers, calling themselves the

"Women's Emergency Brigade," provided food by tossing it into the plants. Police tried to storm the plant on January 11, 1937, but the workers persisted. On February 1, a much larger sit-down strike occurred at the Chevrolet Plant #4. Finally, on February 11, 1937, the strike ended (Hart 2007).

Michael Evanoff, fresh out of law school, became the local attorney for the United Autoworkers Union, who had led the strike, backed by the Congress of Industrial Workers. Evanoff, long interested in human rights activism, suffered consequences for his defense of the Union, including the threat that he would be disbarred (Evanoff 1989:366). He remarked that "at that time, it was risky for any attorney to side with the Union. Those of us who did so suffered for it for many years afterward" (Evanoff 1989:381). In fact, when the local Federation of the Teachers Union chose to support the newly organized autoworkers, "the Board of Education, then controlled by the bankers and industrialists," fired four of the six founding members of the Federation of teachers following a biased trial; Evanoff notes that "the school board was the prosecutor, judge and jury" (Evanoff 1989:379). This reflects some of the antagonism that unions faced in Flint, as well as other industrial cities around America at that time. Nonetheless, although the Flint autoworker strikers of 1936-7 did not get all their demands met, eventually "General Motors was forced to recognize the UAW in the plants that had been on strike and to allow them to organize the other plants" (Hart 2007:49).

Another source of tension that neighborhood residents faced was discrimination, whether because of their ethnicity or race, from nativist organizations such as Ku Klux Klan. As Chalmers notes, "The Klan's platform and appeal consisted mainly of the things it was against: corruption, foreigners, Roman Catholics, and Negroes" (Chalmers

1987:194). In 1924, a Klan-supported candidate was elected mayor of Flint, and Klan

membership in Michigan peaked in the mid-1920s, a time of strong anti-immigrant and

anti-minority sentiments, with approximately 75-80,000 members. Dimitroff, a

Macedonian from the St. John Street neighborhood, recalls how as a child he watched his

immigrant father throw a coin into a folded American flag used for collection in a KKK

parade in Flint. When asked why he did so, his father replied "It is not for those crooks

but for the flag" (Evanoff 1989:342). Such a quote illustrates the pressure that

immigrants faced to Americanize, while they strove to take advantage of the

opportunities they believed their adopted country stood for.

Urban Renewal: The End of an Era

Following WWII, descendants of the original immigrants began to move out.

Many of the original immigrants had passed away by the 1950s and 1960s, and their

children were able to secure middle class jobs in the suburbs through education and

opportunity. In the 1960s and 1970s, the city of Flint, under the St. John Street Urban

Renewal Project and via eminent domain, "began to acquire and destroy all of the homes,

businesses, and churches in the area" (Hart 2007:55). Residents of the neighborhood

began to move out in increasing numbers and places of worship were relocated to the

suburbs as "both a cause and effect of urban renewal development" (Evanoff 1989:325).

This abandonment/destruction phase of the neighborhood was concurrent with an

economic downturn (Faires and Hanflik 2005). General Motors was in decline, and in

the 1980s, Buick remodeled its plants to increase reliance on robotics, resulting in a

decrease in jobs. In the late 1980s, Fisher and Chevrolet plants in Flint closed, and in

1999, Buick was moved to Detroit (Hart 2007:55). Today, nothing of the St. John Street

Neighborhood remains. However, many of the churches and organizations that the immigrants formed still exist in Flint and its outlying areas, a testament to the persistence of ethnicity in this area.

This continuation of ethnic practices is in contrast to the now outdated idea of the "melting pot," a concept which Evanoff himself decried. The term itself comes from the 1908 play *The Melting Pot* written by Jewish immigrant Israel Zangwill. Zangwill adamantly opposed discrimination against immigrants, and saw the solution to their troubles in assimilation. However, the concept was seized upon to illustrate the necessity of swift and absolute assimilation of immigrants into American culture, without retention of ethnic ways. In a letter to the editor in response to an article that described the St. John Street neighborhood as a "melting pot," and "turbulent," Evanoff states:

> I am certain that, instead of losing their ethnic identity, the people emphasized it, organized for it, built churches, halls, clubs and societies around their ethnic groups, and what is more they fraternized with each other and came to appreciate the good that was in their neighbor's ethnic background...no one got 'melted' into anything...this did not detract from their Americanism (Evanoff 1989:317).

Despite the eventual destruction of the St. John Street Neighborhood, its residents contributed much to Flint's growth and culture. The churches and cultural organizations that the descendants of the original immigrants founded continue, although many have moved to the suburbs. Flint's economic downturn and drastically reduced immigration have not resulted in the absence of cultural traditions. Even today, one can find frequent ethnic dinners and dances held by third- and fourth-generation Americans in the area.

Discussion

This chapter explores the living community associated with the cemetery of interest in this study. By examining the environment in which the immigrants found

themselves, and, most importantly, how they responded, we find adaptability as well as the persistence of ethnic identity took place. Individuals of different backgrounds, many of whom came from nations at odds with one another, forged relationships of friendship and mutual reliance in Flint. Churches, native language schools, benevolent societies and social halls were just some of the institutions that immigrants established to enrich and empower their lives. In addition, the social and economic stresses they faced were linked to movements such as Ku Klux Klan and the discriminatory legislation to restrict immigrants from regions that included Central and Southeastern Europe. The residents of the St. John Street neighborhood, however, were far from powerless. Their involvement in the labor movement had lasting effects, and the community networks they formed established continuing support systems. In the process of a cemetery study, one must not lose sight of the community whose identities are summarized and coded within inscriptions on the stones.

Chapter 5: Methodology

Introduction

This cemetery study examines how aspects of identity are manifested in the selection of gravestone attributes within a population of immigrants and their descendants. Within the population, religion is controlled for; all individuals interred in the cemetery were members of the Orthodox Church. Differences among individuals include, but are not limited to, age, gender, occupation, socio-economic status, ethnicity, and level of education. Variables were chosen based on the variation among the gravestones, as well as for their potential for answering questions concerning aspects of identity.

Historical Research

For the purposes of understanding the background and context of the community represented in the cemetery, research on immigration from Central and Southeastern Europe, where nearly all the immigrants who composed the early congregation were from, and research on the church, congregation, surrounding community, and the city of Flint was conducted. A number of primary sources were utilized for research on the community and church, including church burial records, census records from 1910 to 1930, and Flint city directories from the 1910s through 1950s. Such information was gathered to form a more comprehensive view of the community represented in the cemetery. Other sources were also utilized, including Evanoff's *St. John Street Through the Melting Pot* (1989) and Pejović's *Srbi Na Srednjem Zapadu* (1936), both of which provide biographical information on individuals interred in the cemetery.

A number of obstacles to conducting historical research on an immigrant community whose native language is not English became apparent in the course of this research. The primary obstacle is in the variety of forms and spellings both given names and surnames can take. First, among these ethnicities, names changed depending on the ethnic and political context in which they were used. For example, Evanoff notes that his own surname was changed to Yovanovich when the part of Macedonia in which he lived fell under Serbian control (Evanoff 1989:207). The meaning of his name did not change; Yovanovich was the Serbian equivalent of Evanoff. In America, which name was retained was based on which ethnicity and political view individuals identified with; Evanoff's family changed their name back to the Macedonian version. However, Evanoff recounts the incident of another family of three brothers in Flint, two of whom chose to retain the "–off" Macedonian ending in their last name, while the third brother kept the Serbian "-ich" ending (Evanoff 1989:46).

Second, names were spelled differently by individuals themselves (many of the immigrants were illiterate), and by census takers and record keepers, most of whom were unlikely to be familiar with, or sensitive to, how names were rendered in the native language of the immigrants. Evanoff, while conducting historical research in preparation for his book, encountered this difficulty. In reference to one particular individual whose name was spelled at least four different ways, Evanoff noted "as was the case with many other people, his name was spelled differently every time it appears in writing" (Evanoff 1989:160.) I came across nine different spellings for one family's surname in various documents and on the gravestones, including the way it was originally rendered in the Cyrillic alphabet.

Third, names were often reported by individuals differently; for example, one name (perhaps an Americanized version) would be used for "official" records, while another would be used in the ethnic community (e.g. Ivan or Ioan becomes John, Todor becomes Theodore). Fourth, Eastern Europeans commonly use nicknames and kinship terms to denote closeness and/or respect; this can include not only accepted nicknames for given names (many of which bear no resemblance to the original), but also the use of terms in the native language such as Dedo ("grandfather" in Macedonian) to show respect for elders in the community. Fifth, it should be noted that there is much overlap among first and last names within the immigrant community, making it difficult to distinguish individuals when other identifying characteristics (date of birth, spouse, etc.) are not provided.

Finally, in Macedonian, last names traditionally could change with every generation, with the son taking the last name meaning "son of (Father's name)." Eventually this changed to a static surname inheritance in America, but there are instances of individuals within the community of interest who continued this practice. Another circumstance in which surnames could change in a generation concerned the descendants of priests; "every member of a family whose grandfather [on the patrilineal side] had been a priest could call himself, if male, Poppoff and if female, Poppova" (Evanoff 1989:193). In addition, it should be noted that, as with other communities, a common surname does not indicate a biological relationship. Evanoff registers his surprise upon being informed that, even in very small villages in the old country, families that have the same last name are not necessarily considered related (Evanoff 1989:160).

Many of the immigrants arriving in Flint came from the same villages, but kinship cannot be assumed based on surnames and origin.

Field Methodology

In the fall of 2007, the cemetery was recorded. This involved photographing and measuring all visible gravestones, as well as recording by hand relevant information that would not be preserved by photography, such as faint inscriptions. Gravestones were photographed using a digital camera. Variables recorded for each gravestone include: size, shape, style, material, iconography, inscriptions (names, dates, and epitaphs) the direction gravestones face, and language of inscription. Individual gravestones were selected as the unit of analysis for most of the analyses, while individuals were the unit of analysis for examinations of kinship, gender, age, and occupation. Primary areas of interest were identified as differences among gravestones based on the following characteristics of the individuals represented: birth in North America vs. birth in Europe, gender, age, ethnicity, and occupation/title. In addition, change in variables through time for the entire cemetery were examined to determine if variation between time periods was random or pattered.

A total of 258 gravestones and gravestone locations (where the stone was missing but a base was present) were initially recorded. Thirteen of these were excluded from further analysis either due to a missing or totally blank gravestone, or a stone that had been tipped over face down and was unreadable. This left 245 stones, of which an additional 3 stones were excluded from further analysis: two due to unreadable inscriptions, and the third was a monument to the church rather than an actual gravestone. Therefore, 242 gravestones exhibited most of the variables of interest. For the

computation of descriptive statistics, all 242 gravestones were used, but in temporal analyses an additional three were excluded due to the lack of a death date, which precluded analysis of change through time. At other times, certain gravestones were excluded in analyses depending on whether they met the criteria for the variable being analyzed.

Variables

Year of Gravestone (Date of Death)

For the purposes of temporal analyses, the date of death was used for the year of a gravestone. Of the 242 gravestones analyzed, 53 are double gravestones, one commemorates three individuals, and one commemorates four individuals. In these cases, the earliest death date is used. Three of the single gravestones were apparently purchased pre-need, and did not have the death date inscribed. These gravestones were utilized in descriptive statistic analyses that did not require a death date (i.e., those analyses that were not comparing variables across time periods.) The range of years was originally divided into 15 groups for analyses, by 6 year increments. It was determined after the initial analyses that combining the time periods into larger groups aided in the understanding of general trends through time. The original time periods of 6 years proved too narrow to allow for a visual demonstration of the general trends through time for this cemetery. In other words, the initial time period divisions were too fine-grained, resulting in excess "noise" which obscured trends. The new division resulted in five time periods of 18 consecutive years each, beginning with 1918 (the earliest gravestone date) and terminating with the year of the study (2007).

Shape of Gravestone

The shape of the gravestones can be analyzed two different ways: the overall form of the stone itself (Figure 5.1) and the profile of the gravestone, or shape that the top of the gravestone is fashioned into (Figure 5.2). In analyses, the first category of gravestone shape was coded as Shape 1 (form), and the second category as Shape 2 (profile). Common terminology was used for Shape 1 when available, while Shape 2 was coded based on the variety of gravestone outlines observed in the cemetery; each variation was assigned a number 1-20. Shape 2 is partially determined by Shape 1: for example, a raised stone was always classified as "1" in the Shape 2 category, because all the raised stones had flat tops.

Figure 5.1 Gravestone Form (Shape 1) Chart

Crosses	Tablet
Block	Slant Block	Raised Top
Square Column	Pulpit	Lawn
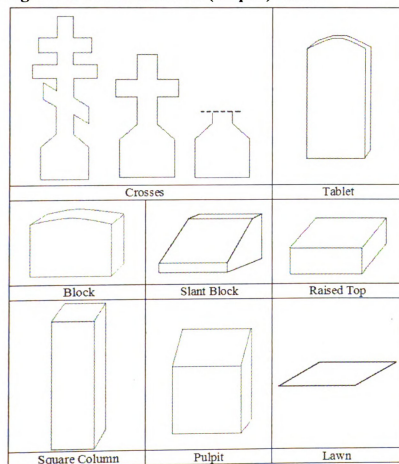
Figure 5.2 Gravestone Profile (Shape 2) Chart

1	2	3	4	5
6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15
16	17	18	19 (unknown cross)	20

Cross-shaped gravestones fall into three categories for the purpose of form analysis. The first is "Cross 1," which describes a gravestone in the shape of an Eastern Orthodox 8-pointed cross (also referred to as an Orthodox cross). The second is "Cross 2," which references a "generic" four-pointed cross (also referred to as a Latin cross). The third category consists of simply "Cross-shaped" and encompasses all gravestones that are clearly cross-shaped, but due to damage the original cross-type cannot be determined. It should be noted that, in this paper, cross-shaped is classified under both gravestone form (Shape 1) and gravestone profile (Shape 2). For most analyses, the three categories of cross-shaped gravestones were combined.

Other Physical Characteristics of Gravestones

The material of each gravestone was assessed in the field. Material types consist of concrete, concrete/bronze (a concrete block with a bronze plaque attached, commonly found on military graves), granite, granite/bronze (granite block with bronze plaque attached), and marble. For the purposes of analyses, concrete/bronze was grouped with concrete, and granite/bronze was grouped with granite. The direction that each gravestone faces, as determined by the direction that the side with the majority of information faces, was also recorded. In one case, it was impossible to tell, as the stone was removed from its original context and leaning against the fence surrounding the cemetery; in another, the stone was south-facing and it was not clear whether it had been moved from its original context. A number of stones had been vandalized and at least three tipped over, but it was still apparent which way the stone had faced when upright. The direction these stones originally faced was recorded, but they were not included in the analyses since I was unable to record further information such as names, dates, or symbols.

Gravestone Measurements

All gravestones were measured for length, width, and height; measurements were recorded in centimeters. For height, width, and length, the maximum measurements for each stone was calculated. An exception to this was slant block stones. In the case of slant block stones, both the top width and the base width were added together and then divided by two, resulting in an average width. This was done so that the "triangular" profile of the stone would be balanced out in the calculation of stone volume. In the case

of broken or sunken stones, the maximum height of the remaining portion was measured; if all portions were present, maximum height was calculated using the portions.

Inscription

Inscriptions contain a variety of information, including names, dates, and sentiments or additional biographical information in epitaphs. First, the number of individuals commemorated on each gravestone was determined. Double stones for married couples are not uncommon; however there is also one triple and one quadruple stone in this cemetery. These are coded in the data set as S=single, D=double, T=triple, Q=quadruple. Because there is only one triple and one quadruple stone, these were omitted from further analyses.

Second, the number of words in each epitaph was calculated by counting all words inscribed on a stone *excluding* name, date of birth (DOB), and date of death (DOD). For example, if the only words in addition to the name and dates were "born" and "died," then a count of two for the length of the epitaph was recorded. Likewise, "Son" was counted as one word, and so on. This was done to determine the amount of words that were dictated for the inscription beyond the minimum found on all gravestones in the cemetery. All stones present in the cemetery exhibit name, DOB and DOD in the inscription, except in the case of three stones which do not yet have any DOD inscribed. There are two cases where more than 16 additional words were inscribed; one epitaph is 28 words long and the other 34 words long. In a few cases, the gravestone had sunken into the soil, obscuring part of the inscription; in these instances, the amount of words visible was recorded. Many of the stones with longer epitaphs are

military stones, which contain a wealth of information concerning an individual's rank and service in the military.

Language of Inscription

Of the 242 gravestones analyzed, 30 were in languages other than English, and 12 were in both English and another language. These were coded as follows: language was recorded as "English" (E) in cases where the entire inscription on the stone was in English, "Other" (O) when, conversely, the entire inscription was in a language besides English, and "Both" (B) when both English and another language were present in the inscription. No cases were observed where two non-English languages were found on a single stone. Non-English languages include Russian, Serbian, Ukrainian, Romanian, Macedonian, and Church Slavic; these were not distinguished for the purpose of analyses, but rather grouped together to compare the occurrence of English with non-English languages.

One problematic aspect of recording language is in cases where only a name and dates were present on the stone, because some Eastern European alphabets, such as Romanian, have many shared letters with English. If a name is composed of letters that are shared between English and another language, it is difficult, if not impossible, to know the "intended language" of the inscription. In these cases, the inscription was recorded as "English" when it contained all English letters in a name and no other information that would give insight into the language intended was present.

Iconography

Symbols other than crosses were divided into two types, flora and "other." As previously mentioned, crosses are treated as a separate category, except in total counts of

symbol types per gravestone (see below). Flora symbols are those consisting of flowers, leaves, or trees, and include ivy, roses, primroses, morning glories, etc. "Other" symbols include angels, banners, birds, clasped hands, open books, closed books, photographs of the deceased, etc. See Tables E.1 and E.2 in Appendix E for a complete listing of symbols, including frequency. In addition to recording the frequency of symbols in the cemetery, the number of symbol types (including crosses) was counted for each gravestone. For example, if a stone exhibited a primrose, two crosses of the same type, and a banner, a value of three was recorded. It is interesting that while both 8-pointed and 4-pointed crosses were common throughout the cemetery, no stone exhibited more than one type of cross.

Three major categories of engraved crosses were determined based on shape. The first is Cross 1, again referring to the eight-pointed cross associated with the Eastern Orthodox religion. Cross 2 is the standard "generic" Christian four-pointed or Latin cross, in which the horizontal bar is shorter in length than the vertical bar. Two subgroups of Cross 2, which were noted but not analyzed separately, consist of a "leaning" Latin cross, and a Latin cross with a rosary draped over it. Cross 3 contains trefoils on its four (or at times 8) points, and can be associated with the Ukrainian, Greek, and Serbian Orthodox churches. Only five Cross 3s were observed in the cemetery, one of which was on a gravestone with no date of death. For the purposes of some analyses, the Cross 3s were grouped with either Cross 1 or Cross 2 depending on how many bars they exhibit. In addition, it should be noted that Cross 1 and Cross 2 are at times depicted as a crucifix. Sometimes either Cross 1 or Cross 2 is used as a symbol between birth and

death dates. These were not recorded if they were the same size as the lettering of the dates, but only if they were an independent motif on the gravestone.

Dimensions of Comparison

The variables outlined above were chosen both to encompass variations on the gravestones, and to allow for the comparison of gravestones across a variety of dimensions of interest. The primary focus of analysis concerned differences among gravestones of North American- vs. foreign-born individuals, but other dimensions of comparison were also examined. These included differences in use of kinship terms between gravestones based on gender, age and ethnicity, and an examination of how occupation or title was utilized as a dimension of identity on the gravestones. It should be noted that a minority of gravestones contained kinship, occupation, and ethnicity information, but gender could be surmised from the names of individuals in all cases. In the gender, kinship, age and ethnicity analyses, individuals were the units of analysis rather than gravestones.

Gravestones were assigned a "North American-born" or "foreign-born" status based on the place of origin provided for individuals in the church burial record. This was confirmed with census and obituary data when practical. The gravestone dataset for the cemetery was divided into two groups based on an individual's place of origin: native-born, designating those who were listed in the Church's burial register as from Canada or America, and foreign-born, those listed as originating from Central or Southeastern Europe. Those individuals without a place of origin listed were excluded from further analysis; all individuals fell into one of these three categories.

Gravestones were the unit of analysis for the North American vs. foreign-born analyses rather than individuals, although individual place of origin was used to assign a gravestone to a category. Therefore, for example, if a double gravestone had two individuals who were foreign-born, the stone was counted once in the foreign-born category for analysis. In all but three cases, individuals sharing a gravestone fell into the same origin grouping. In small number of cases where the two individuals on a gravestone had different origins, the origin for the individual who had the older death date was used, as the stone was likely selected at the time of their death.

In this cemetery, six individuals were commemorated on two different stones. Of these, two were commemorated with two separate single stones, one was commemorated on one single and one quadruple stone, two were commemorated on one single and one triple stone, and one was commemorated on one single and one double stone. In one of these cases, an individual was commemorated on a gravestone both in the plot of their birth family, and in the family they married into. In another case, an individual had one gravestone in English and Ukrainian, and the other gravestone entirely in Ukrainian. All of these gravestones were included in analyses for which gravestones were the unit of analysis.

These dimensions of comparison were selected to examine different facets of individual identity as manifested on gravestones. In addition, most of these dimensions overlap with information provided in census and obituary sources, allowing one to compare which "roles" are ultimately selected for gravestones, compared to the "roles" individuals are assigned in other documentary sources.

Methods of Analysis

After the data was compiled in an excel spreadsheet, a number of statistical analyses were performed. For continuous data, descriptive statistics included: total number of cases, mean, median, mode, minimum, maximum, and standard deviation (see Appendix B for results). Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) was performed on both continuous and meristic data, to identify whether variables co-occurred; results are discussed in Chapter 6. The chi-square test was used to analyze categorical, non-parametric data, including the shape, style, material of gravestones, language of inscription, number of motifs per gravestone, and cross type on gravestone (see Appendix D for results). In all statistical analyses, the cut-off level for significance was $\alpha=0.05$.

Discussion

The methodology described above has been implemented with the intention of harnessing data relevant to the study of ethnicity and identity using a cemetery dataset. All inscription and iconography data, as well as the physical characteristics of the gravestones themselves, including measurements, material, form and style, and the directions they face, were recorded. For the purposes of this study, in-depth spatial analysis was not included; however, casual observations on cemetery layout and organization were recorded. For a schematic map of the cemetery, see Appendix A. In the next chapter, the analysis results of the aforementioned variables are discussed.

Chapter 6: Analysis and Results

Introduction

This section discusses the results of the analyses performed on the St. Nicholas

Orthodox Cemetery dataset. Results are organized by variable; for each variable, trends

for the cemetery as a whole are discussed, and then trends between North American- and

foreign-born are compared. Statistical analyses performed on the dataset were

Exploratory Data Analysis (EDA) and the chi-square test. The chi-square test was

utilized to determine if certain variables exhibited statistically significant patterned

change through time. EDA was then used to draw out more nuanced patterns within

variables. EDA provides a way to thoroughly explore the data in question, and discover

the ways that variables relate to one another (Hartwig and Dearing 1979).

The following chapter provides an overview of the results of the chi-square test

results in table format, but relies predominantly on graphical representations of EDA

results to develop the potential for more meaningful interpretations of patterns. For

example, a chi-square test is able to identify that gravestone forms exhibited a statistically

significant pattern of change through time, but by graphing the results using EDA, we are

able to learn which forms were popular during which time periods, and hypothesize why.

Ultimately, the majority of the analyses presented here are descriptive and comparative,

and while trends for the cemetery as a whole are explored, most of the results discussed

focus on the comparison of gravestone variables by place of origin (North American- or

foreign-born) using EDA to elucidate differences between the two groups. Additional

comparisons are discussed in Chapter 7.

As part of EDA, descriptive statistics were computed for each variable that consisted of continuous data. The descriptive statistics calculated were: total number of cases, mean, median, mode, minimum, maximum, and standard deviation; see Appendix B for results. As mentioned above, temporal analyses using the chi-square test, as well as EDA techniques, were carried out to identify the occurrence of patterned change through time in the cemetery, with the purpose of determining how the results interfaced with general trends observed in contemporaneous American cemeteries. The results of the chi-square test are depicted in Table 6.1, but actual interpretation of the variables follows graphical representations of the patterns below. Through the course of these analyses, a number of differences between the gravestones of individuals based on their origin have been noted, and results from other cemetery studies have been utilized when they are able to lend insights into the interpretation of these variations.

Overview of Analyses

A total of 242 gravestones met all or most of the requirements for analysis: they are relatively intact, and most of the inscriptions are legible. Three of these did not have death dates filled in at the time of recording, so these three were excluded from analyses that concerned change through time. As illustrated in Table 6.1, Variables that exhibited statistically significant patterned change through time for the whole cemetery were gravestone form, style, and material, language of inscription, number of motifs per gravestone, and cross type. Variables that did not exhibit patterned change through time include epitaph length, the direction gravestones face, and number of individuals per gravestone. These results will be interpreted following the graphical representations below.

Table 6.1 Table of Analyses Performed on the Cemetery as a Whole

Analysis	Variable (through Time)	Results
Exploratory Data Analysis	All variables	To be discussed
Chi-Square • Non-parametric • Categorical • Independent	**Form of gravestone** (Shape 1)	P = <0.001: **Significant**
	Style of gravestone (Shape 2)	P = <0.001: **Significant**
	Material of gravestone	P = <0.001: **Significant**
	Direction gravestone faces	P = 0.411: Not significant
	Number of individuals (single or double) per gravestone	P = 0.204: Not significant
	Language (English or Other, English or Other/Both)	P = <0.001: **Significant** (in both cases)
	Number of motifs per gravestone	P = 0.007: **Significant**
	Cross type	P = 0.001: **Significant**

Significant results: indicates that there is significant change in use of this gravestone variable through time that is not due to random sampling variation. *Cut-off level for significance: a = 0.05.*

Organization of the Cemetery

The cemetery is organized around an oval-shaped drive that curves around the cemetery, and a central drive that bisects the oval (see Appendix A for a map of the cemetery). Burial plots are located in the two central portions of the cemetery, as well as around the perimeter of the drive. In the center of the cemetery facing the entryway is a large Orthodox cross identifying this as an Orthodox Christian burial ground. The cemetery is generally organized by family groups, with a small children's section in the northeast corner. Single plots are located on the east side of the eastern central portion of the cemetery, as well as along the eastern-most edge outside the central portion. In addition, all of the plots in the children's area are single plots. McGuire notes that, following World War II, infants were often buried in a separate section of the cemetery (McGuire 1988:455).

The spatial organization of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery is consistent with that of memorial gardens of the early twentieth century. During this time, cemeteries began to be laid out in more curvilinear lines around a central winding road system, which softened the rigid grid-like layouts of the previous century (Francaviglia 1971:505). The organization of the burials by family group is also common for American cemeteries in the first part of the twentieth century, at which point the emphasis gradually shifts to spouse plots (McGuire 1998:452, 454). At the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery, many of the family plots are delineated by low concrete barriers, and a few plots are fenced off with metal fencing. This has been observed in other cemeteries as well, for example among Czech cemeteries in Texas (Kiest 1993:85, Anderson 1993:13).

Gravestone Frequency through Time

Figure 6.1 depicts the number of gravestones for each time period. A gradual decline in the number of burials after the peak in 1954-1971 is apparent. This could reflect changing population size within the community, or a different pattern of cemetery usage among the congregation. The former explanation is likely, as the St. John Street neighborhood had largely begun to disintegrate by the 1960s as a result of urban renewal, and by the 1970s most individuals had moved to outlying areas (Hart 2007, Evanoff 1989). In addition, by this time Flint was no longer a center for immigration from Southeastern and Central Europeans.

Figure 6.1 Gravestone Frequency through Time

Gravestone Frequency Through Time
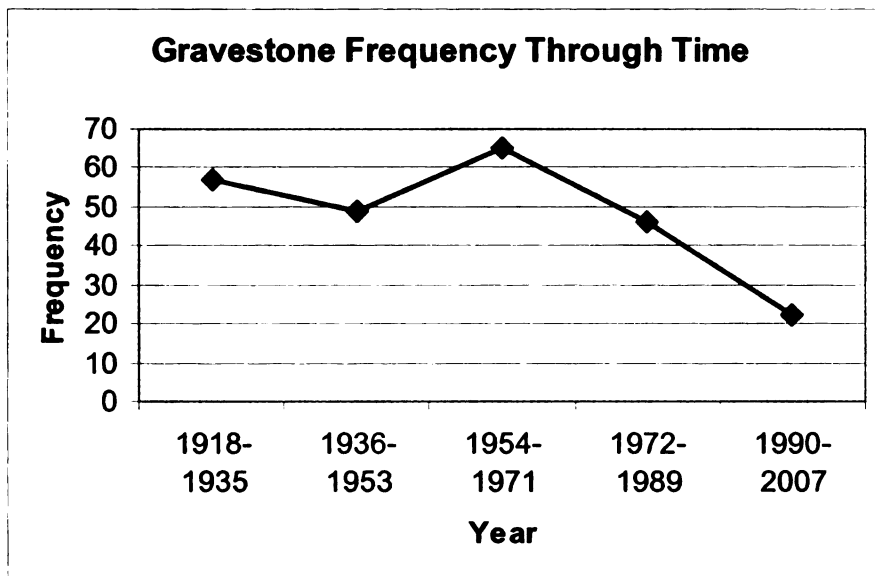
Figure 6.2 Gravestone Proportional Frequencies by Origin

Gravestone Frequency Through Time
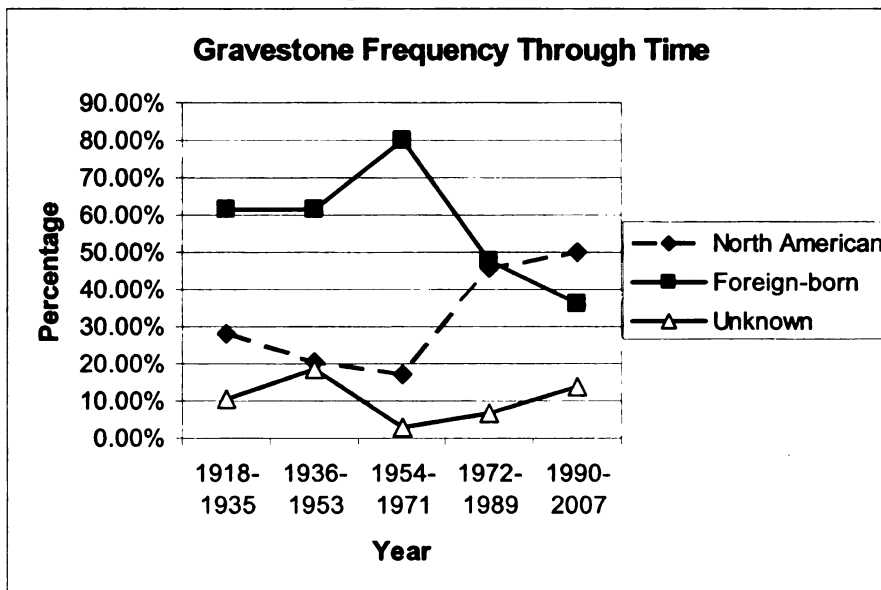
Figure 6.2 illustrates the changing demographic composition of the cemetery

through time. The decrease in foreign-born individuals following the peak in 1954-1971

likely reflects broad changes in immigration patterns. In the late nineteenth and early

twentieth centuries, there were a high number of Central and Southeastern European

immigrants arriving in America. Following World War I, the Immigration Act of 1924

quotas were implemented to drastically restrict immigrants from South, Southeastern and Central Europe, as well as from Asia (Gabaccia 1996, Anderson 1993:11). The peak in foreign-born burials in 1954-1971 likely reflects when the largest immigrant "cohort" of the early 1900s-1920s reached their age of mortality. An immigrant who arrived in America in 1905 at the age of 24 (immigrants during this period were commonly in their early twenties) would be 74 in 1955. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 discontinued the restrictive quotas of 1924, re-opening the United States to immigration from Central and Southeastern Europe (Vrga 1971). North American-born internments in the cemetery nearly equal, and then surpass, foreign-born internments in the last two time periods, again as a result of the lower number of foreign-born immigrants reaching mortality in the last three decades due to immigration restrictions from the 1920s to 1965.

Gravestone Shape

Shape 1: Form

There are eight different gravestone forms represented in the cemetery: block (sometimes referred to as monument), cross-shaped, lawn, pulpit, raised, slant block, square column, and tablet. See Figure 5.1 in Chapter 5 and Table 6.2 for images of these shapes. Figure 6.3 illustrates the popularity of gravestones forms in the cemetery as a whole, while Table 6.2 and Figure 6.4 provide a break-down of the popularity of these gravestone shapes in the cemetery through time.

Figure 6.3 Gravestone Frequencies by Form
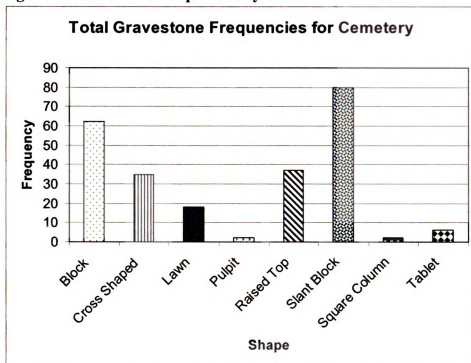
Table 6.2 Comparison of Gravestone Forms
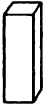
	1918-1935	1936-1953	1954-1971	1972-1989	1990-2007
Block	7.02%	26.53%	33.85%	39.13%	22.73%
Cross-Shaped	42.11%	14.29%	4.62%	2.17%	0.00%
Lawn	0.00%	10.20%	7.69%	15.22%	4.55%
Pulpit	3.51%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Raised Top	15.79%	12.24%	12.31%	19.57%	18.18%
Slant Block	22.81%	32.65%	41.54%	23.91%	50.00%

Table 6.2 (cont'd).					
Square column	3.51%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
Tablet	5.36%	4.08%	0.00%	0.00%	4.55%

Figure 6.4

Gravestone Form Through Time
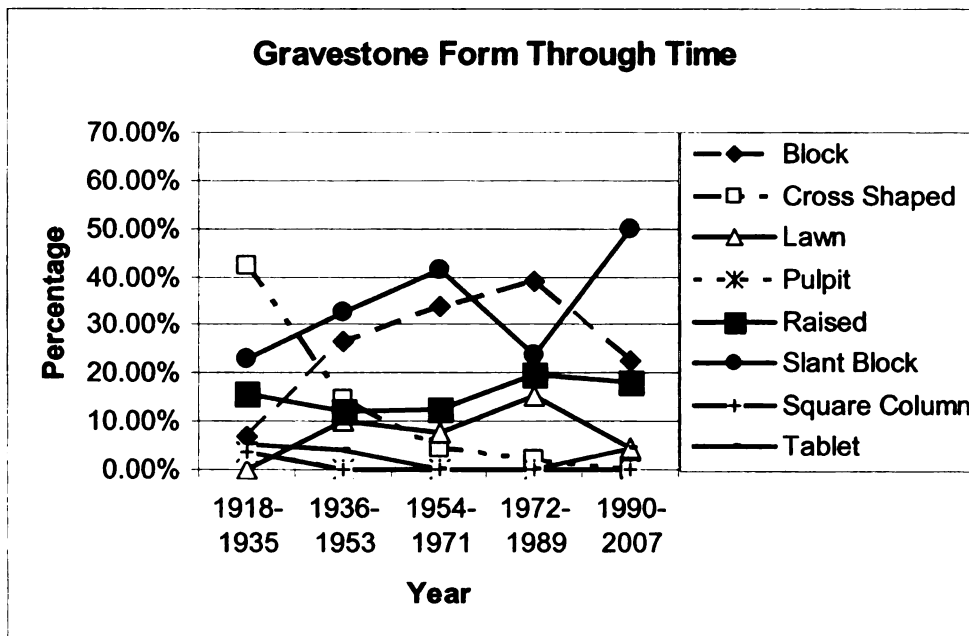
As shown in Figure 6.3, the most popular gravestone form in the cemetery is the

slant block, followed by the block and raised top shapes. The most uncommon forms are

the square column and pulpit, followed by the tablet shape. In an examination of

gravestone forms through time (Table 6.2 and Figure 6.4), it is revealed that cross forms

peaked during the first time period and then dropped off dramatically to zero during the

last time period. Raised top, tablet, square column, and lawn forms all remained

relatively stable, though not highly popular, throughout. The block form increased in

popularity from being relatively uncommon in the first time period to its peak of over

one-third of the gravestones in the cemetery during 1972-1989. The slant block peaked twice, once during 1954-1971, and once during the last time period; in both of these time periods, slant blocks represented over 40 percent of the gravestones in the cemetery.

These patterns are consistent with general trends in American cemeteries during the twentieth century (Fracaviglia 1971). It is not uncommon for a cemetery, particularly one spanning the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries; to contain a relatively small number of gravestone forms. Francaviglia himself identifies nine different forms, while other cemeteries contain even fewer (for example, see Broce's 1996 of a Slovak cemetery in rural Colorado, which exhibits only five gravestone forms).

The turn of the twentieth century brought about a decrease in variation and ornateness of monuments, in what has been termed the "modern plain style," spanning from 1900 to the present as defined by Hijiya (1983). Similarly, Fracaviglia delineates a "conservative period" spanning 1906-1929, during which "slant pulpits" and block forms become common and stone heights decrease; this is followed by the "modern period" (1930-1970), in which simplification increases, giving way to a proliferation of raised tops and lawn gravestones (Francaviglia 1971:508). McGuire also notes an increase in the uniformity of memorials, specifically following the interwar period (McGuire 1988:453). Although Francaviglia only discusses gravestone trends to 1970, Figure 6.4 above illustrates that the trends he identified persist, with slant block, block, and raised top gravestones remaining popular into the early twenty-first century. Finally, many cemeteries have implemented increased restrictions on monument types for ease of maintenance and upkeep, which exerts another influence on the diversity of forms (Carlson-Cumbo 1989:77).

Figure 6.5

Foreign-Born: Gravestone Form through Time

Legend: Block, Cross, Lawn, Raised, Slant block, Tablet, Pulpit, Square Column

Percentage (y-axis): 0.00% to 70.00%
Year (x-axis): 1918-1935, 1936-1953, 1954-1971, 1972-1989, 1990-2007

Figure 6.6

North American-Born: Gravestone Form through Time

Legend: Block, Cross, Lawn, Raised, Slant Block, Tablet

Percentage (y-axis): 0.00% to 70.00%
Year (x-axis): 1918-1935, 1936-1953, 1954-1971, 1972-1989, 1990-2007

There are some pronounced differences between the gravestone forms of North American-born and foreign-born individuals through time (see Figures 6.5 and 6.6, above). Block gravestones, which were the most popular shape for foreign-born

individuals in the last two times periods (approximately 60% and 50%, respectively), were relatively uncommon for North American-born during all time periods, and remained between 20% and 10% during the last two periods. Similarly, lawn gravestones peaked in popularity for North American-born at over 45% of total gravestones for that demographic in 1954-1971, while the largest proportion of lawn gravestones among foreign-born was only 10% in 1936-1953, and there were no lawn gravestones among foreign-born during three of the time periods. Slant blocks were common between both groups, but their use peaked during different periods. For North American-born, the peaks occurred in 1936-1953 (50%) and 1990-2000 (55%), while for foreign-born the slant block peaked in 1954-1971 at 48%, when slant blocks among North-American born were at an all time low (18%). Tablets were found in low numbers between both groups, and two forms, pulpits and square columns, were found only among foreign-born, albeit in small numbers. The cross shape was popular among both North American born (44%) and foreign-born (37%) in the first period. However, the cross shape was not used again by North American born after this time, while it gradually decreased in popularity among foreign-born.

Another way to consider the different gravestone forms is by evaluating their visibility on the landscape, based on height. By grouping gravestones into high visibility (as defined by the average height of their form being a minimum of 15 cm in height) and low visibility (under 15 cm in height), new insights into differences between North American- and foreign-born are revealed. Gravestone forms with a greater profile are more common among foreign-born than North American-born. There is a high degree of standardization in gravestone shape and height. Although 15 cm was chosen as the

dividing line, in reality the vast majority of raised top and lawn gravestones are well below this height, while the other forms are generally much taller than 15cm unless they have sunk into the ground.

Table 6.3 Differences in Visibility of Gravestone Forms between North American- and Foreign-Born

	North American-Born	Foreign-Born
High Profile Forms		
Block	13.04%	33.78%
Cross	10.14%	14.19%
Pulpit	0.00%	1.35%
Slant Block	33.33%	33.11%
Square Column	0.00%	1.35%
Tablet	4.35%	1.35%
Low Profile Forms		
Lawn	18.84%	2.70%
Raised Top	20.29%	12.16%
High Profile Percentage Total	**60.87%**	**85.14%**
Low Profile Percentage Total	**39.13%**	**14.86%**

As evidenced in Table 6.3, high profile gravestone forms are more common choices for the gravestones of foreign-born individuals compared to American born. A number of studies have observed that the gravestones of Southern and Eastern European ethnic groups in America are larger and greater in height than those of Anglo-Saxon Protestants in the twentieth century (McGuire 1988, Clark 1987, Kiest 1993:90, Sloane 1991). Interestingly, the data above suggests that the gravestones selected for American-born individuals are more in line with the trends of gravestone selection for "non-ethnic" Anglo-Saxon America than gravestones selected for foreign-born individuals.

Specifically, even though the majority of North American-born gravestones (60.87%) at this cemetery are "high profile," lower profile gravestones are much more likely to be selected for a North-American born individual (almost 40%) than for a foreign-born individual (almost 15%). This trend among the former has more in common

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with general trends in "non-ethnic" cemeteries in the United States (Francaviglia 1971,

Broce 1996:178). One possible influence on this pattern may be that the number of

North American-born individuals increased through time, while average height of

gravestones decreased in American cemeteries, but overall the cemetery still had more

foreign-born individuals than North American-born in all but the last time period, so this

explanation does not fully suffice. In other words, the pattern does not appear to be

completely explained by the fact that many North-American born individuals were buried

later in time, although this is likely a factor.

Shape 2: Profile

The most popular "profiles" for gravestones in the cemetery are, in order of

frequency from highest to lowest, style 1, style 10, crosses, and style 2. Although 20

different styles are represented in the cemetery, the frequency of other styles drops off

sharply after the four most common (styles 4, 6, and 19 were combined to make the

"crosses" category). The next most popular styles following those four are styles 12, and

3, which are represented by only five and four gravestones in the cemetery respectively

(See Table 6.4, which uses frequencies rather than percentages to convey the marked low

frequency of less common styles compared to the four most common). Most styles only

are represented by only one gravestone each in the entire cemetery (see Table E.3

Appendix E for frequencies of all the styles).

Table 6.4 Frequency of the Six Most Popular Gravestone Profiles in the Cemetery
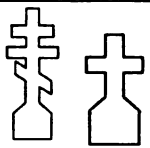
Style 1	Style 10	Crosses Combined	Style 2	Style 12	Style 3
92	65	35	24	5	4

Figure 6.7 illustrates the changing frequency of styles for the entire cemetery through time. Style 10 slowly increased in popularity through time, becoming the most popular in the last time period. Style 1 is overall the most popular, and peaks during the fourth time period. Style 2 peaks in popularity during the second and fifth time periods. The other styles remain consistent (in small frequencies). As mentioned above, the cross shape counts are the same for gravestone form, and therefore they exhibit a similar pattern as discussed above, peaking during the first time period as the most common shape, then dramatically dropping off to a percentage of zero in the fifth time period.

Figure 6.7

Figure 6.8

Foreign-Born: Gravestone Profile through Time

Legend: Crosses, Style 1, Style 2, Style 3, Style 10, Style 12

Figure 6.9

North American-Born: Gravestone Profile through Time

Legend: Crosses, Style 1, Style 2, Style 3, Style 10, Style 16, Style 17, Style 20
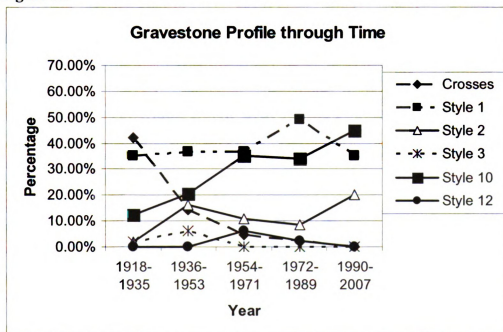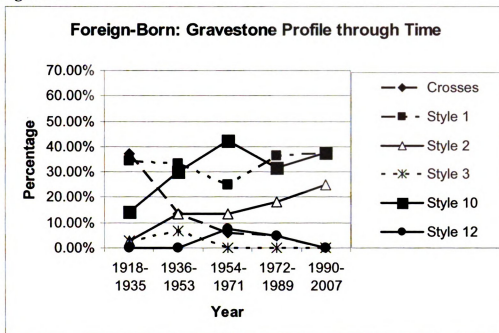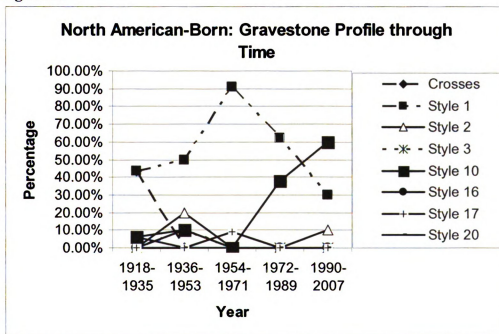
The occurrence of gravestone profile styles varies through time between North American- and foreign-born (see Figures 6.8 and 6.9). Style 1 is extremely popular among North American-born, remaining the most common style (along with crosses in

the first time period), until it finally drops to 30% in the fifth period, after a high of 91% in the third period. This is in marked contrast to the occurrence of style 1 among foreign-born; although it is relatively popular compared to the other styles, it remains steady between 25% and roughly 40% of gravestones during all time period. Conversely, style 10 remains fairly steady among foreign-born as well, between 15% and 40%, whereas among North American born style 10 is quite uncommon until it rises to 40%, and then 60%, during the last two time periods.

Another source of variation between North American- and foreign born is the presence of three additional styles (16, 17, and 20) which each reach levels of at least 5% of the gravestones in at least one time period among North American-born. Although North American-born individuals ultimately had a greater number of styles represented, a larger percentage of this group utilized only a couple of styles, while different styles were more evenly distributed among foreign-born.

It is difficult to interpret what these trends in gravestone styles mean, as the gravestone profiles represent a relatively arbitrary stylistic component (with the exception of crosses) that is not directly linked to symbolic meaning, but rather secular aesthetic taste. In addition, the style of the upper profile of the gravestone is determined in part by the overall form of the gravestone, so differing trends in gravestone form selection between North American- and foreign-born influence the trends in style.

Gravestone Material

Only four gravestone materials are found in the cemetery. In order of popularity, they are granite, marble, concrete, and limestone. A fifth material used as an accent to gravestones, bronze, is found in conjunction with granite and concrete. As evidenced in

Figure 6.10, granite is overwhelmingly the most popular material in the second through fifth time periods. In the first time period, marble is the most popular material, comprising 50% of the gravestones. After this point, marble drops off markedly in use. This correlates with the drop in cross-shaped gravestones during this time, the vast majority of which are made of marble. Limestone in particular is very uncommon, and was used for only two gravestones. This pattern of usage is consistent at what can be found at other cemeteries in the Midwest, where the use of limestone has been relatively uncommon and sporadic, except in some rural cemeteries located near a limestone source (Bauer et al. 2002:90). Concrete was also relatively uncommon; for the most part it was used as a lawn marker with bronze, but in three cases it was used to fashion a "home-made" gravestone.

The accepted chronology for gravestone materials in the United States describes marble as remaining popular during the first quarter of the twentieth century, while granite appears in the mid-nineteenth century and becomes common by the early twentieth century (Ames 1981, Bauer et al. 2002, Broce 1996:180, Liebens 2003:63). There was a lag-time in the increase of granite's popularity after its introduction in the mid-nineteenth century because its greater durability meant that it was much more difficult to carve, and therefore was quite expensive until carving technology advanced in the early twentieth century (Bauer et al. 2002:93). It should also be noted that some cemeteries no longer allow marble except as a replacement stone, likely because it is less resistant to weathering and damage than granite (Bauer et al. 2002:91).

Figure 6.10

Gravestone Material through Time

(line graph — Percentage vs. Year; series: Concrete, Granite, Marble, Limestone; Years: 1918-1935, 1936-1953, 1954-1971, 1972-1989, 1990-2007)

Figure 6.11

Foreign-Born: Gravestone Material through Time

(line graph — Percentage vs. Year; series: Concrete, Granite, Marble; Years: 1918-1935, 1936-1953, 1954-1971, 1972-1989, 1990-2007)
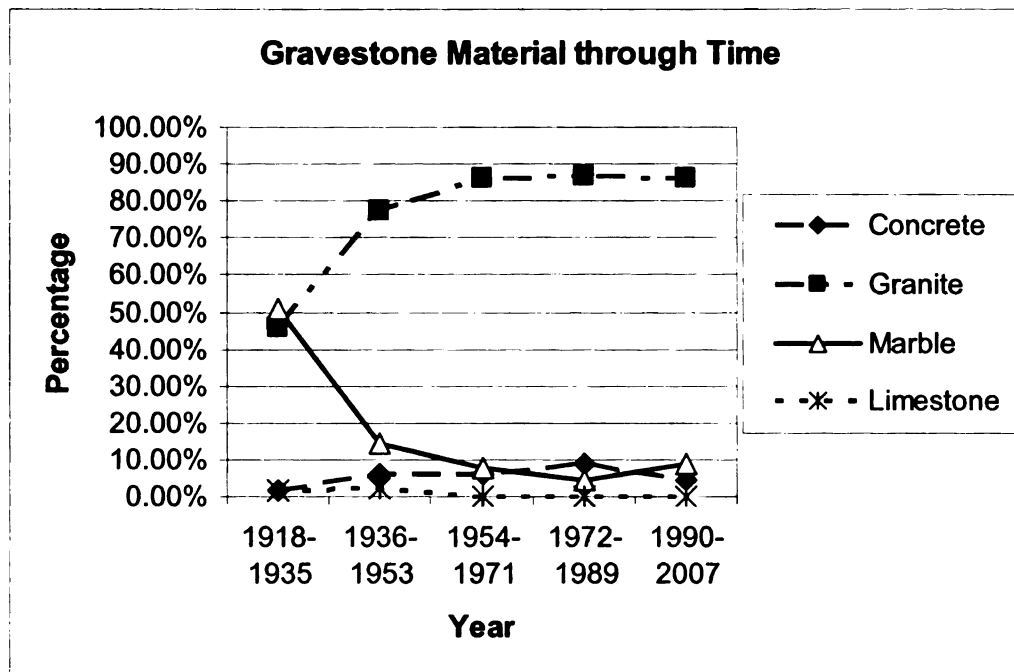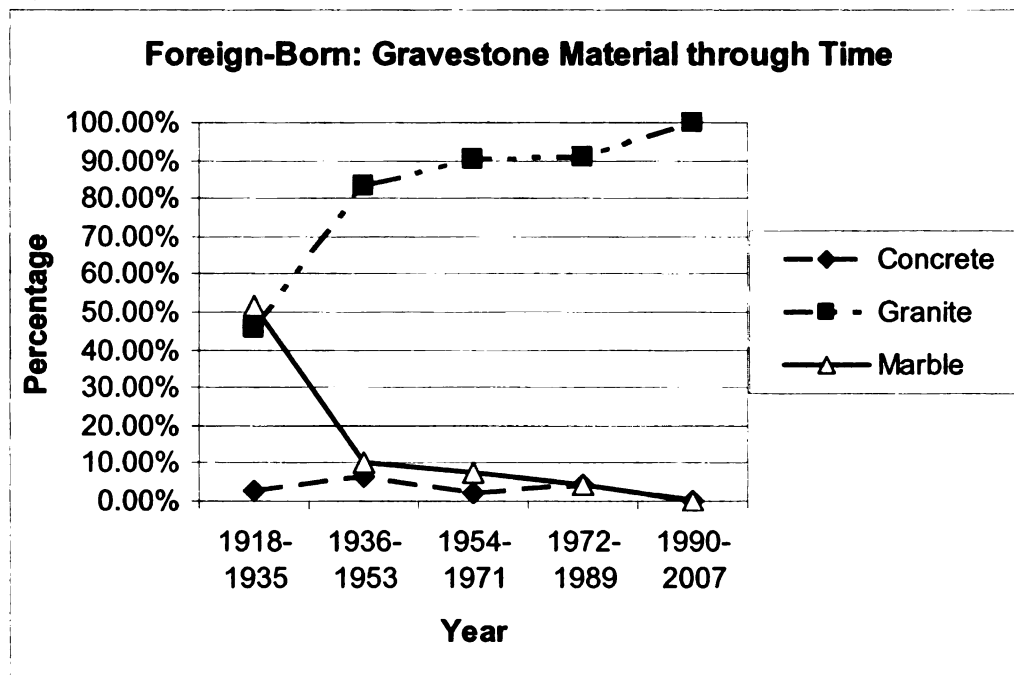
Figure 6.12
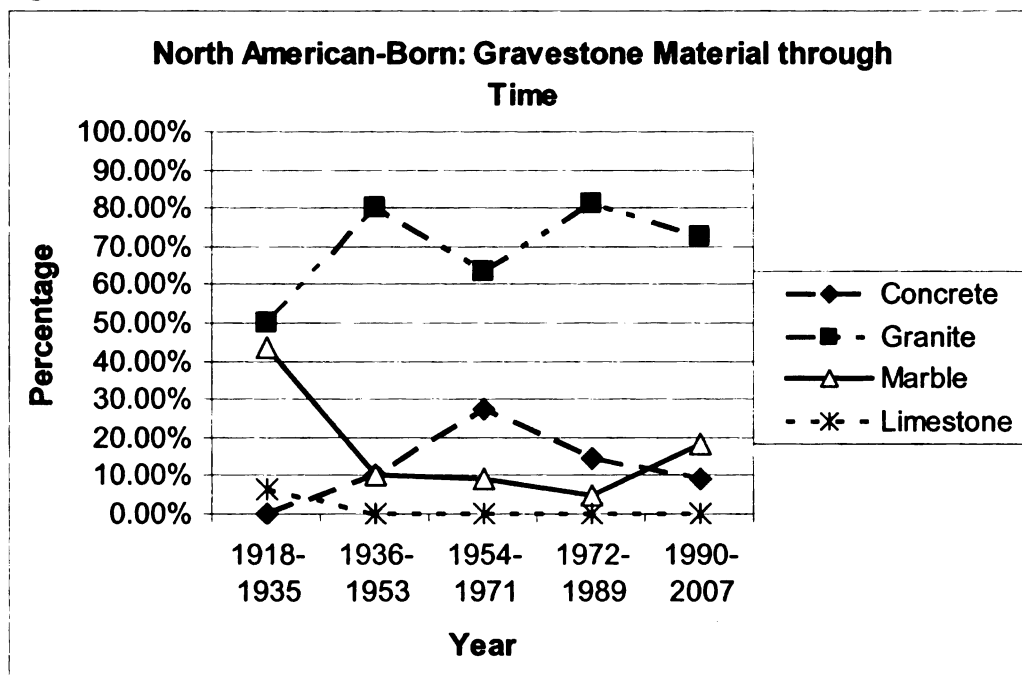
The trends in gravestone materials are similar for North American- and foreign-born, with one notable exception: concrete experiences a marked increase in popularity among North American-born during 1954-1971. This likely corresponds to the increased popularity of lawn markers during this time, a number of which are made of concrete. Conversely, there is a lack of popularity of lawn markers among foreign-born throughout all of the time periods. In addition, the presence of two marble markers for North American-born graves causes a slight decrease in the high percentage of granite gravestones during the last time period. Rainville notes that gravestone material does not accurately predict the status of the deceased, but rather is a reflection of wider ideological and economic trends (Rainville 1999:576). It appears that, with the exception of the variation caused by the differential use of lawn gravestones, gravestone material trends in this cemetery correspond to wider patterns in material usage in American cemeteries.

Directions Gravestones Face

Of the gravestones in the cemetery with death dates, 128 face east, 108 face west,

the direction of two gravestones could not be determined, and one gravestone faces south

(possibly as a result of being moved out of position.) The similar proportion of east- and

west-facing gravestones through time in the cemetery is likely due to the orientation of

gravestones to face the three main roads that trisect the cemetery lengthwise. This

creates a largely symmetrical division of four sections in which plots are located,

resulting in relatively equal numbers of gravestones facing east or west as oriented to the

roads. In the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery, the roads run north-south lengthwise,

enabling the gravestones to align with the east-west axis.

Figure 6.13

Figure 6.14

Foreign-Born: Direction Gravestone Faces

Figure 6.15

North American-Born: Direction Gravestone Faces
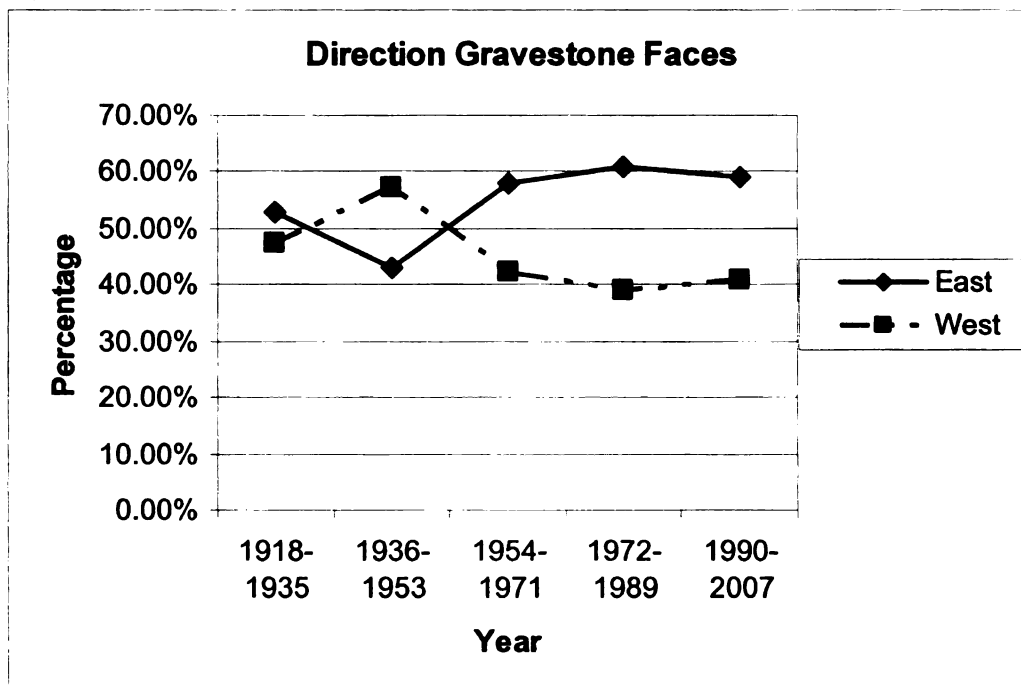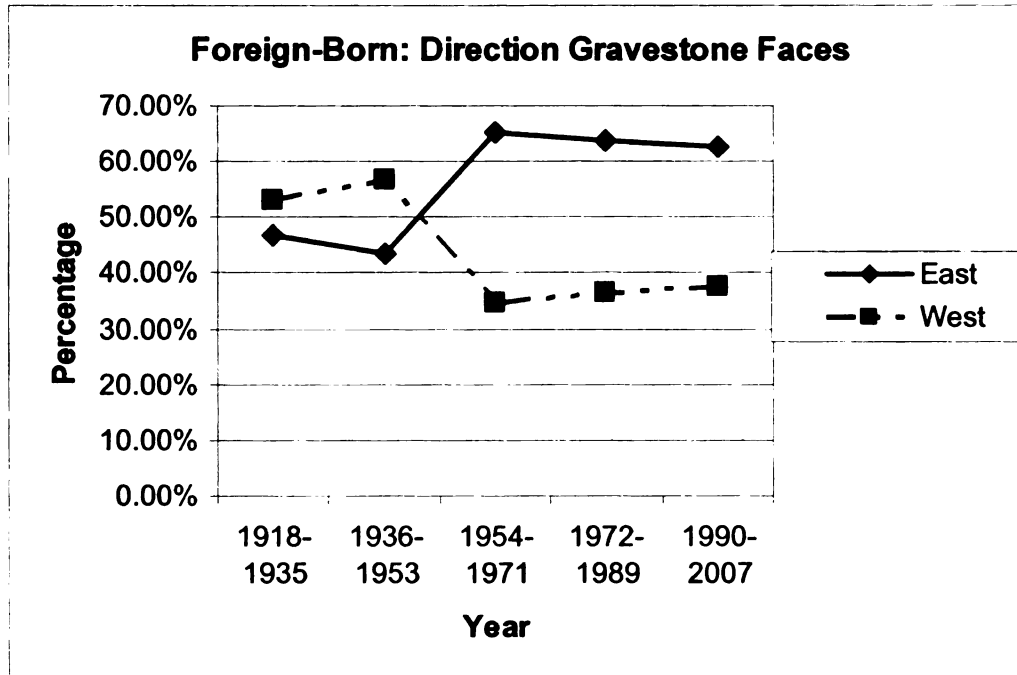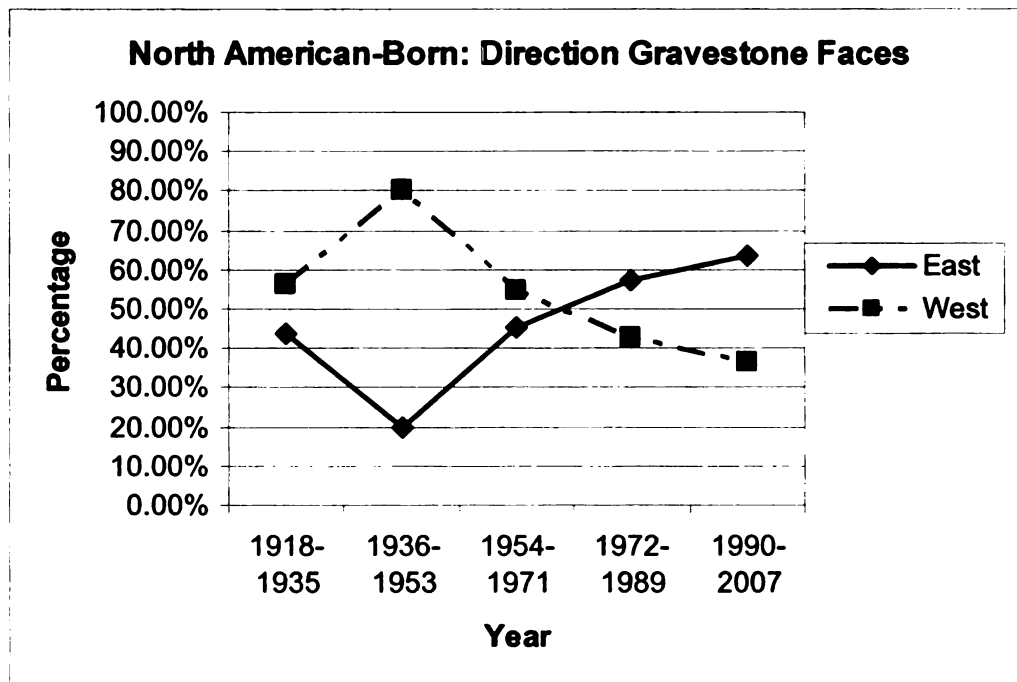
As evidenced in figures 6.13, 6.14, and 6.15, both North American- and foreign-born gravestones have similar patterns of directions facing to that of the cemetery as a whole. Because individuals are not spatially segregated in the cemetery based on their

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origin, but rather mixed throughout, it makes sense that North American-born and foreign-born individuals would have similar proportions of east- and west-facing gravestones. These patterns reflect the trend for the cemetery as a whole, in which gravestones are oriented to face the three main roads running lengthwise on a north-south axis through the cemetery. The reverse in a slight majority of west-facing versus east-facing gravestones that occurs in the third time period may relate to the way that the cemetery was spatially utilized through time.

Number of Individuals per Gravestone

Single gravestones are by far the most common in the cemetery, although double gravestones slightly increase in popularity through time. There is also one triple and one quadruple gravestone (not included in Figure 6.16). McGuire describes a trend among Broome County, New York cemeteries in which the spouse plot surpasses the family plot as the dominant group organization in the 1950s (McGuire 1988:454). During this time, gravestones began to specifically emphasize the relationship between married couples, and dates of marriage became a common inscription on these stones, as well as epitaphs such as "together forever" (McGuire 1988:454-455). This trend is visible to a degree in Figure 6.16, which depicts a slight increase in double plots, with two small peaks occurring between 1954-1971, and 1990-2007. It appears that double gravestones did increase in popularity following WWII, as McGuire observed in his study. It is unclear what may have accounted for the slight rise again in single plots from 1972-1989, but this trend is slight enough that it may be attributable to random variation in individual selections.

Figure 6.16

Number of Individuals per Gravestone through Time

Figure 6.17

Foreign-Born: Number of Individuals per Gravestone

Figure 6.18

North American-Born: Number of Individuals per Gravestone
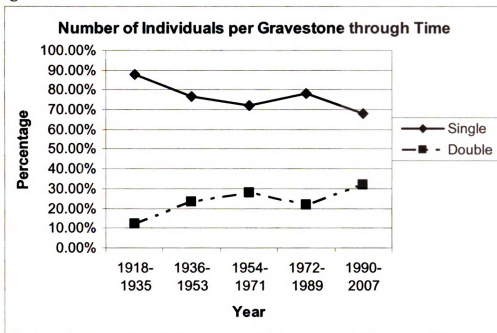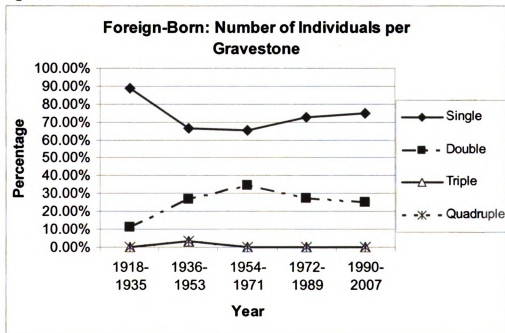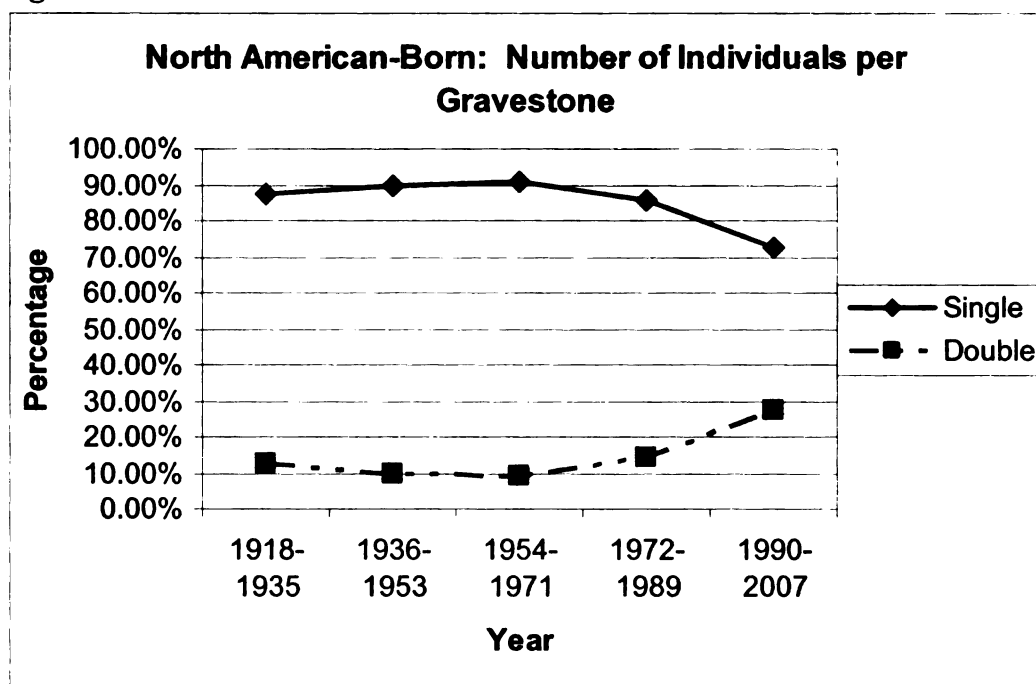
The gravestones of foreign-born individuals (Figure 6.17) followed the general

temporal trends of the cemetery (Figure 6.16). The only exception is that there is one

triple and one quadruple gravestone among the foreign-born; these are the only

gravestones in the cemetery commemorating more than two individuals. During the

second and third time periods the differences between single and double gravestones

between foreign-born versus North American-born were more pronounced; 90 and 91%

of gravestones were single among North American-born during these two periods

respectively, while only 67% and 66% were single among foreign-born. Trends between

the groups became more similar during the fourth and fifth periods, approaching

approximately three-fourths of the gravestones being single in the fifth time period.

Epitaph Length

As mentioned previously, epitaph length in this study refers to a count of words

beyond the customary name, date of birth, and date of death found on all gravestones in

the cemetery (with the exception of three gravestones missing death dates, which were excluded from temporal analyses). Hijiya observed that during the "modern plain style" (1900-2001), there is a minimum of inscription, down from the wordy yet formulaic epitaphs of the Victorian period (Hijiya 1983). In the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery, gravestones with an epitaph of one to four words in length predominate slightly in all time periods, vacillating between 37.50% and 55.10% (see Figure 6.19). The next most common length range is zero words beyond the basic inscription of name and dates. Longer epitaphs of 5 to 9 words in length increase slightly in popularity during the last two time periods, but overall it is striking how the length ranges for epitaphs remain relatively steady through time. There does not seem to be strong temporal based patterns for epitaph length in this cemetery between 1918 and 2007, but rather a largely steady distribution of epitaph lengths through time.

Figure 6.19

Epitaph Length through Time

Figure 6.20

Foreign-Born: Epitaph Length

Legend:
- —◇— 0 words
- —■— 1 to 4 words
- —▲—5 to 9 words
- - -✳- - 10 or more

Figure 6.21

North American-Born: Epitaph Length

Legend:
- —◇— 0 words
- —■— 1 to 4 words
- —▲—5 to 9 words
- - -✳- - 10 or more
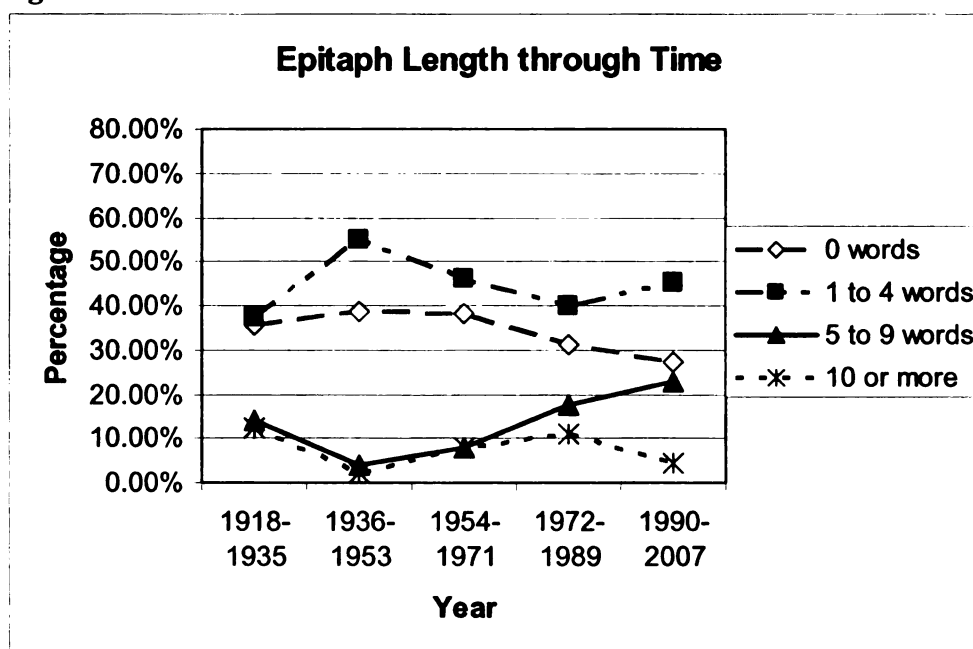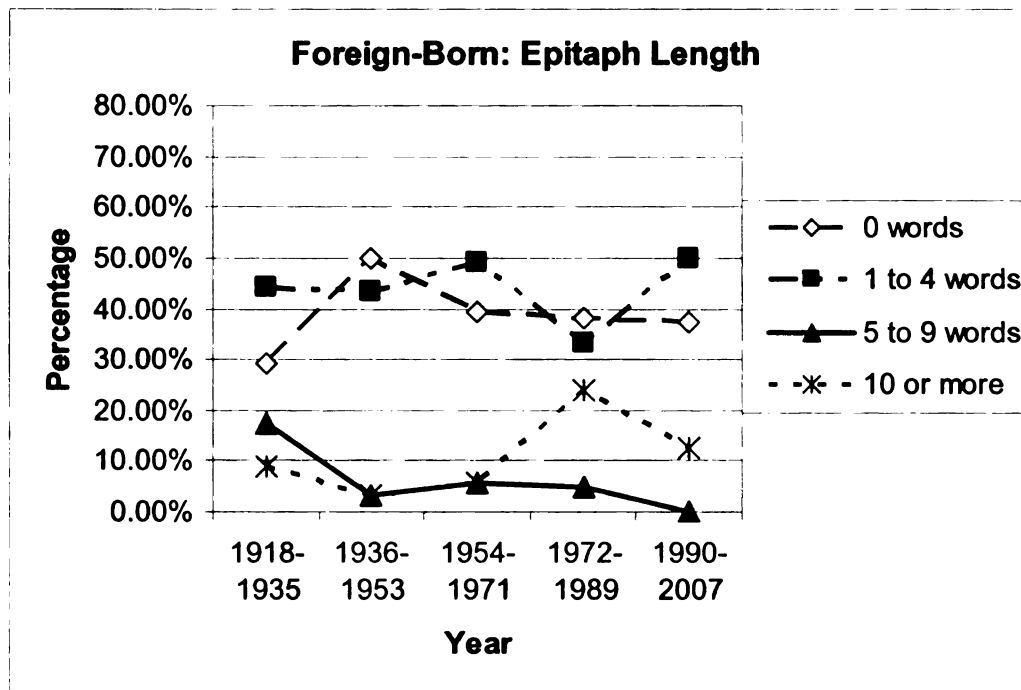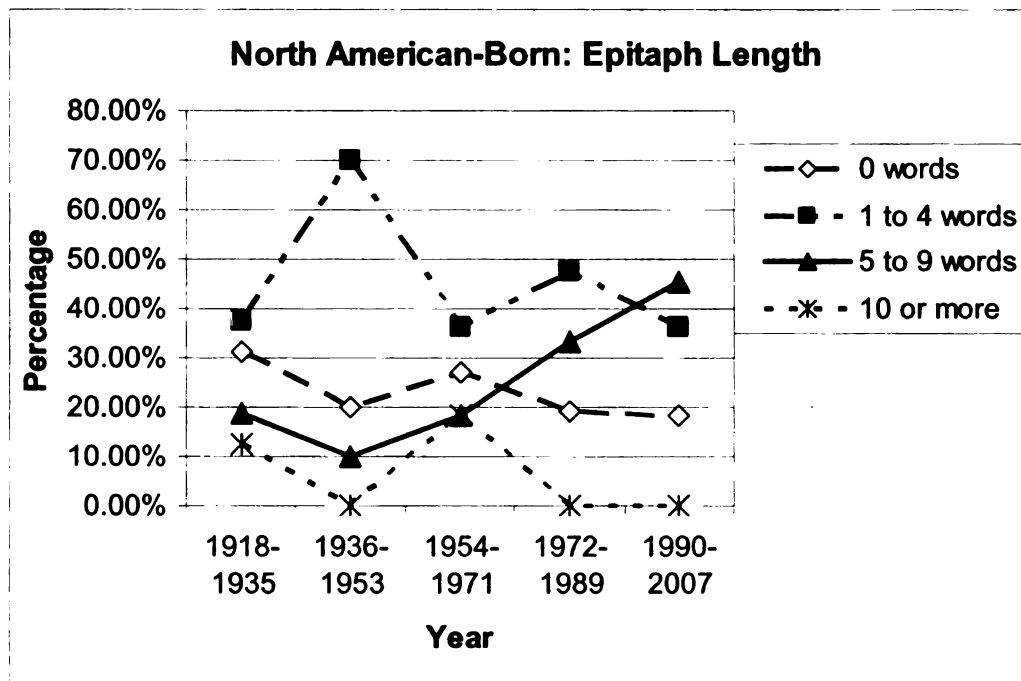
The trends for epitaph length between North American- and foreign-born

individuals differ; specifically in that the absence of an epitaph beyond the customary

name and dates is more common among foreign-born (Figure 6.20). Conversely, North

American-born individuals are more likely to have an epitaph, albeit a short one of one to four words in length (Figure 6.21). Much longer epitaphs (10 or more words) experienced a slight rise in popularity among foreign-born during the last two time periods (up to 22.73%), while they reached their peak of almost 20% among North American-born in the third time period. Finally, mid-length epitaphs of 5 to 9 words varied greatly between the two groups; they steadily rose in popularity among North American-born to become the most common length in the fifth time period, while they remained unpopular and eventually declined to a percentage of zero during the last time period among foreign-born. It is not clear what explains these differing trends in epitaph length among North American- and foreign-born; perhaps the aspects of identity that are emphasized for the two groups through epitaphs are slightly different. One explanation may be the number of gravestones with epitaphs describing a military career, which have substantially longer inscriptions than average. Of the fifteen military stones in the cemetery, eleven mark the graves of individuals born in North America. Interestingly, two of the foreign-born gravestones with a military inscription refer to service in the Russian White Army (*Белой Армии*).

Language of Inscription

English is the predominant language used for gravestones inscriptions in the cemetery. Between 1918-1935, foreign-language gravestones made up nearly 40% of the total gravestones in the cemetery, but after this point the use of languages other than English declined dramatically and remained low (Figure 6.22). A few stones in every time period have been bilingual, with one of the languages always being English. Studies of other immigrant cemeteries note a similar trend; Kiest finds that, among Czech-

American cemeteries in Texas following the 1920s, virtually all inscriptions are in English, and headstones are low to the ground (Kiest 1993:99). Otto, in a study of Norwegian-American cemeteries, notes that between 1886 and 1910 the majority of gravestones were in Norwegian, while by 1911-1935 the vast majority were in English (Otto 2004:5). These patterns reflect the adaptation of English in the second generation, as well as increasingly fluency and literacy among the immigrants with time spent in America.

Figure 6.22

Language on Gravestones through Time

Figure 6.23

Foreign-Born: Language on Gravestones

Figure 6.24

North American-Born: Language on Gravestones
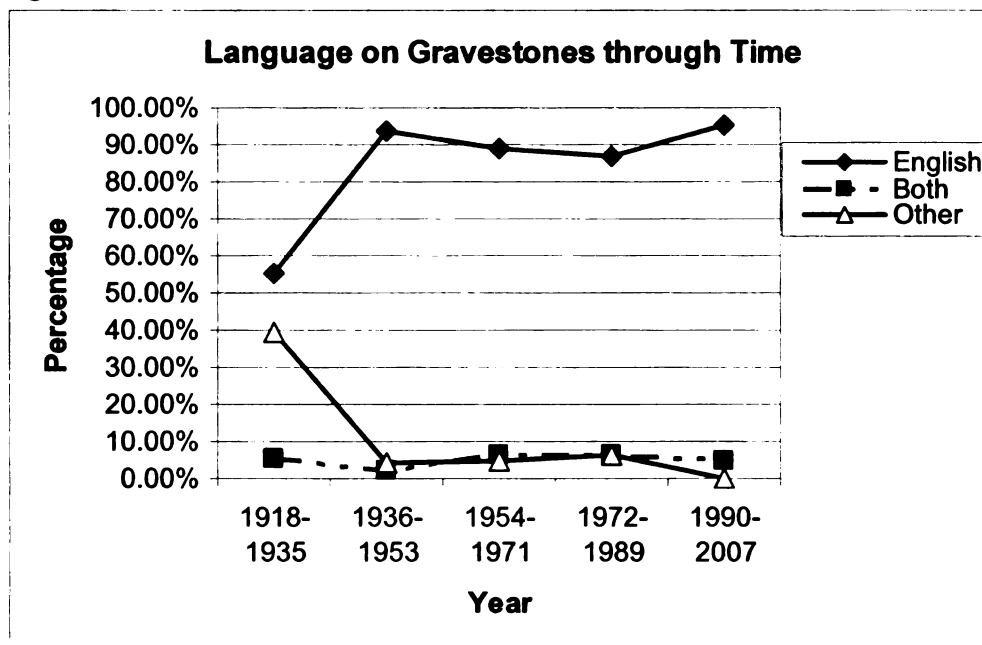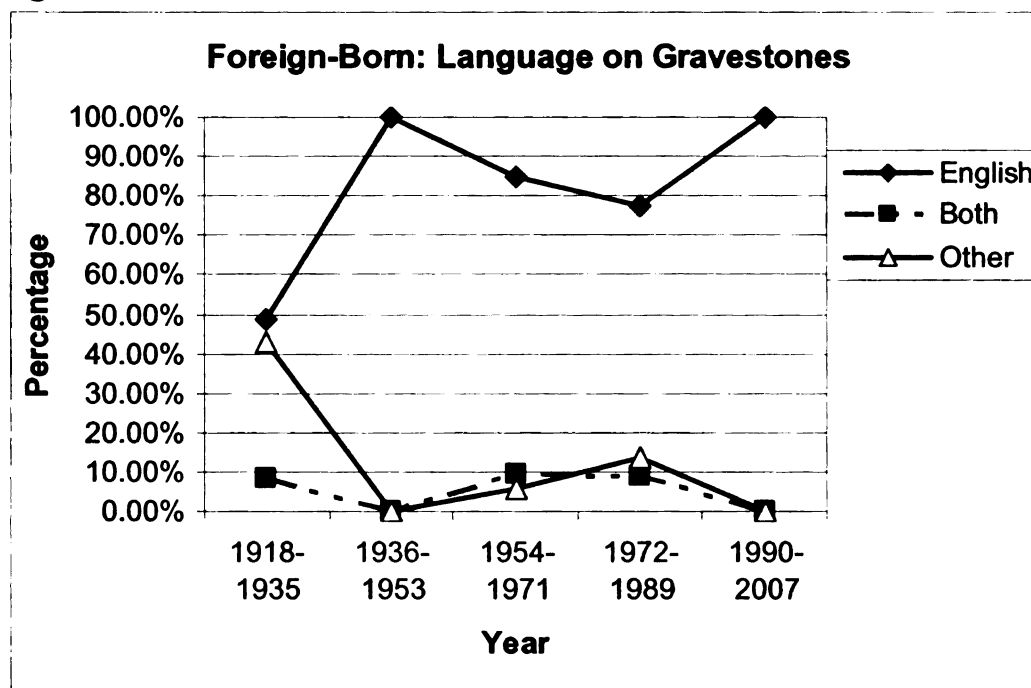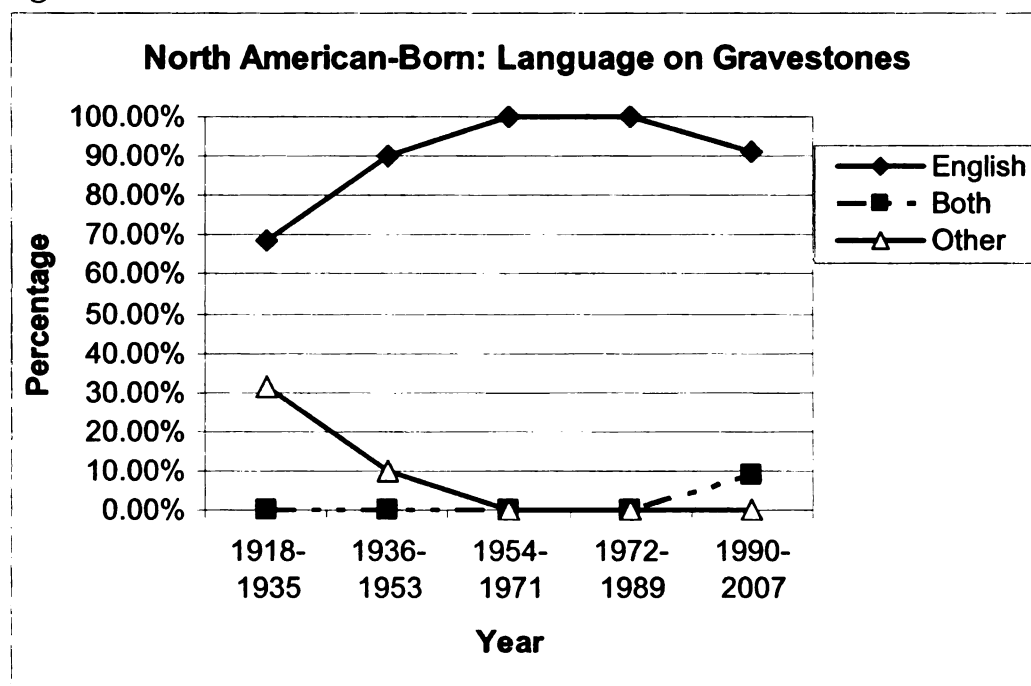
There was a marked increase in gravestone inscriptions in languages other than English among foreign-born in 1972-1989, resulting in a drop to approximately 78% of the stones in English-only during that time (Figure 6.23), compared to 100% English

inscriptions among contemporaneous North American-born (Figure 6.24). This likely

reflects the age of mortality trend for the initial immigrant cohort. This pattern may also

reflect the new ethnicity movement beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, in which third and

fourth generation South and Eastern Europeans were exhibiting increased interest in their

ethnic heritage (Novak 1974). These latter generations would have likely been involved

in the selection of gravestones for their older relatives who passed away, and may have

chosen to honor their foreign-born ancestors by selecting inscriptions in their native

language. In an examination of Ukrainian-Canadian cemeteries, Lehr notes that "the

resurgence of ethnic pride, or awareness of heritage, is best seen in the appearance of

bilingual gravestones in the late 1970s" (Lehr 1989:10).

The presence of inscriptions in languages other than English on the gravestones of

North American-born individuals points to a very interesting pattern. The ages at death

of all but one of the six North American-born individuals whose gravestone inscriptions

were in a language other than English were 18 and younger. Because of this, it seems

probable that parents or older relatives, who were likely foreign-born themselves, may

have selected the gravestone inscriptions.

Symbols and Iconography

A wide variety of symbols engraved on gravestones were observed in the

cemetery, however few occur in great enough numbers for statistical or graphical

analysis. See Appendix E for the frequency of symbols identified in the cemetery.

Nearly all the iconography observed, such as doves, roses, and hands clasped in prayer,

can be directly associated with religious meaning. This conforms to Orthodox guidelines

that prohibit any "words or symbols other than that of the Orthodox faith" to be

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introduced into the church or funeral home during an Orthodox funeral service (Guidelines for Clergy in the Orthodox Church in America). Similarly, although a prayer commemorating military, union, or fraternal organization membership may be offered at the service, freemasonry is designated to be incompatible with Orthodoxy, and all related symbols are prohibited (Guidelines for Clergy in the Orthodox Church in America).

Other studies of Orthodox cemeteries have also noted the presence of general Christian religious symbols; for example, crosses and crucifixes, flora such as the primrose, rose, grape vine, and oak, the "book of life," and wheat sheaves associated with resurrection (Carlson-Cumbo 1989, Graves 1993). These symbols are all found in the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery, along with other religious symbols common in American cemeteries, such as the use of lamb and angel iconography for children's graves (Edgette 1999). It has been noted that certain symbols can connote a religious occupation, such as the chalice or bible (Mytum 2004:150, Goldstein and Buisktra 2004:59, Graves 1993:47). With one exception, symbol use does not seem to be restricted in such a way at the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery. There are three priests and a deacon interred in the cemetery. The gravestones of the priests have the following iconography: two chalices, two tulips, and an Orthodox cross; an Orthodox cross; an Orthodox cross with wheat, primrose, and grape leaves. The gravestone of the deacon has a rose, "book of life", and Orthodox cross. These symbols are not unique to the priests and deacon in the cemetery, but shared with lay people as well, with the exception of the chalice symbol, which is only found on the gravestone of one of the priests.

Number of Motifs per Gravestone

As illustrated in Figure 6.25, two motifs is the most common number of motifs per gravestone in the cemetery, with one motif (usually a cross) being the next most common and increasing through time after a brief decline in the second time period. Gravestones with no motifs declined steadily through time, from nearly 30% in the first time period to zero in the last time period. Those with three motifs are less common, but steadily rose over time, while four motifs are rare, but relatively stable in percentage of total gravestones through time. No gravestone exhibits more than four motifs in the cemetery.

Figure 6.25

Number of Motifs per Gravestone through Time

Table 6.26

Foreign-Born: Number of Motifs per Gravestone

Legend: 0 Motif, 1 Motif, 2 Motif, 3 Motif, 4 Motif

Table 6.27

North American-Born: Number of Motifs per Gravestone

Legend: 0 Motif, 1 Motif, 2 Motif, 3 Motif
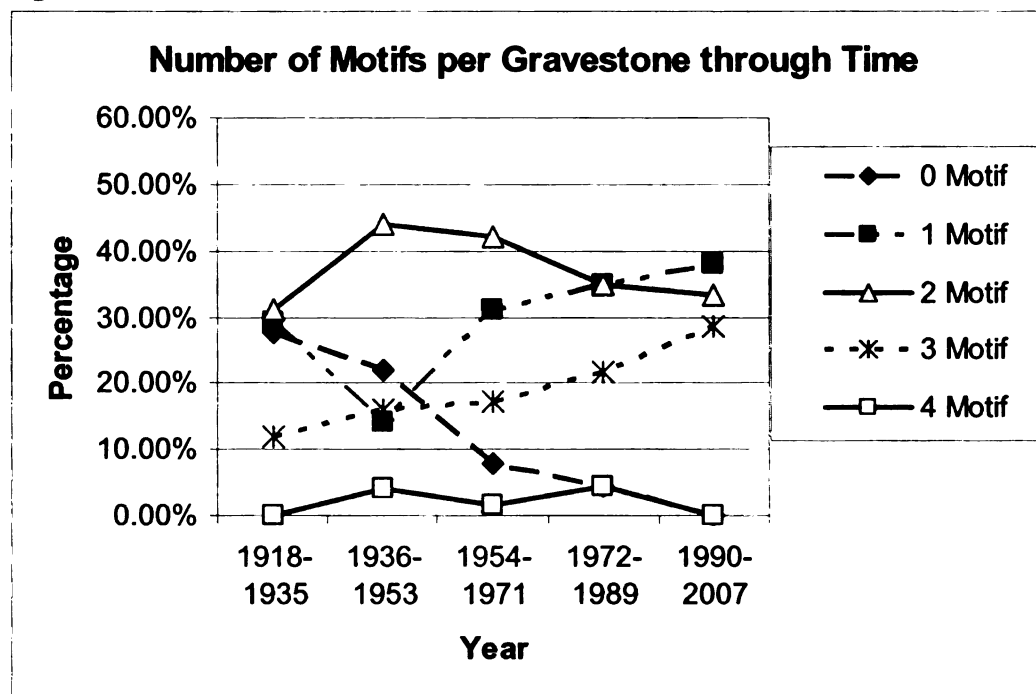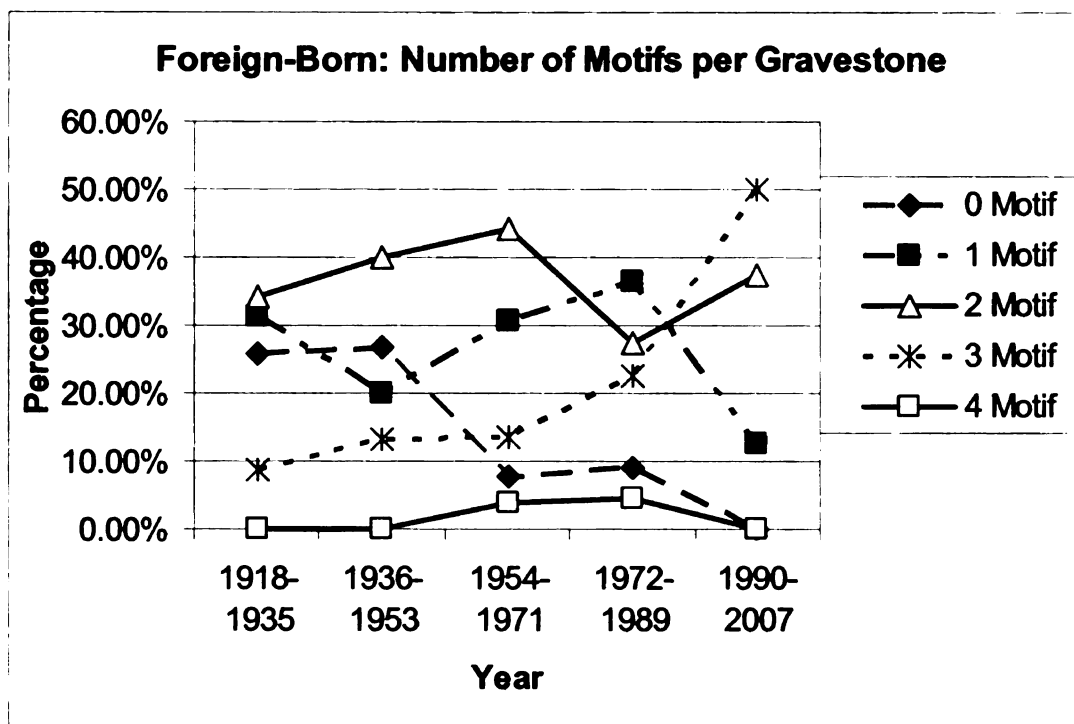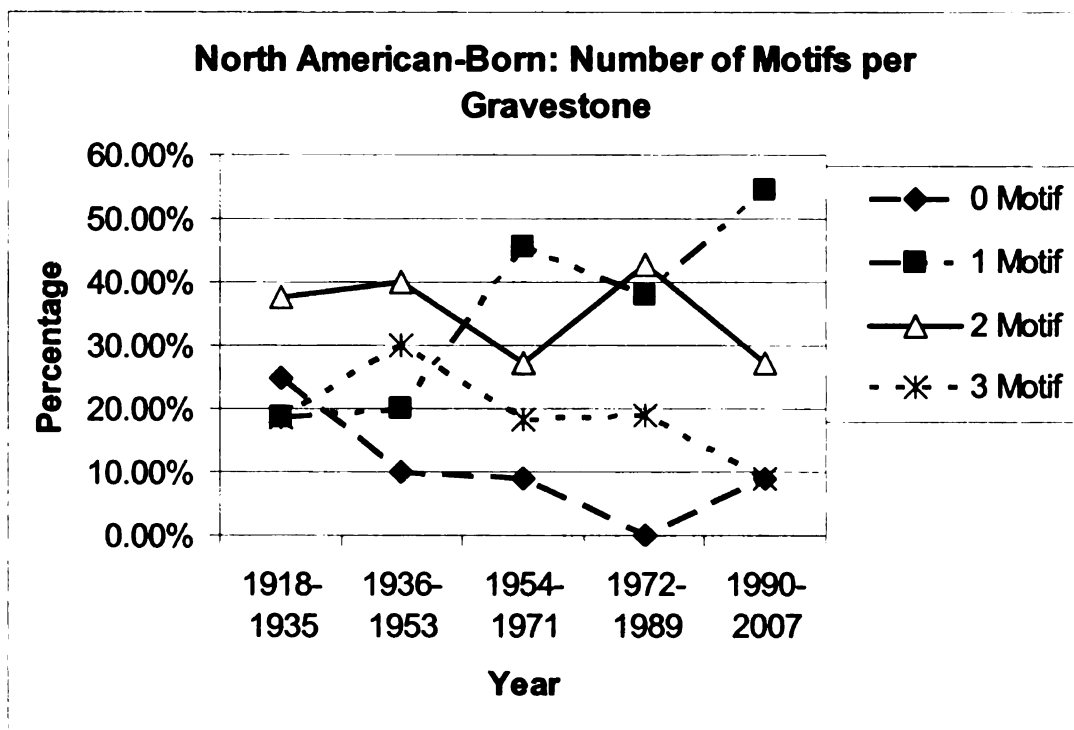
Two motifs per gravestone slightly dominate among foreign-born in most time

periods; in addition, foreign-born gravestones exhibit an increase in the use of three

motifs per gravestone through time (Figure 6.26). This contrasts with the steady increase

in one motif and decline in two and three motifs per gravestone among North American-born through time (Figure 6.27). One study that can lend insight into the increase in motif variety among foreign-born is Lynn Clark's (1987) "Gravestones: Reflectors of Ethnicity or Class?" Clark finds that following the 1930s, ethnic, in this case Italian, Jewish and Slovak, gravestones in New York exhibited increasing variation and amounts of decoration, particularly of crosses and religious motifs (Clark 1987:392, 393). These findings conform to the results of my analyses in which foreign-born gravestones exhibit an increase in variety of motifs and the use of crosses, however, this change takes place beginning in the 1950s. This delay can be explained by the fact that it is common for such changes to occur in the Midwest a couple of decades later than in the Eastern United States. Clark interprets this increasing elaboration of gravestone decoration among ethnics as an attempt to assert their prestige within their ethnic community rather than within larger society. As the ethnic group becomes more assimilated, she asserts that their gravestones will conform more closely to those of "nonethnics" (Clark 1987).

However, it should be noted that Clark does not distinguish between North American and foreign origin; therefore, it is likely that some of the gravestones in her study belong to second or later generation "ethnic" Americans. It is interesting that in the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery, gravestones of foreign-born individuals seem to conform more closely to the trend that Clark notes for ethnic gravestones; namely that variation in motifs increases through time. Again, this seems to suggest that certain identities may be symbolically emphasized for foreign-born individuals in this cemetery, which may require slightly different uses of iconography than that selected for North American-born.

Engraved Cross Type

Within the cemetery as a whole, Orthodox crosses (Cross 1) predominate, exhibiting peak popularity during 1972-1989 (Figure 6.28). The absence of a cross mirrors the trend of Cross 1; when one peaks, the other shows a period of decline. On the other hand, the use of the Latin cross (Cross 2) is essentially stable through time. It is interesting that in times when the Orthodox Cross is popular, there are fewer gravestones without crosses. This suggests that, during certain times, members of the congregation chose to emphasize the Orthodox religious identity on gravestones by selecting the Orthodox Cross as a motif. In the first time period, gravestones without crosses are the most common, comprising approximately 45% of the total; they gradually decline through time until exhibiting a upsurge in the last time period.

Gravestones without a cross are the least common during 1972-1989; perhaps due in part to the new ethnicity movement, in which ethnic Americans chose to emphasize their ethnic identity to a greater degree (Novak 1974). Carlson-Cumbo notes that, among Ukrainian-Canadians, the Orthodox cross has come to signify their ethnic identity in addition to being an emblem of faith (Carlson-Cumbo 1989:78). Likewise, Kostecki, in a study of the use of the cross as symbol among Ukrainian-Canadians, states "with the growth of national consciousness, often enhanced by religious concerns, crosses have become symbols of distinctive national identities" (Kostecki 1989:55). This suggests that the persistence of the Orthodox cross as a symbol in the cemetery may be due in part to the emphasis of ethnic as well as religious identity. This is consistent with the way that many Eastern Europe peasants and immigrants in the early twentieth century identified their ethnicity by way of their religion (Smith 1978, Hoerder and Blank 1994, Morawska

1982).   Similarly, in studies of Serbian immigrants and their descendants in Milwaukee,

Washington D.C. and Pennsylvania, Padgett (1980, 1990) and Bennett (1978, 1981) note

that Serbs consistently identify themselves as members of an "ethnic church body"

(Bennett 1978:31), and that the Orthodox church is central to their ethnic as well as

religious identity (Padgett 1980:66, Padgett 1990:82, Bennett 1981:103).

Figure 6.28

Figure 6.29

Foreign-Born: Engraved Cross Type

Legend: Cross 1, Cross 2, Cross 3, None

Figure 6.30

North American-Born: Engraved Cross Type

Legend: Cross 1, Cross 2, Cross 3, None
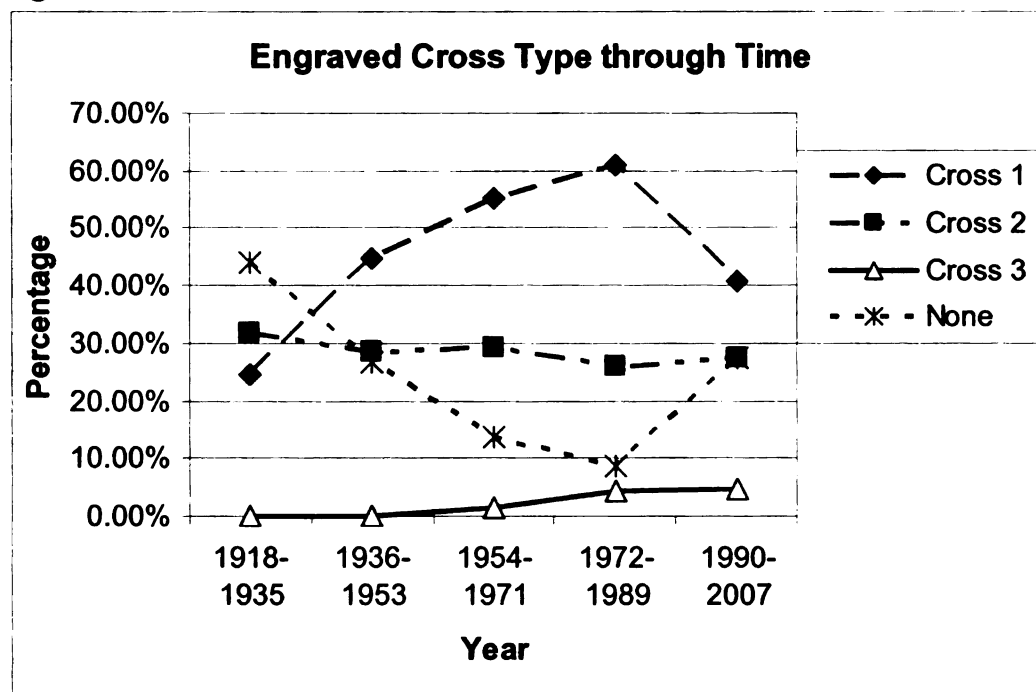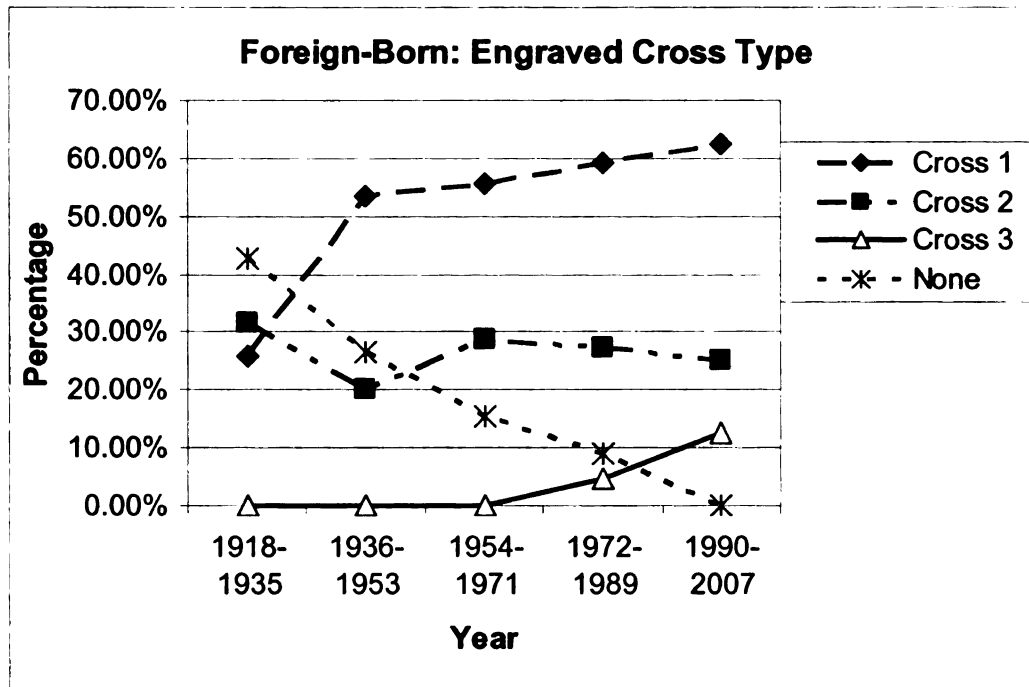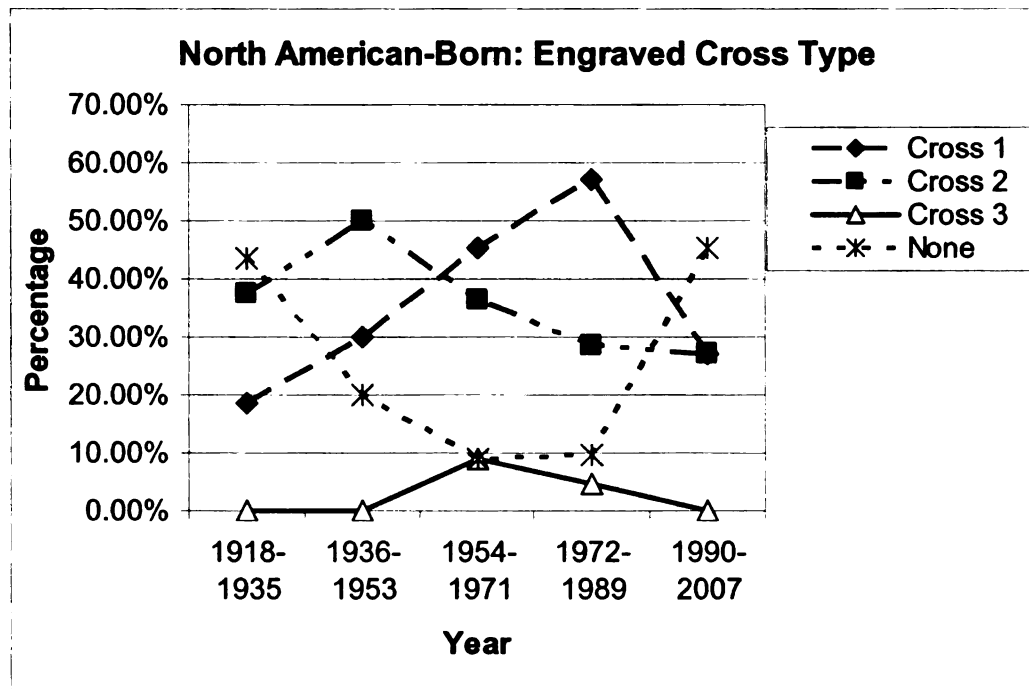
The use of crosses as a gravestone motif varies between North American- and

foreign-born individuals. Latin Crosses (Cross 2) peak among North American-born in

the second time period, then undergo a slight decline through time, while being surpassed

by peak use of the Orthodox Cross (Cross 1) between 1972 and 1989 (Figure 6.30). As mentioned, this time period overlaps with the new ethnicity movement, and may suggest that the ethnic identity of second and later generation individuals is being emphasized at this time through the use of the Orthodox cross, as the Orthodox cross possesses a more "ethnic" meaning than the generic Christian cross (Carlson-Cumbo 1989, Kostecki 1989).

The absence of crosses on gravestones among North American-born reflects the pattern of the cemetery as a whole, with a peak both during the first and fifth time period, when gravestones without crosses are the most common. Among foreign-born, gravestones without crosses undergo a nearly identical trend until the last time period, when they decline to zero (Figure 6.29). This is in marked contrast to the predominance of gravestones without crosses among North American born during the last time period. The Latin cross (Cross 2) remains somewhat common, although never dominant, among foreign-born, while the Orthodox cross (Cross 1) rises in popularity to reach a peak of over 60% among foreign-born gravestones in the last time period. Again, we see that a motif (Cross 1) is selected for the gravestones of foreign-born (and to a lesser extent, North American-born) individuals that emphasizes the religious, and likely ethnic, aspects of their identity.

Discussion

Trends for gravestones characteristics have been examined for the cemetery as a whole, and differences in these characteristics compared between gravestones for North American- and foreign born individuals. The EDA graphing techniques utilized above allow for a comparison of gravestone attributes in the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery with general trends noted in American cemeteries for this time period, as well as facilitate

the identification of differences in the selection of gravestone attributes based on the deceased's origin and therefore status as an immigrant or later generation. As noted above, there are a number of attributes that differ between North American and foreign-born gravestones; in illustrating these comparisons graphically, we see how an analysis of the cemetery as a whole without taking into account origin disguises such variation. In particular, it appears that differences among gravestone attributes based on origin may have to do with the choice to emphasize different aspects of the deceased's identity, based on their status as an immigrant or later generation. Of course, the fact that their descendants in most cases are selecting the gravestone should be kept in mind, although no doubt some individuals make known their wishes ahead of time, or even purchase a gravestone pre-need. Although the main question of this thesis focuses on differences between foreign- and North American-born gravestones, the next chapter briefly discusses gravestone attributes related more specifically to personal identity markers, including kinship and age, as well as offers a more in-depth look at ethnicity in the cemetery.

Chapter 7: Personal Identity in the Cemetery

In addition to the analysis of general gravestone attributes between North American- and foreign-born in the previous chapter, it is worthwhile to briefly explore some of the other identity markers found on gravestones. This chapter explores attributes of the gravestones which more specifically reference individual roles, such as kinship terms, occupation, and gender, and does so through the use of descriptive analyses including graphs and data tables. This chapter also provides a closer examination of ethnicity, specifically concerning foreign language use and identification of place of origin on gravestones. As Mytum notes, "all individuals have many personae which cannot all be elaborated on the memorial" (Mytum 2004:137), therefore it is interesting to examine which were selected for inclusion on gravestones. Aspects of identity that are at times made salient in this cemetery besides name and dates of birth and death are religious affiliation, occupation, kinship status, and ethnicity. Gender is discussed within these sections.

In this chapter, gravestone attributes are not separated out by North American- and foreign-born, but rather, examined for the cemetery as a whole. This is done to get a feel for the way in which individual identity is expressed within the cemetery, beyond what can be inferred through the origin of individuals based on historical records. After all, a diverse ethnic community is represented in this cemetery, and the origin of each individual cannot alone account for differences in gravestone attributes. As such, these analyses examine other aspects of individual identity as evidenced on the gravestones.

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is of particular interest in this study, and can be examined through the language of gravestone inscriptions and place of origin as identified in the inscription, in addition to the comparisons between North American- and foreign-born analyses in the previous chapter. As mentioned earlier, virtually all the individuals in this cemetery can be considered "ethnic," as the word is used in other cemetery studies. Most of these individuals were born in Eastern Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the vast majority of the others interred are direct descendants of these immigrants. Nearly all of the North American-born individuals interred in the cemetery were raised by, and brought up in, a community of Orthodox Eastern European immigrants. Therefore, it is worthwhile to look at not only gravestone attributes based on origin as identified through historical records, but information expressed through epitaphs for what they reveal about the way ethnic identity is expressed.

Factors that may influence the degree to which ethnicity is emphasized in a cemetery in which "ethnic" individuals are interred include: the proximity of the cemetery to a church, the presence of individuals of other ethnicities in the cemetery, and the location of the cemetery outside of the country of origin. Mytum finds that cemeteries for those who died abroad tend to emphasize ethnicity, likely in part because the individuals are far from their birthplace at their time of death (Mytum 2004:147). Broce, in an examination of Slovak cemeteries in rural Colorado, notes that Orthodox cemeteries near the Orthodox Church display more ethnic attributes on gravestones, including inscriptions in native languages, than those located a distance from the church (Broce 1996:176-7). Finally, McGuire and Clark both observe pronounced differences in

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choice of gravestone size and elaboration among Eastern European-Americans and more "acculturated" Protestant Americans within the same cemeteries in Broome County, New York (Clark 1987, McGuire 1988). All these examples illustrate influences on the display of ethnicity in the cemetery.

These observations suggest that there is a continuum along which ethnic identity is expressed in the cemetery: if a community is isolated from its homeland, it is likely to emphasize ethnic identity through gravestone attributes; similarly, if two or more ethnic communities share a cemetery, at least one group may choose to emphasize its different ethnic identity. Similarly, the proximity of an ethnic cemetery to the community's church increases the likelihood that the ethnic identity will be further emphasized in the cemetery. In sum, it seems that ethnicity is especially likely to be emphasized in a cemetery if the individuals are in some way ethnically distinct *or* if the cemetery is linked closely (physically and otherwise) with the community church, which is often recognized as a cultural bearer for some ethnic groups including Southeastern and Central Europeans (Mediwsky 1989, Lehr 1989, Smith 1966 and 1978, Graves 1993). In the case of the St. Nicholas Cemetery, most of the individuals interred are far from their homeland, and there are a variety of ethnicities present, despite the fact that they share a common religion. The cemetery is located approximately two miles from the church's original location, which it occupied from 1916 to 1949, and approximately 8 miles from its current location, which it has occupied since 1966. Although the cemetery is not located directly next to the church, only individuals from the church congregation are interred at this cemetery, which signifies a close link with the church.

At the St. Nicholas Cemetery, ethnicity is manifested in two primary ways: by the use of non-English languages in inscriptions, and by the identification of homeland in the inscriptions. Forty-two of the 242 gravestones with visible inscriptions exhibit non-English languages, and 13 of the 15 origins on gravestones reference locations in the Old Country. One way in which ethnic identity is *not* emphasized in this cemetery is through the use of specific cultural symbols on the gravestones. In some ethnic Eastern European cemeteries in North America, folk images are used to reaffirm the heritage of the community (Eckert 2002, Graves 1993, Mediwsky 1989, Kostecki, 1989). However, in this cemetery, virtually all the symbols can be associated with Christianity in general and/or the Orthodox Church specifically. Below, Table 7.1 depicts the relative frequency of language use in gravestone inscriptions through time.

Table 7.1 Language on Gravestones through Time[3]

Language*	1918-1935	1936-1953	1954-1971	1972-1989	1990-2007
English	58%	96%	89%	88%	96%
Church Slavic	3%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Greek	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Hungarian	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Macedonian	5%	0%	0%	2%	4%
Romanian	5%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Russian	10%	0%	6%	10%	0%
Serbian	8%	2%	3%	0%	0%
Syrian	2%	0%	1%	0%	0%
Ukrainian	5%	0%	1%	0%	0%

*Gravestones with two languages were tallied twice, once for each language.

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[3] Hungarian and Greek are only found on one gravestone each. It is likely that most Hungarian-speaking individuals in the Flint area were members of the Hungarian Reformed Church and Hungarian Baptist Mission, both established before 1920, as very few ethnic Hungarians are Orthodox Christian (Hungarian Central Statistical Office 2004). Most of the Greek immigrants to Flint were Orthodox Christian, however the majority likely joined the St. Michael Greek Orthodox Church or the Assumption Greek Orthodox Church (both founded by the early 1920s) (Biernacki 1999, Flint City Directory 1921). Even though three individuals in the cemetery originated from Greece and 27 from Austria-Hungary (Table 7.3), ethnicity cannot be equated with country of origin in the absence of other evidence. The use of Greek and Hungarian in the inscriptions suggests a stronger clue to ethnicity than origin based on historical records.

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It is clear in Table 7.1 that the majority of gravestones with foreign language inscriptions were erected in the first time period. This was during a time when the vast majority of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church congregation was composed of recent immigrants, and it is likely that most knew little English. In Table 7.1 we also find that the second highest percentage of foreign language gravestone inscriptions was during 1972-1989, a time period that spans the new ethnicity movement, as mentioned in Chapter 6. Again, this suggests that individuals were choosing to emphasize ethnicity through the use of their family's native language on gravestones. It is not surprising that there are few foreign language gravestones in the second time period, as it overlaps with the "red scares" of the 1950s, in which Central and Southeastern Europeans were viewed with distrust and suspected of having communist sympathies. During this time in America, emphasizing one's ethnic identity, particularly from certain regions such as Eastern Europe, was not viewed as favorably as it would be in the coming decades.

Finally, the low frequency of foreign language gravestones between 1990 and 2007 can likely be explained by the gradual loss of native language in the ethnic community. It is rare for third or greater generation individuals to speak their ancestral language beyond a few customary greetings and religious terminology (Frank Evanoff, personal communication). This loss of language is evidenced within the broader Eastern European ethnic community in Flint as well (Lowe 2008). Similarly, Bennett noted that 89.1% of third generation Southern Slavs in Washington D.C. did not speak their ancestral language (Bennett 1978:59).

Table 7.2 Language on Gravestones by Gender

	Female	Male
Both	5.65%	5.68%
English	83.87%	82.39%
Other	10.48%	11.93%

The proportions of gravestones in English, more than one language, and in a foreign language were very similar for males and females (Table 7.2). This suggests that ethnic identity as reflected in the use of language was not ascribed differently to males and females. It is interesting that one gender was not more likely than the other to have gravestones in a language other than English. Men worked outside the home more frequently than women particularly in the first half of the twentieth century (when most of the foreign language gravestones were engraved), so it would seem that they would acquire English at a faster rate than women. However, it is likely that female family members helped select gravestone attributes, and no doubt immigrant men continued to use their native language at home. Ultimately, the community as a whole selected foreign language inscriptions in very similar proportions for men and women.

Table 7.3 Origins of Individuals

Location	Count	Percentage
North America	74	24.67%
Russia	60	20.00%
Unknown	37	12.33%
Austria-Hungary	27	9.00%
Poland	23	7.67%
Yugoslavia	22	7.33%
Romania	12	4.00%
Macedonia	9	3.00%
Ukraine	7	2.33%
Other	7	2.33%
Turkey	4	1.33%
Czechoslovakia	3	1.00%
Greece	3	1.00%
Hungary	3	1.00%
Persia (Iran)	3	1.00%

Table 7.3 (cont'd).		
Bulgaria	2	0.67%
Estonia	2	0.67%
Lithuania	1	0.33%
Syria	1	0.33%
Total	300	100.00%

Origin information obtained from church burial records, U.S. Census records, naturalization records, and ship manifests.

For the purpose of compiling Table 7.3, individuals from the United States and Canada were grouped together in the "North America" category, to show the total number of North American-born individuals in the cemetery. Other places of origin were assigned by country, or in the case of Austria-Hungary, by empire (as this was as specific as some records were, and reflects political divisions of the time). The country with the largest number of immigrants represented in the cemetery is Russia, which is reflected in the original name of the church as the Russian Orthodox Church.

Table 7.4 Origin on Gravestone

Macedonia	6
Michigan*	2
Ohio	1
Romania	3
Russia	1
Ukraine	1
Bukovina	1
Total	15

*It is unclear if these two inscriptions refer to birth location, death location, or both.

A small proportion of gravestones also include an individual's place of origin in the inscription (Table 7.4). This is typically done using the following formats: "By birth from...", "Born in...", or "From..." Of the 15 gravestones with this information, 13 mention overseas origins. Two inscriptions read "Flint, Michigan" without specifying if this is the birth location, death location, or both. Twelve belong to men, and two to women; one is a double (spouse) gravestone. Mytum suggests that the inclusion of birth (and sometimes death) location is done to affirm the linkages of the individual with those

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specific communities. He notes "place of birth can be stated, showing an identity with another region, and where place of death is of some distance away this may be implying a different form of relationship to the community within which the memorial is erected" (Mytum 2004:153). Graves, in his study of an Orthodox Ukrainian cemetery in Pennsylvania, finds that the places of birth and death are often included in gravestone inscriptions (Graves 1993:40).

Although the inclusion of birth (and death) locations is relatively rare in this cemetery, it is interesting that those ethnicities that did choose to include birth place were not necessarily from the most populous ethnic group in the congregation (i.e. Russian, based on origin data). This may reflect the theory that individuals sometimes choose to emphasize their ethnic identity when they are in close quarters with other ethnicities (McGuire 1982).

One of most interesting aspects of the church and its associated cemetery is the diversity of ethnicities represented. Through the analyses, we find that although ethnicity is at times emphasized, individuals' identity as Orthodox Christian appears to take primacy on most gravestones. This is evidenced by the fact that Orthodox crosses are more popular than any other cross type, and most, if not all, of the iconography can be associated with religious meaning. There is also a relative lack of ethnic identity markers, with the exception of native language inscriptions and the relatively rare inclusion of origin on the gravestones. Even the fact that Orthodox crosses have ethnic as well as religious meaning does not contradict this interpretation. The Orthodox cross signifies a pan-Eastern European Orthodox ethnicity, and is therefore a symbol not limited to any one specific ethnicity, but used by many.

Despite the lack of distinct ethnic symbols in the cemetery, ethnicity was (and is) an important and daily part of the lives of the congregation members. As discussed in Chapter 4, Macedonian barbeques, Syrian dances, and Croatian plays, as well as weddings, funerals, and other events, have been attended and enjoyed by multiple ethnicities from the congregation. An abundance of cultural activities takes place within the church community, but, at death, religion seems to take primacy over individual ethnicity in most cases. This finding is consistent with Mytum's observation that "religion is never more important within a family or community than at the time of death" (Mytum 2004:138).

Kinship

One hundred and forty-one kinship terms were identified on gravestones. Some gravestones contained more than one, as in cases of double gravestones (e.g. "Father" and "Mother"), or on single gravestones containing multiple terms referring to one individual such as the inscription "Wife, Mother and Grandmother." As illustrated in Table 7.5, "Mother" was the most common kinship term,[4] followed by "Father," "Husband" and "Son."

Table 7.5 Gendered Kinship Terms in Order of Frequency

Female	Count		Male	Count		Neutral	Count
Mother	45		Father	37		Baby	4
Wife	9		Husband	12		Family	1
Daughter	6		Son	13			
Sister	3		Brother	6			
Grandmother	3		Grandfather	2			
Aunt	1						
Total	**67**		**Total**	**70**		**Total**	**5**

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[4] This has been observed in other cemeteries as well, for example see Broce 1996 and Ames 1981.

Of the 142 kinship terms, eight are "proxy" kinship terms. By proxy, it is meant that the kinship terms of surviving family members, rather than that of the decedent themselves, are engraved on the gravestone. For example, a young boy has "Brothers/Parents" engraved on his stone. This way of denoting kinship records the family members who grieve the decedent's passing, signifying the individual's own kinship status indirectly. In tabulating the kinship terms, the implied kinship term was recorded rather than what was actually there. For example, in the above example, the boy's kinship was recorded as son and brother. These eight proxy kinship terms are on four different gravestones. One of the gravestones has two separate inscriptions for two brothers, one on either side of the gravestone, suggesting that the gravestone was "reused" by the family when the second brother died. Of particular interest is the fact that all four of these gravestones belong to five different Serbian individuals, and, in addition to the brothers' gravestone, two of the other gravestones likely represent related individuals as well, based on identical surnames. This suggests that there may be an ethnic component to the use of kinship terms in such a way, where kinship inscriptions record the surviving relatives. However, it should be noted there are other Serbian individuals in the cemetery who use direct kinship terms, but no other ethnicity in the cemetery used proxy kinship terms.

As evidenced in Table 7.5, for both male and female individuals, one's status as a parent is more likely to be identified than any other familial role. These findings suggest that an identity as a parent is particularly important role, followed by status as a spouse, and then child. No doubt the likelihood that these kinship terms will be included on a gravestone is reinforced by the fact that, if an elderly parent dies, their surviving spouse

or adult children will likely select the headstone, while if a young child dies, the parents will select the headstone. Similarly, when grandparents die, it is more likely that their adult children or surviving spouse, rather than their grandchildren, will select the gravestone. Therefore, the representations of the child-parent and spouse-spouse bonds are reinforced on the gravestone because of who is likely to be selecting the gravestone.

Aspects of gender representation are also apparent in this examination of kinship terms. As mentioned, "Mother" is the most common kinship term in the cemetery. This is not surprising given the importance assigned to the role of mother in South Slavic culture (Simić 1999:13). Similarly, fact that male children and siblings are twice as frequently identified as female children and siblings fits South Slavic kinship patterns as well. Simić, in a study of Balkan kinship patterns, notes the "male-oriented nature" of the culture, observing a "social charter stressing patrilineality, patrilocality, and male dominance," which nonetheless is "more a public than private fact" (Simić 1999:13-14). This public emphasis on male kinship roles obscures the "important affectual power of women" which is achieved by becoming mothers, particularly of sons (Simić 1999:14).

Of the gender-neutral terms, "baby" is used twice in conjunction with "son," the other two times an additional kinship term is not used to indicate gender. However, in these two latter cases the names of the children are provided, which are unequivocally female. The term "family" was used on the one quadruple gravestone in the cemetery, and was accompanied by kinship terms for each of the individuals represented on the stone: "Mother," "Father," "Son," and "Wife." The individuals identified as "Wife" and "Son" were married to one another, indicating an emphasis on the parents of the son as the central unit of the family.

Title and Occupation

Table 7.6 Title and Occupation on Gravestone

Priest/Deacon	4
Wife of Priest*	4
Military (U.S.)	13
Military (White Russian)	2
Founder of an Organization	1
Choir Director	1
Total	**25**

*In the Orthodox religion, there is a specific title for the priest's wife, with variations in different languages. These include *Presbytera* (Greek), *Matushka* (Russian), *Popadija* (Serbian), and *Panimatka* (Ukrainian), among others.

Few occupations were identified on gravestones; there were a total of 25, 15 of which identified military service (Table 7.6). Nine of the occupations identified were religious: three were priests, one was a deacon, one a choir director of the church, and four were the wives of priests (note: one priest and one priest's wife were not married to each other; their spouses were interred in different cemeteries). This is consistent with Mytum's observation that, when males are identified by occupation, it is frequently a religious one (Mytum 2004:148). Similarly, he notes, "the memorials of religious leaders were often important monuments at the time of their erection, as they reflected not only a family's loss, but that of a community and wider organization" (Mytum 2004:150). This also holds true, as the most prominent gravestone in the cemetery belonged to the man who served as priest of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church for almost 30 years. Finally, one individual was identified as the founder of an organization. No additional information could be located on the organization, as a lack of the specific name of the organization, spelling errors in the original Romanian inscription and time depth had obscured a search for records. However, it is possible that the organization ("society")

referred to was a benevolent society for other immigrants, a common institution in Flint

and other areas of high immigration at the time (see Chapter 4).

It is interesting that four of the individuals with titles are women, as it is much

more common for men's occupations and titles to be identified in American cemeteries

(Mytum 2004, Giguere 2007, Rainville 1999). However, it is notable that all the

women's titles refer to their role as the wife of a religious leader. Other gravestone

studies have observed the way in which women's status in the cemetery is conferred

through their family (often spouse) (Rainville 1999:570, Liebens 2003:63), and this

appears to be no exception. There is a noticeable absence of titles used in older

cemeteries, such as Mr., Mrs., and Miss, likely due to the time span of the St. Nicholas

Orthodox Cemetery.

Age

Table 7.7 Age at Death through Time

Time Period	Under 1	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 35	36 to 50	51 to 65	66 to 80	Over 80
1918-1935	12%	18%	7%	25%	25%	7%	5%	2%
1936-1953	2%	4%	2%	9%	15%	42%	26%	0%
1954-1971	4%	0%	0%	0%	7%	15%	59%	15%
1972-1989	0%	0%	2%	0%	10%	20%	33%	35%
1990-2007	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	6%	41%	50%

Figure 7.1
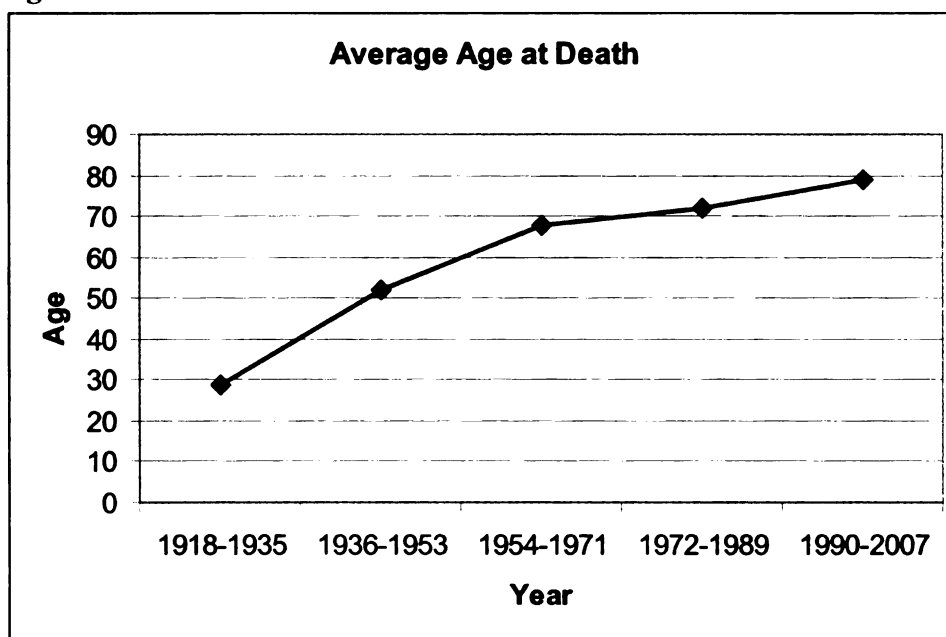
The number of children interred at the cemetery declined through time, while

average age at death increased through time for the cemetery as a whole (Table 7.7). The

increase of the average age of death through time (Figure 7.1) is typical for demographics

in the United States during the twentieth century. However the average age at death of

individuals in the cemetery is lower for the first part of the twentieth century than the

national average, meaning that individuals in this population were dying earlier on

average than the nation as whole (National Center for Health Statistics 2009:203). This

could be the result of random sampling bias, or due to the fact that immigrants may have

worked in more physically strenuous or dangerous jobs, and had a higher incidence of

poverty, less access to medical assistance (likely in part due to language and monetary

barriers), and/or a greater incidence of malnutrition or other ailments.

Figure 7.2

Gender and Age at Death
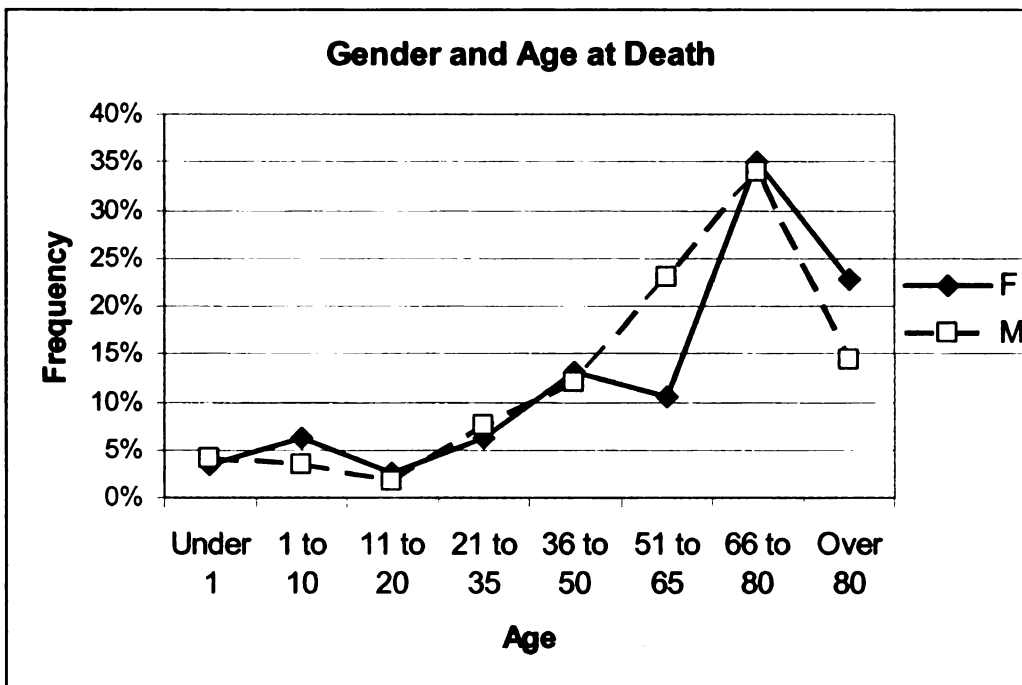
Males and females had similar rates of death for the different age groups (Figure

7.2). It is unclear without looking at cause of death what accounts for the lower

incidence of deaths among males the 51 to 65 years in age, however it is typical for

females to live slightly longer than men. Deaths were relatively uncommon for children,

particularly during 11 to 20 years of age, which had the lowest number of deaths

represented in the cemetery. The most common age of death range in the cemetery is 66

to 80 years old, which is consistent with current United States life expectancy (United

States Department of Health and Human Services 2007:3).

Epitaph Length by Gender and Age at Death

Figure 7.3 Gender and Epitaph Length

Gender and Epitaph Length
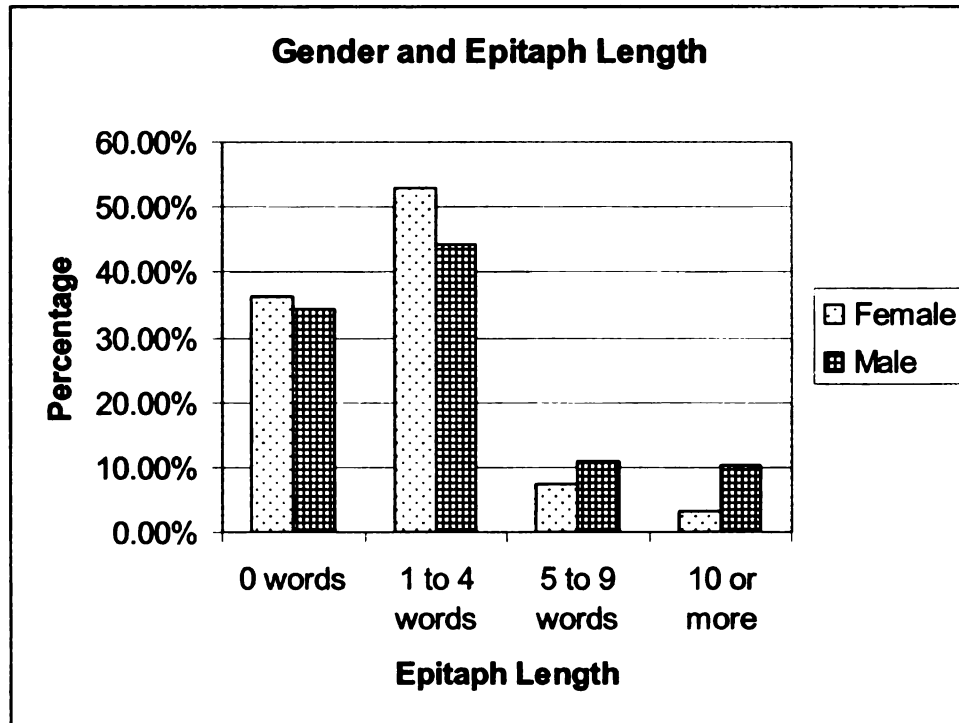
There is not a lot of variation between the genders in terms of length of epitaph,

however, men are more likely to have longer epitaphs than women (Figure 7.3). One

factor in this trend is the fact that all 15 inscriptions in the cemetery referencing military

service are on men's gravestones, and the average length of a military inscription is 8.1

words (five are 10 or more words in length). The percentage of each gender that had no

epitaph is quite similar. Overall, epitaph length appears to have a slight correlation to

gender, in that men are more likely to have longer epitaphs (five or more words) than

women, while women are more likely to have shorter epitaphs of one to four words. It

appears that men's epitaphs are more likely to contain information about their

background (origin, military service, etc.): 12 of the 15 gravestones containing origin

information belonged to men, two to women, and one to a couple, and as mentioned, all

the military inscriptions are on men's gravestones. Inscriptions with such information are

longer on average than those with kinship terms, which are the more common

inscriptions for women's graves. Again, we see some different emphases in identities for

men versus women, which show up as slight differences in epitaph length.

Figure 7.4 Age and Epitaph Length
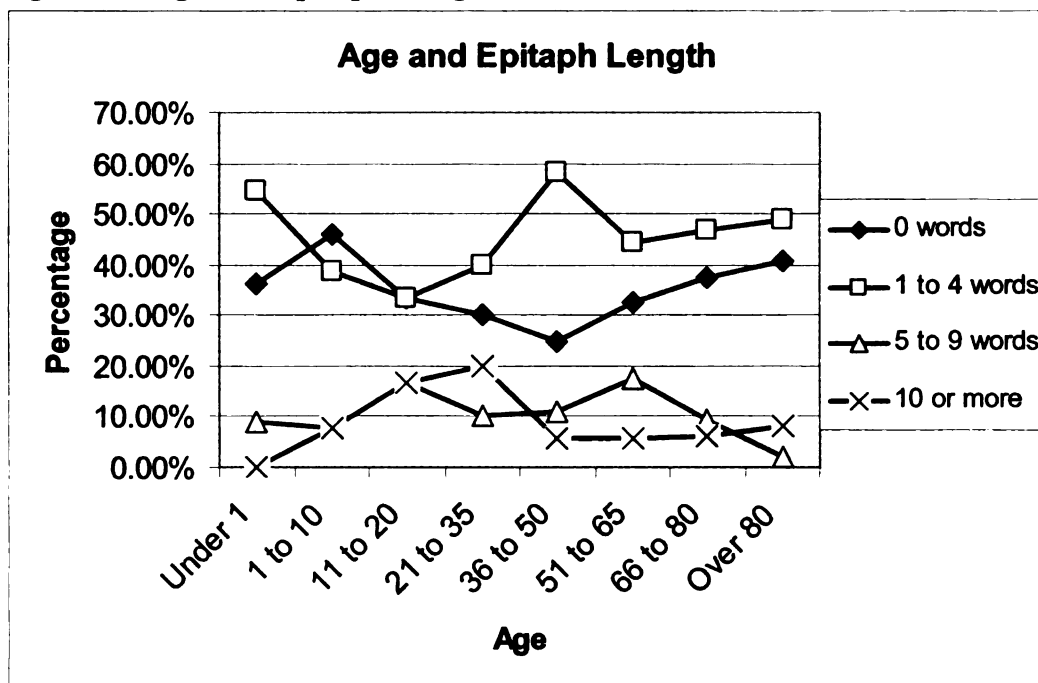
Table 7.8 Age and Epitaph Length by Frequency

	Under 1 year	1 to 10	11 to 20	21 to 35	36 to 50	51 to 65	66 to 80	Over 80
0 words	4	6	2	6	9	17	36	20
1 to 4 words	6	5	2	8	21	23	45	24
5 to 9 words	1	1	1	2	4	9	9	1
10 or more	0	1	1	4	2	3	6	4
Unknown	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	2
Total (minus Unknown)	11	13	6	20	36	52	96	49

There does not seem to be a strong correlation between epitaph length and age at

death, but several patterns are apparent (Figure 7.4). It is not feasible to perform a chi-

square test on this data, as more than 20% of the cells have expected values of less than 5

(Table 7.8). However, a visual assessment suggests a number of trends. There are relatively high rates of epitaphs of one to four words for the under 1 and 36 to 50 age groups, while an absence of an epitaph was more common among those 36 to 50 years old than for other age groups. Most epitaphs of one to four words are composed of kinship terms, however, many also consist of the words "born" and "died" or impart religious sentiments of bereavement, such as "Lord Rest Her Soul."

By focusing on those short epitaphs that are composed of kinship terms, and taking into account that the most common kinship terms are "mother" and "father", followed by terms for spouse and child, a hypothesis can be put forth. It is possible that the reason that epitaphs of one to four words peaks among ages 36 to 50 is because individuals who died at this age were likely to be married as well as parents, with children who were probably old enough to have a role in selecting gravestone attributes, but not old enough to have established families of their own. Therefore, the death of their parents at this age may have prompted the selection of parental kinship terms for the epitaph. In addition, the surviving parent or other family members likely identified the decedent as having a primary role as a parent and spouse. Because of this, a number of these short epitaphs likely reference the role of the individual as husband or wife as well, as it is probable that an individual who died between the ages of 36 and 50 left a surviving spouse. Short epitaphs of 1 to 4 words are also common among infants; common epitaphs for this age group are "our baby" and "our son" (none use specifically female-gendered kinship terms).

Figure 7.4 illustrates that epitaphs of 10 or more words were most common among younger adults, specifically ages 21 to 35, but also ages 11 to 20. However, a

closer look at the actual frequencies (Table 7.8) reveals that there is in fact only one epitaph longer than 10 words among the 11 to 20 age group (which had the smallest frequency of deaths of all age groups). However, there are four epitaphs longer than 10 words in the 21 to 36 age group; therefore, small frequencies skew the percentages. All four of these longer inscriptions include detailed origin information.

Discussion

By examining some of the specific identity markers which show up on gravestones, a better understanding of individual identity in this cemetery is gained. As previously noted, specific facets of identity are emphasized when gravestone attributes are chosen. These include not only general aesthetic qualities, such as gravestone material, form and size, but also information imparted in inscriptions, such as native language, kinship roles, origin, and occupation or title. Gender and age are also indicated through various ways, such as name and kinship terms.

In this cemetery, religious identity is apparent through the use of crosses on most gravestones. Both religious and ethnic identity (as Orthodox Eastern European) is emphasized through the dominance of the Orthodox cross form as opposed to the "generic" Latin cross, although the latter is found in large numbers as well. The importance of the church community is also apparent in the central placement and impressive size of the gravestone for the church's longest-serving priest, Reverend Alexander Znamensky, as well as the inclusion of a large Orthodox Cross sculpture, also centrally located, in the cemetery. Finally, with the exception of military service and the identification of one individual as the founder of an organization, the only occupations and titles identified in gravestone inscriptions were religious ones.

Ethnicity is marked in various ways in this cemetery as well. Almost eighteen percent of the gravestones contain inscriptions in a language other than English, and thirteen of the fifteen markers identifying origin reference overseas locations. The use of languages other than English for gravestone inscriptions is very similar for gravestones of males and females. Conversely, it is much more common for males to have their origin inscribed on gravestones. Other possible ethnic markers are not utilized in the cemetery, such as images or symbols on gravestones that reference specific cultures. Overall, ethnic identity is visible in the cemetery, but it does not appear to be the primary identity emphasized.

Kinship terms are relatively common, with parental terms being the most popular, followed by terms for spouse, and then children. Male kinship terms are slightly more popular than female kinship terms, particularly for siblings and children. The age groups for the cemetery reflect contemporaneous mortality trends in America, with the exception that individuals interred at the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery in the first part of the twentieth century died at an earlier average age compared to America as a whole. Epitaph length does not seem to vary greatly based on age, although some trends are apparent. Such trends appear based in part on the ways that epitaphs are utilized to provide kinship, origin, and occupation information at the cemetery. For example, the frequency at which individuals of a certain age are likely to have short epitaphs reflects the likelihood that many of these epitaphs identify their role as parent, spouse or child. Similarly, epitaph length does not seem strongly linked to gender, although men are slightly more likely to have longer epitaphs than women are. This reflects in part that many of the longer epitaphs containing origin information are on the gravestones of

males rather than females; likewise, military epitaphs, which are longer than average, are only found on the gravestones of men in the cemetery.

Overall, a number of identity makers are apparent. In this chapter, those which can be linked to individual identity roles are examined for a more fine-grained understanding of how such roles are made salient in the cemetery. Through an exploration of the facets of identity that are visible, we also are made aware of those that are not emphasized, such as other occupations, and membership in non-religious institutions. Similarly, although ethnic identity is certainly visible in the cemetery, symbols unique to specific ethnicities are not utilized. This suggests that, although identities of specific ethnic groups are not disguised or suppressed, such identities are secondary, at least in the cemetery, to one's identity as an Orthodox Christian. Nonetheless, as discussed above, Orthodox Christianity is primarily a religious identity, but the symbol of the Orthodox cross can indicate a broader Orthodox Eastern European ethnic identity as well.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

Introduction

Through the analysis of gravestone attributes in the St. Nicholas Orthodox cemetery, a number of insights into ethnicity and identity are realized. In comparing individuals by origin (North American- versus foreign-born) we find that in some respects, gravestone attributes selected for immigrants differ from those selected for second-generation or later individuals. These include the use of languages other than English for inscriptions, gravestone forms, origin information in epitaphs, and the proportion of single to double gravestones. For other attributes, such as the directions gravestones face, there is very little difference between the two groups.

The unique contributions of this study include the identification of the importance of categorizing gravestones by the deceased's origin as North American or foreign-born; this appears to be a determining factor in gravestone attribute selection. Some past studies, while making important advances to the field of cemetery studies in many respects, fail to elucidate generational differences in gravestones due to their reliance on subjective or vague attributions of ethnicity to gravestones. By using historical documents to determine individual origin, I was able to conclusively demonstrate that immigrant's gravestones in an ethnically mixed, but religiously unified cemetery varied in substantial ways from second-generation or later gravestones, specifically in the use of ethnic identity markers. Therefore, when studies group gravestones by "ethnic" and "nonethnic" with no consideration for generation, an entire dimension of variability is overlooked.

In previous studies, an "ethnic" cemetery has been defined as one in which recent (approximately mid-nineteenth century or later) immigrants and their descendants are interred. However, as mentioned, these studies do not separate out individuals by generation (for example, Anderson 1993, Broce 1996, Carlson-Cumbo 1989, Eckert 2002, Mediwsky 1989, Otto 2004). Other studies compare ethnic gravestones to "nonethnic" gravestones, defined as those belonging to individuals whose ancestors had immigrated to America prior to the mid-nineteenth century (Clark 1987:383). This is not to say that these authors ignore the differences that are likely present between generations, but they do not explicitly assign individuals (and therefore their gravestones) to immigrant or later-generation status. Rather, assumptions are made regarding generation based on gravestone attributes; for example, degree of fluency in a non-English language on gravestone inscriptions might suggest a later generation individual. Such approaches can provide important insights, but this study suggests that dissimilarities between generations based on concrete identification of individuals by origin as determined through census, naturalization, or immigration records, may be obscured.

Summary of Findings

This study of the cemetery of an ethnically mixed congregation provides new layers of understanding concerning how ethnic and religious identities manifest on gravestones. As noted, religion appears to be the primary identity for the cemetery as a whole, which suggests the importance that the community placed on remaining religiously unified despite ethnic differences. However, the acknowledgement of individual ethnic identity still appears in the form of native language inscriptions and the

identification of individual origins on gravemarkers. This suggests that the need for religious unification was strong, but not to the extent that it eclipsed individual ethnic identity. This illustrates the importance of asserting ethnic identity at death for some members of the community.

With the consideration of language of inscription and the identification of origin in inscriptions as the two primary ethnicity markers in this cemetery, results demonstrate that foreign-born individuals had their ethnic identity emphasized to a greater degree. Foreign-born gravestones were also more likely to exhibit an Orthodox cross, which may be considered a marker of pan-Eastern European Orthodox ethnicity as well as religious identity (Kostecki 1989, Carlson-Cumbo 1989). With some variables, such as language of inscription, the difference between North American-born and foreign-born was pronounced, with foreign-born being much more likely to have a foreign-language inscription. This indicates that there is variation in the way that ethnicity is "assigned" at death depending on whether an individual is native born or foreign born.

An individual's place of origin can be a very important factor in shaping identity; therefore, it is not surprising that this may be signified at death. In the cemetery, individuals born overseas were more likely to have their origin noted on their gravestone, and were more likely to have the inscription in their native language than North American-born individuals. Foreign-born were also more likely to have an Orthodox cross engraved on their gravestone. All indicators of ethnicity (language of inscription, identification of origin in inscription, and the presence of an Orthodox cross) in the cemetery were more likely to be found on foreign-born than North American-born individuals' gravestones.

Specifically, there was a pronounced difference in the use of language between foreign- and North American-born in this study. This makes sense, particularly if descendants are selecting the inscriptions. The third generation who might select the second generation's gravestone will probably not be fluent in the ancestral language, and would therefore likely select the language that both they and their parents spoke fluently (i.e. English). Along these lines, those selecting the inscription may wish to emphasize ethnicity, but choose to do so in other ways if they do not have the language fluency to select or compose predominantly foreign-language inscriptions. For example, they may select kinship terms in the ancestral language; there are numerous gravestones in the cemetery which are in both English and another language, commonly with kinship terms in the non-English language. Of course, individual ethnic identity may be manifested within the community in various ways other than language use, for example, in foodways and community events, many of which will not be visible in the cemetery.

Ethnicity was no doubt most pronounced in certain unalterable ways, such as language fluency, mannerisms, and knowledge of America, in the immigrant generation. Because of this, it is not surprising that ethnic identity is marked on the gravestones of more immigrants than North American-born individuals in the cemetery. Those born in North America certainly had an identity as an "ethnic" American, such as Russian-American, but they would have been able to function in American culture unmarked by a distinctive ethnic identity in many situations.

In addition, it is possible that Flint's Eastern European community had a relatively high rate of out-marriage, at least for individual ethnicities. This might account for a more rapid dissipation of specific ethnic identities through the generations, at least as

evidenced by gravestone attributes. Many factors could result in this, including the drastic decrease in immigration from Eastern Europe due to government-imposed quotas from the 1920s to the 1960s. By the time restrictions were lifted, Eastern Europeans were no longer immigrating to the US for unskilled labor positions in large numbers (Bennett 1981:101, Padgett 1990:261, Erdmans 1995); hence Flint's manufacturing industry did not provide a draw. Similarly, around the time that the immigration restrictions were removed, Flint began its economic decline (Faires and Hanflik 2005:122, 126). As a result of these factors, there was not a steady influx of individuals of the same religion and ethnicity into Flint following the 1920s. No single ethnicity represented in the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church congregation was large enough to warrant its own church; therefore, there was no doubt intermarriage between ethnicities in the congregation, which also may have led to a decrease on the emphasis of individual ethnicities in favor of a pan-Eastern European ethnicity. Indeed, the community was remarkable in the degree to which different ethnicities intermixed in their work, religion, and social aspects of daily lives. In addition to joining together to form the St. Nicholas Orthodox Church, members of the congregation lived in the culturally diverse and integrated St. John Street neighborhood, as well as participated in numerous ethnically mixed social events and clubs. This intermixing likely reinforced the presence of a pan-Eastern European identity within the congregation.

It should be noted that the higher incidence of ethnic markers on foreign-born gravestones is not as inevitable an outcome as it may seem, despite the fact that foreign-born would in many respects be considered more ethnic both within the community and outside of it. There are numerous reasons why family members would choose not to

select ethnic identity markers for gravestones of foreign-born relatives. Similarly, even though foreign-born individuals were *more* likely to have ethnic markers on their gravestones than North American-born, the majority of foreign-born gravestones did *not* exhibit distinct ethnicity markers beyond the predominance of the Orthodox cross.

Reasons might include acceptance of an American identity as the primary ethnicity (despite overseas origins), reluctance on the part of family members (or the individuals themselves) to draw attention to the fact that one's family is "ethnic," at least on the gravestone, and the primacy of other identities, such as religion. Similarly, the new ethnicity movement of the 1970s took place among second and third generation ethnic Americans, demonstrating that the utilization of cultural symbols to proclaim ethnic identity is not limited to foreign-born individuals, and in fact could have been equaled or surpassed by North American-born individuals in the cemetery. Therefore, the fact that foreign-born individuals had a higher incidence of ethnic identity markers on their gravestones was not inevitable, but rather provides an interesting insight into how ethnicity was demonstrated within this cemetery.

Implications for Ethnic Cemetery Research

As mentioned, for many cemetery studies, individuals are often grouped into categories based on their ethnicity as perceived by the researcher. This can be determined through historical research on the community, use of surname dictionaries, and conversations with local individuals. Such approaches are useful for establishing the existence of ethnicity in a cemetery, but often result in the grouping of North American- and foreign-born individuals together as "ethnic." This is certainly a valid category in

many cases and there is much to be learned by looking at a distinct ethnic community across many generations without separating out individuals by origin.

However, it is also worthwhile to compare some of the differences in ethnic identity ascription based on an individual's status as an immigrant or later generation American, as demonstrated in this study. In respect to some attributes observed in this cemetery, North American-born gravemarkers more closely parallel general trends in American cemeteries. For example, the use of lower profile gravestones, less variation in form, less motifs per gravestone, and use of the Latin cross on North American-born gravestones mirrored broader trends in American cemeteries, while foreign-born gravestones differed in these respects. Therefore, the categorization of individuals based on their origin or "generation" can yield new insights into ethnic identity representation in the cemetery. Thus, this research conclusively demonstrates a whole new level of variability in "ethnic" cemeteries that has not been detected in previous studies which do not categorize individuals (and hence, gravestones) by origin.

This thesis contributes to the field of cemetery studies by providing analyses and interpretation of data on a less-researched ethnic and religious group: Eastern European Orthodox Christian. In addition, the combined use of quantitative and qualitative approaches reveal unique layers of information concerning the use of gravestone attributes through time, particularly when comparing individuals by origin. The quantitative approach in particular facilitates comparison with datasets from other cemeteries, and enables statistically significant trends to be identified. This approach also allowed for the detection of patterns in the data that would not be evident at the level

of observation alone. Likewise, the categorization of individuals by origin allowed for a more nuanced understanding of changes in identity through successive generations.

Future Research Directions

One avenue of research that would enhance this study of ethnic identity as manifested on gravestones would be to examine the selection process of gravestone attributes within an ethnic community. This could involve interviews with community members who have participated in this process, and also with local funeral homes that facilitate the process. A detailed spatial analysis of the cemetery, which takes into consideration year of burial, family relationships and ethnicity, would also lend additional insights into the way in which the cemetery is utilized, perhaps revealing further information concerning identity. The collection of additional information on the familial relationships among individuals would provide a way to ascertain if certain traditions or patterns of gravestone attribute selection were unique to specific families. Finally, a comparison of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery with other cemeteries would be fascinating. These could include other cemeteries in the area that are not composed primarily of recent immigrants to get a better idea of how unique the cemetery of focus is, cemeteries in one or more of the countries of origin to determine if certain gravestone attributes persisted across space, and studies of single-ethnicity cemeteries in the U.S. to determine if some of the traits in this cemetery are due to significant ethnic admixture.

Conclusion

This study focuses on gravemarkers of an ethnically diverse congregation who intermixed to a large extent in life. Individuals were neither clustered by ethnicity in the

neighborhood in which they lived, nor spatially divided by ethnicity in burial. Similarly, the results of analyses show that the Orthodox facet of individual identity was emphasized to a great degree in the cemetery, suggesting that religious unity was an important aspect of this congregation. Even so, individual ethnicity was not completely absent in the cemetery. Examples of this include inscriptions in diverse native languages and the identification of overseas origins. Of particular interest is the use of the term Macedonia, which was not recognized as a separate country or republic at the time it was listed as a place of origin on three of the gravemakers.

Both qualitative and quantitative forms of research were utilized to carry out a systematic study of ethnicity as evidenced by gravestones, and historical research was conducted to determine individual origin. This combined approach will hopefully serve as a starting point for future comprehensive gravestone studies concerning ethnicity. This study brings to the fore a number of unique observations about how identity is manifested in a mixed-ethnicity cemetery representing a single religious congregation. Likewise, it is apparent that a much richer understanding of how identity is linked to generation becomes apparent when gravestones are categorized by the North American or overseas origin of individuals. It is hoped that both the approach and results of this study will make a contribution to the way in which ethnicity in the cemetery is studied and understood.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

Map of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery

Figure A.1 Map of the St. Nicholas Orthodox Cemetery (Not to Scale)

SECTION B

SECTION H

SECTION A

SECTION C

SECTION G

SECTION D

SECTION F

SECTION E

N
W E
S

Approx. 10m
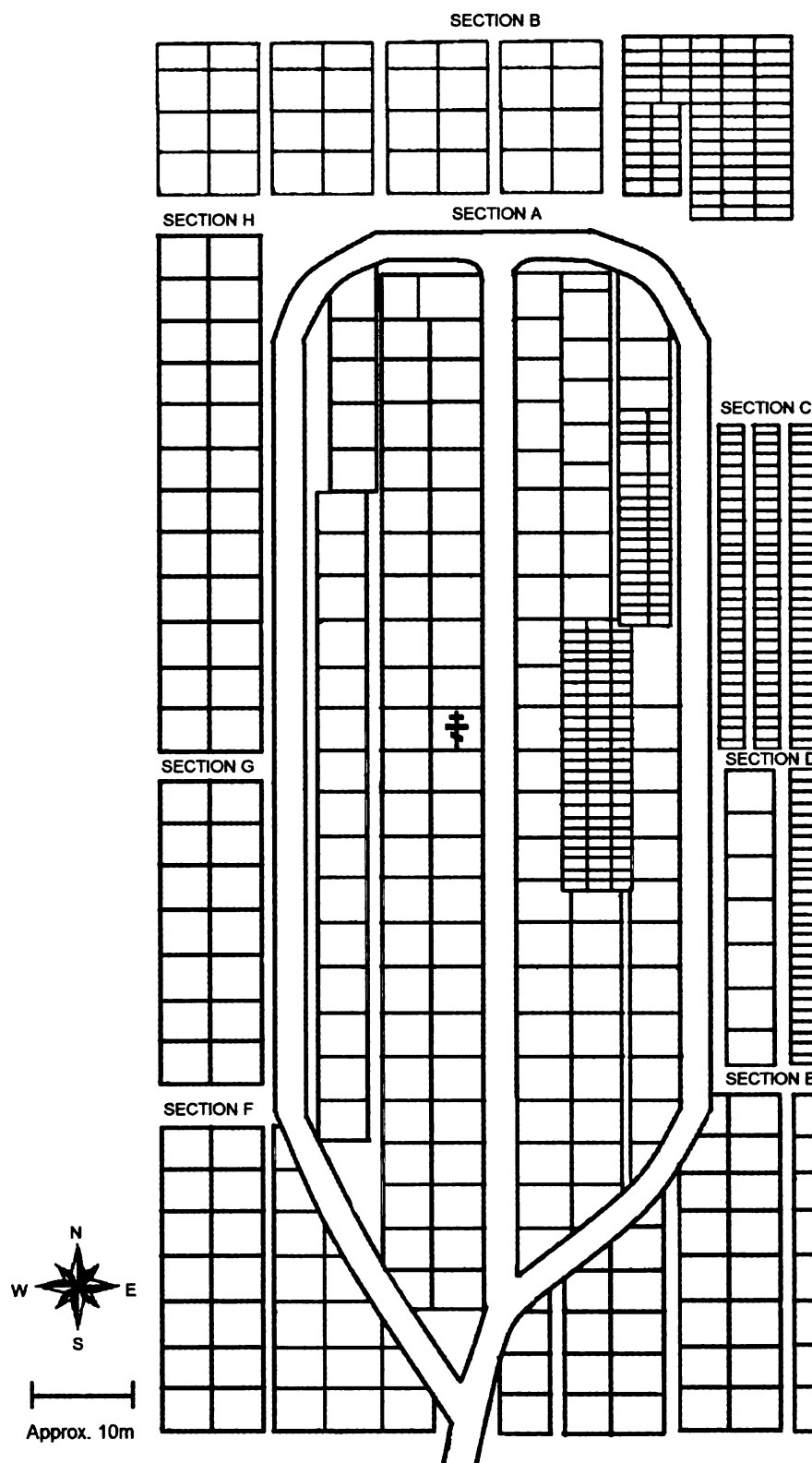
Appendix B

Descriptive Statistics for Continuous Variables

Table B.1 Gravestone Height

	Height in cm
Mean	49.36287
Median	45.5
Mode	31
Min	20
Max	175
St Dev	21.35141

Table B.2 Gravestone Average Width

	Average width in cm
Mean	19.59267
Median	16
Mode	10
Min	3
Max	910
St Dev	58.9125

Table B.3 Gravestone Length

	Length in cm
Mean	63.59205
Median	62
Mode	62
Min	29
Max	147
St Dev	21.23987

Table B.4 Number of Words in Epitaph

	Number of Words
Mean	2.761506
Median	1
Mode	0
Min	0
Max	34
St Dev	4.329596

Table B.5 Number of Motifs per Gravestone

	Number of Motifs
Mean	1.65272
Median	2
Mode	2
Minimum	0
Maximum	4
St Dev	0.991933

Appendix C

Chi-Square Results

Table C.1 Four Most Common Gravestone Forms

Time Period	Block	Cross Shape	Raised	Slant Block
1918-1935	4 (14.47)	24 (8.29)	9 (8.53)	13 (18.5)
1936-1953	13 (12.3)	7 (6.97)	16 (7.17)	16 (15.5)
1954-1971	22 (17.6)	3 (9.95)	8 (10.2)	22.2 (27)
1972-1989	18 (11.5)	1 (6.47)	9 (6.65)	11 (14.4)
1990-2007	5 (5.88)	0 (3.32)	4 (3.41)	11 (7.39)

$\chi^2 = 62.2$
degrees of freedom = 12
probability = 0.000 (significant)[5]

Table C.2 Four Most Common Gravestone Styles

Time Period	Crosses	Style 1	Style 2	Style 10
1918-1935	24 (8.43)	20(22.1)	1 (5.78)	7 (15.6)
1936-1953	7 (6.97)	18 (18.3)	8 (4.78)	10 (12.9)
1954-1971	3 (9.24)	24 (24.3)	7 (6.33)	23 (17.2)
1972-1989	1 (7.13)	23 (18.7)	4 (4.89)	16 (13.2)
1990-2007	0 (3.24)	7 (8.52)	4 (2.22)	9 (6.02)

$\chi^2 = 60.2$
degrees of freedom = 12
probability = 0.000 (significant)

Table C.3 Material of Gravestone

Time Period	Granite	Marble
1918-1935	26 (44.0)	29 (11.0)
1936-1953	38 (36.0)	7 (9.04)
1954-1971	56 (48.7)	5 (12.3)
1972-1989	40 (33.6)	2 (8.44)
1990-2007	19 (16.8)	2 (4.22)

$\chi^2 = 50.1$
degrees of freedom = 4
probability = 0.000 (significant)

Table C.4 Directions Gravestones Face

Time Period	East	West
1918-1935	29 (29.8)	26 (25.2)
1936-1953	21 (26.6)	28 (22.4)
1954-1971	37 (34.7)	27 (29.3)
1972-1989	28 (24.9)	18 (21.1)
1990-2007	13 (11.9)	9 (10.1)

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[5] Cut-off level for significance: $\alpha=0.05$

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$\chi^2 = 3.96$
degrees of freedom = 4
probability = 0.411 (not significant)

Table C.5 Number of Individuals

Time Period	Single	Double
1918-1935	51 (45)	7 (13.0)
1936-1953	36 (36.5)	11 (10.5)
1954-1971	46 (49.7)	18 (14.3)
1972-1989	36 (35.7)	10 (10.3)
1990-2007	15 (17.1)	7 (4.92)

* Triple and quadruple stones excluded

$\chi^2 = 5.94$
degrees of freedom = 4
probability = 0.204 (not significant)

Table C.6 Language of Inscription (English or Other)

Time Period	English	Other
1918-1935	32 (47.5)	23 (7.51)
1936-1953	46 (41.4)	2 (6.56)
1954-1971	57 (51.8)	3 (8.19)
1972-1989	40 (37.1)	3 (5.87)
1990-2007	21 (18.1)	0 (2.87)

$\chi^2 = 49.4$
degrees of freedom = 4
probability = 0.000 (significant)

Table C.7 Language of Inscription (English or Other/Both)

Time Period	English	Other and Both
1918-1935	32 (47.6)	26 (10.4)
1936-1953	46 (40.2)	3 (8.82)
1954-1971	57 (52.5)	7 (11.5)
1972-1989	40 (37.7)	6 (8.28)
1990-2007	21 (18.0)	1 (3.96)

$\chi^2 = 38.6$
degrees of freedom = 4
probability = 0.000 (significant)

Table C.8 Number of Motifs per Gravestone (Excluding 4 Motifs)

Time Period	0 Motifs	1 Motif	2 Motifs	3 Motifs
1918-1935	16 (8.43)	17 (16.9)	18 (22.3)	7 (10.4)
1936-1953	11 (6.97)	7 (13.9)	22 (18.5)	8 (8.62)
1954-1971	5 (9.15)	20 (18.3)	27 (24.2)	11 (11.3)
1972-1989	2 (6.39)	16 (12.8)	16 (16.9)	10 (7.90)
1990-2007	0 (3.05)	8 (6.10)	7 (8.08)	6 (3.77)

$\chi^2 = 27.2$
degrees of freedom = 12
probability = 0.007 (significant)

Table C.9 Cross Type (Excluding Cross 3)

Time Period	Cross 1 (Orthodox)	Cross 2 (Latin)	None
1918-1935	14 (26.8)	18 (17.0)	25 (13.3)
1936-1953	22 (23.0)	14 (14.6)	13 (11.4)
1954-1971	36 (30.1)	19 (19.0)	9 (14.9)
1972-1989	28 (20.7)	12 (13.1)	4 (10.2)
1990-2007	9 (8.46)	6 (5.35)	3 (4.19)

$\chi^2 = 27.3$
degrees of freedom = 8
probability = 0.001 (significant)

Appendix D

Frequency Tables

Only frequency tables for iconography and gravestone profiles are included in this appendix. Frequencies for these two variables are included as tables because these variables exhibit a very wide range of types in small frequencies, and therefore are not suitable for graphical representations or most statistical analyses. Engraved cross type is not included in the iconography table because the frequencies were sufficient for analysis results are discussed in Chapter 5.

In Table D.1, iconography was tallied based on discrete symbols to reflect the cost of having a certain number of motifs engraved. For example, "flowers and leaves" is counted separately from "flowers" or "leaves" because there were certain discrete engravings composed of a flower-and-leaf motif, which differed from a flower motif spatially distinct from a leaf motif on the same gravestone. The same holds true for "Grapes" versus "Grapes and Leaves," and "Primrose" versus "Primrose and Buds."

Table D.1 Flora Symbol Frequencies

Symbol	Count	Percentage
Primrose	47	35.88%
Rose	31	23.66%
Leaves	11	8.40%
Ivy	8	6.11%
Flower	4	3.05%
Oak Leaves and Acorns	4	3.05%
Flowers and Leaves	3	2.29%
Grapes and Leaves	3	2.29%
Morning Glory	4	3.05%
Primrose and Buds	3	2.29%
Dogwood	2	1.53%
Lilies	2	1.53%
Primrose and Leaves	2	1.53%
Tulip	2	1.53%
Calla Lily	1	0.76%
Grapes	1	0.76%
Passion Flower	1	0.76%
Wheat	1	0.76%
Willow	1	0.76%
Total	**131**	**100.00%**

Table D.2 Non-Flora Symbol Frequencies

Symbol	Count	Percentage
Open Book	10	14.08%
Photograph	9	12.68%
Banner	7	9.86%
Closed Book	7	9.86%
Heart	7	9.86%
Angel	5	7.04%
Clasped Hands	5	7.04%

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Table D.2 (cont'd).		
Image of Jesus	3	4.23%
Scroll with "INRI"	3	4.23%
Bird on Branch	2	2.82%
Doves	2	2.82%
Chalices	1	1.41%
Child	1	1.41%
Column	1	1.41%
Crucifixion Scene	1	1.41%
Gothic Arch	1	1.41%
Lamb	1	1.41%
Rocks	1	1.41%
Saint in Prayer	1	1.41%
Scroll	1	1.41%
Vase	1	1.41%
Waves	1	1.41%
Total	71	100.00%

Table D.3 Gravestone Profile (Shape 2) Frequencies

Style	1918-1935	1936-1953	1954-1971	1972-1989	1990-2007	Total	Percentage
1	20	18	24	23	7	92	38.66%
2	1	8	7	4	4	24	10.08%
3	1	3	0	0	0	4	1.68%
4	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.84%
5	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.42%
6	16	4	1	0	0	21	8.82%
7	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.42%
8	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.42%
9	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.42%
10	7	10	23	16	9	65	27.31%
11	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.42%
12	0	0	4	1	0	5	2.10%
13	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.42%
14	0	0	0	1	0	1	0.42%
15	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.42%
16	0	1	0	0	0	1	0.42%
17	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.42%
18	0	0	1	1	0	2	0.84%
19	8	3	1	0	0	12	5.04%
20	1	0	0	0	0	1	0.42%
Crosses combined	24	7	3	1	0	35	14.71%
Total	**57**	**49**	**65**	**47**	**20**	**238**	**100.00%**

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Appendix E

Dataset

Table E.1 Dataset Part I

Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
1	Yugoslavia	Old World	81	1888	1969
2	Russia	Old World	74	1892	1966
3	United States	North America	75	1924	2000
4	United States	North America	75	1924	2000
5	Russia	Old World	74	1895	1970
6	United States	North America	58	1915	1975
7	United States	North America	73	1911	1985
8	United States	North America	47	1915	1963
9	Yugoslavia	Old World	74	1885	1959
10	United States	North America	65	1920	1985
11	Ukraine	Old World	64	1893	1957
12	United States	North America	82	1921	2003
13	Romania	Old World	80	1884	1964
14	United States	North America	71	1927	1999
15	United States	North America	49	1924	1973
16	United States	North America	65	1904	1970
17	United States	North America	56	1884	1940
18	Carpathia	Old World	77	1874	1952
19	United States	North America	74	1911	1986
20	United States	North America	67	1927	1995
21	United States	North America	17 Days	1967	1967
22	United States	North America	73	1918	1992
23	Austria	Old World	86	1880	1966
24	Austria	Old World	60	1878	1948
25	Canada	North America	61	1918	1980
26	Poland	Old World	83	1877	1961
27	United States/Poland	North America	64	1903	1967
28	United States	North America	42	1945	1988
29	Russia	Old World	73	1885	1958
30	Unknown	Unknown	46	1891	1937
31	Russia	Old World	73	1899	1973
32	Russia	Old World	77	1897	1974
33	United States	North America	23	1921	1944
34	Czechoslavakia	Old World	64	1882	1942
35	United States	North America	36	1917	1953
36	United States	North America	79	1918	1997
37	Unknown	Unknown	15	1966	1981
38	Unknown	Unknown	50	1917	1967
39	United States	North America	72	1915	1987
40	Bulgaria	Old World	62	1895	1957
41	Ukraine/Austria	Old World	55	1890	1945
42	Unknown	Unknown	7	1939	1948
43	Austria	Old World	60	1890	1950
44	Austria	Old World	68	1894	1963
45	Austria/Russia	Old World	68	1880	1948
46	United States	North America	42	1913	1955

Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
Table E.1 (cont'd).					
47	United States	North America	50	1917	1967
48	United States	North America	60	1914	1975
49	Russia	Old World	72	1882	1954
50	Austria/Hungary	Old World	70	1880	1950
51	United States	North America	61	1914	1976
52	Austria	Old World	80	1875	1959
53	Russia	Old World	65	1883	1949
54	Unknown	Unknown	86	1914	2000
55	Romania	Old World	68	1878	1951
56	Poland/Russia	Old World	66	1875	1941
57	United States	North America	52	1940	1992
58	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1919	None
59	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	1943	None
60	United States	North America	64	1916	1980
61	United States	North America	11 Months	1954	1955
62	Russia	Old World	70	1916	1987
63	Unknown	Unknown	76	1926	2002
64	Russia	Old World	76	1921	1998
65	Russia	Old World	88	1898	1987
66	United States	North America	66	1917	1984
67	Poland/Romania	Old World	62	1897	1959
68	United States	North America	13 Hours	1969	1969
69	United States	North America	63	1916	1979
70	Russia	Old World	79	1886	1965
71	Ukraine/Czechoslovakia	Old World	79	1898	1978
72	German Poland/United States	Old World	70	1868	1938
73	Yugoslavia	Old World	50	1899	1949
74	Yugoslavia	Old World	72	1887	1960
75	Yugoslavia	Old World	84	1895	1980
76	Serbia	Old World	66	1870	1934
77	Yugoslavia	Old World	67	1890	1957
78	United States	North America	6	1932	1937
79	Russia	Old World	54	1877	1931
80	Russia	Old World	77	1876	1953
81	Russia/United States	Old World	64	1908	1973
82	United States	North America	52	1948	2000
83	United States	North America	43	1919	1963
84	United States	North America	62	1923	1985
85	Austria	Old World	71	1885	1956
86	Austria	Old World	5	1913	1918
87	Poland	Old World	76	1880	1956
88	United States	North America	75	1919	1995
89	United States	North America	51	1909	1961
90	Russia	Old World	70	1884	1955
91	Russia	Old World	82	1880	1972
92	Romania	Old World	4	1896	1935

Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
93	Romania	Old World	74	1898	1973
94	Austria	Old World	71	1880	1954
95	Unknown	Unknown	47	1892	1939
96	Romania	Old World	62	1885	1947
97	Poland	Old World	80	1906	None
98	Lithuania	Old World	83	1880	1964
99	Unknown	Unknown	69	1873	1942
100	Poland	Old World	58	1897	1956
101	United States	North America	21	1918	1948
102	Poland	Old World	41	1910	1951
103	Russia	Old World	54	1884	1967
104	Russia	Old World	74	1887	1961
105	Poland/Unknown	Old World	69	1885	1954
106	Russia	Old World	80	1888	1968
107	Russia	Old World	57	1908	1966
108	Austria/Yugoslavia/Russia	Old World	57	1885	1942
109	Yugoslavia	Old World	77	1887	1965
110	Russia	Old World	61	1869	1930
111	Russia	Old World	28	1904	1933
112	Unknown	Unknown	74	1891	1966
113	Poland/Galicia	Old World	54	1876	1930
114	United States	North America	<1 year	1951	1951
115	United States	North America	93	1907	2000
116	United States/Austria	North America	16	1910	1926
117	United States	North America	44	1929	1974
118	Russia	Old World	39	1890	1930
119	Russia	Old World	88	1868	1956
120	Russia	Old World	79	1892	1972
121	United States	North America	16	1926	1942
122	Russia	Old World	32	1895	1929
123	United States	North America	69	1915	1985
124	Poland/Poland	Old World	42	1891	1931
125	United States	North America	27	1917	1945
126	United States	North America	28	1889	1918
127	Unknown	Unknown	23	1895	1918
128	Poland	Old World	96	1907	2003
129	United States	North America	23	1927	1951
130	Ukraine	Old World	58	1917	1975
131	Russia	Old World	36	1900	1932
132	Poland	Old World	46	1889	1934
133	Austria	Old World	45	1881	1928
134	Austria	Old World	45	1881	1928
135	Unknown	Unknown	49	1896	1939
136	United States/Austria	North America	38	1890	1928
137	United States	North America	4 Months	1929	1930
138	United States	North America	18	1913	1931

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Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
Table E.1 (cont'd).					
139	Unknown	Unknown	50	1890	1940
140	Russia	Old World	58	1889	1947
141	Austria/Unknown	Old World	19	1912	1932
142	Russia	Old World	65	~1880	1944
143	Russia	Old World	85	1870	1935
144	Canada	North America	54	1915	1970
145	Austria	Old World	48	1890	1935
146	Romania	Old World	70	1849	1936
147	Yugoslavia	Old World	80	1894	1975
148	Russia	Old World	81	1910	1991
149	Russia	Old World	69	1890	1960
150	Russia	Old World	55	1883	1938
151	Unknown	Unknown	52	1885	1938
152	Russia	Old World	59	1889	1948
153	Austria	Old World	59	1885	1945
154	Russia	Old World	96	1904	2000
155	Russia	Old World	83	1904	1988
156	Russia	Old World	44	1934	1979
157	Russia	Old World	24	1907	1931
158	Macedonia	Old World	55	1905	1960
159	Unknown	Unknown	70	1866	1936
160	Poland	Old World	43	1892	1935
161	Unknown	Unknown	76	1866	1934
162	Yugoslavia	Old World	51	1889	1944
163	Unknown	Unknown	15	1905	1920
164	Hungary	Old World	43	1881	1924
165	United States	North America	6 Months	1921	1921
166	Romania	Old World	31	1889	1920
167	Macedonia	Old World	23	1896	1920
168	Macedonia	Old World	69	1919	1988
169	Macedonia	Old World	33	1888	1918
170	Turkey	Old World	28	1896	1924
171	Unknown	Unknown	30	1894	1924
172	Greece	Old World	70	1890	1971
173	Turkey	Old World	67	1892	1959
174	Persia	Old World	99	1870	1969
175	Unknown	Unknown	94	1909	2003
176	United States	North America	2	1918	1920
177	Estonia	Old World	87	1915	2002
178	Estonia	Old World	44	1924	1968
179	United States	North America	10	1916	1926
180	Macedonia	Old World	Unknown	Unknown	1918
181	Russia	Old World	32	1895	1929
182	United States	North America	27	1917	1945
183	Russia	Old World	75	1895	1971
184	Austria/Hungary	Old World	67	1876	1945

Table E.1 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
185	United States	North America	64	1911	1975
186	Unknown	Unknown	5	1919	1924
187	United States	North America	9	1913	1922
188	Other	Old World	87	1896	1985
189	Unknown	Unknown	93	1895	1988
190	Other	Old World	70	1897	1967
191	Ukraine	Old World	76	1917	1994
192	Russia	Old World	89	1890	1979
193	Russia	Old World	74	1889	1963
194	Other/Unknown	Old World	72	1909	1982
195	Russia	Old World	87	1887	1974
196	Poland/Austria and Galicia	Old World	70	1888	1959
197	Austria	Old World	72	1885	1957
198	United States	North America	73	1915	1988
199	United States	North America	71	1912	1983
200	Russia	Old World	53	1886	1940
201	Austria	Old World	8	1917	1926
202	Russia	Old World	53	1886	1939
203	Ukraine	Old World	73	1885	1958
204	Unknown	Unknown	52	1932	1984
205	Yugoslavia	Old World	83	1910	1993
206	Poland	Old World	70	1894	1965
207	Romania	Old World	70	1888	1959
208	United States	North America	5	1916	1922
209	United States	North America	80	1907	1987
210	Yugoslavia	Old World	53	1896	1950
211	United States	North America	47	1939	1986
212	Macedonia	Old World	37	1893	1932
213	Syria	Old World	35	1891	1926
214	Unknown	Unknown	7	1916	1923
215	Austria	Old World	23	1895	1918
216	United States	North America	2 Days	1925	1925
217	Other	Old World	36	1884	1920
218	United States	North America	<1 year	1920	1920
219	United States	North America	1	1921	1922
220	United States	North America	2	1920	1923
221	United States	North America	4	1918	1923
222	Romania	Old World	45	1878	1930
223	United States	North America	9 Months	1927	1928
224	Russia	Old World	55	1889	1944
225	Hungary	Old World	70	1882	1952
226	Yugoslavia	Old World	61	1888	1950
227	Unknown	Unknown	54	1897	1951
228	Yugoslavia	Old World	79	1873	1955
229	Serbia	Old World	34	1887	1922
230	Ukraine	Old World	79	1879	1959

Table E.1 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Country of Origin	Coding for Origin	Age at Death	DOB	DOD
231	Greece	Old World	88	1872	1960
232	Macedonia	Old World	82	1907	1990
233	Macedonia	Old World	89	1898	1988
234	Austria/Greece	Old World	52	1910	1962
235	Macedonia	Old World	67	1896	1963
236	Yugoslavia	Old World	71	1892	1964
237	Greece	Old World	66	1902	1969
238	Yugoslavia	Old World	85	1888	1973
239	Bulgaria	Old World	84	1889	1974
240	Persia	Old World	67	1895	1962
241	Persia	Old World	76	1857	1933
242	Other	Old World	37	1897	1934

Table E.2 Dataset Part II

Grave No.	Time Period[6]	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
1	3	S	Slant block	1
2	3	D	Slant block	10
3	5	S	Lawn	1
4	5	D	Slant block	10
5	3	D	Block	2
6	4	S	Lawn	1
7	4	S	Raised	1
8	3	S	Raised	1
9	3	D	Block	10
10	4	S	Lawn	1
11	3	D	Slant Block	10
12	5	S	Slant block	10
13	3	D	Block	1
14	5	S	Tablet	Unknown
15	4	S	Slant block	1
16	3	S	Lawn	1
17	2	S	Slant block	3
18	2	S	Slant block	3
19	4	S	Raised	1
20	5	S	Slant block	2
21	3	S	Raised	1
22	5	S	Raised	1
23	3	S	Block	11
24	2	S	Block	2
25	4	S	Block	10
26	3	D	Block	10
27	3	D	Block	1
28	4	S	Block	10
29	3	D	Block	12
30	2	D	Block	13
31	4	D	Block	1
32	4	S	Block	1
33	2	S	Slant block	1
34	2	D	Block	10
35	2	D	Slant block	2
36	5	D	Slant block	10
37	4	S	Raised	1
38	3	S	Raised	1
39	4	D	Slant block	10
40	3	S	Slant block	12
41	2	D	Block	10
42	2	S	Slant block	1

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[6] Time Period 1: 1918-1935; Time Period 2:1936-1953; Time Period 3: 1954-1972; Time Period 4: 1972-1989; Time Period 5:1990-2007. Those gravestones coded "0" for Time Period do not have date of death engraved.

Table E.2 (cont'd).				
Grave No.	Time Period	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
43	2	S	Slant block	1
44	3	S	Block	1
45	2	D	Block	10
46	3	S	Lawn	1
47	3	S	Lawn	1
48	4	S	Lawn	1
49	3	D	Block	10
50	2	D	Block	10
51	4	S	Lawn	1
52	3	S	Cross1 shaped	4
53	2	D	Slant block	10
54	5	D	Slant block	14
55	2	S	Lawn	1
56	2	S	Block	2
57	5	D	Slant block	10
58	0	S	Slant block	10
59	0	S	Slant block	1
60	4	S	Raised	1
61	3	S	Slant block	1
62	4	D	Slant block	10
63	5	D	Slant block	2
64	5	D	Block	10
65	4	S	Block	10
66	4	D	Block	10
67	3	D	Block	15
68	3	S	Slant block	1
69	4	D	Block	10
70	3	D	Block	1
71	4	D	Block	10
72	2	Q	Block	2
73	2	S	Raised	1
74	3	D	Slant block	10
75	4	S	Slant block	10
76	1	S	Block	1
77	3	D	Block	10
78	2	S	Tablet with lamb top	16
79	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
80	2	S	Slant block	10
81	4	D	Block	10
82	5	S	Raised	1
83	3	S	Lawn	1
84	4	S	Raised	1
85	3	S	Slant block	12
86	1	S	Square block w/ column (broken)	7
87	3	S	Slant block	12
88	5	S	Block	10

Grave No.	Time Period	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
89	3	S	Block	17
90	3	S	Block	18
91	4	S	Block	18
92	1	S	Square column	3
93	4	S	Block	12
94	3	S	Raised	1
95	2	S	Lawn	1
96	2	S	Lawn	1
97	0	S	Raised	1
98	3	S	Raised	1
99	2	S	Raised	1
100	3	D	Block	10
101	2	S	Block	10
102	2	D	Block	3
103	3	D	Block	10
104	3	S	Block	10
105	3	D	Slant block	10
106	3	S	Slant block	2
107	3	S	Slant block	10
108	2	T	Slant block	10
109	3	S	Slant block	2
110	1	S	Slant block	1
111	1	S	Slant block	10
112	3	S	Block	10
113	1	S	Block	10
114	2	S	Block	1
115	5	S	Slant block	10
116	1	D	Cross2 Shaped	6
117	4	S	Slant block	10
118	1	S	Raised	1
119	3	S	Slant block	10
120	4	S	Raised	1
121	2	S	Raised	1
122	1	S	Raised	1
123	4	S	Slant block	10
124	1	D	Slant block	10
125	2	S	Slant block	2
126	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
127	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
128	5	S	Slant block	1
129	2	S	Slant block	1
130	4	S	Slant block	1
131	1	S	Slant block	1
132	1	S	Slant block	1
133	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
134	1	S	Slant block	1

Table E.2 (cont'd).

Table E.2 (cont'd).				
Grave No.	Time Period	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
135	2	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
136	1	D	Cross2 Shaped	6
137	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
138	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
139	2	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
140	2	S	Block	2
141	1	D	Cross2 shaped	6
142	2	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
143	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
144	3	S	Lawn	1
145	1	D	Slant block	2
146	2	S	Raised	1
147	4	D	Block	2
148	5	D	Block	2
149	3	S	Slant block	10
150	2	D	Slant block	10
151	2	S	Slant block	2
152	2	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
153	2	S	Raised	1
154	5	S	Raised	1
155	4	S	Raised	1
156	4	S	Lawn	1
157	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
158	3	S	Slant block	10
159	2	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
160	1	S	Slant block	1
161	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
162	2	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
163	1	D	Slant block	10
164	1	S	Tablet	8
165	1	S	Slant block	10
166	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
167	1	S	Cross-shaped (broken)	19
168	4	S	Cross1 shaped (broken)	4
169	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
170	1	D	Block	10
171	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
172	3	S	Slant block	10
173	3	S	Slant block	2
174	3	S	Slant block	1
175	5	S	Slant block	1
176	1	S	Slant block	1
177	5	S	Slant block	10
178	3	S	Slant block	10
179	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
180	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6

Grave No.	Time Period	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
181	1	S	Block	1
182	2	S	Lawn	1
183	3	S	Slant block	10
184	2	D	Slant block	10
185	4	S	Slant block	10
186	1	S	Raised	1
187	1	S	Raised	1
188	4	S	Block	10
189	4	S	Block	10
190	3	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
191	5	S	Block	2
192	4	S	Block	2
193	3	S	Block	2
194	4	D	Block	2
195	4	S	Block	2
196	3	D	Block	2
197	3	D	Slant block	10
198	4	S	Lawn	1
199	4	S	Lawn	1
200	2	S	Block	9
201	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
202	2	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
203	3	S	Block	2
204	4	D	Raised	1
205	5	S	Raised	1
206	3	S	Raised	1
207	3	S	Raised	1
208	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
209	4	S	Slant block	1
210	2	S	Slant block	1
211	4	S	Slant block	1
212	1	S	Tablet	5
213	1	S	Raised	1
214	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
215	1	S	Cross2 Shaped	6
216	1	S	Raised	1
217	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
218	1	S	Raised	1
219	1	S	Raised	1
220	1	S	Raised	1
221	1	S	Slant block	1
222	1	S	Pulpit	1
223	1	S	Tablet	20
224	2	S	Lawn	1
225	2	S	Raised	1
226	2	S	Slant block	1

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Table E.2 (cont'd).				
Grave No.	Time Period	No. of Individuals	Form (Shape 1)	Profile (Shape2)
227	2	S	Tablet	2
228	3	S	Slant block	1
229	1	S	Slant block	10
230	3	S	Slant block	10
231	3	S	Slant block	1
232	5	S	Block	10
233	4	S	Block	10
234	3	D	Block	10
235	3	S	Slant block	1
236	3	S	Slant block	10
237	3	S	Raised	1
238	4	S	Raised	1
239	4	S	Slant block	1
240	3	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
241	1	S	Cross Shaped (broken)	19
242	1	S	Pulpit	1

Table E.3 Dataset Part III

Grave No.	Material	Direction Facing	Flora1	Flora2	Cross Type
1	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
2	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
3	Concrete/Bronze	E	Primrose		
4	Granite	E	Rose		
5	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2
6	Concrete/Bronze	E			Cross2
7	Granite	E			Cross3 (Cross2 Trefoil)
8	Granite	E			Cross3 (Cross2 Trefoil)
9	Granite	E	Morning Glory		Cross2
10	Concrete/Bronze	E			Cross2
11	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross2
12	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2
13	Granite	E	Ivy		Cross1
14	Marble	E			
15	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
16	Concrete/Bronze	E			Cross1
17	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
18	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
19	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
20	Granite	W	Rose		
21	Granite	W			
22	Marble	W			Cross2
23	Marble	W	Calla Lily		
24	Granite	W			
25	Granite	W			Cross1 (Crucifix)
26	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
27	Granite	W	Ivy		Cross1
28	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
29	Granite	W			Cross1
30	Granite	W	Waves		Cross1
31	Granite	E	Passion Flower		Cross1
32	Granite	W			Cross1
33	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
34	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
35	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
36	Granite	W	Grapes and Leaves		Cross1
37	Granite	W			Cross1
38	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
39	Granite	W	Rose		
40	Granite	W	Oak Leaves and Acorns		Cross1
41	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1

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Table E.3 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Material	Direction Facing	Flora1	Flora2	Cross Type
42	Granite	W	Doves		
43	Granite	W			
44	Granite	W			
45	Granite	W	Dogwood		Cross1
46	Concrete/Bronze	W			Cross2
47	Marble	W			Cross2
48	Marble	W			Cross2
49	Granite	W			Cross1
50	Granite	W			Cross1
51	Concrete/Bronze	W			Cross2
52	Marble	W			
53	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
54	Granite	W	Primrose		
55	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross2
56	Granite	W	Flowers and Leaves		Cross2
57	Granite	W	Doves		Cross1
58	Granite	W			Cross3 (Cross1 Trefoil)
59	Granite	W			Cross1
60	Granite	W	Primrose and Buds		
61	Granite	W			Cross1
62	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
63	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
64	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
65	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
66	Granite	E			Cross1
67	Marble	E	Primrose		Cross1
68	Granite	E	Flower		Cross1
69	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
70	Granite	E			Cross1
71	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
72	Granite	E	Flowers and Leaves		Cross2 (Crucifix)
73	Granite	E			Cross2
74	Granite	E			Cross2
75	Granite	E			Cross2 Leaning
76	Granite	E			Cross2 Leaning
77	Granite	E			Cross2
78	Marble	E	Flowers and Leaves		Cross2 Leaning
79	Marble	E	Leaves		Cross2 (Crucifix)
80	Granite	E	Primrose and Buds		Cross1
81	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1

Table E.3 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Material	Direction Facing	Flora1	Flora2	Cross Type
82	Granite	E			Cross1
83	Concrete/Bronze	E			Cross2
84	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
85	Granite	E	Morning Glory		Cross2 with Rosary
86	Marble	E			Rocks
87	Granite	E	Morning Glory		Cross2 with Rosary
88	Granite	E	Rose		
89	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
90	Granite	E	Primrose and Leaves		Cross1
91	Granite	E	Primrose and Leaves		Cross1
92	Marble	E			
93	Granite	E	Lilies		Cross1
94	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
95	Granite	E			
96	Granite	E			
97	Granite	E	Leaves		Cross2
98	Granite	E	Leaves		Cross2
99	Granite	E	Leaves		Cross2
100	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
101	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross2
102	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
103	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
104	Granite	E	Morning Glory		Cross1
105	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
106	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
107	Granite	W	Flower		Cross1
108	Granite	W			Cross1
109	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
110	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
111	Granite	W			Cross1
112	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
113	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
114	Granite	W	Flower		Cross2
115	Granite	E	Grapes		Cross2
116	Limestone	W	Leaves		Cross2 (Crucifix)
117	Granite	W			Cross1
118	Granite	W			Cross1
119	Granite	W			Cross1
120	Granite	W			
121	Granite	W			
122	Granite	W			
123	Granite	W	Primrose and Buds		Cross1
124	Granite	W	Primrose		

Table E.3 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Material	Direction Facing	Flora1	Flora2	Cross Type
125	Granite	W	Tulip		
126	Marble	W	Leaves		
127	Limestone	E			Cross2 (Crucifix)
128	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
129	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
130	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
131	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
132	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
133	Marble	W			
134	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
135	Marble	W			Cross2 (Crucifix)
136	Marble	W			Cross2 (Crucifix)
137	Marble	W			
138	Marble	W			
139	Marble	W	Ivy		Cross2
140	Granite	W	Tulip		Cross1
141	Marble	W			Cross2 (Crucifix)
142	Marble	W			
143	Marble	W			
144	Granite	W	Dogwood		Cross2
145	Granite	W			Cross1
146	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
147	Granite	W	Rose		Cross2
148	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
149	Granite	E	Grapes and Leaves		Cross1
150	Granite	E	Grapes and Leaves		Cross1
151	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
152	Concrete	E			
153	Concrete	W			
154	Granite	E			Cross3 (Cross2 Trefoil)
155	Granite	E			Cross3 (Cross2 Trefoil)
156	Concrete/Bronze	E			Cross2
157	Marble	W			
158	Granite	E	Oak Leaves and Acorns		
159	Concrete	E			
160	Granite	E			Cross1
161	Marble	E			Cross1 (Crucifix)
162	Marble	E			

Table E.3 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	**Material**	**Direction Facing**	**Flora1**	**Flora2**	**Cross Type**
163	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
164	Marble	E	Willow Tree		Cross1
165	Granite	E	Rose		
166	Marble	E			
167	Marble	E	Leaves		
168	Marble	E			
169	Marble	E			Cross2 (Crucifix)
170	Granite	E	Rose		Cross1
171	Marble	E			
172	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
173	Granite/Bronze	E			Cross2
174	Granite	E	Rose		
175	Granite	E			Cross2
176	Granite	E			Cross2
177	Granite	E	Ivy		Cross1
178	Granite	E	Ivy		Cross1
179	Marble	E			
180	Marble	E			
181	Granite	E			Cross2
182	Concrete/Bronze	W			Cross2
183	Granite	E			Cross1
184	Granite	E			Cross1
185	Granite	E			Cross1
186	Granite	E			
187	Granite	E			
188	Granite	E			Cross1
189	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
190	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
191	Granite	E			Cross1
192	Granite	E			Cross1
193	Granite	E			Cross1
194	Granite	E			Cross1
195	Granite	E			Cross1
196	Granite	E			Cross2
197	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2
198	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2
199	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2
200	Granite	E	Ivy		Cross2 with HIS
201	Marble	E	Leaves		Cross2 (Crucifix)
202	Marble	E			
203	Granite	E	Leaves		Cross1
204	Granite	E	Primrose	Wheat	Cross1
205	Granite	E	Rose		Cross2

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Table E.3 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Material	Direction Facing	Flora1	Flora2	Cross Type
206	Concrete	E			Cross1
207	Granite	E			
208	Marble	E			
209	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
210	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
211	Granite	E	Primrose		Cross1
212	Marble	Unknown	Ivy		
213	Granite	S			
214	Marble	E			
215	Marble	E			
216	Granite	E			Cross1
217	Marble	W			
218	Granite	W			Cross2
219	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
220	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
221	Granite	W	Flower		Cross1
222	Concrete	W			Cross2
223	Marble	E	Leaves		Cross2
224	Granite	W			Cross1
225	Granite	W			Cross2
226	Granite	W			Cross1
227	Marble	W			Cross1
228	Granite	W			Cross2
229	Granite	W	Oak Leaves and Acorns		Cross2
230	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
231	Granite	W	Oak Leaves and Acorns		
232	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
233	Granite	W	Rose		Cross1
234	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross1
235	Granite	W	Ivy		Cross2
236	Granite	W	Lilies		Cross2 Leaning
237	Granite	W	Primrose		Cross2
238	Granite	W			Cross2
239	Granite	W			Cross2
240	Marble	E			
241	Marble	E			
242	Marble		Leaves		Cross1

Table E.4 Dataset Part IV

Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words[7]	Language Code	Language
1	Open Book		0	E	English
2			3	E	English
3			0	E	English
4			2	E	English
5	Clasped Hands		2	E	English
6			8	E	English
7			1	E	English
8			1	E	English
9			4	E	English
10			6	E	English
11			2	E	English
12			0	E	English
13			2	E	English
14			5	E	English
15			1	E	English
16			7	E	English
17			1	E	English
18			1	E	English
19			3	E	English
20			5	E	English
21			0	E	English
22			6	E	English
23			1	E	English
24			1	E	English
25			3	E	English
26			2	E	English
27			0	E	English
28	Heart		6	E	English
29			0	E	English
30	Column		0	E	English
31			11	O	Russian
32			15	B	Russian/English
33			1	E	English
34			2	E	English
35			2	E	English
36	Banner		6	B	Macedonian/English
37			0	E	English
38			1	E	English
39	Heart	Open Book	4	E	English
40	Banner		0	E	English
41			0	E	English
42	Photograph		0	E	English
43			0	E	English
44			0	E	English
45	Banner		2	E	English
46			12	E	English
47			11	E	English

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[7] The total number of words in an epitaph reflects the actual count in the language of inscription. This count may not correspond exactly with the English translation of the epitaph.

Table E.4 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words	Language Code	Language
48			7	E	English
49			0	E	English
50			0	E	English
51			7	E	English
52			0	E	English
53			2	E	English
54	Gothic Archway		0	E	English
55			1	E	English
56			0	E	English
57			4	E	English
58	Clasped Hands		0	E	English
59			0	E	English
60			1	E	English
61	Angel Kneeling in Prayer		3	E	English
62			2	E	English
63			2	E	English
64	Banner		2	E	English
65	Banner		12	E	English
66	Heart		6	E	English
67			2	E	English
68	Angel Kneeling in Prayer		2	E	English
69	Clasped Hands		6	E	English
70			0	E	English
71	Banner		0	E	English
72	Crucifixion		5	E	English
73			0	E	English
74			2	B	Serbian/English
75			0	E	English
76			4	B	Serbian/English
77			2	B	Serbian/English
78			1	O	Serbian
79			5	B	Church Slavic/English
80			1	E	English
81	Open Book		0	E	English
82			5	E	English
83			9	E	English
84			4	E	English
85			3	E	English
86	Scroll		4	O	Church Slavic
87			1	E	English
88			1	E	English
89			1	E	English
90			3	E	English
91			3	E	English
92	Photograph		3	O	Ukrainian
93	Saint Praying		0	E	English
94			1	E	English

Table E.4 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words	Language Code	Language
95			3	E	English
96			0	E	English
97			0	E	English
98			1	E	English
99			1	E	English
100			0	E	English
101			2	E	English
102			0	E	English
103	Closed Book	Banner	6	B	Russian/English
104			0	E	English
105	Heart		5	E	English
106			0	E	English
107	Open Book		1	E	English
108			0	E	English
109			0	E	English
110			1	E	English
111			0	E	English
112			0	E	English
113			0	E	English
114	Angel		0	E	English
115			3	E	English
116			20	O	Serbian
117			0	E	English
118			2	E	English
119			1	E	English
120			1	E	English
121			1	E	English
122			1	E	English
123	Open Book		0	E	English
124	Photograph		0	E	English
125			3	E	English
126			13	O	Serbian(?)
127			0	E	English
128	Closed Book		0	E	English
129	Closed Book		0	E	English
130	Closed Book		0	E	English
131	Closed Book		0	E	English
132	Closed Book		0	E	English
133			4	O	Ukrainian
134	Closed Book		4	B	Ukrainian/English
135	Scroll with INRI	Photograph	2	E	English
136	Scroll with INRI	Photograph	2	E	English
137			4	O	Russian
138			6	O	Russian
139			4	O	Church Slavic/English
140	Chalices		13	E	English
141			4	O	Russian
142			0	E	English
143			4	O	Russian

Table E.4 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words	Language Code	Language
144	Image of Jesus		0	E	English
145	Image of Jesus		2	E	English
146			1	E	English
147			2	E	English
148	Vase		0	E	English
149			1	E	English
150			2	E	English
151			1	E	English
152			2	E	English
153			0	E	English
154	Clasped Hands		1	E	English
155	Clasped Hands		1	E	English
156			3	E	English
157			4	O	Serbian
158			0	E	English
159			4	E	English
160			1	E	English
161			0	E	English
162			1	E	English
163	Open Book		0	E	English
164			5	O	Hungarian
165	Angel Kneeling in Prayer		0	E	English
166	Photograph		28	O	Romanian
167			11	O	Macedonian
168			12+	O	Macedonian
169	Scroll with INRI		11+	O	Macedonian
170			2	E	English
171			0	O	Greek
172			1	E	English
173			10	E	English
174			1	E	English
175			1	E	English
176	Child Kneeling in Prayer		2	E	English
177			3	E	English
178			1	E	English
179			0	E	English
180			9+	O	Macedonian/English
181			2	O	Russian
182			8	E	English
183			0	O	Russian
184	Open Book		0	E	English
185	Open Book		1	E	English
186	Bird on Branch		0	E	English
187	Bird on Branch		0	E	English
188			0	E	English
189			0	E	English
190			6	O	Russian
191			4	E	English

Table E.4 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words	Language Code	Language
192			11	B	Russian/English
193			11	B	Russian/English
194			4	O	Russian
195			0	E	English
196			0	E	English
197	Heart		2	E	English
198			0	E	English
199			0	E	English
200	Photograph		0	E	English
201			0	O	Russian
202			2	E	English
203	Photograph		34	B	Ukrainian/English
204			2	B	Russian/English
205			0	E	English
206			0	E	English
207			0	E	English
208			8	O	Serbian
209			1	E	English
210			1	E	English
211			1	E	English
212			0	E	English
213			0	E	English
214			11	O	Romanian
215			6	E	English
216	Winged Angel		2	E	English
217			5	O	Romanian
218			7	E	English
219			1	E	English
220	Lamb		2	E	English
221			0	E	English
222			0	E	English
223	Heart		0	E	English
224			0	E	English
225			0	E	English
226			0	E	English
227	Heart		3	E	English
228			0	E	English
229			0	E	English
230			1	E	English
231			0	E	English
232	Open Book		13	E	English
233	Open Book	Photograph	7	E	English
234			2	E	English
235			0	E	English
236			0	E	English
237			1	E	English
238			0	E	English
239	Image of Jesus		0	E	English
240			Unknown	O	Syriac
241			Unknown	O	Syriac

Table E.4 (cont'd).					
Grave No.	Other Motif1	Other Motif2	Total # Words	Language Code	Language
242			5	E	English

Table E.5 Dataset Part V

Grave No.	Epitaph
1	
2	Rest in Peace/Choir Director of St. Nicholas Church
3	
4	Together Forever
5	Father/Mother
6	Michigan/Capt Army Air Forces/World War II
7	Father
8	Mother
9	Born/Died Father/Mother
10	PFC US Army/World War II
11	Father/Mother
12	
13	Father/Mother
14	US Army/World War II
15	Daughter
16	Michigan/Tec5 Trans Corps/World War II
17	Mother
18	Father
19	Daughter & Mother
20	Beloved Daughter/Sister and Aunt
21	
22	PVT US Army/World War II
23	Father
24	Mother
25	Wife & Mother
26	Mother/Father
27	
28	In Loving Memory/Daughter & Sister
29	
30	
31	Eternal Memory Dear Father and Grandfather/Dear Wife, Mother and Grandmother (Russian)
32	Rt. Rev./Born...Died (English)/Thy will be done/Eternal memory (Russian)/Pastor St. Nicholas 1944-1973 (English)
33	Sister
34	Mother/Father
35	Daughter/Husband
36	Memory Eternal/Dedo, Baba/Flint Michigan
37	
38	Mother
39	Married May 7, 1936
40	
41	
42	
43	
44	

Table E.5 (cont'd).	
Grave No.	Epitaph
45	Mother/Father
46	Michigan/PVT CO H 414 INF 104 INF DIV/World War II
47	Michigan/1st SGT 602 AAA Gun BN CAC/World War II
48	1st LT US Army/World War II
49	
50	
51	TEC 4 US Army/World War II
52	
53	Mother/Father
54	
55	Mother
56	
57	Father/My Cinderella Daughter
58	
59	
60	Mother
61	Our Baby Son
62	Mother/Father
63	Memory Eternal
64	Dad/Mom
65	Our Beloved Mother/And Grandmother, Whose/Spirit Will Forever Live/Within Us
66	Dad/Mom/Married/Sept. 15, 1940
67	Husband/Wife
68	Our Baby
69	Dad/Mom/Married/May 6, 1939
70	
71	
72	Family/Wife Son Father Mother
73	
74	Father/Mother (English)
75	
76	Popadija (Priest's Wife) Grateful Children (Serbian) /Mother (English)
77	Father/Mother (Serbian)
78	Brothers/Parents (Serbian)
79	Mother (English)/Lord Rest Her Soul (Church Slavic)
80	Father
81	
82	Loving Husband/Son & Brother
83	Michigan/CPL 311 Fighter SQ AAF/World War II
84	Beloved Wife & Mother
85	Husband/Born/Died
86	Here Rests...Born/Died/Lord Rest Her Soul (Church Slavic)
87	Wife
88	Wife
89	Husband
90	Father/Born...Died

Table E.5 (cont'd).	
Grave No.	**Epitaph**
91	Mother/Born Died
92	Here Rests...B./Died (Ukrainian)
93	
94	Brother
95	Rest in Peace
96	
97	
98	Mother
99	Father
100	
101	Born Died
102	
103	Rev. Archdeacon/Book of Life
104	
105	Mother/Father/Together in Memory
106	
107	Father
108	
109	
110	Father
111	
112	
113	
114	
115	In Loving Memory
116	Here Rests the Servant of God/...Born/Died/You are remembered to brother Risto, Mother Stana and several brothers and sisters (Serbian)
117	
118	Beloved Mother
119	Mother
120	Father
121	Son
122	Mother
123	
124	
125	Our Beloved Brother
126	Here Rests...Born...Kelleys Island Ohio/Died...Otisville, Michigan/of chorola [sic] influenza (Serbian?)
127	
128	
129	
130	
131	
132	
133	Born...Year/Died...Year
134	Born...Year/Died...Year

Table E.5 (cont'd).	
Grave No.	**Epitaph**
135	Born/Died
136	Born/Died
137	Lord Rest His Soul (Russian)
138	Born.../Died.../Lord Rest Her Soul (Russian)
139	Matushka (Priest's Wife)/Lord Rest Her Soul (Church Slavic)
140	V. Rev./Give Rest, O Lord, To the/ Soul of Thy Departed Servant
141	Lord Rest Her Soul (Russian/Church Slavic)
142	
143	Born/Died/Eternal Memory to Him (Russian)
144	
145	Father/Mother
146	Mother
147	Husband/Wife
148	
149	Husband
150	Mother/Father
151	Mother
152	Born/Died
153	
154	Father
155	Mother
156	PFC US Army
157	Born/Died/Mother Zorka (Serbian)
158	
159	Born/Died/Flint Mich.
160	Father
161	
162	Husband
163	
164	Here Rests...Peace to His Ashes
165	
166	Born...in Sebesiul, Sesegu, Sibiu County, Romania, Died...He was the founder of the society of (invinjer?). He was Romanian from Flint, Michigan. May the Earth be Lightweight. (Romanian)
167	Here Rests.../By birth from ?? Macedonia/Born.../Died...(Macedonian)
168	Here rests.../By birth from Macedonia near (?) Born/Died (Macedonian)
169	Here rests...From Skopje Macedonia...(continues, illegible) (Macedonian)
170	Father/Mother
171	Name in Greek letters
172	Father
173	PVT 343 SVC Park Unit MTC/ World War I
174	Mother
175	Son
176	Our Baby
177	In Loving Memory
178	Husband

Table E.5 (cont'd).	
Grave No.	Epitaph
179	
180	Very weathered illegible inscription/Macedonia... (Macedonian)
181	Here rests...(Russian)
182	PFC 254 INF 63 DIV/World War II
183	
184	
185	Husband
186	
187	
188	
189	
190	Born (neé) Gutkina/Eternal Memory, Dear Mama (Russian)
191	Born in Izjum, Russia (English)
192	Captain of the Russian Army/Veteran of the First Great War and the White Army (Russian)
193	Colonel of the Russian Army/Veteran of the First Great War and the White Army (Russian)
194	Thy will be done (Russian)
195	
196	
197	Married 1909
198	
199	
200	
201	
202	Born/Died
203	Here rests...Born in Poltava Ukraine/Died.../To dear brother in eternal memory we have placed this monument to you. For my memory your last quiet word farewell. Lord rest his soul. (Ukrainian)
204	Archpriest/Matushka
205	
206	
207	
208	Here rests.../Born/Died/ May the Earth be Light to Her [May she rest in peace](Serbian)
209	Mother
210	Father
211	Son
212	
213	
214	...G.R.I.L.G/Born../Died.../Parents from Musca...Lupsa Mare Tunda/Aires Romnia (Romanian)
215	Born in Bukovina, Died in Flint (rest illegible)
216	Our Son
217	From Bosanci, Died (?) (Romanian)
218	Baby/Son of Wm. & Mary Loik

Table E.5 (cont'd).	
Grave No.	**Epitaph**
219	Son
220	Our Son
221	
222	
223	
224	
225	
226	
227	Died/Age 54
228	
229	
230	Mother
231	
232	Together/Forever/... and.../Born in Celo Gabres/Macedonia/Beloved Husband...
233	Born in Celobouf/Macedonia/Beloved Wife...
234	Mother/Father
235	
236	
237	Father
238	
239	
240	*(Not Translated)*
241	*(Not Translated)*
242	Husband/Father/Our Loved One

Table E.6 Dataset Part VI

Grave No.	Stone Length	Stone Height	Stone Width
1	61	39	13.5
2	93	46	17.5
3	71	7	41
4	94	42	18.5
5	108	72	20
6	60	15	31
7	63	20	30
8	62	18	32
9	86	63	21
10	60	15	31
11	91	39	17
12	62	48	17
13	88	51	16
14	103	32	9
15	64	44	13
16	61	10	30
17	62	42	20
18	62	42	20
19	62	10	32
20	64	46	17
21	41	5	21
22	61	8	31
23	45.5	36	10
24	45.5	41.5	23
25	60.5	52	16
26	90	47.5	17
27	92.5	51	15.5
28	76	53	16
29	95	87	15
30	115	54	19
31	82	52	15
32	90	175	23
33	62	45	18
34	102	52	22
35	91	42	18
36	91	42	18
37	42	17	21
38	62	17	31
39	93	43	17.5
40	61	46	15
41	86	42	21
42	61	34	16
43	62	40	20.5
44	62	40	20.5
45	76	53	16
46	60	7	29

Table E.6 (cont'd).			
Grave No.	Stone Length	Stone Height	Stone Width
47	60	7	29
48	60	7	29
49	113	72	21
50	105	72	22
51	66	5	36
52	46	92	15
53	93	45	17
54	92	52	15
55	60	5	32
56	57	53	21
57	78	49	17
58	62.5	42	19
59	38	43	15
60	61	15	31
61	52	35	13
62	92	46	16
63	92	46	16
64	108	69	17
65	51	68	16
66	104	66	21
67	131	51	15
68	52	39	15
69	108	53	18
70	90	57	15
71	76	51	17
72	147	108	21
73	52	18	26
74	107	50	17
75	62	50	15
76	50	66	18
77	89	61	19
78	30	41	10
79	46	92	10
80	61	44	17
81	92	51	16
82	63	17	32
83	61	15	31
84	63	17	32
85	78	45	17
86	41	64	34
87	77	44	15
88	62.5	52	17
89	65	69	16
90	46.5	75.5	15
91	46.5	75.5	15
92	36	88.5	15

Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.
93	101	59	21
94	52	18	25
95	53	5	30
96	60	5	32
97	62	15	31
98	62	15	31
99	62	15	31
100	107	73	20
101	48	77	18
102	109	78	21
103	90	52	16
104	55	59	16
105	92	48	17
106	61	46	16
107	61	46	16
108	92	48	17
109	61	46	17
110	50	36	16
111	61	46	16
112	62	72	21
113	62	72	21
114	41	21	16
115	61	44	16
116	40	77	10
117	62	44	17
118	62	10	31
119	62	44	17
120	62	10	31
121	62	10	31
122	62	10	31
123	62	40	17
124	92	46	20
125	63	47	17
126	41	51	17
127	30	46	10
128	62	46	18
129	62	46	18
130	62	46	18
131	62	46	18
132	62	46	18
133	34	45	15
134	63	50	17
135	36	83	10
136	36	83	10
137	36	46	10
138	36	45	15

Table E.6 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.
139	51	81	20
140	59	77	22
141	41	74	10
142	42	73	10
143	35	49	10
144	62	4	32
145	94	36	17
146	52	15	27
147	91	50	15.5
148	90	61	20
149	63	48	18
150	92	50	18
151	61	31	15
152	32	66	12
153	76	17	44
154	61	10	32
155	61	10	32
156	66	5	34
157	35	36	10
158	52	23	15
159	33	69	12
160	51.5	49	16
161	36	45.5	10
162	33	60	10
163	92	48	17
164	39	74	11.5
165	53	40	16
166	61	116	20
167	46	85	10
168	35	58	8
169	40	50	7
170	86	52	16
171	41	77	10
172	62	38	16
173	75	48	17
174	62	48	15
175	62	50	17
176	52	31	15
177	62	39	15
178	62	39	15
179	40	71	8
180	41	75	8
181	82	88	30
182	60	5	19
183	62	39	16
184	92	40	16

Table E.6 (cont'd).

Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.
185	61	38	16
186	42	17	22
187	42	17	22
188	90	62	20
189	52	78	20
190	102	155	21
191	52	78	16
192	52	78	16
193	52	78	16
194	63	100	21
195	66	100	21
196	91	63	22
197	79	40	16
198	62	5	30
199	62	5	30
200	66	80	22
201	40	77	10
202	40	77	10
203	56	77	15
204	62	16	32
205	61	13	32
206	52	8	30
207	53	5	27
208	32	48	10
209	62	40	16
210	62	40	16
211	62	40	16
212	40	44	10
213	62	20	33
214	40	76	11
215	30	61	8
216	42	21	18
217	29	23	10
218	42	21	18
219	52	6	27
220	42	5	21
221	37	42	16
222	30	32	31
223	30	33	10
224	63	6	31
225	42	21	11
226	53	28	15
227	30	41	10
228	47	36	15
229	62	36	16
230	64	39	15

Table E.6 (cont'd).

Table E.6 (cont'd).			
Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.	Grave No.
231	52	27	15
232	61	53	17
233	61	53	17
234	107	52	22
235	42	36	15
236	61	40	24
237	62	21	32
238	62	10	31
239	63	38	15
240	No Data	No Data	No Data
241	No Data	No Data	No Data
242	No Data	No Data	No Data

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