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# TWO CEMETERIES IN ONE: AN HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CEMETERIES THAT COMPRISE TODAY'S LIBERTY CEMETERY IN TREVOR, WISCONSIN

by

Sydne M. Johnson

A Thesis Submitted in

Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree of

Master of Science

in Anthropology

at

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

May 2022

ABSTRACT

TWO CEMETERIES IN ONE: AN HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CEMETERIES THAT COMPRISE TODAY'S LIBERTY CEMETERY IN TREVOR, WISCONSIN

by

Sydne M. Johnson

The University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2022
Under the Supervision of Patricia Richards, PhD

This thesis is an historic archaeological comparison of the two cemeteries that comprise today's Liberty Cemetery in Kenosha County, Wisconsin: the Old Cemetery (1844-1883) and the New (1885-1924). Salem, Wisconsin's first settlers arrived in the 1830s, and shortly thereafter some began burying their dead at a place called Liberty Corners. The burial grounds continued to grow, and within a few years, the church across the street began overseeing it. The church transferred the graveyard to a private organization in 1884, and that group mixed a new cemetery—called Liberty Cemetery—into the same grounds as the old one. This thesis compares these cemetery groups and assesses differences between them with the ultimate objective of understanding the source population's economic standing, religious and familial affiliations, and worldview. Both historic and archaeological evidence are utilized: primary, secondary, and tertiary documentation comprise the historic evidence, and gravemarkers provide archaeological data. Gravemarkers were subject to frequency seriation. Conclusions in this study were drawn using the results from frequency seriation and historic documentation analysis, and they found that gravemarker form and iconography may have been impacted by the source population's familial affiliations and ideology, but marker material type was not influenced by economic status.

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To

my parents, Karin and Michael,

and

my sisters, McKenna and Rylee.

I miss you every day, McKenna.

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With all the love in my heart, thank you all for always being there and for riding this rollercoaster with me.

# CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

*Two Cemeteries at Liberty Corners*

In the 1830s, Euro-American settlers began arriving in the scenic, soon to be agrarian, town of Salem, Wisconsin. Westward expansion encouraged many colonists to migrate to the frontier that brimmed with potential and promises for opportunity, and Salem's location halfway between Milwaukee and Chicago in southeastern Wisconsin was appealing to prospective settlers. Personally, I found two of these settlers to be particularly intriguing. Pardon Yaw left Massachusetts for Salem in 1843, and he was one of 20 children in his family from one mother. He owned a beautiful farmhouse with Victorian architecture on his 300-acre orchard not far from a small lake, and he was heavily involved in local activities (Valentine 2014b: 5). R.S. Udell came to Salem from Georgia with his parents when he was just a boy, but he eventually grew into a renown livestock dealer that sold a pair of the time's most famous racehorses for $18,000 (Valentine 2014b: 5).

Many others like Pardon Yaw and R.S. Udell arrived in Salem and had a hand in building up this frontier town, but with settlement and new beginnings also came end of life and the need for burial grounds. Salem saw the creation of three cemeteries in its early years: Salem Mound Cemetery, Union Cemetery, and Liberty Cemetery. Salem Mound Cemetery and Union Cemetery sit at the northwest and northeast limits of town, respectively. Liberty Cemetery falls in south-central Salem and is the focus of this thesis.

When settlement in Salem intensified in the 1840s, one Salem pioneer donated half an acre of land in 1849 at the southeast corner of Liberty Corners for use as a public burial ground (Kenosha County Register of Deeds [KCRD] 1849, Deed Volume [DV] A: 477-478). The First Congregationalist Society of Salem who received the land donation established a church at the

northeast corner of Liberty Corners in the 1850s (KCRD 1850, DV A: 447-448), less than a quarter mile north of the burial ground. The extent of the Congregationalist Church's oversight is unknown, but deed records affirm the cemetery was active under their supervision until 1884 (KCRD 1884, DV 32: 307, Document # 39198). Liberty Corners is denoted today by the intersection of CTY C and STH 83 in the hamlet of Trevor within the Village of Salem Lakes, Wisconsin in southern Kenosha County; the cemetery's exact location is "in the Northwest Quarter of the Southeast Quarter of Section 26, Town 1 North, Range 20 East of the 4th Principle Meridian, in the Town of Salem, County of Kenosha and State of Wisconsin," (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013b: 18). Liberty Corners' location is denoted in Figure 1.1. Despite the land donation in 1849, the cemetery's earliest interment predates the burial ground's inception by five years. It is therefore possible that the cemetery's location may have been chosen out of convenience since that land was already serving in some capacity as a burial ground, but a lack of documentation makes this difficult to substantiate.

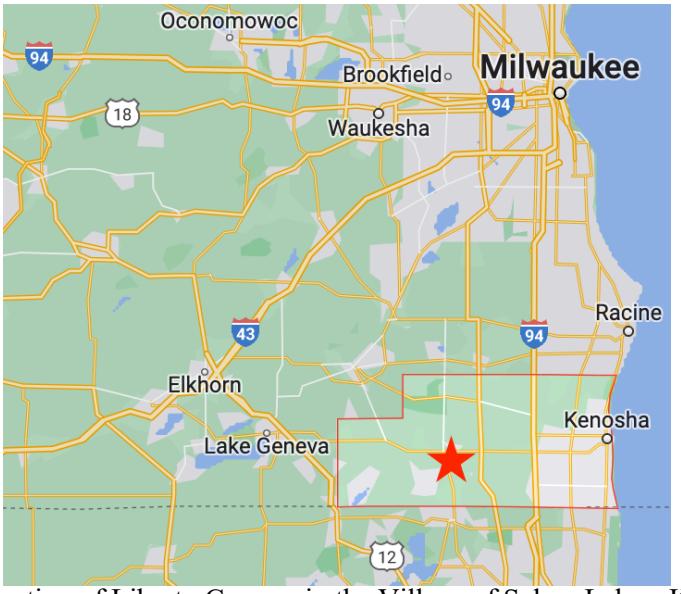



Figure 1.1 Location of Liberty Corners in the Village of Salem Lakes, Kenosha County, Wisconsin. Kenosha County is outlined in red, and Liberty Corners is denoted by a red star. Sourced from Google Interactive Mapping, accessed April 2022.

The absence of documentation on this old cemetery also poses challenges for its classification. The burial ground's proximity to the Congregationalist Church at Liberty Corners could imply religious ties between the church and cemetery, as could the church's oversight until 1884. Without evidence denoting the extent of the church's involvement with the cemetery and its development, however, it would be premature to classify the burial ground as a churchyard cemetery—especially because the cemetery was active years before the church. Based on verbiage used in the 1849 deed noting the land's explicit intent as a "public burial ground," (KCRD 1849, DV A: 477-478), the cemetery should therefore classify as a nonsectarian community burial ground (Mytum 2004: 15). Furthermore, burials within this cemetery are oriented on an east-west axis and were arranged linearly in rows that run north to south, which followed Pearson's (2000) description of a linear cemetery pattern. Despite their broadly linear organization, the arrangement of burials is also notably varied in that the oldest graves are scattered throughout the cemetery's northernmost section, gaps are present between interments, and some rows are difficult to delineate because older graves occasionally fail to fit within the bounds of rows. This lack of uniformity in the cemetery's arrangement also aligns with Mytum's (2004: 20) description of colonial American burial grounds.

In 1884, the Congregationalist Church transferred the cemetery to the Liberty Cemetery Association (LCA) that formed earlier that year (KCRD 1884, DV 32: 307, Document # 39198). This transfer marked the end of the burial ground's activity; excluding the year of transition in 1884, the cemetery spanned from 1844-1883 and contained 77 gravemarkers that represented 93 individuals. In 1885, shortly after the cemetery's transfer, the existing grounds were divided into plots and sold as part of a new cemetery that added onto the location of the old burial grounds (Valentine 2008: 12-13). Under the LCA's purview, the new cemetery was named Liberty

Cemetery and became a private burial ground that exhibits characteristics of both rural and lawn-park cemetery types as described by Mytum (2004: 16) and Baugher and Veit (2014: 12). Like a lawn-park cemetery, the new Liberty Cemetery lays out graves in plots, has a pastoral and park-like appearance, aligns with the temporal range of 1855-1920s, and ownership is private (Mytum 2004: 16). Monuments in Liberty are much larger than those typical to lawn-park cemeteries, however, and align more closely with the older rural cemetery style that was most common between 1831-1870s (Mytum 2004: 16). Also in line with rural cemetery design is Liberty's use of cast iron fencing (Baugher and Veit 2014: 12). However, Liberty Cemetery lacks freestanding sculpture, benches, and mausoleums typical to the rural style that aid in creating a picturesque space for both the living and the dead (Baugher and Veit 2014: 12). In classifying the new Liberty Cemetery, it appears to be a cross between rural and lawn-park cemetery types and may even be in transition between the two. Since its transfer to the LCA, Liberty Cemetery has remained active and continued expanding into the twenty-first century (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013a: 1). Today, the new Liberty Cemetery contains over 1,500 graves; the current extent of the grounds is depicted in Figure 1.2. The cemetery's northernmost section contains the oldest graves that correspond to the original cemetery, and intermixed in that section are also graves from the newer Liberty Cemetery.

Though no fences delineate the two cemeteries and locals believe all burials within the grounds correspond to Liberty Cemetery, the older cemetery's founding, transfer to the LCA and subsequent transformation has resulted in the existence of two distinct cemeteries— separated by their ownership, style, and temporal ranges of activity (1844-1883 and 1885-present) explicit in historic documentation—at a single site at Liberty Corners in Trevor, Wisconsin. These two

Figure 1.2 An aerial view of Liberty Cemetery today. Liberty Corners is also visible as the intersection in the top left corner. Sourced from Kenosha County Interactive Mapping, accessed October 2021.

cemeteries are the focus of the study and will be comparatively analyzed to animate and reconstruct life of those living in historic Salem over a century ago. As the newer Liberty Cemetery is significantly larger than the community burial ground that preceded it—which contained only 77 gravemarkers compared to the newer cemetery's 1,500—it was necessary to reduce the newer cemetery's sample size so it was similar to that of the older grounds in order to facilitate comparison. With that, the newer Liberty Cemetery's temporal range was capped at 1924 to parallel the 39-year length of the older burial grounds and decrease its sample size from 1,500 to 185 gravemarkers that represented 234 individuals. Data collection was also restricted to the northernmost section of the cemetery for several reasons. First, it was conducive to reducing the newer Liberty Cemetery's sample size. Second, it was the oldest part of the grounds and therefore contained all graves from the old cemetery. Third, when the LCA added onto the existing grounds, they placed new burials in physical gaps left by the more disorganized layout of the old cemetery. Temporally, the first new cemetery markers added to these gaps in the

grounds naturally fell into the 1885-1924 focus of this study; in fact, the majority of markers within these temporal bounds were located in the northernmost part of the cemetery. Last, this northernmost section was the only area within the grounds where markers from both the older and newer cemeteries were intermixed.

Because reference to two cemeteries in the same location can complicate clarity and because the older of the two has no documented name, the two cemeteries at the center of this study will be differentiated by their temporal distinctions and subsequently referred to as either the Old and New Cemeteries or dually as the cemeteries at Liberty Corners. The New Cemetery may also be referred to as Liberty Cemetery, but these labels only apply to the cemetery as it existed under the LCA from 1885-present and do not include the Old Cemetery pre-1883.

Separately, it must also be noted that while the cemeteries at Liberty Corners were originally situated within the settlement town of Salem, developing hamlets and town mergers through the years have shifted village lines and redesignated their current location as within the hamlet of Trevor in the Village of Salem Lakes. In the mid-nineteenth century, the town of Salem included the hamlets of Wilmot and Liberty. Eventually the Camp Lake and Trevor hamlets were created within Salem's boundaries, and Liberty was removed. Salem Township was therefore comprised of Salem, Trevor, Wilmot, and Camp Lake until very recently when the township merged with the neighboring town of Silver Lake to create the Village of Salem Lakes. As the new hamlets created in Salem occurred within the town's existing boundaries, historical data utilized in this project for cemetery comparison may include information relating to any and all of the towns and hamlets listed above where relevant. Their histories have been intertwined since their beginning.

Between the Old and New Cemeteries, substantially more historic documentation is available for the New Cemetery than the Old one, and this constitutes an interesting factor for comparison since the archaeological data available (gravemarkers) is equivalent for both cemeteries. For the Old Cemetery, more documentation exists for county settlement and the early settlement and development of Salem with regard to schools, religious associations, commerce, and individual people. Deeds are the only source specific to the Old Cemetery. Conversely, documentation for the New Cemetery includes information on Salem, its development, specific townspeople, commerce, schools, religious associations, societies and groups, and recreation. Among the primary sources specific to the New Cemetery are deeds, the LCA constitution, a ledger from the LCA's cemetery helpers group, and survey maps of the cemetery grounds.

In sum, the Old Cemetery was active at Liberty Corners from 1844-1883 and was under Congregationalist Church supervision in some capacity from 1849-1883 when the cemetery was transferred to the Liberty Cemetery Association. A total of 77 gravemarkers were present in the Old Cemetery, and they represented 93 individuals. The Old Cemetery transitioned from a nonsectarian community burial ground to a private cemetery that resembled both rural and lawn-park styles in 1884. This New Cemetery, with its temporal range capped at 1924 for the purposes of this study, spanned from 1885-1924 and contained 185 gravemarkers that represented 234 individuals. Though the original cemetery was founded at Liberty in the town of Salem, today it technically resides in the hamlet of Trevor within the Village of Salem Lakes. The two cemeteries at Liberty Corners have much in common, but a great deal also separates them; as such, they will be comparatively analyzed to assess life in historic Salem and differences in memorialization.

*Research Problem*

The research focus of this investigation is straightforward. Clearly the two cemeteries at Liberty Corners are differentiated temporally, but this study endeavors to determine if other elements, apart from temporal, distinguish the Old Cemetery from the New. Particular focus will be placed on gravemarker material, form, and iconography. These dimensions were selected because each can inform on different factors that may underlie changes between the two cemeteries. Differences in material type may provide insight into the source population's economic standing or trade, while marker form could connect to religious or familial group affiliations. Iconography may reflect worldview, affiliation, and status. By examining these three dimensions and determining whether or not they changed in the cemeteries through time, we can subsequently make inferences about the cultural processes that may be behind them. Consequently, this study aims to illuminate understanding of the source population and reconstruct facets of life for historic Salem townspeople.

Conducting this study also provides insight into frontier and post-settlement life in Wisconsin by focusing on the town's development and changing source population through time. This project essentially offers a closer look at early American settlement and development. Further, this project builds on previous work done by local history enthusiasts, historians, and an archaeologist, and it integrates these works with additional data to present a more cohesive narrative of the town and townspeople's history as understood from historical and archaeological evidence.

*Mortuary Studies*

Mortuary studies are a valuable avenue of study that have the capacity to provide insights into humanity's shared past (Baugher and Veit 2014: 1). These analyses can be justifiably

applied to the recent past of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries in Europe and North America as well as older periods, like the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries (Williams 2011). Temporally, these ranges encompass the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and substantiate the application of mortuary analysis to this investigation.

As one form of mortuary studies, cemetery analyses can be particularly informative. Farley (2011: 2) attests to the value of cemetery studies by noting that "cemeteries embody both the spiritual and biological qualities of an occupant's life and the circumstances of his death. The traditions involved in moving the dead from a process of dying to a physical state where their remains are ritually reintroduced into the natural world, provide anthropologists with knowledge of the material and social values of the larger society." Similarly, Nassaney (2014: xvii) states that grief and death are universal human experiences that can be subjected to analysis in their "material manifestations" as gravemarkers and mortuary architecture. Further, cemetery analyses have potential to provide insight to past lifeways and experiences (Nassaney 2014: xvii), and assessing gravemarker variability can shed light on "cultural change and continuity" within a population (Nassaney 2014: xv). Gravemarkers are, quite literally, physical manifestations of changes in memorialization and expressions of death through time (Emery 2013).

Data utilized in cemetery studies can stem from several sources, but this project will primarily utilize historic documentation and archaeological evidence in the form of gravemarkers. Historical documentation is more explicit than archaeological data in its discussion of past peoples' economic standing, group affiliations, and ideological alignments, but historical documentation is neither complete nor the only line of evidence to be considered. Gravemarkers are the only form of archaeological evidence considered in this thesis, and they are regarded as the "ultimate historical artifact" because they are equal parts artifact and

document, and while most artifacts are made and discarded when they fall out of use, gravestones were made with permanency in mind and the intent to "convey information to future generations" (Baugher and Veit 2014: 2). Using historic documentation and archaeological evidence in tandem provides a more holistic understanding of those interred in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners and trends and changes that accompany their burials.

The foci of this investigation—group affiliations, ideological beliefs and views, and economic status—are areas cemetery studies have the capacity to inform on. Boulware (2008) notes that gravemarker form can indicate affiliation with a religious identity or group. In one of the cemeteries she investigated, for instance, markers with large cross sculptures on top of pedestal and obelisk forms represented a religious affiliation to the local Catholic church (Boulware 2008: 60). To prove this point further, Boulware notes that another cemetery in town with similar temporal bounds that shared "historical regional development" had virtually no religious sculpture or motifs on markers (Boulware 2008: 61). Furthermore, obelisk forms are a "clear indicator of the loosening of the church's influence over funerary practice" because they have pagan origins (Ford 2013: 10). If this applies to the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, we would expect to see more obelisk forms present in the New Cemetery than the Old since the Old Cemetery was operated under the church's supervision: church affiliations were stronger for the Old Cemetery's population than the New. In addition to religious ties, familial affiliations can also be assessed. One conclusion Ames (1981) drew was that division of the burial ground into family plots indicates an emphasis on family association. Additionally, Ames also notes that gravemarkers were used to represent families, and these markers were large, contributed to verticality in the cemetery, and were representative of the family unit (Ames 1981: 653). In

Liberty, the presence of a shared family marker may indicate the importance of familial affiliation to the source population.

Furthermore, gravemarker iconography can indicate ideological leanings that relate to individuals' affiliations, status, and worldview. Nassaney (2014: xvi) states that "mortuary ritual and material expressions are always mediated by ideology, which must be understood contextually to make sense of markers and the meanings of their epitaphs." Also speaking to the importance of marker iconography, Boulware notes that it is particularly significant because these symbols are what individuals chose to convey to the world in the "relatively limited space" available on their markers (Boulware 2008: 53). These were the messages they chose to express indefinitely. With regard to status, Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971) assert that an individual's standing is directly related to the amount of energy invested in their burial and commemoration. In this thesis, the number of motifs present on a marker will serve as a measure of the energy expended in an individual's commemoration; markers with many motifs could represent higher status individuals.

In parallel with inferences that can be made from marker form, religious and group affiliations can also be inferred form iconography. Symbols like crosses, crucifixes, bibles, lambs, and hands in prayer all represent ties to Catholicism (Mytum 2004: 139), and Boulware noted that the community assessed in her 2008 study conveyed their Catholic identity through symbolism and iconography on their gravemarkers (Boulware 2008: 58). If the Old Cemetery had stronger ties to the Congregationalist Church at Liberty Corners, we might expect to see more religious affiliations expressed on those gravemarkers than ones from the New Cemetery. Group affiliations can also be reflected on gravemarkers. Mytum notes that "some identities are very conscious and deliberately selected, to set the individual apart as a member of some group"

(2004: 137). This notion applies to fraternal motifs like the compass and chain that represent the Free Masons and Odd Fellows groups, which if present on gravemarkers in Liberty, would represent an individual's ties to that organization.

Gravemarker motifs can also "reflect ideas about the world, death, and religion" (Barber 1994: 223). In terms of religion, specifically, motifs may represent broad religious connections, an afterlife, worship of a deity, or reflect views associated with a particular religion (Nassaney 2014: xv; Baugher and Veit: 2014: 2). Deetz and Dethlefsen's (1966) study specifically used trends in motifs—from death's heads to cherubs to urns and willows—on Massachusetts gravemarkers to infer cultural shifts that represented changes in the source population's worldview. Death's heads were a graphic representation of physical remains after death, and they linked to Puritanism and the finality of death. Cherubs were more optimistic as they represented an afterlife and ascent to God, and willows and urns symbolized more depersonalized memorials (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966). Understanding iconographic trends on gravemarkers allowed the scholars to infer when Puritan values fell from prominence, and overall, the landmark study demonstrated that gravemarkers change with culture change. Moreover, Meyers and Schultz's study in 2016 utilized a number of gravemarker attributes, including iconography, as measures to determine how ten Floridian cemeteries change over time (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 30). Overall, they note that assessing these attributes provided insight into the source population's lives and worldviews as "each grave marker reflects an individual life" which contributes "to an overall pattern that mirrors societal mores and beliefs," (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 29), and iconography specifically "individualizes the grave marker to reflect important aspects of the decedent's life," (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 31). Subsequently, utilizing motifs to make ideological inferences for the source population is therefore reasonably supported.

Cemetery studies can also assess economic status of the source population. Emery (2013) states that money "shapes the way you live [and] it also can determine the manner of your death." Mallios and Caterino's (2011) study of Californian cemeteries examined social and economic factors that influenced gravemarker form and material in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The investigation concluded that changes in form and material were generally gradual, but steep variations corresponded to periods of economic prosperity and decline. The researchers state: "Whereas periods of economic growth correspond with elevated granite frequencies, economic decline is evinced in higher quantities of marble, concrete, and metal markers. Simply put, cheaper grave markers—marble, concrete, and metal—become more prevalent during times of economic hardship," (Mallios and Caterino 2011: 449). Metal markers, for example, were inexpensive and could be mass produced, and their increased popularity in the 1930s coincided with the Great Depression. Sears, Roebuck and Co. catalog prices from 1916 show that marble markers cost $33.69 on average, while granite cost $184.59 (Mallios and Caterino 2011: 447). In the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, marker material could therefore inform on the economic conditions the source population experienced.

Gravestone material can also indicate whether the resources used were local or imported (Baugher and Veit 2014: 2). Imported materials, larger monuments, or makers with more detailed decoration would have presumably been more expensive. In the case of the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, the type of material used for gravemarkers is particularly informative. Limestone was a locally available resource present in nearby Racine and Milwaukee Counties. The lime quarry at Trimborn Farm in the Milwaukee suburb of modern-day Greendale was active from 1847-1899 (Milwaukee County Historical Society, accessed October 18, 2021), and the Voree Quarry in Burlington began operating in 1845 and produced a multicolored "sunset"

limestone (Burlington Historical Society, personal correspondence 2021). Limestone was the most abundant stone type quarried in Wisconsin (Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed October 7, 2021). Granite and marble, however, were not as easily accessed. Granite was primarily produced in the central and northern Wisconsin areas of Montello, Berlin, Utley, Marquette, Red Granite, Waupaca, Wausau, and Amberg (Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed October 7, 2021). The quarries in Amberg specifically produced red and gray granite, and the Pike River Granite Company that formed in 1896 in Marinette County operated a plant dedicated to gravestone manufacture (Amberg Historical Society 2011). Similarly, marble quarries were primarily located in the northernmost counties in the state; these include Ashland, Bayfield, Florence, Oneida, Polk, and Wood Counties (Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey 2020). The closest source of marble to residents in historic Salem appears to have been a quarry in Richland County on the western side of the state that began operating in 1853 (Hunt 1853). Customized metal markers were also present in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, and maker's marks indicate they were likely special ordered.

*Other Cemetery Comparison Studies*

Historic cemetery studies are not uncommon, however this specific project is unique in that it focuses on two distinct cemeteries compounded within a single location. Comparison of these two cemeteries therefore provides an opportunity to assess changes in the source population and town development through time. It appears that historic cemetery comparisons that utilize historic documents and archaeological data from gravemarkers, however, are a relatively new endeavor. The most common sources found during this investigation were twenty-first century theses. In contrast to the study at hand, these investigations are situated within a more bioarchaeological frame of analysis that still contrasts this project in terms of the

archaeological evidence used for analysis (e.g. human remains, coffins, and coffin hardware vs. gravemarkers).

Strange (2017) and Bennike, Lewis, Schutkowski, and Valentin (2005) focused their historic cemetery comparisons on subadult populations. Strange's osteological analysis compared individuals excavated from Saints Peter and Paul Parish with those from the Milwaukee County Poor Farm Cemetery and specifically focused analysis on indicators of developmental stress and assessing variation between the groups. The two cemeteries under investigation were situated in two separate locations, served distinctly different populations, and were active around roughly the same time between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (Strange 2017). The temporal range of analysis in Strange's investigation parallels this project, but other characteristics of the cemetery are dissimilar. The investigation undertaken by Bennike et al (2005) compared two medieval, subadult populations excavated from rural cemeteries in Denmark to assess how stress indicators relate to age patterns among the two groups in an attempt to understand how adolescents fit into the osteological paradox. Here, the biggest similarity to the focus of this project is the broad comparison of data from two distinct, rural cemeteries.

Another study conducted by Davidson and Mainfort (2008) compared two historic Euro-American cemeteries in Arkansas with intent to understand social dynamics of the rural nineteenth century communities they represented. The cemeteries at the center of this investigation were geographically very close at only half a mile apart, and the belowground study used human remains, coffin hardware, grave goods, and other archaeological data in its analysis (Davidson and Mainfort 2008: 415-416). When present, the authors also utilized commercial gravestones to gather more information on those buried in the cemeteries. (Davidson

and Mainfort 2008: 425-426). Broadly, the authors determined that despite the close proximity of the two cemeteries and assumption that conclusions drawn would indicate their similarity, they found that the cemeteries were incredibly different from one another, and they cautioned against making assumptions about cemetery similarity based off of proximity alone (Davidson and Mainfort 2008). For Liberty Corners, this could therefore support the notion of comparing the two distinct cemeteries despite their proximity; they may be different from one another, and their similarity should not be assumed.

Comparisons have also been conducted between historic African American cemeteries. Both Ward (2005) and Thompson (2009) focused their works on examining health of the respective populations they assessed. Ward utilized stable isotope analyses to reconstruct diet as a way of demonstrating residential stability, using cemeteries in Tennessee and Arkansas. The cemeteries in Thompson's study were also located in Tennessee and Arkansas, and the investigation sought to determine the overall health of the interred in one cemetery and compare it to the other. Thompson also corroborated the initial age and sex identifications made in the field during excavation. Where Ward's data was primarily osteological, Thompson utilized osteological, artifactual, and historical data to characterize the cemetery samples; Thompson also used gravemarker analysis when markers were present.

Boulware's (2008) thesis analyzed two historic cemeteries as cultural landscapes in St. Paul, Oregon to understand the source community, nineteenth century cemetery trends, cultural patterns and factors that may have influenced them, reasons why individuals chose to be buried in one cemetery over the other, and erosion of the cemetery landscapes. In parallel to this thesis, the cemeteries in her study were separated temporally as one was established in 1839 and the other in 1874, and both gravemarker data and historic documentation provided evidence for the

investigation. Also in line with this project, Boulware's gravemarker analysis examined marker form and iconography. Marker height and spatial arrangement within the cemetery were also assessed.

While the aforementioned studies draw comparisons between two cemeteries, in each case the cemeteries in question are in separate locations. In particular, this point contrasts the current study being undertaken at Liberty as the burial grounds being compared there are distinct cemeteries in the same location but separated by time, supervising organization, style, and perhaps source population. Further, osteological analysis and bioarchaeological evidence will not be utilized in this thesis as they were in the previously mentioned projects. These points speak to the particularity of the study at Liberty Corners.

*Geographic Relevance of this Study at Liberty Corners*

Predominantly, cemetery studies focus geographically in New England. In their 2016 report, Meyers and Schultz reference studies across Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Maine (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 29). Similarly, Boulware's 2008 thesis cites cemetery analyses in Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire (Boulware 2008: 11-12). Perhaps the most well-known study is Deetz and Dethlefsen's "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," (1966), which inferred cultural shifts in the Massachusetts source population from trends in gravemarker iconography. A separate study in New York compared skeletal and documentary evidence for a cemetery population affiliated with an almshouse that was unearthed during county parks works in 1984 (Sirianni and Higgins 1995), and the project compared skeletal and documentary evidence for completeness and accuracy with regard to health and mortality of the interred.

Furthermore, a study of Greenlawn Cemetery in Massachusetts examined how the rural cemetery movement, immigration, and war have affected the cemetery landscape (Ford 2013).

Outside New England, fewer studies have centered in the southeastern United States and west coast. Studies in the south and central United States have occurred in Arkansas, Tennessee, North and South Carolina, Alabama, Georgia, and Florida (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 29). Meyers and Schultz's 2016 study in Florida focused on gravemarker physicality and how marker attributes in 10 cemeteries have changed over time (Meyers and Schultz 2016). In Oregon, Boulware (2008) conducted a cultural landscape analysis of two historic cemeteries that sought to understand the source population by examining cultural patterns present in the cemeteries and factors that may have influenced them. Mallios and Caterino's (2011) work studied social and economic factors that influenced gravemarker physicality in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A study in New Orleans examined a population interred in the Charity Hospital Cemetery that were disturbed during a construction project; researchers examined the sample for evidence of surgery, autopsy, and surgical experimentation (Owsley 1995).

Comparatively, fewer cemetery analyses have been conducted in the Midwest. Price's (1966) work in southern Illinois assessed 214 cemeteries from the perspective of a cultural geographer. He tied cemetery use to past human activity and used this to categorize cemeteries by types that correlated their size and location in town to an area's settlement and development (Price 1966). Separately, a report from Missouri recounted four burials found outside the primary burial area used by the Lindsay family (Westcott 1996). One cemetery study in Walworth County—a neighboring county of Kenosha in southeastern Wisconsin—conducted in 2011 sought to understand the social organization of the cemetery landscape by assessing floral

plantings as well as gravemarker physicality (Farley 2011). Overall, cemetery analyses are lacking in the Midwest, and this speaks to the importance and relevance of this thesis.

*Utilizing a Historic Archaeological Approach*

As this study utilizes both historical and archaeological evidence, it is firmly rooted within historical archaeology. In order to understand how both lines of evidence will be employed in this project, it is important to briefly discuss historical archaeology's contentious beginnings and the field's development into the twenty-first century.

Historical archaeology is, in short, "the archaeological study of people documented in recent history," and it includes colonial and early modern times where textual evidence is available (Orser 2004: 5). Before historical archaeology came to the fore, history and archaeology as disciplines were separated by the advent of writing. As historical archaeology focuses study on the recent past, both written records and artifactual data are present, and disputes occurred at the discipline's origin as scholars struggled to reach a consensus about how historic archaeological research should be conducted and which field it should most closely align with. Cleland and Fitting (1978) argued that historical archaeology should be entirely separate from both history and archaeology, but its research should be undertaken by historians rather than archaeologists. Hume (1978) agreed and added that context critical for interpretation of data could only be provided by historians; archaeological data merely supplemented historical sources. In opposition to the stance taken by Cleland, Fitting, and Hume, Schuyler (1978) argued that historic archaeology aligns more with anthropology than history. Deagan (1988), however, notes that historic archaeology is neither solely history nor anthropology but a combination of the two.

Instead of adhering to the view that either history or anthropology should supplement the other, today it is understood that historical archaeology is multidisciplinary and draws not only on historical and archaeological data but can also incorporate botany, geography, sociology, geology, or zoology (Orser 2004: 10). While it can incorporate other disciplines, Orser (2004: 19) notes that historic archaeology "shares a special relationship with the formal disciplines of anthropology and history," and he also states the importance of researchers having "their feet planted firmly in both history and anthropology." Proficiency in archival research, documentation analysis, and interpretation are also crucial, as is the ability to relate that information to archaeological evidence (Orser 2004: 19).

Furthermore, Deagan (1988) noted that historical archaeology's unique utilization of two independent lines of evidence has the potential to answer a multitude of research questions, especially if new methods for study are adopted. Mzorzowski (1988: 18) offered applying seriation as a method of historic archaeological analysis and noted its potential to advance the discipline. Also suggested by Mzorowski (1988: 22) was utilizing a comparative approach between contexts with similar material conditions, as may be the case with the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, that can allow historical archaeologists to "gain a better understanding of how complex societies operate and the conditions under which change emerges." As one goal of this study is to assess changing conditions in the cemeteries through time and understand how those relate to life in Salem, seriation and comparative analysis are methods supported for this investigation.

Today, Orser notes the three main goals of historical archaeology are "to provide information useful for historic preservation and site interpretation; to document the lifeways of past peoples; and to study the complex process of modernization and all the cultural and social

changes, adaptations, and non-adaptations that accompanied it," (2017: 23). Both the second and third goals apply to the current investigation at Liberty Corners. Speaking directly to the relevance of this study, Orser states

> "Historical archaeology is important not only because it is a means of studying the past, but because it has the potential to teach us about our world. We may not be able to relate to the circumstances faced by people who lived many centuries ago, except on the most basic, human level, but we can certainly achieve an understanding of the long-forgotten and often-compelling histories of once-anonymous folk. We are the descendants of these men and women" (Orser 2004: 5).

Assessing populations interred at Liberty Corners illuminates the lives of these past peoples and reanimates the "once-anonymous" histories of the rural farming community (Orser 2004: 5). Historic archaeology "reflects the complex roots of our own increasingly diverse society" (Orser 2004: 6); applying it to Salem may shed light on the essence of settlement and development in rural Wisconsin and has potential to be applied to other Euro-American pioneer groups.

# CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF THE CEMETERIES AT LIBERTY CORNERS AND COMMUNITY THEY RESIDE IN

A historical discussion of the cemeteries at Liberty Corners would be incomplete without assessing the development of the county and town in which they reside. As such, following a brief discussion of previous investigations at the site, the settlement and development of Kenosha County will be examined before shifting focus to the town of Salem and the cemeteries at the heart of this project in order to more richly contextualize this investigation.

## *Previous Investigations*

A smaller scale version of this project was conducted in the spring of 2020 as part of graduate coursework at the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee under the guidance of Dr. Patricia Richards. The scope of that investigation is similar to this one in that it utilized historic documentation and archaeological evidence to inquire about the economic standing, religious and familial affiliations, and worldview of the individuals interred in Liberty. In gathering and assessing archaeological data from the gravestones, frequency seriation and ideological inference were employed as methods of investigation, as they are with this current study. Apart from the difference in scale, the previous and current investigations are also separated by the added comparison of the two cemeteries within Liberty's grounds. On the whole, that earlier work was a catalyst for this current project.

Preliminary work was also done in the fall of 2020 by Christina Zweig, a project manager at University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee Cultural Resource Management (UWM-CRM). Zweig gathered background information on a potential potter's field at Liberty Cemetery and conducted a visual inspection, but apart from this preliminary work, Zweig notes that "no investigations have really taken place" by UWM-CRM (Christina Zweig, personal correspondence 2021).

Based on her initial background research, Zweig also submitted a site description of the cemetery to the Wisconsin Historical Society.

The individual work of local historian Linda Valentine must also be noted. Affiliated with the Western Kenosha County History group, Salem Mounds Cemetery Association, and Liberty Cemetery Association, Valentine's work was primarily historical and genealogical in nature. From the groups she was affiliated with and other members in the community, Valentine digitized and compiled primary and secondary sources into a series she titled "Snippets of Salem." Valentine's work has been archived by the Kenosha County Library System, Kenosha History Center, and Western Kenosha County History group; without her contributions it would have been impossible to understand Liberty Cemetery, Salem, and the surrounding towns in such vivid historical detail. Her work included the digitization and compilation of historic indentures, newspaper articles, biographies, photographs, maps, deeds, mortgages, detailed accounts of local buildings and establishments, the original constitution of the Liberty Cemetery Association circa 1884, minutes from Cemetery Association and Cemetery Helpers group meetings, burial permits, obituaries, and much more. Documents she compiled ranged temporally from settlement of the area in the mid-nineteenth century to the twenty-first century.

*Settlement and Development of Kenosha County, Wisconsin Through 1924*

Kenosha County, Wisconsin has a long history that begins with the Native Americans who inhabited the land thousands of years before Euro-Americans settled in the area. Though these tribes, namely the Potawatomi, Ho-Chunk, and Ojibwe, are not the focus of this historical retelling of the early days of Kenosha County, it is nevertheless crucial to acknowledge their roots and presence in the area.

The predominant Native American settlements in Kenosha County, according to Kenosha Museum System director Dan Joyce, were Potawatomi. Joyce notes, "there were three village sites that were within 3 square miles, and the main village in Kenosha was one at the Pike River not far from the harbor," (Flores 2018). He added that the Pike River village in particular was an extensive one that "stretched about a half mile, with 200-300 people living in it;" in terms of resources, the area had such an abundant supply of fish that other tribes along Lake Michigan and even in Chicago would rendezvous at Pike River to "gather a supply of fish for the winter" (Flores 2018). It was also indicated that the Potawatomi lived in their Pike River settlement during the warmer summer months and moved inland in winter. In addition to Potawatomi existence in Kenosha, Ojibwe, Ho-chunk, and Menominee tribes may have also been present along the lake.

In 1833, the Potawatomi ceded their land with the Treaty of Chicago, which allotted them five years to remove to Kansas and Oklahoma. By 1838, the last of the Potawatomi making that move had officially relocated west to the reservations. Some that chose not to move to the reservations migrated to northern Wisconsin and formed the Forest County Potawatomi, while others went even farther to settle in Canada, often residing with Ojibwe that were already there (Flores 2018).

Euro-Americans began settling in modern-day Kenosha in the mid-1830s, which temporally overlapped with Potawatomi inhabitance and activity at Pike River. Though contact between these two groups did not appear to have an impact on this study, their cohabitation and influence on place-names is well-documented and worth noting. For instance, the first town in modern-day Kenosha was named Pike after Pike Creek; it was eventually changed to "Kenosha," which is a Native American word for "pike" (Western Historical Company 1879: 333).

Wisconsin became a territory on July 4, 1836 (Harrison and Warner 1874: 47), but the history of Euro-American settlement and development of Kenosha County precedes that date by about a year. Following the end of the Black Hawk War and subsequent removal of Native Americans from the territory, Euro-Americans took a keen interest in the area and enthusiasm for settlement in the Midwest was renewed (Simmons 1876: 1). The first settlers to the county were Jacob Montgomery and the Felch family, who arrived in modern-day Somers in 1835 (Simmons 1876: 2). In the same year, another man by the name of Horace Woodbridge settled in what is known today as Pleasant Prairie (Simmons 1876: 3).

Most notably, however, a group of men from New York relocated with their families to Pike Creek in 1835 after sending scouts to determine if the area's resources and potential as a port between Milwaukee and Chicago were ideal for settlement. The man in charge of this expedition was John Bullen. When this group arrived, they created the first town settled in modern-day Kenosha County in 1836 and named it Pike after the Pike Creek near the Potawatomi's Pike River village. The town's name was changed to Southport one year later in 1837 and again in 1850 to Kenosha (Western Historical Company 1879: 333).

After arriving in Kenosha, settlers constructed log houses from local timber (Cropley 1948:20), and while natural resources were plentiful, the first winter settlers experienced in 1835 was a harsh one. The weather was bitter and food was limited; "settlers were almost entirely dependent on wildlife for meat of any kind," and by the spring of 1836, provisions like flour, salt, pork, cornmeal, and potatoes were also scarce (Cropley 1948: 22-23). Fish, however, were plentiful (Cropley 1948: 23).

Early years of Euro-American settlement in Kenosha were also marked by encounters with Native Americans, especially in the fall of 1835 (Western Historical Company 1879: 494).

These encounters were naturally quite common along Pike Creek and Pike River (Western Historical Company 1879: 494-495) where Potawatomi village life bordered that of Euro-American settlers. According to accounts from the New York group that migrated to Kenosha, the Potawatomi village at Pike River was so extensive it was described as an "Indian metropolis," (Western Historical Company 1879: 496). The account continues by chronicling the vestiges of Native American burials and stone tool manufacture that Euro-Americans encountered during their settling of Kenosha (Western Historical Company 1879: 496). Another report specifically notes that September of 1835 was "marked by a visit of Indians. Three hundred or more, passing in canoes, were weather-bound on [Washington] island for three weeks," (Simmons 1876: 7). A separate encounter occurred two years later when one settler recalled three or four-hundred Native Americans passed along a trail on their way to Chicago. He noted that the group traveled with horses and women with children on their backs; the group camped in a grove at night, and a "fleet of canoes passed along the lake" accompanied their journey (Simmons 1876: 7). This settler added that, in general, Native Americans occasionally visited the county to fish, hunt deer, and follow the streams for muskrats in the early years of Euro-American settlement, and he specifically added that their continued presence in the area was never a "terror to the settlers," (Simmons 2876: 7). By all accounts, it appears that Native peoples and Euro-American settlers cohabitated peacefully until the majority of the Native Americans were removed west to reservations in 1838.

Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, modern-day Kenosha and Racine counties were grouped together as the single entity of Racine County. By 1850, Kenosha County was formally organized and as such separated from Racine to create two distinct counties in southeastern Wisconsin (Western Historical Company 1879: 506). After differentiation from Racine County

occurred, much of the information gleaned from Kenosha County's history and development was derived from United States (US) censuses as they provide quantitative data that can be used to gauge population growth, occupations, presence of schools and churches, and products of manufacturing and agriculture. As such, discussion of this history will proceed decennially, in line with the census timeline, and enriched with primary and secondary historical accounts where possible.

In the early days of its statehood, Wisconsin was described as a place with a temperate climate, fertile land, and flat prairies for crop planting and livestock rearing; it "derives its riches from four sources—agriculture, forests, mines, and fisheries," (Chapman 1855: 7). Kenosha, in particular, is "one of the oldest and smallest Counties in the State" comprised of "mostly prairie, under excellent cultivation, and is but a sample of what Wisconsin will be in its manhood, wealthy and prosperous (Chapman 1855: 78).

Fifteen years after the first settlers arrived in Kenosha, the 1850 census cited a total of 10,716 white inhabitants, 5,086 of which were male and 5,130 female, and 18 non-enslaved African Americans. Fourteen of these African Americans were male while four were female (United States Government 1850: 917). By 1854 the county's population rose by over 1,600 to 12,373 (Chapman 1855: 78) and increased ever so slightly again in 1855 to 12,397 (Chapman 1855: 113). By race and gender, 6,523 of the 1855 total were white males while 5,350 were white females, and 19 were non-enslaved black males while five were non-enslaved black females (Chapman 1855: 113). The city of Kenosha alone had a population of 3,897 (Chapman 1855: 117), leaving the remaining 8,500 included in the population count to live in the more rural county areas.

In terms of schools and churches, early Kenosha County had 59 public schools operating in 1850 with 65 teachers and 2,980 pupils as well as two academies with five teachers and 80 students enrolled (United States Government 1850: 927). Also documented was the number of illiterate adults, which totaled 205 (United States Government 1850: 929). Quite a few churches were also operational, and documentation of their existence aids in contextualizing religious beliefs among early settlers in the county. These religious institutions included three Baptist churches that accommodated roughly 680 worshippers, one Congregational church that accommodated 500, one Episcopal church that accommodated 300, five Methodist churches that accommodated 1,290, two Presbyterian churches that accommodated 230, and three Roman Catholic churches that accommodated 1,900. Interestingly, there were no strictly Christian churches present (United States Government 1850: 934).

Though figures are not present in the 1850 census that specifically breakdown industries in Kenosha County, the top occupations in the state may still provide some insight for the county. Farming was the leading occupation with 40,865 participants, followed by general laborers with 11,201, carpenters with 2,639, miners with 3,001, and black and white smiths with 1,407 (United States Government 1850: 929). Distinct figures were available for Kenosha County within the farming occupation  Within farming as the state's leading occupation, it should be noted that out of 31 counties listed on the 1850 census, Kenosha was ranked as the sixth largest producer of wheat, seventh largest producer of corn, fifth largest producer of oats, largest producer of wool, sixth largest producer of potatoes, sixth largest producer of barley, third largest producer of butter, largest producer of cheese, third largest producer of hay, and second largest producer of grass seed (United States Government 1850: 931-932). In terms of land devoted to agricultural pursuits, Kenosha utilized 50,987 improved acres and 79,862

unimproved within a total of just over 174,000 acres in the county (United States Government 1850: 930).

Commercially, Kenosha County was the second highest lake port for products and manufactures exported in 1854 at $1,710,237 worth of total exports (Chapman 1855: 25-26). The county's port only trailed Milwaukee whose exports totaled $5,875,000 (Chapman 1855: 4). Kenosha County's primary export by 1855 was wheat, estimated at over four million bushels, but agricultural focus was also shifting to incorporate wool production as a staple (Chapman 1855: 7-8).

On June 30th of 1850, The Agricultural Society of Kenosha County was formed in Bristol, WI, Salem's neighbor to the east. The society's elected officers hailed from Bristol, Brighton, Pleasant Prairie, Paris, Somers, and Wheatland—all towns that surround Salem where the cemeteries at the focus of this study are located. It was noted that "the association is in a prosperous condition, and affords the farmers, stock-breeders, horticulturalists, manufacturers, dealers, etc., of Kenosha County, the fullest opportunity for an exhibition of their productions and evidences of skill," (Western Historical Company 1879: 543). With society's proximity to Salem and the county's agricultural aptitude, it is quite likely that farmers in Salem were society participants. Largely, it seems apparent that role of agriculture was significant in the lives of early inhabitants of rural Kenosha County.

In terms of travel and transportation available in Kenosha County, railroads, plank roads, stages, and boats were all in operation. The rail line from Chicago to Milwaukee, which passed through Kenosha County, ran regularly (Chapman 1855: 22), and another railroad was being constructed in 1855 that would run through Kenosha and Walworth (Chapman 1855: 23). Additionally, the Lake Shore railroad passed near Lake Michigan, and another line was being

built between Kenosha and Janesville in 1855 (Chapman 1855: 78). A twenty-mile long plank road ran between Kenosha and Burlington in Racine County (Chapman 1855: 23), and stagecoaches ran "with more or less frequency through all the principal villages not reached by railroad," (Chapman 1855: 24). Furthermore, it was documented that boats frequently ran between the ports on Lake Michigan (Chapman 1855: 24), so it follows that the city of Kenosha's harbor was in near constant contact with outsiders. Ultimately these available forms of transportation may facilitate migration throughout the area and contact between the more urban and rural portions of the county.

Data available for a number of the following decades—including the 1860s and 1870s—is less comprehensive than that of the preceding decade likely because figures documented for the 1850s were used to encourage further Euro-American migration to Wisconsin. Nevertheless, the information available for these decades still informs on conditions of Kenosha County activity.

Population is one such figure that provides insight into Kenosha life in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1860, the population of Kenosha County totaled 13,900 of which 7,305 were white males, 6,567 were white females, 17 were non-enslaved black males, and 11 were non-enslaved black females (United States Government 1860: 527). By 1870 these figures decreased to 13,147 (Harrison and Warner 1875: 48). It seems possible the county's population decreased as a result of casualties during the Civil War.

Information on Kenosha County industries is lacking for the 1860s, however some data is available on the state level. As with 1850, perhaps acknowledging the top occupations in the state for men will provide insight for top professions in the narrower scope of Kenosha County. The 1860 US Census states that farmers (93,869), farm laborers (31,472), laborers (28,238),

servants (12,289), and teachers (3,949) comprise the most popular occupations in the state (United States Government 1860: 545). In comparison to those tallies from 1850, only farmers and laborers held onto top spots, and the specific addition of "farm laborers" appears to reinforce the state's predilection for agriculturalism. Separately, it is worth noting that the city of Kenosha also claimed two families involved in the business of wagon and carriage manufacture (Cropley 1948: 60).

In 1880, Kenosha County's growth was yet again noted in US census records. For instance, the population rose by a few hundred to 13,550 (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1890: 361), and agriculture persisted as the leading industry in the state of Wisconsin (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office). The census recorded a total of 417,455 working people in Wisconsin, of which 195,901 worked specifically in agriculture (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880: 712). After agriculture, the leading occupations in terms of the number of people employed were professional and personal services (97,494 employees), manufactures, mining, and mechanical industries (86,510 employees), and trade and transportation (37,550 employees) (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880: 713). In the city of Kenosha specifically, it has been documented elsewhere that the Underwood Barb Wire Company was a flourishing business (Cropley 1948: 61).

The 1890s and 1900s are two more decades marked by less comprehensive information, but population metrics remain readily available. In 1890, Kenosha's population grew from 13,550 to 15,581 (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1890: 361). County inhabitants were predominantly white (15,561), and the only other race present was black (20) (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 608). By

1900, Kenosha County's population increased again and totaled 21,707—about 6,000 more than the previous decade (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910b). Again, the county remained predominantly white with only 30 of its inhabitants being black (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 608).

By 1910, the county population saw an increase of almost 11,000, now totaling 32,929 inhabitants (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910b). Kenosha County remained predominantly white (32,888 of the total population), but for the first time since population counts were available, the county saw ever so slight diversification. Racial differentiation was placed between "negro" and "black," but even combined the two categories only totaled 44. One inhabitant was categorized as "Indian, Chinese, Japanese," and 16 were denoted as biracial (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 608). Overall, Kenosha County saw a marked increase in its total population between 1900 and 1910, and the rural population in particular saw an increase of 5-15% according to metrics offered county-by-county on a pattern-coded map of the state (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 572). That same map also noted that the rural population of Kenosha County had a population density between 18-45% (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 572).

In terms of industry, paper and wood pulp production was on flourishing in 1909 as a 400-million-dollar industry (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910a: 3). Wisconsin ranked fourth among 31 other states in 1904 and 1909 based on the value of the paper and wood pulp products produced in the state (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910a: 4). It also ranked fourth in terms of the average number of wage earners engaged in the industry in 1909 (United States Department of Commerce,

Bureau of the Census 1910a: 6), and there were 57 mills in operation for paper and wood pulp manufacture (United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census 1910a: 8). On the whole, the industry appeared to have significant engagement on the part of Wisconsinites in the early twentieth century. However, as Kenosha County did not align with any of the eight main lumber regions of Wisconsin (Chapman 1855: 8-9), it seems likely that these state figures are not representative of Kenoshans.

Where paper and wood pulp manufacture were not relevant, however, agriculture continued to thrive. The percentage of Kenosha County land area in farms was 90% (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 643), far above that of the state average at 59.6% (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 624). For comparison, neighboring Racine County to the north was 95-100% farmland (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 624). Furthermore, the average value of farmland per acre in Kenosha County was $50-75 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 624), so not only was the land dedicated to farming, it was also profitable enough in the products it produced to warrant higher land values. Farm size in Kenosha County averaged 114 acres, and all farm property was valued at $16,077,278 in 1909 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 643). A total of 1,423 farms were operating in Kenosha County in 1910 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 650).

Crops from Kenosha farms were valued at $1,771,711 for the year of 1910, and cereals including corn, oats, wheat, barley, rye, and buckwheat had the largest yield at 1,647,164 bushels (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 657). A total of 44,109 acres of Kenosha farmland were dedicated to the cultivation of cereal crops, and it is

worth noting that 22,030 of those acres were dedicated to corn and produced 817,533 bushels of it while 17,987 acres were dedicated to oat growth and produced 717,202 bushels (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 657). Another prominent crop was that of potatoes in which 207,188 bushels were produced on 1,922 acres dedicated to farming it. Orchard fruit, grapes, small fruit crops, nuts, and hay and forage plants were also produced by Kenosha County farms (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 657).

In addition to data available on agricultural land and products, figures are also available for livestock on Kenosha County farms in 1909. Poultry of all kinds were the most common animal on Kenosha farms with a total of 114,895 throughout the county, and their collective worth summed $67,280. While poultry were the most ubiquitous, cattle boasted the highest value at $837,555 (likely because of their utilization for both meat and dairy products) with a total of 25,512 animals in the county. Horses, swine, and sheep were also numerous, totaling 7,086, 14,377, and 12,113, respectively. Furthermore, the collective value of horses in the county amounted to $829,879, while swine were worth $104,826 and sheep $47,310 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 650). Total sales of products from these animals include $887,202 for dairy products (which includes over seven million gallons of milk, specifically) and $15,030 of wool, mohair, and goat hair. Over $373,000 were garnered from the sale of livestock, and the total value of animals slaughtered surpassed $54,000 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 650).

Discussion of the 1910s would not be complete without mention of Kenosha's involvement in the first world war. Kenosha County was recognized for providing men, manufactures, money, and crops to the war effort (Wisconsin News 1919: 1). This included

3,500 soldiers, of which 2,500 were from the city and 1,000 hailed from the rural county, and the two military units they comprised were described as bringing "honor and glory to themselves and their native city, and establish[ing] a reputation for gallantry," (Wisconsin News 1919: 1). Those that "were unable to volunteer for service" themselves instead volunteered "their dollars, their time, and the bounty of their fields and factories," (Wisconsin News 1919: 1). The county as a whole gave $10,140,300 in "Liberty Loans" to the war effort and signed up for an additional $3.5 million worth of bonds. Of the Kenosha County soldiers that left for war, 31 were killed in action, 73 were wounded in battle, and 76 died in service (Wisconsin News 1919: 1).

The final decade in the temporal range under investigation for this report is the 1920s, seeing as the range ends at 1924. As with some of the other decades previously discussed, data for the 1920s is not comprehensive. The key metric discussed here is that of population, which measured 51,284 for Kenosha County (United States Department of Commerce, Census Bureau 1940), an increase from the previous decade by 18,355 people.

*Salem, Wisconsin: From Settlement to 1924*

Sources available for the reconstructing of Salem, Wisconsin's history are substantial. They include a number of primary and secondary accounts of early life in the area with regard to settlement, religious institutions, schools, social organizations, and businesses in the area as well as biographical sketches and historic maps. Plat maps will be used to visually demonstrate Salem's development through the years. Quantitative data from US censuses will also support this data with population figures and supplementary information regarding the town's development where possible. In many instances, brief biographies of specific townspeople will be presented to enhance the historical reimagining of this nearly 200-year-old town.

The first recorded settlers to the Salem area were John Dodge, John Bullen, David Bullen, and Amos Gratton—all part of the New York group that were key figures who helped to found the Euro-American settlement at Kenosha city in 1835. John Bullen arrived at Salem in 1836 and was "active and influential in both town and country," (Western Historical Company 1879: 349). The following year John Dodge became "the first settler in Salem proper," (Salem Lakes, Wisconsin, accessed April 11, 2020), and the Paddock family arrived in 1838. Francis Paddock was a doctor, farmer, and pioneer born in New York that traveled west and settled in Wisconsin, bringing three generations of his family with him. His grandfather, David Paddock, fought in the revolutionary war and was known as "blind David" after an explosion during battle marred his vision (Francis Paddock, accessed April 11, 2020).

The town of Salem itself "first sprang into existence in the year 1844, through the intervention of Mr. A.W. Benham and family," (Western Historical Company 1879: 553). Benham first settled at Liberty Corners, the modern-day intersection of STH-83 and CTY-C in the hamlet of Trevor within the village of Salem Lakes, but shortly relocated down modern-day CTY-C to the present town of Wilmot where he claimed land (Western Historical Company 1879: 553). A relative of Benham built the first brick house in Wilmot in 1847, and in the same year the first store in Wilmot was opened by Messrs. A.W. Benton and John Marsh. The store unfortunately burned down five years later (Western Historical Company 1879: 553). In 1848, the first hotel in Wilmot was opened by Mr. Ephraim Wilcox, and it was a temperate establishment. The first birth and death in Wilmot were also recorded; the first birth was that of a son in the family of Joseph P. Cushman in the spring of 1849, and the first death was that of Mrs. Catherine Benham in 1848. Shortly after arriving in Wilmot, Mr. Benham dammed the Fox River and ran a mill off of it until 1864 (Western Historical Company 1879: 554).

In addition to A.W. Benham, a number of notable settlers began populating the Salem area during the 1840s. Lemuel Booth was a farmer and dairyman born in 1806 in New York. He moved west and settled in Salem Township in 1840. In his account of early life in the area, Booth said the land abounded with deer and wild game, and a few Native Americans "still lingered in the forest," (Valentine 2014b: 4). He maintained a farm of 240 acres and primarily generated dairy products, including "first-class" butter. Booth and his family were members of the Congregational Church of Salem (Valentine 2014b: 4), and they were also all interred within the cemeteries at Liberty Corners.

Mrs. C. G. Brown was born in New Hampshire, migrated to Illinois in 1842, and then settled in Salem in 1843 where she and her husband "lived on a farm near Liberty for 35 years," (Valentine 2014b: 4). Brown later moved to Wilmot after her husband was "killed on a railroad at Salem Station in 1867," (Valentine 2014b: 4).

R.S. Udell was born in Georgia in 1841 and settled in Salem with his parents in 1845. Though Udell was only a child at the time of his family's arrival, his parents were "esteemed as old and prominent settlers of Kenosha Co.," (Valentine 2014b: 5). As an adult, R.S. Udell was primarily a stock-dealer. He owned a farm 320 acres in size and sold it in 1874 to focus on dealing "livestock, grain, and all kinds of produce, which he ships to the Chicago market," (Valentine 2014b: 5). Udell was renowned for his extensive and successful dealings, so much so that he was noted as being "one who will not readily allow a rival to supersede him in his vocation," (Valentine 2014b: 5). Two of Udell's most remarkable deals involved his sale of two exceedingly famous racehorses in California, one of which was regarded as "the fastest trotter in the world," that sold for a combined total of $18,000 (Valentine 2014b: 5).

Born in 1811 in Massachusetts, Pardon Yaw came to Salem in 1843. He owned 300 acres valued at $12,000 and cultivated an orchard of 200 “well-selected” fruit trees (Valentine 2014b: 5). He married a schoolteacher named Melinda Elmer from Massachusetts, and “it is worthy of note here, that Mr. Yaw was one of a family of twenty children by one mother; twelve boys and eight girls. Three brothers died in the Union Army,” (Valentine 2014b: 5).

Captain John E. Tuttle moved to Salem with his family in 1846. He was a retired lake captain that commanded nine different steamboats and schooners on the Great Lakes, and he was also the “proprietor of the well-known summer resort of Kenosha Co., at Camp Lake” in Salem (Valentine 2014b: 5). Tuttle’s remarried after his first wife passed away; his second wife was Eliza Ann Orvis (Valentine 2014b: 5).

Though other settlers arrived in the Salem area during the 1840s, the last one discussed here will be Charles Orvis. Born in Vermont in 1816, Orvis settled in Wisconsin in 1845 before journeying to California to mine for gold in 1850. He had “good success” and returned to Salem in 1854. Orvis owned 112 acres valued at $3000 and married Bethiah Selleck in 1856 (Western Historical Company 1879: 734).

Though introduction to these settlers was brief, records discussed in later sections will also show that R.S. Udell, Pardon Yaw, and the Orvis family were all active with the cemeteries at Liberty Corners and the organization that oversaw them. Pardon Yaw, for instance, was a founding member of the Liberty Cemetery Association and also served as its first president (Valentine 2008).

In 1840, a school on Main Street in Wilmot was formed, and it was “the only graded school in the county” outside the city of Kenosha at the time of its founding (Western Historical

Company 1879: 555). No other schools were operating in the Salem area during these early years of settlement.

With regard to infrastructure, the late 1840s and early 1850s saw the implementation and use of plank roads that connected rural Kenosha County, including Salem, to the city. The first plank road in the area was built in 1848, predating the first railroad. The road ran east-west from the city out to the county, following a similar path as present-day STH-50. Taking advantage of the fact that horse drawn wagons could easily be slowed or stopped by muddy or snowy roads when transporting agricultural products to markets plank roads were constructed by for-profit companies that made travelers pay a toll to use it. For residents of Salem, these roads would have been used to haul harvests consisting primarily of wheat to the city's harbor on Lake Michigan. The second plank road through Salem was built in 1852 from Racine to Wilmot. Tolls on plank road charged "one cent per mile for single animal vehicles and an additional half cent per animal hauling a vehicle," (Valentine 2014c: 42). Despite state law requiring toll booths to be stationed at least 10 miles apart, the short stretch of this road through Salem had four booths posted on it. Travelers, however, "purposely detour[ed] off the roads to avoid paying" tolls, despite the risk of being fined $10 for being caught trying to avoid a toll (Valentine 2014c: 42). Because of toll avoidance, no chartered plank road company ever made back their original investment. Plank roads were phased out by the 1870s in favor of railroads (Valentine 2014: 42).

The population of Salem had reached 1,123 by 1850, and racially every townsperson was white. For comparison, the neighboring town of Bristol, which is similar to Salem in size and age, had a population of 1,125. Inhabitants of Bristol were also all white (United States Government 1850: 921). Though Kenosha County on the whole had eighteen non-enslaved

African Americans indicated on the 1850 census, none occupied rural Salem or its neighboring town (United States Government 1850: 917). The reason for this is unknown.

In 1850, the town of Salem was described as "healthy, prosperous, and easily accessible to Milwaukee and Chicago," and for many of its early years it was also a temperance village (Valentine 2014b: 6). During this decade, the Kenosha and Rockford (K&R) Railroad was also constructed, and the Town of Salem had a depot on the line called Salem Station (Valentine 2014b: 7). Until the station was constructed, the "only places of any importance" in town were Brass Ball Corners (the present-day intersection of STH-83 and STH-50) and Liberty Corners; however the "building of the railroad, and the establishment of a depot at Salem, built up that village at the expense of its rivals," (Valentine 2014b: 7).

Among notable settlers to Salem during the 1850s was Henry Watson. Born in New Jersey, Watson came to Salem in 1850 and left for California soon after. He returned in 1872, and married Julia A. Brown of Salem the next year. Watson served as Pathmaster and maintained public paths and roads as part of that position, as did Andrew H. Smith, another settler that came to Salem in 1859. In addition to being Pathmaster, Smith also owned a farm with his brother and served as a school director for 10 years (Valentine 2014b: 5).

Alexander Bailey was a settler involved in town and state-level affairs. New York born, Bailey came to Wisconsin in 1843 and originally resided in the nearby town of Brighton but moved to Salem in 1859. Bailey was elected Assessor in 1850 and School Superintendent in 1859, appointed agent of the K&R Railroad and then Postmaster in 1860, elected Town Treasurer in 1868 and again in 1871, and he also served as a State Legislator in 1870 (Valentine 2014b: 4). Bailey's daughter, Lilly, married A.R. Cornwell—a farmer born on the 320-acre

Cornwell homestead that he eventually inherited from his father. Cornwell also attended the Congregational Church (Western Historical Company 1879: 733).

Walker M. Curtiss was a farmer born in Salem Township in 1852. He farmed with his father until his father's death, upon which time Curtiss inherited the 440-acre family farm. Curtiss was also a stock and dairy product dealer. In 1878, he married Katie Beimer of Kenosha County, and he also held the office of Pathmaster for a couple of terms (Western Historical Company 1879: 733).

Henry Watson, the Brown family, Alexander Bailey, and Walker M. Curtiss have ties to the cemeteries at Liberty Corners in one way or another. These connections will be elaborated in a future section, but broadly, these settlers may be buried in Liberty Cemetery, be affiliated with Liberty Cemetery Association, or have been paid by the cemetery association for maintenance or other work done on the cemetery (Valentine 2014d).

As more settlers came to the area, the number of religious organizations grew. The Congregational Church, for instance, was organized in 1853. Among its founding members were the "Mr. and Mrs. Udell, Mrs. Carpenter, Mr. and Mrs. Bullen, Mr. and Mrs. Sirius Udell, Mr. and Mrs. Benham, Mrs. Ladue, and Mrs. McIntyre," (Western Historical Company 1879: 544). Bullen and Benham were the first Deacon and Trustee for the church, respectively. The church went without its own building until 1854 when it began to raise funds for materials and construction; the frame church that was built cost $1,600 and was "capable of accommodating 250 persons," (Western Historical Company 1879: 544). It sat on land at Liberty Corners that was donated by Benham, and as of 1879, the church's membership totaled 60 persons (Western Historical Company 1879: 544). The church is often referred to as both Salem Congregational and Liberty Congregational Church.

In terms of schools, the establishment in Wilmot was no longer the only educational facility in town. Salem Academy was officially founded at the new Congregationalist Church on February 5, 1855. It was also located at Liberty Corners, directly next to the church building (Valentine 2014a: 3). In line with the church's naming, the school was also referred to as both Salem Academy and Salem Congregationalist Academy (Valentine 2014a: 1). Despite being affiliated with the church, the academy was a public school open to "all denominations" of Christianity, and "profession of any religious faith" was not required of students (Valentine 2014a: 4-5). In the school's incorporation, the institution's purpose was specified as to "afford instruction in English literature, in the ancient and modern languages, in mathematics, and the natural sciences in the art of teaching, and the application of science to agriculture and the mechanic arts," (Valentine 2014a: 4). At some point in the early twentieth century, the school building burned down and was replaced by a brick one (Valentine 2014: 1), and that building remains standing at Liberty Corners today.

Following the founding of both the Congregationalist Church and academy, a Roman Catholic Church organized in Wilmot in 1856 with 20 members. The group built a small church that year but expanded to a new one in 1870 for the cost of $1000 (Western Historical Company 1879: 555).

Separate from the religious institutions forming during this time, the Odd Fellows, also known as Salem Lodge, sprang into existence. Created on January 31, 1850, the secret society had only 14 members, but that number grew to 30 by 1879. The society owned a brick building on Main Street in Wilmot that cost $2000 (Western Historical Company 1879: 555).

By 1860, Salem's population grew by just over 200 to 1,472 persons. All inhabitants were recorded as being white. The neighboring town of Bristol, for comparison, grew to 1,386 persons of which six were non-enslaved African Americans (United States Government 1860: 537). A plat map is also present for 1861, and it is included as Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. An 1861 plat map of the town of Salem with Liberty Corners specified in the lower right corner. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

In 1867, Alexander Bailey built the first store in downtown Salem (near Hooker Lake). It became a general store under the occupation of S.W. Benson and D.V. Mayne. Around this same

time, Bailey himself became the station agent at Salem Station when the railroad opened (Valentine 2014b: 7).

Other notable settlers form the 1860s were Mary E. Taber and T.O. Hollister. Born in New York in 1929, Taber moved to Ohio, Bristol, Wisconsin, and Chicago before finally settling in Salem in 1866. She lived on a 200-acre farm valued at $50 an acre that principally produced grain and livestock, particularly sheep. An orchard of 250 fruit trees also comprised the farm. Taber was a member of the Methodist Church (Valentine 2014b: 5). Hollister, interred at Liberty Corners, died on March 13, 1869 from apoplexy, supposedly from an "over-taxed brain" after his years of working as a traveling minister (Western Historical Company 1879: 733). Hollister was a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church (Western Historical Company 1879: 733).

With the two churches constructed in the prior decade, Salem saw the addition of two more during the 1860s. In 1868, the Episcopal Church was built in Wilmot (Western Historical Company 1879: 554), and one year later the German Lutheran Church, also in Wilmot, was organized. The Lutheran church had 30 members, and their group purchased and renovated a house to worship in for the sum of $500 (Western Historical Company 1879: 555).

The population of Salem in 1870 decreased by just over 100 persons compared to 1860 for a total of 1,336. Bristol's population, for comparison, also showed a decrease of about 150 persons for a total of 1,140 (Harrison and Warner 1874: 48). Details on the race and gender of these townspeople is not available. Explanation for the population decrease evident in both towns is not provided, however, it seems plausible participation in the Civil War may have played a

role. As with the previous decade, a plat map exists to showcase Salem during this decade. The map for 1873 is included as Figure 2.2.

Figure 2.2. An 1873 plat map of the town of Salem. Liberty Corners is located in the lower right corner, at northwest corner of the plot owned by Mary Robbins. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

Nathan M. Burgess was one notable townsperson from this decade in that he inherited his father's homestead of 254.5 acres in 1876. During his residence in Salem, Burgess served several terms as Supervisor and three years as Assessor (Valentine 2014b: 4). He and his family are interred at Liberty Corners.

Salem Center School, unaffiliated with the Salem Academy, began operation in the 1870s. The school was located in the northwest corner of the intersection in the easternmost portion of Section 14 on the 1873 plat map, as compared to Salem Academy's location in Section 26. At Salem Center School, a Miss Hartnell instructed about thirty students (Valentine 2014b: 6). The two-room wooden school was torn down and replaced by a brick building in 1916. Many additions were placed on the 1916 building through the years, which resulted in an exceedingly large grade school that is still in operation today (Giles 2016). The school in question was eventually named Salem Grade School.

With regard to churches, it should be acknowledged that some sources note that the Congregational Church was built in 1874 (Valentine 2014b: 6), which conflicts with other documentation, including plat maps that show the existence of the church at Liberty Corners as early as 1861. With that, it seems possible that mention of the church being constructed in 1874 reflect the building being rebuilt or added onto. Additionally, The Church of the Methodist was formed in Wilmot in 1876. A brick building costing $2,650 was constructed, and it housed 300 worshippers. Members of the church include J.H. Sabin and W. Benedict (Western Historical Company 1879: 555), who are both interred at Liberty Corners.

In terms of social organizations and community institutions, Salem saw growth with the opening of the Salem Public Library in 1876. The library boasted 700 volumes at the time of its opening. Additionally, the Sons of Temperance was organized in Wilmot in May of 1875 with a membership of 18, which "measurably increased" to over 100 by the end of the decade (Valentine 2014b: 7). When women were first allowed to join the society, its membership increased from 25 to 58 (Western Historical Company 1879: 555).

Less historic documentation is available for the 1880s and 1890s, however population counts and plat maps remain present for both decades. In 1880, Salem recorded a population of 1,268, which continues the trend in decreasing population counts as first seen in the previous decade. Wilmot was also noted as a town within Salem on the census, and the population for Wilmot was 190. Similarly, the neighboring town of Bristol also saw a population decrease with a total of 1,060 persons (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880: 369). A plat map for the town of Salem dated 1887, Wilmot still included, is presented as Figure 2.3. In 1990, both Salem and Bristol saw population increases. Salem's rose to 1,493, and Bristol added 11 more townspeople to its roster with a total of 1,071 (United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1890: 361). A plat map for Salem dated 1899 is present as Figure 2.4.

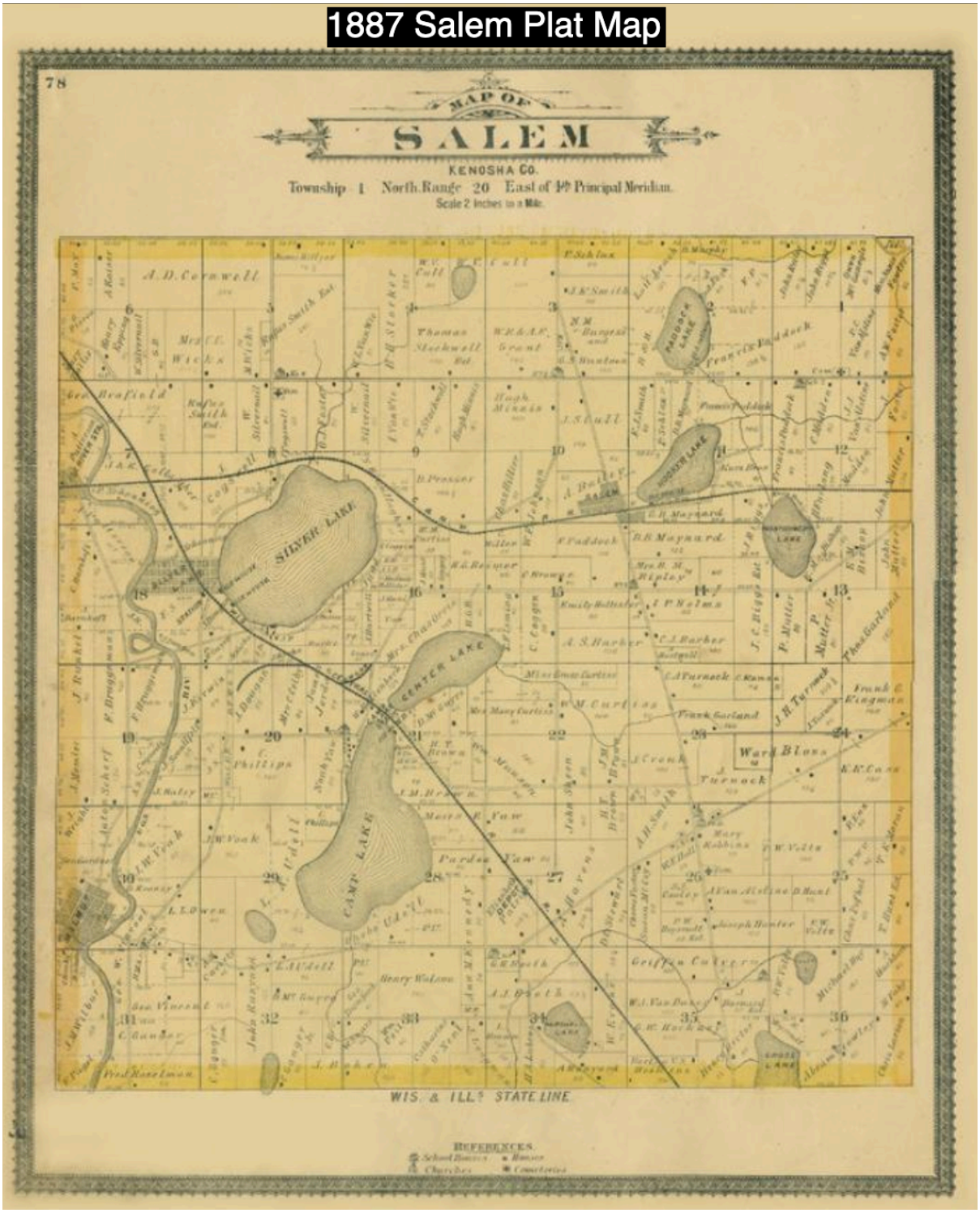



Figure 2.3. An 1887 plat map of the town of Salem. Liberty Corners is located in the lower right corner, at northwest corner of the plot owned by Mary Robbins. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

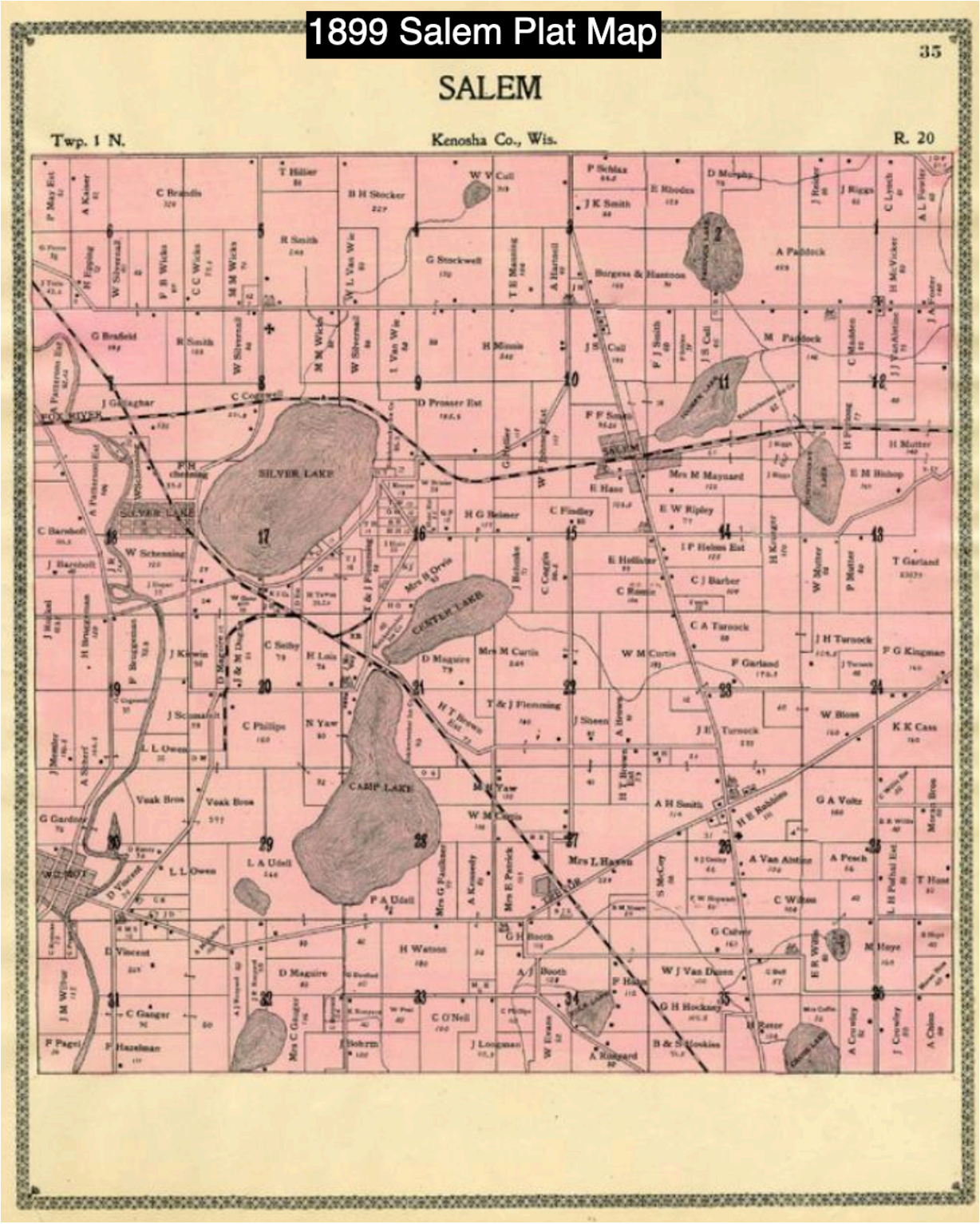



Figure 2.4. An 1899 plat map of the town of Salem. Liberty Corners is located in the lower right corner, at northwest corner of the plot owned by H.E. Robbins. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

As in the previous decade, the 1900s saw another population increase for the towns of Salem and Bristol. Salem's population rose by almost 400 to a total of 1,846, and Bristol's rose slightly from 1,071 to 1,151 Population (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 572). A plat map for Salem dated 1908 is present as Figure 2.5.

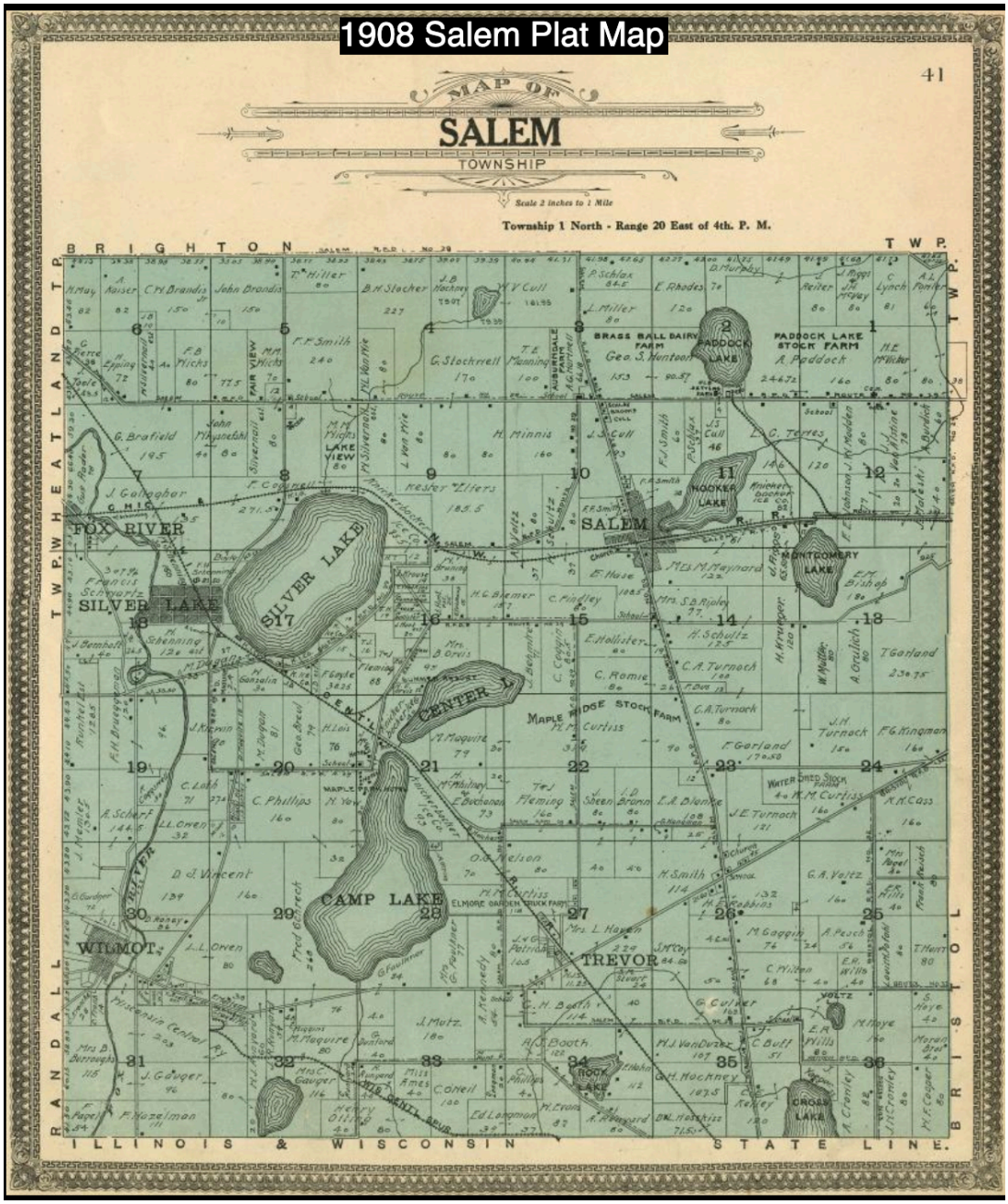


Figure 2.5. A 1908 plat map of the town of Salem. Liberty Corners is located in the lower right corner, at northwest corner of the plot owned by H.E. Robbins. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

Descriptions of downtown Salem, just three and a half miles north of Liberty Corners, are present in two forms for the first decade of the twentieth century. First, a postcard from July of 1906 narratively describes Hooker Lake in downtown Salem as a picturesque scene "full of water lilies" and "a lot of fish too," (Valentine 2014c: 18). A hand-drawn map and descriptive key drafted by Salem townsperson Eugene Hartnell presents locations of businesses and buildings "as they were in 1900 to 1910," (Valentine 2014b: 9). A copy of this map and key were available as pages 8, 10, 11, and 12 in a document compiled by Linda Valentine (2014b), and they will be presented here as Appendix A as a demonstration of the enterprises in existence at Salem between 1900-1910. Among the establishments denoted on Hartnell's rendering are a doctor's office, general store, ladies millinery shop, meat market, barber shop, harness shop, blacksmith, town jail, movie theatre, hotel, livery stable, auto repair shop, farm equipment and supply store, hardware store, pool room, railroad depot, post office, saloons (by this time it appears the town was no longer temperate), bank, boat house, dairy product factory, and dentist's office (Valentine 2014b: 8, 10-11). By this account, Salem appears to have had diverse institutions operating in the heart of its town center.

In contrast with previous decades, less documentation is present for both the 1910s and 1920s. Population totals remain available, however, and the population for Salem in 1910 was recorded as 1,820 persons (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 572). This is a decrease of 26 people compared to the previous census. Bristol, on the contrary, increased its population by roughly 70 people for a total of 1,215 (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 572). Unfortunately a plat

map is not available for the 1910s, but one dated 1924 satisfies plat representation for the 1920s and is present as Figure 2.6.

Figure 2.6. A 1924 plat map of the town of Salem. Liberty Corners is located in the lower right corner, at northwest corner of the plot owned by R. Foulke. Sourced from the University of Wisconsin-Parkside Digital Collections, accessed March 2020.

*The Old Cemetery at Liberty Corners*

Especially in comparison to the New Cemetery under the purview of the Liberty Cemetery Association post-1884, the Old Cemetery has little historical documentation tied to it. Early investigation linked it to the Congregational Church that stood at Liberty Corners, but those links were questionable and difficult to verify. Despite this, correspondence with Amy Rosebrough, Staff Archaeologist with the State Historic Preservation Office of the Wisconsin Historical Society (WHS), sparked a trail of discoveries that substantiate the Old Cemetery's founding and connection to the church at Liberty Corners.

Upon submitting an inquiry to the Wisconsin Historical Society about previous investigations that may have taken place at the cemeteries and been logged in the society's Archaeological Sites Inventory, Rosebrough confirmed no such investigations have occurred and also offered a document that included a slip of paper from WHS collections and correspondences between Rosebrough and Christina Zweig of the University of Wisconsin - Milwaukee Cultural Resource Management firm (UWM-CRM). The slip of paper from collections referenced the Kenosha County Register of Deeds and mentioned that A.W. Benham, the aforementioned early settler to Liberty Corners and then Wilmot, donated half an acre of land to the First Congregational Church in 1849. Initially, this seemed to solve the issue of substantiating the claim that the Old Cemetery was connected to the Congregational Church, however the trail did not end there.

Based on Rosebrough's correspondence with Zweig and UWM-CRM's apparent interest in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, the next step of investigation was contacting Zweig to see her inquiry with WHS led to a larger project. Zweig indicated she was specifically examining a potter's field denoted within cemetery boundaries. After inquiring with the Kenosha County Register of Deeds, her work was eventually rerouted. Zweig offered the description of the site

she submitted to WHS, copies of the deed records, plat maps, and surveyor's certificates that came to light during her work, and these provided the foundation for understanding the Old Cemetery's founding and use.

Asahel W. Benham, a founding member of the Congregational Church (Western Historical Company 1879: 544), sold half an acre to the First Congregational Society of Salem for eight dollars on April 11, 1849 "for the purpose of a public burial ground," (Kenosha County Register of Deeds [KCRD] 1849, Deed Volume [DV] A: 477-478). By any means, the location for the cemetery as specified on the deed is at Liberty Corners in Section 26, and trustees of the public burial ground are listed as Pardon Yaw, L.A. Havens, Kimball K. Cass, L.M. Orvis, and H.F. Smith (KCRD 1849, DV A:478), all of whom are buried in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners. Primary documentation therefore directly links the founding of the Old Cemetery and its location to the First Congregational Society at Liberty Corners, thus substantiating the Old Cemetery's origins and designation as a churchyard cemetery.

However, despite the fact that Benham sold this land so it could be used as a public burial ground, it should be noted that this land, or at least portions of it, were already being used as a burial ground since the oldest grave dates to 1844. It therefore seems possible that these specific grounds were chosen for the cemetery because they were already being used in some capacity to inter the deceased.

Presumably, the First Congregational Society of Salem cited in the 1849 deed blossomed into the Congregational Church of Salem when the group constructed a church for themselves in 1854, but unfortunately no documentation has been found to corroborate this presumption. A deed from 1850, however, appears it may align with this belief. As documented, Zera and Lucinda Benedict were paid $2000 by Jacob Drum, Gideon Button, and Hiram Munson of the

First Congregational Society of Salem in exchange for a two acre parcel of land at the highway intersection in Section 26 "where Andrew Benedict now resides," (KCRD 1850, DV: A: 447-448) which would be the northeast corner of Liberty Corners. While there is no explicit mention in the deed of what this land will be used for, it seems quite possible that the First Congregational Society was securing it in preparation of church and/or school construction (the Congregationalist Church and Salem Academy) at the site just four years later. Furthermore, the 1861 Salem plat map shows A. Benedict still owned the land at the northeast corner of the Liberty Corners intersection where the Congregationalist Church and Salem Academy were eventually built.

On August 20, 1874, Mary Robbins sold "one acre of land more or less" to the First Congregational Church of Salem (KCRD 1874, DV Y: 92). According to the 1873 Salem plat map, the land Robbins owns is the southeast quarter of the intersection at Liberty. It therefore seems likely that the land in the sale came from her existing holdings. Since both the Congregational Church and School at Liberty Corners are on the north side of the intersection and the cemetery lies to the south, the land Robbins sold may have been used to expand the church's cemetery.

Ten years later, the Old Cemetery underwent a number of changes, both in physicality and management. Herbert and Ida Robbins sold one acre of land to The Society of the First Congregational Church of Salem on June 7, 1884 for one dollar, citing the land would be used for expansion of the cemetery (KCRD 1884, DV 31: 403). Just one month later, the trustees of the First Congregational Church of Salem—including Pardon Yaw, J.M. Brown, and Griffin Culver—sold the churchyard cemetery to the Liberty Cemetery Association (LCA) for $60 (KCRD 1884, DV: 32, 307, Document # 39198). After 1884, therefore, the Congregational

Church no longer had any role in the cemetery's operation. As of the date of transfer, the 1884 deed specifies the cemetery's total size as 1.5 acres (KCRD 1884, DV 32: Document #39198).

Before the cemetery's official transfer to the LCA, two notable veterans were interred that warrant mention, particularly since historic documentation exists. David Paddock (1793-1847) served in the Seventh New York Militia during the Revolutionary War and is "said to have lost his sight in an explosion of black powder" during the Battle of Bemis Heights (Valentine 2014e: 34). David Paddock moved to Salem Township to be with his son, the aforementioned Francis Paddock, around 1838. He is "believed to be buried in the Liberty Corners Cemetery" but unfortunately his exact gravesite is unknown (Valentine 2014e: 24). David Paddock is, however, memorialized in Liberty Cemetery by a metal plaque that was placed there in the recent past. Unlike Paddock, Captain Zerah Brown is one early veteran that is certainly interred in the cemetery. Brown's gravemarker notes he passed in 1859, but documentation validates his service in the War of 1812 (Valentine 2014e: 34).

In summation, the Old Cemetery was active between 1844 and 1849 before the land was registered with the county as a public burial ground under the purview of the First Congregational Society of Salem. The First Congregational Church of Salem was built at Liberty Corners in 1854 and the Salem Congregationalist Academy was built in 1855 following a land sale from the Benedicts in 1850. Two other deeds cite land sales likely used for cemetery expansion under the Congregational Church's management until the cemetery was transferred to the LCA in July of 1884. Its management from that point on has always been the LCA.

*The New Cemetery at Liberty Corners*

Before the Congregational Church transferred the cemetery to the LCA in July of 1884, the cemetery association had begun organizing itself and coordinating its efforts. The LCA

officially formed in June of 1884, a month before the cemetery transfer. The LCA was notarized on June 20th, 1884 (Valentine 2008: 11), and eight days later it held a meeting to create a constitution for the organization (Valentine 2008: 3).

The constitution provides great insight into the group's organization and undertakings. For instance, among the LCA's founders are K.K. Cass, H.J. Smith, F.G. Kingman, H. Watson, P. Yaw, W. Curtiss, A.J. Blanchard, J.C. Patrick, and J.M. Orvis (Valentine 2008: 5). Of these founders, Yaw, Cass, and Smith were affiliated with the First Congregational Society of Salem that purchased land from A.W. Benham in 1849 for the public burial ground. Moreover, biographical sketches provided in a previous section of this report for Watson, Yaw, Curtiss, and Orvis supply further background information on those at the root of the association and its oversight of the cemetery. Needless to say, each of the LCA's founders are interred at Liberty.

A president and secretary were elected from the pool of founders, and the individuals chosen for these roles were Pardon Yaw and L.A. Havens, respectively (Valentine 2008: 12). Duties of the LCA president and secretary included appointing three trustees, where each trustee was of a different class: the first class served in their position for one year, the second class for two years, and the third class for three years (Valentine 2008: 5).

Other decisions were also noted in the constitution. The organization's name, for instance, was solidified as the Liberty Cemetery Organization. It was cited that the cemetery's size was not intended to exceed three acres (Valentine 2008: 5), and that "proceeds arising from the sale of lots in such Cemetery shall be applied to the payment of any debts incured [sic] by said association in the purchase of any cemetery grounds and property in fencing, improving and embelishing [sic] such grounds and avenues leading thereto and in defraying the necessary expenses in the management and care of the same and for no other purposes" (Valentine 2008: 7-

8). The ledger containing the LCA constitution also contains records for the sale of lots, position changes for the president, secretary, and trustees through time, funds designated for perpetual care, and minutes from LCA meetings through and passed the temporal period in question for this report (Valentine 2008).

Several meetings were held to further organize the association following its formal establishment in 1884. The Congregational Church, also referred to as "the church at Liberty Corners" in the constitution, often hosted the LCA's meeting (Valentine 2008: 14-15). During one meeting on January 3, 1885, LCA members divided the cemetery grounds into lots (Valentine 2008: 12) and assigned prices to each section (Valentine 2008: 13). A plat map of the cemetery submitted to the county register of deeds in January of 1885 depicts the new lot divisions within the cemetery grounds, and this map is present in Appendix B. In pricing lots, LCA members initially decided lots from the "old cemetery grounds" would be valued at six cents per square foot, but that price was reduced to three cents per square foot at a meeting in April of 1885 (Valentine 2008: 13). Lots bordering Benham Avenue, the northernmost drive in the grounds that is also in closest proximity to the church and other enterprises at Liberty Corners included lots 75 and 76-87 and cost seven cents per square foot. Additionally, lots numbered 87-115, which were specifically noted as "lying east of the old cemetery grounds," were valued at eight cents per square foot (Valentine 2008: 12). Last, lots 115-128 cost seven cents per square foot, and lots 128-142 were the cheapest selection available at six cents per square foot (Valentine 2008: 12).

Minutes from an LCA meeting on May 2, 1885 were noteworthy for a number of reasons. First, it was decided that after this date no one was permitted to be buried in the cemetery grounds without submitting an application to the LCA president for lot purchase, therefore

clearly demarcating temporal bounds between the Old and New Cemeteries. The LCA also designated the southeast corner of the cemetery for individuals who could not afford to purchase a lot, and the president was authorized to make burial decisions for that area. Finally, with the recent lot divisions and pricings, the LCA resolved to notify living relatives of those interred in the Old Cemetery to inform them that unoccupied lots will be going up for sale, and living relatives would have the first opportunity to purchase those lots. If they refuse, however, then the LCA president maintains the authority to sell the lots (Valentine 2008: 15).

On September 4, 1885, the LCA sought to increase cemetery security by using a lock and "large gate the opens into the cemetery" grounds," (Valentine 2008: 16). A separate meeting also recorded that two bodies from the Drom family were removed from the Old cemetery; a reason as to why this occurred was not given. Additionally, one "nuisance" tree was removed, and the organization also cited intentions to obtain barbed wire to repair a fence on the grounds (Valentine 2008: 17). These activities demonstrate a continued effort towards the upkeep and improvement of the cemetery grounds.

Under the LCA's oversight, the cemetery continued to grow and interact with its community, especially in its first 30 years of activity. In 1893, the Board of Supervisors of the Town of Salem contracted with the Waukesha Hygeia Mineral Springs Company to construct water pipelines "along and upon" some public roads (KCRD 1893, DV 40: 71). Specifically, the deed cited Section 26 of Antioch Road that borders the cemetery to its west. Before work began the water company paid $15 to release it from any claims of damage incurred during the infrastructural work. The deed cites the LCA, current president and secretary, and that the cemetery abuts to the road being worked on (KCRD 1893, DV 40: 71).

A 1907 plat of Liberty Cemetery denotes an addition to the southeast section of the existing grounds; note of a potter's field is also present in the southeast section of the addition (KCRD 1907, "A Subdivision of a Part of the Liberty Cemetery"). The map is accompanied by a Surveyor's Certificate that validates it and the new boundaries of the cemetery. Signees of the certificate indicate J.N. Crowley as LCA president at the time and S.E. Patrick as secretary (KCRD 1907, Document #76775). A copy of the 1907 plat of addition is present as Figure 2.7.

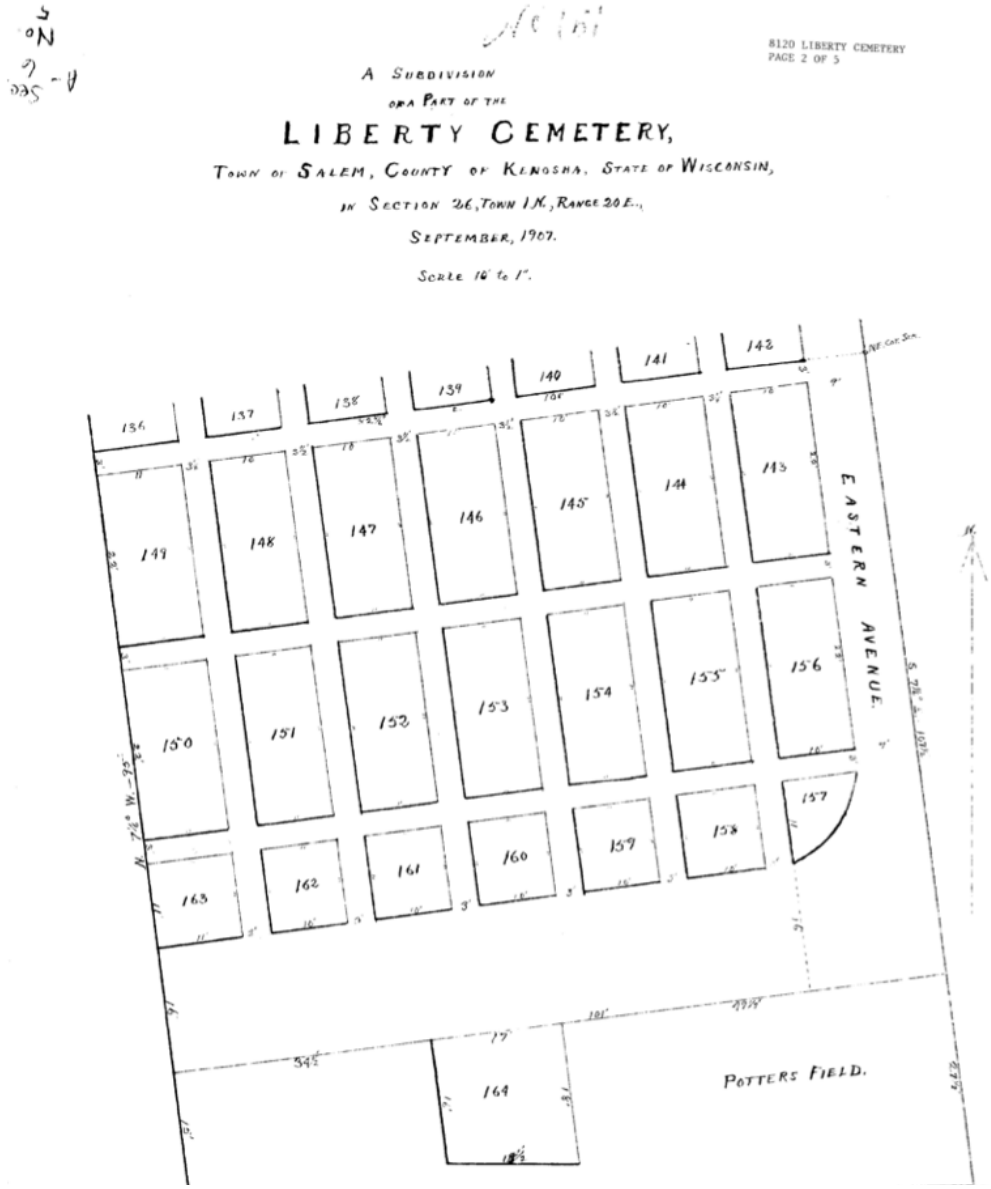


Figure 2.7. A plat map of addition to Liberty Cemetery in 1907. Sourced from the Kenosha County Register of Deeds.

The cemetery's growth continued in 1909 when the LCA paid Thomas Gaggin of Antioch $300 for a .87-acre parcel of land to expand the cemetery (KCRD 1909, DV 63: 190, Document #78381). In 1910, the cemetery expanded again, this time to into the southwest to complete the rectangular shape of the cemetery after the protruding addition to the southeast in 1907 (KCRD 1910, DV 2 of Plat: 29, Document #81686). A Surveyor's Certificate verifying the 1910 plat of addition accompanies the map, and J.N. Crowley and Sarah Patrick again signed the document as president and secretary of the LCA (KCRD 1910, "Surveyor's Certificate"). The 1910 plat of addition is present as Figure 2.8.

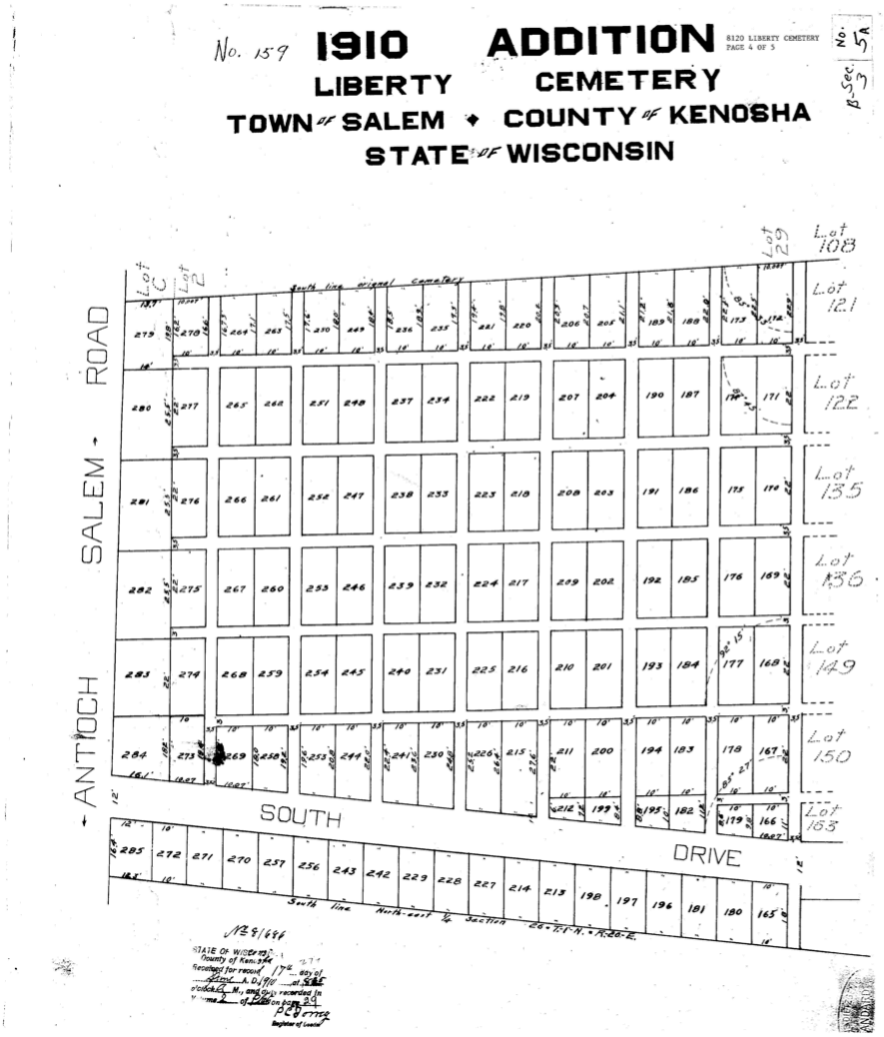


Figure 2.8. A plat map of the addition to Liberty Cemetery in 1910. Sourced from the Kenosha County Register of Deeds.

In addition to the constitution drafted and written by members of the LCA and records from the register of deeds, a ledger documenting the proceedings of the cemetery helpers' organization from 1884 through the 1930s also exists. The helpers' ledger catalogues transactions between the organization, members of the community, and businesses as well as tracking tallies of the LCA's funds on hand. These transactions include, but are not limited to, the sale of deeds for plots, labor and maintenance on the cemetery grounds, perpetual care, and counts of the available balances (Valentine 2014d). Tables showcasing a sample of these transactions, including Moneys Received for Deeds (Table 2.1), Orders Paid by LCA (Table 2.2), Funds Received for Perpetual Care (Table 2.3), and Balances on Hand (Table 2.4) are present below. It should be emphasized that these tables are merely a sample of the activities logged in the ledger and do not serve as an comprehensive list because to present one would be redundant.

Table 2.1. Money Paid to the LCA for Deeds: 1885-1887

| 1885 | | 1886 | | | | 1887 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paid By: | Amount Paid ($): | Paid By: | Amount Paid ($): | Paid By: | Amount Paid ($): | Paid By: | Amount Paid ($): |
| Charles Yaw | 7.23 | J. P. Helma | 1.75 | Mrs. H. Burrett | 17.04 | W. A. Harris | 2.40 |
| Charles Barber | 14.50 | J. Bufton | 6.60 | K. K. Cass | 6.48 | Jacob Drom's Heirs | 19.50 |
| G. H. Booth | 3.84 | S. D. Reeve | 3.90 | P. Yaw | 2.08 | Frank Garland | 14.50 |
| | | Mrs. T. Udell | 14.50 | Mrs. C. Patrick | 11.60 | A. Crowley | 7.25 |

Data sourced from Valentine (2014d: 4).

Table 2.2. Orders Paid by the LCA Between 1897-1902

| 1897 | | | 1901 | | | 1902 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Paid To: | For: | Amount Paid ($): | Paid To: | For: | Amount Paid ($): | Paid To: | For: | Amount Paid ($): |
| Baker Lumber Co. | Lumber for fence | 6.67 | Alex Bailey | Work hired on cemetery | 5.50 | W. Brower | Work on cemetery | 11.37 |
| Frank Runyard | Building fence and other work | 21.00 | - | Mowing, work on cemetery | 5.25 | - | Cemetery wall | 20.25 |
| W. Evans | For services and stamps | 5.45 | J. N. Crowley | Work on cemetery | 4.30 | J. Turnock | Work on cemetery | 8.20 |
| J. Bohin | Grading | 8.00 | W. Evans | Services and cards | 8.10 | Will Evans | - | 6.00 |
| A. Booth | Mowing + cleaning | 5.00 | W. Brower | Grading on cemetery | 16.62 | | | |

Data sourced from Valentine (2014d: 22).

Table 2.3. Funds Received by the LCA for Perpetual Care: 1923

| Paid by: | For Plots Belonging to: | Amount Paid ($): |
|---|---|---|
| John Turnock | John Turnock | 100.00 |
| John Turnock | James Turnock | 50.00 |
| Clarance Bolton | Estate of C. Bolton | 100.00 |
| Henry Smith Estate | Henry Smith & C. Bushing | 400.00 |

Data sourced from Valentine (2014d: 34)

Table 2.4. LCA Balances on Hand: 1889-1924

| Date | Balance on Hand | Date | Balance on Hand |
|---|---|---|---|
| April 27, 1889 | $163.46 | April 27, 1907 | $105.35 |
| April 29, 1893 | $181.19 | April 24, 1909 | $54.99 |
| May 28, 1898 | $221.26 | April 1911 | $72.94 |
| Mar. 22, 1900 | $165.79 | April 27, 1912 | $10.44 |
| Sept. 8, 1902 | $145.02 | April 1923 | $167.77 |
| Sept. 5, 1904 | $89.10 | April 26, 1924 | $181.62 |

Data sourced from Valentine (2014d: 12-42).

Separately, as with the Old Cemetery, veteran interments in are also present the New Cemetery. Among the Civil War veterans buried in Liberty are J.F. Bolton, James Cook, Henry Kimmel, David Lightner, George Mutter, Jerome Palmatier, John Regan, William Van Osdel, and Chas. Van Wormer (Valentine 2014e: 34). Some of these veterans were also logged in the ledger of transactions maintained by the cemetery helpers' group (Valentine 2014d). Harold R. Allen was the only World War I veteran interred in Liberty before 1924 (Valentine 2014e: 34). Other veterans are, of course, buried within the cemetery, but they are not noted here because they were interred outside the temporal scope of this project.

*Liberty Cemetery and Salem, Wisconsin Today*

Today, Liberty Cemetery remains an active burial ground in the community of Salem Lakes, WI and is still overseen by the Liberty Cemetery Association founded in 1884. Modern mapping of the cemetery's zoning as submitted to the county in 2013 as part of a condition use permit application is available as Figure 2.9. From Figure 2.9, the original extent of the Old

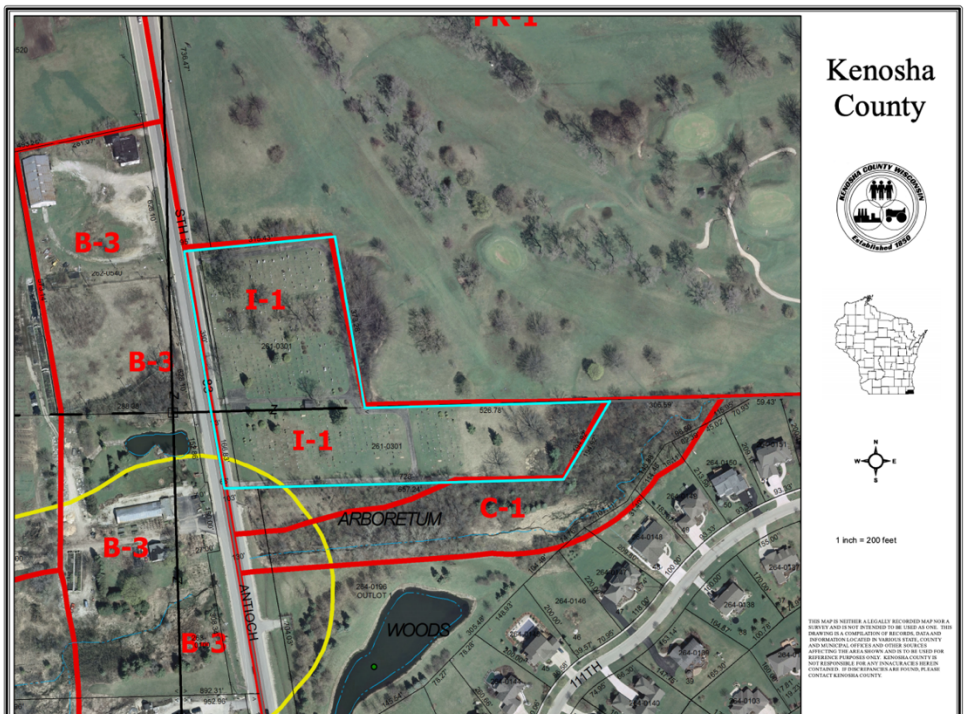


Figure 2.9. Zoning of Liberty Cemetery in 2013. Sourced from (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013b).

Cemetery is depicted as the northernmost section of the I-1 area outlined in light blue, northeast of the intersecting black lines. This same area is the focus of the current study because graves from both the Old and New Cemeteries are intermixed there.

A meeting agenda for the Kenosha County Planning, Development and Extension Committee in 2013 shows that Liberty Cemetery Association submitted applications for a Conditional Use Permit and Plat of Addition within the town of Salem. Additionally, the agenda contains hyperlinks to submitted applications, a Conditional Use Site Map, and Plat of Addition Map (Kenosha County 2013). On the Conditional Use Permit application, the property owner's name is listed as "Liberty Cemetery Association c/o John Schulz," (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013b: 4) therefore validating that the LCA is still in existence and actively managing the cemetery. The application was submitted as a "proposed expansion for [the] addition of plats and driveway/turnaround. We are asking to deviate from section 12.29-8(b)22 so that plots will be located 10 feet from the north property line (adjacent golf course) instead of the 25 feet dictated by the zoning ordinance," (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013b: 5). At the time of application, the request for a plat of addition to the cemetery was proposed for the area specified in Figure 2.10. The addition request was approved; a plat map of the addition was submitted to the Kenosha County Register of Deeds in 2014 (KCRD 2014, Document #1720714) and is present as Figure 2.11.

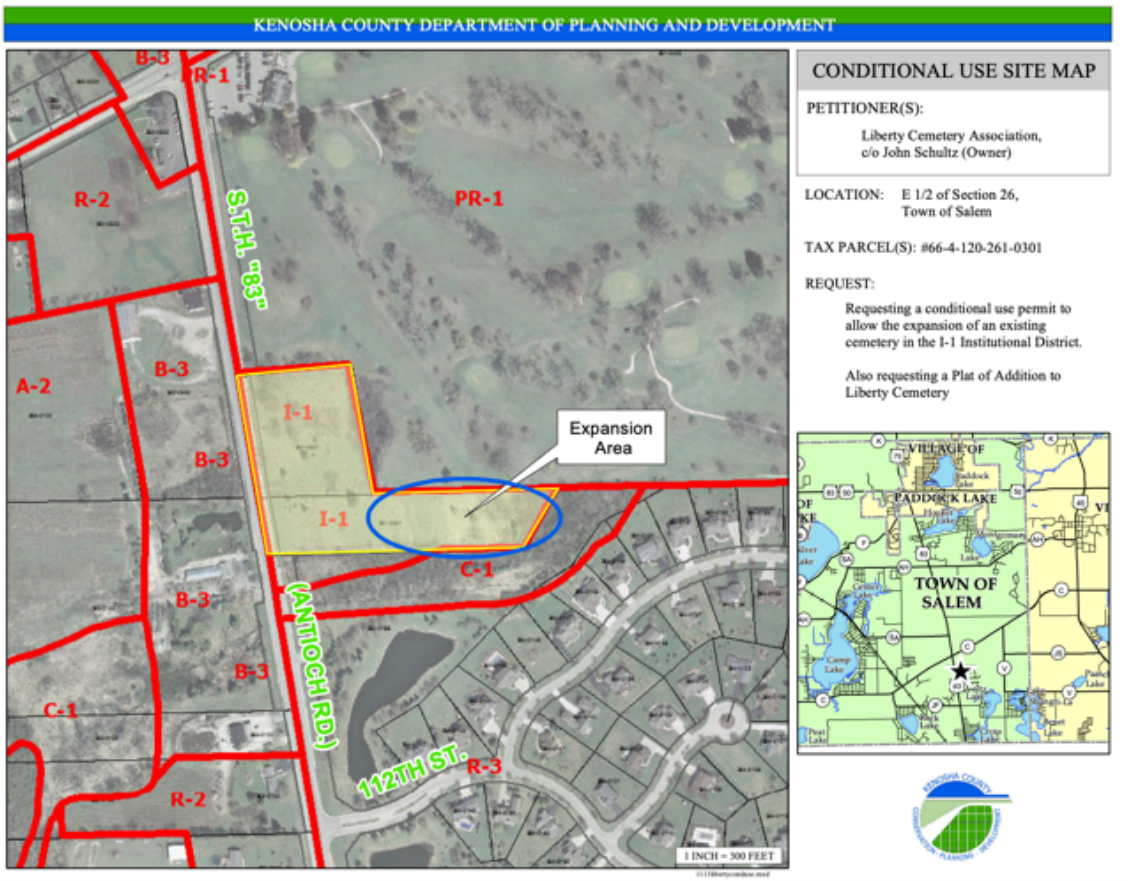



Figure 2.10. A requested plat of addition to Liberty Cemetery in 2013 with the proposed expansion area noted. Sourced from (Kenosha County Department of Planning and Development 2013a: 1).

A notice posted at the cemetery's entrance also indicates current guidelines in place by the LCA and offers general information. For instance, interested individuals should contact the number posted to purchase a lot for $525, and trees and shrubs are not permitted for planting. Other points state that up to two decorations are allowed on graves but items made of glass and tin are prohibited. Seasonal decorations must be removed by April 1st or October 15th, and those not removed will be disposed of by the caretaker (Liberty Cemetery Association). These regulations further indicate the cemetery is actively being overseen and maintained.

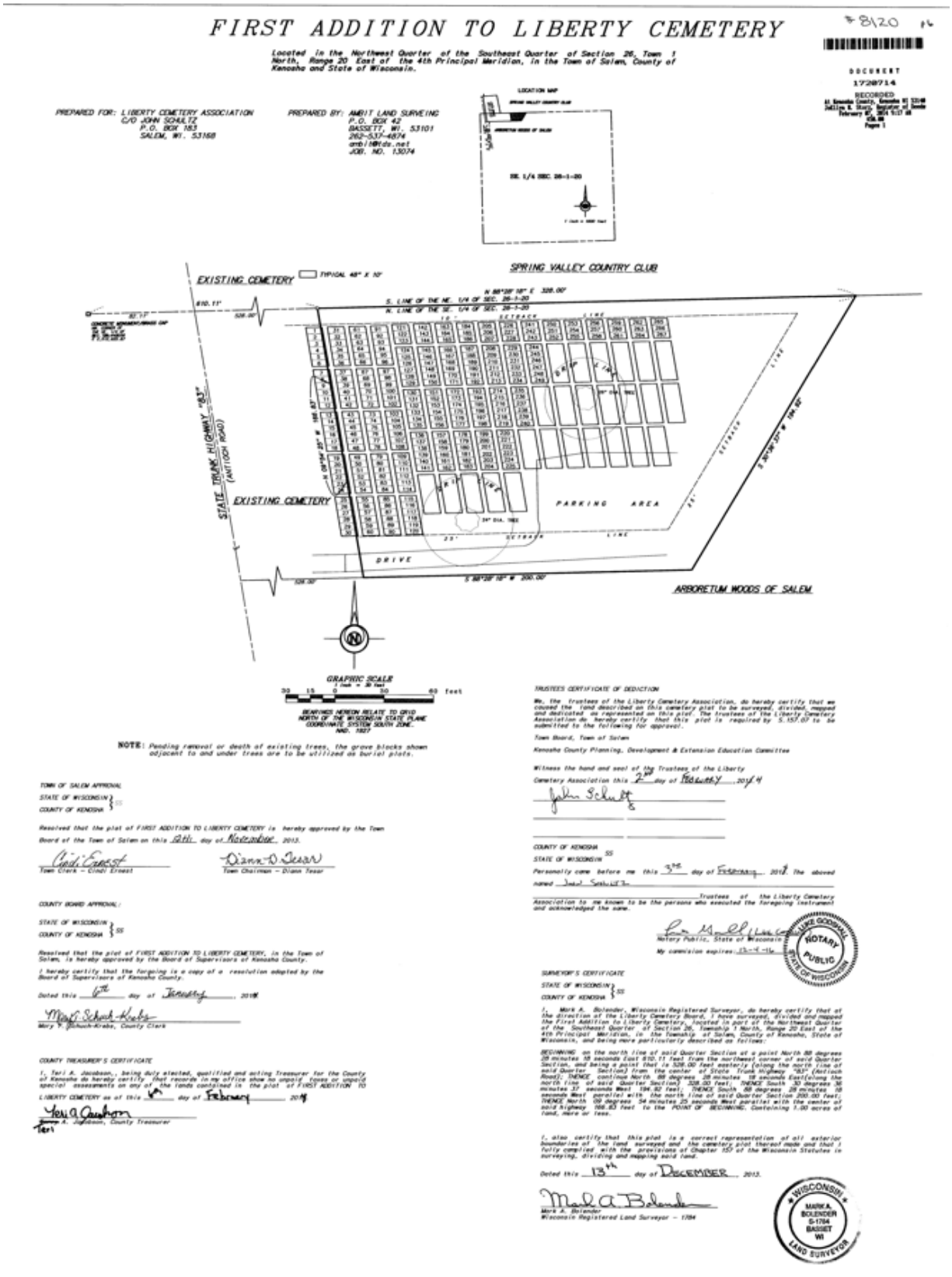



Figure 2.11. Plat map of addition to Liberty Cemetery approved in 2014. Sourced from the Kenosha County Register of Deeds.

# CHAPTER 3: METHODS

This thesis is firmly grounded in modern cemetery studies both theoretically and methodologically. Particularly, Russel J. Barber's (1994) "Doing Historical Archaeology: Exercises Using Documentary, Oral, and Material Evidence" was of chief importance in guiding the methodology of this thesis as it encompasses utilization of both the historical and archaeological lines of evidence used here. In using documentary sources, Barber cautions against taking the information they convey at face value because historical records represent a distinct point of view: it is paramount to be mindful of what story is being told and by whom. Barber states,

> "Especially in earlier times, the writers of documents in America have tended to be literate, well-to-do, politically active, urban, white males. Not surprisingly, these authors were most interested in and knowledgeable about issues that bore directly on their lives, and the documents they wrote are usually sketchy (at best) in their treatment of other issues. Consequently, the poor, illiterates, women, recent immigrants, and ruralites generally are represented poorly in documents. Even when writing about themselves or topics close to them, the authors of documents may have distorted facts, either purposefully (perhaps to assure a favorable place in history) or not…Documents certainly are valuable, but they have flaws, gaps, and distortions that demand that they be assessed, rather than simply accepted uncritically," (Barber 1994: 6).

As such, historical documentation utilized in this investigation were assessed with an understanding that those recording history likely did so from a place of privilege, and other voices may have been present but not recorded. Interpretation of sources was done so cautiously, and attempts were made to incorporate different perspectives where possible.

Similar caution must be taken when utilizing archaeological sources, like gravemarkers. Most markers have been "purposely manipulated by their makers" and "affected by a host of processes that have modified, reshuffled, and partially destroyed them." Subsequently, an "uncritical interpretation of them will lead to distorted pictures of the past" (Barber 1994: 6). Furthermore, it is important to be cognizant of the fact that gravemarkers were created with

permanency and communication in mind. As opposed to refuse and remnants of past life that archaeologists often study, gravemarkers are material culture designed with explicit intention to convey information to current and future generations. When interpreting gravemarkers, it may therefore be productive to consider why certain messages were chosen to be conveyed over others and whether barriers like financial standing or group affiliation—like religious ties—influenced this communication.

Last, accepted protocols and standards for cemetery studies laid out by Barber were followed during this investigation. When collecting data in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners, my behavior was respectful and unobtrusive, cemetery rules were followed, the grounds were only entered when gates were open, graves were walked around (not on top of), burials and mourning were not disrupted, no disruptive archaeological practices took place but grass and dirt were occasionally brushed off markers, and any human interactions that occurred were proceeded with caution (Barber 1994: 196-197).

*Data Collection*

Historical data was collected in the spring of 2020 and fall of 2021 by examining primary and secondary documentation. Primary sources included cemetery, town, county, and state records. Many cemetery-specific records were digitized and publicly available through the Kenosha County Library System's digital archive. Special thanks should be given to librarians at the Salem Community Library for directing me to this database because without it this report would not have been nearly as comprehensive. These cemetery-specific records include: the LCA's constitution written in 1884; documents on the First Congregational Society of Salem, Liberty Congregationalist Church, and Salem Congregationalist Academy at Liberty Corners that shared some affiliation with the cemetery; a ledger of transactions from the LCA's Cemetery

Helpers group that tracked plot purchases, cemetery maintenance and upkeep, and the names of townspeople involved; maps, histories, and photos of Salem through the early twentieth century; and other nineteenth and twentieth century documents that relate directly to the town of Salem and the cemeteries. Wisconsin and United States census records were also utilized to gather information on Salem, Kenosha County, and the state of Wisconsin, and these were available online through government websites and archives for the decades between 1850-1920. Information on the cemetery was also collected from a sign posted at the cemetery's entrance.

Other primary sources were also utilized. Plat maps of the town of Salem were available for the years 1861, 1873, 1887, 1899, 1908, and 1924 through the University of Wisconsin – Parkside's digital archives. Conditional Use Permit applications submitted by the LCA to Kenosha County within the past decade were also utilized, as was a Kenosha County meeting agenda that contained information on Liberty Cemetery. Newspaper articles on notable individuals and local history were also consulted, as were deed records from the Kenosha County Register of Deeds that were provided to me by Christina Zweig, an archaeologist with the University of Wisconsin – Milwaukee's Cultural Resource Management (UWM-CRM) firm, who conducted a preliminary investigation of Liberty in 2020.

Among the secondary sources assembled were online articles about notable townspeople and a number of books on local history. These publications discuss the history of Kenosha County with mention of the town of Salem, detail early Wisconsin settlement and pioneer life, and recount the development, industry, geography, and commerce by county for the state of Wisconsin. Personal communication with professionals at the Wisconsin Historical Society, Burlington Historical Society, and UWM-CRM also provided information used in this thesis. In sum, both primary and secondary historical sources were used to develop an understanding of the

conditions and context in which the cemeteries at Liberty Corners existed during the time frames under investigation.

Archaeological data was collected primarily in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners during the fall of 2020, but the grounds were revisited in August of 2021 to confirm initial gravemarker material identifications done the previous year. Data collection occurred in two rounds: the first round focused on the Old Cemetery (1844-1883), and the second focused on the temporal parameters for the New Cemetery (1885-1924). Information was collected by observing gravemarkers through direct visits to the cemeteries and referencing burials on the findagrave.com website when text and/or motifs were difficult to decipher in person as a result of weathering or unfavorable lighting. A categorized form of my own creation—a recommendation Barber suggests to anyone gathering data in a cemetery (1994: 195)—was used to organize collected information and ensure all desired data was gathered. For organizational purposes, this form gave each marker a sequential unique entry number (e.g. gravemarker 1 in the New Cemetery, gravemarker 2 in the Old Cemetery, etc.), and it also recorded data like marker location within the grounds, names and dates present, inscriptions, material type, material color, height, motifs and design elements present, and other notes like associated markers and orientation. A copy of this form is present in Appendix C. The form collected more data than was utilized in this thesis, but all data has been input into a comprehensive spreadsheet for analysis and safekeeping should additional research endeavors be pursued in the future.

Data collection centered on the northernmost section of the grounds. This portion of the cemetery was the only one that contained markers from the Old Cemetery, and it was also where the majority of markers from the temporal bounds of the New Cemetery were located. Cemetery group sample sizes were therefore based on the number of gravemarkers present in the

northernmost section that corresponded to the temporal range of either the Old or New Cemetery. Markers were intermixed in this northernmost area of the cemetery, and intermixture of the two cemeteries complicated organization for the purposes of this study because the layout of the Old Cemetery does not align with the layout of the New. Resultingly, to ensure data collection was uniform and consistent, I developed arbitrary gridlines for the cemetery's north-south running rows. These rows were numbered in ascending order from east to west and used to collect data for both the Old and New Cemeteries; they help to understand the location and placement of graves throughout the cemetery grounds because gravemarker location could then be denoted by a row number. To further describe marker location, the northernmost section of the cemetery was divided into quadrants: northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest. Both row numbers and quadrants were therefore used to denote gravemarker locations.

Using the data form, information collection began in the northeastern corner of the northernmost section of the cemetery and proceeded south through row 1, then north up row 2, then south down row 3, and so on until markers in each of the 23 rows were recorded. The same process was followed for both the Old and New Cemeteries. In addition to the data collection form, each marker location was also recorded on a map of the cemetery grounds. Photos of each marker were also taken. Data sheets for gravemarkers in this study are present in Appendix D, and they include each gravemarker's entry number, location, cemetery group, form, material, and iconography. Photos are also included.

The Old Cemetery was active between 1844 and 1884 when it was transferred to the LCA. Since 1884 was a transitional year between the Old and New Cemeteries, the temporal focus of the Old Cemetery spans from the date of the earliest burial in 1844 until 1883 as that was the last year the LCA definitively had no influence over it. When collecting data in the Old

Cemetery, 73 entries were recorded. One entry represents one gravemarker or one grouping of affiliated markers (e.g. one family marker with three associated individual markers would be considered one entry, but one standalone marker would also be one entry). These 73 entries contained a total of 77 physical markers that represented a total of 93 individuals. In many cases throughout these cemetery groups, multiple markers were present for a single individual and single markers represented multiple individuals. An individual, for instance, could be represented by both a family marker and an individual one (e.g., an obelisk and a tablet), or one shared marker could represent several members of a family. Following Meyers and Schultz's work in 2016, "when one marker represented the burial of more than one individual…the marker was counted once for each individual. This avoided arbitrary assignment of attributes to one burial or the other" (Meyers and Schultz 2016: 30) and ensured each individual represented on markers in the cemetery was represented in the study. Therefore if information for four children was present on one marker (as was the case with the Penney children in the Old Cemetery, George, Arthur, Albert, and Georgener), that marker was counted four times so as to properly represent each individual. Similarly, if one individual was represented by two markers, both markers were counted. Therefore, though only 77 physical markers are present in the Old Cemetery, the sample size is 93 so that each individual present on gravemarker is represented in the study. A map denoting the locations of each entry recorded in the Old Cemetery is present as Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. A map of gravemarker locations in the Old Cemetery that are denoted by their entry number between 1-73. The aerial view of the northernmost section of Liberty Cemetery is divided into rows running north-south and quadrants that correspond to cardinal directions. Image sourced from Google Maps and edited to include rows, quadrants, and entry numbers.

Similarly, the New Cemetery was active from May 2, 1885 to the present, but as previously mentioned the New Cemetery's range was limited to 39 years in order to parallel the length of its counterpart. As a result, the New Cemetery's temporal bounds extend from May 2, 1885-1924. While the number of entries logged for the New Cemetery is similar to that for the Old (100 entries for the New, 73 for the Old), the number of markers present and individuals represented were much greater. Entries in the New Cemetery contain 185 gravemarkers that represent 234 individuals, compared to 77 markers representing 93 individuals in the Old

Cemetery. To represent each individual, the New Cemetery's sample size is 234. A map denoting the locations of each entry recorded in the New Cemetery is present as Figure 3.2.

Figure 3.2. A map of gravemarker locations in the New Cemetery that are denoted by their entry number between 1-99. The aerial view of the northernmost section of Liberty Cemetery is divided into rows running north-south and quadrants that correspond to cardinal directions. Image sourced from Google Maps and edited to include rows, quadrants, and entry numbers.

Aligning with this project's research problem, dimensions under investigation include marker material type, form, and iconography. Data for each dimension were collected with relevant background information. Material type, for instance, was identified by utilizing several geological sources. The only marker materials present in this study were limestone, marble, granite, bronze, and concrete. Differentiating limestone and marble proved to be the most challenging, and as a result stone identification sources were heavily relied upon for these two; sources were also utilized for granite identification. Stone identifications were made following

criteria outlined by geologists, cemetery conservators and gravestone preservationists like the Association of Gravestone Studies and the Cemetery Conservators for United Standards.

Granite is the most durable natural rock (Appell 2021). This igneous stone has a visible grain of usually quartz or feldspar (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021), and polished granite forms can stand for over 100 years without any significant weathering (Lacey 2019). Though geologists distinguish granite from similar igneous rocks like diorite and gabbro based on their color (diorite is gray, gabbro is black and green, granite is typically white and pink), all three are colloquially referred to as granite (Cemetery Conservators for United Standards 2019). As such, distinctions between granite, diorite, and gabbro will not be made in this study. Here, gravemarkers were identified as granite based on their durability, visible grain, and polish when present.

Limestone is a soft sedimentary rock (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021) made of calcium carbonate. Acid rain negatively affects it, and weathering can cause the stone's surface to become stained or pitted (Appell 2021). Interestingly, limestone is made of fossils from "skeletal fragments of marine organisms" such as corals and shells—in Wisconsin, these are likely remnants of the Silurian Reef—and while "some forms of limestone have visible fossils in them, the majority of fossils present are small and fragmented" (Lacey 2019). When recognizable, these fossils are the most diagnostic trait of limestone (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021). Limestone gravemarkers are almost never polished, have no veining like marble (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021), and do not contain grains like granite (Lacey 2019). When weathered, limestones "typically retain a surface that *appears* melted but *feels* like a very fine sandpaper" [emphasis in original] (Cemetery Conservators for United Standards 2019). Limestone was identified in this

investigation if fossils or fossil fragments were identifiable, if no veining was present, or if the weathered surface appeared melted but felt like sandpaper.

Marble is a metamorphic limestone (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021) created when "an igneous or sedimentary rock undergoes intense heat and/or pressure, changing the chemical composition of the material itself" (Lacey 2019). Fossils present in limestone are destroyed when the stone transforms to marble and becomes a single crystalline block (Lacey 2019), but because marble is derived from limestone, it is still composed of calcium carbonate and is therefore adversely impacted by acid rain and other weathering (Appell 2021). Marble stones are typically white when new, gray when weathered, and can yellow with age; they can also have grey or gold veining (Association for Gravestone Studies, accessed August 24, 2021). Marble was the dominant stone of choice for gravemarkers in nineteenth century North America because it was easy to carve and could be polished, unlike limestone (Lacey 2019). When weathered, marble's surface feels like sugar on a tabletop (Cemetery Conservators for United Standards 2019). Marble gravemarkers were therefore identified in Liberty by their color, veining, or "sugared" surface. Photos of representative marker materials are present as Figure 3.3. Metal and concrete markers were also present in the cemeteries, but these did not require background knowledge to identify.

Granite

Marble

Limestone

Metal

Concrete

Figure 3.3. Photos of representative material types in this investigation. Photos are my own and were taken in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners.

All gravemarker forms present in the cemetery groups were included in this thesis; general criteria for gravemarker form identification were ascertained from Mytum (2004) and personal correspondence with Dr. Patricia Richards (personal correspondence 2022). Forms present in this investigation include obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, tablet, pillow (a cylindrical shape), and ledger. A separate miscellaneous category was created for remaining markers that did not fit within these classifications. Photos of representative marker forms are present below as Figure 3.4

Obelisk (variety of tops: sculpture, prism, pyramidal, roof-like)

Rectangular block (variety of tops: squared off, prism, rounded, roof-like)

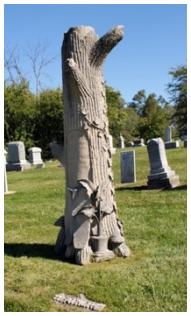
Bevel

Slant

Tablet (variety of tops: rectangular, rounded, rounded with shoulders)

Pillow

Ledger



Other (tree, heart, tilted rectangular cuboid, mirror, etc.)

Figure 3.4. Photos of representative marker forms present on markers in this investigation. Photos are my own and were taken in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners.

The final dimension, iconography, was identified to the best of my ability during data collection, however in some cases the best that could be done at the time was to broadly categorize it (e.g. “flower” instead of “lily”). Photos taken of markers during the data collection

phase were revisited during analysis and compared to other sources for more specific identification. Photos of representative motif categories in this study are presented in Figure 3.5.

Floral (lily varieties, tulip, hibiscus, cuckoo, peony, forget-me-not, rose, sprout/flower bud, fleur de lis, bell flower, evening primrose, daffodil, daisy, wilting bouquet, unidentifiable)

Foliage/arboreal (willow, oak leaves, ivy, vines, laurels, wheat, leaves broadly, corn, tree stone, traveler's palm tree, log, mushroom)

Animal (dove, eagle, lamb)

Design (border, pattern geometric shape)

Column (complete, broken)

Crown (crown, crown with cross)

Scroll or book (scroll, open book, closed book)

Fraternal (Free Masons' compass, Odd Fellows' chain)

Religious (index finger pointing up, hands clasped vertically, drape or veil, cross, urn, physical marker emerges from uncut rock)

Misc. (hands clasped horizontally, arrow, heart, rope, wheel, wings)

Figure 3.5. Photos of representative motifs present on markers in this investigation. Photos are my own and were taken in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners.

*Data analysis*

Analysis of historical data chiefly occurred between August and September of 2021. This work was relatively straightforward. No issues locating documentation occurred, so there were no gaps in the historical record that posed cause for concern. The bulk of analytical work came from reviewing historical documentation, taking notes on their content, cross-checking information with other sources, synthesizing this data, and distilling a cohesive history of the two cemeteries at Liberty Corners and their context within the town of Salem and Kenosha County.

In general, collected information threaded together nicely after all data was tracked down. As mentioned in the previous section, work on historical sources was done with the understanding that not all voices may be represented in the records. Efforts were made to utilize a variety of sources, understand relevant history from different perspectives, and to shed light on historically underrepresented groups like Indigenous peoples, African Americans, and women.

In beginning analysis of collected archaeological information, all raw data was input and organized in a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet to facilitate analysis and generate an understanding of dimensions to be studied. From there, data for each dimension in question were categorized, extracted and/or analyzed by using percentages, averages, pie charts, bar graphs, and frequency seriation graphs. Potential correlations and connections between results of these analyses were also assessed.

Upon analyzing collected data from the Old and New Cemeteries, a third data group was identified. Several shared markers (those with names and death dates of more than one individual) contained information on individuals whose differing death dates corresponded to both the Old and New Cemeteries. As such, these markers could not be categorized as either part of the Old Cemetery or the New Cemetery because technically they fell into both. Consequently, these markers have been relegated to a third category of transitional markers that represent the changeover from the Old to the New Cemetery. In this Transitional Group, 25 entries contained 77 physical markers that represented 154 individuals. The Transitional Group's total sample size was therefore 154, and the group will be subject to the same analyses as the Old and New

Cemetery samples. A map denoting the locations of each entry recorded in the Transitional Group is present as Figure 3.6.

Figure 3.6. A map of gravemarker locations in the Transitional Group that are denoted by their entry number between 1-26. The aerial view of the northernmost section of Liberty Cemetery is divided into rows running north-south and quadrants that correspond to cardinal directions. Image sourced from Google Maps and edited to include rows, quadrants, and entry numbers.

Within these three groups—Old Cemetery, New cemetery, and Transitional Group—gravemarkers were categorized based on their independence or affiliation to other markers. Family/shared markers were those that contained information (names and dates) for more than one individual on a single marker. Individual markers were those that contained information for a single person on a single marker, and in cases where both a family/shared marker and an individual marker represented an individual, they were categorized as "both." Within the "both" category, oftentimes the individual markers associated with a family/shared marker were in a

tablet or bevel form, and they were positioned around the family marker to show their affiliation. The family marker always contained at least the family's surname, and individual markers often contained either the first name or initials of the person they represented. Each of these three marker categorizations—family/shared, individual, and both—were present in the Old and New Cemeteries and the Transitional Group between them; counts for each are present as Tables 3.1, 3.2, and 3.3. In addition to their purpose in organizing collected data, an attempt will be made to determine if these categorizations are interpretively useful.

Table 3.1. Old Cemetery Broad Marker Categorizations

| | Number of entries | Number of markers | Number of individuals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family/shared | 13 | 13 | 28 |
| Individual | 58 | 58 | 58 |
| Both | 2 | 6 | 7 |
| Total | 73 | 77 | 93 |

Table 3.2. Transitional Group Broad Marker Categorizations

| | Number of entries | Number of markers | Number of individuals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family/shared | 7 | 7 | 22 |
| Individual | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Both | 18 | 55 | 132 |
| Total | 25 | 77 | 154 |

Table 3.3. New Cemetery Broad Marker Categorizations

| | Number of entries | Number of markers | Number of individuals |
|---|---|---|---|
| Family/shared | 24 | 25 | 47 |
| Individual | 38 | 38 | 39 |
| Both | 38 | 122 | 148 |
| Total | 100 | 185 | 234 |

Though methods like percentages and tables of counts were utilized to assess data, the primary methodology employed to analyze archaeological evidence in this study was frequency

seriation as described by Barber (1994) and used by other scholars including Deetz and Dethefsen (1966) and Mallios and Caterino (2011). Frequency seriation plots the frequencies of artifact traits against time, subsequently allowing the researcher to determine when traits rose to popularity and fell out of use. Frequency seriation is therefore one method used to interpret change in material culture through time (Barber 1994: 199; Mallios and Caterino 2011: 430). In the case of this thesis, understanding when particular traits rose and fell in popularity can allow us to infer factors—including economic, social, and worldview differences—that may be responsible for these changes. Ultimately, we can determine whether those factors are behind differences between the three groups under investigation.

Several terms associated with frequency seriation should be clarified. First, an attribute or trait is "a minimal kind of characteristic of an artifact, such as having a disk-shaped body, having red color, or having an incised line around the rim" (Barber 1994: 199). A dimension is "the category into which a series of traits can be grouped: red, green, and blue are traits, but color is the dimension," (Barber 1994: 199). In this thesis, the dimensions being assessed are marker material, form, and iconography. The traits within the marker material dimension, for instance, are granite, marble, limestone, metal, and concrete. Traits of the form dimension include obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, tablet, ledger, pillow, and miscellaneous, and the motif dimension's traits are floral, foliage/arboreal, animal, design, column, crown, religious, fraternal, scroll or book, and miscellaneous.

Frequency seriation data are represented in what are referred to as battleship graphs. These stacked bar-like graphs plot traits against time in order to "illustrate the exact sequence of change" in a given artifact for each temporal period of study, which are typically five-to-ten-year periods throughout the entire temporal range (Mallios and Caterino 2011: 431). The "battleship"

refers to the graphical representation of a trait frequency; a newly introduced trait begins with a small horizontal width but widens as it grows in popularity. When the trait frequency declines, so do the size of the horizontal bars. The resultant shape can resemble a battleship. Mallios and Caterino (2011: 430) note that a frequency seriation graph is "essentially a bell curve reflecting behavioral normality over time."

Specific software which I do not have access to is required to create true battleship graphs, so instead I have created a modified battleship graph in Microsoft Excel that depicts the vertically stacked, typically solid, horizontal bars as horizontal rows of tick marks that still widen and narrow in correspondence to trait frequencies. To plot trait frequencies and assess change through time in the Old and New Cemetery data pools, each group will be subdivided into five-year periods throughout their 39-year temporal ranges. Trait frequencies will be represented for each period to assess change through time.

As the third data pool, the Transitional Group contains markers in both the Old and New Cemeteries, and its total temporal length extends from 1844-1924. The same five-year periods utilized for the Old and New Cemeteries are also used for the Transitional Group, and because 1884 was an entirely transitional year between the Old and New Cemeteries, it constitutes its own period. Further, though the changeover from the Old and New Cemeteries happened between 1884 and May 2nd, 1885, no graves from 1885 dated earlier than May 2nd; as such, all markers from 1885 were grouped together. One individual in the Transitional Group on a shared marker with nine other family members had a death date in 1830, which falls outside the Old Cemetery's range of activity—it also predates the earliest documented settlers to Salem, who did not arrive until 1836 (Western Historical Company 1879: 349). A few courses of action were available—namely, eliminating that marker from analysis, shifting it to the earliest temporal

period, or relegating it to its own period of 1830—were available, and I ultimately analyzed the marker in its own temporal period of 1830. Eliminating this individual from assessment altogether seemed inappropriate because all other death dates on the marker fell within the temporal bounds of this study, so it follows that this individual was also memorialized on the marker at some point during the temporal focus of this study. Similarly, had I shifted the marker to the earliest temporal period in the Old Cemetery, it was unclear whether that move would accurately represent the 1844-1849 period. As such, the marker was kept in its own temporal period for the purposes of analysis. With the temporal periods of the Old and New Cemeteries as well as 1884 and 1830, the Transitional Group was subject to the same analyses as the Old and New Cemeteries: counts and percentages of each trait were obtained, frequencies within temporal periods were tabulated, battleship graphs were drafted, and additional steps were taken to assess group affiliations and iconographic meanings.

Two specific trends for change can be recognized from frequency seriation battleship graphs: gradualist and punctualist. Gradualist changes in material culture are depicted as the typical battleship shape, which represent individual traits gradually modifying into new forms (Barber 1994: 200). Punctualist change, conversely, is material culture change that "maintains that older types, traits, and trait clusters are used, essentially unmodified, until they are rejected outright and replaced with new ones that may be totally different," (Barber 1994: 200). In punctualist changes, the trait does not fade because it developed into a different form, but rather it disappears because another replaced it. In this study, a gradualist change might be seen in the material type dimension if limestone rises to popularity, then fades while marble rises to popularity, and then granite rises to popularity as marble fades before it. The steady shift from one type to another depicts a gradualist trend. Conversely, if there was no detectable fade in or

out between changes in material type through time—perhaps if granite seemingly replaced limestone and then limestone disappeared from use—then the trend depicted would be punctualist. Utilizing frequency seriation to determine whether trends in the cemeteries were gradualist or punctualist will therefore provide insight into how change occurred, especially if the focus is narrowed to understanding change on a trait-by-trait basis. By comparing finds between the two cemeteries, we expand our understanding of how change occurred through time, and inferences can be made about the cemeteries' similarities or differences, which may inform on the reasons for change.

Though all three dimensions in this investigation—marker form, material, and iconography—undergo frequency seriation, additional steps for analysis were taken with the third variable. First, not all markers in this study contained motifs to identify and analyze ideologically. The samples are therefore split into groups for those with motifs and those without; raw counts and percentages for these groups will be presented in the following chapter. Following this division, only markers containing motifs were analyzed and interpreted ideologically. Additionally, many markers contained more than one motif. In these instances, up to four motifs were analyzed per marker, and they were labeled Motif 1, Motif 2, Motif 3, and Motif 4 from most dominant and decipherable to least. Symbols designated as Motif 1 were the most dominant motif present on the marker. This classification is undoubtedly subjective, but I attempted to safeguard against this subjectivity by choosing the largest, most eye-catching, or most centrally located icon as Motif 1. Nevertheless, no matter how much caution a researcher endeavors to take, the researcher is still making that choice—not the individuals who chose to put those symbols on their markers.

During data collection, motifs were identified by their association to broad categories (e.g. floral, foliage/arboreal, fraternal, etc.) These identifications were made following guidance from Mytum (2004), Keister (2004), and Dr. Patricia Richards (personal correspondence, 2020). In addition to these resources, online sources were used to identify, group, and analyze motifs present on these markers more specifically. These sources also provided interpretive meaning that will be presented in the results chapter and discussed in the discussion chapter.

In the early stages of analysis, more precise identifications of motifs and basic understanding of their meaning facilitated the creation of new broad categories as well as subcategories for more accurate examination. The finalized broad categories include floral, foliage/arboreal, design, animal, column, crown, religious, fraternal, scroll or book, and miscellaneous. The design category includes geometric and other miscellaneous shapes and lines, and it also includes borders around text. Borders were counted as a design element if they encompassed all of the text on a marker or created a distinct border around an individual's name. Lines of separation between individuals on shared markers were not counted as motifs because they served more functional purposes than aesthetic, interpretive, or informational.

Each broad category for analysis contained subcategories that were created based on the frequencies with which motifs occur in the cemeteries. Within the floral group, for instance, subcategories include lily (Madonna lily, calla lily, peace lily, and lily of the valley), tulip, hibiscus, cuckoo, peony, forget-me-not, rose, and sprout or flower bud, fleur de lis, bell flower, trumpet flower, evening primrose, daffodil, daisy, lotus, a variety of flowers, wilting bouquet, and unidentifiable flowers. The foliage/arboreal grouping contained many subcategories, and among these are the willow tree, oak leaves, ivy, vines, palm fronds, laurels or wreaths, wheat, corn, leaves broadly, tree stones, traveler's palm trees, logs, and mushrooms. The animal

category contained examples of doves, an eagle, and a lamb, while the column group only presented as either complete columns or broken. Subcategories of the fraternal grouping included a compass, which symbolized the Free Masons, and a chain, which represented the Odd Fellows. The religious category consists of hands pointing up, vertically clasped hands, drapes, crosses, urns, and markers that appear to physically emerge from uncut stone. All motifs in this category have religious meaning but were not present in high enough frequencies individually to each represent their own category; as a result, they were grouped together. The scroll or book category has subcategories of scroll, open book, and closed book, and the crown category includes singular crowns and those that have crosses through them. Subcategories of the final group, miscellaneous, include horizontally clasped hands, arrows, hearts, ropes, wheels, and wings.

Categories and subcategories were founded based on their frequencies, not their interpretive meanings. The religious category is an exception as it is an amalgamation of different religious symbols, but regardless, it is not the only category of motifs that have religious meaning. Doves, for instance, can be a symbol of resurrection (Powell 2019), and palm fronds can be a reference to Palm Sunday and Christ's victory over death (The Masonry of Denver 2014). To ensure interpretive meanings of symbols are being assessed cross-categorically and not simply seriated within their own trait, separate charts that represent interpretive meanings of motifs are present in the results chapter along with the seriated frequencies of the motifs dimension in general. This will aid safeguarding against overgeneralization in the results by assuring each motif's meaning can be represented regardless of its general organizational categorization.

# CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Results of data analysis will proceed by variable; material will be presented first, form will follow, and iconography will be assessed last. Within each variable, analysis of markers from the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and the New Cemetery will be examined. A brief overview of the entire variable will also be provided after results for each of the three time periods have been presented to facilitate comparison of all the results in the following discussion chapter.

In tabulating the marker totals that were used as the basis for analysis in each area assessed in this project, counts were obtained by following work previously done by Meyers and Schultz (2016); markers were counted based on the number of individuals that were represented on them as opposed to being counted only once as the physical marker. Meyers and Schultz state that, "when one marker represented the burial of more than one individual…the marker was counted once for each individual" because it "avoided arbitrary assignment of attributes to one burial or the other," (2016:30). Following their guidance ensured each individual depicted on gravemarkers was represented in the study. When one physical marker contained the names and/or death dates of three individuals, for instance, that marker was counted three times. Furthermore, this practice of counting markers individually was particularly important in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners because of the three groups under investigation—the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery. When multiple death dates were present on a marker, it was possible that one marker could fall into both the Old and New Cemeteries, thus demonstrating the necessity of the Transitional Group. Without accounting for each death date present on a marker, however, it would have been necessary to select just one date and relegate the entire marker to a single temporal group. As a result, markers that belong in the Transitional

Group would have been improperly shifted to the Old or New Cemetery groups and skewed those results. Counting markers once for death dates of each individual they represented subsequently allowed proper classification of markers as part of the Transitional Group rather than just the Old Cemetery or the New. Similarly, in instances where more than one marker represented an individual, as opposed to one marker representing multiple people, each representative marker was counted to avoid arbitrarily deciding which marker should be included in the study and which should be ignored.

With this method of counting in mind, the number of physical markers and individuals represented on them were tabulated for the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery. In the Old Cemetery, 93 individuals were represented on 78 physical markers. Thirty-one individuals were represented on family/shared markers, and 62 had individual gravemarkers. The Transitional Group had 77 physical markers present, which is comparatively similar to the Old Cemetery, but the 154 individuals represented on those markers is much larger than the number of individuals in the Old Cemetery. Ninety-four of those individuals were represented on family/shared markers, and 60 had individual markers. In terms of both physical markers and number of individuals represented on them, the New Cemetery is larger than both the Old Cemetery and Transitional Group with 185 physical markers that represent a total of 234 individuals. One hundred twelve individuals in the New Cemetery were represented by family/shared markers, and 122 had individual gravemarkers.

*Gravemarker Material*

*Material in the Old Cemetery.* Across the Old cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery, only five different marker materials were present and analyzed in this study: granite, marble, limestone, concrete, and metal. In the Old Cemetery, 93 individuals were represented on

gravemarkers. Fifteen individuals were represented on granite markers, 38 on marble, 40 on limestone, zero on concrete, and four on metal. Overall, limestone markers comprised the largest portion of the sample at roughly 43%, and it was followed by marble at 37%, granite at 16%, and metal at 4%. A summary of these values is present in Table 4.1, and the percentages of material types in the Old Cemetery are represented in Figure 4.1.

Table 4.1. Old Cemetery Marker Material Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total of Material Type | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 11 | 4 | 15 | 16.13 |
| Marble | 6 | 28 | 34 | 36.56 |
| Limestone | 12 | 28 | 40 | 43.01 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Metal | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4.30 |
| **Total** | 31 | 62 | 93 | 100 |

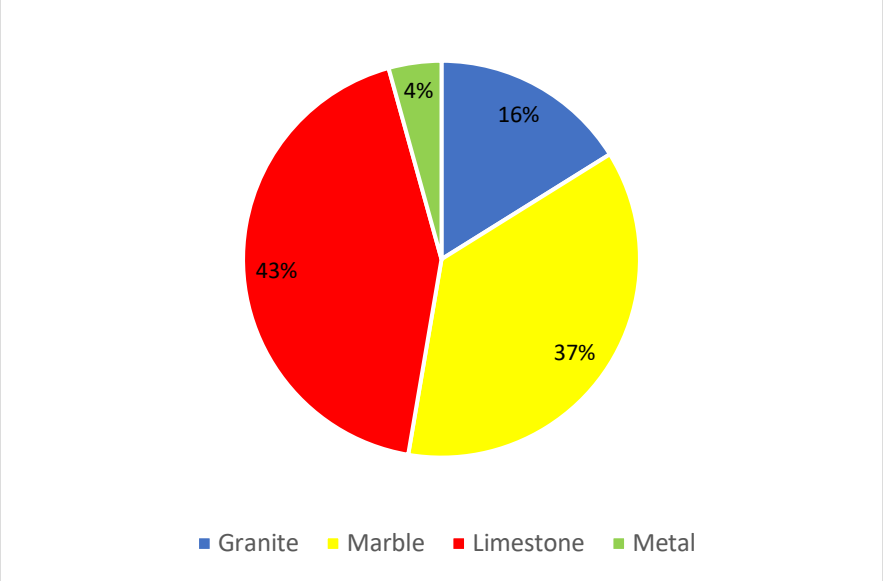



Figure 4.1. Material Types Present in the Old Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

To seriate material type for the Old Cemetery, markers were categorized into five-year periods that correspond to the death date associated with them. These five-year periods subdivided the Old Cemetery's temporal range of 1844-1883, and they include 1844-1848, 1849-

1853, 1859-1863, 1864-1868, 1869-1873, 1874-1878, and 1879-1883. Granite markers were most common in the latest two periods, while marble markers remained relatively consistent throughout the entire span of the Old Cemetery. Limestone markers were present in each period, and they grew in popularity until they reached their peak between 1869-1873 and subsequently began tapering off. Metal markers were only present in the Old Cemetery between 1879-1883. A table detailing these counts throughout the Old Cemetery's duration is present as Table 4.2. The counts in Table 4.2 were converted to frequencies by dividing the sample by the total number of markers, 93, and multiplying by 100. These frequencies were used to seriate the data for and create a modified battleship graph. The table of material type frequencies within the sample is present as Table 4.3, and the corresponding modified battleship graph visually represents the data as Figure 4.2.

Table 4.2. Old Cemetery Marker Material Counts by Period

| | 1844-1848 | 1849-1853 | 1854-1858 | 1859-1863 | 1864-1868 | 1869-1873 | 1874-1878 | 1879-1883 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 0 | 0 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 6 | 15 |
| Marble | 4 | 6 | 4 | 6 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 34 |
| Limestone | 3 | 3 | 3 | 7 | 9 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 40 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Metal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 4 |

Table 4.3. Percent Frequencies for Old Cemetery Material Type Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Metal | Concrete |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | 6 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 0 |
| 1874-1878 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1869-1873 | 0 | 4 | 12 | 0 | 0 |
| 1864-1868 | 0 | 1 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 1859-1863 | 3 | 6 | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 1854-1858 | 2 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1849-1853 | 0 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1844-1848 | 0 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 0 |

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Metal | Concrete |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | IIIIII | IIIII | I | IIII | |
| 1874-1878 | IIII | IIII | III | | |
| 1869-1873 | | IIII | IIIIIIIIIII | | |
| 1864-1868 | | I | IIIIIIIII | | |
| 1859-1863 | III | IIIIII | IIIIIII | | |
| 1854-1858 | II | IIII | III | | |
| 1849-1853 | | IIIIII | III | | |
| 1844-1848 | | IIII | III | | |

Figure 4.2. Modified Battleship Graph for Old Cemetery Marker Material Types

*Material Types in the Transitional Group.* One hundred fifty-four individuals were represented on markers in the Transitional Group, and 45 of those markers were granite, 101 were marble, 8 were concrete, and 0 were limestone or metal. Marble markers comprised the largest portion of the sample at about 66%, followed by granite at 29% and concrete at 5%. These values are depicted in Table 4.4, and overall percentages are also represented in Figure 4.3.

Table 4.4. Transitional Group Marker Material Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total of Material Type | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 21 | 24 | 45 | 29.22 |
| Marble | 69 | 32 | 101 | 65.58 |
| Limestone | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Concrete | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5.19 |
| Metal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | 94 | 60 | 154 | 100 |

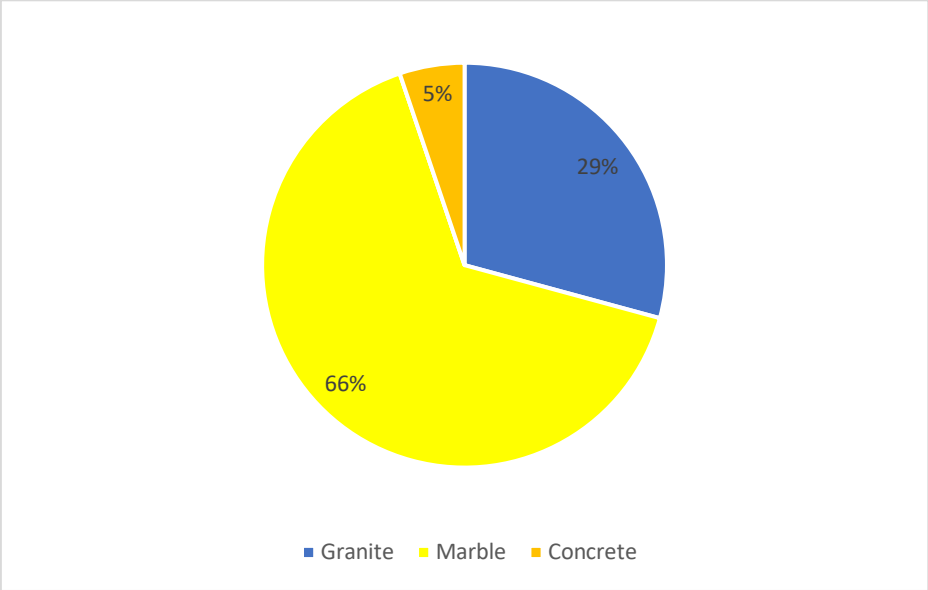



Figure 4.3. Material Types Present in the Transitional Group Rounded to the Nearest Percent

As the Transitional Group spans both the Old and New Cemeteries, it utilizes the five-year periods that subdivide both groups. Additionally, it includes a distinct period for 1884 as that year was wholly transitional between the Old Cemetery (1844-1883) and New Cemetery (1885-1924). It must also be noted that a separate period for 1830 is present even though it predates the Old Cemetery's origination in 1844 and arrival of the first settlers to Salem in 1836. One individual represented on a family/shared marker has a death date of 1830; this is the only individual that predates 1844, so rather than creating additional five-year periods between 1830 and 1844 to bridge the gap, a separate period was created for just 1830. Because this person is memorialized in Liberty and this study's methods emphasize the individuals represented on gravemarkers rather than the counts of physical markers themselves, this assessment consequently treats this person as any other individual represented in the cemetery groups by including them in analysis rather than omitting them. Further, this person's inclusion on the family/shared marker despite their early death and absence in Liberty gives a sense of how the family regarded them. Last, several individuals in the Transitional Group did not have an

associated death date present on their marker(s) and consequently could not be categorized into a five-year period. As a result, a category for "no death date" was devised as these dates were not present on markers and were not found in historical records. Since neither the Old nor New Cemeteries lacked death dates for individuals, the "no death date" category was only applied to the Transitional Group. The periods that comprise the Transitional Group's analysis therefore include 1830, 1844-1848, 1849-1853, 1859-1863, 1864-1868, 1869-1873, 1874-1878, 1879-1883, 1885-1889, 1890-1894, 1895-1899, 1900-1904, 1905-1909, 1910-1914, 1915-1919, and 1920-1924. No markers in the Transitional Group, however, fell into the 1920-1924 period.

As with the Old Cemetery, counts of material types within each period were tabulated. Granite fell in and out of use through time; it was used minimally between 1854-1883, was not present in 1884, returned in between 1885-1889 with more popularity than its previous appearance. It disappeared between 1905-1909 and resurged solidly between 1910-1014 with a slight increase in frequency during the following period 1915-1919. Marble's frequency ebbed through time, but largely it increased steadily until its peak between 1890-1894, after which it tapered off dramatically and only increased slightly before decreasing again. Concrete was used minimally and sporadically, only representing 1% of the sample during each of the 1854-1858, 1879-1883, and 1884 periods. Marker material counts by period are detailed in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5a. Transitional Group Marker Material Counts by Period Between 1830-1884

| | 1830 | 1844 -1848 | 1849 -1853 | 1854 -1858 | 1859 -1863 | 1864 -1868 | 1869 -1873 | 1874 -1878 | 1879 -1883 | 1884 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 15 |
| Marble | 1 | 3 | 1 | 8 | 2 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 15 | 3 | 48 |
| Limestone | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 |
| Metal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Table 4.5b. Transitional Group Marker Material Counts by Period Between 1885-1924

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | No death date | Total Marker Count | Grand Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 7 | 8 | 0 | 1 | 30 | 45 |
| Marble | 16 | 11 | 1 | 2 | 6 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 9 | 53 | 101 |
| Limestone | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 8 |
| Metal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Material type counts present in Table 4.5 were converted to frequencies by dividing each count by the number of markers in the Transitional Group that remained after markers with no death date were removed, 142, and multiplying by 100. These frequencies are represented in Table 4.6, and the modified battleship graph created from them is present as Figure 4.4. Markers without death dates were removed from analysis here because they could not be sorted into five-year periods and their change through time could not be assessed.

Table 4.6. Percent Frequencies for Transitional Group Material Types Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Concrete | Metal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1910-1914 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1905-1909 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 1 | 16 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1885-1889 | 4 | 11 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1884 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1879-1883 | 1 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1874-1878 | 1 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1869-1873 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1864-1868 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1859-1863 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1854-1858 | 1 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1849-1853 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1844-1848 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1830 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Concrete | Metal |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | | | | | |
| 1915-1919 | IIIIII | I | | | |
| 1910-1914 | IIIII | IIIII | | | |
| 1905-1909 | | IIII | | | |
| 1900-1904 | III | I | | | |
| 1895-1899 | I | I | | | |
| 1890-1894 | I | IIIIIIIIIIIIII | | | |
| 1885-1889 | IIII | IIIIIIIIII | | | |
| 1884 | | II | | I | |
| 1879-1883 | I | IIIIIIIIII | | I | |
| 1874-1878 | I | IIII | | | |
| 1869-1873 | III | IIII | | | |
| 1864-1868 | III | IIII | | | |
| 1859-1863 | I | I | | | |
| 1854-1858 | I | IIIIII | | I | |
| 1849-1853 | | I | | | |
| 1844-1848 | | II | | | |
| 1830 | | I | | | |

Figure 4.4. Modified Battleship Graph for Transitional Group Marker Material Types

*Material Types in the New Cemetery.* In the New Cemetery, 234 individuals were represented on 165 granite markers, 65 marble, 2 limestone, and 2 metal. Zero concrete markers were present. Granite markers comprised most of the sample at 70.5%, marble followed at 28%, and limestone and metal both at nearly 1%. Counts of marker material types in the New Cemetery are summarized in Table 4.7, and a pie chart depicting the percent composition of materials in the sample is present as Figure 4.5.

Table 4.7. New Cemetery Marker Material Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total of Material Type | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 83 | 82 | 165 | 70.51 |
| Marble | 27 | 38 | 65 | 27.78 |
| Limestone | 0 | 2 | 2 | 0.85 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Metal | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0.85 |
| Total | 112 | 122 | 234 | 100 |

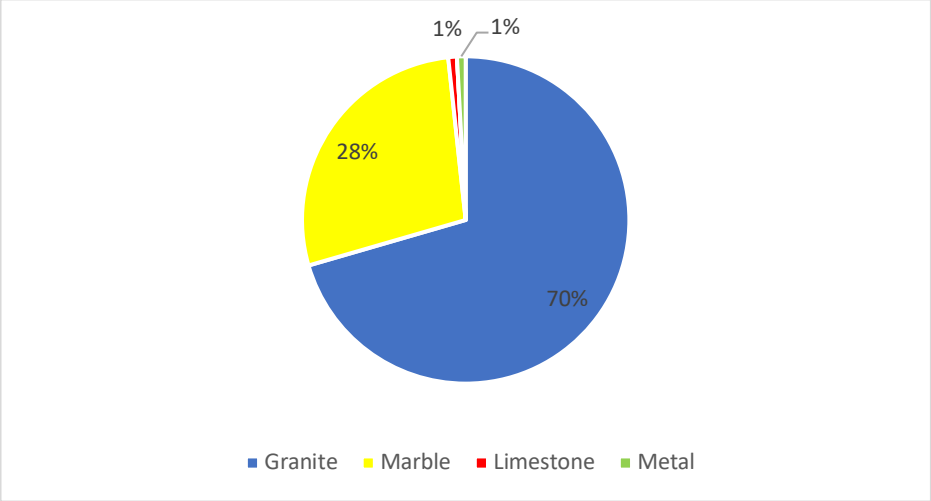



Figure 4.5. Material Types Present in the New Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

Five-year periods in the New Cemetery spanned from 1885-1924 and include 1885-1889, 1890-1894, 1895-1899, 1900-1904, 1905-1909, 1910-1914, 1915-1919, and 1920-1924. Granite markers maintained a strong presence in each period, and overall, they increased steadily until 1920-1924 where they experienced a small decline. Marble markers were also present in each period but in much smaller frequencies, and it declined from 1910-1914 onward. Two limestone markers were present: one between 1885-1889 and the other from 1900-1904. Similarly, only two metal markers were present, and both appear between 1905-1909. These values are depicted in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8. New Cemetery Marker Material Counts by Period

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Granite | 9 | 24 | 11 | 19 | 20 | 30 | 35 | 17 | 165 |
| Marble | 2 | 14 | 12 | 13 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 65 |
| Limestone | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Concrete | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Metal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |

These counts were converted to frequencies for seriation by dividing each number in the sample by the total number of markers in the New Cemetery, 234, and multiplying that value by 100. Material type frequencies sorted by period are present in Table 4.9, and the modified battleship graph created from them is present as Figure 4.6.

Table 4.9. Percent Frequencies for New Cemetery Marker Material Type Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Metal | Concrete |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 7 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 15 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1910-1914 | 13 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1905-1909 | 9 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 8 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 10 | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1885-1889 | 4 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Granite | Marble | Limestone | Metal | Concrete |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | IIIIIII | I | | | |
| 1915-1919 | IIIIIIIIIIIIII | III | | | |
| 1910-1914 | IIIIIIIIIIII | II | | | |
| 1905-1909 | IIIIIIIII | IIII | | I | |
| 1900-1904 | IIIIIIII | IIIIII | | | |
| 1895-1899 | IIIII | IIIII | | | |
| 1890-1894 | IIIIIIIII | IIIIII | | | |
| 1885-1889 | IIII | I | | | |

Figure 4.6. Modified Battleship Graph for New Cemetery Marker Material Types

*Material Types: Summarized.* In sum, all three cemetery groups provided different results. Sample sizes increased from the Old Cemetery (n=93) to the Transitional Group (n=154), and the New Cemetery (n=234) saw another increase. Limestone was the most common material in the Old Cemetery, but marble was most prevalent in the Transitional Group. Granite, however, was the most popular gravemarker material in the New Cemetery. A comprehensive table of counts and percentages of each material type across all three cemetery groups is present as Table 4.10.

Table 4.10. Total Counts and Percentages of Marker Material Type Across All Three Groups

| | Old Cemetery | Transitional Group | New Cemetery |
|---|---|---|---|
| Granite Count | 15 | 45 | 165 |
| Granite Percent | 16.13% | 29.22% | 78.95% |
| Marble Count | 34 | 101 | 65 |
| Marble Percent | 36.56% | 65.59% | 31.10% |
| Limestone Count | 40 | 0 | 2 |
| Limestone Percent | 43.01% | 0.00% | 0.96% |
| Concrete Count | 0 | 8 | 0 |
| Concrete Percent | 0.00% | 5.19% | 0.00% |
| Metal Count | 4 | 0 | 2 |
| Metal Percent | 4.30% | 0.00% | 0.96% |

*Gravemarker Form*

*Form in the Old Cemetery.* Sample sizes for gravemarker form across the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery were equivalent to those of the material variable at 93, 154, and 234, respectively. Where the material variable was only comprised of five different types, eight different gravemarker forms were recorded across all three cemetery groups: obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, tablet, cylinder, ledger, and other, which consists of markers that do not prescribe to standard typologies. In the Old Cemetery, there were four obelisk forms,

eight rectangular blocks, four bevels, four slants, 31 tablets, 40 ledgers, zero cylinders, and two markers categorized as other. Obelisks, bevels, and slants each amounted to roughly 4% of the Old Cemetery sample for a total of 12% while rectangular blocks made up 9%. Most markers in the Old Cemetery were ledgers and tablets, which maintained 43% and 33% of the Old Cemetery, respectively. These values are represented in Table 4.11, and a pie chart depicting the percent composition of marker forms in the Old Cemetery is present as Figure 4.7.

Table 4.11. Old Cemetery Form Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total of form type | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4.30 |
| Rectangular block | 7 | 1 | 8 | 8.60 |
| Bevel | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4.30 |
| Slant | 2 | 2 | 4 | 4.30 |
| Tablet | 6 | 25 | 31 | 33.33 |
| Pillow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ledger | 12 | 28 | 40 | 43.01 |
| Other | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2.15 |
| Total | 31 | 62 | 93 | 100 |

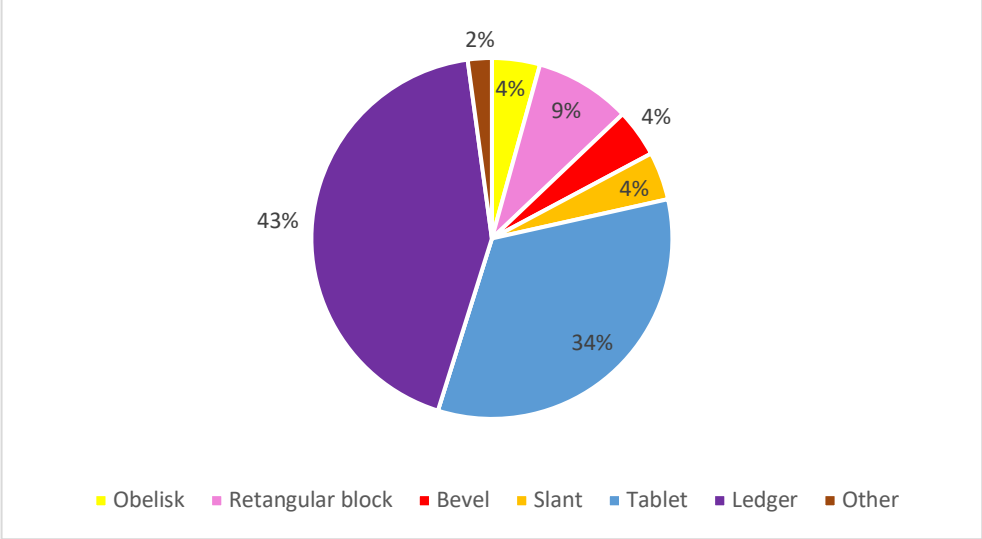



Figure 4.7. Forms Present in the Old Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

Counts of marker forms were categorized by death date into five-year time periods spanning between 1844-1883, it became clear that obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, and other forms appeared and disappeared sporadically through time. Tablets were fairly consistent across all five-year periods, and ledger forms increased solidly until reaching a peak between 1869-1873 and then declining sharply. These counts, organized by period, are present in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12. Old Cemetery Marker Form Counts by Period

| | 1844 -1848 | 1849 -1853 | 1854 -1858 | 1859 -1863 | 1864 -1868 | 1869 -1873 | 1874 -1878 | 1879 -1883 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 4 |
| Rectangular block | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 8 |
| Bevel | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 4 |
| Slant | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| Tablet | 4 | 5 | 3 | 6 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 5 | 31 |
| Pillow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ledger | 3 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 12 | 2 | 2 | 40 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |

To seriate these data, counts were converted to frequencies within the sample by dividing each count by the total number of markers under investigation in the Old Cemetery, 93, and multiplying that result by 100. Frequencies were used to create a modified battleship graph to visually represent change in Old Cemetery marker forms through time. The table of marker frequencies is available as Table 4.13, and the modified battleship graph is present as Figure 4.8.

Table 4.13. Percent Frequencies of Old Cemetery Marker Forms Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| 1874-1878 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| 1869-1873 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 13 | 0 |
| 1864-1868 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 1859-1863 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 6 | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| 1854-1858 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 1849-1853 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 1844-1848 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 0 |

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | II | II | III | I | IIIII | | II | II |
| 1874-1878 | | III | | II | IIII | | II | |
| 1869-1873 | I | | | | II | | IIIIIIIIIIII | |
| 1864-1868 | | | | | II | | IIIIIIII | |
| 1859-1863 | | II | I | | IIIIII | | IIIIII | |
| 1854-1858 | | I | | I | III | | IIII | |
| 1849-1853 | I | | | | IIIII | | III | |
| 1844-1848 | | | | | IIII | | III | |

Figure 4.8. Modified Battleship Graph for Old Cemetery Marker Forms

*Form in the Transitional Group.* Forms present in the Transitional Group include obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, tablet, and other. Seventy-one obelisks, 15 rectangular blocks, 18 bevels, five slants, 37 tablets, and eight other forms amounted to a total of 154 individuals represented. Obelisks comprised the largest portion of the sample at 46%, followed by tablets at 24%, bevels at nearly 12%, rectangular blocks at roughly 10%, other forms at 5%, and slants at 3%. These values are depicted in Table 4.14, and the percentage of markers within the Transitional Group sample is visually represented in a pie chart as Figure 4.9.

Table 4.14. Transitional Group Marker Form Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 71 | 0 | 71 | 46.10 |
| Rectangular block | 15 | 0 | 15 | 9.74 |
| Bevel | 2 | 16 | 18 | 11.69 |
| Slant | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3.25 |
| Tablet | 0 | 37 | 37 | 24.03 |
| Pillow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ledger | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 4 | 4 | 8 | 5.19 |
| Total | 94 | 60 | 154 | 100 |

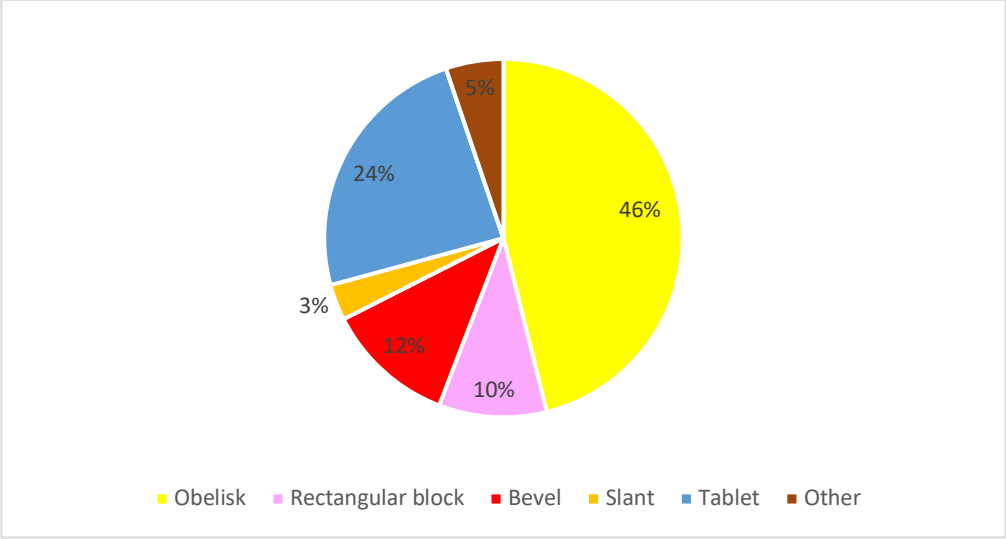



Figure 4.9. Forms Present in the Transitional Group Rounded to the Nearest Percent

The Transitional Group encompasses the temporal ranges of both the Old and New Cemeteries, and as such its division into five-year periods spans from 1844-1924. Two additional categories for 1830 and markers with no death date are also included. Zero markers within the Transitional Group date between 1920-1924. Obelisks are present in every period except 1920-1924, and their popularity fluctuates through time. Tablets also have a relatively consistent presence across all periods apart from five periods, not including 1920-1924, where no tablets

are present: 1830, 1849-1853, 1859-1863, 1895-1899, and 1915-1919. Rectangular blocks and slants appear sporadically through time at low frequencies. Apart from a spike in popularity between 1910-1914 and 1915-1919, the overall appearance and frequency of bevel forms in the Transitional Group is like that of rectangular blocks and slants. Other forms only appear in three time periods at low frequencies: 1854-1858, 1879-1883, 1884. Counts of Transitional Group marker forms by period are summarized in Table 4.15.

Table 4.15a. Transitional Group Marker Form Counts by Period Between 1830-1884

| | 1830 | 1844 -1848 | 1849 -1853 | 1854 -1858 | 1859 -1863 | 1864 -1868 | 1869 -1873 | 1874 -1878 | 1879 -1883 | 1884 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 1 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 10 | 2 | 32 |
| Rectangular block | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 |
| Bevel | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 |
| Slant | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Tablet | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 19 |
| Pillow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ledger | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 6 |

Table 4.15b. Transitional Group Marker Form Counts by Period Between 1885-1924

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | No Death Date | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 11 | 6 | 1 | 1 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 10 | 39 |
| Rectangular block | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 10 |
| Bevel | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 13 |
| Slant | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Tablet | 6 | 5 | 0 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 18 |
| Pillow | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Ledger | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Other | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 |

As with the material variable, converting counts in the Transitional Group to frequencies for seriation required eliminating gravemarkers without death dates from the sample because their inability to be categorized into five-year periods prevents their analysis in a seriative capacity. As such, marker counts in this group were converted to frequencies by dividing each number by 142, which is the sample size after gravemarkers with no death dates were removed and multiplying by 100. These frequencies are present in Table 4.16, and they are visually represented in a modified battleship graph in Figure 4.10.

Table 4.16. Percent Frequencies of Transitional Group Marker Forms Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1910-1914 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1905-1909 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1885-1889 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1884 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1879-1883 | 7 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1874-1878 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1869-1873 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1864-1868 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1859-1863 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1854-1858 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1849-1853 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1844-1848 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1830 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | | | | | | | | |
| 1915-1919 | I | II | III | I | | | | |
| 1910-1914 | IIII | I | IIII | I | I | | | |
| 1905-1909 | III | | | | I | | | |
| 1900-1904 | I | I | | | II | | | |
| 1895-1899 | I | I | | I | | | | |
| 1890-1894 | IIII | | I | | IIII | | | |
| 1885-1889 | IIIIIIII | II | I | | IIII | | | |
| 1884 | I | | | | I | | | I |
| 1879-1883 | IIIIIII | | I | | IIII | | | I |
| 1874-1878 | II | | | I | I | | | |
| 1869-1873 | II | I | I | | II | | | |
| 1864-1868 | II | I | I | | II | | | |
| 1859-1863 | I | I | | I | | | | |
| 1854-1858 | IIII | I | I | | II | | | I |
| 1849-1853 | I | | | | | | | |
| 1844-1848 | I | | | | I | | | |
| 1830 | I | | | | | | | |

Figure 4.10. Modified Battleship Graph for Transitional Group Marker Forms

*Form in the New Cemetery.* Gravemarker forms present in the New Cemetery include obelisks, rectangular blocks, bevels, slants, tablets, cylinders, ledgers, and other forms. This contrasts both the Old Cemetery and Transitional Groups that lacked cylinders and cylinders and ledgers, respectively. A total of 234 individuals were represented on 34 obelisks, 53 rectangular blocks, 62 bevels, 28 slants, 45 tablets, seven cylinders, one ledger, and four other forms. Bevels comprise the largest portion of the sample at about 27%, rectangular blocks follow at 23%, then tablets at 19%, obelisks at roughly 15%, slants at 12%, cylinders at 3% other forms at 2%, and ledgers at 0.43%. These values are represented in Table 4.17, and percentages of each marker are present in Figure 4.11.

Table 4.17. New Cemetery Marker Form Counts by Total Individuals Represented

| | Family/Shared Marker | Individual Marker | Total of Form | Percentage of Sample |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 34 | 0 | 34 | 14.53 |
| Rectangular Block | 49 | 4 | 53 | 22.65 |
| Bevel | 12 | 50 | 62 | 26.50 |
| Slant | 13 | 15 | 28 | 11.97 |
| Tablet | 0 | 45 | 45 | 19.23 |
| Pillow | 1 | 6 | 7 | 2.99 |
| Ledger | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0.43 |
| Other | 3 | 1 | 4 | 1.71 |
| Total | 112 | 122 | 234 | 100 |

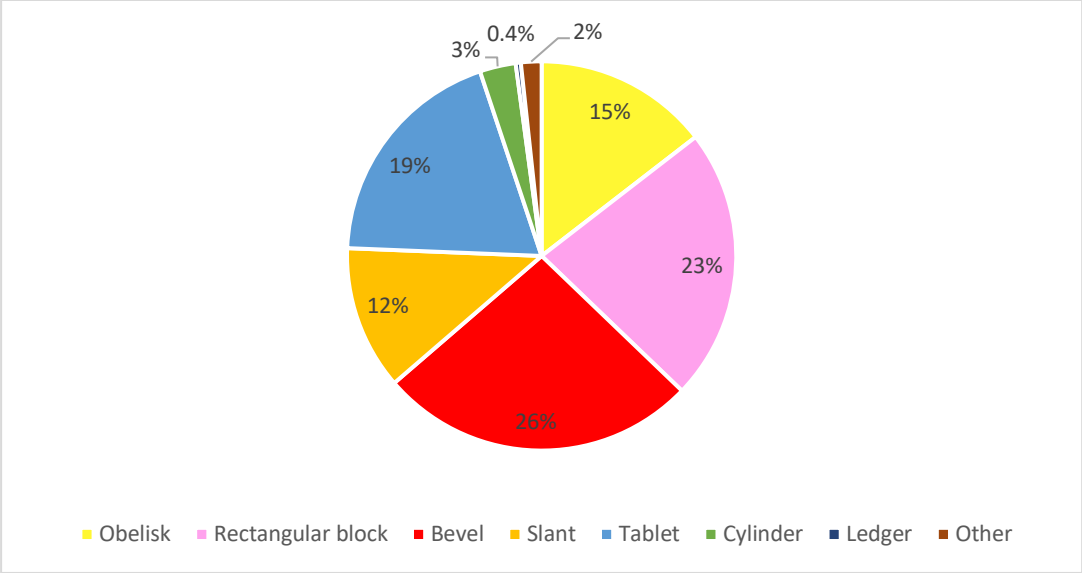



Figure 4.11. Forms Present in the New Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

When organized into five-year periods, obelisks are most common between 1885-1909 before fading from use. Rectangular blocks, bevels, slants, and tablets are present across almost all periods, while cylinders, ledgers, and other forms are present in low quantities in only a few five-year periods. The prevalence of rectangular blocks appears to fluctuate through time, while slants are fairly consistent until they appear to fade out of use toward the end of the New Cemetery's temporal range. Bevels steadily increase in frequency through time, and the prevalence of tablets slowly decreases. These counts are available in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18. New Cemetery Marker Form Counts by Period

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk | 3 | 10 | 3 | 10 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 34 |
| Rectangular block | 1 | 5 | 8 | 11 | 5 | 10 | 10 | 3 | 53 |
| Bevel | 1 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 19 | 11 | 62 |
| Slant | 3 | 5 | 1 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 3 | 3 | 28 |
| Tablet | 3 | 12 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 45 |
| Pillow | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 7 |
| Ledger | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Other | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 4 |

Counts of gravemarker forms were converted to frequencies within the sample by dividing each number by the total sample size, 234, and multiplying the result by 100. Frequencies were then rounded to the nearest whole number for application in a modified battleship graph; these frequencies are present in Table 4.19, and the modified battleship graph is available as Figure 4.12. In instances where only one marker was present within a five-year period, its frequency within the sample equated to less than 0.5 and as such was rounded down to zero and excluded from the table of frequencies and corresponding seriative analysis.

Table 4.19. Percent Frequencies of New Cemetery Marker Forms Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1910-1914 | 0 | 4 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1905-1909 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 4 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 4 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1885-1889 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Obelisk | Rectangular block | Bevel | Slant | Tablet | Pillow | Ledger | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | | I | IIIII | I | I | | | |
| 1915-1919 | I | IIII | IIIIIIII | I | II | | | I |
| 1910-1914 | | IIII | IIII | II | II | I | | |
| 1905-1909 | II | II | IIII | II | II | | | |
| 1900-1904 | IIII | IIIII | II | II | III | | | |
| 1895-1899 | I | III | I | | III | | | |
| 1890-1894 | IIII | II | II | II | IIIII | | | |
| 1885-1889 | I | | | I | I | | | |

Figure 4.12. Modified Battleship Graph for New Cemetery Marker Forms

*Form as a Measure of Religious and Familial Affiliations.* In studying gravemarker form across the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery, attempts were also made to understand how marker physicality might relate to group and familial affiliations of the deceased. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, arguments for sculpture and obelisk forms as indicators of the extent Christian religious affiliations have been made by Boulware (2008) and Ford (2013). In terms of ties to a religious group, Boulware noted that religious sculpture, such as crosses or urns, atop markers can indicate ties to Catholicism (Boulware 2008: 60). Ford (2013:10) stated that obelisk forms are a "clear indicator of the loosening of the church's influence over funerary practice" because obelisks have pagan origins and also contrast the diminutive Puritan styles that came before them. The presence of obelisks and/or religious sculpture on markers could therefore indicate religious affiliations of the populations.

These notions of obelisks and sculpture as indicators of piety were applied at Liberty Corners. Obelisks were also the only marker consistently adorned with sculpture, so subcategories for obelisks with urns and obelisks lacking sculpture but possessing structure that likely once supported it were created. Supportive structure for sculpture on obelisks includes a platform and rebar. As urns were the only sculpture present atop any obelisks in Liberty,

analyses provide data on obelisks with sculpture as well as obelisks that may have once had sculpture present.

To assess the extent of religious affiliations, obelisk varieties—the tallest marker forms in Liberty—were compared to shorter, non-obelisk forms. These short, non-obelisk forms include bevels, slants, and ledgers; comparing them to obelisks provides context and can allude to whether tall obelisk forms are significantly more or less prominent than characteristically diminutive and more restrictive Christian memorializations. In the old cemetery, a total of four obelisk varieties contributed to verticality. In contrast, 48 markers were classified as short forms. Therefore 4.30% of the Old Cemetery sample contributed to verticality that could imply distance from religious affiliations while 51.61% of markers were notably small, non-obelisks and could be indicative of a religious affiliation. In the Transitional Group, 71 markers were tall obelisks, while 23 were short non-obelisk forms. Further, 46.01% of markers in the Transitional Group contributed to the group's verticality compared to 14.94% of forms in the sample that were recognizably short. A total of 34 obelisks contributed to verticality in the New Cemetery while 91 markers were small forms. Resultingly, 14.53% of the New Cemetery sample consists of tall markers compared to 38.89% short. A summary of these values is available in Table 4.20.

Table 4.20. Obelisks and Sculptures as Indicators of Religious Affiliation Across the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery

| | | Old Cemetery | | | Transitional Group | | | New Cemetery | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Count | Total | Percent | Count | Total | Percent | Count | Total | Percent |
| Obelisk Varieties | Obelisk | 1 | 4 | 4.30% | 26 | 71 | 46.01% | 16 | 34 | 14.53% |
| | Obelisk with urn | 3 | | | 20 | | | 10 | | |
| | Obelisk with platform | 0 | | | 25 | | | 8 | | |
| Short, Non-obelisks | Bevel | 4 | 48 | 51.61% | 18 | 23 | 14.94% | 62 | 91 | 38.89% |
| | Slant | 4 | | | 5 | | | 28 | | |
| | Ledger | 40 | | | 0 | | | 1 | | |

It must also be noted that while obelisk forms may indicate religious affiliation, sculpture like urns atop them are a Christian symbol of returning to ash, so these could still indicate religious ties. In the Old Cemetery, three of the four obelisks present have urn sculptures, and that number is distinctly larger in the Transitional Group where 20 obelisks have urn sculptures and 25 have platforms or rebar present where sculpture, presumably urns, may have once been. In the New Cemetery, 10 obelisks had urn sculptures and eight more had either platforms or structure present where sculptures once stood. Further interpretation on this subject will be provided in the following chapter.

Affiliation was also assessed in terms of familial affinity. Instances where the deceased are represented by unifying family/shared markers as opposed to only a single marker for the individual may inform on emphasis placed on familial affiliation. Therefore, in examining this between those interred in the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery, the frequencies of family/shared markers, individual markers, and instances in which both were present were assessed. A high percentage of family markers represented may indicate emphasis on family as a form of group affiliation. This endeavor is supported by previous work done by Ames (1981) in which he concluded that division of the burial ground into family plots indicates an emphasis on familial affiliation. At Liberty, the organization of plots around a shared family marker could be akin to designated division of the grounds into family plots, and thus could be an indicator of the level of familial emphasis present. Additionally, Ames also notes that gravemarkers used to represent families were often large, may have contributed to verticality in the cemetery, and were representative of the family unit (Ames 1981: 653).

In the Old Cemetery, 28 individuals (30.12% of the total sample) were represented by a family/shared marker, and six individuals (6.45% of the total sample) had both a family/shared

marker and an individual marker present. Fifty-nine people (63.44% of the total sample) were represented by their own individual marker. The Transitional Group had 22 family/shared markers that comprised 14.29% of the sample and 132 individuals were represented by both a family/shared marker and an individual marker. Nearly 86% of individuals in the Transitional Group sample are represented by both a family/shared marker and an individual one. Because the Transitional Group consists only of markers that represent multiple individuals and have death dates in both the Old and New Cemeteries, no individual markers are present for analysis here. It does, however, appear that emphasis was placed on memorializing the family in tandem with the individual. Further interpretation will be offered in the following chapter. In the New Cemetery, 47 individuals are represented on family/shared markers, comprising 17.09% of the sample. In contrast, 148 individuals were represented by both a family/shared marker and an individual marker for a total of 63.25% of the New Cemetery sample. Thirty-nine individual markers were also present, and they constituted 16.67% of the group. These values are summarized in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21. Family/Shared Markers as Indicators of Emphasis on Familial Affiliation

| | Old Cemetery | | Transitional Group | | New Cemetery | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Percentage | Total | Percentage | Total | Percentage |
| Family/Shared Markers | 28 | 30.12% | 22 | 14.29% | 47 | 17.09% |
| Both Family/Shared and Individual | 6 | 6.45% | 132 | 85.71% | 148 | 63.25% |
| Individual | 59 | 63.44% | 0 | 0% | 39 | 16.67% |

*Form: Summarized.* In sum, each cemetery group in this investigation saw a difference in the prevalence of certain marker forms. Ledgers and tablets were by far the most popular form in the Old Cemetery. Tablets were also common in the Transitional Group, but obelisks were by far

the most prevalent gravemarker form. Tablets and obelisks were popular in the earlier years of the New Cemetery's activity, but as they faded from use it appears that rectangular blocks and bevels became more common. A table of marker counts and percentages within their respective cemetery groups is available in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22. Total Counts and Percentages of Marker Form Across All Three Cemetery Groups

| | Old Cemetery | Transitional Group | New Cemetery |
|---|---|---|---|
| Obelisk Count | 4 | 71 | 34 |
| Obelisk Percent | 4.30% | 46.01% | 14.53% |
| Rectangular Block Count | 8 | 15 | 62 |
| Rectangular Block Percent | 8.60% | 9.74% | 22.65% |
| Bevel Count | 4 | 18 | 28 |
| Bevel Percent | 4.30% | 11.69% | 11.97% |
| Slant Count | 4 | 5 | 45 |
| Slant Percent | 4.30% | 3.25% | 19.23% |
| Tablet Count | 31 | 37 | 7 |
| Tablet Percent | 33.33% | 24.03% | 2.99% |
| Cylinder Count | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Cylinder Percent | 0.00% | 0.00% | 2.99% |
| Ledger Count | 40 | 0 | 1 |
| Ledger Percent | 43.01% | 0.00% | 0.43% |
| Other Count | 2 | 8 | 4 |
| Other Percent | 2.15% | 5.19% | 1.71% |

In terms of affiliation, the prevalence of short, non-obelisk forms in the Old Cemetery could indicate the deceased had strong religious ties. The opposite could be said for the Transitional Group as it contained far more tall forms than small; heights of marker forms in the New Cemetery showed more short forms than tall, but these values were not as starkly contrasted in this group as they were in the Old Cemetery. Regarding familial affiliation, the Old Cemetery

saw more representation on individual markers while both the Transitional Group and New Cemetery had more family/shared markers or both family/shared markers and individual ones.

*Gravemarker Iconography*

Gravemarkers across all three cemetery groups possessed varying iconography that were studied in this investigation to understand affiliation, status, and worldview of the deceased. Motifs were placed into 10 broad categories for analysis: floral, foliage/arboreal, animal, design, column, crown, religious, fraternal, scroll or book, and miscellaneous. Each broad category contained several subcategories that accounted for each motif present in the cemetery groups. The floral category included lilies (lily of the valley, Madonna lily, calla lily, and peace lily), tulips, cuckoo flowers, forget-me-nots, roses, sprouts or flower buds, fleur de lis, bell flowers, evening primroses, daisies, lotuses, wilting bouquet, unidentifiable flowers, and a variety of flowers. Willow trees, oak leaves, ivy, vines, palm fronts, laurels and laurel wreaths, wheat, corn, leaves in general, tree stone, traveler's palm tree, log, and mushroom all constituted the foliage/arboreal group, and the animal category consisted of doves, eagles, and lambs. The design category included aesthetic elements like borders, patterns, and geometric shapes. Column motifs were either broken columns or complete ones, and crowns could have been a simple crown or one that had a cross through it. Religious subcategories include a hand with an index finger pointing up, hands clasped vertically, a drape or veil, cross, urn, or carving that made the marker appear as though it was physically emerging from uncut stone or rock. The fraternal category includes compass motifs that relate to the Freemasons and three chain links that tie to the Odd Fellows. The scroll or book category is straightforward as it encompasses scrolls, open books, and closed books, and miscellaneous motifs include horizontally clasped hands, arrows, hearts, ropes or tassels, wings, and wheels.

In many instances, multiple motifs were present on a single marker; to accommodate this, up to four motifs per marker were analyzed, and they were labeled as Motif 1, Motif 2, Motif 3, and Motif 4. Symbols classified as Motif 1 were the most dominant icon present on the marker while those categorized as Motif 4 were the least dominant. In other cases where no motifs were present, those gravemarkers had to be excluded from evaluation. Presentation of results from motif analysis will proceed by examining the number of markers with and without motifs in each group and then assessing the number of motifs present in each cemetery group. Counts and percentages of broad motif categories within each cemetery group will also be discussed. Broad motif categorizations will also be separated by five-year periods, converted to frequencies, and used to create a modified battleship graph that depicts change in iconography through time. Results from assessing motif meanings will also be presented, and the end of this section will attempt to summarize all findings from iconographic analyses.

*Iconography in the Old Cemetery.* In the Old Cemetery, 93 individuals were represented on gravemarkers, and 68 of these (73.12%) contained at least one motif while 25 (26.88%) had no motifs present. These 25 markers were removed from analysis. Of the markers with motifs, 36 (52.94%) contained only one motif, 17 (25.00%) had two motifs, seven markers (10.29%) had three motifs, and eight markers (11.76%) contained four motifs. In total, 47.06% of the 68 gravemarkers with motifs had more than one motif present on them, which means 52.04% of those markers have only one symbol. The total number of motifs present in the Old Cemetery is visible when markers are multiplied by the number of motifs they possess (e.g. two markers with four motifs each contribute a total of eight motifs to the group's total). Therefore, 36 motifs come from markers with only one motif, 34 come from gravemarkers with two motifs, 21 are from markers with three motifs, and 32 derive from markers with four motifs. In total, 123

motifs are present across 68 markers in the Old Cemetery group. These values are available in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23. Total Number of Motifs Present in the Old Cemetery

| | Count of Markers | Weight for Multiplying | Total Count |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 motif | 36 | 1 | 36 |
| 2 motifs | 17 | 2 | 34 |
| 3 motifs | 7 | 3 | 21 |
| 4 motifs | 8 | 4 | 32 |
| **Total** | **68** | **-** | **123** |

After motifs in the Old Cemetery were organized by their broad categorizations, several results were apparent. Overall, the most common motifs throughout the Old Cemetery in descending order by broad category were design elements, florals, foliage/arboreal motifs, religious iconography, miscellaneous symbols, scrolls or books, columns, animals, and fraternal motifs. Design elements comprised roughly 32% of the sample while 20% of the sample were floral symbols. Nearly 18% of motifs were categorized as foliage/arboreal, and 8% were religious. Miscellaneous and scroll or book motifs both comprised 7% of the sample, 4% of motifs were columns, 3% were animals, and about 1% were fraternal. Zero crown motifs were present. Counts and percentages of motifs broadly categorized in the Old Cemetery are available in Table 4.24, and a pie chart depicting the Old Cemetery motifs by percentage is present as Figure 4.13.

Looking at Motif 1, 2, 3, and 4 individually, Motif 1 was most commonly a design element, followed by foliage/arboreal symbols. Similarly, Motif 2 was most often a design element, but florals were the next most popular motif. Motif 3 was most often a floral symbol, followed by design elements. Last, Motif 4 was most commonly a foliage/arboreal symbol.

Table 4.24. Broad Categorizations of All Motifs in the Old Cemetery

| | Counts | Overall Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Floral | 25 | 20.33 |
| Foliage/Arboreal | 22 | 17.89 |
| Animal | 4 | 3.25 |
| Design | 39 | 31.71 |
| Column | 5 | 4.07 |
| Crown | 0 | 0.00 |
| Religious | 10 | 8.13 |
| Fraternal | 1 | 0.81 |
| Scroll or Book | 8 | 6.50 |
| Misc. | 9 | 7.32 |
| Total | 123 | 100 |

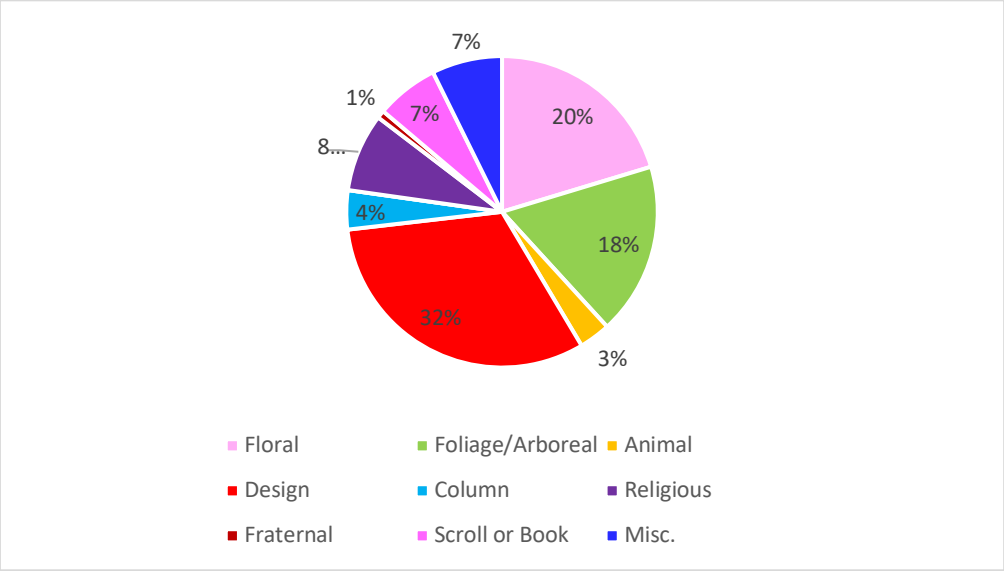



Figure 4.13. Broad Motif Categorizations Present in the Old Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

When motifs were organized by the five-year period they fell into within the Old Cemetery, it became apparent that the presence of foliage/arboreal and miscellaneous motifs remained fairly consistent through time. Design elements fluctuated in popularity while floral

and religious symbols appeared to increase in frequency in later periods. Animal, column, and fraternal motifs were sporadic and present in low frequencies. Scrolls and books were present with relative consistency after they appeared between 1854-1858. Counts of these values are available in Table 4.25.

Table 4.25. Counts of Broad Categorizations of Motifs in the Old Cemetery by Period

| | 1844 -1848 | 1849 -1853 | 1854 -1858 | 1859 -1863 | 1864 -1868 | 1869 -1873 | 1874 -1878 | 1879 -1883 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floral | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 25 |
| Foliage/Arboreal | 2 | 2 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 5 | 3 | 22 |
| Animal | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 |
| Design | 0 | 3 | 6 | 7 | 2 | 7 | 5 | 9 | 39 |
| Column | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 5 |
| Crown | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Religious | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 4 | 10 |
| Fraternal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Scroll or Book | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 8 |
| Misc. | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 9 |

Counts of motif categorizations by period were converted to percent frequencies within the sample by dividing each number by the total number of motifs in the Old Cemetery, 123, and multiplying by 100. These frequencies were rounded to the nearest whole number and used to create a modified battleship graph that illustrates trends in motif frequencies through time. A table of these frequencies is present as Table 4.26, and the modified battleship graph they correspond to is available as Figure 4.14.

Table 4.26. Percent Frequencies of Old Cemetery Motifs Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 7 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 2 |
| 1874-1878 | 4 | 4 | 1 | 4 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 1869-1873 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 6 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 1864-1868 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 1859-1863 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 1854-1858 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 5 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 |
| 1849-1853 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1844-1848 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1879-1883 | IIIIIII | II | I | IIIIIII | II | | III | | I | II |
| 1874-1878 | IIII | IIII | I | IIII | II | | III | | I | I |
| 1869-1873 | IIIIII | II | | IIIIII | II | | II | I | II | II |
| 1864-1868 | I | II | | II | | | II | I | I | II |
| 1859-1863 | II | II | I | IIIIII | I | | II | | II | I |
| 1854-1858 | II | II | I | IIIII | I | | I | | II | I |
| 1849-1853 | | II | | II | | | I | | | I |
| 1844-1848 | | II | II | II | | | I | | | I |

Figure 4.14. Modified Battleship Graph of Broad Motif Categorizations in the Old Cemetery

*Iconography in the Transitional Group.* In the Transitional Group, 154 individuals are represented on markers; 81 of those markers (52.60% of the sample) have at least one motif while 73 markers (47.40% of the sample) have no motifs present. Of the 81 markers with iconography, 30, or 37.04% of the sample, have only one motif, 23 (28.40% of the sample) have two, 14 (17.28%) have three motifs, and 14 (17.28%) have four. Roughly 63% of the 81 markers with motifs present with more than one motif. Accounting for the number of motifs present on each of the 81 markers remaining in the Transitional Group, a total of 174 motifs are present for analysis. A table depicting the total number of motifs present in the Transitional Group is available as Table 4.27.

Table 4.27. Total Number of Motifs Present in the Transitional Group

| | Count of Markers | Weight for Multiplying | Total Count |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 motif | 30 | 1 | 30 |
| 2 motifs | 23 | 2 | 46 |
| 3 motifs | 14 | 3 | 42 |
| 4 motifs | 14 | 4 | 56 |
| **Total** | **81** | **-** | **174** |

When motifs were broadly categorized in the Transitional Group, several results emerged. Overall, the most common motifs in the Transitional Group in descending order were design elements, foliage/arboreal motifs, religious iconography, floral symbols, miscellaneous motifs, fraternal symbols, and crowns. Zero animal, column, or scroll or book motifs were present. Design elements comprised roughly 44% of the sample, followed by foliage/arboreal at 26% and both floral and religious at 11.5%. Miscellaneous markers made up 2.3% of the sample, and crowns and fraternal motifs each comprised 1.72% of the sample. Counts and percentages of

all motifs in the Transitional Group are available in Table 28, overall percentages of each motif in the sample are present in Figure 4.15.

In examining Motifs 1, 2, 3, and 4 separately, the most prevalent symbol of each one was unique. Motif 1 was most commonly a design element, followed by religious symbols and then foliage/arboreal motifs. The most common symbol classified as Motif 2 was foliage/arboreal, and design elements were the next most prevalent. Design elements were the most common symbol classified as Motif 3, and Motif 4 was most often a floral icon, followed by foliage/arboreal symbols and design elements.

Table 4.28. Broad Categorizations of All Motifs in the Transitional Group

| | Counts | Overall Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Floral | 20 | 11.49 |
| Foliage/Arboreal | 46 | 26.44 |
| Animal | 0 | 0.00 |
| Design | 78 | 44.83 |
| Column | 0 | 0.00 |
| Crown | 3 | 1.72 |
| Religious | 20 | 11.49 |
| Fraternal | 3 | 1.72 |
| Scroll or Book | 0 | 0.00 |
| Misc. | 4 | 2.30 |
| **Total** | **174** | **100** |

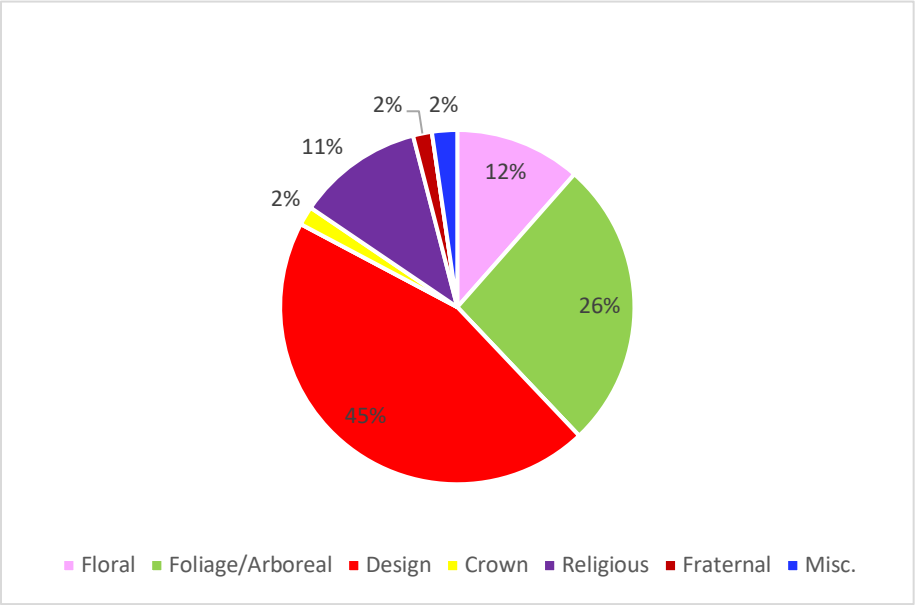


Figure 4.15. Broad Motif Categorizations Present in the Transitional Group Rounded to the Nearest Percent

Further results were available when motifs were organized by the five-year periods they fell into. Floral, crown, religious, fraternal, and miscellaneous motifs were present sporadically and in low frequencies throughout the sample. Foliage/arboreal symbols were relatively common between 1854-1858, but they faded from use between 1869-1973. These motifs resurged to the height of their previous popularity between 1879-1883, and they maintained that level of use until 1885-1889 after which point, they experienced a decline but still maintained a constant presence within the sample. Design elements repeatedly fluctuated in their popularity after they appeared between 1849-1848. A table of these counts organized by period is available as Table 4.29.

Table 4.29a. Counts of Broad Categorizations of Motifs in the Transitional Group by Period Between 1830-1884

| | 1830 | 1844 -1848 | 1849 -1853 | 1854 -1858 | 1859 -1863 | 1864 -1868 | 1869 -1873 | 1874 -1878 | 1879 -1883 | 1884 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floral | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 6 |
| Foliage/ Arboreal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 5 | 5 | 20 |
| Animal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Design | 0 | 0 | 1 | 7 | 4 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 6 | 1 | 31 |
| Column | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Crown | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Religious | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Fraternal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Scroll or Book | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Misc. | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 3 |

Table 4.29b. Counts of Broad Categorizations of Motifs in the Transitional Group by Period Between 1885-1924

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | No death date | Total Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floral | 4 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 14 |
| Foliage/ Arboreal | 5 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 10 | 26 |
| Animal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Design | 14 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 2 | 12 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 47 |
| Column | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Crown | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Religious | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5 | 12 |
| Fraternal | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Scroll or Book | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Misc. | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |

Motif counts by period were converted to frequencies within the sample by dividing each number by the total number of motifs in the Transitional Group sample, 174, and then multiplying by 100. These frequencies were rounded to the nearest whole number and used to create a modified battleship graph that illustrates trends in motif frequencies through time. A table of these frequencies is present as Table 30, and the modified battleship graph they correspond to is available as Figure 4.16.

Table 4.30. Percent Frequencies of Transitional Group Motifs Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1910-1914 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 8 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1905-1909 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1885-1889 | 3 | 3 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1884 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1879-1883 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 1874-1878 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1869-1873 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1864-1868 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1859-1863 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1854-1858 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1849-1853 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1844-1848 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1830 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1915-1919 | I | II | | III | | | | | | |
| 1910-1914 | I | I | | IIIIIIII | | | | | | |
| 1905-1909 | I | I | | I | | I | I | | | |
| 1900-1904 | I | I | | II | | | I | | | |
| 1895-1899 | | I | | I | | | | | | |
| 1890-1894 | I | I | | II | | I | I | | | |
| 1885-1889 | III | III | | IIIIIIIII | | | II | I | | I |
| 1884 | I | III | | I | | | I | | | I |
| 1879-1883 | I | III | | IIII | | | II | I | | |
| 1874-1878 | | I | | I | | I | | | | |
| 1869-1873 | | | | II | | | I | | | |
| 1864-1868 | | I | | IIIII | | | | | | |
| 1859-1863 | I | I | | III | | | | | | I |
| 1854-1858 | I | III | | IIIII | | | I | | | I |
| 1849-1853 | | | | I | | | I | | | |
| 1844-1848 | | | | | | | I | | | |
| 1830 | | | | | | | | | | |

Figure 4.16. Modified Battleship Graph of Broad Motif Categorizations in the Transitional Group

*Iconography in the New Cemetery.* In the largest sample in this study, the New Cemetery, 234 individuals were represented on gravemarkers, and 149 of these (63.68% of the sample) contained motifs while 85 markers (36.32% of the sample) had no iconography present on them. These 85 markers were removed from analysis because without motifs, they could not be assessed as part of this tabulation. Of the 149 gravemarkers with motifs, 72 of them, of 48.32% of the remaining sample, had only one motif present, while 34 markers (22.82% of the sample) had two motifs. Twenty-one markers (14.09% of the sample) contained three motifs, and 22 markers, or 14.77% of the sample, had four motifs. A total of 51.68% of the 149 gravemarkers with motifs possessed more than one motif. When accounting for each of the markers in the 149 markers in the New Cemetery, a total of 291 motifs were present for study. A table depicting the total number of motifs in the New Cemetery is available in Table 4.31.

Table 4.31. Total Number of Motifs Present in the New Cemetery

| | Count of Markers | Weight for Multiplying | Total Count |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 motif | 72 | 1 | 72 |
| 2 motifs | 34 | 2 | 68 |
| 3 motifs | 21 | 3 | 63 |
| 4 motifs | 22 | 4 | 88 |
| **Total** | **149** | **-** | **291** |

Several results emerged when motifs in the New Cemetery were sorted broadly categorized for analysis. Throughout the entire New Cemetery sample, the most common motifs in descending order were design elements, foliage/arboreal symbols, floral icons, religious motifs, miscellaneous symbols, crowns, scrolls or books, fraternal motifs, and columns. Design elements comprised 41.24% of the sample, followed by foliage/arboreal motifs at 21.65%, floral symbols at 20.27%, religious motifs at 7.90%, miscellaneous icons at 2.75%, crowns at 2.41%,

scrolls or books at 1.72%, fraternal symbols at 1.37%, and columns at roughly 1%. Zero animal motifs were present in the New Cemetery. These counts and percentages are summarized in Table 4.32, and percentages are visually represented in a pie chart as Figure 4.17.

Table 4.32. Broad Categorizations of All Motifs in the New Cemetery

| | Counts | Overall Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Floral | 59 | 20.27 |
| Foliage/Arboreal | 63 | 21.65 |
| Animal | 0 | 0.00 |
| Design | 120 | 41.24 |
| Column | 2 | 0.69 |
| Crown | 7 | 2.41 |
| Religious | 23 | 7.90 |
| Fraternal | 4 | 1.37 |
| Scroll or Book | 5 | 1.72 |
| Misc. | 8 | 2.75 |
| **Total** | **291** | **100** |

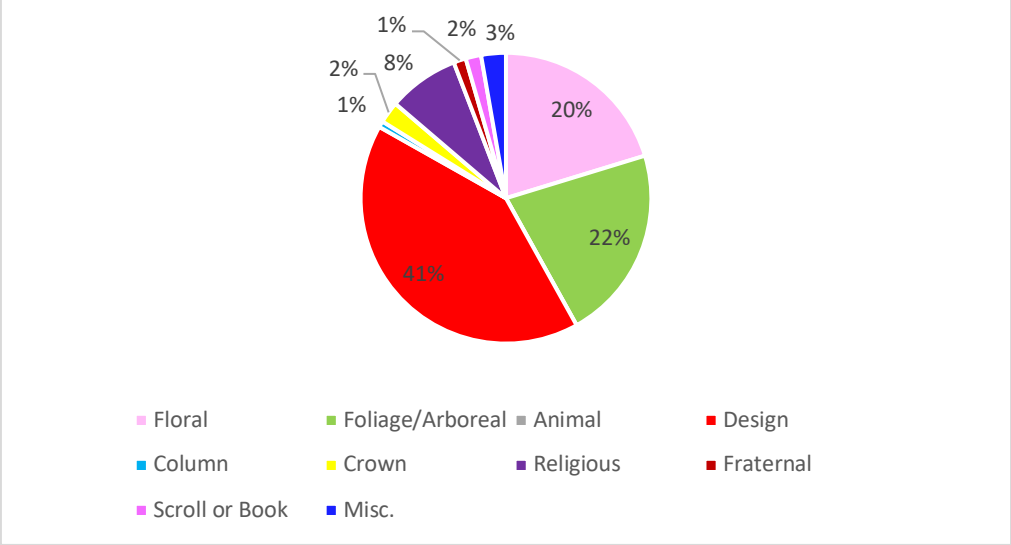



Figure 4.17 Broad Motif Categorizations Present in the New Cemetery Rounded to the Nearest Percent

In assessing Motifs, 1, 2, 3, and 4 separately, additional results are available. Motif 1 was most often a design element, and the next most common symbols were foliage/arboreal, floral, and religious. For Motif 2 and Motif 3, design elements were the most common symbol, followed by foliage/arboreal and floral. Foliage/arboreal icons were the most prevalent symbols classified as Motif 4, and design elements and floral motifs constituted the next most common depictions.

When organized by period, it became apparent that crowns, fraternal symbols, miscellaneous motifs, and scrolls and books appeared sporadically and in low frequencies. Religious motifs were not present in either the first or last period for the New Cemetery, but their appearance remained consistent in all other periods; they even saw a slight increase in popularity between 1905-1909. Floral markers were present in each period except 1920-1924; they showed an increase between 1890-1894 before they experienced a decline the following period. By 1900-1904, floral motifs were on the rise again and they continued to do so until 1915-1919 when they decreased and fell out of use the following period. Foliage/arboreal motifs remained fairly consistent across all periods but did show a pattern of increase that began between 1900-1904 that eventually began declining between 1915-1919. Save for a slight decrease in prevalence between 1920-1924, design elements showed a general increase in popularity throughout the duration of the New Cemetery's range. Counts of motifs organized by their respective periods is available as Table 4.33.

Table 4.33. Broad Categorizations of Motifs in the New Cemetery by Period

| | 1885 -1889 | 1890 -1894 | 1895 -1899 | 1900 -1904 | 1905 -1909 | 1910 -1914 | 1915 -1919 | 1920 -1924 | Total Marker Count |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Floral | 3 | 12 | 3 | 5 | 13 | 15 | 7 | 1 | 59 |
| Foliage/Arboreal | 5 | 8 | 3 | 11 | 8 | 13 | 11 | 4 | 63 |
| Animal | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Design | 5 | 15 | 9 | 12 | 15 | 20 | 29 | 15 | 120 |
| Column | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| Crown | 0 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 7 |
| Religious | 1 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 8 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 23 |
| Fraternal | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| Scroll or Book | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 5 |
| Misc. | 0 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 8 |

Motif counts by period were converted to frequencies within the sample by dividing each number by the total number of motifs in the New Cemetery, 291, and then multiplying by 100. These frequencies were rounded to the nearest whole number and used to create a modified battleship graph that depicts trends in motifs through time. A table of these frequencies is present as Table 4.34, and the modified battleship graph they correspond to is available as Figure 4.18. It should be noted that two markers did have column motifs, but each marker fell into a different period; when frequencies were calculated, both entries were less than 0.5 and were therefore rounded down to zero. Column motifs are therefore not represented in either the table of frequencies or modified battleship graph.

Table 4.34. Percent Frequencies of New Cemetery Motifs Rounded to the Nearest Whole Number

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1915-1919 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| 1910-1914 | 5 | 5 | 0 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 1905-1909 | 5 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 1 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1900-1904 | 2 | 4 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1895-1899 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 3 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1890-1894 | 4 | 3 | 0 | 5 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 1885-1889 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| | Floral | Foliage/ arboreal | Animal | Design | Column | Crown | Religious | Fraternal | Scroll/ book | Misc. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1920-1924 | | I | | IIIII | | | | | | |
| 1915-1919 | II | IIII | | IIIIIIIII | | | I | | I | I |
| 1910-1914 | IIIII | IIIII | | IIIIIII | | | I | I | | I |
| 1905-1909 | IIIII | III | | IIIII | | I | III | | | |
| 1900-1904 | II | IIII | | IIII | | I | I | | | |
| 1895-1899 | I | I | | III | | I | I | | | |
| 1890-1894 | IIII | III | | IIIII | | | I | | | I |
| 1885-1889 | I | II | | II | | | | | | |

Figure 4.18. Modified Battleship Graph of Broad Motif Categorizations in the New Cemetery

*Iconography and Symbolism.* Motifs in each cemetery group were also assessed with regard to their meaning. As with their identification, broad categorizations were used to group motifs by meaning to facilitate analysis and interpretation. These broad categorizations of meanings include love and matrimony, the brevity of life, peace, innocence and purity, complete or long life, resurrection and immortality, victory and triumph over death, the soul's transition from life to death, symbols that generally refer to Christianity, fraternal organization membership, creation, gratitude, life, death, grief, good luck, and openness. A final category was also created for motifs with no known symbolism available, and icons that fall into this category include unidentifiable floral specimens, varieties of florals, all design elements (borders, patterns, and geometric shapes), and leaves in general. Unidentifiable and varieties of florals were relegated to the "no known symbolic meaning" category because while they once connoted some symbolic significance, it is no longer discernible. Design elements include borders around text, geometric patterns, and shapes; in this thesis, I am not considering design elements as motifs with ideological significance and therefore they were also classified as lacking a known symbolic meaning. Specific classifications of motifs that fell into each subcategory by meaning are available in Table 4.35.

Table 4.35. Broad and Subcategorizations of Motif Meanings

| Love and Matrimony | Resurrection and Immortality | Brevity of Life | Soul's Transition from Life to Death | General Christian Symbol | No Symbolism Available |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - Calla lily<br>- Tulip<br>-Horizontally clasped hands<br>- Heart<br>- Forget-me-not<br>- Evening Primrose | - Lily of the valley<br>- Ivy<br>- Corn<br>- Eagle<br>- Wheel<br>- Rope | - Hibiscus<br>- Sprout/flower bud<br>- Tree stone<br>- Log<br>- Column, broken | - Wilting bouquet<br>- Traveler's palm tree<br>- Hand pointing up<br>- Wings<br>- Drape or veil<br>- Urn<br>- Hands clasped vertically | - Oak leaves<br>- Dove<br>- Vines<br>- Cuckoo flower<br>- Crown with a cross<br>- Cross<br>- Physical marker emerging from uncut stone | - Floral, unidentifiable<br>- Floral, variety<br>- Design, border<br>- Design, pattern,<br>- Design, shape<br>- Leaves, broadly |

| Innocence and Purity | Complete or Long Life | Victory or Triumph over Death | Fraternal Organization Membership | Life | Openness |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - Madonna lily<br>- Rose<br>- Daisy<br>- Lamb | -Wheat<br>- Column, complete<br>- Closed book | - Palm fronds<br>- Laurel wreath/laurels<br>- Crown | - Compass<br>- Three chain links | - Fleur de lis<br>- Scroll | - Open book |

| Peace | Creation | Gratitude | Good luck | Death | Grief |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| - Peace lily | - Lotus | - Bell flower | - Mushrooms | - Arrow | - Willow |

Within the love and matrimony classification are the calla lily (Keister 2004: 44), tulip (Norman and Kneals 2017a), forget-me-not (Kanuckel 2021), evening primrose (Keister 2004: 47), heart (Keister 2004: 109), and horizontally clasped hands (Keister 2004: 108). Motifs that represent the brevity of life include hibiscus (Keister 2004: 47), sprouts or flower buds

(Keister 2004: 43), tree stones, logs (Powell 2019; Keister 2004: 65-67), and broken columns (Keister 2004: 129). The peace category includes the peace lily (Courtney 2020). Symbols that constitute innocence and purity include the Madonna lily (Keister 2004: 50), rose (Keister 2004: 54), daisy (Keister 2004: 46), and lamb (Keister 2004: 74). Complete or long lives are represented by wheat (Keister 2004: 60), complete columns (The Masonry of Denver 2014), and closed books (Keister 2004: 112). Within the resurrection and immortality classification are lily of the valley (Keister 2004: 49), ivy (Keister 2004: 57), corn (Keister 2004: 56), eagle (Keister 2004: 80-81), wheel (Keister 2004: 139), and rope (Powers-Douglas 2016). Motifs that represent victory or triumph over death include palm fronds (Keister 2004: 63), laurel wreaths and laurels (Keister 2004: 48), and crowns (Keister 2004: 113). The soul transitioning from life to death can be represented by a wilting bouquet (Encyclopedia.com, accessed February 15, 2022), traveler's palm tree (Caldeias 2017), a hand pointing upwards (Keister 2004: 108), wings (Keister 2004: 122), a drape or veil (Keister 2004: 115), an urn (Keister 2004: 137; Norman and Kneals 2017b), or hands clasped vertically (Keister 2004: 108). General Christian symbols include oak leaves (Keister 2004: 62), doves (Keister 2004: 79), vines (Keister 2004: 59), the cuckoo flower (Bug Woman – Adventures in London 2016), a cross (Keister 2004: 172), a cross through a crown (Keister 2004: 113), or a physical marker emerging from uncut stone (Keister 2004: 123). Fraternal organizations like the Freemasons and Odd Fellows are represented by compasses (Keister 2004: 191) and three chain links (Keister 2004: 197), respectively. Motifs that can represent life include fleur de lis (Ancient-Symbols.com, accessed February 15, 2022) and scrolls (Powers-Douglas 2016). Creation can be represented by a lotus (Keister 2004: 49), gratitude can be depicted by a bell flower (Keister 2004: 43), arrows can be general symbols of death (Norman and Kneals 2017a), willows can show grief (Keister 2004: 67), mushrooms can

demonstrate good luck (Stephens 2022), and open books can quite literally represent openness to the world (Keister 2004: 113).

In the Old Cemetery where there was a total of 123 motifs, these symbols represented every broad classification for meaning except peace, creation, death, and good luck. Motifs with no known symbolic meaning comprised the largest portion of the sample with a count of 43, and love and matrimony, innocence and purity, the soul's transition from life to death, life, and grief, all tied for the second most prevalent meanings with each having a count of 10. Counts of motif meanings are sorted in the Old Cemetery are present in Table 4.36, and a bar graph visually representing their frequencies is available as Figure 4.19.

Table 4.36. Broad Categorizations of Motif Meanings in the Old Cemetery

| Motif Meaning | Count |
|---|---|
| Love | 10 |
| Brevity of life | 3 |
| Peace | 0 |
| Innocence and purity | 10 |
| Complete and long life | 4 |
| Resurrection and immortality | 7 |
| Victory and triumph over death | 2 |
| Soul's transition from life to death | 10 |
| Christianity | 6 |
| Fraternal membership | 1 |
| Creation | 0 |
| Gratitude | 2 |
| Life | 10 |
| Death | 0 |
| Grief | 10 |
| Openness | 2 |
| Good luck | 0 |
| No known symbolic meaning | 43 |

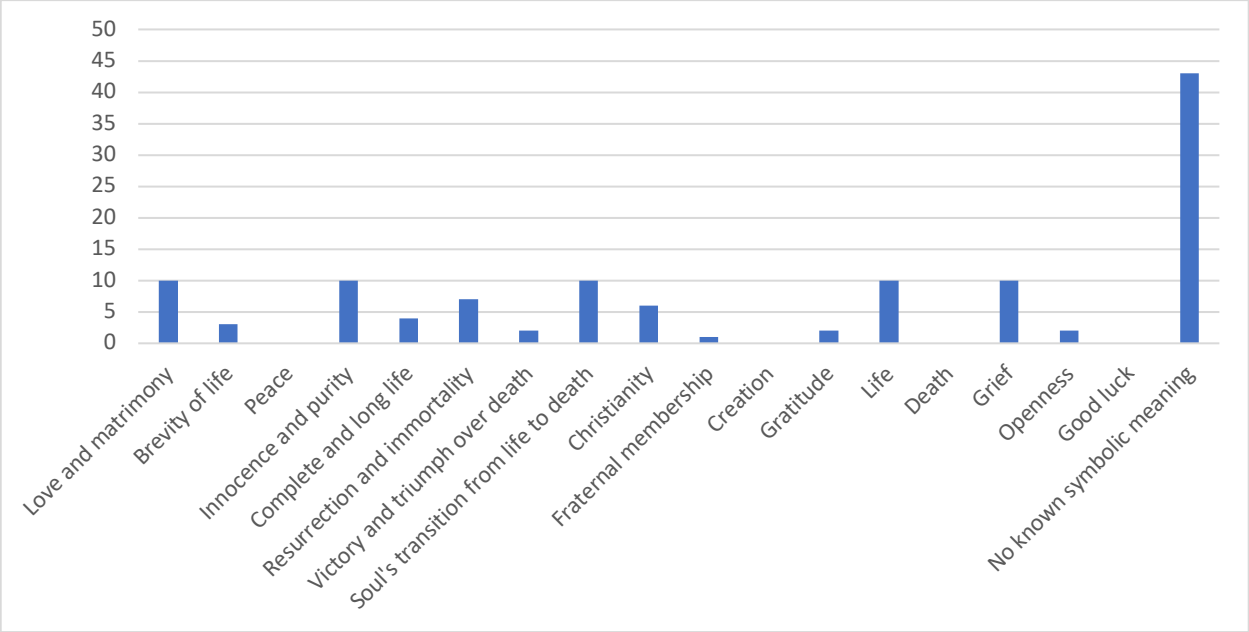


Figure 4.19. Old Cemetery Motifs Categorized by their Broad Symbolism

The larger Transitional Group had 174 motifs, and 91 of those had no known symbolic meaning. The soul's transition from life to death was represented by 24 motifs, and love was depicted by 17 markers. Nine motifs illustrated victory and triumph over death, while eight demonstrated the brevity of life and seven represented Christianity. All remaining meaning classifications contained less than five markers. Counts of motif meanings in the Transitional Group are present in Table 4.37, and the data is visually represented as a bar graph in Figure 4.20.

Table 4.37. Broad Categorizations of Motif Meanings in the Transitional Group

| Motif Meaning | Count |
|---|---|
| Love | 17 |
| Brevity of life | 8 |
| Peace | 0 |
| Innocence and purity | 3 |
| Complete and long life | 0 |
| Resurrection and immortality | 4 |
| Victory and triumph over death | 9 |
| Soul's transition from life to death | 24 |
| Christianity | 7 |
| Fraternal membership | 3 |
| Creation | 0 |
| Gratitude | 4 |
| Life | 0 |
| Death | 0 |
| Grief | 0 |
| Openness | 0 |
| Good luck | 4 |
| No known symbolic meaning | 91 |

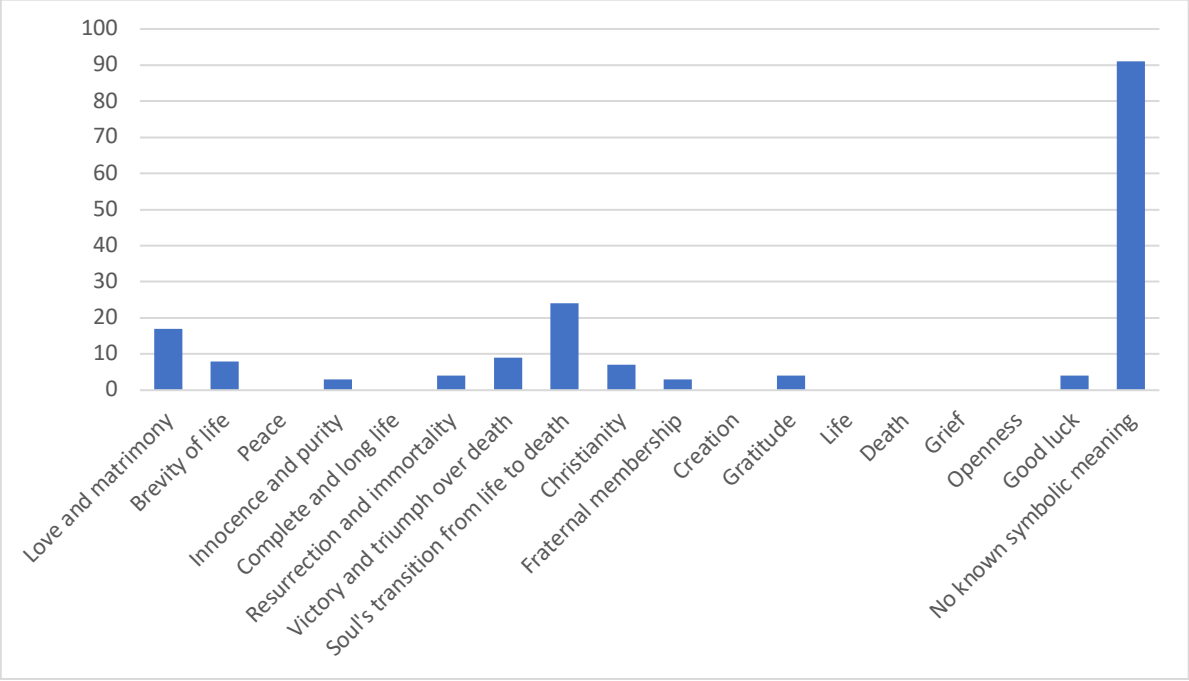


Figure 4.20. Transitional Group Motifs Categorized by their Broad Symbolism

As with the Transitional Group, the most dominant category for motif meaning in the New Cemetery was the category for motifs that had no known symbolic meaning. Out of a total of 291 motifs in the New Cemetery, 143 had no known symbolic meaning. The next most prevalent symbols were those that represented Christianity; these included 36 motifs. Resurrection and immortality were depicted by 29 motifs, and victory and triumph over death were illustrated by 17 symbols. The love and matrimony and innocence and purity classifications were represented by 16 motifs each, and life was represented by 12 motifs. Ten symbols alluded to the soul's transition from life to death, and all remaining classifications contained less than five motifs. A table of these classifications is present as Table 4.38, and a bar graph depicting the counts of each classification is available as Figure 4.21.

Table 4.38. Broad Categorizations of Motif Meanings in the New Cemetery

| Motif Meaning | Count |
|---|---|
| Love and matrimony | 16 |
| Brevity of life | 1 |
| Peace | 2 |
| Innocence and purity | 16 |
| Complete and long life | 2 |
| Resurrection and immortality | 29 |
| Victory and triumph over death | 17 |
| Soul's transition from life to death | 10 |
| Christianity | 36 |
| Fraternal membership | 4 |
| Creation | 1 |
| Gratitude | 0 |
| Life | 12 |
| Death | 2 |
| Grief | 0 |
| Openness | 0 |
| Good luck | 0 |
| No known symbolic meaning | 143 |

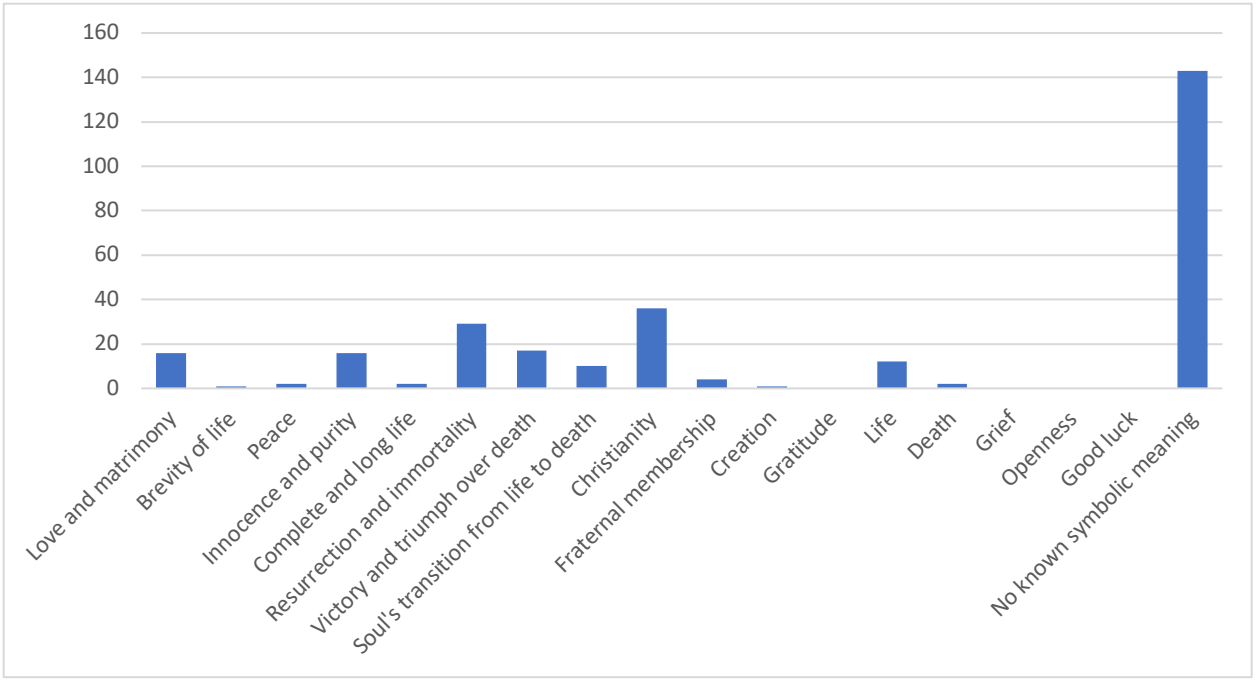



Figure 4.21. New Cemetery Motifs Categorized by their Broad Symbolism

*Iconography: Summarized.* In sum, differences in iconography existed between all three cemetery groups. Sample sizes of each group, for instance, were varied. Ninety-three individuals were represented on markers in the Old Cemetery, and 68 of those contained motifs while 25 had none. The Transitional Group was split fairly evenly in terms of markers that contained motifs and markers that did not; of the 154 individuals represented in the group, 81 possessed some sort of iconography while 73 did not. The New Cemetery had the largest number of markers with motifs among the three cemetery groups. Of the 234 individuals represented, 149 markers had motifs while 85 had none. Table 4.39 recapitulates these counts and supplements them with their respective percentages within each cemetery group.

Table 4.39. Markers With and Without Motifs Across All Three Groups

| | Count of Markers with Motifs | Percentage of Markers with Motifs | Count of Markers Without Motifs | Percentage of Markers Without Motifs | Total Individuals Represented on Markers | Total Count of Motifs |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old Cemetery | 68 | 73.12% | 25 | 26.88% | 93 | 123 |
| Transitional Group | 81 | 52.60% | 73 | 47.40% | 154 | 174 |
| New Cemetery | 149 | 63.68% | 85 | 36.32% | 234 | 291 |

The number of motifs present on markers also varied between the three cemetery groups. The Old Cemetery had the largest percentage of markers that only contained one motif, for instance, at roughly 53% while 37% of Transitional Group markers had only one motif. Comparatively, 48% of markers with icons in the New Cemetery group contained only one motif. The percentage of markers that contained two motifs was similar across all three groups: 25% of markers in the Old Cemetery, 28% in the Transitional Group, and 23% in the New Cemetery. Ten percent of markers in the Old Cemetery had three motifs compared to 17% in the Transitional Group and 14% in the New Cemetery, and 12% of the Old Cemetery markers contained four motifs while the Transitional Group had 17% and the New Cemetery had 15%. In total, almost 50% of markers in all three groups possessed more than one motif. These values are present in Table 4.40.

Table 4.40. Counts and Percentages of Markers with 1, 2, 3 and 4 Motifs Across All Three Groups

| | Count of Markers with 1 Motif | Percent of Markers with 1 Motif | Count of Markers with 2 Motifs | Percent of Markers with 2 Motifs | Count of Markers with 3 motifs | Percent of Markers with 3 motifs | Count of Markers with 4 motifs | Percent of Markers with 4 motifs | Total Percent of Markers with More than 1 Motif |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old Cemetery | 36 | 52.94% | 17 | 25.00% | 7 | 10.29% | 8 | 11.76% | 47.06% |
| Transitional Group | 30 | 37.04% | 23 | 28.40% | 14 | 17.28% | 14 | 17.28% | 62.96% |
| New Cemetery | 72 | 48.32% | 34 | 22.82% | 21 | 14.09% | 22 | 14.77% | 51.68% |

Separately, the most common icons and most prevalent interpretive meanings of motifs in each group were also varied. In the Old Cemetery, design elements, floral symbols, and foliage/arboreal icons were the most common motifs. Most of the motifs present had no known symbolic meaning, but love and matrimony, innocence and purity, the soul's transition from life to death, life, and grief, were all tied for the second most prevalent motif meanings within the group. The most popular motifs in the Transitional Group were design elements, foliage/arboreal symbols, and religious icons, and overwhelmingly, most motifs in this group held no known symbolic meaning. However, the soul's transition from life to death, love, and victory and triumph over death were the next most popular meanings. The most dominant motifs in the New Cemetery included design elements, foliage/arboreal symbols, and floral icons. Again, many motifs in this group held no known symbolic meaning, but the next most prevalent motif meanings related to Christianity, resurrection and immortality, and victory and triumph over death.

# CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

At its outset, this thesis endeavored to determine if other elements, apart from temporal, distinguished the Old Cemetery from the New. Emphasis was placed on gravemarker material type, form, and iconography as they have the capacity to inform on economic standing, group affiliations (specifically religious, familial, and fraternal), and worldviews of the source population. Examining these three dimensions and determining whether they varied between the cemetery groups allows inferences to be made about the cultural processes that may underlie those changes. Subsequently, this study aimed to illuminate understanding of the town's development and changing source population through time by reconstructing facets of life for historic Salem townspeople and providing insight into frontier and post-settlement life in Wisconsin.

The specificity of this research problem evolved as the study persisted. Initially it only sought to compare the Old and New Cemeteries, but when it was apparent that a third pool of gravemarkers—namely, transitional markers that had dates in both the Old and New Cemeteries—was present in the data, the research problem expanded to accommodate them. Though the overall pursuit of understanding change in the cemetery groups at Liberty Corners remained the same, those efforts now included three groups instead of two: the Old Cemetery, Transitional Group, and New Cemetery. The Old Cemetery's temporal range spanned from 1844-1883 while the New Cemetery runs from May 2nd, 1885 to the present. For the purposes of this study, the New Cemetery's temporal range was limited to 1924 so that its length paralleled that of the Old Cemetery and reduced the sample size so it was comparable too. The Old Cemetery sample contains 93 individuals represented on gravemarkers, and the New Cemetery has 234. As the Transitional Group was comprised of markers that had death dates in both the

Old and New Cemeteries, its temporal range accounts for both the Old and New Cemeteries by spanning from 1844-1924. Assessing transitional data between the two distinct cemeteries offers an understanding of how one cemetery transformed to another and whether transitions in gravemarkers and memorialization exist. Between the Old and New Cemeteries' temporal ranges, the year 1884 is excluded because it aligns with the official changeover between the two cemetery groups and is therefore entirely transitional; though data from that is excluded from the Old and New Groups, it is included in analysis of the Transitional Group. The Transitional Group's sample size is 154.

As an historic archaeological study, both historic and archaeological evidence were used in this investigation. Historic information came in the form of documentation and included cemetery, town, and state records; among these were ledgers, deeds, plat maps, census records, newspaper articles, secondary accounts of settlement and development in Kenosha County and Salem, biographies on local individuals, and more. Archaeological evidence, by comparison, encompasses the physical gravemarkers at Liberty Corners.

*Interpreting the Material Type Dimension*

Gravemarker material types assessed in this investigation include limestone, granite, marble, metal, and concrete, and holistically, marker material has the capacity to inform on the economic status of the deceased. Previous studies have successfully utilized gravemarker material type as a measure of economic standing. Mallios and Caterino concluded that marker material changes in California cemeteries were generally gradual through time, but steep variations corresponded to periods of economic prosperity or decline; the researchers specifically noted that granite was more common in times of prosperity while cheaper materials like concrete, marble, and metal were more prevalent during economic hardship (2011: 449). Sharp

variations in material type in Liberty would therefore be a measure of economic wellness while gradual shifts in marker material through time are less informative.

Similarly, the use of locally available materials versus imported ones can also inform on the source population's economic wellness. Limestone was readily available in Racine and Milwaukee Counties (Burlington historical Society, personal correspondence 2021; Milwaukee County Historical Society) and was the most abundant stone type quarried in Wisconsin (Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed October 7, 2021). Resource abundance and ease of access would have decreased the stone's cost, making it more economically accessible for use in gravemarkers. Conversely, granite and marble were not as readily available. Granite was quarried in central and northern Wisconsin (Wisconsin Historical Society, accessed October 7, 2021) while southeast Wisconsin quarried limestone. A noteworthy granite company formed in 1896 dedicated to gravestone manufacture was located 230 miles north of Salem in Amberg, Marinette County, Wisconsin (Amberg Historical Society 2011). Marble was also quarried primarily in the state's northernmost counties (Wisconsin Geological and Natural History Survey 2020); the closest source was 155 miles west of Salem in Richland County, Wisconsin (Hunt 1853). As granite and marble were not as readily and locally available as limestone, they would have been more expensive to procure for use as gravemarkers.

*Material Type in the Old Cemetery.* Historical data corresponding to marker material types used in the Old Cemetery focus on local industry and commerce. The first settlers to the area arrived in the 1830s, and the town of Salem began forming in 1844 (Western Historical Company 1879: 553). Early accounts of the region depicted it as deriving its "riches" from agriculturalism, forestry, mining, and fishing (Chapman 1855: 7). It was also described as being under excellent cultivation, wealthy, and prosperous (Chapman 1855: 78). Farming was a

dominant industry and remained the leading occupation in the state during the mid to late 1800s; farm laborers comprised the second most common profession in the 1860 US Census (United States Government 1850: 929; United States Government 1860: 545; United States Department of the Interior, Census Office 1880).

Evolving infrastructure facilitated the movement of people and goods across the state and beyond, and within Kenosha County this was particularly relevant for agriculturalists exporting crops, livestock, and animal products from the port at Kenosha. Railroads, plank roads, stages, and boats were all in operation in the early days of the state's operation (Chapman 1855: 22, 23, 24, 78), and plank roads in Salem were primarily used to haul harvests to the port (Valentine 2014c: 42). Within the state, Kenosha County was one of the top producers of wheat, corn, oats, wool, potatoes, barley, butter, cheese, hay, and grass seed (United States Government 1850: 931-932), but wheat was the area's primary export. By 1855, it was estimated that the county exported over four million bushels (Chapman 1855: 7-8). Kenosha's port was incredibly active and exported nearly $2 million dollars' worth of goods (Chapman 1855: 25-26). In Salem Township specifically, Wilmot saw the first store open in 1847, the first hotel in 1848, and a mill opened around the same time (Western Historical Company 1879: 554). In downtown Salem, a railroad depot, post office, restaurant, and general store were also built (Western Historical Company 1879: 733).

Archaeological data for marker material type in the Old Cemetery showed limestone was the most prevalent at 43% of the sample, followed by marble at 37%, granite at 16%, metal at 4%, and concrete at 0%. Following a gradualist trend on the frequency seriation graph, limestone grew in popularity, peaked, and then faded from use. Its depiction in the frequency seriation graph nearly mirrors a battleship curve. Marble was used fairly consistently throughout the

entirety of the Old Cemetery's range; granite appeared briefly and then disappeared for 10 years until it resurged and showed growth in popularity until the end of the Old Cemetery's temporal range. Metal markers appeared once on the frequency seriation graph, and concrete did not appear at all. Neither granite nor marble display definitive characteristics of gradualist or punctualist trends, but the modest increases they both show in their later periods may indicate a slight gradualist trend from limestone to marble or granite.

*Material Type in the New Cemetery*. In 1884, the Old Cemetery at Liberty Corners was privatized when it was sold to the Liberty Cemetery Association (LCA) (Kenosha County Register of Deeds [KCRD] 1884, Deed Volume [DV]: 32, 307, Document #39198). Revenue from plot sales was used for cemetery maintenance and upkeep (Valentine 2008: 7-8), but the shift from public burial ground to private marks a change in the economic accessibility of burial at Liberty Corners.

In terms of industry, agriculturalism continued to thrive. Ninety percent of Kenosha County land area was farmland in 1910 and all farm property was valued at over $16 million (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 643). Kenosha crops were valued at nearly $2 million (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 657), cattle and horses were worth over $1.5 million, and the sales of products from livestock in the county also surpassed $1 million (United States Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of the Census 1910c: 650).

A hand-drawn map from a townsperson also presents local businesses and buildings in downtown Salem between 1900-1910 (Valentine 2014b: 9) and represents local commerce. Among these establishments are a doctor's office, general store, ladies millinery shop, meat market, barber shop, movie theater, hotel, livery, dentist's office, bank, post office, saloon,

railroad depot, a variety of factories and stores, and more (Valentine 2014b: 8, 10-11). Compared to just the few businesses and buildings in downtown Salem during the Old Cemetery's temporal range of activity, the town's commercial growth was significant between the time of the Old Cemetery and the time of the New.

Archaeological data from the New Cemetery shows granite was the most common material of choice, comprising 70.5% of the New Cemetery sample. Marble followed at 28%, limestone and metal both maintained roughly 1% of the sample, and no concrete markers were present. The frequency seriation graph showed granite had an overall increase through time; though there was no definitive fade in use towards the end of the New Cemetery's temporal bounds, granite's use as a marker material appeared to follow a gradualist trend. Marble also showed a nice battleship curve on the frequency seriation graph, depicting a gradualist trend as it rose in popularity, maintained widespread use, then faded in favor of granite, which experienced a steady increase as marble declined. Metal and limestone markers were not present in high enough frequencies to interpret their use.

*Material Type in the Transitional Group*. As the Transitional Group's temporal range of activity coincides with that of the Old and New Cemeteries, historical context for the group can be found in the preceding sections, and to avoid redundancy, they will not be reiterated. This will also apply to discussions of form and iconography in the Transitional Group that will follow in later sections.

Archaeologically, gravemarkers in the Transitional Group consist of 66% marble markers, 29% granite, and 5% concrete. Zero limestone and metal markers were present. In general, despite occasional spurts of growth and periods of small decline, the use of marble markers in the Transitional Group follows a gradualist trend. Granite markers appear and

disappear on the Transitional Group's frequency seriation graph three times: the first appearance mirrors a battleship curve, the second starts and ends with decent use but is far less common in the middle, and the third begins with reasonable popularity and shows a slight increase before disappearing. Sporadic appearances and disappearances of granite throughout the temporal range make it difficult to interpret definitively, but it appears to be uninformative in terms of depicting gradualist or punctualist trends. Concrete also emerges and recedes sporadically, and trends are not discernible. Overall, marble was the dominant material of choice, and while it appears as though granite may be on the rise as marble declines towards the end of 1924—which could indicate a gradualist trend from marble to granite—more data beyond 1924 is necessary to follow the trend and determine if it continues. Since granite was the dominate material choice of the twentieth century, it seems logical that these data do depict the beginnings of a gradualist shift towards granite, but without archaeological data beyond 1924 to support this assumption, it cannot be reported with certainty.

*Conclusions*: *Material Type and Economic Standing.* From the historic data, it is clear the people of Salem were economically prosperous in agriculture and business through the temporal ranges corresponding to both the Old and New Cemeteries at Liberty Corners. The Old Cemetery's community was economically prosperous. Agriculturalism thrived, and millions of dollars were generated from county exports. The source population corresponding to the New Cemetery's temporal range continued to see agricultural prosperity—crops, farmland, and livestock were worth millions—and local businesses in Salem grew and diversified with stores, repair shops, factories, doctor's and dentist's offices, a hotel, movie theater, and more.

Holistically, archaeological data shows a pattern in gravemarker material choices through each cemetery group. Limestone is the dominant material in the Old Cemetery with marble as the

second most common. Marble becomes the most prevalent material in the Transitional Group, and granite is second most common. In the New Cemetery, granite rises as the most popular marker material while marble fades from use. The trend from limestone to marble and then granite between the cemetery groups aligns with general gravemarker material trends through time, which begin with less durable but locally available stones like limestone, shift to marble, and end with granite (Appell 2021).

With regard to material type, this investigation's research question endeavored to determine if gravemarker materials varied between the cemetery groups at Liberty Corners and whether economic status could have impacted any of those changes. In short, material type differences did exist between the cemetery groups, but it is unlikely that the source population's economic standing was responsible for those changes. Archaeological data showed no sharp declines or shifts from a dominant material of the time to cheaper alternatives like concrete or metal as Mallios and Caterino found in their work (2011), and the gradual shifts from one type to another do not depict profound periods of economic distress. Historical records support this conclusion as they reflect the town's continued agricultural and commercial prosperity between 1844-1924. Resource availability may have played some role, but ultimately the greatest factor influencing material type choices at Liberty Corners does not appear to be related to the source population's economic standing; rather, choices seem to follow general trends in memorialization through time.

*Interpreting the Form Dimension*

Gravemarker forms under investigation across the cemetery groups at Liberty include obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, tablet, pillow, ledger, and other; form analysis was used to interpret group affiliations—specifically religious and familial ties—of former Salem

residents. Boulware's (2008) thesis demonstrated that gravemarker form can serve as a measure of religious affiliation when she found that forms with religious sculpture represented ties to the local Catholic Church. Separately, obelisk forms have pagan origins and subsequently signify distance from Christianity (Ford 2013: 10). In Liberty, the presence of gravemarker forms with religious sculpture like urns, which represent the return to ash (Keister 2004: 137), would therefore indicate close Christian religious affiliations. A high proportion of obelisk forms, conversely, would signify distance from the church. As the Old Cemetery operated under the supervision of the Congregational Church at Liberty Corners and the New Cemetery did not, it was expected earlier in this investigation that the Old Cemetery would subsequently possess shorter, non-obelisk markers with more religious sculpture while obelisk forms would be more prevalent in the Transitional or New Cemetery groups. Regarding familial affiliation, Ames concluded that the division of a burial ground into family plots was a clear indicator of emphasis placed on familial association, as was the use of a shared marker to represent several family members (1981: 653). In line with Ames' work, a large presence of shared family markers in the cemetery groups at Liberty Corners could signify the importance of memorializing familial affiliation to the source population.

*Form in the Old Cemetery.* To address affiliations of the deceased associated with the Old Cemetery, historical evidence relating to gravemarker form will center around religious organizations and churches in Salem as well as the Old Cemetery's connection to the Congregational Church at Liberty Corners. Documentation describing the familial affiliations is not available and therefore will not be presented here; discussion of the emphasis placed on family will rely on archaeological evidence.

Several religious institutions arose in and near Salem between 1844-1884. In Wilmot, a Roman Catholic church organized in 1856, a Methodist church formed in 1876, an Episcopal church was built in 1868, and a German Lutheran church organized in 1869 (Western Historical Company 1879: 733, 554; Valentine 2014b: 5). The First Congregational Society of Salem was also in existence and seems to have formed before 1849, though an exact date is unknown. In 1849, the First Congregational Society of Salem was deeded a parcel of land for use as a public burial ground, and this became the Old Cemetery (KCRD 1849, DV A: 477-478). The First Congregational Society of Salem blossomed into the Congregational Church of Salem when the group constructed a church for themselves in the early 1850s (Western Historical Company 1879: 544). Other deed records show the Congregational Church purchased parcels at Liberty Corners to expand the cemetery grounds in 1874 and 1884 while it was under their purview (KCRD 1874, DV Y: 92; KCRD 1884, DV 31: 403). In 1884, the Congregational Church sold the cemetery grounds to the Liberty Cemetery Association (LCA); the grounds were no longer a church-run cemetery.

Archaeological data shows ledgers were the most common form in the Old Cemetery, and they comprised 43% of the sample. Tablets followed in popularity at 33%, and rectangular blocks constituted 9%. Bevels, obelisks, and slants each comprised 4% of the sample, and other forms were the least popular at 2%. Zero pillow forms were present. In the frequency seriation graph for this dimension, ledgers display a gradualist trend with their steady increase in popularity until they decline in the final two periods of the Old Cemetery's temporal range. Tablet forms show slight variations in use, but overall have a fairly consistent presence that is neither clearly gradualist nor punctualist. Obelisk, rectangular block, bevel, slant, and other

forms all appear and disappear intermittently throughout the temporal range of the Old Cemetery, and none display any discernable gradualist or punctualist trends.

To assess the extent of religious affiliation in the Old Cemetery, obelisk and short, non-obelisk markers were compared. Obelisk varieties comprised 4% of the sample, and 51.6% of forms were short and non-obelisk. These percentages imply Christian religious affiliations may have been strong in the Old Cemetery group because the frequency of obelisks is low. Because the Old Cemetery was under the purview of the Congregational Church at Liberty Corners, church oversight and influence on memorialization may have been strong. It is also possible that the deceased in the Old Cemetery may have had strong Christian religious convictions but were associated with another church in Wilmot or Salem. Incidentally, of the 4% of obelisk forms present in the Old Cemetery, 3% had religious sculpture—urns. The coexistence of obelisks and Christian religious sculpture in the same monument is contradictory as one implies religious distance and the other signifies closeness. It is therefore not clear if obelisk forms in the Old Cemetery represent religious distance, but because most marker forms emphasize religious ties, it seems to be a moot issue.

The strength of emphasis placed on familial affiliations was assessed by comparing the proportion of markers that represented a family or multiple members of one to markers that represented only one individual. As such, individuals represented by family/shared markers were compared to those that were represented by both a family/shared marker and those that had only an individual marker. Just over 30% of individuals in the sample were represented by family/shared markers, and nearly 6.5% of people had both a family marker and individual marker representing them. Roughly 63% of the sample was represented by just an individual marker. Even when the percentages for family/shared and both family/shared and individual

markers are combined, larger representation on individual markers as opposed to familial implies less emphasis was placed on familial affiliation in memorialization.

*Form in the New Cemetery.* Historical information corresponding to the New Cemetery's temporal range is quite similar to that for the Old Cemetery with regard to religious establishments in town. The Congregational Church of Salem at Liberty Corners persisted, and in fact, LCA meetings were often held there after the cemetery was transferred to them (Valentine 2008: 14-15). All other religious groups that formed between 1844-1884—the Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, and German Lutheran churches—appeared to have remained active for at least a portion of the New Cemetery's temporal range.

Archaeological evidence shows bevel forms comprise the largest portion of the sample at about 27%, and rectangular blocks follow closely behind at 23%. The sample is also 19% tablets, roughly 15% obelisks, 12% slants, and 3% pillows. Other forms comprise 2% of the sample, and ledgers maintain 0.43%. The frequency seriation graph for New Cemetery forms shows that obelisks, rectangular blocks, bevels, and tablets all appear to show gradualist trends. When examining these four forms further, they depict a gradual shift from obelisks and tablets to rectangular blocks, to bevels; obelisks and tablets fade as rectangular blocks and bevels begin increasing in popularity, and then rectangular block usage tapers off as bevels become even more prevalent. Slants appear in fairly consistent and low frequencies throughout the duration of the New Cemetery's temporal range, and no discernable trends are depicted. Pillows and other forms appear once in the frequency seriation graph before disappearing, and while this could potentially depict a punctualist trend, there is not enough data present to arrive at that conclusion with any certainty.

In utilizing form to assess the extent of the source population's religious affiliations, obelisk varieties representing distance from Christian religions comprised 14.5% of the sample, while shorter, non-obelisk varieties made up 39% of the sample. More obelisks are present in the New Cemetery than the Old, but nevertheless, forms in the New Cemetery imply closeness to Christianity more than they imply distance. The source population therefore may have had affiliations to Christian religions. Further, of the obelisks in the New Cemetery, about 4% have urn sculptures that indicate religious affiliations while another roughly 3.5% show evidence that a sculpture was present at one point but is no longer there. Evidence indicating the previous existence of sculpture on the marker include the presence of a platform and/or rebar. As urns were the only type of sculpture witnessed on obelisks in Liberty across any of the three cemetery groups, it seems likely that those now vacant platforms had or were intended to have urns there at one time. However, because it cannot be said definitively that obelisks with a platform and rebar for sculpture once had urns there, the obelisks with evidence for sculpture but no sculpture present will not be included in this interpretation. Discussion will focus only on the total number of obelisks and obelisks with sculpture currently present. Nevertheless, the presence of religious sculpture atop a form that suggests distance from Christian religions is contradictory, as it was in the Old Cemetery. Since most marker forms here indicate some emphasis on religious ties, the contradictory presence of urn sculptures on obelisks does not significantly impact interpretation.

With regard to familial affiliation, 17% of individuals in the sample were represented by family/shared markers, 63% had both a family/shared marker and an individual one, and nearly 17% of people were represented only by an individual marker. Just over 80% of individuals in the New Cemetery are therefore represented by at least a family/shared marker, which shows a

large emphasis was placed on memorializing familial affiliations. It seems family ties were important for the people of Salem to convey indefinitely.

*Form in the Transitional Group.* Obelisks were the most prevalent marker in the Transitional Group, comprising 46% of the sample. Tablets followed obelisks at 24% of the sample, bevels were nearly 12%, rectangular blocks maintained 10%, other forms totaled 5%, and 3% of the sample were slant markers. Zero pillows or ledgers were present. Obelisks depicted a generally gradualist trend on the frequency seriation graph despite fluctuations in use particularly between 1874-1899. These forms faded into popularity, saw a large increase in the years just before and after the LCA took over, and then wavered again before finally fading out of use towards the end of the temporal range. Tablets, though low in frequency and absent from some periods, also appear to follow an overall gradualist trend. Rectangular blocks, bevels, slants, and other forms appear and disappear sporadically throughout the temporal range, so they do not inform on gradualist or punctualist tendencies.

Since such a large portion of markers in the Transitional Group were obelisk forms, it is unsurprising that a greater percentage of obelisks are present than shorter, non-obelisk forms. Roughly 46% of markers in the sample are obelisk varieties while around 15% of forms are short, non-obelisks. These numbers suggest that religious affiliations may not have been as strong within the Transitional Group or the interred were less religious in their memorializations. Because obelisk popularity reached great heights in the years just before and after LCA takeover, however, the large number of obelisk forms could also be the result of less stringent oversight from the church in their final years of management and more lax guidelines from the LCA during their first years of control as they navigated ownership of the cemetery. Further, within the 46%

of obelisk forms, about 13% possess urn sculptures that indicate piety, and a separate 16% have a platform and rebar present.

Understanding familial affiliations in the Transitional Group is not as straightforward as in the Old and New Cemeteries. Because Transitional markers in this thesis are those that have death dates in both the Old and New Cemeteries, only markers that represent multiple individuals can comprise the sample—no individual markers are present to use as a comparative measure against the proportion of shared markers. Because of this, family/shared or both family/shared and individual markers represent 100% of the individuals in the Transitional Group (14% are a family/shared marker, and 86% have both a family/shared marker and an individual one). While a single case is not characteristic of the entire group, it is worth noting that one family/shared marker from the Transitional Group did represent a family member that passed away in 1830—six to seven years before the first settlers arrived in Salem. It is clear this individual did not die in Salem, however the family's memorialization of him with their own interments—even though he died years before they arrived in town—gives a sense of how the family felt towards that individual and the emphasis they placed on familial affiliations.

*Conclusions*: *Form and Affiliations.* Historical data relating to affiliation shows that several religious institutions arose in and around Salem between 1844-1883 and persisted for years after. Many of these were founded in Wilmot, and they include a Roman Catholic church that opened in 1856, an Episcopal Church from 1868, a German Lutheran Church in 1869, and a Methodist Church that opened in 1876 (Valentine 2015b: 5; Western Historical Company 555, 733, 554). Most notably, the First Congregational Society of Salem was established sometime around 1849, and it blossomed into the Congregational Church at Liberty Corners in 1853 that oversaw the Old Cemetery until 1884. The Congregational Church persisted after 1884, and the

LCA often hosted meetings there after obtaining the cemetery (Valentine 2008: 14-15); apart from this function, there were no direct ties between the Congregational Church and the cemetery after 1884. Further, it appears that all other religious groups that began during the Old Cemetery's time were still active for at least a portion of the New Cemetery's temporal range.

In terms of archaeological data, frequency seriation graphs demonstrated changes in the different gravemarker forms through time. Obelisks were not common in the Old Cemetery, but they prevailed in the Transitional Group and faded from use in the early years of the New Cemetery. Rectangular blocks were sporadic through the Old and Transitional Groups but most common in the New Cemetery where it showed a gradualist trend. Tablet forms were common and consistent in the Old Cemetery and show an overall gradualist trend through the Transitional Group that trails off in the New Cemetery. Bevels appear intermittently and are uncommon in the Old and Transitional Cemetery Groups, but they appear to form the beginning of a battleship curve in the New Cemetery as they rose to popularity. Slants were present in each cemetery group, but no trends were discernable. Ledgers were most popular in the Old Cemetery, where their frequencies depicted a battleship curve with a steep drop off, but they were almost non-existent in the Transitional and New Groups. Pillow forms appeared infrequently and with no detectable trends, and other forms were sporadic throughout each of the three cemetery groups. Overall, there appeared to be a gradual shift from ledgers and tablets as dominant forms in the Old Cemetery to obelisks and tablets in the Transitional Group, and then these fade out in the New Cemetery as rectangular blocks and bevels rise to prominence.

Regarding religious affiliations, the Old Cemetery sample contains 4% obelisks, the New Cemetery maintains nearly 15%, and Transitional Group has 46%. Because very few obelisks are present in the Old Cemetery, religious affiliations appear to have been strong. The Transitional

Group shows considerable religious distance with the number of obelisks it possesses; however, this could also suggest that guidelines on memorialization simply relaxed or were less stringently enforced during the years closest to the official transition. Obelisk prevalence declined in the New Cemetery, though they were still present in higher frequencies than in the Old Cemetery, and this seems to indicate an emphasis on religious ties. Conversely, however, it could also signify a tightening of restrictions on memorialization as the LCA took hold and imposed more guidelines within their private cemetery.

The inherent contradiction of urn sculpture, which are Christian symbols, on obelisk forms that imply distance from Christianity must also be discussed. There is no clear reason why these conflicting symbols co-occur on markers, but perhaps it is possible they served as some sort of compromise between simultaneously memorializing religious and familial affiliations. Ames notes that gravemarkers used to represent families were often large, may have contributed to verticality in the cemetery and were representative of the family unit (Ames 1981: 653); as almost every obelisk present in this study represented more than one individual, it seems plausible that the verticality of obelisk forms combined with the piety of urn sculpture in a single marker could have served a dual purpose of demonstrating both religious and familial affiliation. Nevertheless, obelisks' fluctuating frequencies and contradictory coexistence with urns makes them an unreliable measure of religious distance in this study; because their reliability is questionable, it is difficult to know with certainty if their presence is indicative of changes in Christian religious ties.

In terms of familial affiliation specifically, individuals represented by family/shared markers and both family/shared and individual markers in the Old Cemetery totaled roughly 37% and rose to around 80% in the New Cemetery. Comparing just the Old and New Groups, results

indicate that more emphasis was placed on memorializing familial affiliations in the New Cemetery than in the Old. The Transitional Group is not interpretively useful because it consists entirely of family/shared and both family/shared and individual markers.

This thesis's research question sought to understand if marker form differences between the cemetery groups could be related to religious or familial affiliations, and it though it is possible that affiliation could have influenced form choices, it is not conclusive. Form changes because of familial affiliations are more supported than change because of religious reasons, and this is especially evident in the difference between the number of individuals represented by shared markers versus people represented by their own individual marker across the cemetery groups. Both non-sectarian community burial grounds like the Old Cemetery and rural or lawn-park cemeteries like the New Cemetery were characterized by simple monuments and sculptures for memorialization (Mytum 2004: 15), so changes in cemetery type are therefore not responsible for form differences between the two groups; differences in emphasis on familial ties may be a more likely cause. In terms of the impact of religious affiliation on gravemarker form, the absence, rise, and fall of obelisks through the cemetery groups does align with church oversight, the cemetery's transfer, and a new group taking charge, respectively. Nonetheless, the presence of urns on obelisks is symbolically contradictory and thus does not fully support the notion of obelisks as pure symbols of separation from Christian religions. Though evidence is not definitive, overall it does support to an extent that gravemarker form differences between the cemetery groups could have been influenced by religious or familial affiliations, but familial affiliations are more likely responsible than religious ones.

*Interpreting the Iconography Dimension*

As with other gravemarker attributes, iconography evolves through time as cemetery trends and attitudes towards death change. Deetz and Dethlefsen's (1966) landmark study, for instance, found an overall shift between death's heads to cherubs to urns and willow as the dominant motifs in Massachusetts; death's heads were prevalent on the east coast between 1680-1760 (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966: 504-505). Cherubs appeared in 1740, overlapping with death's heads, and remained in use until 1820 (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966: 505). Urns and willows appeared later in the eighteenth century, around 1760, and were popular until roughly 1820 (Deetz and Dethlefsen 1966: 505). On the west coast, Boulware's 2008 thesis documented extensive Catholic iconography in the Victorian St. Paul's Cemetery (1874-1905) that represented a shift in the source population's worldview from the mortality and finality of death's heads in the eighteenth century to more peaceful religious icons that emphasized the soul's immortality and transcendence to an afterlife (Boulware 2008: 59-60, 73). Other contemporary cemeteries in Boulware's study, however, displayed less religious devotion in their iconography and instead tended to incorporate symbols that focused on love and matrimony (Boulware 2008: 61). A timeline depicting these iconographic trends on the east and west coasts is present as Figure 5.1.

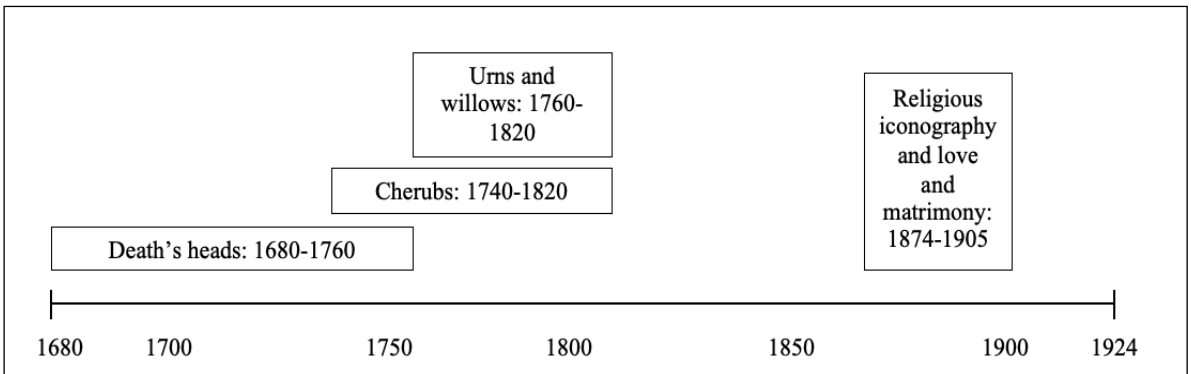



Figure 5.1. Timeline of broad iconographic trends on the east and west coasts based on the work of Deetz and Dethlefsen (1966), and Boulware (2008)

While these two studies depict iconographic changes on the east and west coasts, midwestern sources providing similar depictions are lacking. Iconographic data from the historic Wisconsin cemeteries in this thesis may contribute to the timeline of motif trends. Design elements, foliage/arboreal icons, florals, and religious motifs were the most prevalent symbols across the three cemetery groups. Design elements were consistently common and spanned from 1844-1924. Foliage/arboreal symbols appeared in 1844 and were also present until 1924 but with less popularity than design elements. Florals did not appear on gravemarkers until 1854, and they were not present after 1919. Religious symbols made two appearances: the first was from 1844-1883, and the second ranged from 1890-1919. A timeline depicting the appearances and disappearances of these symbols is present as Figure 5.2.

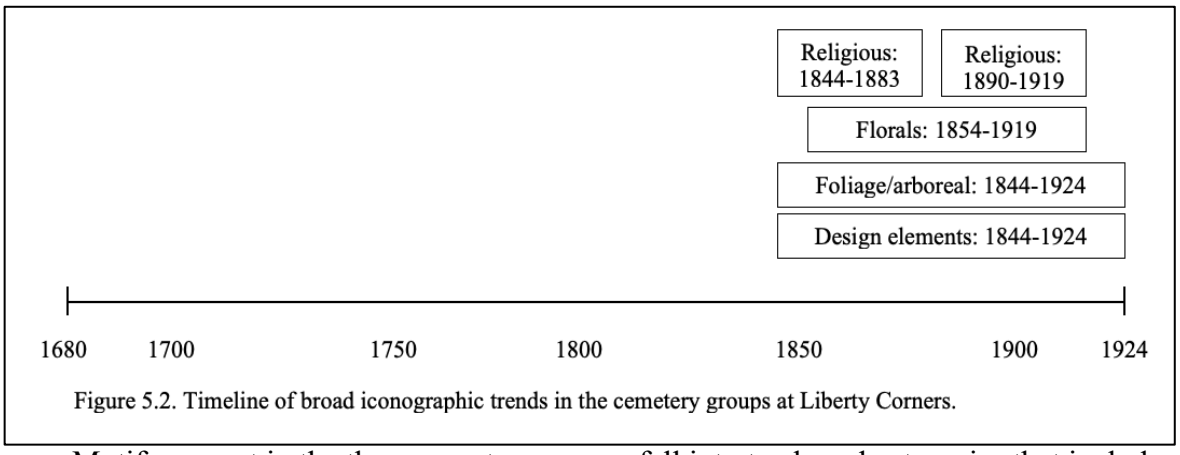


Figure 5.2. Timeline of broad iconographic trends in the cemetery groups at Liberty Corners.

Motifs present in the three cemetery groups fell into ten broad categories that include floral icons, foliage/arboreal symbols, animals, designs, columns, crowns, scrolls or books, fraternal motifs, religious icons, and miscellaneous symbols; iconographic analysis in this thesis sought to understand the source population's worldview, status, and group affiliations. Regarding status, Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971) asserted that an individual's social standing could be inferred from the amount of energy expended in their memorialization. In this project, the number of motifs present on a marker was used as a measure of the amount of energy expended:

markers with four motifs as opposed to one or none required more energy to create and could subsequently indicate higher status of the deceased.

Religious and fraternal ties were the focus of assessments regarding affiliation. It has been proven that gravemarker symbolism can portray religious affiliation (Boulware 2008: 58), and examples of religious motifs may include crosses, crucifixes, lambs, hands in prayer, or urns (Mytum 2004: 139). Because the Old Cemetery had strong ties to the Congregationalist Church at Liberty Corners, it was expected at the outset of this study that it may display more religious iconography than other cemetery groups. Memberships to fraternal organizations like the Free Masons, Odd Fellows, Knights of Columbus, etc. can also be depicted on gravemarkers (Mytum 2004: 137). A compass represents the Free Masons, for instance, and a three-link chain can represent the Odd Fellows.

Gravemarker motifs also have the capacity to inform on the source population's worldview and attitudes towards death (Barber 1994: 223). Deetz and Dethlefsen's (1966) landmark study, for instance, assessed iconographic trends through time and linked them to underlying shifts in worldview. Meyers and Schultz's (2016) study also successfully inferred worldview from motifs present on gravemarkers.

*Iconography in the Old Cemetery*. Historical documentation references information relating to individuals' social standings and religious and fraternal organizations, and attempts were also made to uncover data that informs on the source population's worldview in some capacity. Several townspeople were well regarded in historic records as early settlers or prominent community members; almost all of these are white men, but biographical accounts show they had varied experiences, professions, and reasons that supported their standing. Each of these men were interred in the cemeteries at Liberty Corners. Lemuel Booth was a farmer and

dairymen that settled in Salem in 1840, and the quality of the dairy products he produced were renown (Valentine 2014b: 5). R.S. Udell came to Salem in 1845 with his "esteemed" parents regarded as "prominent settlers" (Valentine 2014b: 5). Udell was an illustrious livestock-dealer most known for the sale of two exceedingly famous racehorses in California for $18,000 (Valentine 2014b: 5). Captain John E. Tuttle came to Salem in 1846, worked as a Captain on the Great Lakes, and was the owner of a summer resort in town (Valentine 2014b: 5). Charles Orvis settled in Wisconsin in 1845, traveled to California during the gold rush, and returned to Salem after having "good success" out west (Western Historical Company 1879: 734). Last, Nathan Burgess was also a farmer as well as town Supervisor and Assessor (Valentine 2014b: 4).

The presence of religious and fraternal groups in the area were also assessed. Town religious organizations discussed in previous sections are also relevant here, and these include Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, German Lutheran, and Congregationalist churches. Three fraternal clubs also existed between 1844-1884, the first of which was the Agricultural Society of Kenosha County that was formed in Salem's neighboring town, Bristol. The group provided opportunities for local farmers, livestock breeders, horticulturists, manufacturers, and dealers to exhibit their products and skills (Western Historical Company 1879: 543). Though no documentation explicitly links residents of Salem with this organization, it is plausible that at least some were involved considering the area's agrarian character. Further, the Odd Fellows, a secret society established in England, formed a branch in 1850 in Wilmot. The group saw an increase in their membership as decades went on (Western Historical Company 1879: 555). The Sons of Temperance also organized a branch in Wilmot in 1875 and experienced incredible growth in their membership (Valentine 2014b: 7).

While all these data were used to inform on the source population's worldview, unfortunately no historical information specifically addresses it. Town growth, formation of fraternal groups, presence of several religious organizations, and existence of elected positions do appear to show that townspeople were generally active in their community. It should also be noted that Salem was considered a temperance village in 1850 (Valentine 2014b: 6), so it is possible the inherent caution against overindulgence could have been reflected in more subdued iconography on gravemarkers.

In terms of archaeological data, 93 individuals were represented on gravemarkers in the Old Cemetery, and 25 of those, roughly 27%, contained no motifs and could not be iconographically analyzed. Of the remaining 68 gravemarkers (73%) that contained motifs, around 53% had only one motif, 25% had two motifs, 10% had three motifs, and nearly 12% possessed four motifs. Following Saxe (1970) and Binford's (1971) assertions on energy invested into memorialization as a measure of the deceased's social standing, the 12% of markers with four motifs and 10% of markers with three may belong to higher status individuals.

Motifs present across the 68 markers containing them in the Old Cemetery totaled 123. The most common symbols by broad category were design elements, florals, foliage/arboreal icons, and religious iconography, and these were followed by miscellaneous symbols, scrolls or books, columns, animals, and fraternal motifs. No crown motifs were present. Design elements showed some fluctuations in frequency, but they generally increase in popularity and may depict the early shape of a gradualist battleship curve in later periods. Florals also show the start of a battleship curve that appears midway through the Old Cemetery's temporal range and continues increasing until the end. Foliage/arboreal motifs appear consistently in low frequencies; they begin increasing slightly towards the later periods, which could indicate the potential start of a

battleship curve. Motifs in the miscellaneous category appear in every period in low frequencies, and while they show slight increase in prevalence in later periods, it is unclear if this rise is indicative of an early gradualist trend. Religious symbols appear in fairly low frequencies but show a steady increase through the duration of the Old Cemetery that could potentially characterize the beginnings of an elongated battleship curve. Scroll or book motifs also appear in consistent and low frequencies for most of the Old Cemetery's temporal range, and columns are absent from some periods but generally increase in use in later periods. Animal symbols appear sporadically and in low frequencies when they do emerge, and fraternal symbols are even more infrequent.

To assess affiliations and worldview, motif meanings were also interpreted. In this thesis, I am not considering design elements as motifs with ideological meanings because their purpose as borders, geometric shapes, and patterns, serves more of an aesthetic intent than ideological, and therefore they are not included in these ideological discussions. Design elements were categorized in the previous chapter as having no discernible symbolic meaning, and while they are included in tables and graphs for comparison to other, ideological motifs, they will not be interpreted here in the discussion.

Symbolic connotations of each motif were sorted by their broad meaning during analysis, and the most prevalent meanings among motifs in the Old Cemetery were love and matrimony, innocence and purity, the soul's transition from life to death, life, and grief. In terms of worldview and affiliations, these meanings emphasize love and relationships to others as well as sorrow over the loss of life and acknowledgement of the life lived. Perceptions of innocence and purity could have derivations in Christian religions, and the soul's transition from life to death also alludes to associations with Christianity. Additionally, fraternal group representation was

present in the Old Cemetery but not common, so it likely had little influence on iconographic memorialization in comparison to religious affiliation.

*Iconography in the New Cemetery.* Historical data shows that several townspeople were noteworthy in life and interred in the New Cemetery after death. Among these individuals are the LCA's founders, Kimball Cass, H.J. Smith, Frank Kingman, Henry Watson, Pardon Yaw, Walker Curtiss, A.J. Blanchard, John Patrick, and J.M. Orvis (Valentine 2008: 5). Pardon Yaw settled in Salem in 1843, owned a 300-acre orchard worth $12,000, was a member of the Congregational Church at Liberty Corners, and served as the first president of the LCA (Valentine 2014b: 5; Valentine 2008: 12). LCA's first secretary was L.A. Havens, who is also memorialized in the New Cemetery (Valentine 2008: 12). Another LCA founder, Henry Watson, served as Pathmaster in Salem, owned a farm, and served as school director for 10 years (Valentine 2014b: 5). Alexander Bailey moved to Salem in 1859 and served as Assessor, School Superintendent, agent of the railroad depot in town, Postmaster, Town Treasurer, and State Legislator (Valentine 2014b: 4). Walker M. Curtiss was a farmer born in Salem in 1852; he inherited a 440-acre farm, dealt in livestock and dairy products, and was also elected Pathmaster for more than one term (Western Historical Company 1879: 733). Nearly two decades after the LCA was founded, J.N. Crowley served as another one of its presidents, and Sarah Patrick served as secretary (KCRD 1907, Document #76775). All individuals listed above had influence in town or with the cemetery, and all are buried at Liberty.

Religious groups and fraternal organizations that arose during the Old Cemetery's temporal range appear to have remained active during at least some of the New Cemetery's temporal range. Namely, the religious groups include Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, German Lutheran, and Congregationalist churches, and among the fraternal groups are the

Agricultural Society of Kenosha, the Odd Fellows, and the Sons of Temperance. A new fraternal group, the Free Masons, did emerge, and it was chartered in Wilmot in 1889 (Mason Post, accessed March 28, 2022). As with the Old Cemetery, no documentation specifically addresses worldview of this source population, but other historic data does provide some context. World War 1 efforts were well documented, for instance, and Kenosha County was commended for its contributions, communal efforts, and patriotism (Wisconsin News 1919). While it is difficult to ascertain how much of this account was used to propagandize further patriotism or attempting to boost morale after the war ended, it nevertheless does demonstrate communal cooperation for the sake of a greater good. This sampling of collectivist culture could offer a window into the source population's perspective and worldview at the time in that the good of the group was prioritized over that of the individual.

Archaeological data shows 234 individuals were represented in the New Cemetery, and 149 of those (64%) contained motifs while 85 markers (36%) possessed no iconography and were removed from ideological analysis. Of the remaining 149 gravemarkers with motifs, 48% had only one motif, 23% had two, 14% had three, and 15% had four motifs. Following Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971), more marker iconography should correspond to higher status; the 15% of gravemarkers with four motifs and 14% with three may therefore represent individuals with higher standing.

A total of 291 symbols were present on the 149 gravemarkers with iconography, and the most common motifs were design elements, foliage/arboreal symbols, florals, religious motifs, and miscellaneous symbols. Crowns, scrolls or books, fraternal motifs, and columns were present but less prevalent, and zero markers contained animal motifs. Design elements showed an overall increase in the New Cemetery but began to decline at the end of this study's temporal range; it is

possible the popularity increase and subsequent decline are indicative of the beginnings of the tail end of a battleship curve, but without more data beyond 1924 it is impossible to say with certainty if that is the case. Florals and foliage/arboreal frequencies both depict gradualist trends as their prevalence rises, peaks, and decreases. The low frequencies of religious iconography appear to form a slight battleship curve that represents a gradualist trend. Scroll or book, fraternal, crown, and miscellaneous motifs all appear intermittently and in low frequencies, and they do not portray any discernible trends in use. While two columns are present in the groups, they appear individually in two separate periods; when their frequencies were calculated, they were less than 0.5 and therefore rounded down and not reflected in the frequency seriation graph.

Ideological meanings of symbols were also inferred. Though design elements were the most common motif in the New Cemetery, their lack of ideological significance, again, excluded them from interpretive analysis. This aside, the next most prevalent motif meanings are Christianity, resurrection and immortality, victory and triumph over death, love and matrimony, and innocence and purity. Overall, these give the impression that the source population perceived life, death, and an afterlife as different phases of existence. Sentiments of grief and sorrow towards death are also absent, and instead a sense of optimism about reunion and eternity takes their place. The dominance of Christian overtones is somewhat surprising considering this thesis originally hypothesized that the Old Cemetery would display far more piety than the New because of its distinct position beneath the Congregationalist Church; these archaeological data, however, do not support that original assumption. As far as fraternal affiliations are concerned, they are slightly more represented in the New Cemetery than in the Old, but in general, motifs referencing fraternal ties are not common.

*Iconography in the Transitional Group.* Archaeological data in the Transitional Group shows 154 individuals represented on gravemarkers, and 81 (53% of the sample) display motifs while 73 (47%) do not. Of the 81 markers with iconography, 37% possess only one motif, 28% have two, 17% have three, and 17% have four. These data indicate that 34% of individuals in this group (17% with four motifs and 17% with three) have higher status.

Across the 81 markers that contained motifs in the Transitional Group, a total of 174 symbols were present. In descending order, the most prominent icons were design elements, foliage/arboreal motifs, religious iconography, florals, miscellaneous motifs, fraternal symbols, and crowns. Animal, column, and scroll or book motifs were not present. Generally, iconographic data in the Transitional Group is inconclusive and does not clearly illustrate gradualist or punctualist trends for any motif type. The frequency of design elements had the most potential to form a gradualist trend, but the large fluctuations it displays throughout the entirety of the temporal range are inconsistent with a true battleship curve. Florals, religious icons, fraternal motifs, crowns, and miscellaneous symbols were all sporadic and appeared in low frequencies, and foliage/arboreal motifs were consistent but infrequent.

Design elements were, again, the most common motif present, but they were removed from interpretive discussion because they lack ideological significance. The most prominent motif meanings in the Transitional Group were the soul's transition from life to death, love and matrimony, victory and triumph over death, the brevity of life, and Christianity. Ideological themes in the Transitional Group are mixed: they generally reflect life and death by relating to Christianity and immortality of the soul, but they also convey the importance of love as well as imply a reflective tone regarding the brevity of life. Christian influences appear to have a sizable

presence in the cemetery group's iconography, but fraternal motifs are less represented and therefore have less of an impact on iconographic trends.

*Conclusions*: *Iconography, Worldview, Status, and Affiliation.* Historical data across the cemetery groups is largely changeless. Religious groups in existence between 1844-1884 include Roman Catholic, Methodist, Episcopal, German Lutheran, and Congregationalist churches, and these all persisted for some time through at least a portion of the New Cemetery's temporal range (Valentine 2014b: 5; Western Historical Company 555, 733, 554). Notably, the Congregational Church oversaw the Old Cemetery until 1884, so the burial grounds had documented ties to the religious organization. As religious groups in town remained almost constant, the same can be said for fraternal organizations. The Agricultural Society of Kenosha County, Odd Fellows, and Sons of Temperance existed in some form during both the Old and New Cemetery's temporal ranges (Western Historical Company 543, 555; Valentine 2014b: 7), and the only recognizable difference in fraternal groups through time appears to be the emergence of the Free Masons in 1889 (Mason Post, accessed March 28, 2022). Further, several noteworthy individuals are identifiable in both temporal groups; by Saxe (1970) and Binford's (1971) assertions, each group should therefore expect to see some gravemarkers with three or four motifs.

Archaeological data supported the expectation that markers with three and four motifs would be present in each cemetery group. Of the gravemarkers with motifs, 22% in the Old Cemetery contained three or four motifs, and this total rose to 34% in the Transitional Group and declined slightly to 29% in the New Cemetery. These data also indicate that the Transitional Group could have the largest number of higher status individuals. Overall, however, not much difference exists between the three cemetery groups, which appears to indicate that roughly the same number of higher status individuals were interred in each cemetery group.

General trends from one motif type to another are less clear-cut. Animal, column, crown, fraternal, scroll or book, and miscellaneous symbols all appear sporadically through each cemetery group but lack discernible trends. Design elements, foliage/arboreal motifs, florals, and religious are more illustrative. The frequency of design elements in the Old Cemetery resembles the first half of a battleship curve, and the New Cemetery continues to see an increase in design element prevalence until 1920-1924 when they decline. Design element frequencies in the Transitional Group see large, ambiguous fluctuations that do not depict any trends. Foliage/arboreal motifs have a consistent presence in the Old Cemetery but increase in later periods; this increase aligns with a concurrent increase in florals. Neither florals nor foliage/arboreal symbols show distinct trends in the Transitional Group, but both form battleship curves in the New Cemetery around nearly the same periods. Religious motifs are most frequent in the Old Cemetery, and their prevalence steadily rises throughout the group's temporal range; these symbols appear intermittently in the Transitional Group but form a modest battleship curve in the New Cemetery.

In attempting to assess motif trends between the three cemetery groups, interpreting the Old Cemetery is most straightforward, and the group shows a shift from design elements to florals and foliage/arboreal symbols. The Transitional Group is more challenging as no clear trends are represented, but design elements, foliage/arboreal motifs, and florals remain the most popular symbols. The New Cemetery shows design elements, florals, and foliage/arboreal motifs all start at smaller frequencies than where they left off in the Old Cemetery, and they all increase in the New Cemetery around the same time. Florals fade from use first, followed by foliage/arboreal symbols, and design elements begin tapering off near the end of the temporal range. Overall, while some motifs show or appear to begin depicting gradualist trends of their

own in a distinct cemetery group, there appears to be no overarching trend from one motif to another between the three cemetery groups.

The inclusion of design elements in this study could be one reason why trends through the cemetery groups are difficult to ascertain. First, only a maximum of four symbols per gravemarker were assessed, so motifs beyond that cap were not analyzed; these may have added to the data and contributed to more conclusive or discernible trends. Second, because design elements encompass an array of motif types (e.g., borders around text, geometric patterns, and shapes), their frequencies were considerable in each cemetery group but not particularly informative because almost every marker could possess one. Design elements, it seems, do not significantly contribute to answering the research question.

With regard to their interpretive meaning, motifs did inform on the source population's worldview and affiliations. The most prevalent symbolic meanings in the Old Cemetery were love and matrimony, innocence and purity, the soul's transition from life to death, life, and grief, and these connote an emphasis on love and relationships to others as well as relate to Christian religions. Sorrow at the loss of life is also represented. Motifs in the Transitional Group prioritized the soul's transition from life to death, love and matrimony, victory and triumph over death, the brevity of life, and Christianity. Generally, these symbols relate to Christianity, the importance of love and relationships to others, sorrow, and reflections on the brevity of life. Most prevalent symbolic meanings in the New Cemetery include Christianity, resurrection and immortality, victory and triumph over death, love and matrimony, and innocence and purity. Christianity is heavily alluded to, and there is also an optimism and celebratory tone towards death as opposed to grief or sorrow. Ironically, the Old Cemetery contains the highest frequencies of overtly religious symbols, but the New Cemetery contains the most religious

symbolic meanings; this contrasts the original assumption that the Old Cemetery would be the most pious. It appears religious affiliation actually had more influence on iconography in the cemetery groups as time went on. Fraternal ties, however, had little impact on iconographic memorializations; though they were present in each cemetery group, their low frequency and lack of trends give the impression that their influence was minimal. Overall, Christian interpretations of iconography aside, an emphasis on relationships to others is consistent through the cemetery groups. A shift in tone between the cemetery groups is also present: the Old Cemetery contains more sorrowful interpretations, the Transitional Group reflects on the brevity of life and begins to celebrate death, and the New Cemetery is more celebratory than the Transitional Group. These changes could reflect a shift in the source population's attitudes towards death and subsequently inform on their worldview.

This investigation's research question endeavored to understand if changes in iconography between the cemetery groups reflected influence from the status of deceased individuals, religious ideology, or fraternal affiliation. The number of motifs on gravemarkers was moderately informative on the status of individuals, mostly in that it showed that higher status individuals were present in each cemetery group, and this was corroborated by historical evidence. Though the Transitional Group had the most markers with three or four motifs, differences between the three cemetery groups are not great. Religious ties, comparatively, did appear to influence iconography as the prevalence of Christian motifs increased through time despite the number of religious organizations in the area remaining constant. Fraternal affiliations showed an influence on gravemarker iconography to an extent, but only because it was used to denote an individual's connection to a group. These motifs were used to show the deceased's affiliations, but their appearance was sporadic and did not impact trends in

iconographic memorializations. In sum, status and fraternal affiliations had little to no impact on iconographic changes through the cemetery groups, but religious affiliations and worldview were more influential.

*Project Conclusions and Avenues for Future Research*

In sum, it is possible that gravemarker form and iconography were impacted by the source population's affiliations and ideology, but marker material type was likely not influenced by economic status. Data for gravemarker material does not depict sharp declines or shifts from one type to another, but rather a gradual shift from one type to another through each cemetery group shows that the greatest factor influencing material type is time and evolving memorialization trends. Change in gravemarker form because of familial affiliations is more supported than change because of religious ones, but nonetheless these conclusions indicate that group ties may have influenced form. The increase in familial or shared markers from the Old to New Cemeteries cannot be explained by changes in cemetery type or trends in memorialization, thus the difference appears to be rooted in a changing emphasis on familial ties. Varying obelisk frequencies also align with church oversight and a new governing group taking control, however the presence of urn sculptures on obelisk forms is contradictory and therefore does not adequately support religious affiliation as a reason for changes seen in gravemarker form. Iconographically, status and fraternal affiliation are depicted but they do not inform on change in the cemetery groups through time like religious symbolism does. The increase in motifs with pious interpretations through each of the cemetery groups shows a preference for Christian iconography that appears to indicate strengthening religious ties and perspectives.

Because both historical and archaeological data abound in this thesis, avenues for future research are seemingly endless. Statistical analyses, for instance, could be applied to the data in

this thesis to explore the mathematical significance of the arrived at conclusions, and spatial or landscape analyses could be conducted through the cemetery grounds. Gender roles and representations on gravemarkers could be explored, and demography could inform on kinship, health, mortality rates, and more. Epitaphs could also be examined to assess attitudes towards death. Because more data points were collected than used in this study, other variables like gravemarker height and color could be seriated. More focus could also be placed on religious affiliations depicted in the cemetery groups with the intention of understanding which Christian religions are represented iconographically so that inferences about the most common denominations in the area can be made. Efforts could also be made to track down gravemarker carvers and understand how the practice changed and how Salem residents purchased or made their markers through time. The cemetery helper's ledger that logs individuals' plot purchases and contributed goods and services to the grounds could also be used to cross-check notable individuals in the historic record as a way to further assess those that had higher economic or social standing: townspeople that spent several hundred dollars on plot purchases may have been more economically stable, and those that regularly donated time, labor, or materials towards cemetery improvement may have been community leaders. Last, as the New Cemetery is still active, the temporal bounds from this study could be expanded to assess whether observable trends continue or become more apparent as time goes on. As shown in this thesis, the town of Salem and the cemeteries at Liberty Corners overflow with data that could continue to inform on Midwestern cemeteries and trends, settlement, development, economic standing, group affiliations, religious ideologies, and so much more.

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## APPENDIX A: MAP AND KEY OF BUSINESSES IN SALEM, WISCONSIN 1900-1910

The accompanying map of the village of Salem shows the locations of the various business places, most of them as they were in 1900 to 1910. Several were there prior to that, and some later as noted. The information below was obtained from several sources and from my memory. I believe it is correct as shown.- Eugene H. Hartnell. Febr'67

1. Harness Shop and store operated by a Mr. Higley. This faced the Main Street and was later moved back and used as a garage by the Minnis family.

2. House that stood here had a doctor's office in front. Dr. Tete and later Dr. Wm. Fletcher. House moved later to south side of Salem ave. and used as a residence. Site now occupied by Hartnell's Standerd Service Station built in 1930. Prior to Dr. Tete, a Dr. Williams (believe correct) and Dr. McShane had office here.

3. Old Congregational church erected here in 1874. Later used as a public hall and was destroyed by fire in 1953. Schultz barber shop now under construction here.

4. Ladies Millinery shop operated by Ada Stewart, in front of house. House now owned and occupied by William Sherriff.

5. General country store operated by a Mr. Barnes, then a Mr. Stewart, then by Petersen Brothers. Later changed to a hardware store run by Heman Gardner, then by William Kester, and now by Arthur Feldkamp.

6. Meat market operated by Arthur Bevins, then by Herman Sell. Later Lulu Root operated a notion shop and restaurant.

7. Barber Shop and pool room operated by Nathan Dix.

8. Blacksmith shop and horse shoeing shop operated by John Schlax, previously at Brass Ball. Salem Township office located in building now on site.

9. Town Jail with iron barred windows where law violators were looked up. Marvin Acker was the police officer.

10. Movie Theatre where silent movies were shown, and was operated by Arthur Bloss. Building was moved from one-half mile south of the village where it served as a public grade school prior to the erection of the two story brick school. THEATRE OPENED IN NOV. 1920.

11. Site of the old Methodist Church serving the community from 1879 to 1964.

12. Service Station and garage operated by Harry and Julius Krahn in 1940's. Now location of Red's Motel and Service Station.

13. Schmidt Implement Co. located here in 1923 until moved one-half mile south of village in 1960.

14. Petersen Brothers who previously operated a store at #5, started a farm equipment and supply store here. Later Lester (Happy) Dix operated Ford Agency here. Now Dix Bus Service here.

15. Hotel operated by James Jepson. Now owned by Gerald Seibert.

16. Small auto repair shop operated by Elwyn (Pat) Manning. Building later moved to #33 .

1st. C B Gaines Sons Co organized & started Garden Seed here

in 1901. Later taken over and operated by John Evans as Evans Lumber Co. Now operated by Edward Evans.

18. Railroad passenger and freight depot and post-office. Alex Bailey was first depot agent and postmaster. Salem fire house now on approximate site.

19. Railroad milk platform. Farmers hauled milk here in eight gallon milk cans for shipment to Chicago. Post-office built on site in 1951, Charles Petersen, postmaster.

20. Large ice house located here. It was filled with ice cut from the lake in winter and shipped to the city in summer. (Two other ice houseswere located on Hooker lake).

21. Second milk plant, operated by Pure Milk Co. Built probably in 1920s. Building now occupied by LaValle Rubber Co.

22. Saloon operated by Charles Deppe. Now Stella Polanin operated a tavern in building.

23. Saloon here in early days.

24. Barber Shop in early days.

25. General store operated by Matt Loescher. Also housed post-office with Jossie and Jennie Loescher as post-mistresses. (Post-Office later moved to south side Lake St., #27 .) Store is now owned and operated by Ernest Weidman. After Loeschers, James Campbell, then Sylvester Dibble operated store.

26. This location has had many different businesses. A butcher shop run by Marvin Acker, a barber shop run by Albert Schultz, Salem State Bank with a Mr. Zahn as cashier and F. F. Smith as president, a men's tailor shop run by Joseph Hilbert. Now the Town Grille operated by Lester Feldkamp is located in the building.

27. Post-office here 1930 to 40s with Jossie and Jennie Loescher post-mistresses. Previously operated post-office at #25. Building later removed.

28. Boat Houses and pier.

29. Farmers Milk, butter and cheese factory. This was built and operated in the early days prior to the building of milk plant #21. Herman Shelosky was the manager.

30. Livery Stable here operated by Arthur Bloss who was also rural mail carrier. Livery service was by horse and buggy. Later dentist office in room of house, for several years. Later Dr. William Fletcher had office here after leaving #2, in rooms adjoining dwelling. He did X-Ray work and discovered a open pocket knife in a patient's stomach.

31. Sherman House, a deluxe hotel owned by Eva Sherman. Later operated by her daughter, Mrs. Pease, and family. Livery service was available to guests. Building was demolished after property was sold to Arthur Hartnell in 1920. Prior to being owned by Eva Sherman, property was sold by George A. Hodge & wife to Esther M. Pease in 1879 and she in turn sold to Eva Sherman in 1908. Hotel was also known as the American House at one time.

32. General store operated by Foster Mercantile Co. stocking hardware, clothing, groceries, meats, etc. Ice cream parlor in basement .Later operated by Henry Epping and others. Clarence King operated a grocery for a number of years prior to 1966 when Leslie Perry purchased store and business.

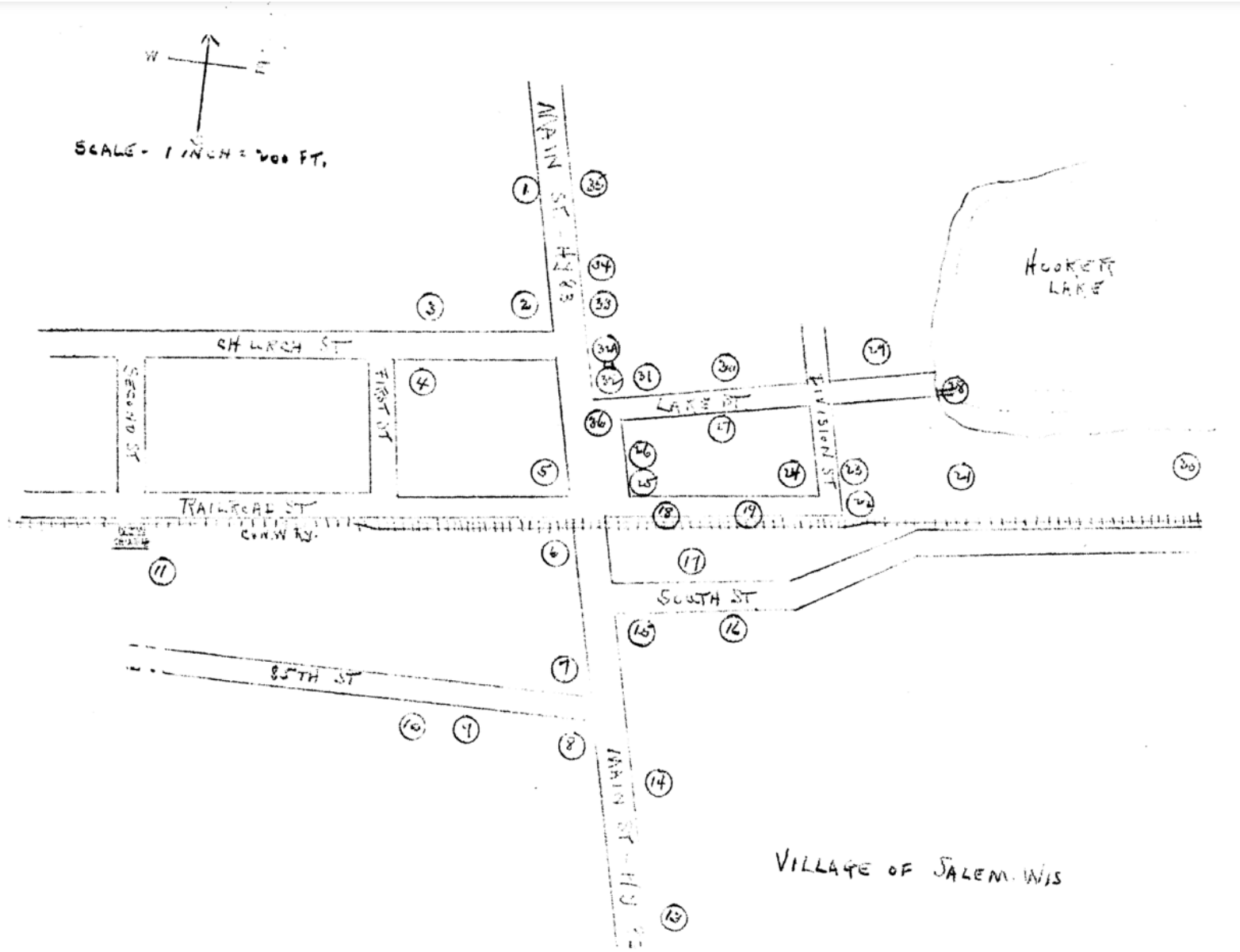
32A. Old hardware store building moved here from #33 and attached to Foster Mercantile store, #32, which greatly increased the store space. At one time this section was stocked with hardware and at another time with groceries. This also housed the Salem post-office in the late 1940s.and 1950s. Milton Raditz, Sr. was postmaster followed by Charles Petersen.

33. Hardware store operated here by Heman Gardner. This building was later moved and attached to Foster Mercantile building, #32A. Later a small garage was moved here from #16 and operated for several years. The front portion of the present Chevrolet garage erected here in 1928 by A. G. Hartnell & Son.Fosters sold site to A.G.Hartnell in 1919

34. Shoe shop operated by John Bufton and later by daughter, Ada Bufton. Lancelot Bufton and several others operated a restaurant here in later years. Building is now unoccupied.

35. Barber shop operated here, about 1945 -50 in front room of house, by Clarence Schuld.

36. A small hex shaped building was located in the public square. This was a checking station on a water pipe line running from Waukesha to Chicago. In May, 1892 the Town of Salem Supervisors granted permission to the Waukesha Hygeia Mineral Spring Co. to construct and operate a pipe line traversing the township. This pipe line carried "pure" water from Waukesha to Chicago for consumption. It was a number of years before being completed and then was not operated long (probably about 1900 to 1905) as from reports it was not a paying business.


W
E
SCALE - 1 INCH = 200 FT.
MAIN ST
CHURCH ST
SECOND ST
FIRST ST
LAKE ST
DIVISION ST
HOOKER LAKE
RAILROAD ST
C.M.St.P.Ry.
SOUTH ST
85TH ST
MAIN ST
VILLAGE OF SALEM. WIS

## APPENDIX B: LIBERTY CEMETERY PLAT MAP 1885

## APPENDIX C: FORM USED FOR DATA COLLECTION

Grave marker number: _____

Location: _____

Name: _____

Birth: _____ Death: _____

If second name also on grave marker: Name: _____

Birth: _____ Death: _____

Inscription/text:

Location of text:

Dimension: STONE TYPE

Marble _____ Granite _____

Limestone_____ Metal _____

Other: _____

Dimension: HEIGHT (cm)

Base: _____ Total Height: _____

Marker: _____

Other: COLOR

_____

Dimension: ICONOGRAPHY/DECORATIVE SYMBOLS

Occupational _____ Recreational _____

Flowers _____ Heart _____

Nature (animals, trees, etc.) _____ Hands _____ (circle: rosary, prayer, other)

Cross _____ Religious figure (circle: angel, Jesus, saint.) _____

Scroll/book _____ Photo/photo etching _____

Other _____

Dimension: FORM

Slant _____ Ledger _____

Cylinder _____ Bevel _____

Obelisk _____ Upright Tablet _____

Flat/flush (but shorter than full-length ledgers) _____

Additional details:

## APPENDIX D: GRAVEMARKER DATA SHEETS

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 1

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography:  N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 2

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

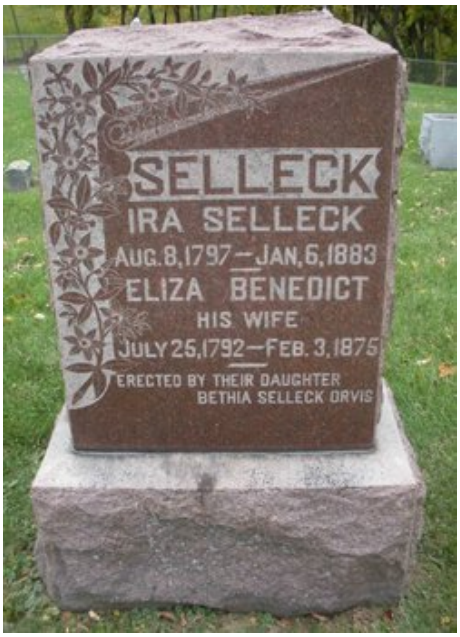
Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 3

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:




Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll);
Floral (forget-me-not)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 4

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 5

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Scroll or book (book)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 6

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Floral (rose); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 7

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 8

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll); floral (rose); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 9

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 10

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (hand pointing up)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 11

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 12

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 13

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 14

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography:  Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N)  Transitional (Y/N)  New (Y/N)  **Entry number**:  OLD 15

**Location (quadrant):** NE  SE  SW  NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N)  Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form:  N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 16

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 17

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Misc. (horizontally clasped hands)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 18

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 19

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 20

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 21

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Floral (rose)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 22

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Column (broken)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 23

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (evening primrose); Design element (border); Floral (sprout/flower bud); Design element (geometric shape)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 24

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vine); Floral (calla lily); Floral (fleur de lis); Floral (fleur de lis)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 25

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 26

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow);
Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 27

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow);
Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 28

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 29

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 30

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 31

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Obelisk
Material (1): Marble
Iconography (1): Design element (border)

Form (2): Tablet
Material (2): Marble
Iconography (2): Religious (urn)

Note: Two different markers exist for the same individual

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 32

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 33

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Retangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 34

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 35

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow); Misc. (rope/tassel)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 36

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 37

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (laurel wreath); Floral (rose)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 38

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (laurel wreath); Floral (rose)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 39

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Animal (eagle)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 40

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 41

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 42

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 43

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Fraternal (compass)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 44

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll); Floral (rose); Design element (border); Misc. (wings)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 45

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

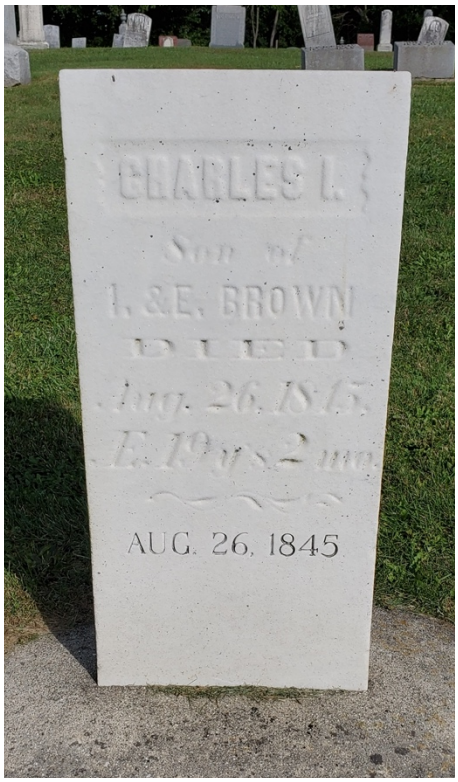
**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:




Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (wheat)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 46

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 47

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border);
Design element (geometric patttern)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 48

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 49

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (willow);
Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 50

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (hand pointing up);
Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 51

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Marble
Iconography: Column (complete)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 52

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Column (broken); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 53

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Animal (dove); Design element (border); Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 54

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border);
Misc. (metal attachment)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 55

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

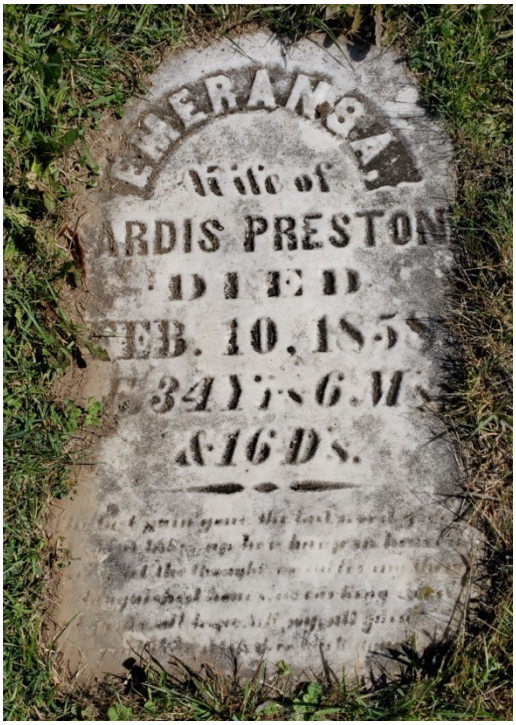
**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:




Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 56

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Animal (lamb)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 57

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (hand pointing up);
Design element (border);
Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 58

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 59

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 60

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet

Material: Bronze
Iconography: Column (complete); Religious (pulpit); Floral (fleur de lis); Foliage/arboreal (oak leaves)

Form: Other (flat, rectangular grassmarker)
Material: Bronze
Iconography: Floral (bell flower)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 61

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Floral (misc.–wilting bouquet)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 62

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Scroll or book (open book); Floral (daisy); Design element (border); Design element (geometric shapes)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 63

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 64

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vine); Design element (border); Floral (forget-me-not); Foliage/arboreal (corn)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 65

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Floral (misc. – unidentifiable);
Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 66

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 67

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 68

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Misc. (horizontally clasped hands)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 69

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Floral (rose); Design element (pattern)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 70

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Misc. (horizontally clasped hands); religious (drape/veil); Misc. (rope/tassel)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 71

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 72

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: OLD 73

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Religious (hands clasped vertically); Floral (misc. – unidentifiable); Scroll or book (scroll)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 1

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (palm frond); Foliage/arboreal (ivy); Design element (border)

Form (all): Slant
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 2

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Obelisk
Material (1): Marble
Iconography (1): Foliage/arboreal (oak leaves); Design element (border)

Form (2): Bevel
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 3

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Crown; Foliage/arboreal (laurel wreath/laurels)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 4

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Floral (calla lily); Floral (Madonna lily); Design element (border)

Form (both): Bevel
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 5

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 6

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 7

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 8

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Crown; Crown (with cross through it); Foliage/arboreal laurel wreath/laurels)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 9

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 10

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (urn); Floral (madonna lily); Design element (border); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

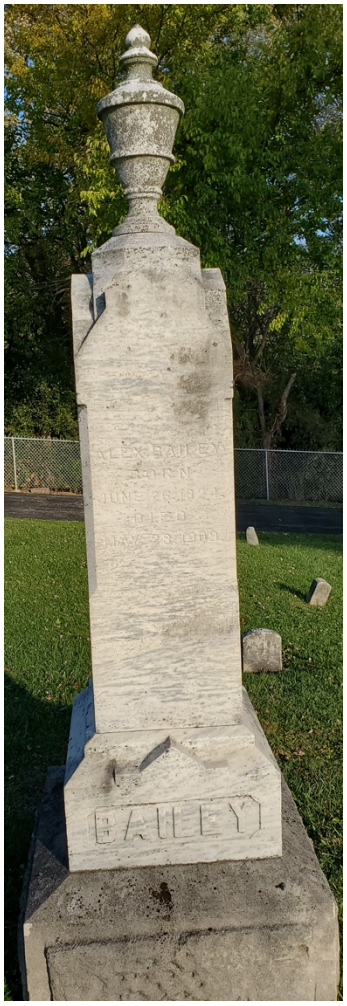
Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 11

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:




Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Crown; Crown (with cross through it); Foliage/arboreal (laurel wreath/laurels)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 12

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Metal
Iconography: Religious (urn); Floral (madonna lily); Design element (border); Religious (cross)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 13

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 14

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (ivy); Floral (unidentifiable); Design element (border); Design element (shape)

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 15

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Column (complete); Floral (fleur de lis); Floral (unidentifiable)

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 16

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone)

Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): None

**Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 17

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Rectangular block
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone)

Form (2): Slant
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 18

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (calla lily); Scroll or book (scroll)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 19

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 20

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (oak leaves)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 21

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 22

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 23

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Scroll or book (scroll); Floral (misc.-variety); Fraternal (compass); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 24

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Rectangular block
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Foliage/arboreal (vines); Design element (border)

Form (2): Tablet
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 25

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Pillow
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 26

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (Madonna lily); Design element (border); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 27

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 28

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 29

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Pillow
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (evening primrose)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 30

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 31

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 32

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (madonna lily); Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 33

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 34

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 35

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 36

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (madonna lily); Design element (border); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 37

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (evening primrose); Foliage/ arboreal (vines); Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 38

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Floral (forget-me-not); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 39

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 40

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 41

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 42

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 43

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 44

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 45

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vines); Floral (Madonna lily); Floral (tulip); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Tablet
Material (1): Marble
Iconography (1): None

Form (2): Bevel
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 46

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Ledger
Material: Limestone
Iconography: Fraternal (compass)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 47

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 48

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (madonna lily); Foliage/arboreal (vines); Foliage/arboreal (leaves,broadly); Design element (border)

Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 49

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (shape)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 50

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Pillow
Material: Granite
Iconography: Fraternal (compass); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 51

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Cylinder
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 52

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 53

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 54

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Floral (lotus); Floral (hibiscus); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): Foliage/arboreal (ivy)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 55

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Other (cuboid)
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 56

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 57

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Column (complete); Floral (unidentifiable)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Bevel
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 58

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (cross); Foliage/arboreal (oak leaves)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 59

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (evening primrose); Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 60

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border); Floral (unidentifiable); Foliage/arboreal (ivy); Foliage/arboreal (vines)

Form (both): Slant
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 61

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 62

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 63

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vine); Floral (border)
(calla lily); Floral (fleur de lis)

Form (both): Bevel
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): Design element

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 64

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 65

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (Madonna lily); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 66

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Cylinder
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 67

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Cylinder
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 68

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 69

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 70

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (fleur de lis); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 71

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 72

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 73

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Limestone
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 74

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

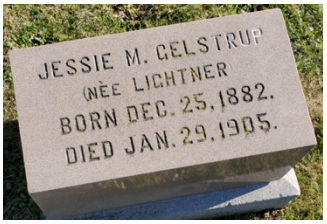
**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 75

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:




Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (cuckoo flower); Floral (Madonna lily)

Form (1): Bevel
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): Design element (border)

Form (2): Bevel
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): Design element (border)

Form (3): Bevel
Material (3): Granite
Iconography (3): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 76

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 77

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (ivy); Design element (border); Misc. (wheel)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 78

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Other (heart)
Material: Granite
Iconography: Misc. (heart); Misc. (arrow)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Tablet
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (rose); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 79

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (lily of the valley); Misc. (rope/tassel); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 80

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Bevel
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): Design element (border)

Form (2): Tablet
Material (2): Marble
Iconography (2): Design element (border)

Form (3): Tablet
Material (3): Marble
Iconography (3): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 81

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 82

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (palm frond)

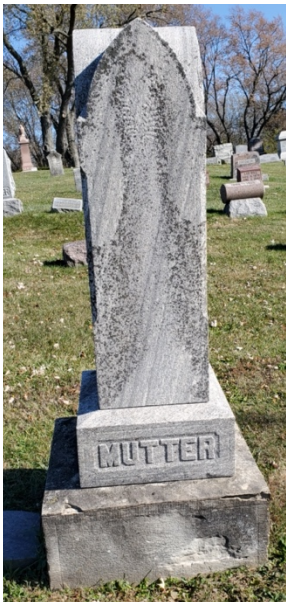
Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 83

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:




Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (peace lily)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (1): Tablet
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): None

Form (2): Tablet
Material (2): Granite
Iconography (2): None

Form (3): Bevel
Material (3): Granite
Iconography (3): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 84

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (palm frond)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 85

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Other (ovular)
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 86

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 87

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 88

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 89

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (unidentifiable); Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 90

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vine); Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 91

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 92

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: Religious (physical marker emerges from uncut stone); Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 93

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 94

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 95

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (trumpet flower); Foliage/arboreal (vines); Design element (border); Floral (unidentifiable)

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 96

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (tulip); Design element (pattern)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 97

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Misc. (rope/tassel); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 98

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Cylinder
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 99

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**: **Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border); Design element (pattern)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: NEW 100

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Marble
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (laurels); Design element (shape)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 1

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (shape); Design element (pattern)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 2

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 3

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Fraternal (compass); Fraternal (chain links)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 4

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Crown; Foliage/arboreal (laurel wreath/ laurel)

Form (1-3): Tablet
Material (1-3): Marble
Iconography (1-3): None

Form (4): Bevel
Material (4): Granite
Iconography (4): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 5

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 6

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn);

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 7

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Design element (shape); Floral (bell flower); Design element (pattern)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 8

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 9

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

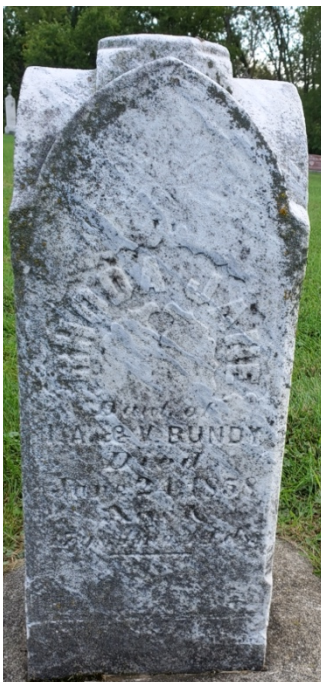
Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 10

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:



**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (calla lily); Misc. (heart); Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 11

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border); Design element (pattern)

Form (1): Bevel
Material (1): Granite
Iconography (1): Design element (border)

Form (2-5): Bevel
Material (2-5): Granite
Iconography (2-5): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 12

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border); Fraternal (compass)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 13

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Foliage/arboreal (vines); Design element (border)

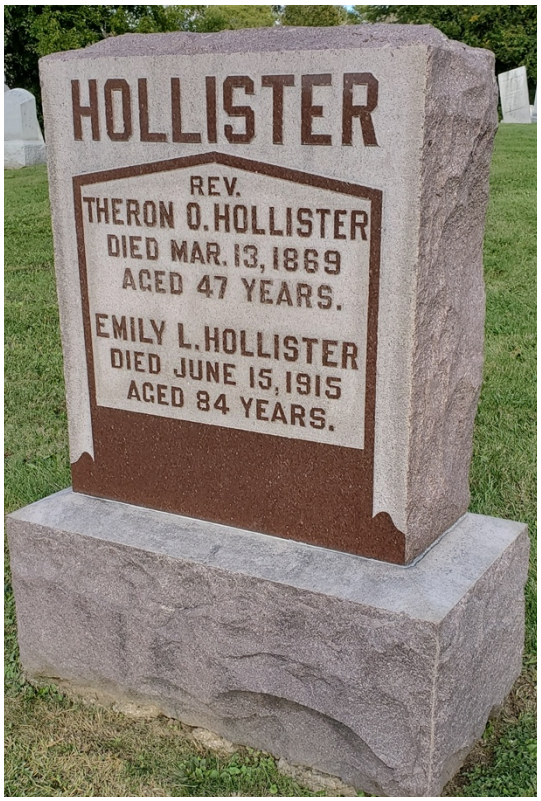
Form (all): Slant
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 14

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:




Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 15

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Bevel
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 16

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Other (treestone)
Material: Concrete
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (tree); Foliage/arboreal (ivy); Foliage/arboreal (misc. – traveler's palm tree); Foliage/arboreal (misc. – mushroom)

Form (all): Other (log)
Material (all): Concrete
Iconography (all): Foliage/arboreal (misc. - log)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 17

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Marble
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 18

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

N/A

Form: Slant
Material: Granite
Iconography: Design element (border)

Form: N/A
Material: N/A
Iconography: N/A

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 19

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): Design element (border)

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 20

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: None

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 21

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Floral (calla lily); Design element (border)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 22

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Foliage/arboreal (vines); Design element (border)

Form (all): Tablet
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 23

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Foliage/arboreal (vines); Floral (bell flower); Design element (border)

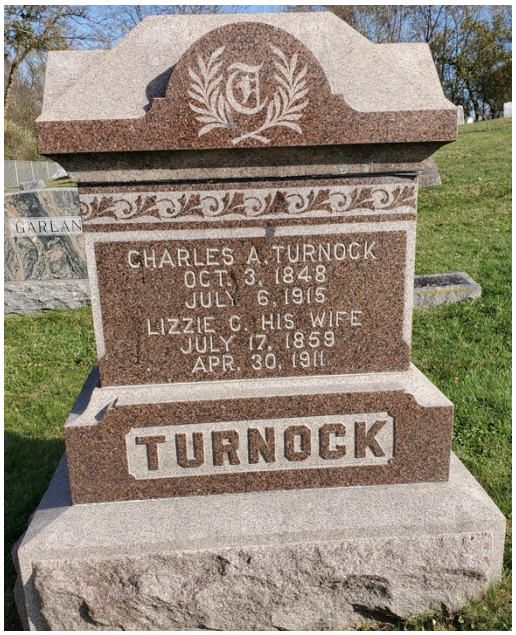
Form (both): Bevel
Material (both): Granite
Iconography (both): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 24

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:



**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form: Rectangular block
Material: Granite
Iconography: Floral (Madonna lily); Foliage/arboreal (palm fronds); Design element (border)

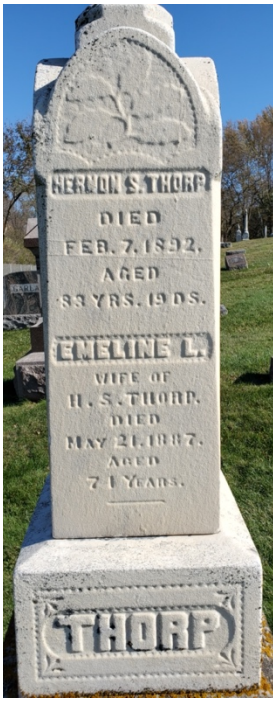
Form (all): Bevel
Material (all): Granite
Iconography (all): None

**Cemetery Group**: Old (Y/N) Transitional (Y/N) New (Y/N) **Entry number**: TRANS 25

**Location (quadrant):** NE SE SW NW

**Marker type**: Family/Shared (Y/N) Individual (Y/N)
If family/shared, are individual markers also associated with it: (Y/N)

**Family/Shared marker photo(s)**:




Form: Obelisk
Material: Marble
Iconography: Religious (urn); Foliage/arboreal (leaves, broadly); Design element (border); Floral (calla lily)

**Individual marker photo(s)**:

Form (both): Tablet
Material (both): Marble
Iconography (both): None