

Grave and Image: Holiday Grave Decorations in a Southern California Memorial Park

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During the month of December 1992, I drove with my mother and sister down a curving expanse of private road in Green Hills Memorial Park in San Pedro, California. My father had passed away in February after a prolonged illness, and for that first year the three of us made weekly visits to his gravesite on a small hill that on a good day boasted a view of San Pedro's refinery-dotted shores. We parked by the curb at the base of the hill. My mother embraced a modest pot of supermarket poinsettias in her arms. Traipsing up the incline, we were all a little stunned by what we found before us. Surrounding my father's plot were innumerable other plots decorated with elaborate holiday constructions: individual gravesites surrounded by white, plastic picket fences, framed with silver and gold tinsel, and on which six-foot Christmas trees were mounted. Flakes of plastic snow were carefully strewn in perfect rectangular formations. Nativity scenes jostled beside train sets as inflatable candy canes floated in the air, hanging from strings tied to the branches of nearby trees. Signs here and there atop individual graves requested, "Santa please stop here."

Mother set the pot of poinsettias down upon my father's grave. She sat on the still green grass and looked around. To no one in particular she commented that the poinsettias looked lonely amidst all the surrounding glitter. She paused, and then said simply, "We need to get a Christmas tree."

By the next day, we had further adorned the grave with a comparatively modest artificial Christmas tree measuring about three feet in height. Succeeding years have seen the addition of tinsel, a plastic snowman, and once, a five-foot tree rescued from a dumpster.

The decoration of gravesites, particularly on special occasions, is a practice with a long history and a widely dispersed presence in American folklore. The cleaning and adorning of graves on Decoration Day (usually synchronous with Memorial Day) is a custom that has been practiced by people of the Ozarks (Montell 1989:118-19), African Americans of the southern states (117-21), and residents of Hawaii—particularly those with native Hawaiian ancestry (Purnell 1993:219-20).

Lynwood Montell attributes this practice to post-Civil War widows of soldiers, to Protestant modifications of All Souls' Day, and to pre-Christian, Celtic Samhain celebrations (1989:122). Paul F. Erwin tells us that for more than a century Scottish Travelers in Cincinnati have continued their vibrant funerary customs. They display elaborate floral constructions on Memorial Day, costing as much as \$35,000 and depicting symbols of cultural significance such as "an empty rocking chair, a grandfather clock, an oxen and split-tongue wagon, a broken wagon wheel and a Masonic emblem" (Erwin 1993:116). Mexican American Catholics in the Southwest engage intensively in grave decorating on All Souls' Day, as well as on other, sometimes secular, holidays (Gosnell and Gott 1989:220). Chinese Americans in Hawaii conduct graveside ceremonies and adorn graves during Ching Ming, the "Clear-Bright festival," a spring rite honoring the dead, and Japanese Americans in Hawaii decorate graves during O Bon, a Buddhist celebration also dedicated to spirits of the deceased (Purnell 1993:197-98,211).

Flowers are perhaps the most common manifestation of these decorative practices. Innumerable other items, however, have also been used as part of individual cemetery displays. Montell lists "telephone line insulators, American flags, children's marbles, dolls, toy cars, toy airplanes, toy images of animals, light bulbs, and metal tipped vacuum tubs from radio and television sets" among others (1989:120-21). Nanette Purnell has documented the use of the Hawaiian *kahili* (royal standard motif), candles and incense, Japanese paper lanterns, and foodstuffs such as rice, oranges, sake, tea, roasted duck, and sweet buns (1993:199,211-12,217-18). The list is probably endless, exhibiting a range as diverse as the personalities of the people themselves.

Some items, like flags on Memorial or Veterans Day, are promoted and condoned by cemetery management. At Green Hills, the floral shop is strategically located at the front gate (and only entrance) to the park. On holidays such as Valentine's Day and Easter, Styrofoam hearts and crosses adorned with cut flowers are available for sale. On military oriented holidays, a centrally placed bin holds small flags for free distribution. These items are part of the official culture of the park and, as demonstrated above, account for only a small percentage of the variety of objects used to adorn graves.

Several scholars have associated particularly elaborate grave decorating customs with specific cultural groups. John Matturi states:

Italian-Americans, like members of several other non-Protestant American ethnic groups, have continued to maintain the cemetery as an active site of ritualized communion with the dead at a time when the American cemetery has been seen by many to have become a purely functional site of interment. This has been verified by the author on several occasions during the past several years by holiday period visits to several locations where Catholics and non-denominational/Protestant

cemeteries are located in close proximity to each other: on each occasion, the Protestant cemetery was virtually empty and bare of decoration whereas the Catholic cemetery was quite crowded with visitors to graves that were often elaborately decorated. Moreover, even when extensive decorations are found on graves within non-Catholic cemeteries, the name on the grave quite often indicates membership in a Catholic ethnic group. (1993:18)

Gosnell and Gott share a similar opinion:

other ethnic groups with ties to the Catholic church also bury their family members here....We believe that the similarities between the decoration of the relatively small percentage of those gravesites with Mexican-American family graves can be understood as a pleasing and powerful community aesthetic structuring the practice of other Catholic families. (1989:221)

Elaborate holiday grave decoration, however, is far from unknown to other ethnic and religious groups (see Purnell 1993 and Erwin 1993). It is especially apparent at San Pedro's Green Hills Memorial Park where individual burial plot displays are far more flamboyant than any of those pictured in the essays by Matturi or Gosnell and Gott. Among their findings, "miniature Christmas trees are common features" (Gosnell and Gott 1989:230), while at Green Hills, full-size Christmas trees are popular and their placement crosses all cultural boundaries.

Green Hills serves the many cities that make up what is known as the South Bay region of the greater Los Angeles area. The region stretches from the blue-collar towns of Carson and Wilmington to the upper and upper-middle class towns of Rolling Hills, Palos Verdes, and Manhattan Beach. The region is ethnically and religiously diverse. Particularly in lower to middle income areas such as Carson, Wilmington, Gardena, and Torrance, no single cultural group dominates.

Carson, where my mother resides, is a case in point. The area contains substantial populations of African Americans, Pilipino Americans, Hispanics, and Samoan Americans. The size of Carson's Samoan population is reputedly the largest in the world, including Samoa itself. Other ethnic groups, such as Asian Americans and European Americans, also reside there in fairly significant numbers.

Green Hills Memorial Park reflects the ethnic diversity of the region. A walk among the flat gravestones reveals all of the above mentioned cultural groups and more. Religions represented, as apparent from headstone inscriptions, include Buddhists as well as Mormons, Catholics, and Protestants. No doubt others are represented as well.

Highly involved holiday decorating is indeed a common practice for many families at Green Hills, and yet interestingly enough, these displays cluster in distinct sections of the park with other sections exhibiting only extremely modern decorations such as a simple bouquet of flowers, or perhaps, the pot of poinsettias my mother had initially thought appropriate. Not surprisingly, one area generally prolific in display is the children's section.

When driving into Green Hills, one first passes the flower shop, then the information booth, and finally the mortuary and chapel. Veering right toward burial grounds, the hilly landscape initially appears fairly consistent with the visions of early nineteenth-century cemetery reform advocates. Flat headstones lie flush with the grass and, in the oldest sections of the park, decorations are modest.

In *The Last Great Necessity*, David Charles Sloane chronicles the evolution of American burial practices. He cites J. J. Gordon who in 1915 envisioned the ideal cemetery as "a five-acre central park and an ornamental entrance, neither of which had visible monuments or markers" (1991:160). Green Hills closely follows this model. Although the entrance is only "ornamental" in that its landscaping is slightly more distinct than the rest of the grounds (a small stream surrounded by assorted foliage), the park is indeed virtually devoid of visible monuments or markers. Exceptions include a large flagpole commemorating a deceased veteran, the mausoleum, and a few rather simple and modern family tombs. Aside from these exceptions, all grave markers are flat slabs of marble, brass, or military issue concrete that lie flush with the eternally green grass. Park management maintains this conformity by regulating what type of decorations may be used. On lawn graves, only fresh flowers are allowed and groundskeepers remove these each Friday (except at holidays). A single (or for an additional cost, a double) brass vase to accommodate flowers is permanently implanted in the ground before the headstone. Artificial flowers may be used on a mausoleum grave, but they must fit in the attached vase.

Sloane states that the replacement of standing tombstones with flat markers signaled a change in the way Americans were thinking about death. "The new markers were invisible until you approached the grave site, which increased the lotholder's privacy" (Sloane 1991:184). He further states, "Twentieth-century Americans did not want the close relationship with the cemetery that their nineteenth-century counterparts had craved. Memorial parks represented a distancing of the gravesite from the mourner" (190). Other trends, however, run contrary to Sloane's claims. In recent years, the funeral industry has developed products and services catering to people who desire more personal memorials. Kelco Supply manufactures designer cremation urns that reflect the interests of the deceased: golf bags, cowboy boots, and shapes "for all types" (Sherman 1994:8). At Canuck's Sportsman's

Memorials, they "can't get you to heaven, but...promise to land you in the happy hunting ground"; ashes are deposited in shotgun shells and fired off at a favorite hunting location. Other options include placing cremains in "fishing lures, golf shafts and vulcanized basketballs" (*Sports Illustrated* 1994:10). In Portland, Oregon, the Little Chapel of the Chimes markets "life-centered" funerals—a ceremony that incorporates themes and interests pertinent to the deceased (Levine and Lubove 1992:162).

In Southern California, cemeteries and memorial parks must contend not only with the idiosyncrasies of individual personalities, but also with an ever-escalating influx of ethnic populations. A 1994 *Los Angeles Times* article notes that while a decade ago the burial industry relied on a largely Protestant, European American clientele, this market sector has since decreased due to a rising preference for cardboard caskets, cremations, and burials at sea. Other sectors, however, continue to prefer traditional interment (Weber 1994:A1). Even some Asian populations who plan on cremations are apt to purchase expensive caskets for viewing. As Tracy Weber writes:

Now many funeral directors are pushing aside the Ethan Allen-style furniture to install fire-resistant tile floors to catch ashes from Buddhists' incense and ceiling fans to disperse the perfumed haze. Or they are opening sacrosanct embalming rooms to relatives for Muslim bathing rites. The burial business is big business, at \$8 billion a year. What the industry is looking for are people still willing to spend the money to be buried. And if a little cultural awareness helps bring them in, so be it. (1994:A1)

Tolerance for diverse customs must extend from funerals to other burial site practices. Rose Hills Memorial Park in Whittier, California, for example, now makes portable incinerators available (for an extra cost) so that visitors can burn paper money and other offerings at graveside. While many memorial parks continue to enforce regular disposals of decorations, many also extend periods between clean-ups to several weeks during peak holiday seasons.

In contrast to the specialized decorations at these California memorial parks, there are people for whom the distancing of death in memorial park construction was a welcome change. It is difficult to argue against the presumption, of which Sloane wrote, since the type of cemeteries he describes are undeniably successful in their marketing efforts, and despite many changes in local communities, the flat headstones do indeed subdue the visible presence of death. From a distance, only the regular, symmetrical placement of bouquets betrays the presence of graves below. Yet, for others, the markers flush with the ground represent dreaded anonymity rather than privacy. As Gosnell and Gott note, "In a cemetery as large as San Fernando, where most gravestones are nearly identical in appearance, there is a strong tendency toward other means of personalizing the gravesite" (1989:225).

Driving further into Green Hills, just past the mausoleum, the landscape abruptly changes: while the official landscape of rolling green hills and low, imperceptible gravemarkers remains, an unofficial culture manifests itself in holiday paraphernalia rising up from the anonymous grass in constructions of vibrant and intensely personal display. Unlike other parts of the country where Decoration Day or Memorial Day marks the most active time for gravesite decorating, at Green Hills the most active season is without a doubt the month of December, with activity accelerating until Christmas Day. As Gosnell and Gott note of families in San Antonio, "It is in the use of holiday imagery, suggesting a particular desire to include deceased family members within major holiday observances, that we see the most elaborate visual expressions of ongoing communication" (1989:230). On Christmas Day, families arrive in large groups bearing lawn chairs and blankets, often spending a significant portion of the morning or afternoon at the site.

On December 25, 1994, the Mameas, a Samoan American family whose patriarch (the minister of a local Samoan church) had passed away in November, gathered before the grave and sang Christmas carols, both secular and religious. Family members numbering 69 and representing four generations attended. The senior Mamea's grave was easily the most elaborately decorated in the area, bearing a six-foot Christmas tree adorned with ornaments and scattered with gifts below, a fence marking the perimeter of the plot, and large inflated candy canes bobbing in the wind as they hung from a tree branch directly above. The family had also adorned the trunk of the tree in foil and ribbon.

While the Mameas were perhaps the most elaborate in their presentations, others did not follow far behind. Even the simplest display or performance, however, demonstrated great care and attention to detail with a distinct concern for form and placement. A Chinese American family of four was also seen to sing carols at gravesite. The grave of a European American teenager was bereft of a tree, but was carefully surrounded by a small picket fence with a small ornament hung between each post.

While at Christmas more flamboyant decorations are visible, activity continues year-round at Green Hills. Virginia Mamea Devoux, age 40, states that she visits her father's grave daily (personal communication, 3/12/95). On a nearby Korean American grave, a Sunday *Los Angeles Times* appears weekly. Angelica Flores says that her family has visited her father's gravesite every Sunday for the last nine years (personal communication, 9/15/95). The grave of a young veteran usually bears a carefully ordered arrangement of toys and silk flowers placed on the ground. A more permanent personalization of space often takes the form of coloring in portions of headstone designs; roses etched in black marble, which would normally appear white, have scarlet petals and dark green leaves.

During nonholiday periods, families circumvent memorial park rules by arriving weekly both before and after park clean up. In this way, they can remove nonperishable decorations before they are discarded by park personnel, and replace them afterward. The decoration practices at Green Hills demonstrate clear continuity with practices observed by other scholars. As Gosnell and Gott state of a San Antonio cemetery, "one finds an ongoing cycle of remembrance that incorporates readily available commercial materials as well as fresh flowers into a variety of visual displays of devotion and continuing love" (1989:221). One of the readily available and widely diffused commercial materials used at cemeteries is the type of small border fence commonly found in hardware stores or garden shops. As Matturi states,

The rather common practice of surrounding the front area of a small gravesite with a miniature fence...may in part be due to the need to protect plants and flowers from destruction by lawnmowers, [but] it also contributes to establishing even a single-lot plot as a distinct gravesite identifiable with a particular person. Both the plants and the fencing serve to isolate an area of ground that is closely associated with the deceased, and that thus can serve to elicit imaginings of a continued relationship with the deceased. This marking out of a private territory provides a clear contrast with the ideal of a communal ground expressed in the dominant tradition of cemetery design. (1993:18-19)

Although at Green Hills weekly removals negate the use of fences as permanent barriers against lawnmowers, the emotional significance of the barrier system is clear. This "marking" of private territory is also accomplished by appropriating trees in a grave's immediate proximity: by decorating the tree, communal space is transformed into individual space. At one gravesite, this connection was made permanent by carving the deceased's surname into the tree trunk.

Some decorations serve both practical and aesthetic purposes. Each headstone at Green Hills has a two inch border of exposed dirt surrounding it, a result of the initial implantation of the marker that is eventually overgrown over with grass. Virginia Mamea Devoux surrounded the headstone of her father with a border of glass marbles. She explained that the border prevented dirt from being washed over the headstone during the rain. In addition to being decorative and practical, the marbles also had personal significance. At her father's seventieth birthday party, bags of marbles had been tied to each bottle of champagne. Later, these same marbles were used to decorate his grave (Devoux, personal communication, 3/12/95).

Items with such personal significance are often incorporated into displays, and frequently these take the form of foods and beverages favored by the deceased. Gosnell and Gott note that these offerings, such as a can of

beer, "embody directly personal communications of love" (1989:226). They connect the practice to Mexican cemetery and altar traditions (230). Purnell, however, notes that the placement of foods and beverages on graves also has precedent in Chinese and Japanese memorial customs (1993:199,211). At Green Hills during the 1994 Christmas season, rice confections were left at a Korean American grave, an assortment of cakes at a Chinese American grave, and at the Japanese American grave of a man born on Christmas Day 1903, two tangerines and a candle-topped muffin.

As Gosnell and Gott also observe of San Antonio, other common offerings at Green Hills include toys and personal handwritten notes. Suamoli Sapiga brings potted plants to her husband's gravesite in tribute to his love of gardening (personal communication, 9/15/95). Family and friends of deceased teenager Marilynne Adair bring her favorite flowers to her grave, burn her incense, and play her favorite song on the compact disc player in a car parked near the gravesite (Stacy Adair, personal communication, 9/15/95).

Some of the people I interviewed acknowledge that they had been influenced by the decorating practices of others at Green Hills, while others asserted that they had not been. Vailili Enesi, a Samoan immigrant explains, "Every year when [my husband and I] pass by here when we live in San Pedro, it's fantastic to look up on the hill at the graveside and everything. And I keep teasing my husband. I say, 'Oh when you die your grave [will be] here, I'm going to put up a Christmas tree'" (personal communication, 9/15/95 and 12/17/95). Mary Furlow states that it had nothing to do with what others were doing around her: "It's just something I thought should be done. Just because they are gone you don't forget them" (personal communication, 9/15/95).

Regardless of real or perceived origins for these decorating practices, one notion hard to ignore is that the visible presence of others similarly engaged provides a sense of appropriateness and acceptability to maintaining a strong emotional tie with the deceased. Stacy Adair, the older sister of Marilynne Adair, mentioned that "not very many people realize how bad it hurts; [Marilynne's best friend] lives with her boyfriend and she can't talk to him about this because he thinks she's crazy; she should be over it by now" (personal communication, 9/15/95). Here at Green Hills, however, it is patently okay not to be "over it." It is okay to mourn deaths, to celebrate lives, and to think frequently and deeply about people who are simply no longer physically here. Perhaps this is another part of why it is so important to do these things at the site of the burial, not just because this is where the body lies but because it is here that the emotions go unquestioned.

Matturi attributes active involvement in grave decoration to Catholics and asserts that these practices are a manifestation of their view of the cemetery "as an active site of ritualized communication with the dead at a

time when the American cemetery has been seen by many to have become a purely functional site of interment" (1993:18). As is evident from examples found within Green Hills, these practices are in no way limited to a single cultural or religious group. It would also be a mistake, however, to assume automatically that such practices reference "ritualized communication with the dead." Certainly, for Virginia Mamea Devoux this description is fairly accurate; Virginia believes her father can see the efforts and care expended by her family at the gravesite. For my own mother, however, the relationship is not quite as clear.

Akiko Posey, 65, has lived in the U.S. for over thirty years. For all but the last three, she lived with my father, Calvert Posey. As a child growing up in Japan, her parents were devout Buddhists. Currently, she attends a Protestant church in Gardena. She claims, however, not to believe in God or an afterlife. "I think when you die, there's nothing," she explains. "When you go to bed and don't remember anything in the morning, not even what you dreamed, it's like that. Nothing. Like being under anesthesia" (personal communication, 3/12/95).¹

When asked if she had ever believed in an afterlife, Posey replies, "No, not really. Well, when you're a kid they brainwash you." She attends church "because when I pray I feel good. I like choir music; it's peaceful....I think religion is just what you feel; it's to calm you down." Further, she explains, "I figure if I die and I don't have a religion, it will be a problem for you and your sister [when you have to plan the funeral]" (personal communication, 3/12/95).

While Posey claims to have no belief in an afterlife, her first response to a question about why she decorated her husband's grave was, "Well, after all, everyone was doing it, so if your Dad was the only one who didn't have it, wouldn't you feel sorry *for him*? I mean, it's really just for your own feeling but it would have felt lonely [with nothing on it]....Everywhere around it was so lively; if your Dad's was the only one that didn't, it just wouldn't do" (personal communication, 3/12/95).

Despite my mother admitting she performed these acts because she felt sorry for the deceased, she continued to emphasize the fact that these decorations were actually for the decorator. She did it for her own feelings, for the feelings of others who might think her negligent, and for her daughters. Her discourse was littered with the emphatic emphasis of this point and with lingering doubts, "It's all just feeling. There's nothing there," (personal communication, 3/15/95). Although she believed death was like sleep and gods nonexistent, she admitted to feeling guilty about keeping Buddhist paraphernalia in her home while she attended a Christian church and to feeling equally guilty about discarding them or putting them away.

Yet, while these doubts did surface, it was quite clear that my mother's primary reason for decorating my father's grave was an abiding sense of what *should* be done. Sometimes this imperative took the form of caring about the families of neighboring graves though: "Well, even *we* comment on it when we see a grave that doesn't look cared for, isn't visited regularly, or is dirty" (Posey, personal communication, 3/15/95). At other times a neighboring grave provided an example of behavior to be followed that was accepted without attempting to understand the reasons that might underlie the behavior. This is consistent with my mother's behavior in general; she thinks independently, but learns to conduct herself in ways that will fit her surroundings. It is assumed that the dominant behavior patterns of a given group are correct and acceptable; it is not necessary to know their justification. To use a proverb that is perhaps too often cited in papers such as this to explain the Japanese way of thinking, "The nail that sticks up gets hammered down."

Gosnell and Gott state:

While the flowers, objects, and decorative patterning used in gravesite display...are communicative devices primarily directed toward the deceased, these decorations also face outward from the gravesite, directing a heightened and enlivened visual and verbal presence toward viewers passing by. This creation of highly visible, colorful grave decorations by grieving families therefore projects the vibrant evidence of the continuing presence of departed loved ones in the world of the living as well as in the hearts of their family. (1989:234)

Although Gosnell and Gott are not incorrect in their assertion, Christmas caroling at a grave thereby including the deceased in holiday celebrations would certainly seem to support this claim, they neglect another possibility. Grave decoration can also be a means of social influence and control among the living. As my mother explained, "[My neighbor] always asks me, 'Did you go to the cemetery this week?'" (Posey, personal communication, 3/12/95).

None of this negates Gosnell and Gott's assertion that these behaviors represent the projections "of the continuing presence of departed loved ones in the world of the living." In contrast to my mother, my sister Hedy feels that decorating is a way to be close to her departed father. On a bureau behind her desk at work, a small framed photo shows her and me sitting by my father's little grave-side tree. Pointing it out to me, she explains, It's you and me and Dad. She shrugs and notes that she doesn't care what others in her office might think of this display and freely explains it to whomever asks. Gosnell and Gott's claim certainly further applies to the case of Virginia Mamea Devoux, since for Virginia the grave is the site of creative expression only marginally influenced by others. She explains that when she first brought

the Christmas tree on December 1, the landscape was barren (personal communication, 3/12/95). It was only as the month progressed that she saw others creating similar displays.

Nonetheless, in a community as diverse as that represented by Green Hills, cross-influence can be an important factor. Green Hills is not only a diverse community, it is a community populated by many immigrants. For some of them, like my mother, the cemetery can be yet another opportunity to find one's place in an alien landscape. The unfamiliar customs of a new land can be observed and assimilated.

In his essay on Italian American grave decorating customs, Matturi criticizes the assimilationist goals of cemetery designers.

Ethnic differences have played a critical role in the development of modern American society and the rifts established by such differences have been inevitably manifested in cemetery landscape that diverge sharply from the ideal of a unified garden that might bring together in death those who lived separately in life. (1993:31)

Yet, while park planners might be misguided in their attempts to regulate the environment of death and remembrance, Matturi is wrong at least in the case of Green Hills. At Green Hills, flowing outward from two sections, customs emerge and merge constantly, resulting in a spectacle that is as unified as it is diverse.

In 1915, J. J. Gordon dreamed of eradicating from cemeteries "the silent reminders of the shortness of life" (cited in Sloane 1991:160). In his vision, the memorial park would hold "no note of sadness. The flowers fling their fragrance far and wide, the fountains tinkle merrily, and it is a beautiful park and the onlooker enjoys it" (160). Similarly, Hubert Eaton, the mastermind behind Forest Lawn Funeral Park, hoped "to create a landscape that celebrated life, not death; sunshine, not darkness" (cited in Sloane 1991:174).

On a cool, cloudy day in 1995, Vailili Enesi squints into the sunlight as she sits on a hillside overlooking green terrain dotted with Christmas trees, tinsel, Santas, and saviors. "I rather come here than anyplace," she says to me. "My children knows whenever I comes here it makes me happy." Here is Green Hills Memorial Park in Rancho Palos Verdes, California. Here, under the very spot we sit upon, is where her husband was buried four years ago. "I rather be here with my husband than anyplace else" (Enesi, personal communication, 12/17/95).

At Green Hills, the optimistic, if misguided, visions of Eaton and Gordon have come to pass, literally, from the ground up. The landscape is shaped and created by a multiplicity of hands rather than by a single plan or worldview. It is this multiplicity of voices that makes Green Hills the site of celebration as well as grief. It is a beautiful park and the onlooker enjoys it.

Note

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¹ Interviews with my mother were conducted in Japanese. Quotes are loose translations of her actual statements.

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