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Reports of Investigation No. 333

Archaeological Excavation
at the Almshouse Burial Ground
Milwaukee County Poorhouse,
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

Volume 1: Narrative


*Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin*

Archaeological Excavations
at the Almshouse Burial Ground,
Milwaukee County Poorhouse
Wauwatosa, Wisconsin

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GLARC Project 91-049

September 1993

Abstract

During construction of a new ambulatory care center at the Milwaukee County Medical Complex Grounds of the Milwaukee Regional Medical Center, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin, human burials were disturbed. The Program Coordinator of the Burial Sites Preservation Office of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was contacted in August of 1991 and inspected the site from August 22, 1991 through August 27, 1991. Consistent with administrative rules which serve to implement s. 227.11 (2) (a) Wis. Stats. interpreting s. 157.70 Wis. Stats. construction was halted and agency consultation occurred.

From August of 1991 through November of 1992, Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. conducted recovery operations at the Almshouse burial ground, Milwaukee County Poorhouse, part of the Milwaukee County Institution Grounds (MCIG), Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. During the course of the archaeological excavations a total of 1649 burials were uncovered, documented and removed. Adult burials numbered 987; 586 were subadult burials, and 76 of the burials were considered indeterminate.

Through utilization of archaeological data and historical research, the land use history of the MCIG Cemetery has been reconstructed and the earliest utilized portions identified. Further, Burial Ledger information along with death certificates and interpretation of cemetery patterning allowed identification of specific individuals for one portion of the cemetery.

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Preface

My first on-site involvement at the Milwaukee County Pauper Cemetery occurred in 1975. Human remains had been disturbed as part of a water main project along west Wisconsin Avenue and staff from the Milwaukee Public Museum had identified the remains as archaeological specimens associated with prehistoric Indian populations. I visited the site with Dr. Ralph Alexander, a professor of Physical Anthropology at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. At the time we were able to identify the materials as having been a secondary deposit, and, associated with white residents of the institutions rather than with prehistoric Indians. The recollection is vivid in that I can recall Dr. Alexander pointing out the lack of shovel-shaped incisors and characteristic wear in the dentition of a long-time pipe smoker.

I was called again to the institution grounds in 1979. At that time Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center (GLARC) had been retained as a consultant to the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage Commission Program Management Office. In this instance we were charged with the responsibility of assisting in the siting of a proposed drop shaft for the Milwaukee Deep Tunnel system. The selected location was at the intersection of Wisconsin Avenue and Windsor Place – a locale we suspected, based on archival data, to be coincident with a mid to late-19th century cemetery. The result of this effort was a brief report prepared by myself and Mr. Mark E. Bruhy (then a staff archaeologist with GLARC) that indicated a minimum of 5,000 interments had been made on the County grounds between 1850 and 1974.

GLARC returned to the County grounds in 1981 in order to evaluate a new location for the proposed drop shaft north of Watertown Plank Road. These investigations included both remote sensing studies and systematic subsurface testing to ensure that the drop shaft location was not coincident with burials associated with the Milwaukee County Institutions. Copies of these reports were filed with the Wisconsin State Historic Preservation Officer and with the Program Management Office of the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage District.

Thus, in light of our previous experience at the Milwaukee County Medical Complex we were not particularly surprised to learn in 1991 that human remains had again been disturbed during the course of construction. Following deliberations with Milwaukee County officials and staff of the Burial Sites Preservation Office a scope of work to excavate threatened burials was developed and that scope is thoroughly reviewed in the following report. However, many additional factors also influenced the process of excavations. First, schedules were very demanding and in some cases only marginally possible to meet. Because contracts for construction in a phased manner had already been let the prospect for devastating construction cost penalties was ever-present. According to County staff and representatives of the general contractor, if construction was delayed resulting costs could range from a "few" to "many" thousands of dollars per day.

In order to meet construction schedules in 1991 the crew worked considerable overtime hours and also worked very late into the year. In order to allow excavation to proceed during winter weather, shelters were constructed over portions of the work site by the general contractor. Although this allowed recovery operations to continue well into the early winter, progress was radically slowed. Problems encountered included inadequate heat and ventilation and the rather ephemeral nature of the structures themselves. For example, the shelters needed to be heated to keep the ground thawed and to provide some comfort for the excavators. The heaters, however, badly affected the atmosphere and a ventilation system had to be developed to avoid asphyxiating the crew. In addition, the structures' design and construction was inadequate to withstand the November winds. The result was collapsed structures, frayed tempers and lost time. These factors notwithstanding, construction schedules were continually met allowing construction of the Ambulatory Care Center to begin in the Winter of 1991-1992.

Through consultation with the Director, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee County officials requested and received permission to excavate additional burials which might be disturbed as a result of construction of

a parking facility required as part of the occupancy permit for the Ambulatory Care Center. This was the impetus for a second year of excavations under similarly demanding schedules. Moreover, because construction plans required demolition of the former Nurses' Residence Hall the crew now had to contend with additional safety hazards associated with the demolition of a large brick building. In addition, the demolition phase of the construction was halted for safety concerns by OSHA on two separate occasions. It is a testament to careful archaeological site supervision that only one minor injury was sustained during the course of the excavations.

The nature of the excavations at the MCIG Cemetery were extensive and commensurably costly. As well, the fieldwork was conducted as quickly as possible to accommodate an already disrupted construction schedule. These related issues contributed to concerns from two opposing but equally critical viewpoints. Justification of what appeared to be both monetary and temporal excess was demanded by Milwaukee County officials as well as the general contractor responsible for the construction project. While the scientific value of the skeletal collection was grudgingly admitted, the worth of archaeologically recovering that population was less readily accepted. On the other hand, the speed with which that archaeological recovery took place was questioned by some members of the professional archaeological community.

In 1991 and 1992 a total of 1,649 burials were removed at a per-burial cost of \$368.72. This figure compares favorably with other published average costs of archaeological burial excavation. It should be noted that this total is somewhat inflated by costs of ancillary services required by the nature of the construction site. Included in the \$368.72 figure is remuneration for flag persons to direct traffic (at salary levels well above those paid to crew members), rental and installation of traffic barriers, and rental of heavy equipment and operators for removing and hauling fill.

The results of the archaeological excavation of the MCIG Cemetery detailed in this report should serve to allay most concerns regarding cost effectiveness or professional responsibility. Archaeological data was sufficiently robust to produce a detailed historical reconstruction of the land use pattern of the cemetery. Similarly, the extent of previous disturbance of the MCIG Cemetery was determined. In addition to providing documentation necessary to explicate and contextualize the biological analysis of the skeletal collection, the photographs, notes, and position and association data allowed for the identification of specific individuals. In tandem with the ensuing biological analysis of the MCIG Cemetery, there exists a strong potential for identifying additional specific individuals.

At the onset of excavations a final protocol for the analyses of human remains had not yet been established. It was primarily for this reason that I was unwilling to allow GLARC, Inc. to assume any responsibilities for osteological or biological analyses. Two years have passed and that protocol is still not finalized. Simply stated, the necessity to archaeologically recover a burial population of the magnitude of the MCIG Cemetery was an event not easily managed by existing human remains legislation and the associated set of administrative rules.

In 1991, Dr. Norman C. Sullivan of Marquette University was designated by Milwaukee County as principal investigator for any osteological or biological analyses which might eventually be required. Dr. Sullivan and Marquette University jointly assumed the responsibility for interim curation of the burial population.

Aside from the safety problems encountered during the course of the 1992 season, excavations proceeded remarkably well with the result that we were able to meet every schedule deadline we were given. This was only accomplished through the extraordinary efforts of project manager Patricia B. Richards, site managers Lawrence J. Mier and Matthias Kastell, and all of the crew members and volunteers who participated in the excavations.

The following report provides an initial measure of how well the goals and objectives of the excavations were met. Future completion of the osteological and biological analyses will eventually provide a second indication. I would simply indicate that County Officials, construction managers, and Burial Sites Preservation Office staff were all thrust together in a situation where their respective agendas and mandates were in conflict. A major, yet often unrecognized responsibility of archaeologists in such situations is to resolve and channel those conflicts. It is a testament to all of those involved in the process that relationships are still amiable—although during the stressful period of on-site activities those relationships were periodically strained.

Perhaps the most rewarding aspect of a long and arduous project is the ability to document, albeit in a somewhat filtered manner, some characteristics of late 19th and early 20th century institutional life and health care practices not explicit in written records. This ability to supplement written texts is one of the major values of archaeological investigations of historical contexts. In conjunction with planned biological analyses, the present investigations hold great promise to more explicitly characterize a segment of Milwaukee's population only marginally addressed in existing historical literature.

David F. Overstreet, President
Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc.
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1993

Acknowledgements

Many individuals contributed to the successful completion of both the fieldwork and the report associated with the MCIG Cemetery. Fieldwork was conducted under the least favorable conditions imaginable and all members of the field crew performed admirably. The field crew, which changed throughout the course of the two-year excavation, included the following individuals: Doug Berrigan, Mary Bilal, Liza Bishoff, Kathy Casper, Kerry Chevalier, Kelly Dullinger, Ester Fajzi, Diane Fetzer, Jennifer Haas, Connie Horstman, Andy Jalbert, Jennifer John, Ann Kowenstrot, Maria Laughner, Jeff Logsdon, Cecil Long, Georgia Lusk, Maggie McCracken, Elizabeth McNally, Jaye Mier, Don Miller, Ray Nelson, Brian Nicholls, Jennifer Parks, Maura Poli, Kim Reilly, Doug Schmidt, John Schultz, Mark Sennot, Mathew Sims, Dan Skenandore and Annette Summers.

The primary supervisor for the 1991 field season was Larry Mier who worked long, frustrating, cold, and largely unrewarding hours. Matthias Kastell, by his own choice (enough said) replaced Larry for the second season. James A Clark Jr., Justin Harvey and Christina Johansen also served in a supervisory capacity at various times.

A number of individuals volunteered for fieldwork. We are grateful to volunteers Amy Cox, Ruth Cushing, Ned Farley, Dian Gauthier, Nancy Lorenz, Debby Murphy, Candace Nelson, Amy Phillips, Peter Thornquist and Ray Wilson.

We are also grateful to Schneider Excavating for providing Mike and Jim, skilled and patient operators of the equipment used to remove the overburden from most of the excavated portion of the MCIG Cemetery. Our thanks are also extended to Mr. William Stenavich of the Milwaukee County Department of Public Works, who, while probably not feeling so, was ever polite and evenhanded. Diane Holiday, then of the Burial Sites Preservation Board, SHSW, provided us with advice and lent us on occasion, her sense of humor. We would also like to thank Dr. Elizabeth Benchley for the loan of the UWM Archaeological Research Laboratory's mechanical shaker screen. Thanks also to Sue Ohde for her assistance.

The faults of the report are the authors' own; its accomplishments belong to many. Ann Kowenstrot, Brian Nicholls and Simone Bruhy hand-copied death certificate information. Ann spent hours researching newspaper archives collecting any reference to the MCIG Cemetery. Joanne Toman illustrated the recovered artifacts. Rosario Natoli, Christina Johansen-Kastell and LaTrina Trice produced the graphics for the report. Jeff Logsdon designed and built the computer database used to inventory and analyze the archaeological data. Jeff also compiled and produced the computer generated distribution maps. John Richards provided needed and not necessarily well received advice and arbitration. And finally, we are grateful that Georgia Lusk had it in her one more time.

*Rattles his bones over the stones,
He's only a pauper whom nobody owns.*

(Milwaukee Sentinel, May 11, 1888)

Part I: Project Background

INTRODUCTION

In August of 1991 the Milwaukee County Almshouse/Poor Farm cemetery was disturbed during the initial stages of construction of the Ambulatory Care Center at the grounds of the Milwaukee County Medical Complex Grounds of the Milwaukee Regional Medical Center, Wauwatosa, Wisconsin. Consistent with administrative rules which serve to implement s. 227.11 (2) (a) Wis. Stats., interpreting s. 157.70 Wis. Stats., construction was halted. The Program Coordinator of the Burial Sites Preservation Office of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin was contacted and inspected the site on August 22, 1991 through August 27, 1991. On August 28, 1991 Mr. Sigmund Tomkalski, Associate Hospital Administrator, Milwaukee County Medical Complex, requested permission from H. Nicholas Muller III, Director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, to remove the uncatalogued burials discovered as a result of construction. In a letter dated August 30, 1991 Mr. Muller responded to the request as follows:

Given the present state of construction, I understand that this project cannot be completely redesigned to avoid the burial area. Therefore I reluctantly grant permission to excavate and analyze these human remains as per s. 157.70(4)(3)(a)....

Therefore if you wish to proceed expeditiously, you will have to hire a qualified archaeologist to excavate and analyze these remains. I have enclosed a scope-of-work on which contract archaeologists may base their bids. Upon receipt of a signed contract between the County and a qualified archaeologist, I shall give authorization to disturb these burials.

Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. was contacted by officials from the Milwaukee County Medical Complex and the Professional Services Division of the Milwaukee County Department of Public Works requesting an estimate of costs relating to excavation of an unknown number of remaining burials. A cost proposal based on the number of remaining burials as estimated by the Program Coordinator of the Burial Sites Preservation Office was provided to Milwaukee County by Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc., on September 3, 1991, and work commenced on September 4, 1991. The number of burials disturbed by this project was continuously revised upward and

subsequent proposals were submitted during the course of MCIG Cemetery excavations, based on a fairly consistent cost per burial established during the first few months of excavation. Project related correspondence, including this letter in its entirety, is included as Appendix I of this report. A copy the scope of work provided with Mr. Muller's letter of August 30, 1991 is also included in Appendix I of this report. Appendix II provides a copy of the Milwaukee County Disinterment Permit issued to the President of Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc., Dr. David Overstreet.

Archaeological investigations conducted pursuant to this undertaking were assigned GLARC project ID No. 91-049. Archaeological materials, field notes, photographs, and supporting documentation are currently curated at Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. located at 1659 N. Jackson Street in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Copies of the original excavation records are provided for the archives of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin along with proof sheets of the black and white photographs of each burial. The human remains have been transferred to Marquette University for analysis (see Appendix III). The transfer of the skeletal collection was completed in December of 1992 and a record of that transfer is also on file at Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. Point 8 of the scope of work provided by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin states:

"After the submission of a satisfactory report, all remains will be transferred to and curated by the State Historical Society until the Director makes a decision on the disposition of the remains." At such time as the skeletal population is transferred to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. is prepared to transfer all associated grave goods. Appendix IV is an inventory of all grave goods including coffin hardware, nails, and screws. Individual burial descriptions are provided in Appendix V and Appendix VI provides examples of the excavation and inventory forms utilized.

PROJECT DESCRIPTION

This report describes the results of an archaeological recovery project at the Milwaukee County Pauper cemetery, a late 19th and early 20th century poor farm cemetery in Milwaukee County, Wisconsin. The excavated portion of the cemetery is located in the NE1/4, SE1/4, SW1/4, NW1/4 of Section 28, T7N, R21E, in the City of Wauwatosa. The project location is shown in figures 1 and 2. The cemetery,



Figure 1: Project area within Wisconsin

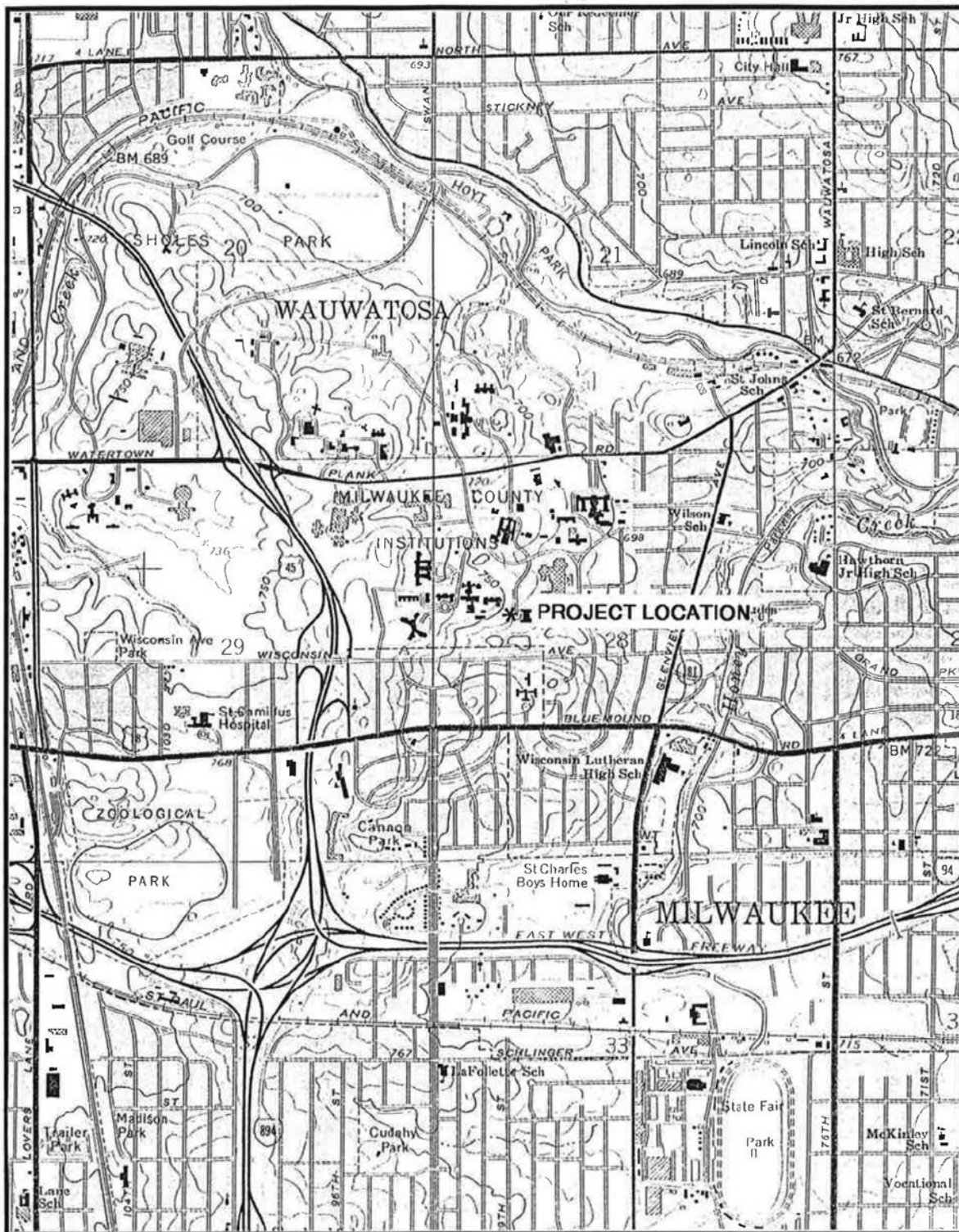


Figure 2: Project location, Wauwatosa 7.5' quadrangle map

alternately referred to as the "Poor Farm cemetery," the "Almshouse cemetery," the "Potter's Field," or the "Milwaukee County Pauper cemetery," is one of three locations on the Milwaukee County Institution Grounds (MCIG) used for the burial of those dependent upon the County, those sent from the coroner as unidentified, and those whose families were unable or unwilling to provide burial. The practice of burying paupers on the County Poor Farm began perhaps as early as 1853 and most probably by 1859, continued through the transformation of the Poor Farm into the Milwaukee County Medical Complex and up to the year of 1974 at which time the county began to contract with private funeral homes for burial of indigents.

Archaeological excavation of burials was conducted in specific impact localities associated with the construction of the Ambulatory Care Center and its related infrastructure such as access roads, utilities corridors and a parking structure. Burials were recovered from three separate areas within the remnant cemetery. These included a small knoll just to the west of a former School of Nursing Residence (subsequently demolished for the construction of a parking structure); the parking lot north of the nurses' residence, and the lawn area situated south of the nurses' residence and north of three artificial ponds. Observed burial patterning suggests that the construction of the nurses' residence itself had disturbed a significant number of burials.

Burials in the portion of the cemetery excavated spanned the period 1882 to 1925 at which time the location was abandoned for a location elsewhere on the County Grounds. The western and probably most recent portion of the cemetery remains intact and has been catalogued with the State Historical Society of Wisconsin (Overstreet 1992a). An earlier cemetery location also associated with the Poor Farm has similarly been catalogued (Overstreet 1992b). Appendix VII provides the Metes and Bounds descriptions of the remaining intact portion of the 1882-1925 Poor Farm Cemetery (The Froedtert Hospital Tract), and the earlier Poor Farm Cemetery (West Wisconsin Ave and Windsor Court).

Part II: Historical Context

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

In the second half of the 19th century the newly formed State of Wisconsin held the promise of life with a measure of prosperity. During this time a number of immigrant populations settled in Wisconsin. However, some of those newly settled in Wisconsin who had left their homes and families in the hope of a better life encountered instead poverty and misfortune.

Until 1852 Milwaukee County cared exclusively for its poor by means of a system referred to as "outdoor relief" (Avella 1987: 198). Needy people were provided with food, firewood and occasionally lodging. Largely due to a widely held perception of their "laziness and weakness", the poor of this period were considered a burden on the newly emerging Milwaukee community. Individuals unable to prosper were conceptualized as worthless, despite personal misfortunes which may have occurred through no fault of their own.

Despite the pervasive Puritan ethic of the time, it became increasingly clear to Milwaukee officials that people might become impoverished through no fault of their own. Children lost parents to illness and death; soldiers became insane and dependent women were brutalized or abandoned. As Milwaukee started to grow from an agricultural trading community on Lake Michigan into a developing industrial center for the Midwest, the community began to acknowledge a responsibility for those who could not care for themselves.

By 1852 the cost of outdoor relief increased immensely after a deadly cholera epidemic (Milwaukee Writers' Project 1949: 1) swept the city of Milwaukee. As a cost saving alternative the county board discussed the possibility of a county institution where some of the needy could be provided with housing and food.

The board decided to purchase the 160 acre farm of Hendrik Gregg, a member of the county board at the time. The farm was located in the northwest 1/4 of section 28 in township 7 north, range 21 east, approximately 7 miles west of the city of Milwaukee in the town of Wauwatosa. It was purchased for \$5,000 (Milwaukee Daily Sentinel, 1853) and included a large farm house, barns, livestock, as well as crops in the field (Avella 1987: 201).



Figure 3: The County Farm purchased in 1852 (adapted from Avella 1987)

In November 1852 the first twenty four residents or inmates were living in the farm house and the “indoor relief” system began. According to a newspaper article dated May 28th, 1856, the number of people living at the so-called “Almshouse” had increased to 53. In the same year the County added a school located in a small frame house next to the main building, and hired a teacher for the children living at the Almshouse (Milwaukee Writer's Project 1947: 210). At this time the poor, the sick, the orphans, and the insane shared the same living quarters (Milwaukee Sentinel, May 28, 1856).

A county hospital of 30 beds was constructed in 1860 for the contagiously ill paupers and a separate wing of the Almshouse was designated as an infirmary for the sick poor. Taxpayers' complaints regarding rising costs prompted a 1861 County Board ruling that “all adult paupers shall labor and that minors shall be indentured.”

The inhumane conditions of the early years of the county farm are reflected in a Milwaukee Sentinel article report dated November 9, 1865 entitled "Our Poor County House." It was written by the Grand Jury pursuant to the order of the Court requesting a visit to the poor house in Wauwatosa:

The Superintendent in charge was absent, and we think was not advised that the inspection was to be made. We find that there are three departments, vis.: The hospital, the school building and the main building, in which the bulk of the paupers, including the insane, are kept.

We found the school building under the charge of Miss Fitzgerald, who seems entirely competent for the duties she has to perform; and in good order, clean and generally comfortable. We commend the management of this department, and have only to suggest that the beds should be better supplied with clothing now that the colder weather is coming on. We found the hospital under the charge of Mr. and Mrs. Weisner, clean and in good order, and we judge the wants of the patients are well cared for. We commend the cleanliness and good order with which this department is kept. As to the main building, in which the great majority of the paupers are kept, we cannot refrain from expressing the opinion that it is not kept sufficiently clean and comfortable. The rooms, halls and passages are dirtier than they ought to be. We were informed that this building was cleaned not oftener than once a week where as it should be cleaned much oftener. There are several dark cells in this building in which refractory paupers are at times confined; they smell foully, and we should judge that the straw had not been changed in months. Very great changes and reforms are needed here for they did not seem to us fit to confine beasts in. The building itself is badly ventilated, and some decided change should be made which will cleanse and purify the air, both by the introduction of more air and the free use of disinfecting agents. We found the condition of the clothing, both for the inmates and for the beds, disgraceful to the county. Very great and decided changes should be made here. The sane paupers were clothed with mere patches, and some of those that were insane, even of the females, hardly sufficient rags upon them to cover their nakedness.

Many of the beds are scantily supplied with bed clothes; some have no sheets; in some, owing to the mattresses being torn, the paupers lie in the straw and many of them smell foully. Changes here should be made in the quantity and quality of the clothing, and in general cleanliness and purity. The insane department is in the most deplorable condition. The room in which they are kept – twenty one in number – is dirty and illy ventilated, and the paupers wretchedly clothed, It seems to us that they are not provided with sufficient room, and that the males and females should be kept separate. It seems clear that there is no hope that any of them will recover their reason in the place and manner in which they are kept, even if they could elsewhere. (Milwaukee Sentinel, November 9, 1865)

In response to several complaints by physicians, reformers, and inmates, the county board mandated regular inspections of the County Poor Farm and a Board of Supervisors was established to oversee conditions. After one of these visits, the county board described the conditions at the Poor Farm in an article published in the Milwaukee Sentinel on May 16th, 1866 as follows:

VISIT TO THE COUNTY POOR HOUSE

Its Inmates – Their Appearance and Occupations

Monday afternoon, pursuant to a resolution, the Board of Supervisors paid a visit to the County Poor House, near Wauwatosa. Through the politeness of the members we were furnished with a seat in the conveyance, and had every facility afforded us for examining the institution, and seeing and conversing with its inmates. The Poor House is situated about a mile beyond Wauwatosa on a farm of about one hundred and forty acres, belonging to the county, and is under the personal supervision of John Scheffdt. Nearly the whole farm is under cultivation, and is worked wholly by the inmates. All who are able are obliged to contribute to the working of the farm. All the potatoes, vegetables, corn and pork which are required for the use of the house during the whole year are raised upon the farm; and nearly enough wheat and rye is grown to keep it in flour the year through. The spring crops are now nearly all in, and such products as have made their appearance above ground look well. The grounds are well laid out, and every (?) of land is made productive.

The Inmates

of the house number one hundred and thirty three at present – forty five of whom are women, forty seven men, and the remainder children, ranging from a few weeks to sixteen years. Of these there are thirty-two adult men, who, from physical disability, have been unable to earn their own support. All who are not entirely disabled work upon the farm as much as their health will permit. A few of them are so decrepit as to be unable to move around without assistance. Twenty-one women and five men are in the

Insane Department

It is an interesting but very sad duty to pass through this department. Here are assembled more than a score of human beings, entirely bereft of reason, and many of them almost divested of all resemblance to the human race. Nearly all of them have been pronounced incurable, although some hopes are entertained of the ultimate recovery of few. Their ages range from sixteen to seventy-eight. Among them is a woman about thirty years of age, who has been in her present condition for about ten years. She was formerly the wife of a German school teacher in this city, now residing in South America. She frequently tears every shred of clothing from her body, and utterly refuses to allow herself to be dressed. She spends nearly all of her time walking up and down the yard allotted to the insane women, and for the past four years she has never been heard to utter a word. Before she lost her reason she possessed more than ordinary intelligence, and has a very good education. She is beyond hope of recovery. An old woman of seventy-eight imagines herself as a man, and refuses utterly to wear any woman's clothing. To honor her she is allowed to wear a pair of pants or a coat. Another woman sits for days together in a corner almost naked, paying little or no attention to anything which passes around her. But three or four of the women are furious. They all exhibit a listless, don't-care-ative appearance, betokening the utter dethronement of their reason. In the male department there are but five persons. Two are decidedly furious, and have to be kept in close confinement most of the day. One is of quite a retiring disposition, keeping himself in a dark cell the whole of the time. All of these poor unfortunates have a history – perhaps a tale of suffering and privations, of betrayals by those they trusted, or losses of friends or property, which, if known, would melt the stoniest heart. We have learned some instances in the lives of several, which we will at some future day give to our readers.

The Hospital

contains twenty-three inmates – twelve female and eleven male. Among them are three old blind men who are permanent inmates. They are pitiable objects, but are well cared for. There is a German woman here who has a lamentable history. About twelve years ago she came to this country in company with her husband and seven children. They had been in the city but a few days when they were attacked by cholera, and in a single night the whole family, with the exception of the wife and mother were swept away. Three or four thousand dollars which her husband had with him, mysteriously disappeared, and the woman was left a county charge. Ever since then she has remained at the Poor House, working for her living, and never wishing to leave. A modest and pretty looking girl of about sixteen is here with a broken leg. She is doing finely and will be out in a month or so.

The School

Under the charge of Miss Fitzgerald, the scholars in the school exhibit considerable proficiency. They number twenty and are all between the ages of five and twelve. A little boy and girl sitting near the teacher, look especially bright and pretty. They are the children of a woman who is now in the House with a nursing child. She lived with her husband in this city for a number of years. He treated her unkindly, often beating her shamefully, and at last deserted her without providing her with any means of support, and she was obliged to apply to the county. The bright faces of the children were the only oases in the spot rendered so dark and dreary from the association it calls forth. These children are being trained up to usefulness, and none, except those who are deformed, will probably ever become a county charge after they have arrived at the age of twelve or fourteen.

The House is kept cleanly and well ventilated. The sleeping apartments, with the exception of those for the insane, are as clean and airy as those of thousands of our citizens. The refractory manner and filthy habits of some of the inmates render it impossible to keep their cells clean. The kitchen, dining room, work and sitting rooms, are all kept in the best of order. In the work room devoted to male inmates there was an old man engaged in making hickory brooms. He is a cripple, unable to work in the fields, and employs his time at this work, at which he is decidedly proficient.

The accommodations of the House are far too limited, and an addition has long been imperatively demanded, especially to the insane department. The quarters assigned to the insane are narrow, confined and unhealthy, but necessarily so. The visit of the Board was made for the purpose of allowing the members to see for themselves how imperatively and how extensive the addition was needed.

Every member of the Board seemed to agree that it would be criminal to permit the insane inmates to be confined in such quarters any longer than was absolutely necessary, and measure will probably be taken at the present session of the Board to enlarge and repair the house (Milwaukee Sentinel, May 16, 1866)

With this report the County Board of Supervisors confronted the citizens of Milwaukee County with the problems of the residents of the county farm. The necessity of updating and enlarging the facilities, especially the insane department was emphasized, and plans were made to enlarge and repair the house.

It was not, however, until 1868 that the construction of a new hospital building began. The brick building was 41 feet by 34 feet with a wing on each side 26 feet by 52 feet. It contained a kitchen in the basement, a dining room, and a room for washing and ironing. The new building was situated on a hill close to the existing Poorhouse. This hospital brought the first separation of the sick poor from the rest of the Almshouse inmates.

In the first year, 184 people were admitted for treatment. Most mid-19th century Americans received medical treatment in their homes, including midwife assisted birth. The county hospital, therefore, was only a refuge for charity cases. Dr. F.H. Day, a Wauwatosa physician, visited the hospital 158 times during the year 1868. He reported asthma, consumption, rheumatism, bowel complaints, fevers, frost bites, and a large number of miscellaneous diseases. Eighteen infants were born that year in the "lying-in" department. The stigma of unwed or abandoned motherhood was compounded for those women forced to give birth in the county hospital. Twenty-five deaths are reported due to diseases such as "softening of the brain, still born, chronic dysentery, cancer of bowels, soldier's diarrhea, small pox, and old age". Surgeries performed in 1868 included amputation of feet, toes and fingers, opening abscesses and extracting teeth. Dr. Day wrote that the duty of any attending physician at the county hospital was, "to

exercise the same care, vigilance and treatment, and to apply the same medical remedies to relieve suffering humanity among the poor of the county as he would employ in his own private practice" (Drew 1924).

Despite the effort of Dr. Day, the conditions of all the institutions at the County farm remained less than satisfactory. Soon after the hospital was built it was faced with overcrowding and hygiene problems. In the following years, Dr. Day repeatedly informed county officials of the necessity of additions and renovations for institution buildings.

After one of their periodic visits, the County committee reported on March 18th, 1868 that the insane department was adequate with the exception of heating. The hospital was considered to be "clean enough" but lacking in any heating system for individual cells. Although the critical conditions of the insane department were repeatedly expressed, no improvements were made. The Superintendent of the Poor reported on Sept. 14, 1875, that the actual accommodations in the insane department served thirty-eight while forty-three inmates occupied the premises.

The year 1876 marked a change. Dr. Day was elected superintendent of the county hospital on Dec. 19th. For the first time, the administration of the hospital was put into the hands of a physician. Consistent with his earlier involvement, Dr. Day's goal, as superintendent, was to contribute to the humane treatment of the sick and the poor. Day's efforts eventually would bring many needed reforms to the county institutions (Drew 1924).

In 1880, after the existing hospital was destroyed by a fire in which two inmates were killed, the county board authorized the construction of separate institutions for the care of the sick and the insane. The hospital was immediately rebuilt and additions were added. The care of patients changed significantly in 1887 when the new hospital superintendent, Dr. M.E. Connell and his wife Dr. Anna Gregory Connell established a class for the "instruction and training of nurses for service." The care of the sick was performed under clean, orderly, and antiseptic conditions (Drew 1924).

In 1880 the 70 acre Hart farm located directly north of the county farm was purchased and in that same year the new insane asylum was completed at the total cost of \$160,000. Three hundred patients could be accommodated in the new

hospital building. A physician was elected to be the superintendent for this department. New roads were built and the surrounding area was landscaped to be used as a park for inmates and visitors.

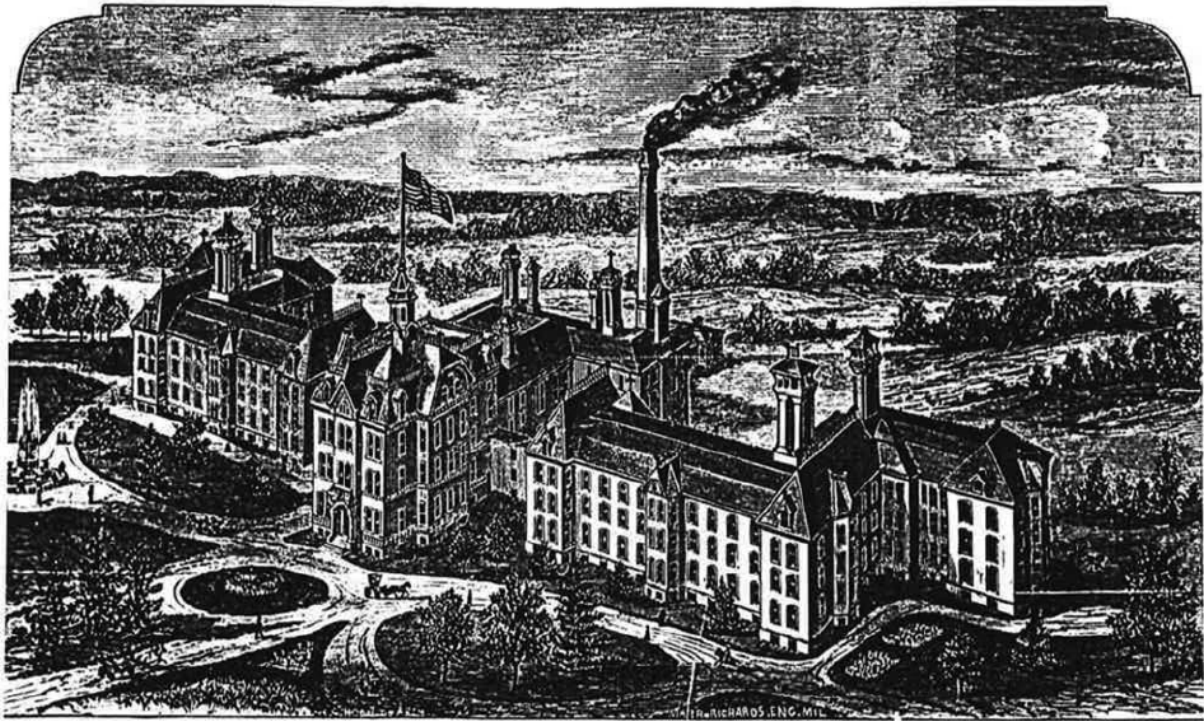


Figure 4: The new Insane Asylum completed in 1880 (Archives of the Milwaukee County Historical Society)

With the creation of the new, well regulated insane asylum the treatment of the insane changed drastically. Instead of the cruelty and ignorance inmates had to face in the years before, patients were now treated under more humane conditions. The annual report of the Superintendent to the Board of Trustees from September 30, 1881 reflects the nature of the population represented in the asylum, which housed 126 inmates at the time. Tables 1 through 3 summarize the nature of the 1881 population of patients of the Insane Asylum

TABLE 1
AGES OF THE PATIENTS IN THE INSANE ASYLUM IN 1881

Years of Age	Male	Female	Total
Ten to Fifteen	3	1	4
Fifteen to Twenty	3	1	4
Twenty to Twenty-five	6	4	10
Twenty-five to Thirty	10	9	19
Thirty to Thirty-five	10	5	15
Thirty-five to Forty	7	6	13
Forty to Forty-five	6	6	12
Forty-five to Fifty	8	6	14
Fifty to Fifty-five	2	2	4
Sixty to Sixty-five	8	0	8
Sixty-five to Seventy	3	1	4
Seventy to Seventy-five	2	1	3
Seventy-five to Eighty	1	0	1
Eighty to Eighty-five	0	1	1
Unknown	2	0	2
Total	79	47	126

TABLE 2
COUNTRY OF ORIGIN FOR PATIENTS IN THE INSANE
ASYLUM IN 1881

Country	Male	Female	Total
US Citizens	31	24	55
Canada	2	1	3
Germany	19	19	38
England	1	1	2
Ireland	2	3	5
North Wales	1	0	1
Scotland	1	0	1
Isle of Man	0	1	1
Austria	1	0	1
Saxony	1	0	1
Sweden	1	0	1
Norway	1	0	1
Unknown	14	2	16
Total	75	51	126

TABLE 3
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION OF PATIENTS IN THE INSANE
ASYLUM IN 1881

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Housekeeper	0	29	29
Bookkeeper	3	0	3
Editor	1	0	1
Farmer	6	0	6
School teacher	2	0	2
Law student	1	0	1
Book Agent	2	0	2
Servant	1	8	9
Laborer	19	8	19
Peddler	2	0	2
Book Maker	1	0	1
Portrait Painter	1	0	1
Store Keeper	1	1	2
Currier	1	0	1
Sailor	1	0	1
Baker	1	0	1
Fireman	1	0	1
Blacksmith	1	0	1
Clerk	2	0	2
Mason	1	0	1
Butcher	2	0	2
Carpenter	2	0	2
Musician	2	0	2
Cabinet maker	2	0	2
Boarding House keeper	1	0	1
Sewing machine agent	1	0	1
Laundress	0	1	1
Civil engineer	1	0	1
Hatter	1	0	1
Shoemaker	1	0	1
Lawyer	1	0	1
Tailor	1	0	1
Plumber	1	0	1
Unknown	2	0	2
No occupation	9	10	19
Total	77	49	126

Examples of the reasons for insanity, listed for those admitted, include sun stroke, intemperance, senility, cerebro spinal sclerosis, masturbation, injury to head, epilepsy, ill health, ill health from overwork and privation, idiot, and unknown. A total of 25 patients (17 males and 8 females) died in the year of 1881. Causes of death included disease of heart, senile debility, exhaustion from acute

mania, exhaustion from acute melancholia, epilepsy, cerebral hemorrhage, senile gangrene, and others.

After the State Asylum in Madison began sending Milwaukee County their chronically insane, the inmate capacity of the institution became increasingly inadequate. Once again the state board called for the creation of an additional facility to separate the chronically insane from those potentially curable. This separation became a reality in 1889. The new building, called the Asylum for the Chronically Insane, provided care for cases of incurable insanity such as severe retardation. The older facility was renamed the Milwaukee County Hospital for the Acute Insane. Here, rehabilitation of patients was occasionally possible (Avella 1987).

Initial impetus for construction of the new facility derived from a provision made in 1882, stating children over five and under sixteen should not be sent to the Almshouse (Drew 1924: 20). With this option gone Milwaukee County was forced to build a temporary home for children on the county grounds. If the children could not be returned to their families, efforts were made for either adoption or housing at state and private industrial schools, which boarded and educated children until they reached maturity. Another disastrous cholera outbreak in the 1890's, together with increased immigration, contributed to dangerous overcrowding at the temporary children's home. With conditions reaching a critical point the County Board made plans for the erection of a Home for Dependent Children (Avella 1987: 209). In 1897, the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors authorized construction of the Home for Dependent Children at the previously purchased Falbe Farm. The buildings were completed on February 25th, 1898. From this point on, the management of the home was under the control of a board of trustees and laws were passed under which the institution had to be managed. Although the new facility was intended as a temporary home, some children became permanent residents. For these children the county provided school instruction and developed recreational programs.

Website Version




Figure 5: Children at the new "County Home for Dependent Children" (Archives of the Milwaukee County Historical Society)

The Almshouse, established in 1852, received new quarters in 1893. The new building had a capacity of 700 inmates, two hundred women and five hundred men. By 1894, the new Almshouse building provided housing for 350 occupants. Tables 4 through 7 characterize the Almshouse occupants of 1894.

TABLE 4
NATIONALITY OF ALMSHOUSE OCCUPANTS
IN 1894

Nationality	Total
Germans	185
Irish	75
Polanders	50
Americans	10
Bohemians	12
English	10
Norwegian	4
Dutch	2
Swiss	2
Total	350

TABLE 5
MARITAL STATUS OF ALMSHOUSE
OCCUPANTS IN 1894

Marital status	Total
Married	24
Widowed	100
Single	226
Total	350

TABLE 6
AGE OF ALMSHOUSE OCCUPANTS IN 1894

Age of inmates	Total
Between 20 and 30 years	20
Between 30 and 40 years	32
Between 40 and 50 years	50
Between 50 and 60 years	60
Between 60 and 70 years	78
Between 70 and 80 years	75
Between 80 and 90 years	35
Between 90 and 100 years	0
Total	350

TABLE 7
OCCUPATION OF ALMSHOUSE OCCUPANTS
IN 1894

Occupation of inmates	Total
Laborers	154
Housewives	45
Farmers	30
Carpenters	15
Domestic	32
Clerks	6
Tailors	8
Painters	3
Coopers	4
Gardeners	2
Blacksmiths	2
Bakers	2
Cigar makers	3
Masons	4
Machinists	10
Shoemakers	3
Plumbers	2
Agents	4
Millers	5
Prof. of music	2
Bartenders	2
Tanners	2
Sailors	2
Butchers	3
Bookbinders	2
Brewers	3
Total	350

By the turn of the century all of the Milwaukee County institutions were established in Wauwatosa. These various institutions housed the majority of people buried at the Poor Farm/County Cemetery. Because of its negative implications the name "Almshouse" was changed by the Board of Administration to the Milwaukee County Infirmary. The Milwaukee County Home for Dependent Children became the Milwaukee County Home for Children; the Milwaukee County Hospital for Acute Insane became the Milwaukee County Hospital for the Mentally Diseased, and the Milwaukee County Asylum for the Chronic Insane became the Milwaukee County Asylum for Mental Diseases (Avella 1987). Table 8 summarizes important early dates for the various institutions of the Milwaukee County Poor Farm.

TABLE 8
 IMPORTANT DATES FOR THE COUNTY POOR FARM/INSTITUTIONS (COMPILED
 FROM THE "PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF SUPERVISORS")

Date	Page	Summary
2 Jan 1851	3	resolved that a committee be formed to contract with the city of Milwaukee to rent the Alms House and also the House Farm for one year.
8 Nov 1852	box C	purchase of Hendrick Gregg Farm by Milwaukee County
6 Jan 1855	box C	authorized building on county farm all necessary frame buildings to accommodate the sick, insane and poor. Withdrawn 20 Jan 1855
15 Jun 1855	box C	Resolved to enlarge building or build so that all the poor could be supported on the farm instead of having outside relief. Buildings to be enlarged immediately.
11 Jun 1858	box C	suggested that school house be built to keep children from the older people at the Alms House
7 Jul 1858	box C	School house being built
3 Nov 1859	box C	Superintendents of poor directed to remove poor to Wauwatosa from North Point
29 Mar 1861	box C	resolution regarding building of county hospital on the county poor farm
24 Nov 1865	127	Committee of Poor Department and the superintendent of Almshouse to make alterations so that the poorhouse can also house male inmates of the "insane department"
11 Dec 1865	137	Resolved that the Superintendent of the County Farm and Almshouse be required to submit a report on income and expenditures on or before 28 Dec.
22 Jan 1866	39	Report was submitted indicating that alterations had been completed, however, the building was deemed inadequate to house the large number of insane poor. The Committee recommended that a general Insane Institution should be erected.
31 May 1866	126	Expiration of time designated for receipt of proposals of an addition to the County Poor House to accommodate the insane poor
26 May 1868	111	Committee directed to employ G. W. Mygatt to sketch a plan for the new hospital at the County farm which shall not cost more than \$15,000 to construct with solid brick walls
22 Jul 1868	161	Committee on Poor Department directed to enter into a contract with the lowest bidder for erection of new county hospital provided that bidder has good references.
31 May 1869	box C	County Hospital ready to be delivered to County - committee appointed to examine hospital
28 Jun 1869	178	The Board of Supervisors approved the New Hospital buildings at the County Farm and instructed the Superintendent and two county physicians to purchased the necessary furniture and other materials necessary for management of the hospital
12 Nov 1878	467	Approved and adopted the contract of John and Charles proposing to erect an insane asylum for \$134,183.00
29 Oct 1879	448	Resolved to purchase site in the town of Wauwatosa for \$9,777.00 for a Hospital for the Insane
26 Apr 1880		Institution built for \$160,000 and partially occupied. Predicted that by 1 Sept 1880 it will be filled to capacity
24 July 1888	146	Resolved to build under chapter 233 of the laws of 1881, a county asylum for the chronic insane on land known as the Falbe farm. The cost of the building should not exceed \$60,000.
18 Sep 1888	214	H. P. Schnetzky granted contract for erection of Asylum for sum of \$57,299
8 Jan 1889	368	Resolved that the building under construction be named the Milwaukee County Hospital for the Chronic Insane
9 Jul 1889	56	Construction completed and resolution proposed to turn the Asylum over to the trustees to be occupied on the 15 (July?)

HISTORY OF THE CEMETERY

The cemetery utilized by the Milwaukee County Farm/Almshouse/Poor House has a history of its own. A May 11, 1888 Milwaukee Sentinel article quotes the deputy county clerk as follows: "The old Potter's field used to be in the first ward, but it was closed up, and every little while in excavating for dwellings on this site, the workmen come upon skulls and other human bones." This "old Potter's Field" was undoubtedly associated with the City of Milwaukee's poor house erected in the first ward, an urban neighborhood located in downtown Milwaukee, a first effort at establishing some kind of "indoor" relief for the growing number of poor within the City. As part of the Milwaukee County's growing concern with the poor and the City of Milwaukee's concern with the cost of pauperism, Milwaukee County assumed more responsibility for the poor, infirm and ill. A cholera epidemic of 1848-1850 (Avella 1987) added to the dependent poor and forced Milwaukee County to rely on the services of St. John's Infirmary and the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity located at the city's North Point. That the county did take financial responsibility for the burial of these poor is evidenced by the 1848 Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors of Milwaukee County when the following resolution was offered by Mr. Brown and adopted by the Board:

Resolved that the Sheriff of Milwaukee County is hereby authorized to contract with some responsible cabinet maker for supplying coffins for all such persons as the County is to be responsible providing the price does not exceed two dollars and twenty-five cents each delivered and that the Coroner and all special Coroners are hereby notified to have such Contractor furnish them in all cases where they may be concerned. Also that when such Contract is entered into Notice shall be given by the Sheriff to the Coroner (Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors 1848).

Presumably these burials took place in the cemetery located within the city. The Milwaukee Sentinel reports "the extension of our city in a northwesterly direction has made it necessary to remove the dead from another cemetery." This April 30, 1874 article goes on to mention that this is the fourth cemetery from which the dead were relocated since the settlement of the city including the Old Eastside Cemetery, the Old Southside Cemetery, the Catholic Cemetery and the topic of the

article, the Gruenhagen's Cemetery. According to the article "lot owners and others interested in the dead buried there, are called upon to remove the remains within thirty days." No mention is made of the City's Potter's field and since removal of the above mentioned graves was done at the plot owner or relative's expense, it is probable that the burials in the Potter's field were not officially removed, thus accounting for the disturbance of "skulls and other human bones."

When the Milwaukee County Poor House began operation on the former Hendrick Gregg property in November of 1852, no mention is made of a cemetery associated with the farm, however, it is likely that the county utilized the property for burial of those individuals who died while residents of the Poor Farm. The City of Milwaukee's Superintendents of the Poor were directed in November of 1859 to relocate the poor from North Point to the County Poor Farm at the Wauwatosa location, but there is still no specific written record of a cemetery on the Wauwatosa property.

The first written record of a County Poor Farm cemetery occurs in the death certificate, dated 1872, of the infant of Rosa Flymann buried at the Poor Farm in Wauwatosa. The Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors Proceedings for the year 1878 also mentions a Poor Farm Cemetery:

The immediate attention of the Board is directed to the present condition of the cemetery of the Poor Farm. It is situated on the Southeast corner of the premises, and contains less than two and a half acres of land. One third of which is comparatively high ground and nearly filled up with graves. Most of the remainder is low meadow and at certain seasons of the year in digging a grave the water will rise to within six inches of the top and even overflow portions of the land. There are at present some ten or fifteen buried in this low land.

Even on ground sufficiently dry the graves are not as they should be. Six or seven were dug on such a spot in readiness to receive candidates for immortality. Thinking the empty graves looked rather shallow, a tap measure was applied and their depth was ascertained to be two feet ten inches. Allowing sixteen inches as height of a full sized coffin, the corpse rest only eighteen inches bellow the surface of the earth. This truly is "granting little earth for charity." (Proceedings of the Board of Supervisors, 1872).

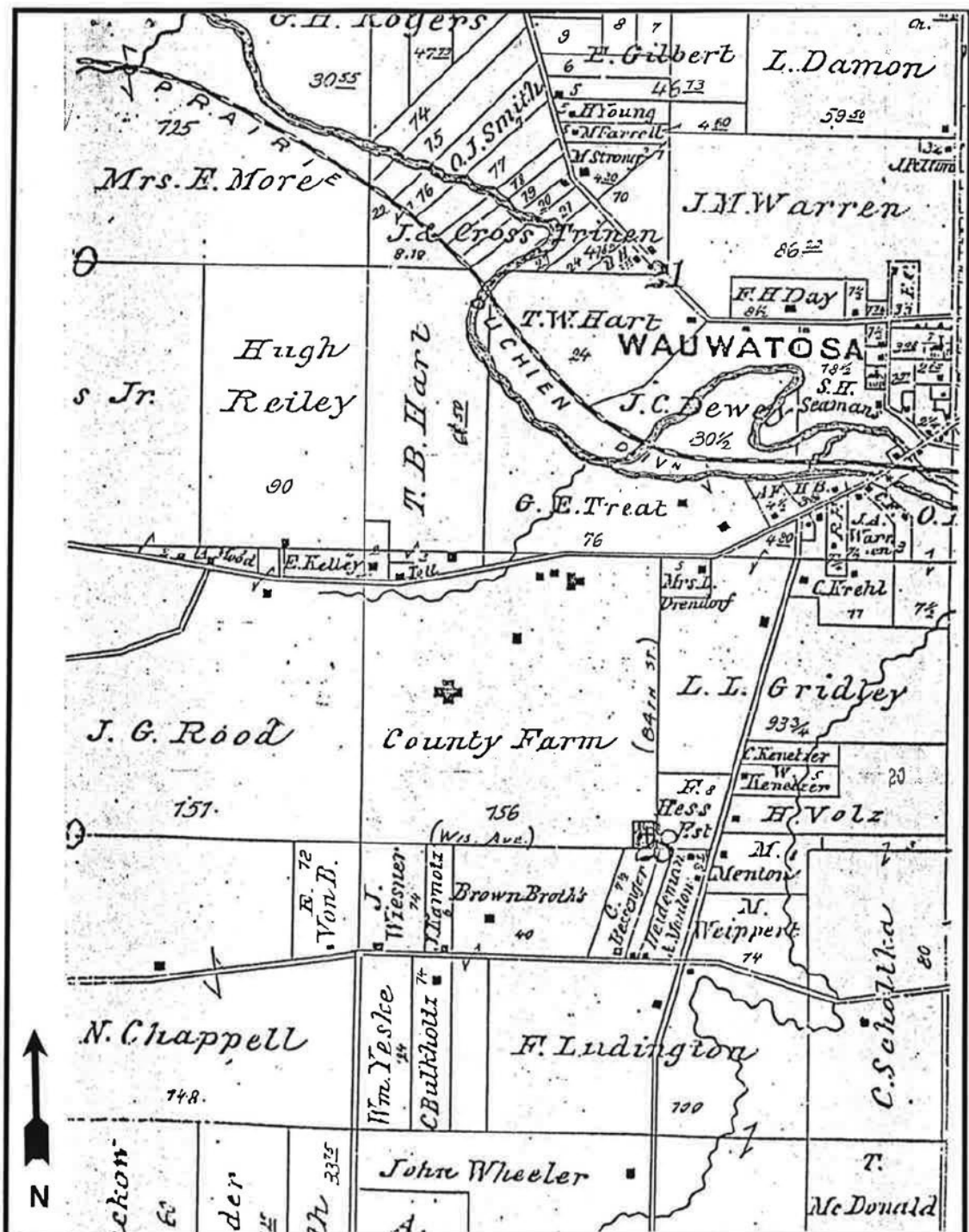


Figure 6: Map of the Cemetery in the SE corner of the County Farm Property (Belden 1876)

This cemetery must be the small cemetery depicted by a small cross (partially obscured by the numeral 28) in the southeast corner of the County Farm from the 1876 Illustrated Historical Atlas of Milwaukee County (figure 6). A complete copy of H. Belden & Co.'s Illustrated Historical Atlas of Milwaukee County is on file at the local history room of the Milwaukee Public Library. The location of this cemetery has been recently confirmed by means of remote sensing and stripping (Overstreet and Sverdrup 1992b). The condition of the cemetery was clearly of concern to the Board of Supervisors in 1878 and since only one third of the small 2 1/2 acre plot was considered entirely suitable for graves (the remainder being low and wet) a new cemetery location was sought. Table 9 lists death certificates of individuals buried at the Poor Farm prior to 1882. These individuals were most probably buried in this first cemetery

In 1882 The Register of Burials at the Milwaukee County Poor Farm was begun. This ledger recorded individual interments which took place at the Milwaukee County Medical Complex grounds between the years of 1882 and 1974. The Register's entries begin in February of 1882; however, a notation marks interments in a "new Cemetery" on August 22 of 1882. Presumably this "new" cemetery refers to the cemetery mapped on a Works Progress Administration era map. Although the only label on the map is - Section 28, T7N, R21E, it is likely that the map dates to the 1920's. The map is constructed at a scale of 1" = 200', has a contour interval of 5', and identifies early county facilities on the County Farm Property excluding the nurses' residence constructed in 1931. The map depicts the cemetery as an irregularly shaped fenced area to the west of a fenced road and south of the various County Institution buildings (figure 7). The Register of Burials at the Milwaukee County Poor Farm records yet another "new cemetery for elders" created on July 3, 1925, along with a new cemetery for children on November 4, 1925. This new cemetery is likely the location of the presently marked cemetery north of Watertown Plank Road which was closed in 1974. Figure 8 presents the location of these three cemeteries in relation to one another and modern road designations.

TABLE 9
DEATH CERTIFICATES OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN POOR HOUSE CEMETERY 1872-1882

Name	Page #	Sex	Age	Date of Birth	Mother/wife	Father/ Husband	Occupation	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Burial Ground
Volume 1 (1872-1882)												
Stan Martin		F	38						1/1/1872	Confluent small pox	Milw. Hosp. 4th ward	Poor House
Maria Sailer		F	21				Servant	Java	13-Jan-1872	Peritonitis	Milw. Hosp. 2nd Ward	Poor House
Peter Herold		M	28				Butcher	Germany	6-Feb-1872	Varicella	St. Mary's Hosp. 1st Ward	Poor House
D. C. Harp		M	23				Lumberman	Chippewa Falls, WI	22-Feb-1872	Inflammation of brain	Milw. Hosp.	Poor House
Frank Balden		M	41						3-Mar-1872	Phthisis Pulmonalis	2nd Ward	Poor House
Nortan		F	4mo.		Wilhelmina			Berlin	5-Mar-1872	Convulsion	Police Station 7th Ward	Poor House
Carolina Sipperts		F	2.5	17-Oct-1869	Sipperts	Carl Sipperts		Germany	27-May-1872	See sic?	Wauwatosa	Poor House
Infant		M		7-May-1872	Rosa Frymann				7 May-1872	Sillibom	Menominee River 8th Ward	Poor House
? Sadler		M					Laborer	Germany	10-Apr-1872	Drowning		Poor House
Arnard Thompson		M	32				Sailor	Christiansien, Norway	25-Dec-1873	Accidental drowning		Poor House
Ellen Murphy		F	60					Ireland	1-Jan-1874	Accidental fall from stairs/neck broken		Poor House
Peter Harvey		M	42				Sailor		8-Jan-1874	Private disease		Poor House
James Cole		M	66				Sailor		22-Jan-1874	Broke neck by falling down stairway		Poor House
Anna Bakriasan		F	1					Milwaukee	28-Jan-1874			Poor House
Volume 2 (1872-1882)												
Annie Johnson		F	27				Housewife	Finland	10-Mar-1875	Pyæmie		County Farm
Gottfried Hackbart		M	60				Laborer	Germany	18-Mar-1875	Abscess of brain		County Farm
Dora Christ		F	16				Housemaid	Germany	3-Apr-1875			County Farm
John Currenford		M	18				Laborer	New York	4-Aug-1876	Altrinituree		County Farm
Christina Trebert		F	75			Fredrick	Housewife	Germany	3-Feb-1876	Chronic Bronchitis		County Farm
Volume 3 (1872-1882)												
Anna Fiebe		F	22				Housewife	USA	10-Feb-1877	Confluent small pox		County Farm
Volume 4 (1872-1882)												
Mina Stahl	394	F	19				Housewife	USA	21-Jul-1877	Varicella		County Farm
Carl Montag	358	M	57	1820				Germany	13-Sep-1877	Varicella		County Farm
Marie Scobez	477	F	42	May-1835	M. Marie Roland	F. Vincenz Roland H. Anton Scobez		Nacarakes (Bodman) Austria	11-Nov-1877	Phthisis		Wauwatosa City Farm

TABLE 9 (CONTINUED)
DEATH CERTIFICATES OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN POOR HOUSE CEMETERY 1872-1882

Name	Page #	Sex	Age	Date of Birth	Mother/Wife	Father/Husband	Occupation	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Burial Ground
Volume 5 (1872-1882)												
Anna Wiener	46	F	4.5				Housewife	Germany	20-Nov-1877	Cancer of uterus		Poor House Farm
Hattie Horner	128	F	2.0						7-Dec-1877	Varicella		County Farm
Nettie Johnson	129	F	2.4						7-Dec-1877	Varicella		County Farm
J.W.A. McCabe	132	M	3.9						13-Dec-1877	Varicella		County Farm
Janes Flowers	135	M	2.9				Laborer	Ireland	25-Nov-1877	Varicella		County Farm
Wm. Smith		M	2.3				Laborer	Canada	5-Apr-1878	Arnyloid degeneration of kidney		County Farm
Martin Oleson	394	M	3	Jul-1874	Sophia Oleson	Peter Oleson		Milwaukee	30-Sep-1878	Scarlatina		County Farm
Volume 6 (1872-1882)												
Edward Vaughn	426	M	5.0				Farmer	Ireland	5-Oct-1878	Paerelia		County Farm
Volume 7 (1872-1882)												
Philomena Kastner	82	F	4.8	8-Jul-1830	M. Maria Dhieler	F. Frederick Kastner H. Frederick Abicht	Housekeeper	Erfurth Lachsen	6-Dec-1878	Chronic Rheumatism		County Farm
Volume 8 (1872-1882)												
Emilie Meyer	249	F	3yr. 5 mo.	3-Jan-1867	Emilie Meyer	Wilhelm Meyer		Milwaukee	1-Jul-1879	Dyspheric Group		County Cemetery
Jacob Diel		M	7.4	4-Oct-1805	W. Elizabeth Klote	Mathias Diel	Laborer	Darmstat, Germany	29-Oct-1879	Old Age		County Farm Burying Ground
Volume 9 (1872-1882)												
no one buried in County Cemetery												
Volume 10 (1872-1882)												
Infant	131	M		3-Mar-1880	Harriett Alice Davis	Leal Northrop (Ripon, WI)		Wauwatosa Milwaukee	3-Mar-1880	Stillborn-birth premature		County Poor Farm
Eva Lukas	416	F	2wks	7-Jul-1880	Lilly Lukas	Adam Lukas		Milwaukee	21-Jul-1880	Tuberus		County Cemetery
Joseph Meitz	360	M	4.0				Brewer	Germany	21-Jun-1880	Endocarditis		County Cemetery
William Sommons	359	W	2.8	1852			Brewer	Germany	0-Jun-1880	Cerebritis		County Cemetery
Ivy Florence	358	M	5 days		Ivy Florence/ servant			Milwaukee Co. Hosp.	0-Jun-1880	Convulsions		County Cemetery
Infant	332	M	5 hrs	8-Jun-1880	Annie (Franz) Fisher	Christian Fisher		Milwaukee	8-Jun-1880	Premature birth & convulsions		County Poor Farm
Alexander Stephan	318	M	3.2				Sailor	Germany	10-May-1880	Phthisis	Milw. Insane Asylum	Asylum Cemetery

TABLE 9((CONTINUED))
DEATH CERTIFICATES OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN POOR HOUSE CEMETERY 1872-1882

Name	Page #	Sex	Age	Date of Birth	Mother/Wife	Father/ Husband	Occupation	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Burial Ground
Volume 11 (1872-1882)												
Henry Holtz	210	M	30				Laborer	Germany	7-Sep-1880		Milw. Co. Hosp. Cemetery	County Farm
James McCaffery	209	M	76	1804			Shoemaker	Ireland	5-Sep-1880	Bright's Disease	Milw. Co. Hosp. Cemetery	County Farm
Emma Dawson	122	F	20	14-Oct-1860	Jno. Dawson	Luisa	Seamstress	Wisconsin	4-Sep-1880	Phthisis Pulmonalis		Poor Farm Cemetery
Infant	25	M	17 days	7-Aug-1880		Fridrike Rothberg		Milw. Co. Hosp	4-Aug-1880	Inanition		Milw. Co. Hosp. Cemetery
George Hatle	24	M	59				Cooper	Milw. Co. Hosp (Bavaria)	2-Aug-1880	Cirrhosis of the liver	County Farm	County Farm Cemetery
Mary Amanda Danson (alias Nettie Hepp)	23	F	21		Mrs. Luisa Carr		Servant	Wisconsin	0-Aug-1880	Pulmonary Phthisis	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Mary Pares	22	F	91				Housekeeper	Bohemia	31-Jul-1880	Cirrhosis of the liver	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Jennie West	21	M	3wks	6-Jul-1880	Jennie West			Milw. Co. Hosp	28-Jul-1880	Infantile Convulsions	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Adolph Hennig	462	M	30				Laborer	Germany	28-Oct-1880	Chronic Inflammation of Liver	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
George Jones	461	M	16				Laborer	Dvaley England	29-Sep-1880	Chronic Diarrhoea	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Volume 12 (1872-1882)												
Mary Hasley	229	F	32			H. Jacob Hasley		Penns?	11-May-1880	Phthisis Pulv.		Milw. Co. Cemetery
Avton Holsted	146	M	34				Laborer	Norway	23-Nov-1880	Colloid Cancer of Abdomen	Milw. Co. Hosp	Co. Farm Cemetery
Gustav Johnson	145	M	23				Laborer	Sweden	0-Nov-1880	Typhoid Fever	Milw. Co. Hosp	Co. Farm Cemetery
Albert Grundler	144	M	28				Clerk	Newark, NY	7-Nov-1880	Epilepsy	Milw. Co. Hosp	Co. Farm Cemetery
Ferdinand Beyer	143	M	41				Tailor	Germany	2-Nov-1880	Chronic Pneumonia	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Henry Preiser	142	M	60				Mason	Germany	12-Nov-1880	Cirrhosis	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Franz Sernaudal	391	M	46				Laborer	Germany	27-Dec-1880	Cancer of Liver	Milw. Co. Hosp	Poor Farm Cemetery
Patric Clarke	417	M	69				Blacksmith	Ireland	30-Dec-1880	Cerebritis	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Margaretha Keating (Infant)	428	F	3days	18-Dec-1880	Emma D. Keating			Milw. Co. Hosp	11-Dec-1880	Cranosis	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
A.P. Hayet	430	M	21				Laborer	Sweden	31-Dec-1880	Typhoid Fever	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery
Emma D. Keating	431	F	27				Housewife	Ireland	11-Dec-1880	Peritonitis	Milw. Co. Hosp	County Farm Cemetery

TABLE 9 (CONTINUED)
DEATH CERTIFICATES OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN POOR HOUSE CEMETERY 1872-1882

Name	Page #	Sex	Age	Date of Birth	Mother/Wife	Father/Husband	Occupation	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Burial Ground
Adolf Hermes	188	M	34		W. Caroline Hermes		Laborer	Germany	16-Jan-1881	Pneumonia result compound fracture of femur	Milw. Co. Hosp Cemetery	County Farm Cemetery
Infant Fitzgerald	169	F	17da vs	14-Jan-1881	Annie Fitzgerald			Milw. Co. Hosp	31-Jan-1881	Inanition	Milw. Co. Hosp Cemetery	County Farm Cemetery
Chas. Justmann	257	M	70				Cook	Germany	16-Feb-1881	Congestion of the lungs	Milw. Co. Hosp Cemetery	County Farm Cemetery
Wilhelmina Eckerkunst	258	F	37				Housewife	Germany	6-Feb-1881	Pulmonary Phthisis	Milw. Co. Hosp Cemetery	County Farm Cemetery
Frederick Plumber	259	M	19				Laborer	USA	5-Feb-1881		Milw. Co. Hosp Cemetery	County Farm Cemetery
unknown	302	M	c. 35						27-Oct-1874	accidentally drowned	Milw. River 5th Ward	County Farm
unknown	311	M	50-60						30-Oct-1874	accident by Railroad	U. West RR County Jail	County Farm
John Schmidt	313	M	58					Germany	21-Sep-1874	Delirium Tremens	7th Ward	County Farm
Elian Williams	330	F	20				Prostitute	Ireland	2-Nov-1874	Cramp disease	Buffalo St. 3rd Ward	County Farm
G. Peterson	333	M	30				Sailor	Ireland	7-Nov-1874	Congestive chills	5th Ward	County Farm
Wilhelm Hoffmann	334	M	17					Wisconsin	4-Dec-1874	accident	House of Correction 11th Ward	County Farm
Edward Nugent	339	M	30				Laborer	Ireland	8-Jan-1875	accident	East W? St., 470, 7th Ward	County Farm
unknown	348	M	infant					Milwaukee	15-Mar-1875	premature birth		County Farm
unknown	349	F	infant					Milwaukee	6-Mar-1875	premature birth		County Farm
child	352	M	?		Marie Schneider			Miller Brewery	30-Mar-1875	strangled	Miller Brewery	County Farm
unknown	356	M	c. 30						9-Apr-1875	drowned	North Point 1st Ward	County Farm
child	357	M			Henriette Just			Milwaukee	9-Apr-1875	stillborn	759 9th St. 10th Ward	County Farm
Gottlieb Flugge	358	M	47				Shoemaker	Germany	6-May-1875	Suicide	615 Harmon St. 6th Ward	County Farm
Christian Matz	366	M	61				Pedlar	Germany	17-Jun-1875	Suicide	1803 Fllet St. 2nd Ward	County Farm

TABLE 9 (CONCLUDED)
DEATH CERTIFICATES OF INDIVIDUALS BURIED IN POOR HOUSE CEMETERY 1872-1882

Name	Page #	Sex	Age	Date of Birth	Mother/Wife	Father/Husband	Occupation	Place of Birth	Date of Death	Cause of Death	Place of Death	Burial Ground
George Jenkins	372	M	15					Milwaukee	5-Jul-1875	Accidentally drowned	Menominee River 4th Ward	County Farm
Francis Piska	380	F	3wks					Milwaukee	22-Jul-1875	Convulsions	203 Broadway St., 3rd Ward	County Farm
Bridget Potts	383	F	43					Ireland	7-Aug-1875	Overdose of Whiskey	Broadway St. 3rd Ward	County Farm
Aug. Baumann	394	M	60				r	Germany	6-Aug-1875	Suicide	T. of Franklin	County Farm
Randolph Graham	395	M	26				Sailor	America	1-Aug-1875	Accidentally drowned	Milw. River 5th Ward	County Farm
Friedrich Bartsch	401	M	46				Carpenter	Germany	3-Sept-1875	Suicide	748 Windlake St. 11th Ward	County Farm
Infant	416	M	nb		Elise Frank			Milwaukee	4-Nov-1875	Strangled	303-3rd St. 2nd Ward	County Farm
Henry Schwarting	420	M	62					Germany	3-Dec-1875	Exposure	T. of Mauwatosa	County Farm
Adam Arni	428	M	66					Switzerland	31-Dec-1875	Suicide	County Poor House	County Farm
Alice Jordan	437	F	25				Prostitute	America	3-Jan-1876	excessive drinking	486 E. Water St. 7th Ward	County Farm
Marie Parker	452	F	62					England	20-Feb-1876	Murdered	344 VanBuren St. 3rd Ward	County Farm
John Liverlay	460	M	35				Sailor	England	15-Mar-1876	Suicide	T. of Milwaukee	County Farm
Andreas Buck	471	M	27					Germany	20-Apr-1876	Accidentally drowned	Milwaukee River 5th Ward	County Farm
Peter Salorius	490	M	21				Laborer	Germany	6-May-1876	Murdered	782 Island Ave. 6th Ward	County Farm
Johan England	497	M	56					Germany	14-Jun-1876	Debility	647 6th Ave. 11th Ward	County Farm
John Hoerner	506	M	40				Laborer	Germany	10-Jul-1876	Struck by lightning	Milwaukee River 3rd Ward	County Farm
James Mitchell	524	M	26					Scotland	8-Aug-1876	Accidentally drowned		County Farm

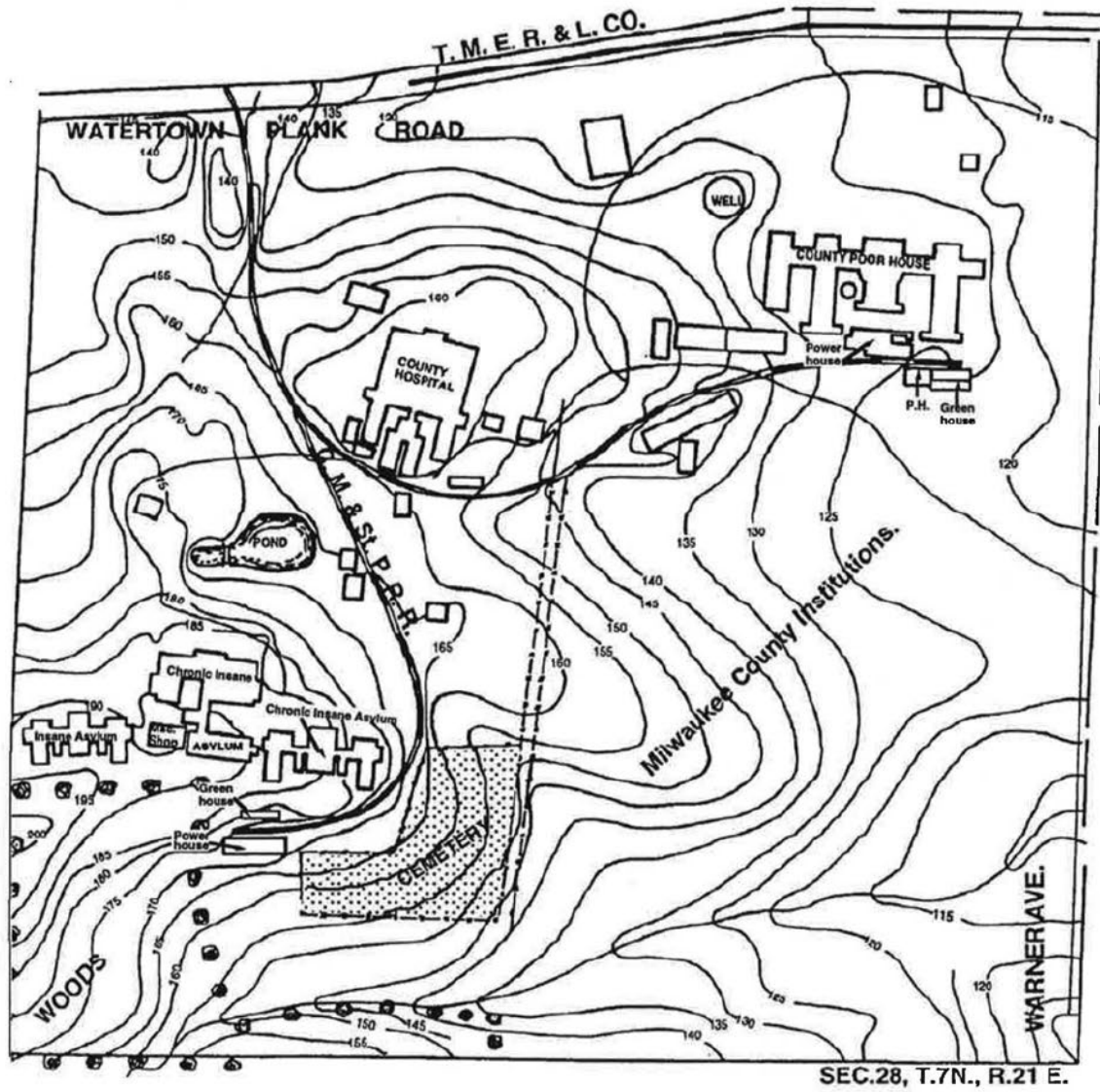


Figure 7: Map showing location of the second pauper cemetery (adapted from W.P.A. map)

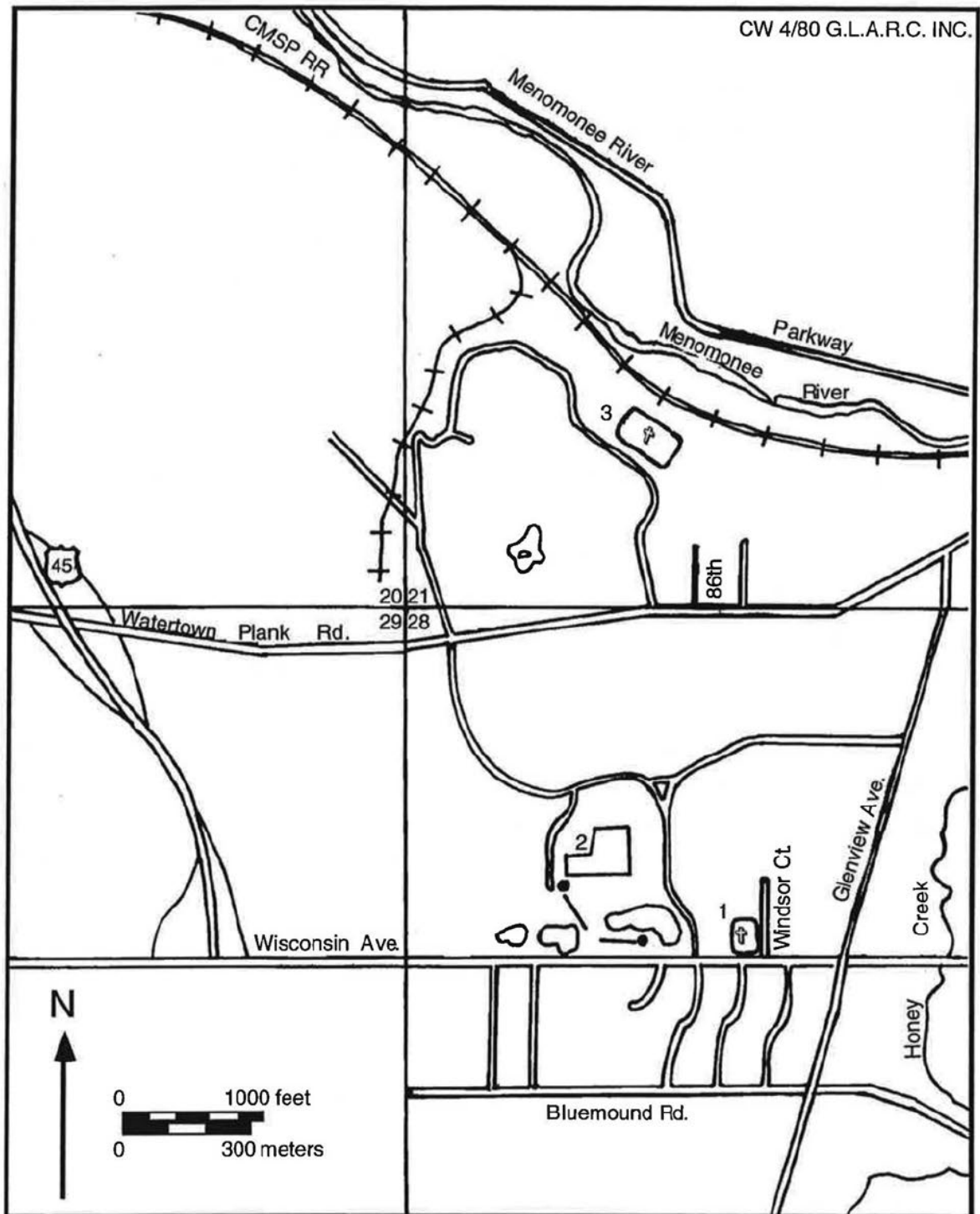


Figure 8: Location of cemeteries 1, 2, and 3 relative to modern roads

Cemetery 2 is the cemetery disturbed during the 1991 construction of the new ambulatory care facility on the Medical Complex property and the location of subsequent archaeological excavations by Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. According to the Burial Ledger this cemetery was utilized from 1882 through 1925. Archaeological excavations were conducted within all of the cemetery grounds on Milwaukee County property. The western portion of the cemetery extends onto Froedtert Hospital property and remains intact. Confirmation of the cemetery boundaries on the Froedtert property was obtained through means of remote sensing conducted in the fall of 1992 (Overstreet and Sverdrup 1992a).

THE BURIAL LEDGER

As part of a project undertaken by Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. for the Milwaukee Metropolitan Sewerage Commission in 1980 the "Register of Burials at Milwaukee County Poor Farm" was consulted. At that time the Register was housed at the business office of the Milwaukee County Nursing Home. On September 29, 1991, Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc. officially requested access to the ledger thought to be housed at that time at the Mental Health Complex. Access was denied and the Burial Ledger was reportedly moved into the care of the Milwaukee County Parks Division. A complete transcript of that portion of the ledger dating from 1882-1929 was repeatedly requested by GLARC, Inc. personnel and by the Burial Sites Preservation Board. On March 10, 1993 a photographic copy of the entire Burial Ledger was provided to Great Lakes Archaeological Research Center, Inc., along with the negatives. The present location of the original "Register of Burials at Milwaukee County Poor Farm" is unknown to us.

The Register of Burials is a handwritten ledger-format book approximately 15 by 22 inches in size. The Ledger lists burials beginning with an entry for Elizabeth Hoffmann on February 14, 1882 and ends with a June 14, 1974 listing of an unknown female. Entries in the Burial Ledger constitute 178 pages.

The Milwaukee County Rules and Regulations for the County Farm and Almshouse published in 1894 includes Rule 17 as follows:

Rule 17. The Superintendent shall keep a record of all pauper burials on the County Farm, file all burial permits, and place a painted and numbered head board at each grave, which grave shall, in no case, be less than six feet deep. The burial record shall specify the name of the deceased, date and cause of death, number of burial permit, and the number of the grave in which buried. It shall be the duty of the Superintendent to see that the cemetery is kept in decent order.

Prior to the formal presentation of Rule 17 the burial register entries dated 1882 through 1891 include the date of the certificate of the Health Department; name of the individual; the number of the certificate, and the number of the grave. The earliest entries are consecutively numbered regardless of whether the individual is an adult or a child. The numbering system is not internally consistent; it begins with A? (or some letter) followed by the number 45 through 100. The system then shifts to D-1 through D-100, E-1 through E-100, and shifts back to A-1 through A-100. This pattern continues through the year 1899 when the letters of the alphabet begin to be used consistently from beginning to end.

Beginning in 1891 an occasional cause of death is listed in addition to the information included for the earlier burials. Cause of death is most often noted in cases of stillbirth with a fair number of abandoned infants recorded. Other causes of death listed for the years 1891 - 1897 include drownings, death related to accidents, and instances of small pox. In addition an occasional place of death is noted although never systematically. When indicated, the locations always refer to an institution facility including the Almshouse and the Chronic Asylum for the Insane. Table 10 presents all the recorded causes of death listed in the Register of Burials at Milwaukee County Poor Farm for the years 1882 through 1925, the years during which the excavated portion of the Poor Farm Cemetery was known to have been utilized.

By 1897 many more places of death are recorded in the register. Places include the Almshouse, the infants' home, the hospital, and the Chronic Asylum for the Insane. Cause of death is also more consistently listed and some approximate ages at death are recorded for individuals. A place of death column is initiated in May of 1898 and this information is recorded for all individuals subsequent to this date. A consecutive numbering system combining adults and children continues.

TABLE 10
CAUSE OF DEATH AS LISTED IN BURIAL LEDGER

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
abscess of brain	0	0	0	1	0
abscess of leg	0	0	1	3	1
abscess of liver	0	0	0	8	0
accident (general)	0	0	5	9	4
acute harmoptysis	0	0	0	0	1
adema of brain	0	0	0	2	1
adema of lung	0	0	0	7	1
adhesive (chronic)	0	0	1	1	0
alcoholism	0	0	0	2	4
alention sigmond	0	0	0	2	0
anemia	0	0	1	14	0
aneurism	0	0	1	7	0
anuerism aorta	0	0	1	0	0
aortic insufficiency	0	0	0	7	2
apoplexy	0	0	0	6	0
appendicitis	0	0	2	13	0
arterio sclerosis	0	0	1	6	9
arterosis	0	0	0	0	1
asphyxia	0	0	0	2	14
asthma	0	0	0	0	1
atalectasia	0	0	0	1	3
atrophy adema	0	0	6	14	0
atrophy	0	0	0	1	1
automobile accident	0	0	0	2	4
blasomyosis of lung	0	0	0	1	0
blue baby	0	0	0	15	0
Brights disease	0	0	0	2	0
bronchitis	0	0	0	19	2
bronchitis (chronic)	0	0	0	2	6
broncho pneumonia	0	0	1	0	33
burns (general)	0	0	1	1	1
capillary bronchitis	0	0	0	3	1
carcinoma (general)	0	0	0	9	0
carcinoma of brain	0	0	0	3	1
carcinoma of breast	0	0	0	1	1
carcinoma of esophagus	0	0	0	3	0
carcinoma of face	0	0	0	0	0
carcinoma of intestines	0	0	1	0	0
carcinoma of liver	0	0	1	6	2
carcinoma of pancreas	0	0	0	1	2

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
carcinoma of prostate	0	0	1	0	2
carcinoma of rectum	0	0	0	6	0
carcinoma of sigmond colon	0	0	1	1	1
carcinoma of stomach	0	0	0	1	7
carcinoma of uterus	0	0	0	1	0
cardiac (acute)	0	0	0	1	0
cardiac decompensation	0	0	0	2	0
cardiac insufficiency	0	0	0	1	0
cardio vacular disease	0	0	2	7	0
carlise (acute)	0	0	0	1	0
cavity	0	0	2	0	0
cerebral apoplexy	0	0	0	2	0
cerebral embolism	0	0	0	7	0
cerebral hemorrhage	0	0	2	1	1
cerebral syphilis	0	0	0	1	0
cerebral thrombosis	0	0	0	1	0
cerrosis of liver	0	0	0	1	0
cholecystitis (chronic)	0	0	0	5	0
cholera infantum	0	0	1	0	0
colitis (chronic)	0	0	0	8	0
collapsed lung	0	0	0	0	1
colonitis	14	5	27	39	0
congenital	0	0	0	3	0
congenital heart defect	0	0	1	0	0
congenital obliteration of pulmonary artery	0	0	0	1	0
congenital dibility	0	0	1	4	1
congenital heart leasion	0	0	0	0	2
congenital imbecile	0	0	3	0	0
congestion of lung	0	0	0	2	0
convulsions	0	0	0	4	0
corigal malformation	0	0	1	0	0
coronary sclerosis	0	0	0	0	1
cyn of brain	0	0	0	1	0
deflation of heart	0	0	0	3	0
delayed labor	0	0	0	0	1
delerium tremens	0	0	0	1	0
dementia	0	0	1	4	0

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
denutrition	0	0	1	4	0
dermatitis	0	0	3	19	0
diabetes	0	0	0	1	0
diabetes millitas	0	0	1	2	1
dialation of heart	0	0	3	14	2
dialete meltules	0	0	0	2	0
diphtheria	0	0	1	11	3
disease of the new born	0	0	0	0	1
drowning	0	0	0	9	32
dysentery	0	0	0	4	0
dystocia of mother's pelvis	0	0	1	0	0
empagens	0	0	1	0	0
empyema	0	0	0	4	0
endocarditis	0	0	1	6	0
endocarditis (chronic)	0	0	2	0	0
endocarditis (ulcerative)	0	0	0	2	0
enteritis	0	0	5	2	1
enterites intestinal	0	0	0	7	0
epilepsy	0	0	1	2	1
entercolitis	0	0	1	8	1
erysipelas	0	0	10	18	1
anuerism of aorta	0	0	0	1	0
exhaustion	0	0	2	9	1
exposure to cold	0	0	0	2	0
fall (accidental)	0	0	0	1	1
fatty degeneration of heart	0	0	0	2	1
febrile phitasis	0	0	0	1	0
fracture (general)	0	0	3	0	2
gangrene	0	0	0	1	1
garetia insufficiency	0	0	0	1	0
gastric arcumona	0	0	0	1	0
gastritis (acute)	0	0	4	17	0
gastro entended	0	0	1	0	0
gastro enteritis	0	0	2	1	0
gastro intestinal disease	0	0	0	2	2
gastrotenitis	0	0	0	0	1
gastroventercles	0	0	0	2	0
general debility	0	0	0	1	0
geo colitis	0	0	0	2	0

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
girrohasia	0	0	0	5	0
hasmoulager and creaturs	0	0	0	2	0
heart disease	0	0	0	17	0
heart failure	0	0	1	1	1
heart prostration	0	0	0	7	0
heat exhaustion	0	0	11	27	0
heat prostration	0	0	0	2	0
helectosis	0	0	0	2	0
hemaplexia	0	0	2	20	1
hemiplegic	0	0	1	10	0
hemorrhage (general)	0	0	0	1	6
hepatic circhosis	0	0	1	15	0
hepitis	0	0	0	2	0
Hodgkins disease	0	0	4	6	0
homicide	0	0	1	0	10
horse accident	0	0	0	2	0
hydrocephalic	0	0	1	2	0
hyperthrophic	0	0	1	1	1
hypertropegy of prostate gland	0	0	0	3	0
hypostatic pneumonia	0	0	0	1	0
hypostatic pulmonary congestion	0	0	1	0	0
hypothyroidism	0	0	0	6	0
imperfect circulation	0	0	0	65	0
inanition	0	0	2	32	1
incompency of heart	0	0	0	3	0
indigestion	0	0	0	1	0
infantile atrophy	0	0	0	11	1
infantile debility	0	0	0	1	0
infantile eclonipsia	0	0	5	4	3
infection (general)	0	0	0	24	1
influenza	0	0	2	6	0
intestinal obstruction	0	0	0	7	1
laryngeal diptheria	0	0	0	1	0
laryngitis	0	0	2	14	4
leukemia	0	0	0	1	0
lobar pneumonia	0	0	0	2	13
lymphatis (chronic)	0	0	2	3	1
malaria	0	0	0	2	0
malnutrition	0	0	0	0	2

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881-1889	1890-1899	1900-1909	1910-1919	1920-1925
mania (chronic)	0	0	0	0	1
manitis	0	0	0	2	0
marasmus	0	0	0	6	1
mastorditis	0	0	0	61	0
measles	0	0	0	1	0
melancholia (chronic)	0	0	0	7	0
meningital hemorrhage	0	0	0	1	0
meningitis	0	0	2	1	3
miliary tuberculosis	0	0	20	34	0
miral aortic	0	0	0	3	0
mitral stenosis	0	1	12	83	0
mitral insufficiency	0	0	1	0	0
mitral regurgitation	0	0	0	66	0
morphinism	0	0	0	7	1
multiple sclerosis	0	0	0	3	8
myocardial degeneration	3	0	20	26	0
myocardial insufficiency	0	0	0	1	12
myocardial tuberculosis	0	0	0	0	1
myocardite nephritis	0	0	1	0	1
myocarditis	0	0	0	4	3
myocarditis (chronic)	0	0	0	3	0
neglect	0	0	1	4	1
neonstorum	0	0	0	1	0
nephlentis	0	0	0	1	0
nephritis	0	0	11	16	7
obstructed bowel	0	0	0	1	0
octelectosis	0	0	0	1	0
odenary of brain	0	2	0	0	0
old age	0	0	0	31	0
paicus	0	7	79	107	0
paralysis	0	0	0	0	1
paraplegia	0	0	18	25	0
paren clymaloris	0	0	0	1	0
paresis	0	0	0	1	0
pellogoa	0	0	17	99	0
pericarditis (acute)	0	0	0	1	0
peritonitis	0	0	0	13	1
pernicious denemia	0	0	0	1	0

TABLE 10 (CONTINUED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
pertusis	0	0	7	49	0
pharyngese abscess	0	0	0	1	0
placental hemorrhage	0	0	0	1	5
pleursy	0	0	0	1	0
pneumonia	0	0	1	60	12
polyserositis	0	0	23	42	0
premature birth	0	0	3	15	35
prolapse of chord	0	0	0	6	0
prostatectomy	0	0	1	2	8
pulmonary hemorrhage	0	0	0	7	0
pulmonary tuberculosis	0	0	1	0	26
pyelonephritis	0	0	0	1	0
pyemia	0	0	0	1	0
rachitis	0	0	0	1	0
railroad accident	0	0	0	1	3
raplugus leonator	0	0	0	4	0
rheumatism	0	0	0	43	0
Ricketts malnutrition	0	0	0	1	0
rupture of aorta	0	0	0	26	0
sarcoma	0	0	0	2	1
scarlet fever	0	0	0	16	1
senile dementia	0	0	0	1	0
senile psychosis	0	0	0	0	3
senility	0	0	0	2	1
septic abortion	0	0	0	13	0
septic endonetrinitis	0	0	0	18	0
septic peritonitis	0	0	0	6	0
septicaemia	0	0	0	4	1
sheptococi (acute)	0	0	0	21	0
shock	0	0	0	5	0
small pox	0	0	0	1	16
starvation	0	0	0	6	2
status lymphaticus	0	0	0	2	0
still born	0	0	2	7	56
street car accident	0	0	0	9	1
suicide	0	0	0	1	13
sun stroke	0	0	0	1	0
supperative perionitis	0	0	0	1	0
syphilitic insufficiency of aorta	0	0	0	0	2
syphilis	0	0	0	2	6

TABLE 10 (CONCLUDED)

Cause of Death	Years				
	1881- 1889	1890- 1899	1900- 1909	1910- 1919	1920- 1925
thrombosis of coronary artery	0	0	0	0	1
toxaemia	0	0	0	1	3
traumatic delerium	0	0	0	1	0
tubercular meningitis	0	0	0	1	0
tuberculosis (general)	0	0	1	1	5
typhoid fever	0	0	0	2	0
uremia	0	0	0	2	1
valvular heart disease	0	0	0	1	0
wagon accident	0	0	0	1	0
warnic poisoning	0	0	0	0	1
whooping cough	0	0	0	0	2
wrainus laucer of uterus	0	0	0	0	1

For a short period of time age at death is recorded in years, months and days. This begins in October of 1900 and is terminated by 1904. In February of 1904 the numbering system begins again with A-1 and orders adults and children. The burial ledger begun in 1882 continues to be utilized, however, in January of 1908 additional lines are drawn to divide existing columns in order to provide space for the following information: Date of Certificate of Health Department; Name; Date of Death; Cause of Death; Certificate from:, and no. of Grave. Occasionally, place of death is listed after the grave number. Age at death is no longer included. The same numbering system continues to be used for adults and children. Beginning with March 30, 1910 all of the above information is provided along with the date of burial.

A-101 through A-200 is the system utilized for the first time beginning with the April 25, 1918 entry. The 1918 through 1923 burials are the only burials which utilize the 200 series numbering system. For the first time in November of 1920, children are designated by a unique numbering system as follows 68-1, 68-2, etc. This numbering system for children is abandoned in January of 1923 for a new system which again no longer differentiates adult burials from those of children. This system appears to consecutively number interments with the year designated as a suffix. Thus burial number 10-23 refers to the tenth burial of 1923. Finally, in January of 1925, yet another numbering system is adopted. This system starts with 1 and simply consecutively numbers the adult burials. Similarly the

interments of juveniles are numbered consecutively starting with 1 but preceded by the letter C as follows: C-1, C-2, etc. The new cemetery for elders is begun in July of 1925, but the system of numbering continues uninterrupted. Figure 9 illustrates a page of the Burial Ledger for the years 1885-1886. Figure 10 illustrates a page for the years 1917 and 1918.

SUMMARY

Reports of the Proceedings of the Milwaukee County Board of Supervisors, along with newspaper articles provide an interesting context for both the burial population of the MCIG Cemetery and the early Milwaukee County Institutions themselves. While earnest attempts were made to provide adequate and humane conditions for Milwaukee County's poor, homeless, chronically insane and sick poor, financial constraints and narrow vision limited those efforts.

The history of the cemetery itself, when placed in the larger context of the myriad of problems which the administrators of the Milwaukee County Institutions faced, is better understood. Care and housing of living inmates reasonably took precedence over proper maintenance of a cemetery. Burials needed to be quick and most importantly inexpensive. Cemetery locations were chosen based on proximity to the various institutions on the grounds and use of land perhaps unsuited for other purposes. Conversely, as we know, cemeteries were abandoned when filled or the land deemed necessary for some other purpose.

The Burial Ledger itself provides an invaluable data set. Along with excavated archaeological data, much can be determined about specific individuals. Reconstruction of the social structure of Milwaukee during the late 19th and early 20th century may be begun through use of information contained in the Burial Ledger coupled with the biological analysis of the skeletal remains.

Register of Burial at Milwaukee County Poor Farm.

DATE OF BURIAL	NAME	AGE	NO. OF BURIALS
1885	John Olden	31	1
"	James Schmitt	35	1
"	Frank Schmitt	37	1
"	John Schmitt	38	1
"	John Schmitt	39	1
"	John Schmitt	40	1
"	John Schmitt	41	1
"	John Schmitt	42	1
"	John Schmitt	43	1
"	John Schmitt	44	1
"	John Schmitt	45	1
"	John Schmitt	46	1
"	John Schmitt	47	1
"	John Schmitt	48	1
"	John Schmitt	49	1
"	John Schmitt	50	1
"	John Schmitt	51	1
"	John Schmitt	52	1
"	John Schmitt	53	1
"	John Schmitt	54	1
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"	John Schmitt	59	1
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"	John Schmitt	61	1
"	John Schmitt	62	1
"	John Schmitt	63	1
"	John Schmitt	64	1
"	John Schmitt	65	1
"	John Schmitt	66	1
"	John Schmitt	67	1
"	John Schmitt	68	1
"	John Schmitt	69	1
"	John Schmitt	70	1
"	John Schmitt	71	1
"	John Schmitt	72	1
"	John Schmitt	73	1
"	John Schmitt	74	1
"	John Schmitt	75	1
"	John Schmitt	76	1
"	John Schmitt	77	1
"	John Schmitt	78	1
"	John Schmitt	79	1
"	John Schmitt	80	1
"	John Schmitt	81	1
"	John Schmitt	82	1
"	John Schmitt	83	1
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"	John Schmitt	91	1
"	John Schmitt	92	1
"	John Schmitt	93	1
"	John Schmitt	94	1
"	John Schmitt	95	1
"	John Schmitt	96	1
"	John Schmitt	97	1
"	John Schmitt	98	1
"	John Schmitt	99	1
"	John Schmitt	100	1

Register of Burial at Milwaukee County Poor Farm.

DATE OF BURIAL	NAME	AGE	NO. OF BURIALS
1886	John Schmitt	31	1
"	John Schmitt	32	1
"	John Schmitt	33	1
"	John Schmitt	34	1
"	John Schmitt	35	1
"	John Schmitt	36	1
"	John Schmitt	37	1
"	John Schmitt	38	1
"	John Schmitt	39	1
"	John Schmitt	40	1
"	John Schmitt	41	1
"	John Schmitt	42	1
"	John Schmitt	43	1
"	John Schmitt	44	1
"	John Schmitt	45	1
"	John Schmitt	46	1
"	John Schmitt	47	1
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"	John Schmitt	89	1
"	John Schmitt	90	1
"	John Schmitt	91	1
"	John Schmitt	92	1
"	John Schmitt	93	1
"	John Schmitt	94	1
"	John Schmitt	95	1
"	John Schmitt	96	1
"	John Schmitt	97	1
"	John Schmitt	98	1
"	John Schmitt	99	1
"	John Schmitt	100	1

Figure 9: Page from Burial Ledger for years 1885 and 1886

Register of Burial at Milwaukee County Poor Farm.

No. of Burial	Name	Race	Sex	Age	Date of Burial	Place of Burial
117	John J. ...	White	Male	45	Jan 15	St. ...
118	Mary ...	White	Female	52	Jan 20	St. ...
119	John ...	White	Male	38	Jan 25	St. ...
120	Mary ...	White	Female	48	Jan 30	St. ...
121	John ...	White	Male	55	Feb 5	St. ...
122	Mary ...	White	Female	50	Feb 10	St. ...
123	John ...	White	Male	42	Feb 15	St. ...
124	Mary ...	White	Female	45	Feb 20	St. ...
125	John ...	White	Male	58	Feb 25	St. ...
126	Mary ...	White	Female	53	Feb 30	St. ...
127	John ...	White	Male	40	Mar 5	St. ...
128	Mary ...	White	Female	47	Mar 10	St. ...
129	John ...	White	Male	56	Mar 15	St. ...
130	Mary ...	White	Female	51	Mar 20	St. ...
131	John ...	White	Male	43	Mar 25	St. ...
132	Mary ...	White	Female	46	Mar 30	St. ...
133	John ...	White	Male	59	Apr 5	St. ...
134	Mary ...	White	Female	54	Apr 10	St. ...
135	John ...	White	Male	41	Apr 15	St. ...
136	Mary ...	White	Female	44	Apr 20	St. ...
137	John ...	White	Male	60	Apr 25	St. ...
138	Mary ...	White	Female	55	Apr 30	St. ...
139	John ...	White	Male	44	May 5	St. ...
140	Mary ...	White	Female	49	May 10	St. ...
141	John ...	White	Male	61	May 15	St. ...
142	Mary ...	White	Female	56	May 20	St. ...
143	John ...	White	Male	46	May 25	St. ...
144	Mary ...	White	Female	51	May 30	St. ...
145	John ...	White	Male	62	Jun 5	St. ...
146	Mary ...	White	Female	57	Jun 10	St. ...
147	John ...	White	Male	47	Jun 15	St. ...
148	Mary ...	White	Female	52	Jun 20	St. ...
149	John ...	White	Male	63	Jun 25	St. ...
150	Mary ...	White	Female	58	Jun 30	St. ...
151	John ...	White	Male	48	Jul 5	St. ...
152	Mary ...	White	Female	53	Jul 10	St. ...
153	John ...	White	Male	64	Jul 15	St. ...
154	Mary ...	White	Female	59	Jul 20	St. ...
155	John ...	White	Male	49	Jul 25	St. ...
156	Mary ...	White	Female	54	Jul 30	St. ...
157	John ...	White	Male	65	Aug 5	St. ...
158	Mary ...	White	Female	60	Aug 10	St. ...
159	John ...	White	Male	50	Aug 15	St. ...
160	Mary ...	White	Female	55	Aug 20	St. ...
161	John ...	White	Male	66	Aug 25	St. ...
162	Mary ...	White	Female	61	Aug 30	St. ...
163	John ...	White	Male	51	Sep 5	St. ...
164	Mary ...	White	Female	56	Sep 10	St. ...
165	John ...	White	Male	67	Sep 15	St. ...
166	Mary ...	White	Female	62	Sep 20	St. ...
167	John ...	White	Male	52	Sep 25	St. ...
168	Mary ...	White	Female	57	Sep 30	St. ...
169	John ...	White	Male	68	Oct 5	St. ...
170	Mary ...	White	Female	63	Oct 10	St. ...
171	John ...	White	Male	53	Oct 15	St. ...
172	Mary ...	White	Female	58	Oct 20	St. ...
173	John ...	White	Male	69	Oct 25	St. ...
174	Mary ...	White	Female	64	Oct 30	St. ...
175	John ...	White	Male	54	Nov 5	St. ...
176	Mary ...	White	Female	59	Nov 10	St. ...
177	John ...	White	Male	70	Nov 15	St. ...
178	Mary ...	White	Female	65	Nov 20	St. ...
179	John ...	White	Male	55	Nov 25	St. ...
180	Mary ...	White	Female	60	Nov 30	St. ...
181	John ...	White	Male	71	Dec 5	St. ...
182	Mary ...	White	Female	66	Dec 10	St. ...
183	John ...	White	Male	56	Dec 15	St. ...
184	Mary ...	White	Female	61	Dec 20	St. ...
185	John ...	White	Male	72	Dec 25	St. ...
186	Mary ...	White	Female	67	Dec 30	St. ...

Figure 10: Page from Burial Ledger for years 1917 and 1918