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ABSTRACT

THE EVOLVING SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF CEMETERIES IN WAUKESHA COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1835-1976

BY

George G. Martin

The cemetery is a ubiquitous type of land use in the United States but little research has been completed that investigates the historical growth of cemeteries and their evolving spatial distribution. This study analyzes the cemeteries of Waukesha County, Wisconsin, to determine their historical and present spatial distribution and the effect of population growth on their numbers; common locational characteristics of each site; and factors that cause them to become inactive or relocated.

The data base was compiled from maps, plat books, interviews, and historical records and files. Each cemetery was then mapped and field checked to determine such characteristics as the date of establishment, number of burials, ownership, burial status (active, inactive or relocated), and relationship to the physical and cultural environment. Three series of maps and graphs were derived from this data base. The first series portrays the historical growth, location, and status of cemeteries from 1840 to 1976. Common locational characteristics of cemetery sites are

illustrated in the second. The final series of maps and a statistical measure reveal factors that are typical of cemeteries that have changed status to become inactive or relocated.

The cemeteries of Waukesha County exhibit distinguishable patterns both in their historical development and present-day distribution. Their sites reveal common locational advantages: well drained soils, accessibility, and proximity to potential users. Cemeteries were quickly established shortly after settlement; of the 90 cemeteries in the study area 64 were founded before 1860. But no new cemetery has been established since 1936. Rather, the number of cemeteries becoming inactive or relocated has increased dramatically since 1940. Competition for land brought about by rapid population growth is a factor in causing status changes. Those cemeteries most likely to change status contain a low number of burials and are most likely government or privately owned.

THE EVOLVING SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION
OF CEMETERIES IN
WAUKESHA COUNTY, WISCONSIN, 1835-1976

By
George Gilbert Martin

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Many people are responsible for the production of this work. It is only with their assistance, understanding, and guidance that this work is finally being completed. I would like to mention their names and thank them.

Professor Charles Calkins planted this topic in my brain during my undergraduate work at Carroll College. But it was only during a serendipitous conversation in graduate school that I discovered the topic of cemeteries appealed to another geographer's interest, that of Dr. Joe T. Darden. He guided me expertly throughout my research and I thank him for that. The workers at the Waukesha County Historical Society were a great aid and provided precious documents and records. To all these and others who helped me during the course of my research I am grateful.

I would also like to give special thanks to my parents for their understanding and assistance. It took a while, but I told you I'd do it, Mom. Finally, the greatest tribute goes to my wife. Her years of patience, waiting for me to finish the writing, and her long hours of typing were truly a labor of love. I couldn't have completed this without her help.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The cemetery is an ubiquitous form of land use in the United States. Whether it be in the small family plot on the farmstead or in the luxurious, evergreen-landscaped memorial garden, human dead are usually paid their last respects and laid to rest in some form of cemetery.

Despite the universality of this cultural landscape feature, few studies of necrogeography have been made.¹ Some influenced the spatial distribution of cemeteries both today and in the past. Cemetery management groups have published material noting the importance of such site

¹The only other studies of necrogeography not mentioned in the following two paragraphs are W.G. Hardwick, R.J. Clause and D.C. Rothwell, "Cemeteries and Urban Land Value," The Professional Geographer, Vol. 23, No. 1, (January, 1971), pp. 19-21 and Maurice E. Perret, "Cemeteries: A Source of Geographic Information," Transactions of the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, Vol. 63, (1975), pp. 139-161. Sociologists reveal their work on cemeteries in William M. Kephart, "Status After Death," American Sociological Review, Vol. 15, (October, 1950), pp. 640-650; and Frank W. Young, "Graveyards and Social Structure," Rural Sociology, Vol. 25, No. 4, (December, 1960), pp. 446-450. Three studies from the archaeological perspective are James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen, "Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries," American Antiquity, Vol. 31, (1965-66), pp. 502-510; "Death's Heads, Cherubs, Urn and Willow," Natural History, (March, 1967), pp. 28-37; and Kenneth Lindley, "Stones and Long Grass: The Churchyard as Landscape," Architectural Review, (June, 1966), pp. 462-466.

factors as topography, soil, drainage, natural beauty, accessibility and zoning restriction, in addition to the situation factors of urban centers, particularly in relation to industrial and residential expansion.² Planning agencies consider contemporary and future factors when determining cemetery location, the most important being population growth.³ However, geographic studies which focus on factors that influence cemetery location have been rare. The only work that examined these aspects as the major thesis of research was Darden's study of the locations of Pittsburgh's cemeteries.⁴ He recognized cost of land, accessibility, proximity to potential users, and land of relatively high elevation as the dominant factors in the location of cemetery site. Pattison,⁵ investigating cemeteries as a form of land use, noted Chicago's cemeteries were located at a remote distance from the city adjacent to major transportation routes

²Two such works are The Cemetery Handbook, Park & Cemetery Publishing Co., Madison, Wis., and Donald Drewes, Cemetery Land Planning (Pittsburgh: Matthews Memorial Bronze, 1964).

³American Society of Planning Officials, Cemeteries in the City Plan, Planning Advisory Report No. 16 (July, 1950).

⁴Joe T. Darden, "Factors in the Location of Pittsburgh's Cemeteries," The Virginia Geographer, Vol. 7, No. 2, (1972), pp. 3-8.

⁵William D. Pattison, "The Cemeteries of Chicago: A Phase of Land Utilization," Association of American Geographers, Annals, Vol. 45, (1955), pp. 245-257.

on sites having good drainage, ease of excavation, and a capacity for plant life. Price,⁶ Francaviglia,⁷ Kniffen,⁸ and Heckel⁹ noted similar factors in their studies of necrogeography. Yet of all these studies, only Darden, Pattison and Price considered the temporal dynamics of the various factors influencing cemetery location.

Price indicated that over a period of years some cemeteries become inactive, suggesting that the lower the number of burials within a cemetery the more likely a cemetery would become inactive. But Price did not rigorously test this statement nor did he investigate individual inactive cemeteries to suggest other causes of inactivity. Though authors alluded to relocating cemeteries, only Darden¹⁰ has done any definitive work on the processes involved in cemetery relocation and applies his research to individual cases.

⁶Larry Price, "Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study," The Professional Geographer, Vol. 18, (1966), pp. 201-207.

⁷Richard V. Francaviglia, "The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape," Association of American Geographers, Annals, Vol. 61, (1971), pp. 501-509.

⁸Fred Kniffen, "Necrogeography in the United States," Geographical Review, Vol. 57, (1967), pp. 426-427.

⁹David E. Heckel, Necrogeography: A Geographic Analysis of the Cemeteries of Coles County, Illinois, M.A. Thesis, Eastern Illinois University, 1972.

¹⁰Joe T. Darden, "The Processes of Cemetery Relocation," an unpublished paper.

Several questions arise from the preceding remarks. Where are cemeteries located? Why are they located where they are? Did various locational factors affecting the selection of a cemetery site change in relative significance through time? If so, which factors changed? Why? There are various types of cemeteries, whether they are classified on the basis of rural versus urban focus, ownership, size, etc. What association existed between and within the types of cemeteries and the locational factors of dominating influence? What factors caused cemeteries to become inactive? Relocated? What effect did rapid population growth and urban encroachment have on the spatial distribution and number of cemeteries?

The purpose of this study was to determine the impact of population growth on the location and spatial distribution of cemeteries in Waukesha County, Wisconsin.

Objectives

The objectives of this study were:

- 1) To determine the historical and present spatial distribution of cemeteries, and the effect of population growth on their numbers,
- 2) To determine the common locational characteristics of cemetery sites,
- 3) To determine the factors that caused cemeteries to become inactive, and

4) To determine the factors that caused cemeteries to be relocated.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were tested to meet the objectives of the study.

1) As population increased the number of cemeteries decreased.

2) Cemeteries were located in areas of well-drained soils, on accessible transportation routes and in proximity to potential users.

3) Population circumvention was a major factor in causing inactive cemeteries.

4) Urban expansion was a major factor in causing cemetery relocation.

Operational Definitions

The following operational definitions were used in this study. A cemetery was defined as any human burial place having a minimum of five interments in the same area. An interment was determined by an associated marker with name or names of the deceased or a written document citing evidence that an individual had been buried there.

The drainage characteristics of the soil were determined by using the U.S. Department of Agriculture soil survey.¹¹

¹¹U.S. Department of Agriculture, Soil Survey of Milwaukee and Waukesha Counties, (July, 1971).

A cemetery was considered accessible if its closest boundary at the time of origin was within 100 yards of a road or railroad.

A cemetery was considered in proximity to its potential user if it was within one mile of the focus of those who used the cemetery at the time of its origin. If the cemetery was owned by a religious group it must have been located within one mile of its focal point (most likely the church), if owned by a public governmental body within one mile of the government limit or center (city limit, township limit, etc.), or if owned by a private entity within one mile of a potential user residence.

An inactive cemetery was a cemetery that had received no interments within the past five years.

The Classification Scheme

A classification system based on cemetery focus and ownership was devised to provide some basis for analysis of the variable influence of locational factors on the different cemetery types and to evaluate if one type of cemetery tends to become inactive or relocated more than another (Figure 1). The rural versus urban focus was the first consideration of the type of cemetery. A cemetery was considered urban-focused if the majority of its potential users resided in an urban area of population 2,500 or more at the time of origin. All other cemeteries were classified as rural focus. The second part of the

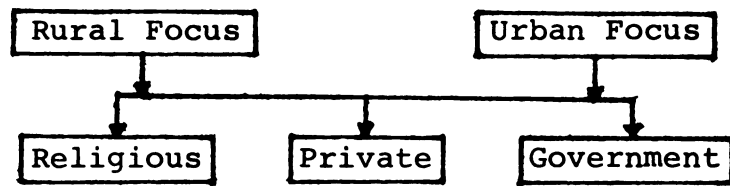


FIGURE 1. A Classification Scheme for Cemeteries

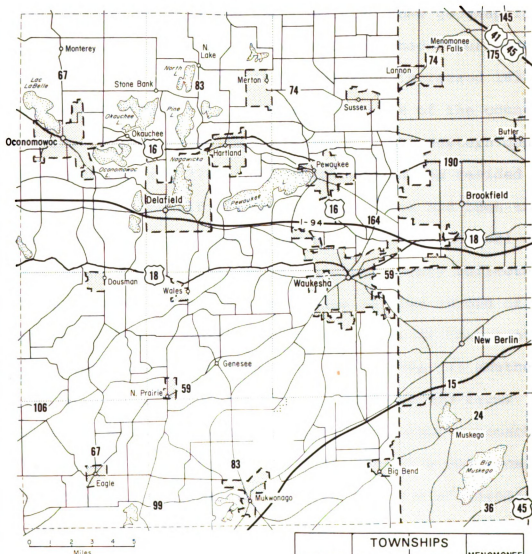
classification system was based on the ownership of the cemetery. The three types of ownership were religious, private, or government. All cemeteries were classified by their focus and ownership. Six different types of cemeteries were possible: rural focus religious owned, rural focus private owned, rural focus government owned, urban focus religious owned, urban focus private owned, and urban focus government owned.

The Study Area

The study area was Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Figure 2). Waukesha County, located in southeastern Wisconsin and bordering the western edge of Milwaukee County, is included in the four county SMSA of the City of Milwaukee. It is subdivided into sixteen townships of almost equal area; only 1.5 square miles difference in area exists between two townships, the others are each 36 square miles in area.

Waukesha County was chosen for three reasons: previous knowledge and familiarity, relative accessibility to the

WAUKESHA COUNTY



- CORPORATE AREAS
 --- CORPORATE LIMITS
 - - - COUNTY LIMITS
 TOWNSHIP LIMITS
 ——— ROADS
 67 STATE
 16 U. S.



TOWNSHIPS			
OCONOMOWOC	MERTON	LISBON	MEMONONEE FALLS
SUMMIT	DELAFIELD	PEWAUKEE	BROOKFIELD
OTTAWA	GENESEE	WAUKESHA	NEW BERLIN
EAGLE	MUKWONAGO	VERNON	MUSKEGO

SOURCE WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION, 1973

GGM

FIGURE 2

author, and rapid population growth. The choice of Waukesha County was practical for the author since he had lived there for four years and had completed some geographic research in this area. Waukesha County had experienced rapid population growth; its population increased 169% between 1950 and 1970. Approximately 49% of the county's present 231,365 inhabitants resided in the eastern quarter of the county and 77% of the total population resided in the eastern one-half of the county. These had been the areas of most rapid population growth. This unusual distribution of the population within the county reflected the growth of the city of Milwaukee and the spread of its suburbs. Milwaukee lies immediately east of the county. The western half of the study area is a typical southern Wisconsin rural landscape. Small villages and farms predominate with only minor evidence of urban encroachment. This county, with its diverse densities of population, seemed to be an ideal area to test the spatial association of population growth and its impact on the distribution of cemeteries.

Sources of Data and Methods of Analysis

The first and most important task was to locate the cemeteries. The most complete data source was the files at the Waukesha County Historical Society. A separate file of cemeteries, located by township had been initiated by several genealogists for use in tracing the roots of

their family trees. Another very important source in locating cemeteries' precise position was the Soil Survey of Milwaukee and Waukesha Counties.¹² Here, on a series of small scale map sheets printed over an aerial photo base, were located many cemeteries still existing on the landscape. The State Cemetery Commission of Wisconsin also recorded the names of active cemeteries in Waukesha County because the managers of each cemetery are required by law to file an annual statement. The Waukesha County Tax Assessment Office was also visited to obtain a list of present cemetery sites as land used for cemeteries is tax exempt. Yet of all these sources, not one included a complete listing or locations of all cemeteries that are either now visible on the landscape or have ever been located in Waukesha County. The latter three sources along with road maps and U.S.G.S. topographic maps, named and located most of the cemeteries presently being used, maintained, and remaining on the landscape today (see Table 1). But how could one locate cemeteries that have not been maintained and are now shrouded by vegetation? What of cemeteries that have long vanished from the landscape and those that have been relocated? The Waukesha County Historical Society Library provided a wealth of information concerning these cemeteries. Old atlases,

¹²Ibid.

TABLE 1. NUMBER OF CEMETERIES LOCATED BY SOURCE

	Total number of cemeteries cited	Percent of all cemeteries ³ in this study ³	Percent of cem- eteries still ⁴ on landscape ⁴	Percent of active cem- eteries cited ⁵
Waukesha County Historical Society	82	91%	99%	100%
Soil Survey ¹	69	77%	83%	91%
U.S.G.S. Topo Map ²	74	82%	89%	100%

¹Information based on Soil Survey of Milwaukee and Waukesha Counties, U.S. Department of Agriculture (July 1971).

²Information based on latest United States Geological Survey maps at a scale of 1:62,500.

³A total of 90 individual cemetery sites have been located in the county since the settlement of the white man in 1830's.

⁴A total of 83 cemeteries remain on the landscape in Waukesha County.

⁵A total of 67 cemeteries remain active.

plat books,¹³ newspaper clippings, and other historical documents filled some gaps, while creating others with references to small, obscure, and undiscovered cemetery sites. Interviews with local historians, natives who had lived in the area for a long period of time, and cemetery association members provided information peculiar to their exhaustive knowledge of these old, forgotten sites. These people were very responsive in supplying answers to numerous and probing questions about such an unusual and somewhat distasteful topic as cemeteries. An excellent source for "discovering" the existence of a cemetery which had been relocated was the cemetery where the bodies had been reinterred. The records of the largest cemeteries in Waukesha County, which usually absorbed most of these reinterments, cited cases of bodies from smaller cemeteries, in some instances complete cemeteries, relocated within the larger cemetery.

After the cemeteries had been listed and located according to written and verbal references, each cemetery

¹³Historical plat books and atlases used included Plats and Land Grants, Waukesha County (1859), Atlas of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Madison, Wis.: Harrison and Warner, 1873), Plat Book of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Minneapolis: C.M. Foster and Company, 1891), Standard Atlas of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Chicago: Geo. A. Ogle & Co., 1914), Atlas and Plat Book of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Rockford, Ill.: The Thrift Press, 1930), and Plat Book of Waukesha County, Wisconsin (Milwaukee: Marathon Map Service, 1949).

was field checked. A fact sheet (see Appendix A) was completed listing the name, precise and relative location, number and date of earliest and latest burials, ownership and other pertinent information. A map and listing of all cemeteries are included in Appendix B (see Figure 18 and Table 7). Some burial places did not meet the minimum criteria of five burials. A list of these is included at the end of Table 7 in Appendix B.

The next step was to determine the factors that influenced the location of each cemetery. Again, the county atlases and plat books provided the necessary information concerning the development of the transportation network. They also portrayed the evolution of population centers which was correlated to the location of cemetery sites, indicating the proximity of the cemeteries to the potential users. The U.S. Census cited the characteristics of the population and its growth. The U.S. Department of Agriculture soil survey noted the drainage characteristics of the soil at each individual cemetery site. Historical records were consulted to determine peculiar circumstances affecting the location of a cemetery. Finally, personal interviews with the agents of cemetery ownership helped in providing insight to the development of particular cemeteries.

The data compiled in the course of this research is portrayed and analyzed cartographically, graphically and statistically. One series of maps cites the location and

status of cemeteries for 1840, 1860, 1880, 1900, 1920, 1940, 1960, and 1976 (Figures 3-10); another series of maps correlates the location of cemetery sites with soil types and the transportation network (Figures 13-15); and a final set of maps notes two relationships between cemeteries and their status: number of burials within a cemetery in relation to inactive and relocated status, and the population density of the sixteen townships in relation to inactive and relocated cemeteries (Figures 16-17). Simple graphs correlate 1) the population of Waukesha County to the number of cemeteries per thousand people (Figure 11) and 2) the number and status of cemeteries from 1840 to 1976 (Figure 12). A statistical measure, the index of dissimilarity, is used to analyze the differences between the number of burials within a cemetery and its status.

CHAPTER II

THE INFLUENCE OF POPULATION GROWTH ON THE LOCATION OF CEMETERIES

The first priority of this research was to locate and date the distribution of cemeteries in Waukesha County. Although the question "Where is a cemetery located and how old is it?" sounds simple, it can be difficult to answer. Unmanaged cemeteries became overgrown and small cemeteries were forgotten. Non-existent or scanty cemetery records and faded and crumbled tombstones failed to precisely date some cemeteries. These two problems, the location of all the cemeteries that had ever existed in Waukesha County, even those long since removed from the landscape, and the dating of all these cemeteries had never been attempted before. These problems were evident to Price when he stated:

"...one of the most important contributions of a cemetery study is simply to provide an accurate map showing age...and distribution of cemeteries."¹⁴

A map and listing of cemeteries showing the age and distribution of the 90 cemeteries established in Waukesha County is located in Appendix B. The location and historical development of cemeteries in Waukesha County is

¹⁴Price, Cemetery Study, p. 206.

depicted by maps in 20 year intervals between 1840 and 1960 (Figures 3-9), and in 1976 (Figure 10).

The movement of immigrants to Waukesha County did not begin until the middle nineteenth century; its first non-Indian permanent residents arrived in 1835. Settlement proceeded at a rapid pace as there was much rich agricultural land to be claimed. The first census, taken in 1840, revealed 2,108¹⁵ settlers had chosen Waukesha County as their permanent home. Death accompanied these settlers as natural hazards and disease took their toll here as in all the other areas of new settlements during this pioneer era. These pioneers established in this new land not only their homes but also their cemeteries.

In 1840 twelve cemeteries were dispersed throughout the county (Figure 3). Ten of these twelve cemeteries were privately owned or family cemeteries, one was religious, and the other government owned. Most of these cemeteries were located on farms that were being established during this time. This concurs with Curl's statement that:

"...in the United States burial places were first individual plots on farms or near the houses of settlers."¹⁶

¹⁵United States Bureau of the Census. All future population data are taken from this source.

¹⁶James Stevens Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death, (London: David & Charles Limited, 1972), p. 170.

CEMETERIES- 1840

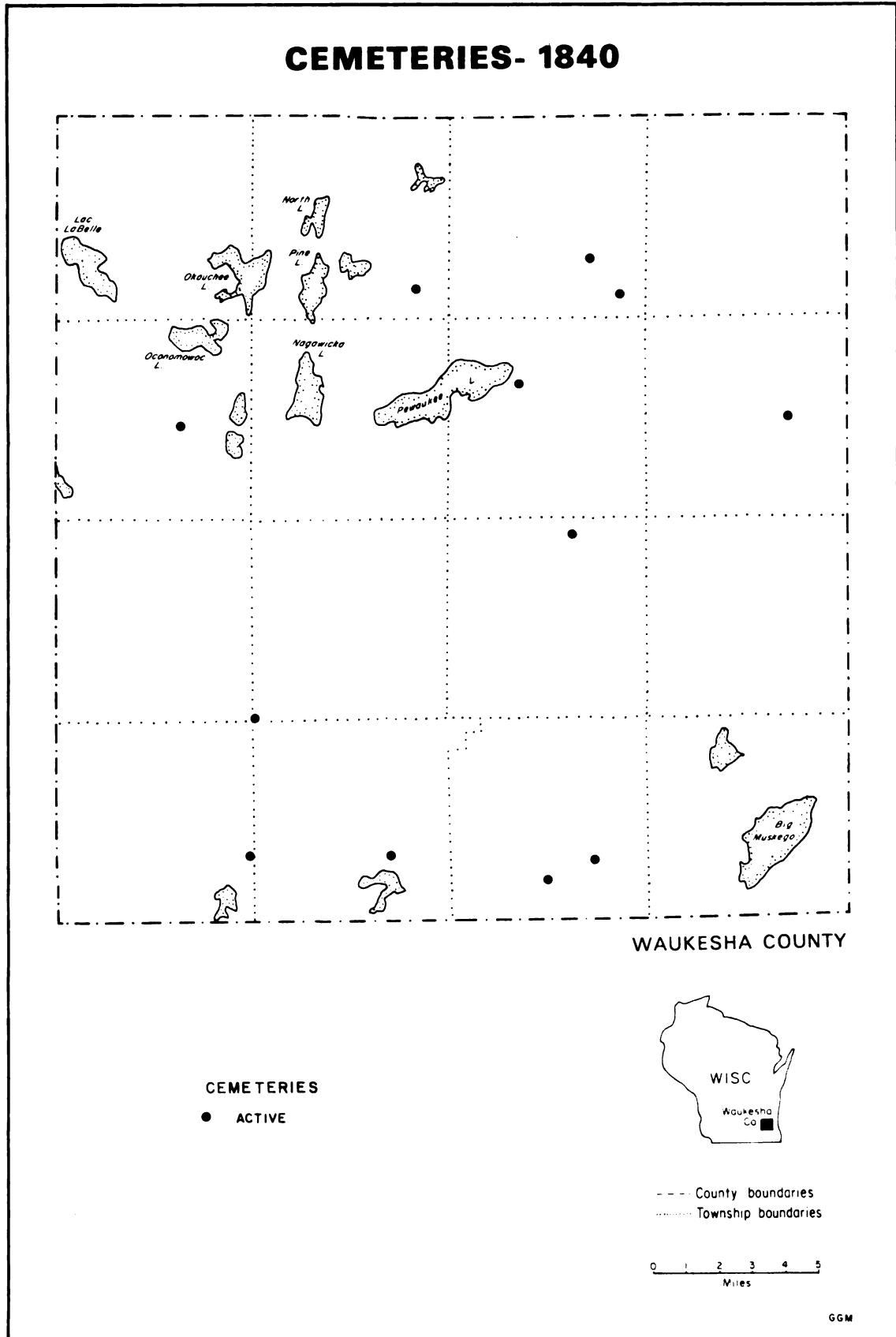


FIGURE 3

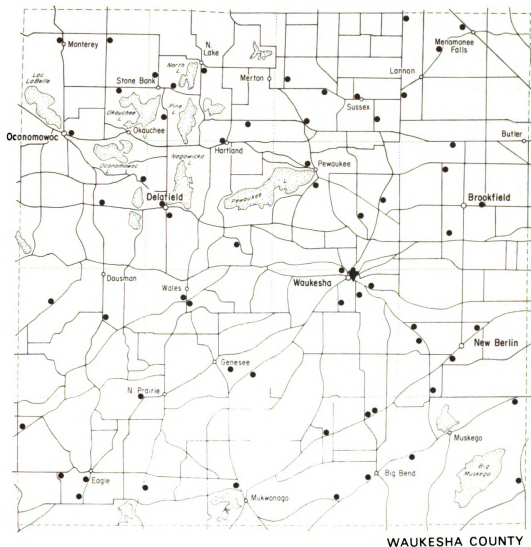
There are several very pragmatic reasons why this type of ownership prevailed. First, many of these early settlers were poor. These were people who had come to the area to try and establish a home. Survival, both literal and economic, was their foremost objective. They could ill-afford the expense of transporting a body great distances to be buried. Perhaps more important than the economic aspect, these pioneers could less have afforded the time it would have taken to transport their dead. The chief mode of transportation was by foot or the horse and wagon. A trip of any distance would have resulted in a loss of many hours, or even days, of valuable work time. This second factor, limited mobility, led to the development of family cemeteries near the family focus. Thirdly, these early settlers were widely scattered throughout the county. Though there were early trade centers in the area, most of the population lived on farms which were separated perhaps by miles to the nearest neighbor. A feeling of rugged individualism and "making it on one's own" prevailed. If a family had problems, it solved them itself. If a death occurred in the family, the burial was taken care of by that family.

Rapid changes occurred in Waukesha County between 1840 and 1860. The population zoomed to nearly 27,000. The county was growing out of its pioneer infancy to become socially, politically and economically established. These twenty years saw the greatest growth in the number of

cemeteries; 52 new sites were located and one was relocated (Figure 4). Not only was this a drastic change in the number of cemeteries in the county, but the type of cemetery being established was also changing. Whereas in 1840 when most of the cemeteries were privately owned, almost one-half (25 of 52) of the cemeteries established between 1840 and 1860 were religiously owned or affiliated with a church. Of the other cemeteries established during this period, privately owned cemeteries accounted for 19 sites and 8 were government owned. This change in cemetery ownership reflected the evolving settlement characteristics. As the population grew and spread throughout the county, neighbors weren't as far away as before. Villages were formed to provide the basic needs of the population. A road network was established to carry the population and its products from their origins to their destinations. No doubt feelings of interdependence, group and community were emerging. Institutions such as the church and government fulfilled the religious and political needs, and fostered the sense of community. Problems which previously were resolved at an individual level were now handled at a community level. Thus the problem of disposing of the dead, previously an individual responsibility, became the responsibility of the community.

Perhaps the strongest and most basic part of these evolving communities was the church. Bernard has stated that the traditional American cemetery was a burial place

CEMETERIES- 1860



CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



- County boundaries
- Township boundaries
- Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
Miles

GGM

FIGURE 4

in a churchyard.¹⁷ It was only natural that the church should be the focus in burying the dead. First, the churchyard cemetery was part of the cultural baggage brought by the German, English, Welsh and Irish settlers which inhabited the area. What had been an accepted custom in the "old country" was also established in this new one. Second, it was emotionally appealing for the cemetery to be located near the church. The church provided a service for the deceased, laying the body to rest with all the proper rites and providing a sacred resting place. Puckle noted that the bodies buried in the churchyard

"...were considered in an exceptional sense, as very closely united to the living..."¹⁸

According to Warner, the churchyard cemetery fulfills the fundamental "sacred" problem of the graveyard in providing

"...suitable symbols to refer to and express man's hope of immortality through the sacred belief and ritual of Christianity, and to reduce his anxiety and fear about death..."¹⁹

Third, since most churches were located in the same area as its parishoners, the cemetery was in proximity to the people who were using it. And fourth, the route to the

¹⁷Hugh Y. Bernard, The Law of Death and Disposal of the Dead, (New York: Dobbs Ferry, Oceana Publications, Inc., 1966), p. 69.

¹⁸Bertram Puckle, Funeral Customs: Their Origin and Development (London: T. Werner Laurie Ltd., 1926; reissued Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968), p. 142.

¹⁹W. L. Warner, The Living and the Dead (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 285.

the church, followed by the people many times before, was a well-known, well-traveled route.

The large number of cemeteries established between 1841 and 1860 is most likely explained by a dispersed settlement pattern. Though the total population of the county was 27,000 in 1860, each of the sixteen townships in the county had over 1,000 inhabitants. Most of the newcomers were engaged in agricultural endeavors and their homes were dispersed throughout the area. The clergy, in order to serve this population, had to locate their churches near their parishoners. Small congregations in local areas were established because of the dispersion and limited mobility of the population. As a result, numerous churches were also dispersed throughout the county. Along with them came the churchyard cemetery.²⁰

The same factors that influenced the dominant role of privately owned cemeteries prior to 1840 were still in effect in 1860. But because of the changes brought about by rapid population growth the privately owned cemeteries

²⁰Not once in Waukesha County did churches combine to have one cemetery serve two or more congregations, whether of the same or of different faiths. In fact, one parish in Eagle Township split on an ideological question and formed two separate congregations of the same faith. The new congregation established their own cemetery, even though the other already had one. There were several instances where a church established two cemeteries. In one case the first cemetery became full and a second was established. In another example the church buildings were relocated and a new cemetery was established, the old cemetery remaining at a relict location at the old church site.

were subordinate to religiously owned cemeteries. The privately owned cemeteries were undergoing a change in the type of persons who controlled the plots. Originally, the privately owned cemetery was a family cemetery, a site on the family farm. With the passing of time and subsequent increase in population, families realized that continuing this practice would result in a macabre, emotionally unpleasant landscape dotted with small cemeteries. Groups of people united to form cemetery associations, in which persons were allowed to obtain burial plots. Some of these associations were restricted by ethnic background and/or religious persuasion, while others had unrestricted membership.²¹ The associations helped provide an orderly manner for disposal of the dead and were legally upheld by state law.²²

Another type of cemetery also appeared on the landscape -- the government owned cemetery. Men began to realize that the population would continue to grow and that planning was necessary to provide themselves and future generations with suitable burial grounds. Governmental

²¹Other researchers, notably Darden; Hardwick; and Jessica Mitford, The American Way of Death (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1963), p. 128, have noted restrictions due to race and membership in fraternal organization, but there is no factual evidence supporting either case occurring in Waukesha County.

²²The Laws of Wisconsin, first published in 1848, included an act to provide for the incorporation of cemetery associations and set requirements for their establishing a cemetery.

groups designated areas for cemeteries where disease could not spread to the populace through the drinking water²³ and would not interfere with the future expansion of built-up urban areas.²⁴ Cemeteries which served villages, cities, and townships containing varied religious communities, ethnic groups, and families were established in an attempt to have the dead buried in a manner acceptable to the entire population.

During the period 1861 to 1880 twelve cemeteries were established (Figure 5). This is a substantial increase when compared to the small increase in population, only 2,100 more than in 1860. Why would such a large number of cemeteries be established with such a small increase in population? The settlement pattern was becoming more consolidated and the patterns of interaction of the inhabitants were more sharply defined than they were in 1860. The institutions serving these people also continued to grow in number and importance. More churches were created as settlement progressed, and alongside many of them cemeteries were established. Nine of the twelve

²³A concern for water borne diseases being transmitted from the dead to the living was very real during these times. This concern is reflected in legal form in the Wisconsin Statutes, Chapter 157, Section 6, Subsection 1c where it is stated "No cemetery shall be established or located within 15 rods of a ...watering place."

²⁴Laws dating from 1864 prohibit the location of a cemetery within the limits of a city or village or recorded plat of the same. Wisconsin Statutes, Chapter 419, 1864.

CEMETERIES- 1880

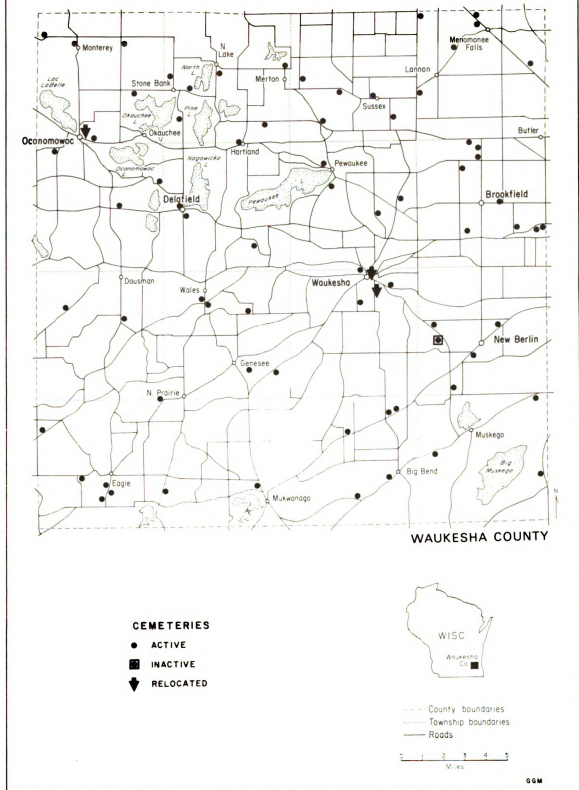


FIGURE 5

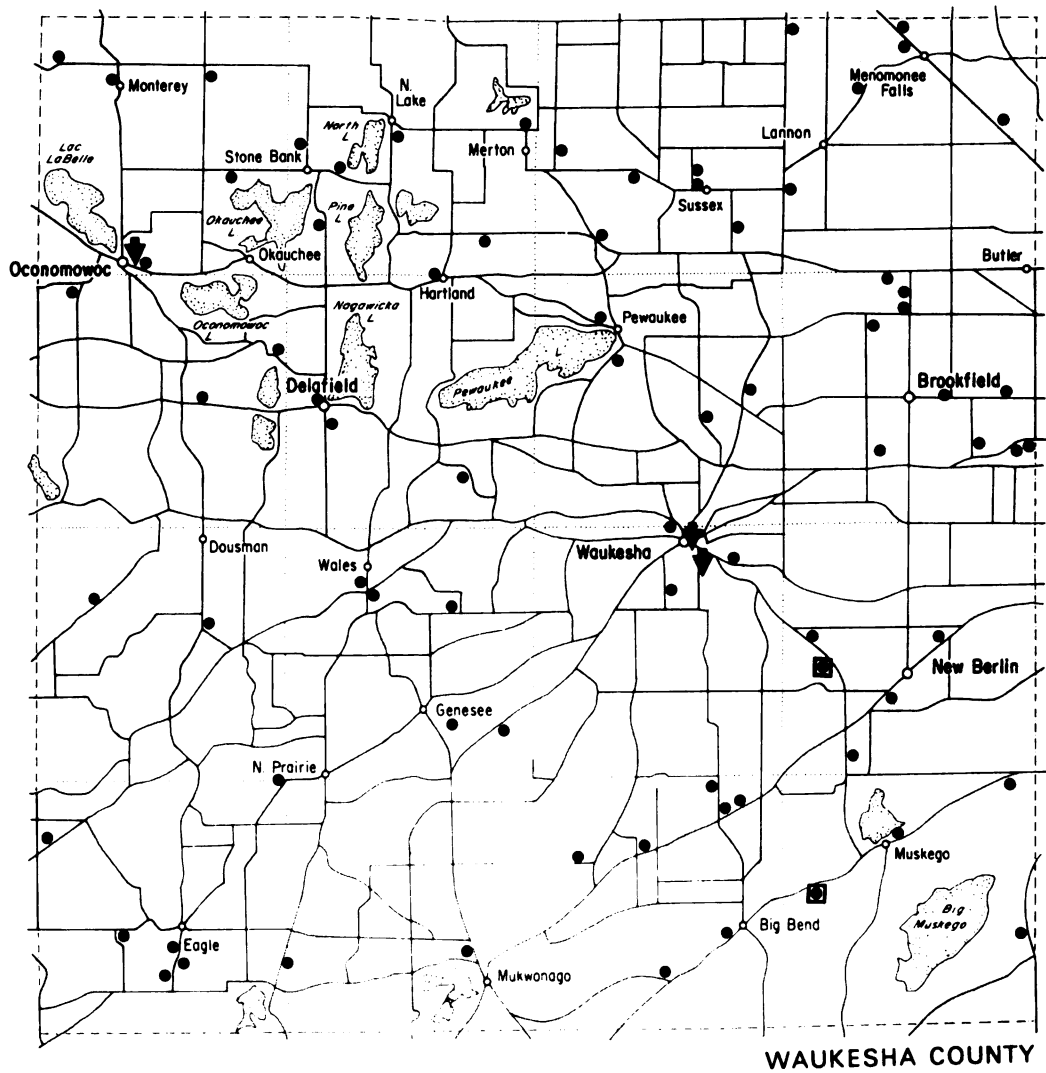
cemeteries established in this period were owned by churches. The other three were privately owned. It is also during this period that two cemeteries were relocated and one became inactive.

Only six cemeteries were established between 1881 and 1900 (Figure 6). The years for locating a large number of new cemeteries were now past as the cemeteries already on the landscape absorbed the dead. Population growth remained slow; it increased only 6,000 to 35,229 in 1900. Communities had been established for two generations by this time, and the basic needs of those communities, the cemetery included, were being fulfilled. Of the six cemeteries established during this period, three were owned by churches. Two cemeteries became inactive.

The number of active cemeteries had increased in every period up to 1900, but between 1901 and 1920 that number decreased (Figure 7). While four cemeteries were newly established, two cemeteries were relocated and five cemeteries became inactive.²⁵ This decreased the total number of active cemeteries by two, although the population had grown to nearly 42,612. Of the four cemeteries established during this period, three were church owned. The other cemetery was a new site for the inactive cemetery on the

²⁵The Bidwell Cemetery became both inactive and relocated over a course of seven years during this period. Rather than seven cemeteries involved in status changes as implied here, only six sites actually changed status, with the Bidwell Cemetery changing its status twice.

CEMETERIES- 1900



CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



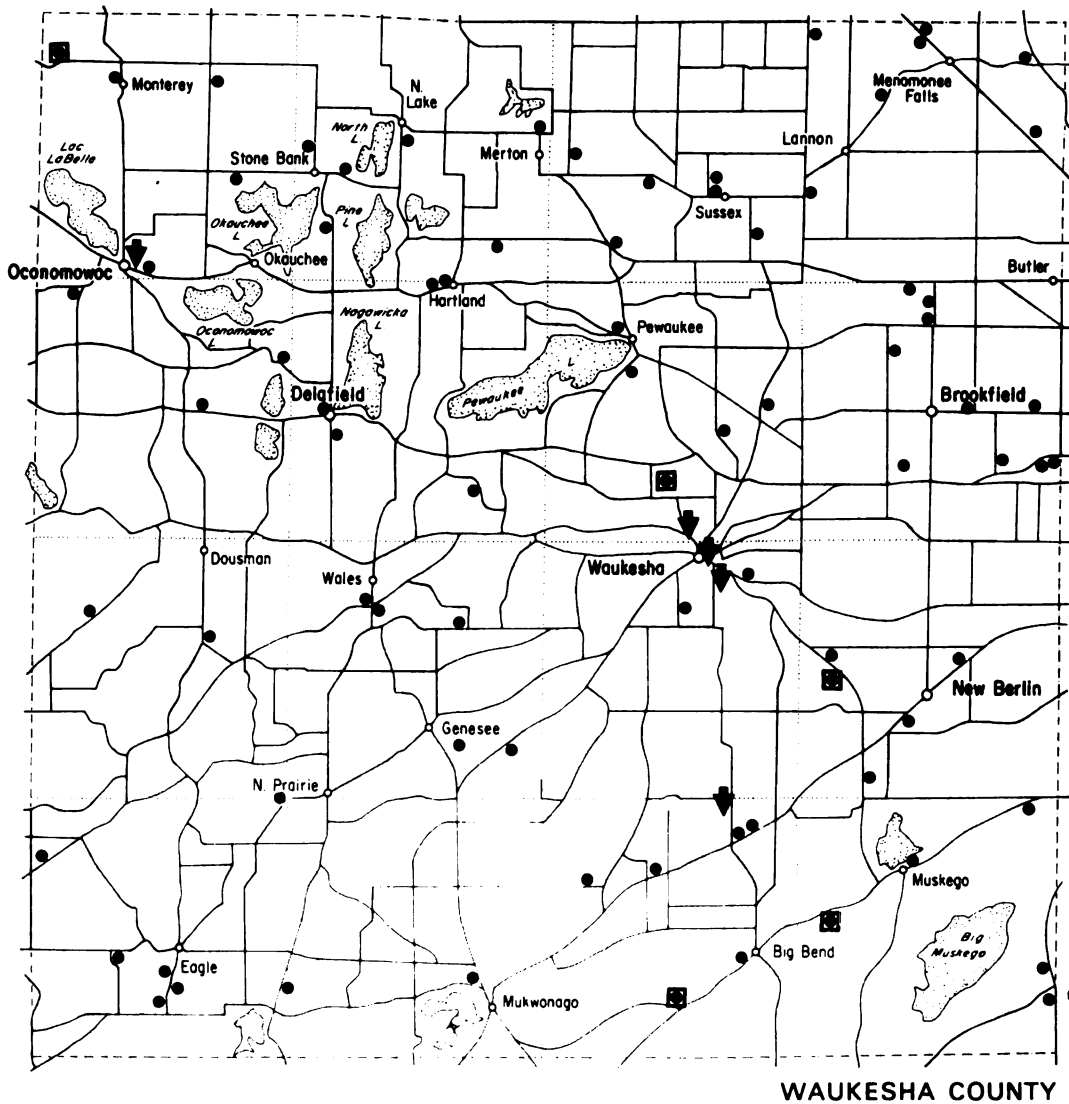
- County boundaries
- Township boundaries
- Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
Miles

GGM

FIGURE 6

CEMETERIES- 1920



CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



- County boundaries
- Township boundaries
- Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
Miles

GGM

FIGURE 7

Waukesha County Poor Farm. The cemetery on the old Poor Farm was relocated and remained inactive.

The number of cemeteries established between 1921 and 1940 continued to be small, following the trend of the previous two periods (Figure 8). Five new cemeteries appeared; two were privately owned, two church owned and one government owned. The two privately owned cemeteries represented the emergence of a different type of private ownership. Previous privately owned cemeteries were often small, family plots or cemetery association types. These two new cemeteries represented a business enterprise: the corporation cemetery. Though these two cemeteries were of the latest to be established within Waukesha County, they are presently two of the largest; each contains more than 12,000 bodies, ranking them first and third in the county in total number of burials. Three cemeteries became inactive.

No cemeteries were established between 1941 and 1960 (Figure 9). The population rapidly expanded, increasing from 62,744 in 1940 to 158,249 in 1960. However, the total number of active cemeteries decreased significantly during this time as six cemeteries became inactive and two were relocated.

The population continued its meteoric rise to 231,338 in 1970. Yet with this increased population and the accompanying increase in the number of deaths, no new cemeteries

CEMETERIES- 1940

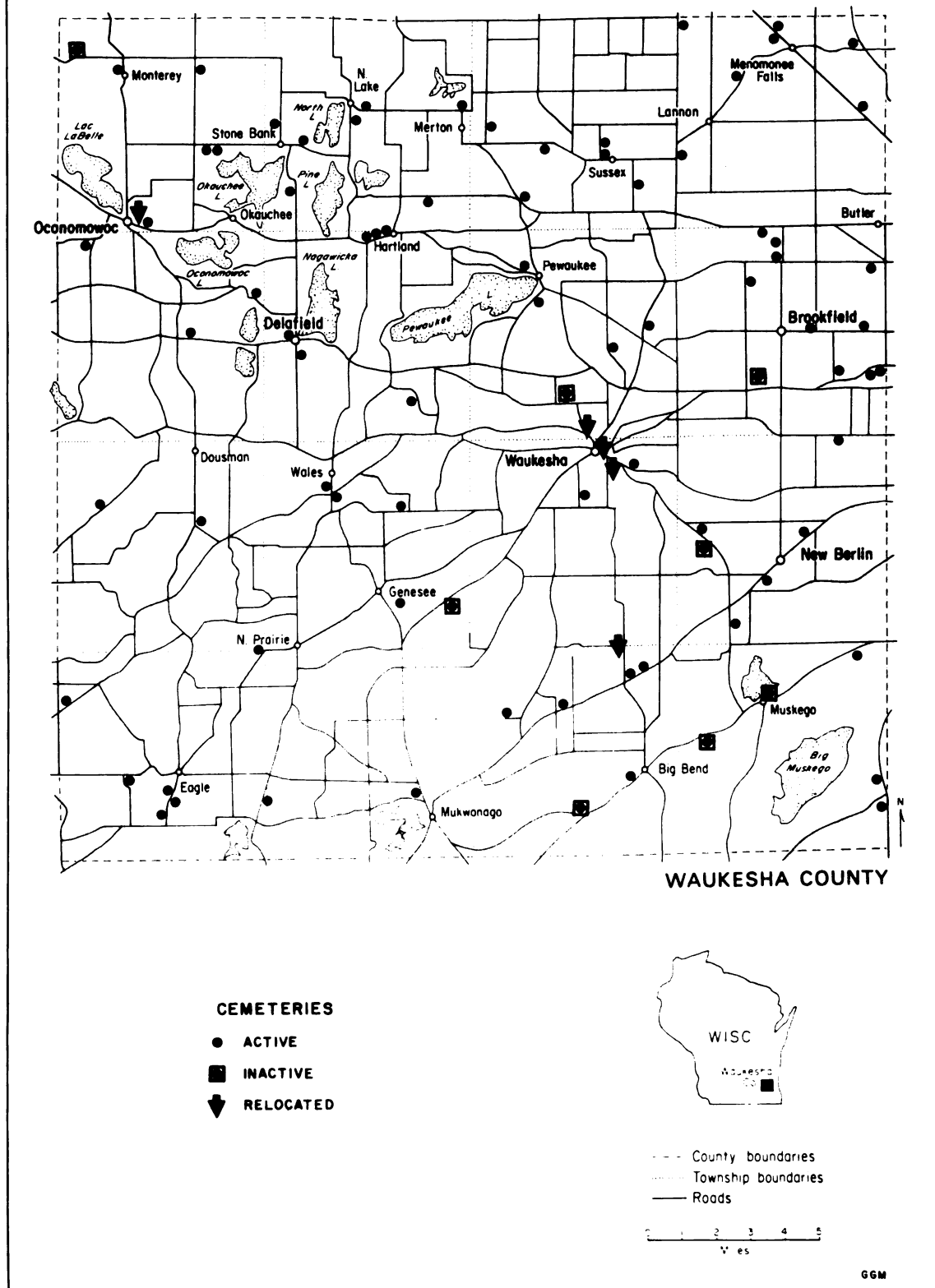
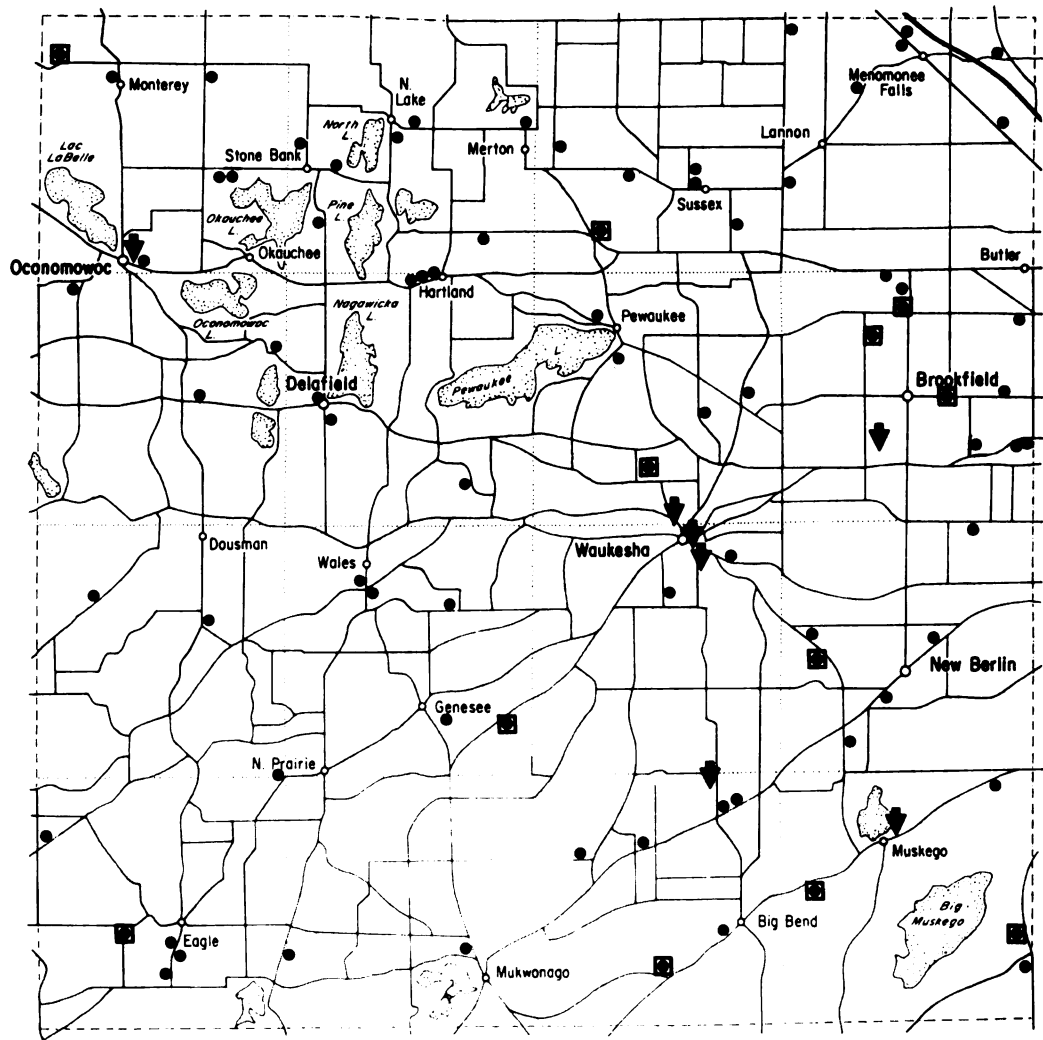


FIGURE 8

CEMETERIES- 1960



WAUKESHA COUNTY

CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



- - - County boundaries
- Township boundaries
- Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
Miles

GGM

FIGURE 9

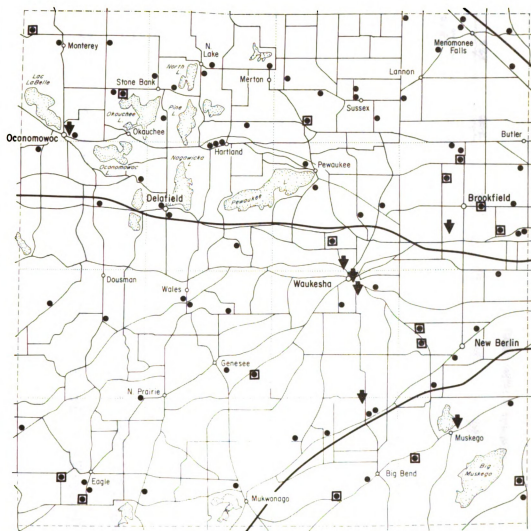
were established between 1961 and 1976²⁶ (Figure 10). Four cemeteries became inactive. Fewer cemeteries were fulfilling the burial needs of the population.

As the population increased, the number of active cemeteries per thousand (NAC/T) people decreased (Figure 11). This was not always as pronounced as it was in the more recent years. Between 1860 and 1910 the NAC/T dropped only from 2.27 to 2.05. The low increase in population and the continuation of the establishment of new cemeteries accounted for this small decrease. In fact, the NAC/T actually increased between 1860 and 1880. Since 1910 the NAC/T has dropped rather dramatically, from 2.05 to .29 in 1970. Much of this decrease can be accounted for by the rapid increase in population from 37,100 to 231,338. The growth in the number of active cemeteries in no way came close to paralleling the population growth. In fact the opposite occurred; the number of active cemeteries decreased. There were 76 active cemeteries in 1910 and only 67 in 1970.

The growth of the number of cemeteries in Waukesha County since the 1830's has been dynamic (Figure 12).

²⁶Though no cemeteries were established that met the minimum criteria of five bodies contained on the site, there is a record of an individual buried on a farm in 1971 (Oconomowoc Enterprise, December 16, 1971). This established a private cemetery on the "family farm" which may someday meet the criteria of the definition of a cemetery. This is also the only burial site containing less than five interments which is considered active. See the end of Table 7, Appendix B.

CEMETERIES-1976



WAUKESHA COUNTY

CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



--- County boundaries
 --- Township boundaries
 — Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
 Miles

GGM

FIGURE 10

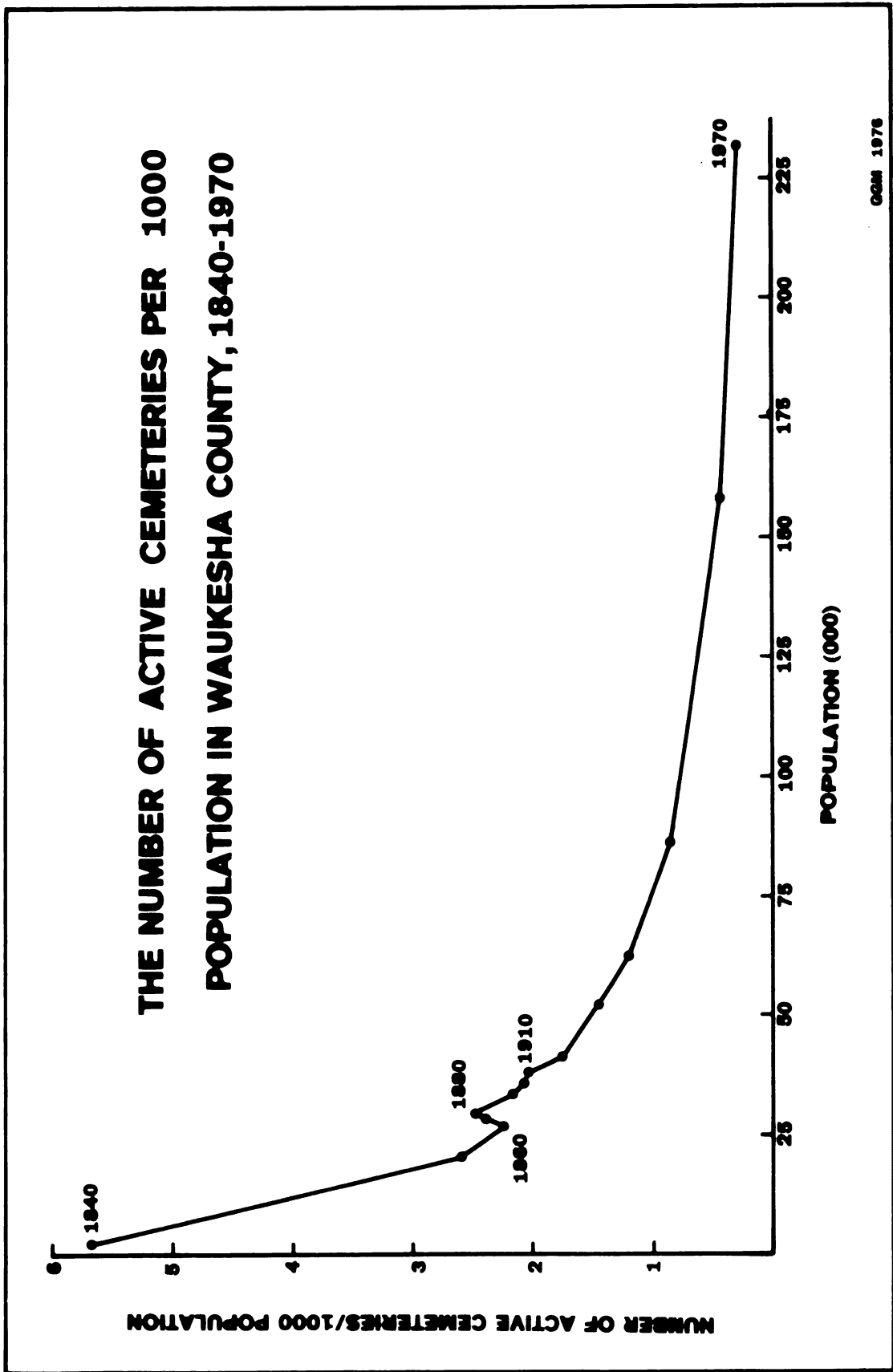


FIGURE 11

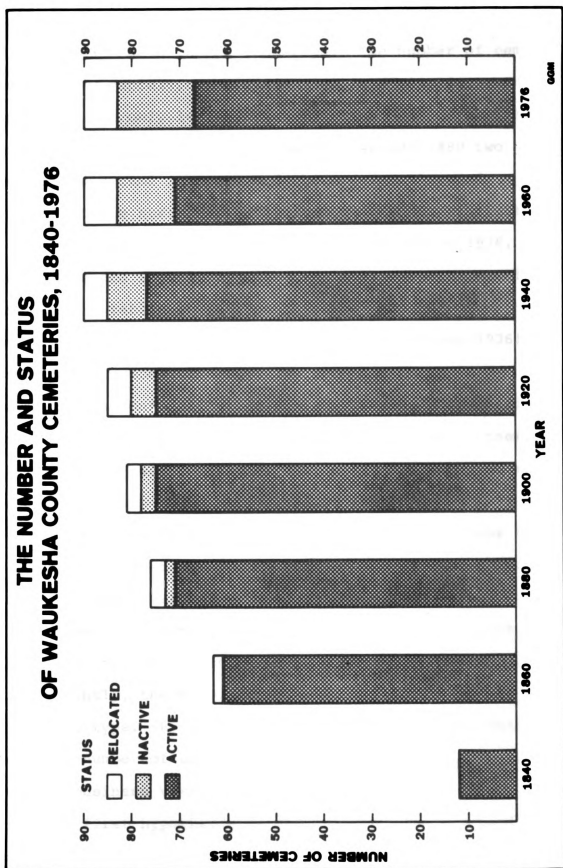


FIGURE 12

Ninety cemeteries were established over this period of time and 83 remain on the landscape. The number of cemeteries grew rapidly, from 12 in 1840 to 62 in 1860 and 76 in 1880. But only 14 new cemetery sites were established in the following 90 years! Between 1840 and 1880 two cemeteries became inactive and three were relocated. Since 1880 the number of active cemeteries has fluctuated; a high of 77 existed in 1940 with a low of 67 in 1976. Two trends are readily apparent. First, fewer cemeteries have been established in recent years. Indeed no new cemetery has been established in the county since 1936! Second, the number of cemeteries becoming inactive or relocated is continually increasing. Eighteen cemeteries have changed from active status since 1880, ten of these since 1940. Fewer cemeteries are serving more and more people.

There has also been a trend apparent in the type of ownership of cemeteries. The first cemeteries were mainly privately owned, either by a single family or an association of people. With the advent of more social structure, the church became the chief proprietor of the cemetery. Most recently, the corporation cemetery has become the most important type. But these cemeteries, much larger both in area and number of burials than earlier ones, are being used as business ventures.

The first hypothesis of this study: as population increased the number of cemeteries decreased, was rejected.

Figure 12 graphically portrayed that the number of cemeteries between 1840 and 1976 rapidly increased during the early years of settlement, slowed and remained constant for the past 40 years but did not decrease. However, the number of active cemeteries decreased. In conjunction with this decrease in the number of active cemeteries since 1940, the population increased over 400%. These data cause the first hypothesis to be rejected because as the population increased, the number of cemeteries did not decrease but remained the same. The first hypothesis would have been accepted if it had read: as population increased the number of active cemeteries decreased.

CHAPTER III

FACTORS AFFECTING THE LOCATION OF CEMETERIES

The location of a cemetery was a manifestation of a people's conscious recognition of the physical and cultural characteristics of a certain area; it was not a haphazard occurrence. Various authors have noted that elevation, drainage capabilities and fertility of the soil, and natural beauty were physical factors which affected the choice of a cemetery site.²⁷ Proximity to the potential users, accessibility, cost of land and relationship to population growth have been cited as cultural factors which influenced cemetery location.²⁸

Rarely did any one of these factors determine exactly where a cemetery was located. In most cases a combination of various factors influenced the selection of the site.

²⁷The Cemetery Handbook, Park & Cemetery Publishing Co., Madison, Wisconsin; and Donald Drewes, Cemetery Land Planning (Pittsburgh: Matthews Memorial Bronze, 1964).

²⁸Darden, in his study of the location of Pittsburgh's cemeteries, determined that proximity to the majority of potential users, ease of access and cost of land were cultural locational factors. The Cemetery Handbook and Cemetery Land Planning cited the importance of the direction and type of urban growth as additional factors.

It has been argued that in certain instances none of these factors influenced cemetery location. Price²⁹ states that the most important locational factor of small, old, unmarked cemeteries in southern Illinois was the place of death. But he also makes the point that these cemeteries were frequently located along major transportation routes; they were located in accessible areas. Price did not analyze these cemeteries' locations in relation to the local setting. Had this analysis been done, it could have supported the location of this type of cemetery in the best possible physical setting within the immediate area. Therefore, other factors, besides the place of death, ultimately may have played a role in determining the exact location of those cemetery sites. Another example of a previously unmentioned factor having a dominant influence on the location of a cemetery occurred when land was donated for use as a cemetery. In these cases, an area of land was specified by a donor to be used as a burial place. It could be argued that the most important factor affecting the location of such a cemetery was the cost of land; it was free. In one situation, a small cemetery was established on a farm. The property owner, having some members of his family buried there, did not desire to see the

²⁹Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 201.

cemetery overgrown by vegetation and forgotten. To avoid this, he deeded the property to a cemetery association to ensure the continued use and maintenance of the cemetery. In analyzing this type of cemetery, it was necessary to examine the factors which affected the location of the first, original family cemetery and not the latter. The donation of land for use as a cemetery in this case merely preserved the existence of that cemetery. But what about instances where land was donated for the establishment of a cemetery? What about instances where personal, business or political influence resulted in the location of a cemetery?³⁰ In all these examples the land on which a cemetery was going to be established still had to have been deemed acceptable in the minds of the people for whom it was meant to serve. Otherwise, the cemetery would not have been established. This acceptance and continued use of cemetery sites reflected common characteristics and patterns of cemetery locations.

The cemeteries of Waukesha County revealed common characteristics when the actual cemetery site was analyzed in relation to physical and cultural factors. They have been located in areas of relatively high elevation, gently to moderately sloping land and well-drained soils.

³⁰Sid J. Hare and S. Robert Hare, "Complete Development of the Modern Cemetery," The Cemetery Handbook, Park and Publishing Co., Madison, Wisconsin, p. 201.

The location of cemeteries in areas of relatively high elevation is not peculiar to this area. This factor was noted by both Francaviglia³¹ and Darden³². It has been stated:

"The American people seem to have a defined dislike to low ground, either for the living or the dead."³³

The dislike of low ground, especially that subject to innundation, was very strong. A flooded cemetery was considered a health hazard. Diseases from the dead were feared to be carried through the water to the living. Besides being least susceptible to flooding, hilltop or hillside locations were desirable for other reasons. During the early years of settlement, these areas were undesirable in derms of agriculture and urban expansion. Locating a cemetery in those areas lessened the possibility of encroachment by other types of land use and assured permanency of the selected site. Kniffen noted:

"...it is a fact that historic graveyards... in rural glaciated areas of the Great Lakes Region (e.g. Waukesha County)...are invariably placed on ridges."³⁴

A hilltop location also had strong religious appeal. The Christian faith, with Jesus Christ's death and ascension

³¹Francaviglia, "Evolving Lanscape," p. 505.

³²Darden, "Location of Cemeteries," p. 8.

³³The Cemetery Handbook, p. 204.

³⁴Kniffen, "Necrogeography," p. 427.

occurring on hilltops, gave these areas a profound spiritual significance. In Waukesha County 54% of the cemeteries were located on a hilltop or a hillside.

The variations in the elevation of land not only affected the location of a cemetery in relation to the surrounding area but also the location of burials within the cemetery itself. The highest ground within a cemetery was the most preferred place for burial. It was the area least susceptible to flooding and was the most conspicuous site, lending a notable distinction to those buried there. Very often the earliest burials occurred at these points. This was especially true of the family owned cemeteries. It has been observed that in other cemeteries, especially in those where lots were sold, any small rise in elevation of one lot over another resulted in an attendant rise in cost of the higher ground.³⁵ Warner,³⁶ Mitford,³⁷ Young³⁸ and Kniffen³⁹ all note the cemetery as a mirror of the lives of the people buried within it. One reflection of contemporary cemeteries was the status of wealth of an individual.

³⁵Planning Advisory Service, Cemeteries in the City Plan, Information Report No. 16 (Chicago: American Society of Planning, 1950), p. 17.

³⁶W.L. Warner, The Living and the Dead, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), p. 280.

³⁷Mitford, American Death, p. 128.

³⁸Young, "Graveyards," pp. 446-450.

³⁹Kniffen, "Necrogeography," p. 427.

People with the highest status of wealth most likely were buried on the highest ground within the cemetery.

Even though hills and hillsides were the favored locations for cemeteries it was and still is important that the land was not sloping too severely. Excavating graves was a difficult task on severely sloping land. The ideal type of land for cemeteries was described as:

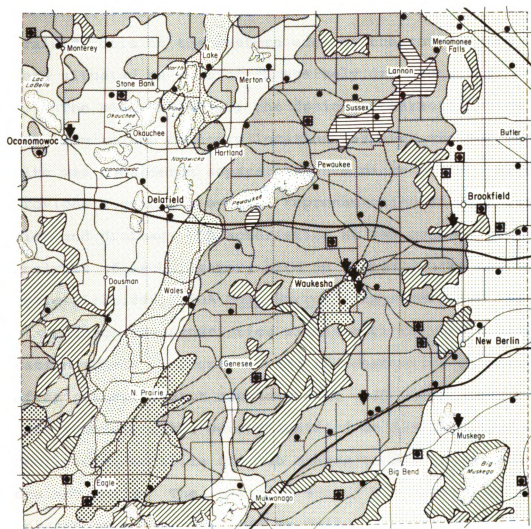
"Gently rolling terrain...for drainage and for the most attractive landscaping treatment."⁴⁰

Approximately 75% of the cemeteries in Waukesha County were located on land that had a gentle or moderate slope (2-12%).

Drainage characteristics of the soil was a very important overall consideration in choosing a cemetery site. The people who established cemeteries wanted their cemeteries to be functional, practical, and permanent burial places. These people had a dislike to low lying area; they tended to choose elevated and sloping land. They also wanted to be able to excavate the graves with relative ease, thus eliminating extremely rocky, gravelly, mucky or hardpan clay areas from their choice of sites. The remaining land, that which was to be considered for the cemetery, tended to be in areas of well-drained soils. This was especially true in Waukesha County (Figure 13). Only three

⁴⁰Drewes, Planning, p. 6.

SOILS



SOURCE: SOIL SURVEY OF MILWAUKEE AND WAUKESHA COUNTIES, WISCONSIN, 1971

66M

FIGURE 13

of the county's 90 cemeteries were located in areas of either poorly or poorly to well drained soils. Of the remaining 87 cemeteries, 20 were located on well to poorly drained soils on the eastern edge of the county; the rest were situated on well or excessively drained soils.

The significance of the drainage characteristics in relation to the cemetery location was even greater when each site was considered separately on a micro scale. Figure 13 provides a general, overall representation of soil association and drainage characteristics at the county level. Analysis of each cemetery site as compared with the large scale (1:15,840) USDA Soil Survey⁴¹ maps revealed variations of drainage characteristics within both the broad classification scheme in Figure 13 and the cemeteries themselves. After analyzing each cemetery site with these maps, only four cemetery sites were classified as being located on poorly drained soils and two others on poorly to well-drained soils. The remaining 93% of the cemeteries were located on moderately well or well-drained soils. This vividly illustrates that that cemeteries in Waukesha County were located on adequately drained soils.

Cultural factors also affected the location of cemeteries here. Accessibility, the nearness to a transportation route, and proximity, the nearness to the user

⁴¹United States Department of Agriculture, Soil Survey.

population, were two factors that had a dominant and dynamic influence on cemetery locations.

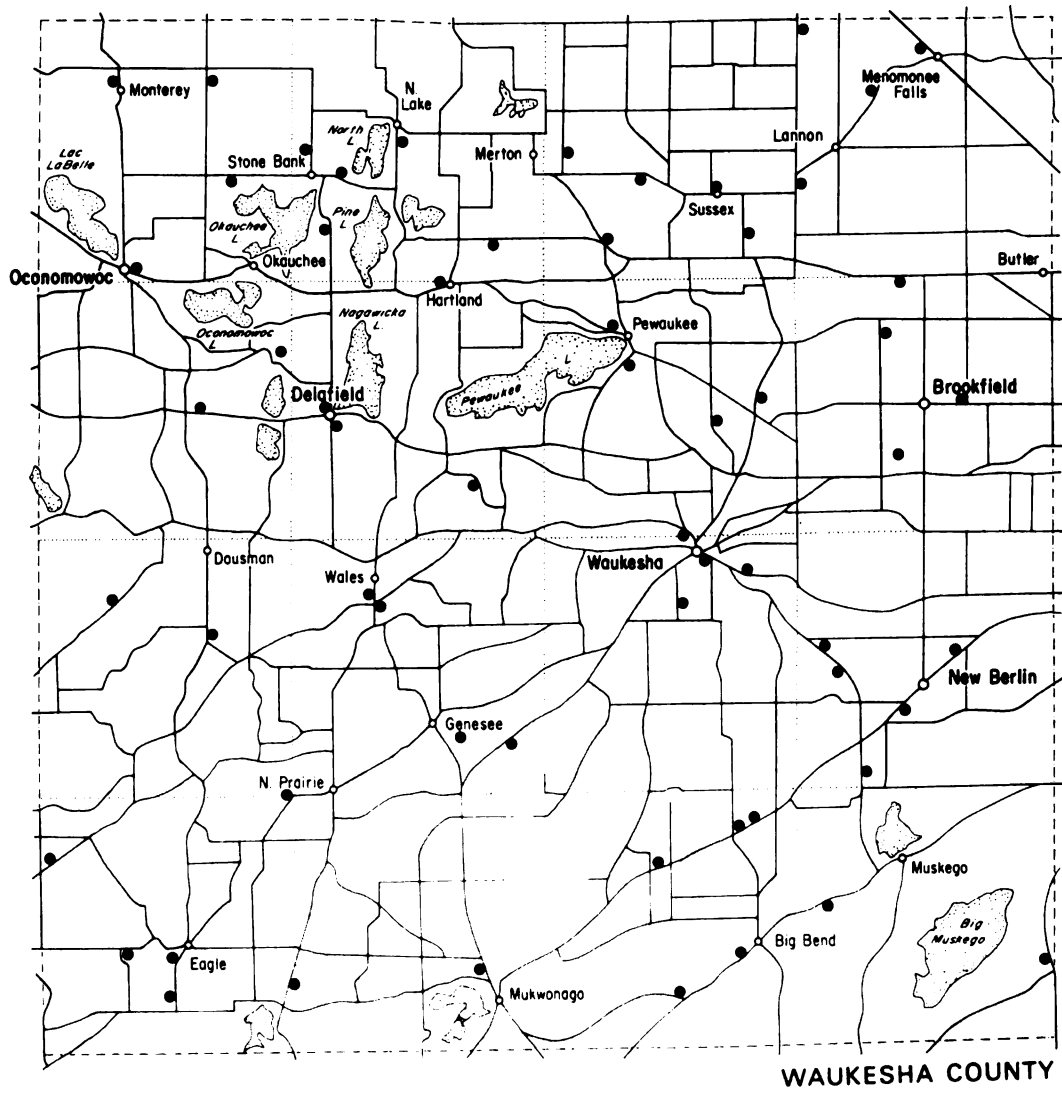
The founders of the cemeteries of Waukesha County were very cognizant of the need for accessibility to their chosen sites. When a person died, it was much easier to take them to a cemetery adjacent to a public transportation route than to go traipsing over hill and dale to reach a burial plot on the "back 40". In Waukesha County all but four of the cemeteries (96%) were located within 100 yards of a public transportation route.

One explanation for the high degree of accessibility of cemeteries here was the fact that a well developed road network already existed in the county in 1859 (Figure 14). Because this road network was established early, settlers had little problem finding suitable, accessible cemetery sites. Nearly all the cemeteries were adjacent to roads. Only three of 63 cemetery sites were considered inaccessible in 1860.

Two of the three inaccessible cemeteries were private family plots, the other was inaccessible due to its location on a secluded religious mission. Price's research in southern Illinois led him to state that small family plots which were located on individual farms were usually inaccessible by road.⁴² Applying his criteria to Waukesha

⁴²Price, "Cemetery Study," p. 202.

ROAD NETWORK- 1859



CEMETERIES

● ACTIVE



--- County boundaries
 Township boundaries
 — Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
 Miles

SOURCE. PLATS AND LAND GRANTS, WAUKESHA CO., 1859

GGM

FIGURE 14

County resulted in two of six small family plots considered inaccessible. This low number of examples would not lend itself to a definitive statement, but does tend to differ from Price's findings. Differences of the two areas: topography, population growth and the development of the road network, undoubtedly had a varying effect on the type and location of cemeteries in each area.

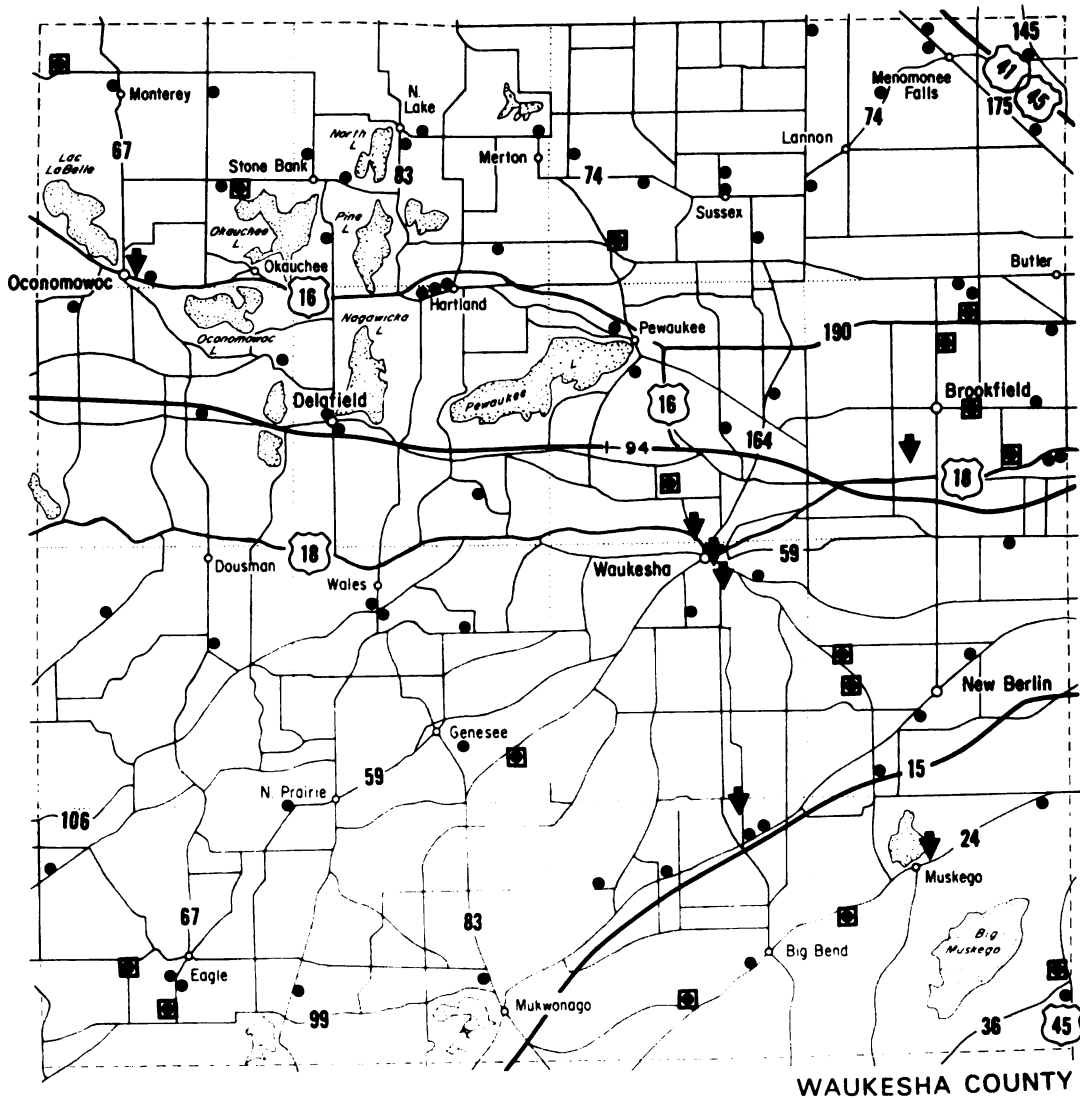
The importance of accessibility of a cemetery site was even more apparent in the period from 1859 until today (Figure 15). One cemetery of the 27 established was located at an inaccessible site. This occurred because of the cemetery's association with the old, remotely situated county poor farm and its subsequent relocation to an obscure location on the grounds of the Waukesha County Home and Hospital.

Pattison noted rail lines became important transportation routes in relation to the location of cemeteries outward from the heart of Chicago. But the railroad had little, if any, effect on the location of cemeteries in Waukesha County.

The founders of cemetery sites knew that not only should a cemetery be accessible, it should also be in proximity to the potential user, namely, themselves. In Waukesha County 82% (74 of 90) cemeteries were in proximity to their potential user.

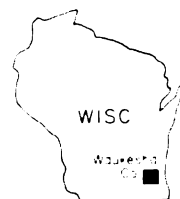
The strongest example of this characteristic is shown in the privately owned cemetery group where all but two of

ROAD NETWORK-1976



CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



- County boundaries
- Township boundaries
- Roads
- 59 State
- 18 U.S.

SOURCE: WISCONSIN DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

GGM

FIGURE 15

35 were considered in proximity to their users. Most of this type of cemetery appeared in the first years of settlement; 25 had already been established by 1850. Many were small family plots located on the family farm. The private cemeteries established later, especially those after 1900, were corporation cemeteries designed as a business enterprise. It was a sound cemetery business practice to locate in proximity to the "market" area.

Religious owned cemeteries were located in proximity to their potential user; 35 of 44 were within one mile of the focus of worship. Many religious cemeteries were located on the same grounds as the church. Several are presently at isolated, relict locations because the church has been relocated and the buildings removed. Others were a short distance from their respective churches. Of the nine cemeteries which were not considered to be in proximity to their potential user, four were located between one and two miles from their respective churches. Another had as its potential users the Jewish population of Milwaukee County. Two other cemeteries were renovated burial sites. They were located adjacent to older cemeteries which had become inactive or contained more room than could ever have been used by the former owners and now share or have assumed control of those cemeteries.

Only six of eleven government owned cemeteries reflected the proximity factor. The five cemeteries that did not meet the criteria were township owned cemeteries.

They were not located within a one mile radius of the geographic center (the point of intersection of sections 15, 16, 21 and 22) of the township. However, four of these five were located within one and one-half miles of this center. If the strict proximity factor were increased by just 1/2 mile, then ten of the eleven government owned cemeteries would have been considered in proximity to the potential users. It may have been unfair to judge the proximity of the government owned cemeteries, especially those owned by townships, where a 36 square mile area was being related as the potential users' area, with the same criteria as those cemeteries where there was a point of potential user focus, as in the private family cemetery or the churchyard cemetery.

Well drained soils, accessibility to transportation routes and proximity to potential users were common locational characteristics of the cemeteries of Waukesha County. The data exhibited in the soils map, further supported by individual site analysis using the United States Department of Agriculture Soil Survey, revealed 93% of all cemeteries were located on moderately well or well-drained soils. The road network developed rapidly and made all parts of the study area accessible before 1859 (Figure 14). This net provided access to many points, including those places where cemeteries were established. Ninety-six percent of all cemeteries were located within 100 yards of a public transportation route. Cemeteries were also located near

to the people who would use them. Though this characteristic varied between the different ownership categories, the data indicated that 82% of all cemeteries were located in proximity to their potential users. The second hypothesis of this research: cemeteries were located in areas of well-drained soils, on accessible transportation routes and in proximity to potential users, was supported by the data and was accepted.

The cemeteries of Waukesha County had certain common characteristics in relation to their location. It can not be said of most cemeteries that one factor determined the location of a cemetery. No doubt several factors were interwoven to form the present fabric of cemetery locations. In Waukesha County the key elements of this fabric were relatively high elevation, gently to moderate slope, well-drained soils, accessibility and proximity to potential users.

CHAPTER IV

FACTORS AFFECTING INACTIVE AND RELOCATED CEMETERIES

Physical, cultural and political factors affected the original location of cemetery sites in Waukesha County. As time passed, these factors played a varying role in altering the status and existing pattern of cemeteries. Some cemeteries flourished and remained active as burial centers. Others had a diminishing number of bodies interred and became less important. In some, no new burials occurred and the cemetery became inactive. Still others were relocated; they were completely removed from the landscape. How many of Waukesha County's cemeteries have changed status to become inactive or relocated? What factors caused cemeteries to become inactive or relocated? Have these factors affected cemetery status throughout the county's history or are they a recent phenomena? Are there discernible characteristics of inactive and relocated cemeteries and can they be predicted, or are they to be considered individually unique?

More than 25% of Waukesha County's cemeteries (23 out of 90) have changed from active to either inactive or relocated status. Of these 23 sites, 16 became inactive and seven were relocated. Inactive and relocated cemeteries are not new phenomena. Already in 1865 two cemeteries had

become inactive and three were relocated. No changes occurred from that time until after the turn of the century. Since 1900 there has been a relatively constant number of cemeteries which have become inactive and relocated. The greatest increase in the number of cemeteries changing status occurred between 1940 and today; ten cemeteries have become inactive.

The most predominant characteristic associated with inactive and relocated status was the number of burials within a cemetery (Figure 16). Every cemetery in Waukesha County that became inactive or relocated had less than 200 burials. The index of dissimilarity between active and inactive or relocated cemeteries illuminates the importance of the size factor (Table 2). In this simple statistical measure, an index of dissimilarity (id) of 100 would indicate complete dissimilarity between the data groups (the size of the cemetery) and the data types (cemetery status). An id of 0 would indicate complete similarity between the data groups and types. The id of 88 in this example supported the contention that cemeteries which contained a low number of burials were more likely to become inactive or relocated than cemeteries with a high number of burials. In Waukesha County 23 of 31 cemeteries containing less than 200 burials became inactive or relocated; none of the 59 cemeteries containing 200 or more burials changed status.

NUMBER OF BURIALS AND STATUS-1976

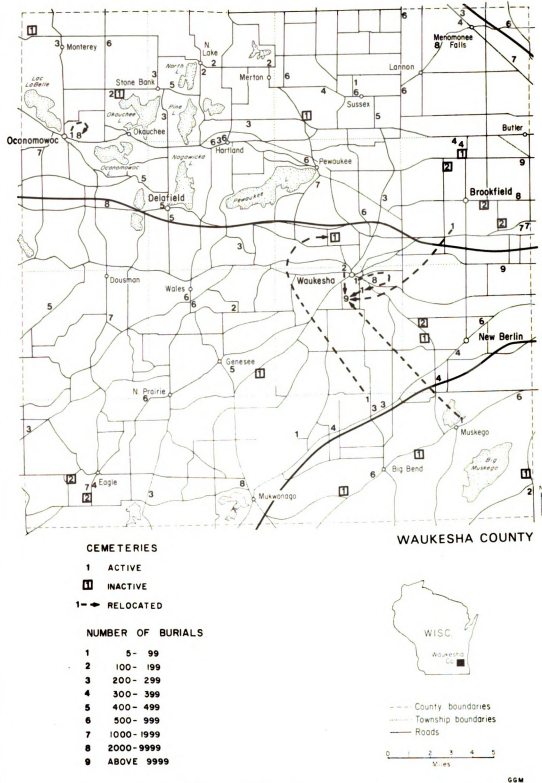


FIGURE 16

TABLE 2

Index of Dissimilarity (id) Between Active and Inactive or Relocated Cemeteries

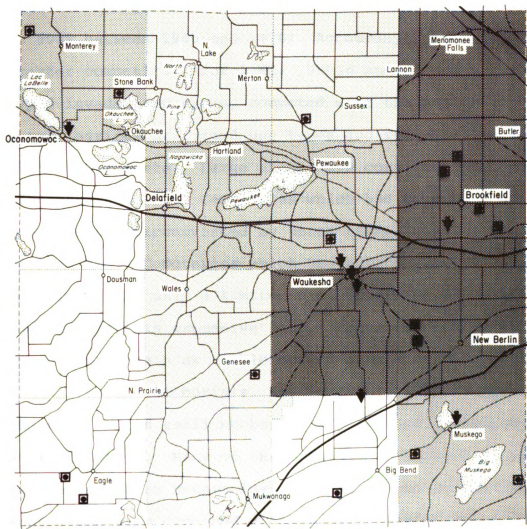
<u>Number of Burials</u>	<u>Number of Active Cemeteries</u>	<u>Percent of Total Number Of Active Cemeteries</u>	<u>Number of Inactive and Relocated Cemeteries</u>	<u>Percent of Total Number of Inactive and Relocated Cemeteries</u>	<u>Absolute Value of X-Y</u>
5-99	2	3.0	16	69.6	66.6
100-199	6	9.0	7	30.4	21.4
200-299	12	17.9	-	-	17.9
300-399	8	11.9	-	-	11.9
400-499	7	10.4	-	-	10.4
500-599	16	23.9	-	-	23.9
1000-1999	7	10.4	-	-	10.4
2000-2999	6	9.0	-	-	9.0
above 9999	3	4.5	-	-	4.5
TOTALS	67	100	23	100	176.0

$$id = \frac{x-y}{2} = \frac{176.0}{2} = 88$$

Though the number of burials within a cemetery was a strong indicator of status change, it did not determine that a cemetery became inactive or relocated. Another factor that affected cemetery status in Waukesha County was population density. As part of the Milwaukee SMSA and linked to that city by major transportation routes, the county consisted mainly of suburbs and suburban sprawl over the rural countryside. Generally, the population density varied from east to west. The highest population densities were in the eastern townships bordering Milwaukee County and the lowest densities farthest from there. The number of inactive and relocated cemeteries varied between the areas of highest and lowest population densities (Figure 17). The quartile of townships with the highest population density contained the highest number of cemeteries that had changed status; six cemeteries became inactive and three were relocated. The second quartile included five inactive and three relocated cemeteries. The third quartile contained only two inactive cemeteries and the bottom quartile contained three inactive and one relocated cemetery. These data indicate a relationship between population density and inactive and relocated cemeteries.

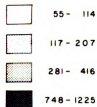
Areas of high population density impeded the expansion of old cemeteries. The earliest cemeteries were founded as a functional place to bury the dead. Small plots on family farms, churchyard sites and township cemeteries were established as the need arose. Enough land was set aside

POPULATION DENSITY- 1970



WAUKESHA COUNTY

POPULATION / SQUARE MILE (QUARTILES)



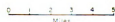
CEMETERIES

■ INACTIVE

▼ RELOCATED



--- County boundaries
 --- Township boundaries
 — Roads



SOURCE: U.S. BUREAU OF CENSUS, 1970

GGM

FIGURE 17

in each case to serve the anticipated burial needs of each group. But as time passed many changes occurred. The most dramatic change was the population density; it increased by 400% between 1940 and 1970! Accompanying this rise was greater competition for land. Urban and suburban land use types invaded new areas, competed with the predominately rural, agricultural land use types and were willing to pay higher land costs. Large areas were converted to urban and suburban land use. Cemeteries which had been in low density areas became circumvented by these higher density types of land use. Cemeteries which had exhausted their area for burials or had only a limited area remaining often could not compete for this expensive land. These cemeteries could not expand and remain as viable burial places. Cemeteries with a small number of burials, having little cash reserves from the sale of its small number of plots, were especially at a disadvantage. Many of these became inactive. Of the 16 cemeteries which became inactive and remain on the landscape, ten have occurred since 1940. Several other active cemeteries were surrounded by built-up areas and had sold all their plots. These should become inactive in the near future.

Population density acts as a deterrent to establishing new cemeteries as well as to the expansion of old ones. In the last 50 years only 4 cemeteries were established in Waukesha County, the latest in 1936. Two of these cemeteries, Wisconsin Memorial Park and Highland Memorial Park,

each larger than 120 acres in size and containing more than 10,000 burials, were the new type of corporation cemeteries that served the entire metropolitan Milwaukee area. Both were in densely populated suburban areas. What is the future of these cemeteries? Will they become inactive as the other cemeteries which had been circumvented by high density land use? Highland had ample room remaining but Wisconsin Memorial Park was constructing a multi-story mausoleum, partially in consideration of the limitations and expense of land. The other two cemeteries founded within the last 50 years were both church related and located in open, rural areas where expansion should not be a problem.

The above-mentioned cemeteries raised another question about inactive and relocated cemeteries. Did the type of ownership of a cemetery, private, government or religious, affect cemetery status? Religious-owned cemeteries appeared to be less likely to change status than either government or private cemeteries (Table 3). Only 14% (6 of 44) of the church cemeteries changed from active status; all six became inactive and not one was relocated. On the other hand, 36% (4 of 11) of the government cemeteries and 37% (13 of 35) of the private cemeteries became either inactive or relocated. All relocated cemeteries were government or privately owned. When the type of ownership was combined with the number of burials within a cemetery, over one-half (8 of 14) church cemeteries with less than

TABLE 3

Cemetery Ownership, Number of Burials
and Change of Status

<u>Type</u>	<u>Number of Cemeteries</u>	<u>Number of Inactive Cemeteries</u>	<u>Number of Relocated Cemeteries</u>	<u>Number of Cemeteries with less than 200 Burials</u>	<u>Number of Active Ceme- teries with less than 200 Burials</u>
Religious, rural (Rr)	41	6	0	13	7
Religious, urban (Ru)	3	0	0	1	1
Government, rural (Gr)	9	2	1	3	0
Government, urban (Gu)	2	0	1	1	0
Private, rural (Pr)	29	8	2	10	0
Private, urban (Pu)	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>
TOTALS	90	16	7	31	8

200 burials remained active. None of the 17 government and private cemeteries with less than 200 burials remained active. Ten of these were inactive and seven had been relocated.

The church cemetery was the most permanent, viable type of cemetery in Waukesha County. The church played a strong role in providing for its members both during and after their lives. The people buried in these cemeteries had a common bond: unity of faith. This unity provided the church cemetery with a strong, enduring basis, resisting status changes.

The bonds that existed between the people establishing government and private cemeteries may have been just as strong as those of the church, but certainly they were not as lasting. One of the reasons these ties were not as strong was because those cemeteries that changed status contained very few burials and served a very limited population. Eleven of the 17 inactive and relocated government and private cemeteries contained fewer than 45 burials. Government cemeteries were also subject to the whims of its officials, and other cemeteries often were more successful in competing for burials because of spiritual or family ties. Private family cemeteries fell into disuse when distance or uninterested descendants severed ties with a cemetery or another site became more desirable. Not all government and private cemeteries were affected by such factors and changed status, but about one out of every three were.

Inactive and relocated cemeteries in Waukesha County were affected by three main factors: the number of burials, population density, and the type of ownership. Several of these factors combined or one dominated to produce a change of cemetery status. But what were the exact reasons for each particular cemetery becoming inactive? Relocated?

The causes of inactive cemeteries in Waukesha County were not always explicit, but could be inferred using the analysis based on the number of burials, population density, and ownership. They are presented in Table 4. All inactive cemeteries contained fewer than 200 burials. Six cemeteries were abandoned because they were privately owned and were not maintained as functional burial places. Seven cemeteries exhausted their area for use as burial plots.⁴³

⁴³Because a cemetery has sold all its burial plots does not mean it can no longer remain functional. In many cases, historically, purchasers had acquired more plots than they needed or used. This resulted in a patchwork of plot usage, especially in many of the older cemeteries. More than one-quarter of some cemeteries' plots were not used because of this problem. Legally, such plots belong to the purchaser or his heirs and cannot be resold. To combat this problem and make more efficient use of cemetery land, some cemetery records keepers have traced the owners of unused plots. Most of these owners had become established in different areas than where the cemeteries containing their inherited plots were located and did not want to use them. In such cases, these owners were paid the value of the plots at the original date of purchase in exchange for their deed. These plots were then resold to "fill in" the cemetery. Some owners wanted to use their plots. In other cases no heir to the plots was located and after a specified period of time, these were resold. In any case, the objective was to retain the function of the cemetery as a burial place and not allow it to become inactive.

TABLE 4

Inactive Cemeteries

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Last Burials</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Wegner or Methodist	1910	Abandoned family plot, 10 burials
St. Joan of Arc	1963	Old township cemetery, 39 burials, potentially useable as a paupers field
Richmond	1945	Abandoned family cemetery, 44 burials
German Evangelical	1955	Abandoned church cemetery, 49 burials, circumvented by four lane highway, two lane highway and school playground
Oak Hill	1959	Circumvented by a subdivision
East Pioneer (a.k.a. Dixon or Pioneer Hill)	1944	Circumvented by built-up area
Zion Evangelical	1962	Small cemetery, church relocated, circumvented by built-up area
Waukesha County Home and Hospital	1899	Government cemetery, 75 bodies relocated from the old poor farm in Vernon Township; this site was never used as an active cemetery
Saylesville	1920	Abandoned private cemetery, 30 burials
German Reformed	1962	Church relocated, no room for expansion
Sittle (a.k.a. First German Reformed)	1862	Abandoned church cemetery because newer one established less than a mile away, 17 burials

Table 4 (cont'd):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date of Last Burials</u>	<u>Comments</u>
Muckey School	1860's	Family cemetery, approx. 20 burials, confusion over deed- ing of cemetery land, new owner plowed it under
Durham Hill	1951	Abandoned family, then town- ship cemetery, 70 burials
Dodges Corners	1919	Abandoned private cemetery, 24 burials, larger cemetery 2 miles away
Oak Grove	1967	Abandoned church, then town- ship cemetery, lack of room for expansion, circumvented by state forest
St. Theresa's (Old Cemetery)	1941	Church cemetery, no room for expansion, another cemetery now used by the church

In four of these cases built-up areas circumvented the cemeteries and prevented the addition of more land to the original sites.

There are still some unanswered questions about the hows and whys of inactive cemeteries. Each cemetery had its own peculiar set of events, each its own story. But the dominant characteristics of inactive cemeteries have been identified.

If was relatively easy for a cemetery to become inactive; it no longer received burials. But is was a much more complex situation when a cemetery was relocated. Cemeteries were perceived as a permanent form of land use.⁴⁴ For various reasons: religious beliefs, reverence for the dead, custom, fear, and superstition, relocation of a cemetery presented problems.

Darden⁴⁵ noted that cemetery relocation involves three processes. He identified these processes as: (1) invasion, competition for land in the area in the vicinity of the cemetery by other forms of land use; (2) legality, the laws as they pertain to cemeteries; and (3) succession, the displacement of cemetery land with another form of land.

Of the seven relocated cemeteries in Waukesha County, six were affected by invasion (Table 5). Only the Waukesha

⁴⁴Planning Advisory Service, Cemeteries in the City Plan, Information Report No. 16 (Chicago: American Society of Planning, 1950), p. 4.

⁴⁵Joe T. Darden, "Cemetery Relocation."

TABLE 5

Relocated Cemeteries

<u>Cemetery</u>	<u>Type</u>	<u>Focus</u>	<u>Date of Relocation</u>	<u>Reason for Relocation</u>
Benecke	Private, family	Rural	1960	Civic invasion
Muskego Center	Private, association	Rural	1955	Commercial invasion
Oconomowoc	Private, association	Urban	1864	Residential invasion
Bidwell	Government	Urban	1909	Residential invasion
Waukesha County Poor Farm	Government	Rural	1905	Cemetery relocated to the relocated site of the county home and hospital, old land sold
Prairieville	Private	Urban	1850-1860	Residential invasion
College & East	Private	Urban	1860's	Residential invasion

County Poor Farm cemetery was not affected by invasion; it was relocated because the institution was relocated and the old property was sold. Three different types of invasion processes affected the other six cemeteries, residential, commercial, and civic. Residential invasion affected the largest number of cemeteries. In four cases residences surrounded cemetery sites, or were anticipated to surround them in the near future, precipitating the relocation of those sites.

One cemetery subjected to residential invasion, also the first to be relocated in Waukesha County, was Prairieville Cemetery. It was the first cemetery established in the village of Waukesha (the village of Waukesha is now the city of Waukesha), located on Wisconsin Avenue somewhere between Grand Avenue and Broadway Avenue.⁴⁶ As the village grew, the people realized they could not allow a small cemetery to exist in the heart of the built-up area. Sometime around 1850 this cemetery was relocated to a new site at the intersection of College and East Avenues. Not everything must have been removed from the Prairieville site. Two grave markers were discovered during the construction of a parking lot over this area in 1956.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Waukesha Freeman, Centennial Edition, 1959, Sec. J, p. 22.

⁴⁷Waukesha Freeman, June 16, 1956.

The association members of the Oconomowoc Cemetery realized in 1864 that their cemetery would not be able to fulfill the future needs of the community.⁴⁸ It was already bordered by built-up or plotted areas on three sides and a lake on the fourth. A much larger cemetery was established in a new location outside the plotted area of the city. The bodies from the old cemetery were relocated to this new site.

A similar event occurred in the village of Waukesha at about this same time. Bodies from the old Prairieville Cemetery had been relocated to a site on the northeast corner of College and East Avenue.⁴⁹ This new location was rapidly developing as a residential area. Carroll College, established in 1848, was adjacent to this site, and enhanced the development in the vicinity. A village cemetery, Prairie Home, had been established one mile south of Waukesha. By 1864 this cemetery was relatively large in area; it covered 8 acres. The pull factor of this new, large cemetery combined with the push factor of residential invasion was manifested in the relocation of the College and East cemetery to Prairie Home in the 1860's.

⁴⁸The History of Waukesha County (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1880), p. 709.

⁴⁹Waukesha Freeman, Centennial Edition, 1959, Sec. J, p. 22.

Residential invasion combined with other factors to cause the relocation of Bidwell Cemetery. Bidwell Cemetery was located less than a mile from the center of the village of Waukesha. As Waukesha grew, the cemetery became surrounded by houses. The Town of Pewaukee, its owner, ceased to maintain the cemetery since it had become contained within the village limits of Waukesha. In 1909 the village board declared the cemetery a public nuisance because its neglected "condition was a source of sorrow."⁵⁰ The bodies were relocated to Prairie Home Cemetery.

Muskego Center Cemetery fell victim to commercial invasion. The small cemetery was established in 1881 and became inactive in 1920. Over a period of years the cemetery became poorly maintained. Later an amusement park was built in the vicinity and bordered the site on three sides. In 1955 the cemetery land was sold to the amusement park owner, the bodies were relocated to Prairie Home Cemetery in Waukesha, and the former cemetery became part of a large parking lot.

Civic invasion caused the relocation of Benecke Cemetery. This family cemetery, containing only 12 bodies, received its last interment in 1929. Located on a planned public school site, the bodies were relocated to Prairie Home Cemetery in 1960 and the school was built.

⁵⁰Waukesha Freeman, December 3, 1909.

Legality played an important role in the process of cemetery relocation. The cemetery had been considered a permanent form of land use and laws were incorporated to define various elements of cemeteries and their operation. Chapter 157 of the Wisconsin Statutes⁵¹ contains 15 sections of cemetery laws ranging from requirements of ownership and care to the procedures of public easement in a cemetery. Wisconsin laws permit cemetery relocation in only one instance; it allows succession to occur only where cemeteries have been abandoned on lands acquired or which could have been acquired by the right of eminent domain. The case of Benecke Cemetery was a clear example of a school district exercising this statute.

But what about the other six relocated cemeteries? What process of legality was involved in allowing succession to occur? In several cases the concept of the cemetery as a public nuisance was legally upheld and permitted cemetery relocation. This concept was applied in those cases where the potential for a cemetery to become a public nuisance was perceived (e.g. a cemetery becoming located in a future built-up area) or cemeteries existed as a public nuisance (e.g. abandoned, unmaintained). The Muskego Center Cemetery and the Bidwell Cemetery followed similar patterns which lead to relocation. Both came under town ownership through Wisconsin Statute 157.04 because they were deemed abandoned

⁵¹Wisconsin State Statutes. 1971.

or uncared for for a period of five or more years.⁵² Once under town ownership, the town board permitted the sale of these sites for purposes other than use as a cemetery as long as suitable arrangements were made to reinter the bodies in an approved manner. This was legally justified by Wisconsin Statute 157.06 which permits such an occurrence provided that "...suitable arrangements have been made for reintering the bodies in a manner approved by the department of health and social services."⁵³

The case of the relocation of Oconomowoc Cemetery was unique. An act to legalize the acts of the trustees of the Oconomowoc cemetery association and to vacate the Oconomowoc cemetery was passed by the Wisconsin legislature in 1864.⁵⁴ The stated reason for vacating the Oconomowoc Cemetery was that "its present use for burial purposes will soon become a nuisance."⁵⁵

Legal documentation of the relocation of Prairieville and College and East Cemeteries was not found. It could be assumed that the generally accepted feeling at the time was to relocate the cemeteries and this was completed without passing through any legal channels. If the families

⁵²Ibid.

⁵³Ibid.

⁵⁴Supplement to Private and Local Laws, Chapter 164, March 28, 1864.

⁵⁵Ibid, p.69.

of the dead buried within these cemeteries were still living in the area, and it's a good chance they were since these cemeteries each existed less than 15 years, they might have completed the job themselves. In any case, no written legal document was located to unshroud the process of relocation of these two sites.

The relocation of the Waukesha County Poor Farm followed a different line of legality. Minutes of Board of County Supervisors session state:

"the remains of 75 inmates were removed from the cemetery of the former poor farm in the Town of Vernon and reinterred⁵⁶ in the new cemetery on the Asylum Farm."

The Board of Supervisors was legally responsible for the bodies within its cemetery on the institution's grounds. The poor farm was being relocated. Rather than leaving the cemetery in the old, remote location and retaining responsibility to maintain it, the board decided to relocate the cemetery on its new grounds. This procedure was legal so long as relatives were informed of the change.

Invasion and legality were important processes affecting cemetery relocation in Waukesha County. Several other characteristics were typical of relocated cemeteries. First, urban cemeteries were much more likely to become relocated than rural cemeteries (see Table 3). Of 11

⁵⁶Minutes of the Board of Supervisors of Waukesha County -- 60th Annual Session, November, 1905, p. 51.

Cemeteries established as urban focused, four were relocated. This contrasted sharply with rural focused cemeteries where only 3 of 79 were relocated. This higher incidence of relocation of urban cemeteries was to be expected. The process of invasion was much more likely to occur in urban rather than rural areas. In each case an urban cemetery relocated outward from the built up areas of a city to reduce the potential for future invasion or to become part of a large, established cemetery that was unlikely to be relocated.

Population density also correlated to the number of relocated cemeteries; the higher the population density the more likely a cemetery was to become relocated. Cemeteries located in areas of high population density were more likely to contact the invasion process than cemeteries located in low density areas. Four relocated cemeteries occurred in the highest quartile of township population density, two in the second quartile (Figure 17). Only the Waukesha County Poor Farm Cemetery, having unique circumstances, was relocated from a low density area.

Relocated cemeteries contained low numbers of burials. No relocated cemetery contained more than 150 bodies and only one had more than 75. The economic perspective of this fact was quite apparent; it was much more inexpensive to reinter a small number of bodies than a large number. Also there was less likelihood of encountering opposition to a cemetery's relocation and less work in notifying relatives

(required by law) if the cemetery contained a low number of bodies.

Cemeteries tended to relocate to the cemeteries containing a high number of burials (Figure 16). Five of seven cemeteries were relocated to government cemeteries containing more than 2,000 burials. One reason for this was that a cemetery with a large number of burials would most likely have remained on the landscape. Another reason is that these larger, government cemeteries could accommodate and were willing to receive these relocated cemeteries en masse. Other cemeteries might have had neither the space nor the desire to do this.

The third hypothesis of this research stated: population circumvention was a major factor in causing inactive cemeteries. An examination of Figure 17 revealed six of the 16 inactive cemeteries were located in the most densely populated quartile of townships and five more in the second most densely populated quartile. This indicated at least a slight correlation between population density and inactive status. But this is a general measure and not a specific index. In Table 4, only four cemetery sites indicated population circumvention as a cause for the change to inactive status. These data did not fully support the hypothesis; it was rejected.

It was also hypothesized that urban expansion was a major factor in causing cemetery relocation. Five of seven relocated cemeteries had been located in urban areas where

there had been competition for land in the vicinity of the cemetery by other forms of land use. This invasion process was manifested by the relocation of these cemeteries and the use of the old cemetery land for commercial or residential purposes (Table 5). Another cemetery, in a suburban area, was relocated because of civic invasion. On the basis of these data, this hypothesis was accepted.

Many factors have altered the number and distribution of the cemeteries of Waukesha County. Twenty-three cemeteries ceased to fulfill their original function, to provide a burial place for the dead. Today they are now inactive or relocated. The interplay of several factors caused these changes of status. The most common characteristic of inactive, and also relocated cemeteries, was the number of burials. Every inactive or relocated cemetery contained fewer than 200 burials, and 75% of all cemeteries with less than 200 burials became either inactive or relocated. Table 2 statistically supported this index of dissimilarity of the number of burials between active and inactive or relocated cemeteries. Also, the population density of the surrounding area, and the type of ownership were reflected in the characteristics of inactive cemeteries. The processes of invasion and legality, in addition to the factors mentioned above, were involved in the process leading to cemetery relocation. Some cemeteries had unique characteristics which affected their status. All these factors and processes have occurred in the past

and continue to affect cemeteries today. In the future the increasing weight of these should accelerate the change of cemeteries from active to inactive and relocated status.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS

The cemeteries of Waukesha County reflected distinguishable patterns both in their historical development and present-day distribution. Various factors, some that were typical of almost all cemeteries and others that were unique to individual sites, affected cemetery locations. The interaction of the physical aspects of the land and the cultural views of the people produced, and continues to affect, the characteristics and number of cemetery locations.

Two trends emerge from the analysis of the historical development of Waukesha County's cemeteries. First, after an initial flood of cemetery establishments, the pace slowed to a trickle and then stopped. Since 1835, when the white man first settled the area, 90 cemeteries were established; between 1840 and 1860 alone, 52 cemeteries originated. It must have seemed that these pioneers were "dying" to establish their own cemeteries. Cemeteries continued to be established after 1860, but at a much slower rate. In 1936 the last cemetery was established. Second, the number of cemeteries that changed status and became inactive or relocated increased at an accelerating rate during recent years. Ten of 23 inactive or relocated cemeteries in the county's history occurred since 1940. This was the same time that Waukesha County was experiencing

a population boom; its' population increased more than 400 percent! Before 1940 the number of cemeteries and the population had always increased or remained constant. But since 1940 the population of Waukesha County has rapidly increased, and though the number of cemeteries remained constant, the number of active cemeteries decreased. Therefore, the hypothesis stating that as the population increased the number of cemeteries decreased was rejected.

Initially, cemeteries were privately owned, most by families. As settlements became established, the church assumed the leading position of cemetery ownership. A small number of government cemeteries were also established. Church owned cemeteries remain today as the most numerous type. But in the 1900's the large, private corporation type, using the cemetery as a business venture, emerged as the most important.

It was determined that cemetery sites reflected common locational characteristics. The physical setting of the cemeteries was typically in an area of well drained soils. Of all the cemeteries, 93 percent were located on moderately well or well drained soils. Relatively high elevation and moderate slope, factors associated with well drained soils, were two other physical characteristics that were typical of cemetery sites. The majority of the cemeteries were located on a hilltop or a hillside and had a gentle or moderate slope. Accessibility, the nearness to a transportation route, and proximity, the nearness to

the user population, were two cultural factors that were reflected in the locational pattern of cemeteries. All but four cemeteries (96 percent) were considered to be accessible and 82 percent were in proximity to their potential user. On the basis of the analysis of these data, the objective to determine the common locational characteristics was achieved and the hypothesis stating that cemeteries were located in areas of well drained soils on accessible transportation routes and in proximity to their potential users was accepted.

Cemeteries were conceived as an undying, permanent form of land use. Not a single cemetery ever included in this study was established as a temporary site. Yet, through the years 23 cemeteries changed from active status and became inactive and/or relocated.

Several factors were characteristic of inactive and relocated cemeteries. First, the lower the number of burials within a cemetery the more likely a cemetery was to become inactive or relocated. All 23 cemeteries that changed status contained fewer than 200 burials. Relocated cemeteries tended to be the smallest, probably due to the cost of reintering the bodies. Six of seven contained less than 76 burials.

Second, government and private cemeteries were much more likely to become inactive or relocated than religious cemeteries. Although religious owned cemeteries constituted the greatest number of cemeteries, the percentage

of these cemeteries that changed status was less than half of that of the government and private cemeteries. No religious owned cemetery became relocated. All 17 government and private cemeteries that contained fewer than 200 burials became inactive or relocated; only 14 of 22 religious owned cemeteries followed suit.

The number of cemeteries that changed status varied between the townships of highest and lowest population densities. It was generally concluded that the higher the population density the larger the number of inactive or relocated cemeteries. Areas of high population density adversely affected cemetery locations in two ways; it impeded the expansion of old cemeteries and deterred the establishment of new cemeteries.

In addition to the above three general characteristics, other factors influenced cemetery status change. Of the 16 inactive cemeteries, seven exhausted their area for use as burial plots. Population circumvention prevented the addition of more land in four of these cases and caused the cemetery to become inactive. Another six cemeteries that became inactive were privately owned and were abandoned by their small potential user population. In some instances families and corporations failed to maintain the sites while in others different, larger cemeteries provided a more attractive final resting place. On the basis of these data and analyses, population circumvention was discounted as a major factor causing cemeteries to become inactive; the

third hypothesis of this research was therefore rejected. More important were the number of burials within a cemetery, ownership, and the population density of the township in which it was located.

Invasion was a key process involved in cemetery relocation. Of the seven relocated cemeteries, six were affected by this competition for land in the vicinity of the cemetery sites. Residential invasion keyed the relocation process of four cemeteries removed from the landscape before 1910. These cemeteries were initially located near the center of urban areas, and were "caught up" in urban expansion in the early growth period of their respective cities. Commercial and civic invasion, increasing rapidly with the urban expansion of some areas, each affected the relocation of one cemetery, both of these within the last 25 years.

Legality was an important part in the process of cemetery relocation. Once land became used as a cemetery site it was very resistant to change, based on emotional, religious, and legal views. Laws had been incorporated that prevented succession, the replacement of cemetery land with another form of land use, except in certain cases. In five of seven relocated cemeteries, legal decisions were made to allow succession.

The final hypothesis of this research was accepted. On the basis of the analysis of the data concerning relocated cemeteries, urban expansion was revealed to be a major

factor. In fact, this was a major distinguishing factor between the two types of status change of Waukesha County's cemeteries. Inactive cemeteries tended to locate in areas of suburban or rural developments while relocated cemeteries were in urban, high density areas. It was cost efficient to relocate the cemeteries from urban areas, especially those affected by civic and commercial invasion. Today, it would not be cost efficient to relocate cemeteries unless such high density land use develops around it. Inactive cemeteries most likely will not be relocated unless these changes occur. However, the number of inactive cemeteries should continue to increase as more cemeteries become relictly situated in areas of high population densities and their grounds no longer contain unused burial plots.

Several problems occurred during the course of this research. First, it was difficult to determine the exact date of establishment of some cemeteries. Generally, the date of the earliest death date on the grave markers was used. But this was not always accurate. In one case the body of a relative who died in New York in 1812 was carried to a cemetery site in the study area. It was impossible to determine the year of death on some old grave markers. Another problem was the number of interments within a cemetery. Unless ancillary information was available, the number of interments corresponded to the number of individuals listed on the grave markers. But not all graves had

associated markers. A third problem was that of determining ownership. Some cemeteries had no determinable ownership group at the time of its establishment, but over a period of time an association was formed, governmental groups assumed the care, or churches used the site. The most serious problem encountered in this study was sketchy or non-existent cemetery records. Some cemetery records were amazingly thorough in their historical documentation; others had been lost, destroyed, or were incomplete. It seemed that some of the people who established cemeteries didn't care much for record keeping.

Further studies of necrogeography are suggested by this study. Certainly cemetery management people, in analyzing areas for the establishment of new cemeteries, would want to consider the locational characteristics of the cemeteries in Waukesha County and use them as a basis. It would be interesting to form a model, based on several area studies such as this, to determine the population density at which the number of active cemeteries begins to decline, rather than increase. Another model might be developed to determine a tipping point of population density, urban expansion or land values that causes cemeteries to become inactive or relocated. The development of the cemeteries of this study area, being a rapidly growing suburban county, probably differs greatly from that of rural or urban areas. Does the development of cemeteries

differ between urban and rural areas? If so, in what ways and degrees?

The cemeteries of Waukesha have had both unique and common characteristics. Their numbers grew rapidly in the middle 1800's. But no new cemetery has been established since 1936, and the number of active cemeteries actually decreased since then. Cemetery sites revealed common locational advantages: Well drained soils, accessibility and proximity to their potential users. Recently, the number of cemeteries changing from active to inactive or relocated status has rapidly increased. The major factor reflected by inactive and relocated cemeteries was the number of burials within the cemetery. Small cemeteries were least likely to be able to compete for land in expanding urban and suburban areas. Increasing population densities and the ownership of the cemetery also affect these changes of status.

The number and status of cemeteries in Waukesha County reflect the growth and change in the population and its sprawl out onto the landscape. The small cemetery which was once a ubiquitous feature on the landscape is slowly disappearing. Perhaps in the future, only large expansive areas or high-rises will be used for burial places; or maybe the cemetery will disappear completely, leaving only a trail of ashes and dust.

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APPENDIX A

CEMETERY FACT SHEET

Cemetery name _____

Location _____

Number of Burials _____ Earliest _____ Latest _____

Active Inactive Relocated

Rural Focus Urban Focus

Ownership _____

Ethnic Control Group (if any) _____

.....

(From Waukesha County Soil Survey)

Soil Type _____

Slope _____

Drainage Characteristics _____

Natural Vegetation _____

.....

Elevation _____

Acreage _____

Distance to Nearest Transportation Route at Time of Origin

_____ Accessibility Yes No

Distance to Potential User or User Focus _____

Proximity Yes No

Cost of Land _____

Other Comments: _____

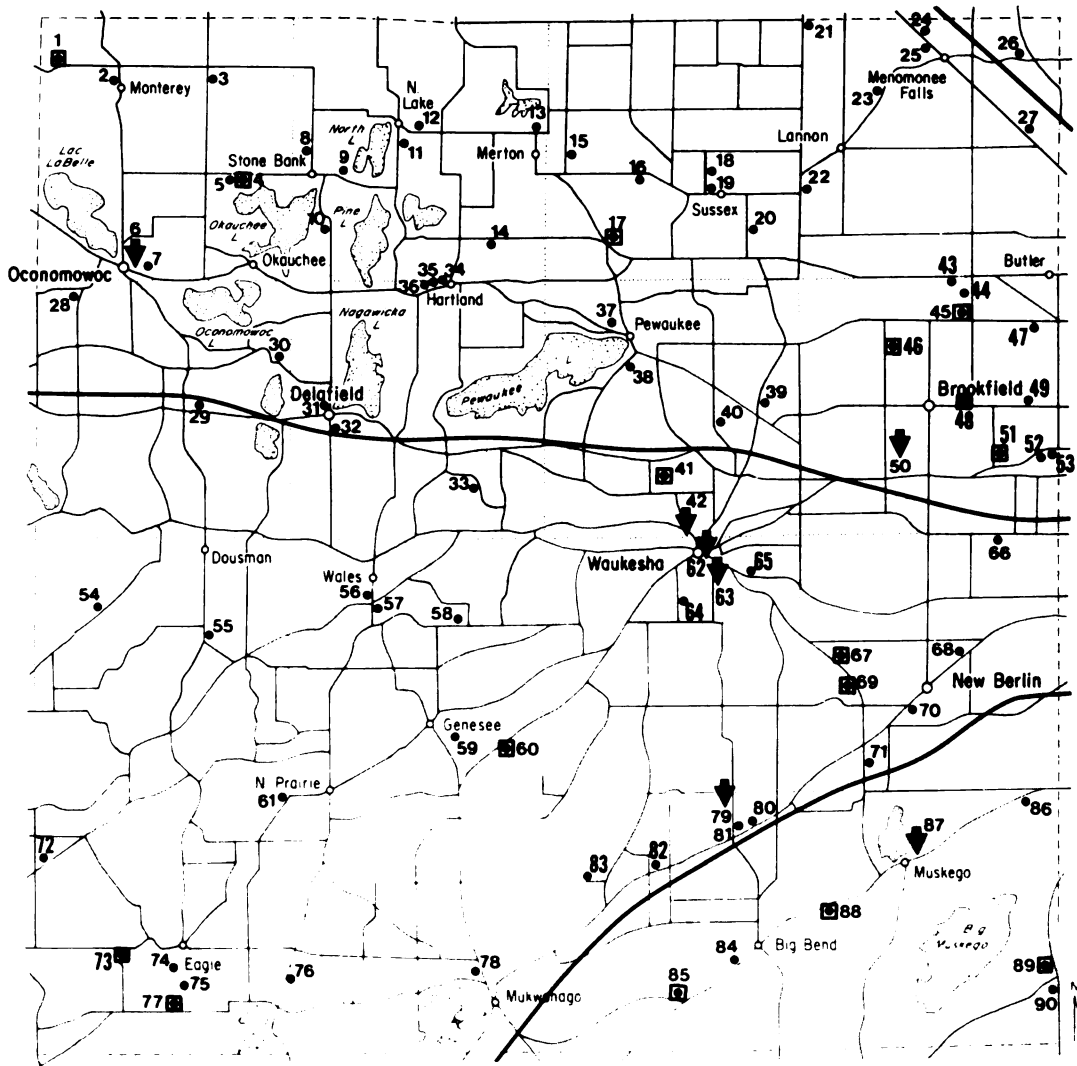
APPENDIX B

List and Map of Waukesha County Cemeteries

The following is a list of cemeteries located in Waukesha County. The number of the cemetery corresponds to the number on the map in Figure 18.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Established</u>	<u>Comments</u>
1. Wagner or Methodist	1867	Small, unkept cemetery in the middle of a field
2. Monterrey	1846	
3. St. Catherine	1848	
4. St. Joan of Arc	1846	Old township poor farm cemetery, co-located with No. 5
5. St. Joan of Arc	1930	New Church owned cemetery co-located with No. 4
6. Oconomowoc	1851	Relocated in 1864
7. La Belle	1863	
8. St. John Lutheran	1854	
9. Stonebank	1847	
10. Holy Innocents	1844	
11. St. Peter	1853	
12. St. Clare	1936	
13. St. John U.C.C.	1880	
14. Bark River	1837	
15. Merton-Lisbon Union	1842	
16. Lisbon Central	1846	
17. Richmond	1847	
18. German Evangelical	1892	

CEMETERIES OF WAUKESHA COUNTY



CEMETERIES

- ACTIVE
- INACTIVE
- ▼ RELOCATED



County boundaries
Township boundaries
Roads

0 1 2 3 4 5
Miles

OGM 1976

FIGURE 18

APPENDIX B (cont.):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Established</u>	<u>Comments</u>
19. St. Alban	1838	
20. Rose Hill	1837	
21. Union or Nelson	1846	
22. St. James	1847	
23. Sunnyside	1849	
24. Emmanuel	1850	
25. St. Paul	1868	
26. St. Mary	1906	
27. St. Anthony	1867	
28. At. Jerome	1867	
29. Summit	1836	
30. Nashotah Mission	1841	
31. St. John Chrysostrom	1853	
32. Delafield Village	1850	
33. Tabernacle	1849	
34. St. Charles	1910	Co-located with No. 35 and No. 36
35. Hartland Village	1845	Co-located with No. 34 and No. 36
36. Hartland Lutheran	1923	Co-located with No. 34 and No. 35
37. St. Mary	1848	
38. Forest Hill	1837	
39. St. Peter and Paul	1858	
40. Pilgrims Rest	1845	

APPENDIX B (cont.):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Established</u>	<u>Comments</u>
41. Waukesha County Home & Hospital (old Poor Farm)	1905	
42. Bidwell	1842	Relocated in 1909
43. St. Dominic	1846	
44. Trinity	1869	
45. German Evangelical	1962	Unkept cemetery on hill- side south of the elementary school
46. Oak Hill	1847	
47. Wisconsin Memorial Park	1929	Largest in terms of area and number of burials
48. East Pioneer (a.k.a. Dixon, Pioneer Hill)	1840	
49. Mt. Zion	1900	
50. Benecke	1851	Relocated, some grave stones remain in woods north of the school
51. Zion Evangelical	1853	
52. St. Mary	1874	
53. Visitation	1879	
54. St. Bruno	1847	
55. Ottawa	1844	
56. Salem	1842	
57. Jerusalem	1844	
58. St. Paul	1861	
59. Genesee Village	1843	
60. Saylesville	1854	Overgrown with weeds and brush

APPENDIX B (cont.):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Established</u>	<u>Comments</u>
61. North Prairie	1838	
62. Prairieville	before 1840	Relocated by 1860
63. College and East	between 1840 and 1860	Relocated in 1860's
64. Prairie Home	1849	
65. St. Joseph	1846	
66. Highland Memorial Park	1929	
67. German Reformed	1850	
68. Holy Apostles	1856	
69. Sittle (a.k.a. First German Reformed)	1846	Located in small woods on crest of hill
70. New Berlin Center	1841	
71. Sunnyside	1841	
72. Melendy's Prairie	1848	
73. St. Theresa	1844	
74. Oak Ridge	1864	
75. Oak Knoll	1853	
76. Jericho	1838	
77. Oak Grove	1844	
78. Oak Knoll	1837	
79. Waukesha County Poor Farm	1881	Relocated to No. 41, Waukesha County Home and Hospital in 1905
80. United Presbyterian	1855	
81. Reformed Presbyter- ian	1845	

APPENDIX B (cont.):

<u>Name</u>	<u>Date Established</u>	<u>Comments</u>
82. Vernon Center	1842	
83. Evangelical Lutheran	1892	
84. Big Bend Rural Home	1840	
85. Dodge's Corners	1840	In the woods on a hill
86. St. Paul	1860	
87. Muskego Center (a.k.a. Muskego Village)	1881	Relocated in 1955
88. Muckey School	1852	
89. Durham Hill	1847	
90. Bethlehem Lutheran Evangelical	1907	

Locations with less than five burials, not indicated in Figure 18.

Brookfield Township - section 25, Elm Grove Road and Bluemond Road, on Allen Furlan residence, 1 body in a vacant lot.

Eagle Township - section 13 on County Trunk NNN. According to the Waukesha County Historical Society records there were 4 readable stones.

Genesee Township - section 4, on west side of the intersection of County Trunk G and County Trunk GD. It was owned by Bethlehem Lutheran Church, contained only 2 burials.

Merton Township - section 18, on the west side of County Trunk C south of the railroad tracks on the Gary Tetzlaff farm. A cement wall surrounds 3 or 4 graves.

Mukwonago Township - southwest 1/4 of section 4 on the old Richard Johnson farm. There were four burials here between 1847 and 1857.

Oconomowoc Township - section 16 off Sondag Road on the Sondag family farm. The first and only burial occurred in 1971.

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