

**FREEDMAN'S CEMETERY (1869-1907):
A CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF AN EXCAVATED AFRICAN-AMERICAN BURIAL GROUND,
DALLAS, TEXAS**

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DALLAS, TEXAS**

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

By

**JAMES MICHAEL DAVIDSON, B.A.
University of Texas at Austin, 1990**

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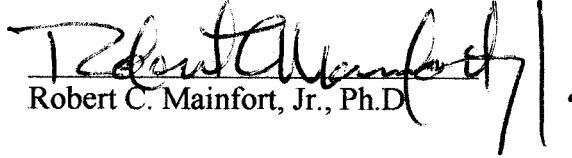
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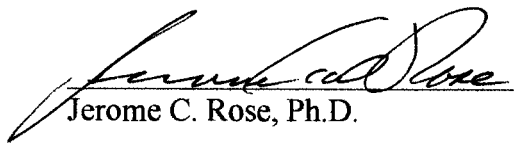
Thesis Director:


Robert C. Mainfort, Jr., Ph.D.

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Thesis Committee:


George Sabo III, Ph.D.


Jerome C. Rose, Ph.D.

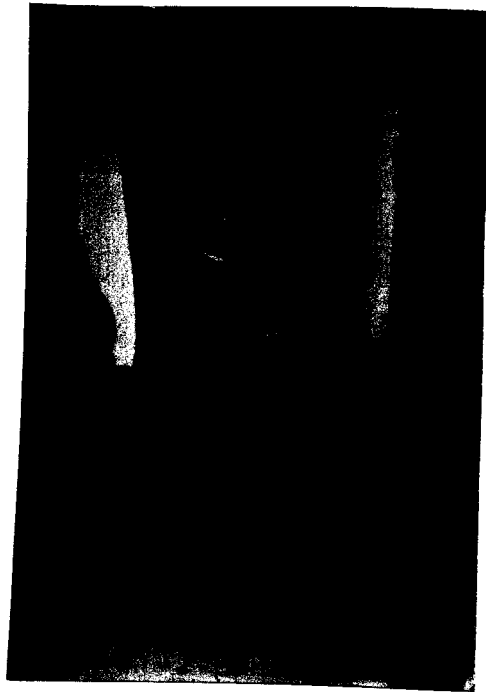
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Unknown girl, late nineteenth century, Dallas, Texas.

This work is dedicated to the inhabitants of a now vanished community of Dallas, Texas, where men and women once lived and worked and tried to make a better place for their children, a hundred years ago. In death, their voice was silenced, and for a long time they lay neglected and almost forgotten. Now they have found a new voice, and with this voice they speak quietly and elegantly, bearing the testament of their lives.

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N.B. An altered version of this thesis will make up a major contribution of the Freedman's Cemetery Project archaeological report, sponsored by the Texas Department of Transportation. Even as I am writing these words, this report is being compiled by the firm of Geo Marine, Inc., Plano, Texas.

JMD

July 27, 1999

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Chapter 1

Introduction

The Freedman's Cemetery Project was necessitated by the expansion of North Central Expressway (or U.S. Highway 75), planning for which began in the mid 1980s. By the late 1980s, a preliminary pedestrian survey of threatened cultural resources was performed by the Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT).

Along the course of North Central Expressway, the remaining intact portion of Freedman's Cemetery was discovered. This initial discovery, and the later revelation that previous highway building efforts had paved over nearly an acre of the site, would in time initiate one of the largest historic cemetery removal projects to be treated archaeologically, ever conducted in the United States.

Between November 1991 and August 1994, excavations within Freedman's Cemetery encompassed nearly an acre and resulted in the recovery of 1150 *in situ* burials, containing the remains of 1157 individuals (Condon et. al. 1995). The areal extent of excavations is detailed in Figure 1-1. None of the graves were marked with dated tombstones, so the identity, as well as the date of interment, for nearly 1200 men, women, and children, was unknown.

Establishing a chronology, then, one based largely on artifacts with archival documentation or demonstrable dating, became a vital first step. Without adequately addressing the crucial variable of time, it would be simply impossible to view diachronic change in socio-economics, health, and mortuary practices.

Previous Investigations in Historic Cemeteries

Since their beginnings in the 1970s, archaeological investigations of historic cemeteries have occurred with much greater frequency in recent years. Table 1-1 lists some of the earliest, as well as the more recent of these projects.

As a rule, most historical cemeteries investigated archaeologically consist of unmarked graves, are often rural, and generally date to the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Additionally, most historical cemeteries investigated by archaeologists have been small; typically less than 30 graves, and almost none over 100.

Due to their very nature, virtually all historic cemeteries are excavated under the necessities of contract archaeology. As such, these investigations function under the same time and financial constraints common to CRM as a whole. The ultimate result of these constraints has been an all too common one—no investigator or sponsoring agency has yet deemed it cost effective to initiate extensive and original historical research into the material culture of the 19th century funerary industry, so as to better date, and thus interpret the exhumed remains.

Indeed, while any cemetery site report inevitably contains at least some useful information regarding the material culture of exhumed graves, virtually none have attempted an exploration of the rich archival record that is available so as to better interpret archaeological data. Rather, the methods employed in historic cemetery investigations have proceeded along a path very similar to that utilized in prehistoric mortuary studies, with excavation of graves, description of finds, comparisons to other cemeteries, and speculation as to just what it all means. One example of this is Garrow's (1987) excellent paper on coffin hardware seriation, which is based on excavated materials

alone.

While these methods are eminently valid ones, what is frustrating is that historic cemetery investigations simply end there, as if the historic past is “unknowable.” It is hardly that. Indeed, the record of the 19th and early 20th century funerary arts, and the rise of undertaking in this country, is entirely accessible through undertaker trade journals and day books, United States patent records, coffin and coffin trimming trade catalogues, to name but a few sources.

The archival record, however, certainly available and infinitely rich, is virtually ignored. At present there exists only one detailed study of mortuary hardware that has tapped into at least some historical sources: Deborah Hacker-Norton and Michael Trinkley’s monograph, “Remember Man, Thou Art Dust” (Hacker-Norton and Trinkley 1984). It primarily consists of an assessment of the Calhoun Collection, a late 19th and early 20th century coffin hardware collection from a general store in rural South Carolina.

In many ways, this work was a seminal effort. Although published in 1984, it is still in wide use by historic archaeologists. Indeed, beyond comparisons made to other cemetery site reports, it currently stands as the principal interpretive tool utilized in analyses of the material culture of historic graves, perhaps to the unfortunate exclusion of further research. Unfortunate, for while the Calhoun Collection analysis is an important study, it is also very limited, and must be considered preliminary in extent. This is in large part due to the limited number of archival sources (e.g., coffin catalogues and undertaker trade journals) utilized by the authors in establishing the proposed chronological trends in mortuary hardware.

Beyond the Calhoun Collection study, very few other treatments of 19th century

mortuary materials exist, at least as based on the archival record. One study that purports to have been written expressly for archaeologists is an MA thesis entitled "Coffins and Caskets: Their Contribution To the Archaeological Record" (Lang 1984). In it the author purports to chart the history of coffins and later caskets in the nineteenth century, based nearly exclusively on United States utility patents. Regrettably, however, this work is of little practical value. This is largely due to its coarse grained perspective and heavy emphasis on patented designs that would have been extremely rare in the archaeological record, if indeed such designs were ever manufactured at all. Such examples would include the all glass casket, the man-sitting-upright casket, and a casket designed with an explosive torpedo built into its lid, to deter grave robbers.

It cannot be denied that numerous prior historic cemeteries have been excavated and reports produced, all apparently without a thorough knowledge (or at times even a basic grounding), in the material culture of the 19th century funerary industry (e.g., McReynolds 1981; Taylor et. al. 1986; Atkinson and Turner 1987; Wilson 1998a). Several cemetery site reports do not even make the attempt at interpretation or chronology, not even to hazard a guess as to when the burials, that are very subject of the report, were originally interred (e.g., Taylor et. al. 1986).

Even relatively recent investigations (e.g., Dockall et al. 1996) continue to rely on faulty or unsubstantiated data regarding the material culture of historic graves, the result being no real advancement or refinement in chronology, interpretations, etc., from such early projects as Cedar Grove (Rose 1985). {In fact, at Cedar Grove the artifactual material was handled with more care, and the site received better documentation than for

example, the Phillips Memorial Cemetery site, excavated some 10 years later (Dockall et al. 1996)}. What, then, makes the Freedman's Cemetery Project any different from these other sites, and therefore significant enough to justify the added time and expense in documenting the site as fully as possible?

Freedman's Cemetery: The Necessity for Chronology

When excavations ended in the summer of 1994, the Freedman's Cemetery Project had exhumed a total of 1157 individuals, a population equal to a small town. This staggering figure makes Freedman's one of the largest (if not the largest) historic cemeteries ever excavated archaeologically in the United States. This circumstance alone makes the Freedman's Archaeological Project unique, compared to most previous cemetery investigations.

Additionally, unlike most historic cemetery excavations, where only the most surficial study is permitted (thus limiting the amount of data recovered), the material remains and the associated artifacts exhumed at Freedman's Cemetery were subjected to both extensive and intensive documentation and analyses. For example, the typical burial generated 29 pages of documentation (e.g., excavation form, artifact inventory and analysis form, skeletal analysis form, and dental analysis form). For the 1150 burials exhumed archaeologically, the combined documentation is approximately 33,000 pages (66 reams or 330 pounds of paper). Also, extensive photodocumentation occurred with both artifacts and skeletal remains; over 185,000 negatives exist (Condon et. al. 1995).

The location of the cemetery is another pertinent factor that made it easier to

justify the investment of considerable time and expense necessary to document the 19th century funerary arts. Lying at the edge of downtown Dallas, Freedman's Cemetery was in a decidedly urban context. Although it made excavations a logistical nightmare, it also provided a very high potential for extensive local archival documentation (e.g., newspapers, city council minutes, death records). Such data would be of enormous help in interpreting the cemetery in its totality, as well as aid in understanding individual graves.

The fact that Freedman's was an African-American cemetery was for me yet another factor, and a significant one. The Freedman's Town, of which the cemetery was but a part, was founded in the early years of Reconstruction. Arguably, the one period in American history most fraught with change for African-Americans spans from the Reconstruction Era to the time of Jim Crow, a temporal period within which the utilization of Freedman's Cemetery was known to fall.

As calculated from the skeletal elements of the exhumed human remains, project osteologists were able to make relatively precise age-at-death estimates. These age assessments are of some value alone, but when combined with equally fine scaled interment dates, only then was it possible to determine fairly accurate estimated years of birth for a majority of exhumed burials. From this combination of data, it would be possible to examine, among other things, changes in health and economics experienced by individuals in the years prior to Emancipation, onward to the beginning of the twentieth century.

Overview of the Thesis

It became apparent that a detailed history of Freedman's Cemetery would be an extremely valuable tool in the interpretation of the exhumed graves. Unfortunately, no one had ever bothered to write the history of the venerable graveyard, and worse, the popular history of the cemetery was wrong at its face. Because no one would write the history, it fell upon me to research the topic through all possible means.

This, in itself, was no mean feat to accomplish. At the time excavations ended, I had very little substantive knowledge regarding the cemetery's history. Even the true dates of the cemetery's founding and closure were unknown. Without this simple, though vital, piece of information, any chronology that I could establish from the artifacts alone would be nebulous and free floating, without a beginning or ending date to tether it.

Therefore, an exhaustive history of both Freedman's Cemetery and the Freedman's Town that created it, was completed and is presented in Chapter 2. Additionally, this chapter also details the history of North Central Expressway. It was this federal and state highway project that paved over the site in the late 1940s, and whose widening in the 1980s precipitated the archeological study of which this thesis is but one part.

To best understand and interpret the graves themselves, it also was necessary to learn as much as possible about the profession of undertaking in Dallas, from its inception, through to the close of the cemetery. This was of primary necessity, since the bulk of artifactual material recovered from the graves was coffin hardware, and the immediate source of these materials were the various undertakers in the city. Establishing who these men were, their numbers through the years, and their interactions with the African-

American community of Dallas, all were tedious but necessary steps towards interpreting the graves. The results of these historical investigations are given in Chapter 3.

Additionally, it was necessary to create a database of African-American deaths in Dallas. This arduous task was completed by myself and Ms. Cynthia Condon, who served as the Principal Investigator for physical anthropology for the entire Freedman's Project. The reasons for creating a register of deaths were many and varied. For my purposes, the death records were used primarily to interpret the patterning of mortuary hardware. In a very real way, the death records allow me to correlate the archival record with the archaeological, and thus more precisely date literally hundreds of graves. A detailed discussion of the death records is given in Chapter 8.

With the dating of Freedman's Cemetery as a historic property established in Chapter 2, it then became necessary to date individual graves. In part, this process consisted of identifying the temporal ranges of all elements of mortuary hardware as well as the burial container. Additionally, temporally sensitive items, such as personal/clothing effects, found in direct association with burials, also were identified. Some results are given in Chapter 4, and the time diagnostics are actually applied towards the construction of the chronology in Chapters 5 through 8.

Two basic complementary dating schema were utilized in creating the Freedman's Cemetery chronology. First, an entirely internal chronology was determined, utilizing specific artifacts as time diagnostics, cross-dating, stacked burials, as well as knowledge of land purchase and subsequent utilization (i.e., the spatial patterning of graves). This internal chronology was bolstered and fine tuned by application of data derived from the

local historical record. This chronology was being formulated early on in the excavations, and was further refined as more and more burials were exhumed. Especially useful in the early stage of this work were a handful of technical reports of historic cemetery excavations (e.g., Garrow 1985; Rose 1985).

The other dating schema was the establishment of broad, national trends in coffin hardware innovations and stylistic motifs through an exhaustive study of coffin hardware catalogues, trade journals, and all pertinent records of the United States Patent Office. Although an extremely time consuming (and expensive) endeavor, this study was a necessary step to advance the knowledge base of 19th century mortuary hardware beyond the preliminary studies of Hacker-Norton and Trinkley (1984), Garrow (1987), and others. This knowledge was then applied to the material culture of Freedman's.

One result of combining these two dating schemas is its revelation of Freedman's Cemetery's highly idiosyncratic nature. For example, the short bar handle, a distinctive form of coffin handle created specifically for the mortuary trade, first appeared in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Though not utilized in this study as a chronological indicator, it can be pointed out that while short bar handles became available for purchase in the early 1870s, and were increasingly dominant in the 1880s, no short bars were found at Freedman's Cemetery associated with any burial dated prior to 1900. Indeed, the first short bars recovered at Freedman's Cemetery date to circa 1902. The absence of short bars in the archaeological record at Freedman's prior to the turn of the century is likely the result of their increased cost relative to the less expensive swingbails.

Although the two dating schemas utilized in formulating the Freedman's

chronology were pursued largely independently of each other, the resulting chronology will be presented as a combined whole— internal temporal diagnostics, patent introductions dates for stylistic motifs, hardware matches in mortuary hardware catalogues, and correlation of the material culture with local archival records.

Happily, one of the results of the chronology created for Freedman's Cemetery was that although every grave was unmarked and hence undated, it was possible to assign narrow date ranges to virtually all of the recovered burials, based on the combined knowledge of land utilization, seriation of mortuary hardware, as well as other factors. In all, three major and one minor time periods have been defined (see Table 1-2).

The first of these, the Early Period, spans sixteen years, from the cemetery's founding in 1869 until 1884 (n=64 burials; 5.5% of total exhumed). This period and the rationale utilized in its formulation are addressed in Chapter 5.

The next period defined for Freedman's Cemetery is the Middle Period. This fifteen year interval from 1885 to 1899 (n=170 burials; 14.8% of total exhumed), is discussed in Chapter 6.

The next temporal period is a minor one, termed simply "Pre-1900." This designation was created to describe those burials that, while identified as dating prior to 1900, could not be more precisely assigned to either the Early or Middle Periods. The "Pre-1900" Period contains 37 burials (3.2% of total exhumed), and is covered in Chapter 7.

The final temporal period, termed the Late Period, covers a mere eight year

interval between 1900 and 1907. The Late Period includes the bulk of the exhumed burials (n=878; 76.4% of total exhumed). The rationale for this period is discussed in Chapter 8.

Of the 1150 burials exhumed during excavations at Freedman's Cemetery, 1149 could be assigned to one of the four temporal periods. There was a single burial (1127) that, due to its highly disturbed nature, location within the cemetery, and complete lack of artifacts, could not be dated by any means, and so could conceivably have been interred at any time during the 39 year span of the cemetery.

Three separate appendixes are included with this work. Appendix A consists of a brief and admittedly simplistic guide to mortuary hardware of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This work is basically a reformulation of a guide to coffin hardware that I rather quickly cobbled together as a courtesy to the Allan Parkway Cemetery excavations, conducted in Houston, Texas, by Espey, Huston, & Associates in 1998.

Appendix B is a description of the basic workings of the Freedman's mortuary hardware typology, as well as a blow by blow description of the various entry fields that constitute the Freedman's mortuary hardware database. In Chapters 5 through 8, occasionally in some of the tables the ages at death of individuals are given. While given ages between 0.00 and 60 years are actual, statistical ages, some entries are instead age codes (after Condon, et al. 1995). A description (or key, if you will) for these codes is present in Appendix B.

Appendix C is a printout of the 1513 feature numbers assigned during the Freedman's Cemetery excavations. This is principally an abbreviated accounting of the

Freedman's mortuary hardware database described in Appendix B. Due primarily to space and time constraints, only a portion of the total number of entry fields could be accommodated in this work.

A Short discussion on Methods (or, What this Thesis Is Not)

At Freedman's Cemetery, while the variety of mortuary hardware was staggering in its sheer numbers, its presence served as an enormously important tool in the establishment of diachronic controls. Indeed, without the presence of such hardware, reconstruction of the sequence of events at Freedman's Cemetery would have been all but impossible, and the dating of individual interments only nebulously achieved.

Although mortuary hardware will be a common, if not at times predominate, element of discussion in the following chapters, it should be noted here that what follows is not a catalogue of all the mortuary hardware recovered from the 1150 interments exhumed at Freedman's Cemetery, nor was it intended to be. Such a catalogue, though eminently useful, is clearly beyond the scope of this work. Even a cursory appraisal of the hardware recovered at Freedman's, limiting the extent of data devoted to each type down to a single page, would still result in a work of over 700 pages in length (see Appendices A, B, and C for a brief overview of the mortuary hardware).

Due to the paucity of materials recovered with burials dated to the Early Period, in the discussion of this period virtually every element of coffin hardware will be identified and examined. With the Middle Period, however, there are greater numbers of coffin hardware types, and these types were subsequently employed with much greater

frequency. In the discussion of the Middle Period, an abbreviated accounting of the mortuary hardware utilized to date interments will be presented.

To avoid becoming altogether lost within a sea of detail, only those specific types of coffin hardware that proved to be especially useful as a temporally diagnostic, and/or ubiquitous at Freedman's Cemetery, will be discussed. These specific mortuary hardware types have established introduction or clearly defined use dates that could serve to identify only those burials specifically interred during the temporal range assigned to the Middle Period, and no other. Specifically to the Middle Period, it is the thumbscrew form that will be emphasized. For the Late Period, only handles and thumbscrews will be addressed specifically. The types of hardware used as chronological markers are limited to these two major classes in an attempt at brevity. Inclusion of other coffin hardware forms would have resulted only in a redundancy in dating.

No effort was made to directly compare the material culture or dating criteria of Freedman's Cemetery, to other historic cemetery investigations. This was a conscious decision, mainly in an attempt to keep this work as brief as possible. Additionally, the relative lack of precision in dating efforts put forth by previous researchers made the necessity of such comparisons largely superfluous.

Concluding Remarks

Freedman's Cemetery was founded on April 29, 1869, and remained open and received interments up to July 26, 1907. By necessity, any exhumed burial had to date to one point during this 39 year interval.

Investigators involved with other historic cemetery excavations might wonder at the necessity or the lengths that I have taken in more and more finely subdividing a 39 year time span. Rather, this seemed the first order of importance. To date, Freedman's Cemetery is the largest historical cemetery of its kind in the United States to have been excavated, analyzed, and documented to the extent performed in Dallas, and it seems very unlikely that a site of comparable size will ever again be examined as minutely as Freedman's.

Until Freedman's Cemetery was firmly tethered in time, any analyses conducted would have been perfunctory in tone or preliminary in extent. Indeed, for any analysis or meaningful interpretations to come of the Freedman's Cemetery project, for any measure of true insight into the past to be realized, a firm chronology must be developed. To view the skeletal population only as a static one, or the material culture (in toto) as contemporaneous would deny the opportunity to chart the social, economic, and health trends within the African-American communities of nineteenth and early twentieth century Dallas. The active "life" of Freedman's Cemetery parallels some of the most formative years of the Black Experience, beginning during the troubled Reconstruction period and proceeding into the early twentieth century; the beginning of the modern era.

Table 1-1: Selection of Previous Archaeological Investigations of Historic Cemeteries (N=31)

#	Project	Location	Year	Reference
1	Oakland Cemetery	Georgia	1978	Blakely and Beck 1982
2	Applegate Lake Project	Oregon	1980	Brauner and Jenkins 1980
3	Larado Cemetery	Texas	1980	McReynolds 1981
4	Millwood Plantation Cemetery	South Carolina	1980/1981	Orser, et. al. 1987
5	First African Baptist Church	Pennsylvania	1981	Parrington 1987
6	Choke Canyon Project	Texas	1981/1982	Fox 1984
7	Cedar Grove Cemetery	Arkansas	1982	Rose 1985
8	McGee Creek Cemetery	Oklahoma	1983	Ferguson 1983
9	A. L. Calhoun Hardware Collection	South Carolina	1983	Hacker-Norton and Trinkley 1984
10	Mount Pleasant Cemetery (38CH778)	South Carolina	1984	Trinkley and Hacker-Norton 1984
11	Nancy Creek Cemetery	Georgia	1984	Garrow, et. al. 1985
12	Morgan Chapel Cemetery	Texas	1984	Taylor, et. al. 1986
13	Mount Gilead Cemetery	Georgia	1984	Wood, et. al. 1986
14	Rincon Cemetery	California	1984	Brock and Schwartz 1991
15	Blackburn Cemetery	Tennessee	1985	Atkinson and Turner 1987
16	Uxbridge Almshouse Burial Ground	Massachusetts	1985	Elia and Weesolowsky 1989
17	Talbot County (Big Lazar Creek) Cemetery	Georgia	1986	Garrow and Symes 1987
18	Tucker Cemetery	Texas	1986	Lebo 1988
19	Elko Switch Cemetery	Alabama	1987/1988	Shogren, et. al. 1989
20	Weir Family Cemetery	Virginia	1989	Little, et. al. 1992
21	Sinclair Cemetery (41DT105)	Texas	1989	Winchell, et. al. 1992
22	O. H. Iwe Reservoir	Texas	1989/1990	Earts, et. al. 1991
23	Spartanburg County, S. C.	South Carolina	1989/1990	Joseph, et. al. 1991
24	Sandy Creek Cemetery	Georgia	1990	Garrow 1990
25	Phillips Memorial Cemetery	Texas	1991/1992	Dockall, et. al. 1996
26	Former Wesleyan Methodist Church Cemetery	Weston, Ontario	1993	Mayer Heritage Consultants, Inc 1994
27	Redfield Cemetery	Georgia	1994	Bralley and Moffat 1995
28	Fuller Cemetery	Georgia	1997	Wilson and Holland 1998
29	Pine Ridge Cemetery	Georgia	1997	Wilson 1998a
30	Oliver Family Cemetery	Virginia	1997	Wilson 1998b
31	Turner Cemetery	Mississippi	1998	Wilson 1998c

**Table 1-2: The Four Temporal Periods defined
for exhumed graves at Freedman's Cemetery**

Temporal Period	Temporal Range	# of Burials	# of Individuals
Early Period	1869-1884	64	64
Middle Period	1885-1899	170	171
"Pre-1900" Period	1869-1899	37	37
Late Period	1900-1907	878	884
Unassigned	1869-1907	1	1
	Total	1150	1157

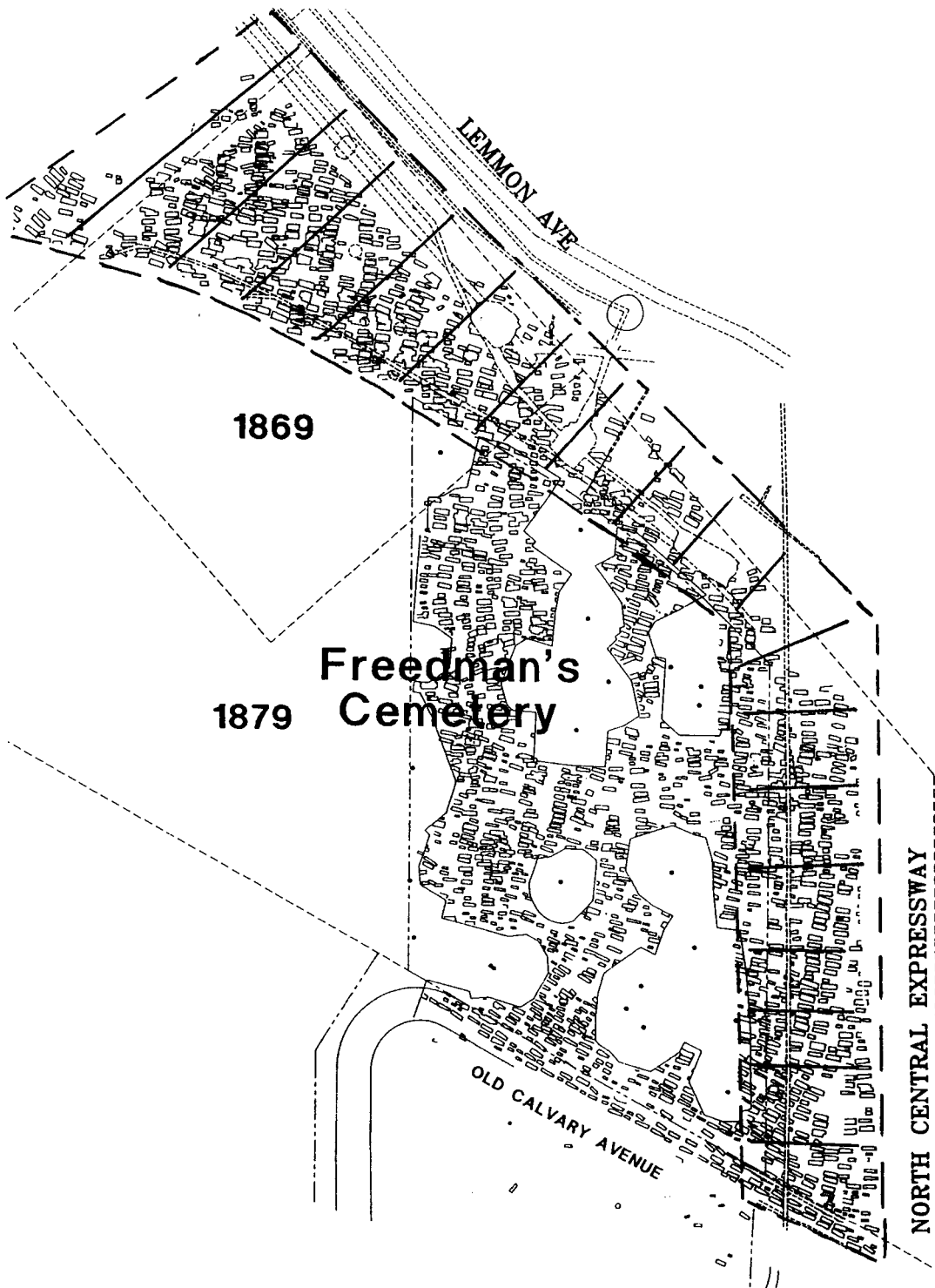


Figure 1-1 Extent of excavations at Freedman's Cemetery (outlined in heavy, black dotted line)

Chapter 2:

An Archival History of Freedman's Cemetery, Dallas, Texas

Introduction

Before an interpretation of the archaeological record can be attempted, as accurate and complete a history of Freedman's Cemetery must first be known. The difficulty of completing this task is compounded, however, when that which has long been accepted as the historical truth regarding Freedman's Cemetery is rather more akin to folklore than history, and often far removed from actual events.

While the origin and fate of Freedman's Cemetery are shrouded more in the shadow of folklore than in the light of truth, it is entirely understandable why such folk beliefs should have remained uncontested until now. There are no official records available for Freedman's Cemetery, as none were kept. The site was a free and open burial ground, with every undertaker, as well as private individuals, opening graves and interring the dead continuously from its founding until its forced closure. Since it was not actually owned by the city, Freedman's stood without a source of public funding available for upkeep and maintenance. Indeed, as will be established below, the site entertained the luxury of a sexton only during its final months of operation.

Much of the folklore surrounding Freedman's Cemetery is well known within the Dallas African-American community-at-large, and has been repeated nearly verbatim in

various media, including recent books, television news stories, as well as newspaper articles detailing the highway department's excavations. The basic, albeit false, assumptions regarding the site are (1), that Freedman's can ultimately trace its origin to a slave cemetery, and (2), that the site continued to receive burials well into the 1920s.

Such a simple thing as when a cemetery opens or closes can have very great and far reaching consequences, especially in regard to the accurate interpretation of recovered material remains. This is true as well for Freedman's Cemetery, a site that if it could be viewed within its proper temporal contexts, would literally mirror key events transpiring in Black Dallas during its lifetime.

Freedman's Cemetery's Origin

Earlier writers, attempting to explain both the location of Freedman's Cemetery and the settlement that surrounded it, mistakenly argued that the Freedman's Town established by ex-slaves north of Dallas was created around a "slave cemetery," only later to be more commonly known as Freedman's Cemetery; that the cemetery itself served as a nexus for recently freed slaves, and stood as the very reason for the town's existence (Prince 1993; McDonald 1978). As far I have been able to discover, the earliest formulation of this belief in print can be traced to McDonald: "After the Emancipation Proclamation... Dallas' estimated 300 former slaves gradually began to settle near the cemetery- the only kind of landmark or symbol of black identity to be found in the city at that time" (1978: 175-176).

Unfortunately this belief, first expressed by McDonald and expounded upon by

later writers is, at its root without basis, founded entirely upon circular logic with no empirical evidence to support it. The belief of Freedman's pre-Emancipation origins has been disproved subsequently with the discovery of the actual location of Dallas's slave burials within the Old Dallas Burial Ground, discussed below (Davidson 1998).

One likely source for this mistaken folklore, or at least a perpetuation of it that probably helped to canonize these beliefs, can be traced to the historical marker placed in the cemetery in 1965 after its conversion from private property into a city park. This marker, with erroneous beginning and end dates, reads "Freedman's Memorial Park, A Public Cemetery 1861-1925, Donated to City of Dallas 1965" (Figure 2-1). Standing as an official affirmation of the cemetery's origin and demise (literally cast in cement), it is unfortunate that in sum, both dates are 26 years in error. Thankfully, this marker was removed from the site at the start of archaeological investigations. As will be discussed in some detail below, in truth Freedman's Cemetery was founded not before the Civil War, but rather at the height of Reconstruction. Further, the cemetery was not in active use into the 1920s, but instead was condemned in the press years earlier as a hazard to public health, and forcibly closed by mayoral decree. Freedman's Cemetery was actually closed to further interments in July 1907.

As to Freedman's Cemetery's true beginnings, we must first look to the circumstances experienced during Reconstruction, only a few years after the coming of Emancipation to Texas. The actual moment of creation for Freedman's Cemetery is a well documented and unambiguous one in the archival record. Freedman's Cemetery was founded on April 29, 1869, when Sam Eakins, acting as spokesman for the fledgling community of Freedman's Town, purchased one acre of land from William H. Boales for

the sum of twenty five dollars (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. L, p. 240). The ultimate motivation behind the founding of Freedman's Cemetery was simple; the only public cemetery that had been available to African-Americans residing in or near the town of Dallas was, by 1869, no longer accessible.

This earlier cemetery, entirely forgotten for some ninety odd years, is now known as the Old Dallas Burial Ground, and located a mere six blocks north of the Dallas County Courthouse (see Figure 2-2). It was the first communal cemetery ever established within the borders of the village of Dallas, utilized by both whites and blacks from the time of its founding in the 1840s until it was closed sometime around 1869 (Davidson 1998). In fact, the Old Dallas Burial Ground's closure seems to have been the primary impetus for the founding of an exclusively African-American burying ground, the Freedman's Cemetery, that same year.

The principal factor contributing to the location of Freedman's Cemetery was likely one of simple proximity, as the cemetery was placed squarely within the bounds of the fledgling community of Freedman's Town, only one of several communities of recently freed slaves that had begun to slowly form in the vicinity of Dallas soon after Emancipation came to Texas on June 19, 1865 (McKnight 1990: 13,23). The former slaves in the North Texas area initially may have gravitated towards the town of Dallas in search of separated family members and lost friends.

Additionally, these recently freed ex-slaves likely traveled to Dallas with the idea of obtaining gainful employment, in part to realize the hopes which the new prospect of freedom had brought them, and further, as the most immediate means of escaping the harsh reminders of their former existence. Unfortunately, the Freedmen soon discovered

that the little town of Dallas was not entirely hospitable toward their arrival.

To counter the threat that Dallas's white community leaders saw as the influx of undesirables taking up residence in their town after the close of the Civil War, chief among them newly freed slaves, a series of ordinances were passed by the Dallas City Council and published in the *Dallas Weekly Herald* on November 25, 1865, just four months after Emancipation (Figure 2-3).

These ordinances began by defining the corporate limits of the town as one mile square, radiating from the Dallas County Courthouse. Others defined such basic needs as the times the city council would convene, and fixed the salaries of the mayor, aldermen, and other city officials. One of the major ordinances passed by the city council and published in the *Weekly Herald* concerned "Vagrants." The intention of the Vagrants Ordinance was one aimed directly at Freedmen, as the second point of its Section 1, which defines those individuals who would be considered Vagrants, makes perfectly clear:

All able bodied Freedmen, or other free persons of color, who have abandoned the service of their former masters or employers, for the purposes of idleness; or who are found loitering or rambling about, or idly wandering around the streets or other public place, or having no permanent residence or employment.

The penalties for being judged a vagrant could be rather severe:

Sec. 4. Whosoever shall be found guilty of being a vagrant; within the meaning of this ordinance, shall be fined in any sum of not less than three, nor more than one-hundred dollars for the first offense, and for each conviction the minimum penalty shall be increased three dollars, and the Mayor shall enter judgement for such fines and cost.

Upon conviction of the charge of vagrancy, in addition to the fine, a Freedman was required to put up a bond not to exceed five hundred dollars. If he were unable to post a bond ensuring his continued good behavior, or if he defaulted in any way, he would be subject to immediate arrest, confinement, and forced to "be kept at work on the streets without compensation, until such security is given, not to exceed six months."

The implementation of a Vagrants Ordinance specifically targeting Freedmen was actually a common response by many Texas cities to Emancipation (Barr 1996:53). Nonetheless, during the difficult years of Reconstruction, for an African-American to merely step foot within the city limits of Dallas was to run the risk of being labeled a "vagrant," and face de facto slavery for up to six months at a time. Very likely as the direct result of the Vagrancy statutes, freedmen who migrated towards Dallas in search of work did not take up residence within the corporate limits of Dallas in large numbers, but instead settled around its periphery, probably venturing into town only when the necessity outweighed the risk.

Overall, Dallas County showed a marked increase in population immediately following the Civil War, from the 1860 census count of 8,665, to 12,271 one decade later. Of the latter, the 1870 Federal Census accounting of Dallas County Blacks was 2,307 (1860 U.S. Federal Census: Dallas County, Texas; 1870 U.S. Federal Census: Dallas County, Texas). In stark contrast, five years later the 1875 Dallas City Directory still listed only 138 African-Americans residing within or near the corporate city limits, out of a total estimated population for the town of between 2,063 (Kimbal 1927:43) and 7,054

(Holmes & Saxon 1992:64), depending upon the source.

There is little extant documentation detailing the early years of Freedman's Town, that small settlement of black families springing up in the area to the north of Dallas. What can be assumed is that the population of the Freedman's Towns established along the periphery of Dallas was likely far in excess of Dallas's own Black population. By the end of Reconstruction, one early newspaper account gave an estimate for the population of just one of the Freedman's Towns (the one later known as North Dallas, and in which the cemetery was located), as, "... over five hundred Negroes living in what is called Freedmantown, adjoining East Dallas" (*Dallas Daily Herald*, April 27, 1873).

William H. Boales

Since the origin of Freedman's Cemetery rests in the sale of land between freedmen and a white land owner, one William H. Boales, to gain a more thorough understanding regarding the circumstances of the early Freedman's Town and subsequent creation of Freedman's Cemetery, it would be helpful to understand the background of Boales himself. Although the spelling of William Boales at times varied in the archival record (e.g., Bowles, Boles, etc.), only the single spelling "Boales" will be used here. William H. Boales and his immediate family first arrived in the Dallas area around 1854. This was the same year he purchased the first tracts of land from which, in part, the cemetery would later be created (Dallas County Deed Records, Vol. D, pp. 137-138; 511-12). Boales was indeed a slave owner, very likely bringing at least one of his slaves with

him from his home state of Kentucky (1850 United States Slave Schedules, Christian County, Kentucky; Anonymous 1892: 798)

The Dallas County Tax Rolls, which list the amount and value of all property, including slaves, were initially utilized to establish that William Boales was a slave holder, and further, to pursue the very remote possibility that Boales himself might have found it necessary to establish a pre-Emancipation burial ground (Dallas County Tax Rolls; Microfilm, Reel 1, Dallas Public Library). The resulting tax roll data are given below for the years 1855 through 1865.

<u>Year</u>	<u>Property Owner</u>	<u># of Slaves</u>	<u>Assessed Value</u>
1855	Boales	1	600
1856	"	1	650
1857	"	2	1600
1858	"	2	1600
1859	.....(data unavailable).....		
1860	"	2	1600
1861	"	3	2400
1862	"	4	2400
1863	.....(data unavailable).....		
1864	"	3	2300
1865	.....Emancipation.....		

In 1855, the first year in which he was taxed, Boales owned only one slave assessed at a value of 600 dollars. Two years later, Boales' holdings increased to two slaves, and this number remains constant through 1860. In 1861, another increase is seen, as Boales is assessed taxes on 3 slaves with a combined value of \$2400. By 1862, the number of slaves held by Boales had again increased, to four, though it is important to note that the total amount assessed is the same as the previous year.

In 1863, Dallas County did not assess taxes on slaves, so Boales's holdings for this

year are unknown. The following year, however, Boales is listed as having only 3 slaves, valued for a total of \$2300. In 1862, Boales owned four slaves, but between 1862 and 1864, one was either sold or possibly died. By the time of the next tax assessment in 1865, the Civil War had ended and Emancipation had come to Texas.

The United States 1860 Slave Schedules and 1870 Census Records also were consulted to derive additional demographic data on the slaves owned by Boales. In the 1860 Slave Schedule for Dallas County, Boales owned two slaves, both females, ages 20 and 18, and both women were considered black (as opposed to mulatto). This corresponds to the 1860 tax roll listing two slaves.

The 1870 census records offer greater insight into the matter of Boales's slave holdings. Enumerated with the Boales family in 1870 was a freed black woman, Jane Boales, age 30, and her two children, Anna, age 9, and Charles, age 2. Jane Boales is almost certainly the same individual as the 20 year old black female owned by Boales and enumerated in the 1860 Slave Schedule.

Jane's daughter Anna, born in late 1861 or early 1862, is likely the additional slave noted in the 1862 county tax roll, the year that marked an increase of Boales's holdings from 3 to 4 slaves, without any corresponding increase in value. While Jane's daughter Anna accounts for the increase of Boales's slave holdings from 3 to 4, nothing substantive is known regarding the increase noted in 1861 from 2 to 3 slaves. It would seem that Boales purchased or otherwise acquired another slave, presumably an older child or adult, due to the assessed tax value of eight hundred dollars.

Though four slaves are listed in the 1862 tax rolls, only three were owned by Boales by the time of the 1864 tax assessment. Since we know that Anna Boales survived

infancy and was still living with the William Boales family in 1870, this reduction in the number of slaves from 4 to 3 between 1862 and 1864 can be explained under normal circumstances by just two scenarios: either a sale occurred, or one of Boales's slaves died between those years. While it is certainly possible that one of Boales' slaves died between 1862 and 1864 and subsequently was buried on his private property, this is entirely speculative.

In the 1869 land deed marking the sale of land to Sam Eakins (the first acre of what was to become Freedman's Cemetery), Boales described the property as "one acre out of the Northwest Corner of a sixty acre tract" (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. L, p. 240). Beginning in 1891, the Dallas City Directories list William Boales's residential address variously as located either on Henderson or, for a short time, Boales Avenue; the address itself did not alter, merely the name of the street changed through the years. The 1891 Murphy and Bolanz Map of Dallas is the only map of the period upon which the outlying portions of Dallas are represented with sufficient detail, revealing Boales Avenue as bounding the extreme eastern extent of Boales's property (Figure 2-4). This map defines the relationship of Boales's residence to Freedman's Cemetery as one in which the cemetery property lies as distant from his own residence as was physically possible. If Boales had established a burying ground on his own property (which is theoretically possible, due to the bare chance of a single slave's death occurring in 1864), it would seem much more likely to locate it somewhat near his own residence, instead of placing it over two miles away.

Boales's motivations for selling an acre of land at less than fair market value to the freedmen, especially for the purposes of establishing a burial ground, was not an act based

in cold economics, but more likely one grounded in basic kindness. Selling land to freedmen in the Reconstruction South was something generally frowned upon, the act itself being declared "treasonous to the white race" by the Harrison County *Flag* (Barr 1996: 54).

In 1875, Boales further assisted the African-American community of North Dallas by selling a half acre of land to members of the Freedman's Free Will Baptist Church (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 29, pp. 561-562), described in 1878 as located in "Freedman Town, outside city limits," its "Pastor, Reverend Almond Scott" (1878 Dallas City Directory).

Possibly the greatest example of William Boales' basic decency concerns the fate of Jane Boales, one of William Boales' former slaves. According to the 1870 Federal Census, Jane Boales and her two children, Anna and Charles, were living with the William H. Boales family at the time of enumeration, some five years after Emancipation. Boales' first wife, Parmelia, died on May 19, 1871, and William Boales did not remarry until 1878 (Anonymous 1892: 798; Carlisle 1994: 33). It seems likely that after Emancipation, Jane simply stayed on with her former master, acting as a nursemaid to William Boales' children, and/or as a housekeeper and cook.

The relationship between Jane and William Boales was deeper, however, than one of merely an employer and employee. In the Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes for the summer of 1873, records indicate that the county began paying William H. Boales ten dollars a month for the purpose of keeping "an insane colored woman and her 2 children from the 1st of July 1873 until otherwise provided for them." Later references to this case specifically refer to this "insane colored woman" as Jane Boales.

By October, 1874, Jane had left the William Boales home to live with Alexander Scroggins and his family who resided in the nearby Freedman's Town, and to whom the county paid fifteen dollars a month expressly for the living expenses of Jane and her children. Her stay with the Scroggins family was relatively brief, as one year later William Boales petitioned the county court for sole custody of Jane Boales (still regarded by the court as a "lunatic") at no further expense to the county save for a one time ten dollar appropriation so that he could purchase additional clothes for Jane. Although the whole situation is unclear and the exact nature of Jane Boales' mental state cannot be determined from extant documents, it seems likely that the actions of William Boales were ones based principally in kindness and compassion (Dallas County Commissioner's Court Minutes: Book D, p. 212; Book E, pp. 46, 91, 200-201).

Freedman's Cemetery: Coming of Age, and Its Context with Greater Dallas

Prior to the establishment of Freedman's Cemetery, save for the aforementioned Old Dallas Burial Ground, all of Dallas's burying grounds had been located together along the eastern periphery of the town, a group that included the Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries, the old City Cemetery, as well as the Jewish Cemetery (Figure 2-2). What little that remains of these four cemeteries currently is known collectively as the Pioneer Cemetery (Carlisle 1994). While Freedman's Cemetery was the first burial ground to be located north of Dallas, it was not the last. Rather, its founding began a trend of cemetery creation and expansion that would not end until the mid-1880s.

The first burial ground after Freedman's to be located north of the town was Trinity Cemetery, a private Protestant cemetery founded in June 1875 by William H. Gaston (a local banker, city alderman and entrepreneur), William H. Thomas, and Asa W. Morton (one of the town's only undertakers). Gaston was president of the Trinity Cemetery Company, while Morton served in the capacity of its Superintendent (Dallas *Daily Herald*, June 29, 1875).

In 1878, the city of Dallas and William H. Gaston entered into a land swap, whereby a five acre tract along the southern boundary of Trinity was deeded to the city for the establishment of a white pauper cemetery in exchange for title to the old municipal cemetery to the south (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 42, p. 385). Trinity Cemetery changed its name to Greenwood Cemetery, and the funding for its continued upkeep to the Greenwood Cemetery Association, on May 25, 1896 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 203, pp. 551-552). Greenwood Cemetery is open to this day, and due to its long history and exclusive clientele, is still considered the one and only "true" resting place for Dallas's first families. It is located approximately two blocks south of Freedman's Cemetery, along what would later become Hall Street.

Soon after Trinity was established, yet another cemetery, Calvary, was placed in that area north of Dallas. In a previous history, Calvary Cemetery (now Old Calvary) was purported to have been founded in 1868 (Carlisle 1994). If this date was valid, Calvary Cemetery's founding would have predated that of Freedman's by one year. A reappraisal of the original land transfer deed, however, revealed that Carlisle's assessment was in error, as the actual founding of Calvary Cemetery did not occur until ten years later, or on January 16, 1878 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 39, p. 134).

As with most of the cemeteries in Dallas, Calvary served only a very narrow class or portion of the population, inasmuch as it was Catholic in denomination, purchased for the Church by Bishop Claude Dubuis, a French priest whose parish was located in Galveston (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 39, p. 134). Calvary Cemetery is located immediately opposite Greenwood Cemetery, along the north side of Hall Street and one block south of Freedman's Cemetery. This cemetery is now closed to further interments, though it is still maintained by the Catholic Church.

During the 1870s, with the establishment of two cemeteries within its immediate area in a span of only three years, the trustees for Freedman's Cemetery may have believed that if additional land was not purchased for their own cemetery soon, opportunity for future expansion would be lost. Property, not just for burial grounds, was being purchased at an alarming rate within the area surrounding the Freedman's Cemetery, so this concern was hardly unjustified.

One factor that stimulated growth and development to the north of Dallas can be traced to the arrival of the first railroad in the city. The Houston and Texas Central Railroad, making its way from the south, arrived in Dallas on July 16, 1872, and continued to lay tracks along its northern route immediately to the east of Freedman's Cemetery, even as private homes were also being established within its immediate environs (Holmes and Saxon 1992: 64).

Although TxDOT archaeological investigations established that the original first acre of Freedman's was far from full by 1879, it was in this year, only ten years after its founding, that trustees for the graveyard pooled their resources to purchase additional properties adjoining the cemetery both to the east and south.

Four years earlier, in 1875, William Boales sold a little over eight acres of land adjoining Freedman's Cemetery to his new son-in-law, Victor S. Bowles, for the not inconsequential sum of five hundred dollars (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 30, p. 1). Thus when the cemetery trustees decided to purchase an additional tract to meet future expansion needs, by necessity they were forced to deal with Victor Bowles and not their previous benefactor. In all, three additional acres were purchased by the cemetery's trustees from V. S. Bowles on April 12, 1879, for four hundred fifty dollars. One hundred dollars was paid at the signing of the deed agreement, with the remaining sum to be paid off in installments, the last payment presumably occurring on May 14, 1884, when the deed was finally filed and the transaction completed. While Sam Eakins is listed as the sole trustee and signatory on the original Freedman's Cemetery deed in 1869, seven trustees were noted in conjunction with the 1879 purchase: T. Watson, A. R. Griggs, Silas Pittman, Frank Read, A. Wilhite, A. Boyd, and George English (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 66, p. 475).

Securing additional property for Freedman Cemetery's future needs could not have been better timed, as by 1884 and the filing of the deed, yet another cemetery was created in its immediate vicinity. Temple Emanu-El, the primary Jewish congregation of the town, purchased on December 4, 1884, property from Victor Bowles adjoining the Catholic Calvary Cemetery along its northern boundary, and immediately to the south of Freedman's Cemetery. The Jewish community was not as lucky as the trustees of Freedman's Cemetery had been, as Bowles charged them not four hundred fifty dollars, but rather fifteen hundred dollars for a similarly sized tract (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 70, p. 494).

With the establishment of Emanu-El Cemetery in 1884, five distinctly different cemeteries were now located north of the town of Dallas, each contiguous with the other, save for the divisions imposed by Hall Street and the old Lemmon Avenue, with each serving a distinctly separate clientele (Figures 2-5, 2-6). Reasonably well-to-do Protestants were interred in Trinity, the good Catholics laid to rest in Calvary, the Jews in Emanu-El Cemetery, all the anglo poor were quietly disposed of in the City Pauper (backing Trinity), and finally the entire African-American community was interred in Freedman's Cemetery.

Since nineteenth century Dallas never bothered to set aside a separate pauper cemetery for Blacks, a lack of foresight likely owing to equal amounts of frugality and contempt, the entirely privately owned cemetery of Freedman's became by default, the final resting place for all of Black Dallas, rich and poor. This fact is reiterated again and again in the archival record, and was very apparent during the course of excavations, as indigents often were found immediately alongside the most elaborate and, hence, expensive of burials. This arrangement would later provide more than a few headaches for the Dallas City Council, though only after the turn-of-the-century.

When Victor Bowles sold the acreage to establish the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery in 1884, he, along with John H. Cole, simultaneously established a public road that ran along the western boundary of the Calvary and Emanu-El Cemeteries, before turning southeast to form the dividing line between Emanu-El Cemetery and Freedman's Cemetery, terminating at the tracks of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. The southeast portion of this unnamed road would in later years become somewhat altered in its course and be christened Lemmon Avenue, later still to be known as Calvary Avenue.

In the deed agreement made between Bowles, John Cole and the Temple Emanu-El Congregation, the property was assigned and the public road created, though a clause was inserted allowing any interested party (save one) possessing land adjoining the road to close it for any reason. This was true for any save the "parties owning the land known as Freedman's Cemetery," who were excluded from having any voice in the matter whatsoever (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 70, p. 493).

Such premeditated or even unconsciously racist acts were everyday events in Dallas of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, with many exclusionary practices passed through and thus legitimized by the Dallas City Council. The area north of Dallas that bounded and contained Freedman's Cemetery was proposed for annexation to the city by James B. Simpson, of the land firm of Simpson and Clark, a company that was developing over sixty acres of property known as the Guillot Addition.

Their April 11th proposal for annexation was read before an assembled City Council on April 16, 1887, accompanied by letters of consent obtained from private land owners as well as spokesmen for the cemeteries of Trinity, Calvary, and Congregation Emanu-El. Each consent for annexation was proposed under the condition that the cemeteries in question enter the city as non-taxable entities, with the unstated assumption that this condition would remain in perpetuity.

Notably absent from the letters of consent received by the Dallas City Council was one from trustees for Freedman's Cemetery, whose consent was neither pursued nor desired, presumably as their voice and status were of no concern to the powers-that-be (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 6, pp. 441-444). The annexation scheme was unanimously passed, and so in the spring of 1887, Freedman's Cemetery—founded in the

Freedman's Town formed just outside the boundaries and jurisdiction of Dallas, to better escape acts of reprisal and persecution— now found itself within the city limits of Dallas.

Later that same year, on July 11, 1887, the Dallas City Council passed a burial ordinance recognizing the necessity for certificates of death to be kept by all practicing physicians and undertakers, ultimately to be registered with the City Health Officer.

Although two previous city ordinances, passed first in 1873 and later in 1879, legislated the necessity for death certificates and recording of all deaths within the municipality of Dallas, both were ignored and unenforced (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 28-39; 337). Finally in 1887, for the first time in the history of Dallas death records would be kept on the city dead, and these would include those Blacks dying and interred within the city limits (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Series 1, Vol. 5, pp. 93-94).

In 1888, a petition by representatives from the Odd Fellows and Masonic lodges requested that a water line be run to the privately owned Masonic and Odd Fellows Cemeteries, and that both the line and the water it supplied be furnished free of charge by the city. The city not only passed this request capriciously and without debate, it extended the privilege to every other cemetery within the city limits, excluding, of course, Freedman's Cemetery. Such generosity in any degree was never extended to Freedman's during its 39 years of operation (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 7, p. 544; Vol. 9, p. 87).

After the final payment by cemetery trustees was made towards the additional acreage in 1884, nothing more is heard of matters directly pertaining the Freedman's Cemetery for several years. This dearth of knowledge ends on the evening of March 6, 1891, when a meeting of Black Dallas's community leaders took place in a court room at

City Hall for the purpose of discussing what should be done with Freedman's Cemetery. Two separate accounts of this meeting are available— from the *Dallas Times Herald* and the *Dallas Morning News*— and though each is written in a mocking and mildly contemptuous tone, the articles provide details and a window upon the events of the early 1890s that would otherwise be unobtainable.

Ostensibly, the meeting was convened to form a club to raise funds towards two goals: to build a fence around Freedman's Cemetery and purchase additional cemetery land. Silas Pittman, one of the cemetery trustees mentioned by name in the 1879 Freedman's Cemetery Deed, opened the meeting. Melvin Wade, a well known figure in local politics from the days of Reconstruction, next addressed the crowd and in so doing graphically described what he saw as the prevailing conditions at Freedman's Cemetery in 1891 (*Dallas Times Herald*: March 7, 1891):

...that in the cemetery it looked as if the dead people had been hauled out on the cars, pitched off and covered up just anywhere and in any position that they struck the ground. He said it was customary for the dead to be laid away with their heads to the west but in this cemetery headstones faced every point of the compass.

Since no photographs of Freedman's Cemetery are known from the entire 39 year period in which it was an active burial ground, this early verbal description is valuable in and of itself. It should be noted, however, that despite Mr. Wades's perception of the matter, the highway department's excavations revealed that in actuality the graves were nearly all in rough but clearly distinguishable rows, and all were invariably aligned east to west, though this pattern may have been much less discernable from the ground surface.

The majority of graves were marked and decorated by such things as simple

wooden slabs at the head and feet, and the surfaces of the graves were themselves often mounded with dirt, or covered by low and amorphous mounds of freshwater mussel and sea shells. Additional markers included broken plates and bowls, marbles, dolls and other toys, glass vessels and such objects as pressed glass kerosene lamp bases. The overall effect of these markers would have been a jumble and a seemingly patternless chaos, at least as viewed from above. What vagaries of burial alignment and placement that existed at Freedman's Cemetery can largely be traced to the fact that the cemetery never had the luxury of a sexton until its final year of operation, and so there was a certain inevitability to the crowding of some graves together, and a few burials at any given time were likely to intrude into earlier graves. All this was apparent from our excavations, and seems to be at least in part of what Melvin Wade is speaking.

Wade and others suggested the organization engaged in raising money for the cemetery be named "The Dallas Citizens Club" and that George Fuqua be appointed its permanent chairman, two ideas that met with no resistance. Marcellus Clayton Cooper, the town's (as well as the state's) first Black dentist, newly returned from Meharry Medical School, was appointed as secretary (Barr 1996: 95). A Mr. Sims was elected treasurer, with the stipulation only that he put up a bond. A committee on rules and by-laws was next appointed, comprising such notable Black community leaders as John Wesley Ray (principal and schoolteacher), John Starks (a barber, school teacher, publisher, and later still an undertaker), as well as Messrs. Lowry, Moore, Silas Pittman, Cicero Wiggins, and McLin. Though an argument between Reverend Carson and Melvin Wade, among others, broke up the meeting before anything substantive was accomplished, another meeting was scheduled for March 20 (*Dallas Morning News*; *Dallas Times Herald*: March 7, 1891).

On March 20, 1891, the "Cemetery Club" met again in the auditorium of the City Hall, though with only eight members in attendance. Due to this light turnout, the meeting was immediately canceled. One of those attending explained to the reporter for the *Morning News* that the lack of attendance was likely due to the upcoming elections (Dallas *Morning News*; March 21, 1891). Though I read through the Dallas *Times Herald* for every day from March 5, 1891 to June 2, 1891, no further mention of the "Cemetery Club" or the "Dallas Citizen's Club," was found in the immediate months following.

Meanwhile, perhaps spurred to action by the African-American community's attempts to purchase additional cemetery property for the burial of their dead, an ordinance was hurriedly passed by the Dallas City Council on March 6, 1891, that declared it illegal to purchase or utilize property within the city limits of Dallas for the purposes of establishing a cemetery. Further, no existing cemetery in the city could increase its size or extend its borders, although a waiver could at least in theory be granted by the City Council (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Series 1, Vol. 7, pp. 215-216). Since it was unlikely that the Council would grant such a request from the Black community, any new cemetery established by them would therefore have to be outside the corporate limits of the city.

From the beginning of efforts in 1891, it would take another ten years for community leaders of Black Dallas to raise the necessary capital to found an entirely new, privately owned Black cemetery. The next known record of the organization appears on January 13, 1900, in the pages of the weekly Dallas *Express*, one of the principal Black newspapers of the state. Serendipitously, this issue of the Dallas *Express* is the only extant pre-1919 copy of the paper. By 1900, the group previously known as the Dallas

Citizen's Club apparently was known as the "Laboring Men's Club." Under the title, "Laboring Men's Meeting," the Express article reported that:

Thursday night a large number of men met at Odd Fellows hall and held another meeting, for the purpose of raising money to procure a new cemetery. The committee reported, but was instructed to report finally next Thursday night, on a suitable location. \$58 was raised, making a total of over \$100 now on hand.

This "suitable location" was to later become known as Woodland Cemetery (sometimes referred to as Woodlawn), located approximately two miles to the southeast of the circa 1900 Dallas city limits. The signatories on the deed for Woodland Cemetery were the trustees for the Laboring Men's Colored Club, comprising G. W. Fuqua, Silas Pittman, Sam Miller, S. R. Johnson, H. Starks, John P. Starks, Coleman Long, R. W. Lightner, T. H. Routh, J. T. Hill, and J. W. Ray. Some of these men had been members of the original Cemetery Club founded ten years earlier. The property, five acres in all, was purchased from J. L. Ross on January 25, 1901, for the sum of eight hundred dollars, of which four hundred was paid at the deed's signing. The deed was filed for record on October 30, 1901 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 272, pp. 466-468).

The newly founded Black cemetery, Woodland, was not the first cemetery to be established in the area, but rather lay only a few blocks east of Oakland Cemetery, a private white burial ground founded in 1892 and designed as a lawn park in the latest fashion of the period (Anonymous 1893). With Woodland's opening at the beginning of 1902, there were now two cemeteries available to Dallas's African-American community. Freedman's Cemetery, formerly referred to in the city and undertaker's death records as simply the "colored cemetery," would henceforth be recognized by the modifier, "Old

Colored," while Woodland Cemetery, if not noted specifically by name, would be known in these same records as "New Colored."

Around the time of Woodland Cemetery's founding, the Dallas City Council and the County Commissioner's Court were entering into the joint purchase of property for the purposes of establishing pauper burial grounds; significantly, for the first time to include a section for Black indigents. The first indication of the council's intention to create a new pauper cemetery dates to February 27, 1900, when the Public Grounds and Buildings Committee reported that seventeen acres of suitable land for cemetery purposes were located directly east of the State Fair Grounds, and available for immediate purchase at one hundred dollars an acre (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 462).

Though the Public Grounds Committee approved the property without reservations and their recommendation was accepted without debate, the city never purchased this tract. A later communication from the County Commissioners, dated March 25, 1901, seemed the more viable option (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, pp. 6-7):

The Undersigned members of Commissioners Court of Dallas County, represent that there is a need of a place for burial of paupers and that about thirteen acres of land near Oakland Cemetery can be purchased for that purpose for \$1200.00 -and we submit you (the) following proposition, viz: That Dallas County will pay \$600.00 on purchase of said land if Dallas City will pay \$600.00 and that all paupers in the City and County may be buried on said lands...

A report from the Special Committee for the City immediately followed and wholeheartedly endorsed the County's proposition for joint purchase of cemetery property (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 7). And so, on May 17, 1901, a deal

was struck by the County and the City with J. A. and Mattie Crawford, the tracts's owners, whereby each governmental body would enter into separate deed agreements for six acres of a twelve acre tract, for the total sum of twelve hundred dollars (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 265, pp. 208, 475).

With this 1901 purchase, a new pauper cemetery had been created on paper, though not in fact. On the day these deeds were filed, the city and county between them became the owners of twelve acres of isolated and likely overgrown land two miles east of Dallas and adjoining the back of Oakland Cemetery, with no access to the property by road or even right-of-way. It would take the forced closure of Freedman's Cemetery, some six years and several court orders later, before this pauper cemetery would be more than just a vacant lot.

Meanwhile, despite the opening of Woodland Cemetery in late 1901, Freedman's Cemetery continued to receive the lion's share of burials from the Black community. Only ten deaths were unambiguously recorded for burial at Woodland Cemetery in 1902, its first year of operation, and a total of only 81 interments recorded for Woodland between its beginning in 1902 and July 26, 1907 (City Death Records, Vital Records Department, Dallas, Texas).

One possible reason behind a preference for Freedman's Cemetery can be traced to the simple fact that Freedman's was an entirely free cemetery; burial at Woodland Cemetery required the purchase of at least an individual plot ranging in price from \$5.00 to \$10.00 (Ed C. Smith Collection, Dallas Public Library; Loudermilk's Day Books, 1902-1907, Sparkman Hillcrest Funeral Home; Peoples Day Books, 1907-1910, 1915, African-American Museum). Freedman's also had the weight of history and tradition behind it,

wherein rested the ancestors for the entire Black Dallas community from the turbulent days of Reconstruction forward. Tradition would be hard to buck, and harder still to end— not that no one tried. In fact, with the establishment of Woodland Cemetery, an unnamed element within the Black community considered it time for Freedman's to close.

"...Dangerous to the public health...": The Closing of Freedman's Cemetery

Approximately seven months after Woodland Cemetery was opened to burials, on July 26, 1902, a "petition of Colored Citizens to have colored cemetery closed" was read and entered into the minutes of the Dallas City Council (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 28, p. 107). As a matter of routine, this concern was shunted off to the Sanitary committee, who investigated the matter and reported back to the assembled Council on August 11. Their entire report is as follows:

Monday August 11th, 1902 (Series 1, Vol. 28 p. 118)

Report of Sanitary Committee

Hon. Mayor & City Council.

Gentlemen: We your Sanitary Committee reporting on the petition of a number of citizens complaining of the bad condition of the colored peoples cemetery and requesting that the Council take such steps or action in the matter as may (be) deemed advisable, would respectfully report to your honorable body, that we have carefully and fully investigated the ground of said complaint and we are

satisfied that the cemetery is wholly inadequate for further use as a burial grounds for the reason that every available space is now taken and occupied; that the same is so poorly drained and so poorly kept that it renders it wholly unsanitary and dangerous to the public health. We would recommend that said burial grounds be closed and the burying of the dead at said cemetery be hereafter prohibited and that the City Health officers be and he is humbly instructed to not issue any further burial permits to any person or persons desiring the burial of any person at said Cemetery.

H G Brady Sanitary
J W Shanks Committee
 -Adopted-

Contrary to the findings of the Sanitary Committee, there was room at Freedman's Cemetery for an additional seven hundred odd burials, as at least that many occurred in the years following the report, from the extant death records (City Death Records, Vital Records Department, Dallas, Texas). This number also is largely confirmed from excavations at the cemetery. The truth is that by 1902, while Freedman's Cemetery was close to being full, it was not entirely so. True, the only pristine portions of the cemetery lay along its eastern border, abutting the right-of-way for the Houston and Texas Central Railroad (or as it was known by the turn of the century, Central Track). Other large, relatively empty areas entirely suitable for additional burials, however, were located along the site's northern periphery, a fact that did not go unnoticed by Dallas's undertakers or their grave diggers.

Unfortunately, since this northern portion included the original First Acre from 1869, the area had seen continuous (though intermittent and haphazardly placed)

interments since Freedman's founding. Additionally, the pristine, empty areas between graves often would have been very difficult to pinpoint with precision, stemming largely from the type and manner of grave decoration in vogue, and alluded to above. From the ground surface, as Melvin Wade pointed out in 1891, it would have appeared as though the burials had been buried in every direction of the compass. This crowding of graves along the northern boundary of Freedman's, as witnessed through the TxDOT excavations, created the not uncommon phenomena of stacked burials, where interments dug into and disturbed earlier graves. It was in part due to this common practice of stacking after the turn-of-the-century that finally led to Freedman's closure.

The Sanitary Committee unanimously agreed that burial at Freedman's Cemetery must end, and requested that the city health officer stop issuing permits. All well and good, except that this order apparently was ignored by all parties involved; city health officer, the undertakers, grave diggers, and most of all, the Black community of Dallas. From the city records alone, which are known to be incomplete, at least 695 burials occurred at Freedman's after the Sanitary committee's condemnation of the site, and a fair portion of these were indigents, buried at city expense by James Dunn, Broussard, Beard, and Company, or later still Donovan Company, all white undertakers who during this time held the pauper burial contracts with the city.

Although the summer of 1902 saw the initial attempt to close Freedman's Cemetery, with first the petition and then a report that were both immediately ignored, Freedman's status as an active burial ground would remain unchanged and unchallenged for three years. On June 6, 1905, a Dallas *Times Herald* article declared that Mayor Barry was earnestly attempting to close Freedman's Cemetery once again. The complete *Herald*

article reads:

To Bury in New Cemetery

Effort Being Made to Have Negroes Make Change

An effort is being made to induce the management of the negro burying ground, which is located near Hall street, adjoining the Jewish cemetery, to refrain from burying any more corpses there. One reason assigned is that the cemetery is almost entirely occupied and is not practical to bury any more dead there. The negro population have a new grave yard south of the city and is situated near Oakland Cemetery. It is understood that Mayor Barry has taken up the matter (sic), with a view of inducing the negroes to refrain from using the old burying grounds.

The new cemetery referred to above was of course, Woodland, the privately owned Black cemetery located east of Oakland and well outside the city's limits. Now three years after its founding, Woodland was seen by the Black community as a legitimate alternative to Freedman's, though Freedman's still received the vast majority of Black burials. What Mayor Barry did not seem to comprehend in 1905 is that if Freedman's was condemned as he requested, and immediately replaced by Woodland as the primary burial ground for Black Dallas, it was highly unlikely that the owners of Woodland (in essence the community in 1905) could be persuaded to allow the city to bury its significant number of Black paupers at no cost. The city certainly would not want to pay ten dollars a plot for the privilege, on top of the charge already being extracted from the city's coffers by the undertaker James Dunn for coffin, shroud and grave digging.

Five years after its purchase by Dallas City and County governments, the tract of

land proposed for use as a pauper cemetery had not received improvements of any sort, and still consisted of a vacant lot. In fact, on March 14, 1905, Mr. Rodney A. Aldrich, sexton for Oakland Cemetery (1909 Dallas City Directory), petitioned the city for use of the City Pauper Grounds, as they conveniently abutted against Oakland. Presumably, Mr. Aldrich wanted to utilize the grounds as a staging area for funerals at Oakland. The Council ruled two weeks later that it was the Mayor's discretion to rent out the property as he saw fit (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 30, pp. 518, 528).

Again, as witnessed from the city death records and additionally through evidence gained from archaeological investigations, Mayor Barry's 1905 request of the Black community to refrain from interring any more bodies at Freedman's Cemetery was patently ignored, just as it had been in 1902. It would take another year, and newspaper articles published over the course of the next summer, decrying the unsanitary conditions prevailing at the site, before words finally prompted action in the matter.

The first of these summer articles appeared on June 22, 1906 (*Dallas Times Herald*), and described the desperately crowded conditions present at Freedman's Cemetery, urging the City Council to act:

Potter's Field Is Needed

Old Cemetery For Negro Paupers Filled To Overflowing

More Land Needed

City Council Asked to Make Provision For the Burial of Bodies

From reports which have been received from the undertakers of Dallas and from various other sources the

potter's field, in which all the negro paupers are buried, is so full at this time that it is impossible to find room in which to dig a new grave.

It is expected that this matter will be brought up at the next meeting of the council at which time it is probable that this body will be asked to take up the matter of purchasing more land on which to locate the burial grounds.

According to one undertaker, when asked about the matter this morning, the conditions prevailing at this place were brought to the attention of the city council but they took no action on the matter. The potter's field for the negroes is located alongside of the Central railroad near the other graveyards, and just north of where the North Belt car line crossed this railroad track.

There are several acres in this plot but negroes have been buried here for years and there is hardly a place two feet wide and six feet long in which to dig a grave. Conditions prevailing in the white potter's field are also deplorable, but there is yet room in which to bury a few bodies.

Although the Dallas City Council was specifically addressed by name in hopes of bringing action to the matter, the official minutes of this body immediately following the article's publication reveal absolutely no mention of Freedman's or its many problems. Thus ignored, the status quo of Freedman's reigned still. On August 12, 1906, yet another article was published in the *Times Herald*, this time detailing the number and condition of each cemetery located within as well as nearby the city of Dallas. Freedman's Cemetery is described as being "in about the same condition as is the City Cemetery," the white pauper cemetery located behind Greenwood Cemetery (formerly Trinity). And the condition of the city pauper cemetery, as described in the article, was bleak indeed:

In the City cemetery, or potter's field, where the city's dead are buried, no record is kept of the number buried. In fact a

number of graves of two years standing have no mark to indicate that it was once a grave. On several occasions when the grave digger starts to open up a grave for the body of some one who has just passed away he sometimes has to dig in several places before he can find a clear piece of ground. Often in digging a grave he is compelled to stop and cover up the hole he has made because he finds it has been used for the same purpose some time before.

From the founding of Woodland Cemetery at the close of 1901, the end for Freedman's Cemetery always seemed imminent, though somehow each year Freedman's continued to avoid being closed. By late summer 1906, however, the increasingly poor and wholly unsanitary conditions experienced at Freedman's Cemetery finally chanced to be heard by the mayor directly, and from a source that could not easily be ignored. The true beginning of the end for Freedman's Cemetery started on September 17, 1906, explicitly documented in a lengthy *Times Herald* article, given below in its entirety:

**Mayor Takes Prompt Action
Negro Cemetery in Dallas Closed by His Order**

Complaint is Made

**Claims That Burying Ground is Now Filled-
Special Officer to Patrol the Grounds**

If an order made by Mayor Curtis P. Smith this morning holds good, no more negro bodies can be buried within the corporate limits of the city of Dallas. Bodies are now being interred in the old negro cemetery in North Dallas at the rate of two or three in one grave. The sexton of the Jewish cemetery, adjoining the negro cemetery on the west, called on Mayor Smith this morning and requested him to take steps to remedy the trouble immediately.

An order was made by Mayor Barry some two years

ago prohibiting the interment of any more bodies in the negro cemetery, but it seems that it has been ignored. Every lot in this cemetery, it is claimed, was taken some time ago, and bodies are now being buried in old graves, making two and in some cases, three bodies in a grave.

A city ordinance passed some years ago provides against the laying out of any more burial grounds in the city or increase in size any of the present ones. This will necessitate the establishing of another cemetery outside the city limits. Bearing upon this matter the mayor sent the following letter to Chief Sanitary Inspector A. S. DeLee:

September 17, 1906. Mr. A. S. DeLee. Chief Sanitary Inspector. Dear Sir: Complaint has been made to me that negroes are burying bodies in the negro cemetery adjoining the Jewish cemetery, and I have been informed that under the former administration this was ordered stopped. The owners of the Jewish cemetery and the property owners adjoining the negro cemetery claim that the negroes are now burying two or three bodies in one grave, thus creating an intolerable nuisance, and such state of affairs is absolutely against the sanitary laws of this city. I desire that you immediately investigate that matter and promptly prosecute the guilty parties. As this is an extraordinary case, I would instruct you to employ a watchman to remain on duty at the negro cemetery during the day for one week, or until the council can make arrangements to take this matter in hand. You will make this selection at once and send the man to me and I will issue him a commission as a special policeman. You will also notify each of the undertaking establishments that this practice of burying any more bodies in the negro cemetery must be stopped, and if it is not stopped use the necessary means to make the stop. Respectfully,

Curtis P. Smith, Mayor

Acting on the sanitary officer's recommendation, J. P. Clark was appointed a special policeman to see that the order against burying bodies in this cemetery is carried out. Mayor Smith states that he will bring the matter before the council at its next meeting and endeavor to have the penalties made such that the order will not be violated. Every undertaker in the city will be advised of the order and warned against violating it.

The complaint made by Robert Young, the sexton of Emanu-El Cemetery (1906 Dallas City Directory), elicited a swift and dramatic response, especially as compared to prior attempts to close the site. Apparently complaints were lodged not only from Young, but also from several prominent citizens who were attending a funeral at Emanu-El Cemetery on September 17 (Dallas *Morning News*; September 18, 1906). Calls to action, especially from such highly placed voices as the Jewish business community, could not be ignored.

While the actions of Mayor Smith regarding the Freedman's Cemetery problem were meted out immediately following the complaint received from the sexton for the Jewish Cemetery (among others), it was not until Tuesday, September 25, 1906, that the mayor officially addressed the Dallas City Council with a formal letter detailing his actions and additional proposals (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 32, p. 259). This letter is reproduced below in its entirety:

--- Communication from the Mayor --
To the Honorable City Council:

Gentlemen: - I am informed that the plat of ground in the northern part of the City, known as the colored cemetery ground, is occupied to its full capacity by dead bodies, and to permit any further interment at this place will create a nuisance and be detrimental to the health of this city. This cemetery is bounded on the north by Bowser avenue, on the south by Lemmon avenue, on the East by a street 40 feet wide, its boundary and the H. & T. C. R. R. right-of-way, and on the west by a 20 foot alley. The tract of land comprises 4 acres. There is a 40 foot street according to the City Block Book between the Hebrew cemetery and the colored cemetery. Under the present conditions, this street does not exist.

I would recommend that the said 4 acres of ground

designated on the block book as colored cemetery be condemned as a public nuisance and that no more bodies be permitted to be interred therein, and that the Trustees of said cemetery, to-wit:- T. Watson, A. R. Griggs, S. Peterman, Frank Reed, A. Wilhite, A. Boyd and George English be notified by the City Secretary of this action of the City Council, and instructed to procure another piece of ground should they desire to inter any more dead bodies or permit same to be done.

I would also recommend that the Chief of Police be instructed, by the City Secretary to see that this order of the City Council is strictly complied with, and to notify the Police Department to arrest and prosecute to conviction any and all persons found hereafter interring dead bodies in the 4 acres above mentioned.

I would also recommend that the City Engineer be instructed to stake off Lemmon avenue to a width of 40 feet between the Hebrew cemetery and Squire Campbell's addition on the south and said 40 acres on the north from the H. & T. C. right-of-way on the east to the 20 foot alley to the West.

I will further state that upon ascertaining the facts, I ordered said colored cemetery closed on account of being a public nuisance, and placed a special policeman upon the ground at a compensation of \$2.50 per day to prevent any further interments in said cemetery, and I respectfully ask that my action in the premises be ratified and confirmed by the City Council. I do not think that it will be necessary to continue further the services of this special officer after instructions have been delivered to the Chief of Police in (?)... premises.

I herewith submit a plat furnished me by the City Engineer showing the location of this 4 acres of ground, together with the names of the Trustees of said colored cemetery.

Curtis P. Smith, Mayor

-- Adopted --

Mayor Smith met with former mayor Bryan Barry on the afternoon of the 17th, at which time Barry reminded his successor of the property owned by the city adjoining Oakland Cemetery, specifically purchased and set aside as a pauper burying ground. While the city had obtained the property in 1901, on the afternoon of September 17, 1906, embarrassingly, it seems city officials could not locate the deed or even produce proof of the tract's existence (*Dallas Times Herald*; September 18, 1906).

The next morning, on September 18, Mayor Smith convened a meeting with representatives from both Peoples Undertaking Company (at the time, the first and only Black undertaker in the city), as well as with Mr. Donovan of the Donovan Undertaking Company, whose firm at the time held the pauper burial contract with the city. Although there were five undertaking firms serving Dallas by 1906, between the two of them Donovan and Peoples were responsible for nearly all of the interments made at Freedman's.

The only thing that seems to have been accomplished by this meeting with Mayor Smith was a temporary continuance in the issuing of permits for pauper burial, though this was hardly a show of largess on the part of the mayor (*Dallas Times Herald*; September 18, 1906). In reality, Mayor Smith had little or no choice in the matter. At the time, there was simply no other place in which to bury the Black indigent dead. Other key elements of what passed during this meeting were not reported by either the press or within the Minutes of the Dallas City Council, but some things that transpired are suggested, and others can be inferred. These inferences will be discussed in detail below.

The only sexton ever recorded for Freedman's Cemetery was Gloster Williams, who is noted as working in this capacity for the Colored Cemetery within the listings of

the 1907 Dallas City Directory. In the alphabetical listings for this same year, however, Gloster Williams is noted as "sexton Peoples Undertaking Co.," meaning that while he may have been working in the capacity of sexton, serving the needs of Freedman's Cemetery, he was paid not by the city, but rather privately employed by the Black undertaker, Peoples Undertaking Co.

The death records at City Hall during this period presumably were transcribed from each undertaker's own day books in sequential blocks of names entered only once or twice every two weeks, as that is the manner in which the deaths are listed (in blocks by undertaker, and importantly, not in chronological order by date of death). So every couple of weeks, a representative from each undertaker had to make the trip up to City Hall to record the number of dead interred by their employer since the last visit.

Interestingly, about a month before the September 18 meeting took place between Mayor Smith and Peoples Undertaking, their death records stop being recorded in the transcribed ledger of deaths at City Hall. It is not that burials made at Freedman's were no longer being performed or recorded within their own day books, but rather all funerals performed by Peoples Undertaking Company (both at Woodland and Freedman's) ceased to be placed in the official records. From Peoples own records, as well as some newspaper accounts, we know that interments continued to be made by them within the "Old Colored Cemetery" or "North Dallas Cemetery"(the two terms used exclusively for Freedman's) after the September 18th meeting.

Unfortunately, most of the records from Peoples' early years have been lost. Their earliest extant day book begins on July 1, 1907, just three weeks before Freedman's Cemetery was closed for all time. Despite this very brief window, however, in the span of

these three weeks Peoples interred at least eight (and possibly more) burials at Freedman's. The last known recorded burial by Peoples at Freedman's Cemetery occurred on July 11, and the site itself was officially and permanently closed on July 26, 1907.

For some reason, after July 31, 1906, Peoples proceeded with business as usual and continued to inter the dead at Freedman's as well as Woodland, but stopped the practice of recording these same dead in the official records of City Hall. It seems to me very telling that Peoples Undertaking stopped recording their burials at City Hall between the interval of the two *Times Herald* articles decrying the unhealthy and entirely desperate state of the "Old Colored Cemetery." I think it likely that by the close of July, 1906, the handwriting was clearly on the wall as to the fate of Freedman's, and so to avoid the possibility of fines or possible criminal prosecution by continuing to bury there— a point upon which many of their clients no doubt still insisted— Peoples chose to do what was asked of them by their own community, but also chose to do so as discretely as possible. Hence, no official record of burials at Freedman's were logged in at City Hall by representatives of Peoples Undertaking after July 31, 1906.

I believe that on September 18, 1906, an informal deal was struck between Mayor Smith and the representative of Peoples Undertaking Company, whereby Peoples could continue to bury discretely at Freedman's until preparations for the new pauper cemetery could be completed, on the condition that they employ a sexton for the burying ground. If nothing else was served by it, Gloster Williams could find the undisturbed areas between the old graves, so as to allow any subsequent burials to be interred deeply enough, thereby avoiding the perpetuation of stacked burials— a practice resulting in shallow graves and a very real hazard to public health.

Donovan & Co., the anglo undertaker with the pauper contract with the city, would have continued interring the Black indigent dead at Freedman's until such time as the new pauper cemetery was operational, in any event. Thus, Mayor Smith was actually getting Peoples Undertaking Co. to pay for the services of a sexton that the city would otherwise have had to pay. And Mr. Williams seems to have earned his wages. While this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8, of burials dating to the Late Period (1900-1907), there is a continual increase in the number of stacked burials (i.e., a fresh burial interred atop an earlier grave), every year except for late 1906 and 1907, when an actual decline in stacking is seen. I attribute this decline in the rate of stacked burials to the good work of Gloster Williams.

A week following the formal complaint made by the sexton for Emanu-El, a follow up article on the cemetery was published in the *Times Herald* (September 24, 1906), containing a detailed description of Freedman's Cemetery. As with that offered by Melvin Wade at the Cemetery Club's meeting in 1891, without the luxury of photographs, this description serves up the best picture of the physical conditions prevailing at Freedman's Cemetery at the time of its writing:

INTERMENT OF NEGRO BODIES
Conditions Existing at the Cemetery in North Dallas

BURYING PLACE FILLED
Municipality Has Used It For the Past Twenty-Five Years -
Action is Expected Soon

So much has appeared in the press recently regarding the conditions of the city cemetery for negroes that an inspection of this plot of ground was made the other

day by a reporter for the purpose of writing up the places as the conditions deserved.

The plot of ground which covers about five acres is located on North Central avenue about a block from where the North Belt car line crosses the central railroad on State street. For twenty-five years or more this cemetery has been used by the negroes as a place in which to inter their dead and as no record has ever been kept as to how many bodies have been placed therein it is not known how many have been buried there. This land was purchased by the city as a negro burying ground and the municipality has absolute control over it.

Cemetery is Filled

No doubt the full capacity of the place has already been overrun and an examination developed the fact that graves have been dug crosswise of one another, but this cannot be blamed on the undertakers or grave diggers for the simple reason that no records are kept and as most of the negroes buried here never have more than a wooden slab to mark their graves, which soon decay, all location of the old graves are lost track of. Besides this the place is grown up with underbrush, high weeds, wiregrass, sunflowers, bramble bushes and vines which materially assist time and decay to obliterate all traces of the graves.

No fence encloses the plot of ground and horses, cows and other animals are free to roam at will through this cemetery. It is true that some few graves or lots are enclosed in neat fences of wood which serves to show that some of the relatives of those buried here are making an effort to keep their last resting places sacred. The claim is made that a great stench arose from the cemetery and that the entire atmosphere was contaminated by odors from this cemetery.

When the matter was first reported to Mayor Smith, there was a considerable odor apparently came from the cemetery. When the guard sent out to keep any more bodies from being buried in this place was inspecting the cemetery the other day he ran across the decaying and rotting remains of a dozen or more chickens. The city authorities were notified and the dead animal wagon was sent out and removed these twelve or fifteen dead chickens and about ten or fifteen more that was (sic) found in the

strip of weeds adjoining this cemetery on the south. This had a very healthy effect on the atmosphere of that vicinity and people who reside in the near neighborhood of the cemetery state that much of the offensive odor that prevailed has almost entirely disappeared. One thing which causes a slight stench to arise from the burying grounds, however, is the fact that much of the vegetation is decaying, the cemetery not having been cleared off in years and as a result matted grass, weeds, leaves, and other stuff which would naturally gather in a place of this character is beginning to decay on account of the extra rainy summer which has been followed by a couple of weeks of hot sunshiny weather.

One or two bodies have been buried in this place since Mayor Smith issued his order not to allow any more bodies buried there. A grave was already dug for the reception of a body when the order was issued and the mayor gave permission for the remains to be interred in this cemetery. Since that time one or two more bodies have been buried there on orders from the mayor as the relatives of the deceased persons could not secure any other place in which to inter the dead. It is expected that this matter will come up at the next session of the council and some other burying place provided.

No more bodies should be allowed to be buried in this cemetery and a fence should be placed around the plot of ground contained in the graveyard. The weeds, grass and underbrush should then be removed and kept removed and it is not believed that there will be any more complaint from this place.

Meanwhile, a week had passed since Mayor Smith began the process of finding an alternative to Freedman's Cemetery, and city officials had yet to locate the deed for the six acres purchased for this purpose in 1901. This astounding lack of success was reported by the *Times Herald*, with the caveat that if the existence of this mystery tract could not be produced, city officials would proceed to purchase yet another five or ten acres in the

vicinity of Oakland Cemetery towards the same end (*Dallas Times Herald*; September 25, 1906). A week later, it was reported in the *Times Herald* that confirmation of the city's ownership of the tract adjoining Oakland was still pending, though on the following day the *Times Herald* finally was able to report that the land did indeed belong to the city (*Dallas Times Herald*; October 1 and 2, 1906).

With the deed to the 6 acre tract behind Oakland Cemetery finally and firmly in the hands of city officials, it might have seemed that the establishment of the new pauper cemetery was an imminent event. Such was not to be the case. During the time of Freedman's Cemetery's condemnation and the preparations for the new pauper cemetery pending, the municipal government of Dallas was simultaneously undergoing a profound change. Dallas community and business leaders were in the process of re-writing the city's charter, exchanging the former system of a mayor and aldermen elected from individual wards, for a commission based system, where the commissioners were elected-at-large (Hill 1996: 8-9). So all attention was focused upon this massive restructuring of city government, and almost none given to the immediately pressing, though politically minor, matter of Black graveyards.

In the December 2nd issue of the *Times Herald*, Murphy Townsend, one of the delegates to the city charter convention, proposed the establishment of an official city cemetery, not merely for paupers, but rather for ordinary citizens to have access to inexpensive burial plots (*Dallas Times Herald*; December 2, 1906). This proposal of a city cemetery was further pursued and elaborated upon by the combined charter convention, but despite its touted merits nothing more is heard of it (*Dallas Times Herald*; December 3, 1906). Its one result may have been to draw attention to the floundering efforts on the

city's part to open the new Black pauper cemetery. Despite the passage of a little over three months since the issue of Freedman's Cemetery had come to a head, nothing had been accomplished.

The day after Christmas, 1906, Mayor Smith announced that negotiations with property owners possessing land adjoining the new pauper cemetery had been ongoing for some time, but as yet had failed to persuade the sale of property for the establishment of a road to the city's tract. Smith stated that if these negotiations continued to be fruitless, the city would be forced to condemn the property, in essence to implement eminent domain procedures upon the needed right-of-way land. Meanwhile, though Freedman's Cemetery stood condemned, bodies continued to be interred within the old burial ground through the granting of special permits by the mayor (*Dallas Times Herald*, December 26, 1906).

Finally, ten months after the process began with Freedman's condemnation, a *Times Herald* article announced:

**New City Cemetery Formally Opened
Plenty of Room Provided for Burial of City's Poor**

Mayor S. J. Hay, Commissioner Doran, J. M. Strong and Undertaker Donovan took a trip out to the new city cemetery located adjoining the east side of Oakland cemetery, early this morning and officially announced that the cemetery was opened to the public. The ground, which is comprised of some six acres, was surveyed and divided, one-half to be used for whites and the other half for negroes.

This new pauper cemetery initially was referred to in the death records by area undertakers as New City to differentiate it from old City Cemetery, the white pauper

burial ground located behind Greenwood Cemetery. On October 11, 1911, a special committee reported to the Dallas City Council that the old Anglo pauper cemetery behind Greenwood was completely filled and that any additional dead must instead be interred at the New City cemetery, abutting Oakland. The report goes on to state that, "So far burials in this last named cemetery have been without reference to any system either for white or colored persons..." meaning that the system of internal division within the burial ground, at least in regards to race, had never been accomplished (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 2, Vol. 5, p. 236). Hence, in a four year interval between 1907 and 1911, the graves of black and white indigents were at times likely laid side by side one another, even as Jim Crow laws were being codified locally and throughout the South. In 1916, yet another city burial ordinance was passed, in part, to officially name the New City cemetery, Mount Auburn (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Ordinance No. 154, March 27, 1916).

Freedman's Cemetery was founded during the height of Reconstruction and served the African-American community of Dallas as its primary burial ground for some 39 years. That came to an end on July 26, 1907. With the opening of the new city pauper cemetery, Freedman's Cemetery was finally and for all time, closed to further interments. This is reflected in the death records reviewed from several sources, including Dallas City Hall, local newspapers, and area undertakers. While deaths continued to be recorded for burial at Freedman's up to July 26, 1907, none are reported after this date. The closing of the cemetery, after so much hesitation by city leaders, undertakers, and especially the Black community, was finally a reality.

One immediate result of Freedman's closure can be seen in the finalized Dallas City Charter of 1907, a document long debated at the city charter convention even as Freedman's Cemetery lay condemned. Explicitly written into the 1907 charter was the municipal government's right "to regulate burial grounds... and to condemn and close burial grounds and cemeteries in thickly settled portions of the city, and when demanded by the public interest or public health..." a specific power lacking in previous city charters or ordinances (Charter of the City of Dallas, Article II, Section 5, Subsection 1., 1907: 18).

After The Close of Freedman's Cemetery: Its Fate (1907-1965)

By the height of summer, 1907, Freedman's Cemetery lay closed; its future an uncertain one. Although no longer an active burial ground, Freedman's still retained a great intrinsic value. At its root, the cemetery embodied the emotional core of the African-American community. Certainly Freedman's Cemetery was never truly forgotten or "abandoned" by the African-American communities of Dallas. But while Freedman's Cemetery was still valued, as the years passed the more practical concerns of daily living seem to have dimmed its memory for many.

Indeed, even while Freedman's was still in active use in 1906, the description of its overgrown grounds, vividly rendered in the *Times Herald* article quoted above, paints an overall scene of a wild state, suggesting some inadvertent neglect. As the *Times Herald* article makes clear, many individual graves were methodically and reverently cleaned and cleared away of grass and weeds. Still, on the whole the cemetery suffered, due in large

part to the simple fact that Dallas's African-American community simply did not possess the resources necessary for its upkeep. The new black cemetery, Woodland, created expressly to replace Freedman's, required care and upkeep as well, and as will be seen below, there simply was not enough money to support the maintenance of two large grave yards. Further, as detailed below, the legal status of Freedman's changed significantly during the 1920s, rendering its position within the community an ambiguous one. Although the City of Dallas (as addressed in part above) sometimes extended its resources to the upkeep or improvement of private white cemeteries, from an exhaustive study of the Dallas City Council Minutes it is quite clear that no such funds were ever bestowed upon Freedman's.

Save for a single issue from 1900, copies of the Dallas *Express* do not exist prior to 1919, and so it is unknown if any prior community clean-up efforts ever were focused on either Freedman's or Woodland Cemeteries. By the Spring of 1921, however, there was a movement to clean-up the "cemeteries," spearheaded by ladies within the community. On March 12, 1921, a Dallas *Express* article entitled "The Cemetery Movement" observed that:

We are glad to note the growth of the movement to clean up and beautify our cemeteries which has been started by a group of women headed by Mrs. Stewart. The work of these women has been quietly done and the fact that they are keeping the spirit of improvement alive is commendable... Our cemeteries need the kind of improvement and constant care that can be given only by one or two persons who are paid to give that care.

The intent of the article was to inspire community involvement in cleaning up the cemetery and establish a fund for its perpetual care. The article is ambiguous as to specifically which cemetery is being referred to, never calling a cemetery specifically by name. In some instances, the reference is definitely in the singular, and in others it would seem that two cemeteries are being spoken of.

The next *Dallas Express* article, on April 9, 1921, mentions only a single cemetery, though it is still unnamed. The article is promoting "Tag Day," a sale of ribbons for the express purpose of raising funds for the cemetery clean-up.

"The Colored Cemetery Association is yet alive..." read the opening line of another *Dallas Express* article, published on June 4, 1921. By this time, enough money has been raised to employ daily a man "to look after the graves, keep them clean and free from the grass and weeds that formerly grew on the graves of our dead.

After this declaration, over two years passed before another mention of the cemetery association appeared within the pages of the *Dallas Express*. On January 26, 1924, it was announced that:

The local cemetery association (that) has been inactive the past eight months has been revived. The defunct organization was re-organized at the home of Mrs. J. P. Starks, 1715 Allen Street, Tuesday evening, January 22. A city wide campaign will be launched to interest all persons in keeping the cemetery and the graves of our beloved dead clean...

Another article, reporting the good work of the cemetery association, appears in the February 16, 1924, issue of the *Express*, but as with all of the previous articles, the cemetery is never actually referred to by name. Finally, on March 8, 1924, in the next

Express article written about the association, this civic group is specifically called the Woodland (or sometimes Woodlawn) Cemetery Association. With this, it is clear that prior efforts to clean up "the cemetery" were all, in fact, referring to Woodland Cemetery. One of the more innovative means to collect funds for Woodland Cemetery's upkeep can be found in an *Express* article, also published on March 8, 1924; a baby contest was held through the area churches in which votes were sold, to be cast towards the prettiest baby.

There were two more articles concerning the efforts of the Woodland Cemetery Association to raise funds in the Dallas *Express* through the year of 1924 (May 24, 1924; July 5, 1924). Unfortunately, not a single article ever mentions the state of Freedman's Cemetery, or concerns within the community to improve its condition.

By the mid-1920s, essentially two decades had passed since Freedman's Cemetery had last served the Black community as an active burial ground. With the series of articles published in the Dallas *Express*, it would appear that during this period most efforts of Dallas's African-American community were focused on the day-to-day needs of Woodland Cemetery, with little or no active attention paid to Freedman's.

Ironically, Woodland Cemetery, the cemetery founded to replace Freedman's, later would suffer much the same fate as its progenitor. Although the cemetery association, founded in the early 1920s to raise funds towards the upkeep of Woodland Cemetery, was still functioning into the late 1940s (Dallas *Express*: November 16, 1946; March 22, 1947), by the late 1960s the grounds had fallen into nearly complete disarray. Just as Freedman's Cemetery had been condemned and taken over by the city of Dallas in 1965, by 1970 Woodland Cemetery likewise lay condemned. In September 1970, City Manager

Scott McDonald proposed the conversion of both Woodland and Hillside Cemeteries into city parks (Hillside Cemetery, created in 1924, was contiguous to Woodland). Though its grounds were in poor shape, Woodland Cemetery was still receiving an occasional new burial even as it was being condemned by the Dallas City Council (*Dallas Times Herald*: September 24, 1970). In October 1970, the Dallas City Council approved the proposal of creating city parks out of Woodland and Hillside Cemeteries, the cost of their maintenance estimated at 30,000 dollars annually (*Dallas Times Herald*; October 13, 1970).

The Selling of Freedman's Cemetery:

Land Speculations (1927-1965)

Due to a variety of motivations and circumstances, beginning in the twenties Freedman's Cemetery would come to suffer greatly, both through inadvertent neglect and the indignities forced upon it by the often questionable speculations of Euro-American business men. After its closure, although it might seem logical to conclude that Freedman's would always retain its status as a graveyard, the site actually came to be viewed by some as a potentially prime piece of real estate some four acres in extent, immediately north of downtown Dallas. While the African-American community held Freedman's Cemetery in great sentimental value, others viewed the land quite valuable in a very different way— as potential commercial property.

Figure 2-7 displays the chain of land deeds from Freedman's founding to its final disposition as a city park. As such, it graphically illustrates the many claimants, owners,

and permutations that Freedman's Cemetery suffered through in the years following its closure.

At least some of the seven Freedman's Cemetery trustees, noted by name in the second land purchase deed of 1879, were still alive when the cemetery closed in 1907, and some continued to live into the second decade of the twentieth century. In particular the fates of two trustees are known. The Reverend A. R. Griggs, former pastor of the New Hope Baptist Church and one of the seven original trustees, died on May 7, 1922 (*Dallas Express* May 13, 1922). The last of the original trustees was likely Silas Pittman, who on May 4, 1927, at the age of 76, died of paralysis of the spine. Pittman played an active role in the Cemetery Club of the early 1890s, as well as the Laboring Men's Club which purchased Woodland Cemetery in the winter of 1901. Pittman himself would later come to be interred within Woodland Cemetery (City Death Records, Vital Records Department, Dallas, Texas).

Dock Rowen, a local Black businessman, was one of the inheritors of the position of Freedman's Cemetery trustee. Rowen had been born in 1860, in Jerusalem, Palestine. He immigrated to the United States as a young man, arriving in Dallas by circa 1880 (Williams: n.d.).

On August 18, 1927, Rowen registered an affidavit in the Dallas County Records building, declaring in part that:

I, D. Rowen, of the County of Dallas, State of Texas, being first duly sworn, depose and say ... that all of the aforesaid Trustees are all dead and that they were succeeded in the said Trust by this affiant and other trustees, all of whom are dead, save this affiant. That this affiant paid the note securing the purchase money on the said last mentioned tract of land, and had administered and taken care of the

said cemetery property for many years past, and that no other Trustee has taken any part in the management of the said cemetery for some years past (Dallas County Deed Records, Affidavit; Vol. 1219, pp. 525-526).

This affidavit was sworn just three months after the death of Silas Pittman, the last of the original trustees. The document served as the necessary first step prior to Rowen taking out a deed-of-trust on the burial ground, in essence taking out a loan using Freedman's Cemetery as collateral. A month later, on August 18, 1927, this deed-of-trust was entered into by Dock Rowen and F. I. Glenn for the sum of 350 dollars, with Edward Belsterling acting as Trustee. Glenn was a white businessman, whose occupation was listed in various Dallas city directories solely as "investments." Edward Belsterling was a white attorney who also dabbled in real estate as an absentee landlord, most often to poorer Black tenants (Dallas County Deed Records, Vol. Vol. 750, pp. 169-172; Dallas City Directories 1917, 1937; McDonald 1978: 181).

As can be seen in Figure 2-7, Dock Rowen paid off the first deed-of-trust on Freedman's Cemetery in just two months. Curiously, on the day prior to this first deed-of-trust's repayment and release (October 28, 1927), yet another deed-of-trust was entered into by Dock Rowen, F. I. Glenn, and Edward Belsterling, though this second deed-of-trust differed in two parts. First, Rowen was not the sole affiant. In the Deed-of-Trust of October 27, 1927, Rowen is joined by William H. Griggs, the son of A. R. Griggs (who had been one of the original 1879 trustees). In this second deed-of-trust, both swear that they are the "sole surviving" trustees for Freedman's Cemetery (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 759, pp. 537-540).

The second principal difference with this second deed-of-trust is that the five

hundred dollar loan upon which it was based was never paid off. Apparently, Dock Rowen and A. R. Griggs failed to meet the payment for the note on Freedman's Cemetery, due on January 1, 1928. The penalty for this lack of payment was a startling one.

Edward Belsterling, as the appointed trustee, followed the stipulations set down in the deed-of-trust agreement to the letter, and proceeded with the posting of notices in three public places throughout the county, prefatory to the selling of the cemetery. Finally, on the morning of February 7, 1928, on the very steps of the Dallas County Courthouse, Belsterling auctioned off Freedman's Cemetery to the highest bidder for the sum of five hundred dollars. Suspiciously, the man with the highest, and perhaps only bid, was one F. I. Glenn, the very man who had entered into the deed-of-trust with Rowen and Griggs in the first place. Oddly, the amount supposedly paid at auction for Freedman's Cemetery, five hundred dollars, was the exact amount Glenn loaned to Griggs and Rowen within the deed-of-trust itself.

It seems very odd for Glenn to have purchased Freedman's, when the purpose of its sale at auction purportedly was to help compensate him for the money that he had lost to Rowen and Griggs upon their failure to repay him the deed-of-trust note of five hundred dollars. Even more suspect is the fact that on the very same day that he bought Freedman's Cemetery at public auction, F. I. Glenn quitclaimed a 1/3 interest in Freedman's Cemetery (for the stated sum of ten dollars) to Edward Belsterling, the supposedly neutral third party (and auctioneer).

The end result of this deed-of-trust was to alter the legal status of Freedman's Cemetery— the first time it had changed since the second acreage purchase of 1879/1884. Sadly, this change in the status of Freedman's Cemetery was for the worse, and

unfortunately, it would not be the last. Rather, it marks the beginning of an elaborate chain-of-deeds, the purpose of which was likely to confuse the title or status of the property, so as to wrest ownership and control of Freedman's Cemetery away from the African-American community of greater Dallas and place it within the hands of land speculators (see Figure 2-7).

Although the quitclaim drawn up between Glenn and Belsterling was executed on April 4, 1928 (the day that Freedman's was sold at auction to Glenn), it was not actually filed with the Dallas County Clerk's office until January 30, 1931, some three years later. It is possible that Belsterling and Glenn waited the length of time that they did, so as to be certain that no interested party (such as from the Black community) would challenge their title to the cemetery (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 1677, pp.380-381).

Not coincidentally, the day on which the quitclaim was submitted to the County Clerk's office is the very same day that yet another deed dealing with the sale of Freedman's Cemetery was also filed: a warranty deed in which both F. I. Glenn and Edward Belsterling sold all of their interests in only a section of Freedman's Cemetery (approximately 2.16 acres in extent) to one H. E. Worbes for the sum of \$1050.00. Unlike the deeds-of-trust executed between Rowen, Griggs, and Glenn, which specifically noted the property as the Freedman's Cemetery, by the time of the Worbes deed, the language is such that it is no longer possible to determine that what was being sold was, in actuality, a cemetery (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 1677, pp. 381-382).

The sale of only a portion of Freedman's Cemetery to Worbes is a rather curious thing, and the motivations behind it are far from certain. H. E. Worbes quietly held onto this portion of Freedman's Cemetery for some sixteen years, until July 9, 1947, when he

and his wife disposed of the property to Thomas S. Walker for \$3500. A day later, Thomas S. Walker sold this same portion of Freedman's Cemetery, 2.16 acres, to the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association. This portion of Freedman's consisted of the entire western half of the cemetery, encompassing that area of Freedman's conveniently bordering the northern boundary of the Jewish cemetery, Temple Emanu-El. This may have been the ultimate reasoning behind the parceling of Freedman's to begin with, back in 1931 (Dallas County Deed Records; Volume 2847, pp. 603-604).

Presumably the Congregation Temple Emanu-El purchased only that portion of Freedman's that met their own boundaries, to be held as an area of potential expansion. A majority of this acreage, however, though still legally owned by Congregation Temple Emanu-El into the present, has never been utilized for further interments. Instead, it has been allowed to become overgrown with thick underbrush and trees, benefiting Temple Emanu-El Cemetery only as a buffer from the busy traffic of Lemmon Avenue. The Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association, in a span of four deeds over a twenty year period, sold small portions of the acquired Freedman's property to the City of Dallas. The main purpose of these sales was for the expansion of Lemmon Avenue, with the final land sale occurring on July 19, 1967 (see Figure 2-7; Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 3273, pp. 184-185; Vol. 3274, pp. 184-185; Vol. 187, pp. 86-91; Vol. 67190, pp. 595-596).

The elaborate chain-of-deeds outlined above first began in 1927 and ended with the complete and total sale of Freedman's Cemetery, the cemetery's acreage eventually carved up by a series of private land owners as well as the City of Dallas. Oddly enough, however, the land swaps and shady deals detailed above were not the only chain-of-deeds created by the sale of the four acres that had once constituted Freedman's Cemetery. The

possible illegalities of it aside, an entirely separate, though somewhat parallel, series of land sales involving the exact same Freedman's Cemetery acreage actually did occur.

This second series of land sales, outlined in schematic form in Figure 7, first began on July 16, 1940, with the sale of the entire 4 acres of Freedman's Cemetery by Jerome Kirby Rowen, to Currie McCutcheon (see Figure 2-7). Jerome Kirby Rowen was the son of Dock Rowen, while Currie McCutcheon was a white lawyer who at one time kept offices within the high-rise Mercantile Building in downtown Dallas (Williams n.d.: 96; 1937 City Dir; Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 2216, pp. 563-564). Although Freedman's Cemetery clearly had been sold back in 1927 by Dock Rowen and W. H. Griggs to F. I. Glenn and Edward Belsterling, and transferred in part by them to others on into the 1960s, inexplicably Jerome Kirby Rowen sold Freedman's Cemetery yet again in 1940.

Even more inexplicable is the fact that only one month later, on August 16, 1940, Jerome Kirby Rowen again sold Freedman's Cemetery to Currie McCutcheon. The wording of both deeds is seemingly identical, and so the purpose or necessity of the second deed cannot be determined. Both were sworn to by Jerome Kirby Rowen on July 16, though executed and filed on different days. For seven years Currie McCutcheon held the deed to the Freedman's Cemetery property, before he finally disposed of precisely 2.16 acres of it to the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association. This acreage was the exact same parcel of land conveyed first from Glenn and Belsterling to Worbes, then to Walker, and finally to the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association in the original series of land deeds outlined above.

It is incontrovertible that the principal parties involved in both series of Freedman's

Cemetery land deals were working in concert as part of a coordinated effort. At the very least, coordination was required around the time immediately preceding the actual sale of the property in 1947. No other explanation can account for the miraculous timing and identical acreage sold to the Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association on July 10 of that year. In fact, in the Currie McCutcheon/Temple Emanu-El Cemetery Association deed of 1947 (Vol. 2848, pp. 1-2), the deeds involving Thomas S. Walker and H. E. Worbes (among others) are noted. The deed further states that the acreage being sold is identical to that named in the Worbes/Walker deed of the day before (i.e., July 9, 1947) (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 2847, pp. 609-611). Obviously, the motivations and some of the inner machinations of just what was occurring with these land sales cannot be determined through an examination of the deeds alone. What can be concluded from the extant documentation is that the legality of many of these land sales is certainly questionable, especially those derived from the Jerome Rowen/Currie McCutcheon interactions.

In the fall of 1947, some three months after Temple Emanu-El Cemetery purchased 2.16 acres of land that had previously constituted the western portion of Freedman's Cemetery, Currie McCutcheon sold additional Freedman's acreage, this time to the City of Dallas. The land being sold totaled approximately a third of an acre (.35 acre) and made up the entire eastern border of Freedman's Cemetery. The City of Dallas purchased the cemetery property essentially as right-of-way for the express purpose of the impending construction of North Central Expressway (or U.S. 75) (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 2920, pp. 41-43).

With the two land sales noted above (the 2.16 acres to Temple Emanu-El and the

.35 of an acre sold to the City of Dallas), Freedman's Cemetery had been encroached upon from three sides (north, east, and west). In particular, these land sales are significant because their execution marks the first time that any portion of Freedman's Cemetery was actually altered or impacted in any real way. All of the prior land sales had included either the entire four acres of Freedman's Cemetery, complete and intact, or a portion of the property, though with only the name present on the title changing through time.

Although the vast portion of Freedman's land held by Temple Emanu-El was merely fenced in and not otherwise adversely impacted, it still represented an imposed boundary or division that had not existed previously. Certainly the land sales to the City of Dallas (by Temple Emanu-El and Currie McCutcheon) resulted in significant and drastic physical impacts to Freedman's Cemetery, with the construction of both Lemmon Avenue and North Central Expressway over the eastern and northern portions of the graveyard and literally over hundreds of graves.

Beginning in the late 1950s and extending up to 1965, additional land sales involving acreage belonging to Freedman's Cemetery took place. Perhaps the most ambiguous, and at times obviously deceptive, of all of the land deals involving the cemetery, is that which occurred in the spring of 1958 and filed with the Dallas County Clerk's office on April 30, 1958 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 4886, pp. 560-566). In this warranty deed, Jerome Kirby Rowen along with 12 other individuals (including his son), deeded a portion of Freedman's Cemetery to the Crockett Company.

The acreage being sold, some 1.22 acres, is the portion of Freedman's Cemetery that would later become Freedman's Memorial Park, a city park. Others named within the deed include Thomas S. Walker, who had a prior claim on the property from the deed of

July 10, 1947, as well as the names of individuals presumably drawn from the Black community. Oddly enough, the one person who should be named— Currie McCutcheon—is not listed among the grantors; it is he who purchased the cemetery property from Jerome Kirby Rowen in 1940. Jerome Kirby Rowen had in essence, sold this portion of the cemetery twice, once to Currie McCutcheon in 1940, and once more to the Crockett Company in 1958.

Miraculously enough, even William H. Boales, and his daughter and son-in-law, Victor S. and Elizabeth Bowles, are named. The deed certainly seems to bear the signatures of these individuals. Further, two public notaries, Josephine Wiggins and Doris Duke, both swore that they appeared before them on the 12th of March, 1958. It is even more remarkable, then, when one considers that William H. Boales actually died on July 5, 1901, or some 57 years prior to the filing of the deed (*Dallas Times Herald*; July 5, 1901).

It is also highly unlikely that his daughter and son-in-law were both still living in 1958. Elizabeth Boales/Bowles was born in 1852, and so would have been 106 years old at the signing of the deed. Her husband Victor, born in 1849, would have been an amazing 109 years of age in 1958 (1880 U.S. Federal Census, Dallas County, Texas; Vol. 9, E. D. 58, sheet 29, line 10).

With named and signed grantors that had been in the grave for decades, the legality of the Crockett Company deed is tenuous at best. True, at least one of those named, Thomas Walker, still would have retained some legal rights to the property from his purchase of it from H. E. Worbes on July 9, 1947; that portion of Freedman's purchased by the Crockett Company had not been, as such, previously disposed of. But the absurd

lengths to which were gone, on at least someone's part, to establish a seemingly legitimate claim to the property makes the whole transaction a very curious one.

Little substantive is known regarding the Crockett Company, the dubious recipient of the 1.22 acres of Freedman's Cemetery property. From deed records, it can be established that a Benjamin H. Carpenter was its president. It was also possible to establish that the Crockett Company was not a minor title company by any means. Even a sampling of the land deed records housed in the Dallas County Records Building (for the years 1961 through 1962), reveal a huge number of land deals in which the Crockett Company was a party to, at times including the State of Texas, the County of Dallas, the Humble Pipeline Company, and dozens of others.

Regardless of any initial intentions that the Crockett Company may have held for the cemetery property, nothing came of them. After purchasing the 1.22 acres of Freedman's Cemetery property in 1958, the firm simply held onto the land until February 12, 1965, when they quitclaimed the property to the City of Dallas for ten dollars (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 508, pp. 457-459).

This quitclaim deed was not the only one accepted by the City of Dallas for this same 1.22 acres of Freedman's Cemetery property. Indeed, an organization calling itself the North Dallas Memorial Park Association, professing to be made up of "the sole survivors of persons who have been buried in Freedman's Cemetery," also offered up a quit claim deed to the very same property. The membership of the North Dallas Memorial Park Association, as listed within the quitclaim deed itself, included: M. B. and Lucille Anderson, Lula Mae Anderson, Lemma C. Bright, Ruth Campbell, Harold M. and Sedalia S. Harden, Christabell L. Higginbotham, Jane A. and Wright C. King, Ruby N. Stewart,

and Duane B. and Ollie Lee Mason (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 577, pp. 390-394).

Beyond the deed, no other information regarding this association could be located, though it seems likely that it was formed solely for the purpose of deeding the property to the city. While some assurances of preservation or protection for the Freedman's Cemetery property may have been granted verbally by city officials, the deed does not reveal why the property was being sold, nor are there any specific stipulations meted out by the descendants and assignors, as to the ultimate fate of the property.

The motivation of city officials, however, is known from another source. On March 25, 1965, a Dallas *Times Herald* article described the neglected condition of many of the area's cemeteries. Dr. J. W. Bass, the Public Health Director, stated that he could see no other solution to the problem, save for "some public agency such as the Park Department to maintain abandoned or condemned cemeteries" (Dallas *Times Herald*, March 25, 1965).

In a later *Times Herald* article, dated May 18, it was publicly announced that the Park Department of the City of Dallas had on "Monday accepted a quit-claim deed to the old Freedman's Cemetery at Lemmon and N. Central Expressway. The park department will maintain the cemetery areas as public property. The cemetery had been one of those on the abandoned list" (Dallas *Times Herald*, May 18, 1965).

Beginning in the 1920s and not ending until 1965, the physical property comprising Freedman's Cemetery was the focus of intense and often questionable land speculation, resulting in a undisputed loss of the majority of the site to the demands of

freeway and access road construction, as well as to the Emanu-El Cemetery Association. Only a little over a quarter of the property, some 1.22 acres, remained intact enough to be simultaneously condemned and converted into city park property. The final section of this chapter will detail the historical background regarding the building of North Central Expressway.

Construction of North Central Expressway and Lemmon Avenue

The proposed widening of North Central Expressway (U.S. Highway 75) through downtown Dallas in the late 1980s necessitated a preliminary pedestrian survey by a Texas Department of Transportation (TxDOT) archaeologist. Discovered along the course of North Central Expressway was an unusual city park, with a large concrete sign that read (in part), "Freedman's Memorial Park, A Public Cemetery" (Figure 2-1).

While plans for the widening of North Central Expressway were being formalized, the Southland Corporation had already broken ground on what was to become their new corporate headquarters, City Place Tower. Originally conceived as two twin towers, connected over North Central Expressway by means of an elevated causeway, only the single tower, along the eastern side of North Central, actually was constructed (Dooley 1988: 19, 22-23).

Due to an error in planning, however, City Place Tower was built approximately 15 feet too close to the existing roadways of North Central Expressway, even though plans were already in place for the expressway's expansion to the east. Due to this error,

and the impossibly high cost of razing the newly constructed 40 story structure, the needed right-of-way was forced to shift to the west; this meant intruding into the portion of Freedman's Cemetery converted into a city park. It should be noted that at the time of TxDOT's initial cultural resources assessment in 1989 and 1990, the actual four acre extent of Freedman's Cemetery had yet to be established (McMillan 1991).

The recording of this "park" as a threatened cultural resource, now lying well within the right-of-way of North Central expansion, would, in time, precipitate the formation of the Freedman's Cemetery Archaeological Project, one of the largest archaeological investigations of a historic cemetery ever undertaken.

Since the history of North Central Expressway often has parallels deep within the communal history of Black Dallas itself, and further, the expansion of North Central led directly to the impact of the cemetery and the archaeological investigation, a detailed appraisal of the expressway's origins will be recorded here.

Before there was a North Central Expressway, there was the Houston and Texas Central Railroad. Actually, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad had initially been incorporated in 1848 under the moniker, the Galveston & Red River Railroad, but by 1856, had changed its name (Holmes and Saxon 1992: 136). Originating out of Houston, little progress had been made on the railway when the Civil War halted all construction. With the end of hostilities in 1865, however, work on the H & T C railroad project commenced once more proceeding to the north, with the roadway to Dallas completed by June 1872. Finally, on July 16, 1872, the first locomotive pulled into the Dallas station, located a mile southeast of the town (Kimball 1927: 34; Holmes and Saxon 1992: 136-137).

The right-of-way into the town of Dallas had been granted free of charge for the railroad by city officials as an incentive to draw the rail lines directly to the town.

Obtaining the additional right-of-way to the north of Dallas, however, was entirely the problem of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad Company (Holmes and Saxon 1992: 137).

The railway track line, following its course to the north of Dallas proper, bisected the property belonging to William H. Boales, the white farmer who had sold the original first acre to Samuel Eakins to create Freedman's Cemetery. Indeed, on August 19, 1871, or two years after Freedman's Cemetery had been founded, William H. Boales and his neighbor Jacob Wagoner deeded to the H & T C Railway a 50 foot right-of-way through a portion of their property (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. R, p. 468). An additional right-of-way agreement was entered into by Boales and Houston & Texas Central Railroad officials on July 6, 1872. It was this second agreement that granted the right-of-way for the railroad that would later form the eastern boundary of Freedman's Cemetery (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. Q, p. 338).

Previous researchers have claimed that in 1872, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad actually invoked eminent domain on property belonging to Freedman's Cemetery, and that the railroad in essence was built over graves (e.g., Prince 1993: 30). While this would seem to be a formal statement of a commonly held belief within the African-American community of Dallas, it is simply a misinterpretation of the essential facts.

That portion of the H & T C right-of-way which crosses the vicinity of Freedman's Cemetery was the second right-of-way granted to the railroad by William Boales. It cut through the property that Boales would, five years later, sell to his son-in-law, Victor

Bowles. It would be from this same property that Freedman's Cemetery would later expand from one acre to four. Long before the cemetery's second acreage purchase of 1879/1884 occurred, however, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad had already laid its tracks along this course. The railway, then, actually predated the expansion of Freedman's Cemetery by about ten years. Thus, the location and orientation of the railroad tracks necessitated something of the shape, and certainly the eastern boundary, of Freedman's Cemetery's expansion in 1879/1884.

The coming of the railroad brought to Dallas an immediate windfall, measured both as a huge increase in population, as well as the commerce that helped fuel it. In 1873, one year after the H & T C Railroad had come to Dallas, a second railroad, the Texas & Pacific, rolled into the booming town (Holmes and Saxon 1992: 137).

Undoubtedly, many of the new jobs created in Dallas during this time were taken by freedmen and women. Some worked for the railroads directly, such as J. Bershea, who in 1875 was employed as a brakeman on the Houston and Texas Central, while others found work in the boom town economy of Dallas, as laborers, porters, and domestics (1875 Dallas City Directory).

Probably almost immediately after the tracks had been laid down by the Houston and Texas Central, the settlement of Stringtown was begun, so described because this Black enclave consisted of small and simple shotgun houses, "strung out along the raised grade" of the railroad track. The railroad line itself was not often called by its full name of the Houston and Texas Central, but rather, it and the dirt road that paralleled it were simply called Central Avenue, or more often, Central Track (McDonald 1978: 179).

Although the original inhabitants of Stringtown were likely squatters, the creation

of the black enclave of Stringtown apparently was openly encouraged by the H & T C railroad company. Once the tracks were laid within the center of the 50 foot right-of-way, much of the land lying along either side was essentially worthless, except as potential rental property, most often to poor working Blacks. Additionally, an able Black work force, readily at hand, suited the needs of the railroads. Of course, Stringtown was not the only African-American community within the city of Dallas. Rather, it formed a small but vital link between two larger enclaves: North Dallas Freedman's Town to the north (where Freedman's Cemetery was located), and Deep Ellum to the south and east (McDonald 1978: 118).

As Kimball succinctly put it, "the very railroads that had brought prosperity, commerce and people to Dallas in its younger days, had at the same time bound it about with girdles of iron, restricting its growth, and making its development misshapen and unsymmetrical" (Kimbal 1927: 91). Additionally the trains, running through the heart of the city at all hours, were exceedingly dangerous. All of this would eventually change with the coming of George E. Kessler (Kimbal 1927).

George Kessler was a landscape architect and city planner by profession. To his credits, he helped re-design and beautify Kansas City, Cleveland, and Denver, among other cities, and was instrumental in landscaping the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis. In 1911, the Dallas Fair Association, with an eye towards expansion of its facilities, hired Kessler to re-design the state fair grounds. With this accomplished, Kessler was then commissioned by the Dallas City Council to draw up a cogent plan for the modernizing and beautifying of Dallas itself. This plan, completed by Kessler and submitted to the city in 1910, was published in 1911. It was known simply as the Kessler Plan (Kimball 1927:

65-68).

Although the Kessler Plan contained many parts, one element that Kessler saw as essential in cleaning up the city was the removal of railroad tracks from its heart. During this time, passenger and freight trains belonging to at least three principal rail lines (the M, K & T, or Katy; the Houston and Texas Central; and the Texas and Pacific) ran through all parts of Dallas, at all times of the day and night. Quite naturally, the result of all this rail activity was traffic congestion, noise, pollution, and often lethal accidents. To eliminate rail traffic through downtown Dallas, Kessler suggested establishing a rail belt-line system that would encircle the city, allowing trains to avoid the congestion of the city altogether (Kimball 1927: 93).

Kessler made this proposal in 1911. By 1915, the Houston and Texas Central Railroad Company no longer ran trains down its trackage through the middle of the city. This means that the railroad track forming the eastern boundary of Freedman's Cemetery was, for all intents, abandoned after 1915 (Saxon 1983: 70).

Kessler's plan for the abandoned rail lines scattered throughout the city was to convert many of them into large boulevards for vehicular traffic. Specifically for Central Track, Kessler envisioned utilizing not only the existing fifty foot right-of-way, but extending the width of the proposed boulevard to some 200 feet (Kessler 1925: 13).

The transformation of the simple dirt road of Central Track (snaking its way through Stringtown) into the wide and paved Central Avenue Boulevard would accomplish two goals, both deemed laudable by Kessler. One would be the creation of a grand roadway to ease traffic congestion into and out of the downtown area of Dallas.

The second goal would be to help clean up what Kessler termed a "blighted

area"— a goal that if achieved, would essentially have resulted in the complete annihilation of Stringtown. These "blighted areas" that Kessler wished to cleanse the city of were, more often than not, inhabited by African-Americans. In a 1925 survey of the city, the Civic Federation of Dallas "showed that one-fourth of the negro population were living in rented houses, 'unfit for human habitation'" (Kimball 1927: 198).

The Kessler Plan was originally finished in 1910, and Kessler himself updated it in 1920 (Kessler 1925). Some portions of the Kessler Plan were implemented through the nineteen-teens, but as a whole it was largely ignored. As the 1920s began, however, with Dallas's population continuing to grow at a prodigious rate, many points made by Kessler back in 1910 seemed especially cogent. By March 21, 1921, Mayor Frank Wozencraft called for the removal of the old Houston and Texas Central RR tracks, unused but still present along Central Track, for the eventual creation of a large thoroughfare. This wish of Wozencraft's was a definite harkening back to the original Kessler Plan of 1910, but nothing came of it under his term of office (Acheson 1977: 180).

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the subject of Central Track and the proposed Central Boulevard lay essentially dormant. By the winter of 1940, however, some positive steps were finally taken in the matter. In a Dallas *Morning News* article, it was reported that the city was currently in negotiations with Houston and Texas Central Railroad officials. The railroad agreed to give up all trackage and the associated right-of-way through the city for the sum of \$75,000. The removal of tracks on the southern section of the line (i.e., south of Grand Avenue) would be the responsibility of the city of Dallas, while the H & T C would pull up the tracks on the northern section and retain them (Dallas *Morning News*; Dec 21, 1940).

The coming of World War Two brought any direct action on the matter of Central Track to a halt, though by June, 1946, construction plans for the Central Boulevard were being finalized by the highway department. From Bryan to Mockingbird Lane, 3.61 miles of the proposed highway would be a true expressway, six lanes wide. From its beginning in 1946, it was estimated that the project would take three years to complete (Dallas *Morning News*; June 26, 1946). The realization of Kessler's dream, that of a grand boulevard along the former H & TC rail line, finally began to come true.

In August, 1947, it was reported that the Houston and Texas Central Railroad had begun pulling up the tracks and ties along Central Track, in preparation for the building of Central Boulevard (Dallas *Morning News*; August 19, 1947). Work on this highway project was on a massive scale and rapid pace. By December of this year, the extended right-of-way had been obtained in the vicinity of Freedman's Cemetery. The area had already been cleared and graded with even the piers and abutments for the Hall Street overpass in place (see Figure 2-8) (Dallas *Morning News*; Dec 1, 1947).

While the original H & T C railway right-of-way was only 50 feet wide, the construction of the new Central Boulevard would eventually require much more than this width. Certainly the motivation behind the city's 1947 purchase of the entire eastern portion of Freedman's Cemetery (that section that abutted the H & TC right-of-way, as detailed above) was to obtain at least a portion of this additionally needed property.

In all, the section of Freedman's property acquired by the city from Currie McCutcheon was approximately 25 meters (or 82 feet) wide. Thus, the increase in the width of the Central Boulevard right-of-way (R.O.W.) would have necessitated the acquisition of a comparable swath of land, at least as wide as the City's section of

Freedman's, along the entire 3.61 miles of the expressway. Major portions of the property that would be acquired by the city of Dallas for use as R.O.W. fell, of course, directly within the African-American enclave of Stringtown.

A front page article appearing in the local black weekly, the *Dallas Express*, reported this loss of family homes to the widening of Central Boulevard. Entitled, "Central Boulevard To Take in Homes of Long-Time Residents," the article (Oct 5, 1946) states, in part, that:

Questions are coming fast and furious from the many long time residents who must move as their homes must be torn down to make way for the Central Boulevard expressway. Where are we going? What are we going to do? Are they planning on building a project for us? What of my family? These are typical of the questions coming from families as they search frantically from (sic?) someone, anyone who is capable of answers.

The city has stated that October 15th is the final date for occupancy for a section that houses 1500 persons. With winter just a few months away, their eviction notice just a few days away, no place available for them to rent and no housing construction for Negroes underway, these persons are facing a crucial time. Already the overcrowded conditions and housing problems are puzzling the nation but with the building of the expressway here, this problem takes on an added headache for Dallasites.

Many of the inhabitants are lifelong residents of their particular homes. Their homes are living symbols of their life-long struggles and have been in their families for generations...

Ground was first broken on the Central Expressway project in 1946, and by August 1949, the first portion of it was essentially complete. A dedication party for the official opening of Central Expressway was held on Saturday, August 20, 1949. Typical for the times, there were separate parties for whites and blacks. Along the expressway

itself, just south of the Hall Street overpass, a band concert with square dancing was held for the whites, while the party for blacks was north of Hall, and described as "an old-fashioned street dance" (*Dallas Morning News*; August 19, 1949).

One of the events of 1949 more or less coinciding with the completion of North Central Expressway was the expansion and renovation of Griggs Park, located just south of Hall Street (and Freedman's Cemetery) along Central Avenue. This city park was the first in Dallas specifically dedicated for the use of African-Americans, and as early as February, 1924, was re-named for Dr. Griggs, a respected African-American physician (*Dallas Express*; February 23, 1924). The renovations and improvements Griggs Park received in 1949 included an expansion of the grounds to three times its former size and the repainting of its community buildings.

Perhaps the timing of the Griggs Park improvements was not merely an accident, but rather a calculated public relations ploy— its purpose to compensate the African-American community, in some small, yet public, way for the affront that the creation of Central Expressway had caused the community. Unfortunately, the renovation of Griggs Park was too little comfort for the damage that had been done in the name of progress. As has been addressed by other writers, the construction of North Central Expressway essentially cut much of the African-American community of North Dallas in half, destroying both the community's infrastructure, as well as its sense of itself. In a very real way, the State-Thomas business district and residential community never quite recovered from the blow dealt it by North Central Expressway (McKnight 1990: 26).

Of all the infrastructure implemented by the creation of the North Central Expressway, obviously it was the frontage road that most directly impacted Freedman's

Cemetery. The most common physical impact suffered by graves at Freedman's Cemetery due to the frontage road creation largely consisted of the destruction or displacement of the surface grave markers (e.g., traditional grave stones, wooden slabs, shell and glass), due to the grading performed prior to laying pavement. This grading, however, did not directly impact either the burial containers or the physical remains of the bodies themselves, except in very rare cases at the extreme northern end of the cemetery (e.g., Burial 1506).

Contrary to various recent newspaper articles, there is no evidence (either archival or archaeological) to suggest that any graves were actually exhumed in the 1940s during the construction of the frontage road for North Central Expressway for re-interment elsewhere (*Dallas Morning News*: October 21, 1990). This is not to imply that graves were not disturbed or even largely destroyed by the creation of Central Expressway. Certainly direct impacts occurred to many of the graves through the digging of several utility ditches for the placement of telephone cable, water lines, and other utilities below the frontage road itself (e.g., Trench 20). These trenches were dug to such a depth as to directly cut into or, in many cases, actually bisect dozens of graves.

While the construction of North Central Expressway fell under the purview of the state highway department, other road construction activities instituted by the City of Dallas also directly impacted Freedman's Cemetery. The Murphy and Bolanz map of 1891, one of the earliest maps to detail extreme northern Dallas, displays the major roadways bordering the cemetery (Figure 2-4). These roads can be seen in greater detail in the 1905 Dallas Sanborn Insurance map (Figure 2-5). Additionally, a thorough description of the roads surrounding the cemetery was given by Mayor Curtis Smith in his

September 25, 1906, letter to the Dallas City Council.

A street known as Lemmon Avenue originally formed the southern border of the cemetery, while Central Avenue lay along its eastern boundary. An unnamed alley some 20 feet wide formed the western boundary of Freedman's Cemetery. Finally, in 1905 the northern boundary of Freedman's Cemetery was Bowser Avenue, although from period maps it is far from certain if a navigable road actually extended as far east as Freedman's Cemetery at this time.

There is a commonly held, though mistaken, belief that Freedman's Cemetery once actually extended to the north of the present day Lemmon Avenue (Jurney 1987: 12). Due to the shifting of road boundaries and name changes that these same roads have experienced over the years, it is certainly understandable why this belief should exist. True, a street called Lemmon Avenue once did form the *southern* boundary of Freedman's Cemetery. The name of this street, however, was changed to Calvary Avenue by the Dallas City Council on July 11, 1950. On the same day, the newly constructed road to the north, the one built over the northern periphery of the cemetery and originally known as an extension of Bowser Avenue, was redesignated as Lemmon Avenue (Dallas City Ordinance Books; Ordinance No. 4823, p. 442).

The revision and expansion of Bowser Avenue, later to be renamed Lemmon Avenue, was calculated to coincide with the construction of North Central Expressway. As such, its own construction was underway at much the same time as North Central. In fact, during excavations one specific artifact recovered from directly beneath the roadbed of Lemmon Avenue could be positively dated to August 7, 1948. It consisted of a large fragment of newsprint with a piece of a Little Orphan Annie comic strip clearly dated to

this day; this newsprint fragment was recovered from above Burial 1075.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the roads in the vicinity of Freedman's Cemetery were not paved, but were either simple dirt or gravel. For example, in 1905 representatives for the Jewish, Greenwood, and Catholic cemeteries petitioned the Dallas City Council for the grading and graveling of Hall Street, the major road immediately to the south of Freedman's, because it was considered "all but impassable." This petition was reviewed and a week later, passed (Dallas City Council Minutes: Series 1, Volume 30, pp. 616, 621).

The old Lemmon Avenue, re-christened Calvary Avenue in 1950, marked the southern boundary of Freedman's Cemetery, and like Hall Street to its south, in its original state was unpaved. In fact, this road had to have been both much more narrow and unpaved during the time that Freedman's was open and receiving burials (i.e., until July 26, 1907), since numerous turn-of-the-century burials were later discovered lying beneath Calvary Avenue during archaeological investigations.

In the 1906 letter written by Mayor Curtis Smith to the City Council condemning Freedman's Cemetery, Smith goes on to propose that Calvary Avenue be widened to 40 feet. It is likely that by following Mayor Smith's recommendation in re-staking Calvary Avenue, the road was inadvertently widened to the north, intruding into Freedman's Cemetery property and covering dozens of burials.

The portion of Calvary Avenue that formed the southern boundary of Freedman's Cemetery was closed at the beginning of archaeological investigations in 1990. Its roadbed was removed with heavy machinery, with the objective of creating a possible reburial area along the road's former course, for any future burials to be exhumed.

Surprisingly, in addition to the number of graves discovered lying beneath the road, immediately beneath the concrete and asphalt were found dozens (if not hundreds) of tombstone fragments (some quite large), presumably placed there when the road was initially paved in the 1920s.

Like many cities in the United States, 1920s Dallas experienced a resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan (Williams and Shay 1991: 54-57). The desecration of tombstones, deliberately broken up and used as roadbed materials, likely coincided with the New Klan's influence in the city. Of course, this desecration would have necessarily had to have been performed either by city workmen themselves, or by others with at least the tacit approval of city officials.

To view what happened to Freedman's Cemetery in the fullest historical context, it should be noted that other Dallas cemeteries have been adversely impacted by "progress" in one form or fashion. The old City Cemetery, the anglo cemetery founded in 1872 as an alternative to the Old Dallas Burial Ground and now a part of Pioneer Cemetery, itself suffered several adverse physical impacts. One, occurring in early 1902, resulted in the removal of at least two graves by construction workers (*Dallas Times Herald*; Jan 12, 1902).

Certainly the earliest cemetery founded in Dallas, the Old Dallas Burial Ground, was desecrated freely and without any apparent repercussions (Davidson 1998). One of the biggest impacts of all to have occurred to a historic cemetery in Dallas began in 1969, and was the result of construction for the Dallas Convention Center on the site of the Masonic, Odd Fellows, Jewish, and City Cemeteries, known collectively as Pioneer Cemetery. Although it is claimed that graves from the City and Odd Fellows sections

were relocated to the Masonic Cemetery section, it is likely that only the graves marked with standing stones were removed. Any unmarked graves could have been destroyed during the construction process (Carlisle 1994:8).

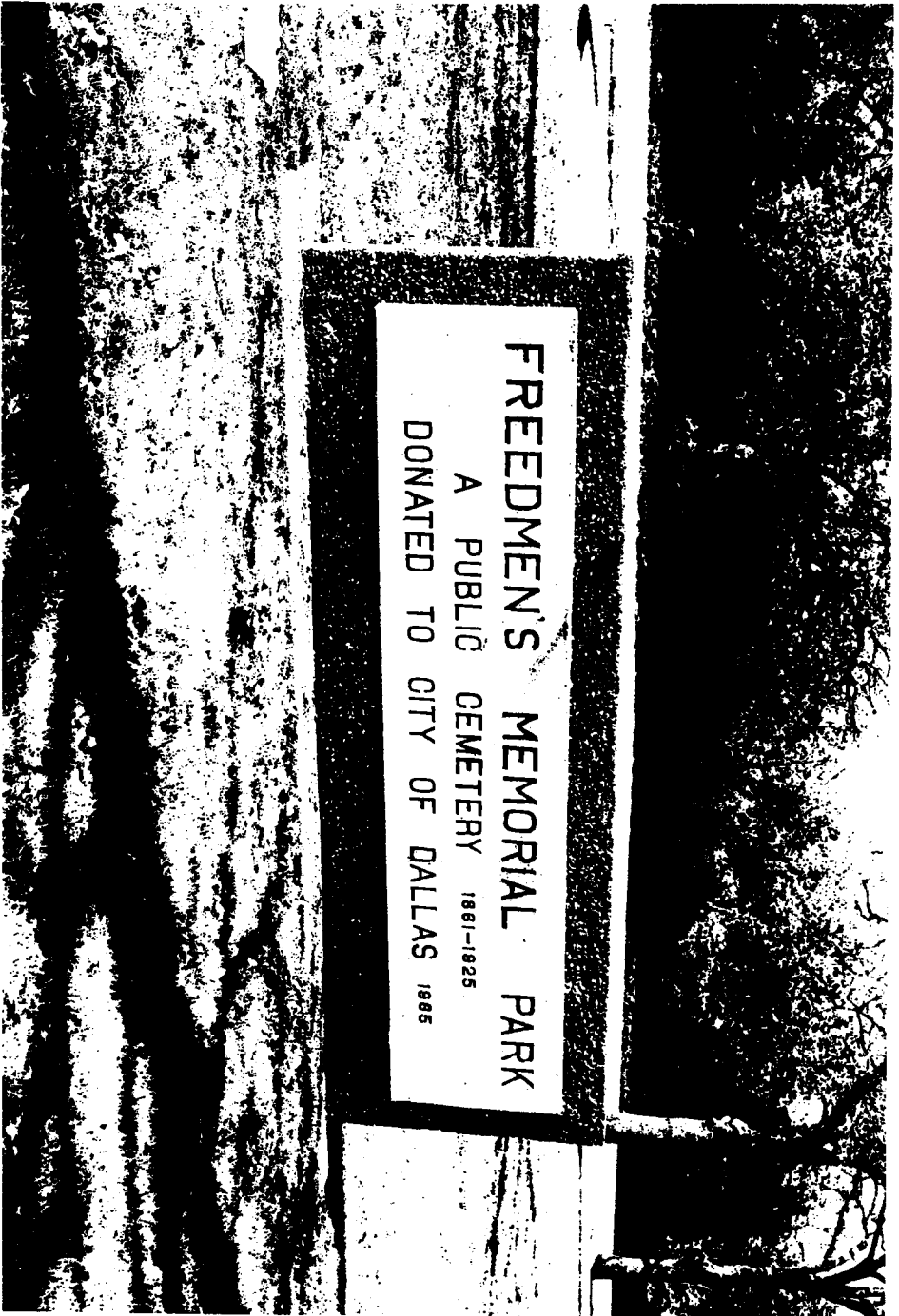


Figure 2-1 "Freedman's Memorial Park" marker, erected on site by Dallas City Parks Department, after the cemetery's conversion to a city park. This marker was removed in 1991.

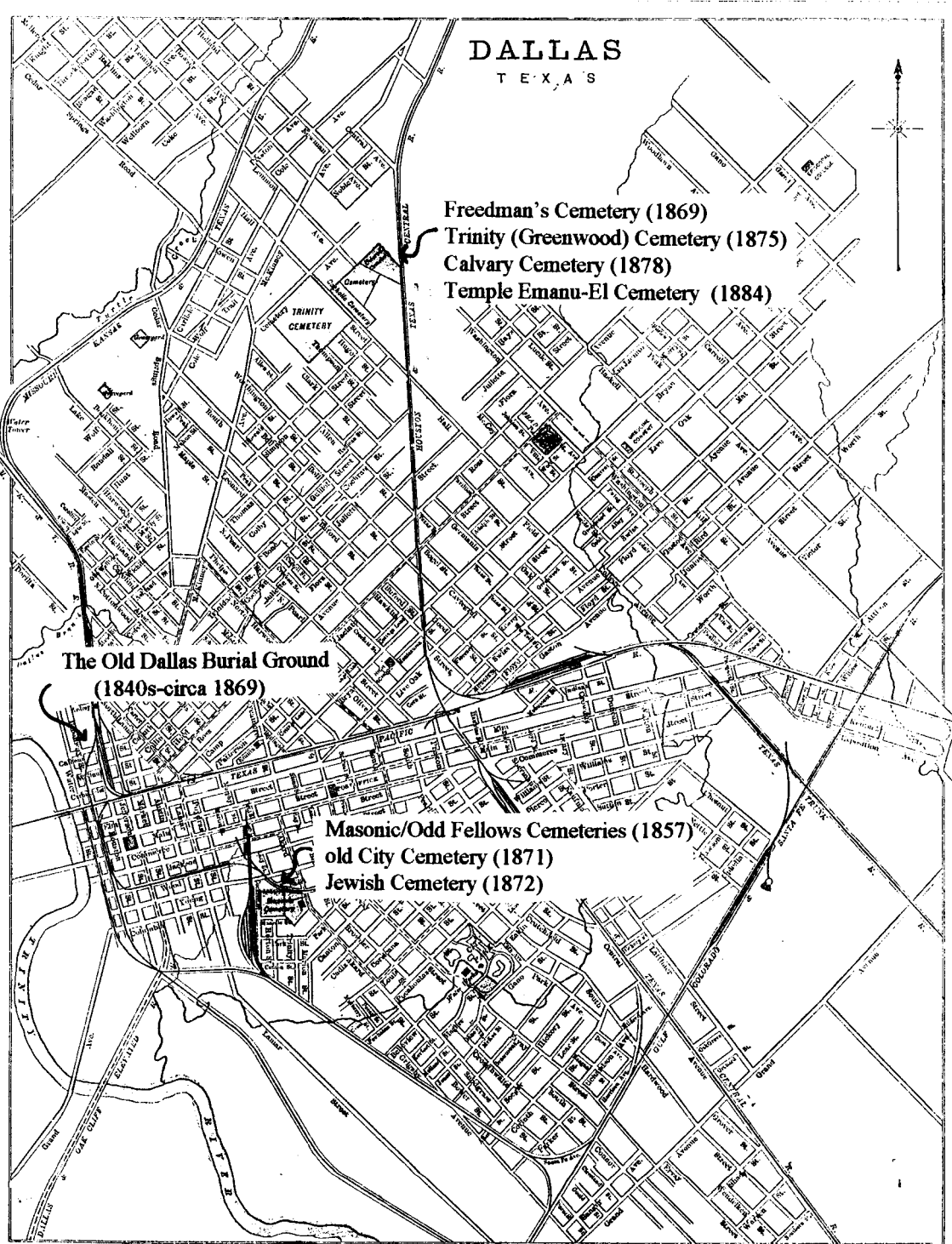


Figure 2-2 Locations of Dallas's principal 19th century cemeteries (from 1900 George F. Cram Atlas, Chicago, Illinois).

Vagrants.

Sec. 1. *Be it ordained,* That the following described persons are hereby declared to be vagrants:

First.—All able bodied persons, who, not having any visible means of support, live idly, without employment.

Second.—All able bodied Freedmen, or other free persons of color, who have abandoned the service of their former masters or employers, for the purpose of idleness; or who are found loitering or rambling about, or idly wandering around the streets or other public place, or having no permanent residence or employment.

Thrd. All persons found lodging in the open air, or in any shed, stable or other out-house without permission from the person owning or controlling said premises.

Fourth.—All persons who shall be found trespassing in the night time upon the private premises of another, and not giving a good account of themselves.

Fifth.—All able bodied persons wandering abroad and begging; or going from door to door begging; or placing themselves in the streets, or in any public place, to beg or receive alms.

Sec. 2. The Mayor shall issue his warrant for the arrest of any person charged with being a vagrant, on complaint, as in other cases of misdemeanor, or alleged violation of any other Town Ordinance.

Sec. 3. When a person, charged with being a vagrant, is taken before the Mayor, he shall proceed to investigate said charge, under the rules and regulations governing proceedings in the Mayor's Court, giving the accused a trial by jury, if it be demanded.

Sec. 4. Whoever shall be found guilty of being a vagrant; within the meaning of

Figure 2-3

The Vagrants Ordinances, targeting Freedmen, were passed by the Dallas City Council in November 1865 (from *Dallas Weekly Herald*; Nov 16, 1865).

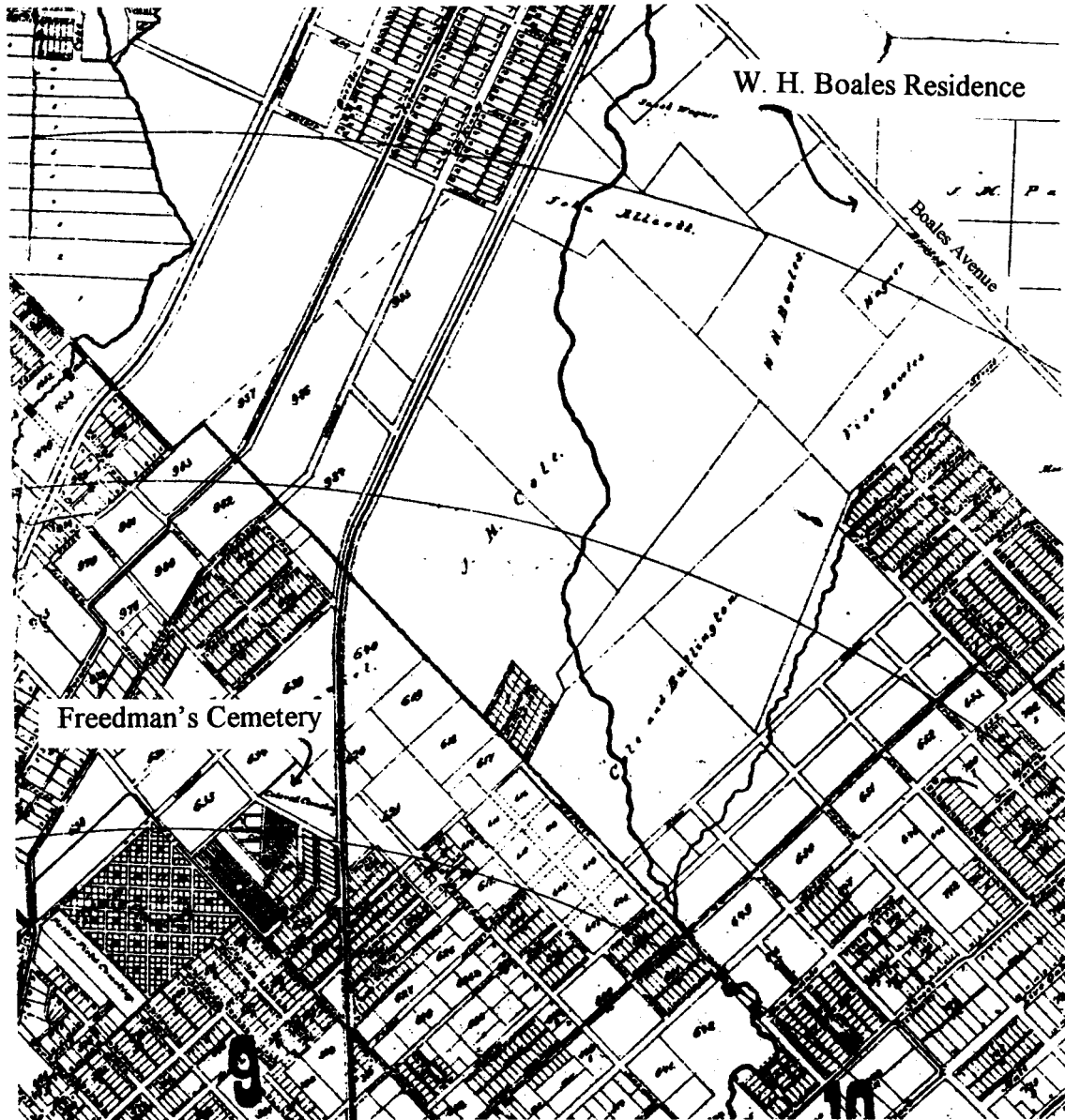


Figure 2-4 Detail of 1891 map of Dallas, showing the location of William H. Boales's residence in relation to Freedman's Cemetery. The arc lines on the map are spaced one mile apart. Boales's residence is at least 2 miles away from the cemetery (detail of the Murphy and Bolanz Map of Dallas, Texas; Texas State Archives).

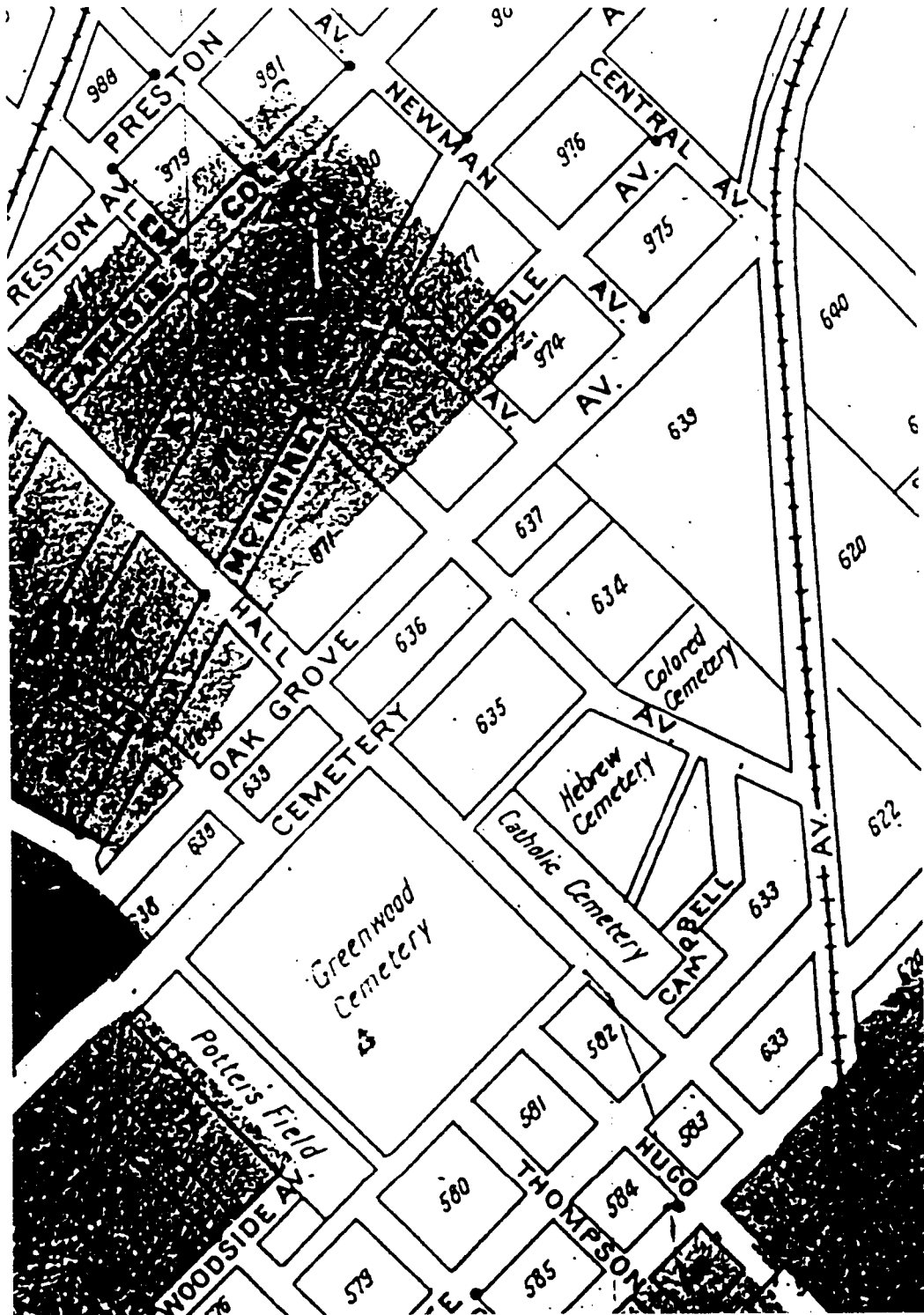


Figure 2-5 Freedman's Cemetery, shown here as the "colored cemetery," in relationship to adjacent cemeteries (from Sanborn Insurance Company Map, Dallas, Texas).

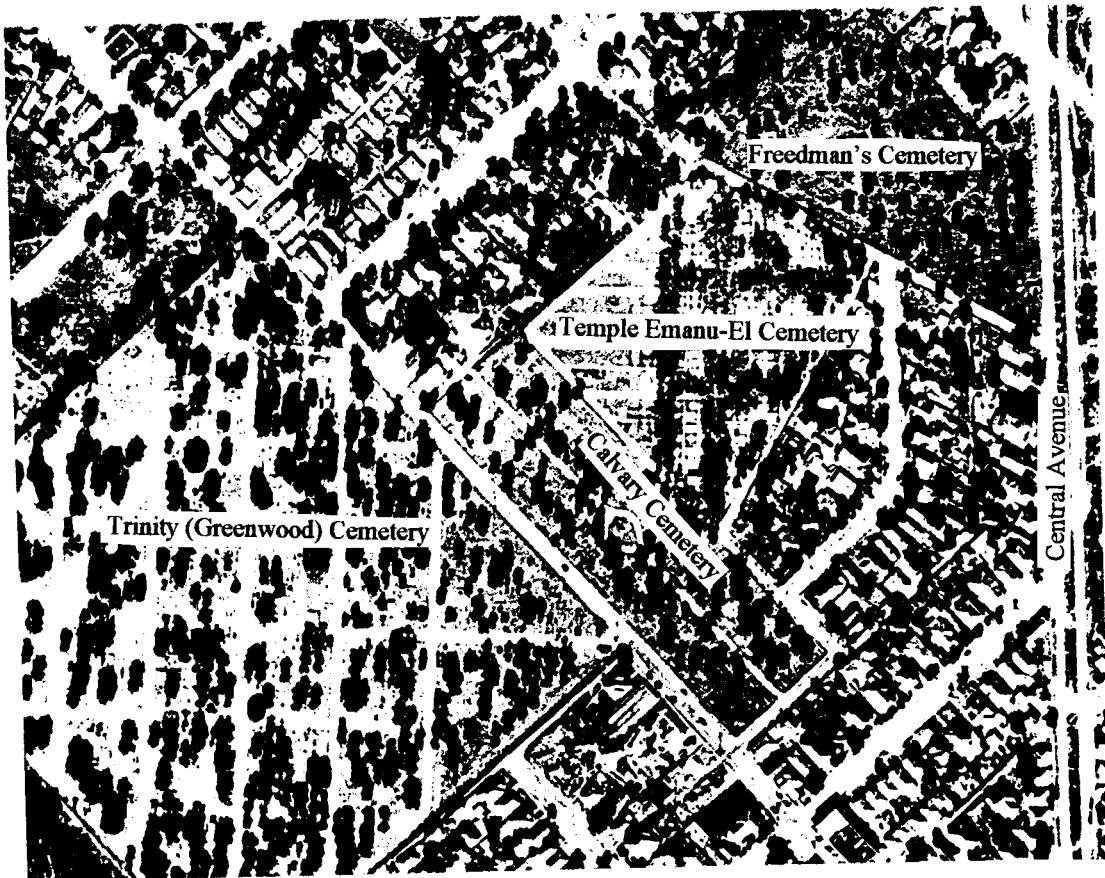


Figure 2-6 Aerial view of Freedman's Cemetery and adjacent properties, circa 1930 (from Dallas Public Library Archives).

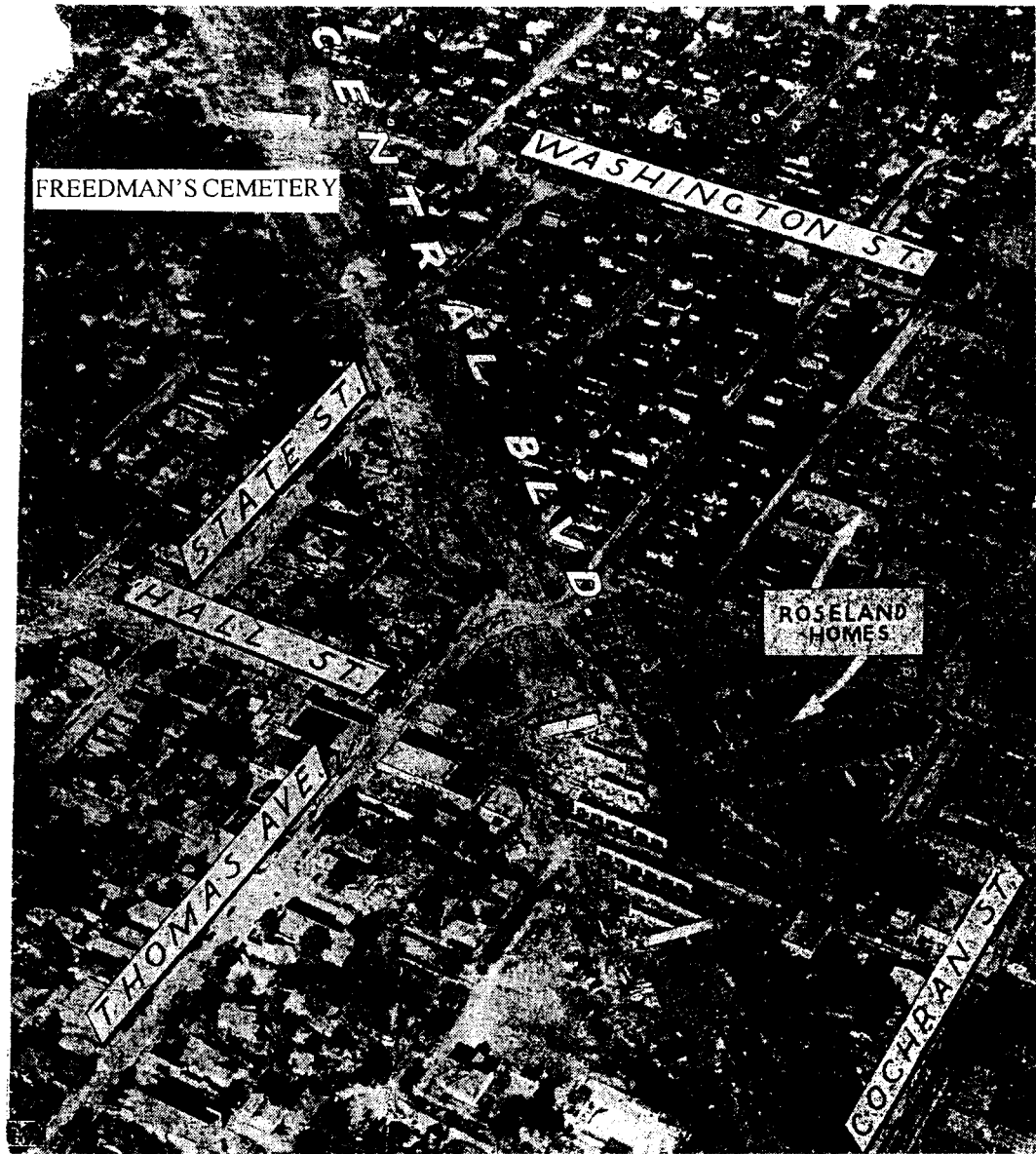


Figure 2-8

Aerial view of construction of North Central Expressway, circa 1947. Freedman's Cemetery is located at the extreme upper left corner of figure (from *Dallas Morning News*; Dec 1, 1947).

Chapter 3

A Brief History of Undertaking in Dallas Texas: 1841-1907

While a detailed history of Freedman's Cemetery was reviewed in the previous chapter, this dealt primarily with the cemetery as a physical property, and as such is only one part of the total history.

The bulk of the artifacts recovered from the graves inevitably were elements of the coffin complex, including the coffin or casket, handles and other trimmings, as well as the nails used to hold the boxes together. All of these had a local source or point of origin: the undertakers who handled the dead (see Figure 3-1). It was these individuals who picked out the handles and other trimmings and attached them to the coffin.

Indeed, literally the last living person to handle the remains of the deceased, prior to the archaeologist who would exhume the grave one hundred years later, was one of several undertakers working in the city. Therefore, a better understanding of the profession of undertaking in Dallas would materially contribute towards a greater understanding of the exhumed graves.

Introduction: The Beginnings of Undertaking in Dallas

In the earliest years of Dallas, immediate family members of the deceased were the first impromptu "undertakers," burying their own dead in either small family cemeteries, or in the Old Burial Ground, located six blocks north of the county courthouse (Davidson

1998).

The earliest burials in what was the frontier village Dallas would have been rather makeshift and impromptu affairs, often without benefit of a coffin or other wooden burial container. The reason for this was simple, in as much as there was no easy means then available in the early 1840s to render raw logs into finished lumber.

Ed C. Smith, an early Dallas undertaker, spoke of early burials occurring in Dallas without benefit of a coffin; "In the (18)40's when death invaded a cabin home the arrangements for burial were simple. Wrapped in a blanket, the dead was consigned to the grave after prayers had been said" (*Dallas Times Herald*; March 15, 1903).

John Billingsly, who came to Dallas in the fall of 1842, described a burial performed during the early years of Dallas that corroborates the lack of available lumber (Holmes and Saxon 1992: 271):

The first person I saw buried was buried without a coffin. It was an old man McComace by name (Steve McCommas); his grave was dug down to the white rock that formed the foundation of all portions of that country, a nice vault was cut in the rock, and he was wrapped in a sheet and layed (sic) in the solid rock, there to await the summons where all, both small and great, rich and poor, will hear in that day. There was no lumber yard or furniture houses in the land.

The first sawmill of any kind built in the small town belonged to Alexander Cockrell, procured by him and placed at the west end of Commerce Street for the express purpose of constructing the first bridge across the Trinity River. Only after the bridge was completed in 1855 was the sawmill moved and made available to the general public (Payne 1991: 27).

There is one early reference to the availability of coffin manufacture, in this case as early as 1849. In that year, the Dallas County Commissioner's Court "Ordered... that JAMES ARMSTRONG be allowed the sum of Eight dollars for making a coffin for JOHN McMILLAN a pauper Issued No. 214" (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County, Texas; February 19, 1849, Book A, p. 40). It is unknown if this burial occurred within Dallas proper, or one of the other communities located elsewhere in the county. Nonetheless, it strongly implies that as early as 1849, only eight years after the town of Dallas was founded, the finished lumber required to manufacture a coffin, even for an indigent burial, was obtainable if not always readily available.

Broadly speaking, within the United States of the first half of the nineteenth century, the profession of undertaker slowly evolved out of other professions that dealt directly or indirectly with the preparation or burial of the dead. In this way, many carpenters and cabinet makers, called upon by their community to construct coffins for local and immediate use, slowly became more and more involved with the process, until often their earlier profession was supplanted by the new one of undertaking (Habenstein and Lamers 1985: 139-155).

Dallas Undertakers: Circa 1854 to 1907

Andrew M. Moore (circa 1854- 1870)

The first individual that can be identified in the town of Dallas who performed at least one of the traditional tasks of the undertaker is Andrew M. Moore, where in the Dallas County Commissioner's Court Minutes of December 18, 1854, Moore was paid ten

dollars for fashioning a coffin for a deceased prisoner. This entry is the earliest funerary reference known to exist, explicitly for the town of Dallas, within the official records of either the town or county (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County, Texas; December 18, 1854, Book B, p. 18).

As was commonly the case throughout the United States during the nineteenth century, while Andrew Moore may have been called upon to build the occasional coffin or perhaps deal with other aspects of undertaking, in the 1860 Federal Census Moore still identifies himself under the profession of Master Carpenter. Moore's professional life would continue to transform itself through the 1860s, until 1868, when he placed the first official notice in the *Dallas Weekly Herald*, proclaiming the presence of an undertaker within the community.

Undertaking. The undersigned would respectfully inform the citizens of Dallas and surrounding counties that he is prepared with all necessary lumber and other materials for making COFFINS, and has just completed a HEARSE, which will attend all Funerals in which he may be employed. He respectfully solicits the patronage of the public.

A. M. Moore
Dallas, November 14, 1868--

This same year, Moore is once more mentioned within the Dallas County Commissioner's Minutes, where on October 9, 1868, he is again paid the sum of ten dollars for "making coffins" (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes, Dallas County, Texas; Book C, p. 480). While Andrew Moore was the first undertaker of sorts in Dallas, he is perhaps more famous for the duel (or ambush, depending upon the account), in which he and Alexander Cockrell, the town's leading entrepreneur, participated in 1858. It

was in this encounter that Cockrell met his death at the hand of Moore, and from which Moore was subsequently acquitted of any wrong doing (Payne 1991:31-33). Due to his sometime profession and the fact that he was himself a Mason, Moore was appointed by the Tannehill Lodge as sexton of the Masonic Cemetery (Dallas *Weekly Herald*, November 3, 1869), serving in that capacity until his death by pneumonia on January 25, 1870 (Dallas *Weekly Herald*, January 27, 1870).

Asa W. Morton (circa 1869-1877)

While Andrew Moore was the first self professed undertaker that Dallas knew, he was soon followed by others. On June 26, 1869, a new advertisement appeared for the first time in the Dallas *Weekly Herald*:

Morton & Jennings,
Carpenters and Builders,
Dallas, Texas

Respectfully inform the citizens of Dallas and surrounding country, that they are prepared to do all kinds of work in their line, and will furnish **Plans** and **Estimates** for all kinds of buildings. Particular attention paid to making **Coffins** at reduced prices. Shop on Still Street, near Morton's residence, North part of town.

A. W. Morton
C. C. Jennings

Little else is known of C. C. Jennings, who soon left the building and undertaking trade to run a boarding house on Commerce Street (1875 Dallas City Directory), but Asa W. Morton, in only a few short years, played a critical role in the establishment of undertaking as a true profession in Dallas.

Asa Morton was born in Kentucky in 1817 (U.S. Census 1870), and with his

family immigrated to Dallas by circa 1843 (*Dallas Times Herald*, January 14, 1900). A man of some note within the community, Morton was elected town alderman in 1866 (Cochran 1928: 220). As with Moore, as late as 1870 Morton considered himself more cabinetmaker than undertaker, as reflected in the 1870 U.S. Census enumeration. But with the death of Andrew Moore in 1870, Morton was essentially the only professional undertaker left in Dallas, and this circumstance perhaps spurred him to associate more and more with undertaking and less with general carpentry.

On July 5, 1871, A. W. Morton placed a new advertisement in the pages of the *Dallas Weekly Herald* (Figure 3-2). While his prior posting had concerned itself almost exclusively with general construction, this new notice actually emphasized undertaking:

A. W. Morton,
Cabinet Maker,
Dallas, Texas,

Respectfully informs the citizens of Dallas and the surrounding country, that he is prepared to do all kinds of Cabinet work, and to repair Furniture in the best manner. All kinds of Jobbing in his line will have prompt and special attention at the Lowest Prices.

Undertaking.

Having provided himself with a HEARSE and all necessary appendages, he is prepared to make Coffins and Undertake the necessary arrangements for Burials with dispatch. Coffins of all sizes kept on hand ready made, with the exception of Trimming, and I can deliver them at one hour's notice, day or night.

The patronage of the public, both Town and Country, is respectfully solicited. Shop on Still Street, near my residence, in the North part of town.

A. W. Morton
Dallas July 5, 1871

Certainly by 1873, Morton was the official (and only) undertaker for the town of Dallas, as it was in this year that Morton can be found listed as the town's sole practitioner

in the first Dallas City Directory (1873: 73), as well as a directory of professions printed in the Dallas *Daily Herald* (September 6, 1873). Additionally, on July 2, 1873, the Dallas City Council finally established the office of city sexton, whose duties included supervising interments for all cemeteries in the town. To this position, A. W. Morton was duly elected (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 217).

Morton was also instrumental in the formation of one of Dallas's most venerable cemeteries, Trinity, later known as Greenwood. Trinity Cemetery was founded in June 1875 by William H. Gaston (a local banker, city alderman and entrepreneur), William H. Thomas, and Asa W. Morton. Gaston was president of the Trinity Cemetery Company, while Morton served in the capacity of its Superintendent (Dallas *Daily Herald*; June 29, 1875). Asa Morton retired from the undertaking field in 1877, when he sold the business to a young Ed C. Smith (Dallas *Weekly Herald*; Dec. 9, 1876; August 19, 1877; January 1, 1900; 1878-1879 Dallas City Directories).

Patrick Linskie (1873-1897)

For the first years of Dallas, burial of the dead was conducted exclusively by two local sons, Andrew Moore and Asa W. Morton. Both men were slowly transformed from cabinet makers into the role of undertakers by the needs of the town, over the course of several years. The next undertaker the town of Dallas would know was distinctly different, springing full blown into the role; indeed immigrating from New Orleans to Dallas for that expressed purpose (see Figure 3-3).

Patrick W. Linskie was originally from Ireland, born in 1848 in the county of Galway. When just six months old, however, his parents and he immigrated to America

and settled in New Orleans, where both parents died from an outbreak of yellow fever. Linskie fought in the Civil War, but at its end returned to New Orleans to begin a career devoted exclusively to undertaking— an occupation he pursued there until 1873, when he moved to Dallas (Anonymous 1892: 738). Upon his arrival in the city, Linskie purchased the lot at the corner of Main and Harwood Streets on November 22, 1873, for the not inconsequential sum of 450 dollars in gold (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. T, p. 420). It was at this corner lot in downtown Dallas, 1135 Main Street, that Linskie built his undertaker's establishment.

Linskie's first undertaker's shop initially consisted of a frame building, though as early as 1884, it had been replaced by a two story brick structure that contained a total of 8000 square feet. The building consisted of both upstairs apartments and the complete undertaker's establishment on the ground floor. (Anonymous 1892: 738; Anonymous 1885: 107).

Although Linskie had arrived in Dallas and purchased the lot at the corner of Main and Harwood by the end of November, 1873, the first advertisement known for Linskie, the appearance of which likely marks the beginning of his practice in Dallas, occurs on September 12, 1874 (Dallas *Weekly Herald*):

P. W. Linskie,
Undertaker,
Corner Main and Harwood Streets.
Burial Cases and Caskets
and Coffins
of all descriptions always on hand.
Orders from the country attended to at
short notice. Graves dug and lots purchased
in the city cemetery, and a splendid hearse
and carriages furnished for funerals.
A branch office at G. K. Merriwether's, on

Elm Street. Orders by telegraph promptly
attended to.

Patrick Linskie carried such diverse stock as goods from the Metallic Burial Case Co., of New York (Anonymous 1885:107), and was for a time directly associated with the Crane, Breed & Company, a nationally known manufacturer of coffins, caskets and hearses located in Cincinnati, Ohio. In fact, Linskie borrowed money from Crane, Breed & Co., taking out a deed-of-trust upon his undertaker's shop on August 23, 1875 (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. BB, 660-661).

Patrick Linskie was Roman Catholic by faith, and so was a natural choice to act as the superintendent of Calvary Cemetery, the official burying ground of the local Catholic Church. Additionally, Linskie also was chosen to be superintendent of the Jewish Cemetery in Dallas (Anonymous 1892:738).

In 1889, Linskie took on a young apprentice from Georgia by the name of George Washington Loudermilk. By 1896, Loudermilk would make a break from his former employer and open up his own funeral home, in a way taking over from Linskie, who retired in 1897 (1889-90, 1896-1898 Dallas City Directories). Nearly from his first appearance in the city, Patrick Linskie was one of the two major undertakers of Dallas of the nineteenth century. The other was Edward C. Smith.

Morton & Smith (1876-1877)/Ed. C. Smith (1877-1907+)

In the 1870 Federal Census, Asa Morton is recorded as having three daughters, but no sons, and so Morton did not have anyone to help him with the family business or to

follow in his footsteps. The Mortons' next door neighbors, the Smiths, however, had three strapping sons. The Smith family had immigrated to Dallas from Kentucky, arriving in Dallas County just prior to the beginning of the Civil War. Like A. W. Morton, Colby T. Smith was a carpenter and cabinet maker by trade, and his sons Edward (age 21 in 1870), Henry (age 19), and Garrett (age 15), also entered the carpentry trade (Anonymous 1993:237-238; 1870 Federal Census).

Since the Mortons and Smiths were neighbors, it probably seemed natural that one or more of Smith's sons would go to work for Mr. Morton, both in his role as cabinet maker and building contractor, as well as in his burgeoning sideline of undertaking. Indeed, this is exactly what occurred. Ed Smith initially worked for Asa Morton in his capacity as building contractor in the early 1870s (*Dallas Times Herald*, April 29, 1907). On December 9, 1876, yet another new advertisement was placed by Morton in the *Dallas Weekly Herald*, this one proclaiming the formation of the partnership of Morton and Smith, Undertakers:

A. W. Morton Ed. C. Smith
MORTON & SMITH
Sextons of Masonic and Superintendents
of Trinity Cemeteries
General Undertakers
405 North Lamar St. 409
Dallas, Texas
Keeps constantly on hand ready made coffins
of all kinds and sizes. Also a full supply of
FISK'S METALLIC BURIAL CASES
AND CASKETS,
Rosewood Coffins and Caskets.
Also a full supply of Undertakers Hardware
and trimmings of every kind at wholesale and retail.
He has a handsome
OVAL GLASS HEARSE
for attendance on funerals. Orders by mail or

telegraph solicited and promptly attended to.

Although Ed Smith had worked for Morton prior to this announcement, the actual partnership of Asa W. Morton and Edward in the undertaking trade was a rather short lived one. From its announcement in the winter of 1876, the partnership of the two men lasted a little over half a year, or until the summer of 1877, when Morton sold all his interests in the undertaking establishment to Ed C. Smith. The last appearance of the Morton and Smith advertisement in the Dallas newspaper was on August 19, 1877, while two days later, a new advertisement was posted. This new advertisement was essentially identical to the former one, save for the names of the individuals involved. No longer was Asa Morton associated with the firm, but rather Ed. C. Smith and a new partner, Joseph Willet, were the sole proprietors (*Dallas Weekly Herald*; Dec. 9, 1876; August 19, 1877).

Smith & Willet (1877-1879)

Ed. C. Smith (1879-1887)

Ed. C. Smith & Bros. (1888-1907+)

Essentially nothing is known of Joseph Willet, who left the firm after only approximately two years (Dallas City Directory 1880-81). Of Ed C. Smith, however, a great deal regarding both his business and his personal life is recorded. This is in large part due to the preservation of literally decades of his day books and ledgers within the

Genealogy Department of the Dallas Public Library. Ed C. Smith maintained several other businesses through the years, including a building contractor firm, with William H. Harell as partner (1888-89 Dallas City Directory), as well as the Dallas Transfer and Cab Company, which supplied carriages for his funeral trade and the general public (Dallas City Directory 1889-90).

While there were other men who would attempt to establish an undertaking establishment in the city throughout the nineteenth century, as will be outlined below, virtually all of them would fail within the first one or two years of operation (see also Figure 3-1). Between the two of them, Patrick Linskie and Ed. C. Smith, the needs of Dallas in the undertaking field were essentially met. Linskie was the predominate undertaker for the Jewish and Roman Catholic populations, while Smith was favored by the Protestants. From death records (available from City Hall and Ed. C. Smith's Day Books), it is known that both men interred African-Americans, the two of them probably splitting the Black trade more or less equitably down the middle.

While maintaining thriving businesses, both men served as aldermen to the Dallas City Council. In fact, in 1888, Ed. C. Smith campaigned for Mayor, losing to W. C. Conner by a mere two votes (Anonymous 1892:739; Dallas *Times Herald*; April 29, 1907).

Other Dallas Undertakers of the Nineteenth Century

A. Harrington (1884-1885)

Very little is known of Mr. Harrington, who was listed as an undertaker in Dallas for only a year, or at the most, two. His first appearance is within the 1884-1885 Dallas City Directory, but he is no longer present in the 1886 and later directories. At least by 1891, Harrington had moved his business to Sherman, Texas (1884-85 Dallas City Directory; *Dallas Times Herald*, April 14, 1891).

O. B. Potter (1888)

Mr. Potter is even more enigmatic than A. Harrington. O. B. Potter is listed in only a single Dallas City Directory (1888-1889), where he had placed a 1/3 page advertisement. Apparently, as with Harrington, Potter could not successfully compete in the undertaking business in Dallas, against such entrenched funeral homes as Linskie's and Smith's (1888-89 Dallas City Directory).

Miller and Ward (1894-1895)

This undertaking duo lasted for a single year in Dallas (1894-95), though Miller did briefly continue in the field with George Loudermilk, as both are named together in a pauper burial contract with the county (1894-95 Dallas City Directory; Dallas County Commissioner's Court Records; Book 7, p. 196, February 20, 1895).

Dunn & Camp (1897)/James E. Dunn & Company (1898-1904)

Dunn played a brief, but important role in Dallas undertaking, especially in regards to Freedman's Cemetery. James Dunn was born in Ireland, in November 1848, and immigrated to America with his parents in 1852. Nothing is known about his life prior to his coming to Dallas in 1897. It was in this year at the age of 49 that James Dunn appeared in Dallas, seemingly out of nowhere. He, along with William H. Camp, leased Patrick Linskie's funeral home property for 5 years. Since both Linskie and Dunn were from Ireland, it may be that they were of some acquaintance or even relation. In any event, while they likely had practiced the funeral trade elsewhere, neither Camp nor Dunn had lived in Dallas prior to 1897 (1900 U.S. Census, Dallas County, Texas; Dallas City Directories).

William Camp left the firm after the first year, but James Dunn continued the business under the name of James E. Dunn & Company for the length of his 5 year lease. During his brief tenure in Dallas, Dunn was successful enough to employ several assistant undertakers and embalmers, including Robert S. Hawes, James R. Williams, Francis B. Hagedon, and Patrick J. Donovan (1903 Dallas City Directory; 1900 U.S. Census, Dallas, County, Texas). One of Dunn's principal employees, Patrick Donovan, would a short time later, open his own funeral home (1905-1906 Dallas City Directories).

James Dunn officially retired from business on September 17, 1904, disposing of his firm to Broussard, Beard, & Company, of Beaumont, Texas (*Dallas Times Herald*, Sept. 18, 1904).

Broussard, Beard, & Company (1904-1907+)

Broussard, Beard, & Company (or B.,B. & Co.) was owned, at least in part, by J. W. Beard and E. R. Little. Originally founded in Beaumont, Texas, the company expanded to Dallas in September 1904, when they purchased the James E. Dunn & Company funeral home (*Dallas Times Herald*, Sept. 18, 1904). Since James Dunn held the pauper burial contract with the city at the time of Broussard, Beard & Co.'s purchase of his company, this new funeral home continued to fulfill Dunn's contractual obligations in regard to the burial of indigents. This was established from the city death records, where numerous African-American burials are noted as interred by B., B. & Co in the "Pauper" Cemetery, immediately after their purchase of the company (Dallas City Death Records).

When James Dunn sold his business to Broussard, Beard, & Company in 1904, many of his former employees continued to work for the new firm, including Patrick Donovan. Only one year later, however, Donovan made a break from his new employers, and founded his own funeral home.

Patrick J. Donovan/Donovan Co., Inc. (1905-1907+)

Sometimes listed in early records as "Paul" Donovan, Patrick J. Donovan was born in Massachusetts in February 1868. His first listing in Dallas coincides with the U.S. Census, when he was enumerated with James Dunn, residing in the upstairs apartments above Dunn's funeral parlor (1900 U.S. Census, Dallas County, Texas).

Donovan worked for Dunn until he sold the company to Broussard, Beard, & Company in September 1904. After the sale, he continued to work at his old job for the

new owners until one year later, when he left and founded his own funeral home, Donovan Company, Inc., in 1905 (1904-1906 Dallas City Directories). The first recorded African-American burial at Freedman's Cemetery performed by Donovan's new firm occurred on November 29, 1905 (Dallas City Death Records, Vital Records Dept.)

When the crisis of Freedman's Cemetery's increasingly cramped burial space came to a head in the summer and fall of 1906, it was with Patrick Donovan that the mayor consulted, since by that time Donovan held the pauper burial contract with the city (Dallas *Times Herald*, September 18, 1906).

George Washington Loudermilk (1896-1907+)

In 1888, Patrick Linskie hired a young man by the name of George Loudermilk, to clerk for him. This young clerk would rise to the job of "undertaker" only a year later (1889-90, 1891-92 Dallas City Directories).

George Washington Loudermilk was born on November 26, 1873, in Cartersville, Georgia (Knights of Pythias Membership Card; Author's personal collection). His father, Seymour Loudermilk, died the very year he was born. His widow, George's mother Rachael, later married a Mr. W. V. Evans. She herself died in about the year 1883, when George was only ten. At the time George arrived in Dallas to work for Linskie in 1888, he was a mere 15 years old. Apparently an ambitious young man, in 1896 or only eight years after beginning as Linskie's apprentice, Loudermilk made the break from his former employer and founded his own shop at 465 Elm, one block away. This same year, he also was appointed Superintendent of Trinity Cemetery (Dallas County Deed records; Volume

283, pp.323-324, August 25, 1902; 1896 Dallas City Directory).

Patrick Linskie retired from active business at least by July 1, 1897, as this was the day he leased his funeral home to James E. Dunn for a span of 5 years. However, only one year later Linskie actually sold this same property to his former employee, George Loudermilk, for the sum of \$8000, on October 27, 1898. This turn of events likely made for somewhat odd living arrangements, since Loudermilk had his own shop one block away from Dunn's, even while actually residing in Linskie's old apartments above Dunn's funeral home (see Figure 3-4). This is the very same shop where Loudermilk had lived when he first arrived in Dallas. Loudermilk died on June 9, 1948, at the age of 75 (Dallas City Death Records, Vital Records Dept; Dallas County Deed Records, Vol. 214, pp. 415-416; Vol. 227, pp. 617-619; 1900 U.S. Federal Census, Dallas County, Texas).

Loudermilk was one of the principal funeral directors of early 20th century Dallas. After Peoples Undertaking Company, the African-American funeral home, Loudermilk interred the greatest number of non-indigent Blacks in turn-of-the-century Dallas.

A History of Peoples Undertaking Company (1900-1907+)

Prior to 1900, all of the undertaking establishments in Dallas had been exclusively Anglo concerns, serving both whites and blacks. This status quo changed in 1900, with the creation of the first African-American undertaker in the city, Peoples Undertaking Company. As will be discussed below, Peoples Undertaking was founded by Abner Taylor and William H. Holland, although very early in its life, Peoples' personnel grew to include William E. Ewing, William B. West and John Starks (see Figures 3-5, 3-6).

At least in the early years of the firm, some goods and services were at times obtained from the local Anglo undertakers that were ostensibly Peoples's competition. Tables 3-1 and 3-2 list all of the known materials or services obtained by Peoples Undertaking Company from G. W. Loudermilk and Ed C. Smith, between 1902 and 1907. These records were derived from the daybooks of Loudermilk and Smith.

If the city death records are any measure of success, almost immediately after its founding, Peoples Undertaking Company became an institution within Dallas's African-American community. While a detailed discussion and interpretation of the city death records will be presented in Chapter 8, it can be stated here that Peoples Undertaking Company interred at least three quarters of the non-indigent dead within Dallas's turn-of-the-century African-American community. This success, though owing to many factors, was primarily based in mutual trust and respect. The founding members of the funeral home were all local, well respected members of the community, and included in their number, preachers and school teachers. Thus, from their very first day of operation, they engendered the trust of the community.

Indeed, respect, or rather the lack of it, is purported to have spurred the very creation of the firm. According to oral history, in 1899 an unknown white funeral home delayed by several hours the delivery of a body to awaiting mourners at Freedman's Cemetery. This lack of an African-American funeral home was remedied one year (Wicks 1994: 20).

Biographical information on the principal parties involved with the earliest years of Peoples Undertaking Company is given below.

Abner Taylor

Abner Taylor was the principal party at the company's formation, as he is listed as the firm's proprietor in its first advertisement in 1902, as well as the President of the company (1902 Dallas City Directory) (see Figure 3-5).

Born in August 1853, in the state of Georgia, Abner Taylor was primarily a preacher by profession (1900 Federal Census, Dallas County, Texas; 1900 Dallas City Directory). At the turn-of-the-century, Taylor's additional occupations are given as "capitalist, real estate" (1900 Dallas City Directory). More specifically, in addition to preaching and undertaking, Mr. Taylor was a real estate agent, ran a "first-class hack line," and also acted as an unofficial bank within the community, extending venter lien notes and loaning money (1902 Dallas City Directory: 51). Reverend Taylor apparently continued as President of Peoples Undertaking Company until his death, on August 15, 1908 (City Death Records, Vital Records Dept). After Taylor's death, the position of President of the undertaking firm was filled by William B. West (1909 Dallas City Directory).

William H. Holland

William H. Holland, Peoples' first manager, had in the late 1880s served as the state's first superintendent of the Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute for Colored Youths, located in Austin. Holland was the superintendent of this state agency when it was first founded in 1887, having been personally appointed to the position by Governor Lawrence Sullivan Ross (Barr 1996: 105; *Dallas Times Herald*; April 25, 1904).

Although apparently a very capable man, Holland's tenure as manager of Peoples was relatively short lived. On April 21, 1904, the then current superintendent of the

Colored Deaf, Dumb, and Blind Institute, Sam J. Jenkins, died of a stroke. Four days later, William Holland was unanimously elected by the state board to fill the vacancy left in his former position. Acting on the board's wishes, then Governor Lanham appointed Holland to the post, which Holland accepted (*Dallas Times Herald*, April 25, 1904)..

William E. Ewing

In 1903, William Ewing began working at Peoples Undertaking Company as an embalmer (1903 Dallas City Directory), but with the vacancy left by Holland in 1904, Ewing became the mortuary's manager (1905 Dallas City Directory). Born in Texas, in December 1878, Ewing was only 25 years old when he began his association with Peoples. Previous occupations held by Ewing include restaurant proprietor, and in later years, Ewing is also listed as a barber (1900 U.S. Census, Dallas County, Texas; 1909 Dallas City Directory).

William B. West

William West was born in North Carolina in 1861. At least by 1900, West was a resident of Dallas. Like his predecessor Abner Taylor, West had at one time been a preacher, and in 1906 is specifically listed as the pastor of the "Colored Methodist Episcopal Chapel" (1900 U.S. Census, Dallas County, Texas; 1902, 1906 Dallas City Directories). Additional occupations ascribed to West in turn-of-the-century Dallas include a stint as school teacher at the "Colored High School," publisher of the C.M.E. Review, proprietor of the Texas Express Publishing Company, and finally, West was also

at times a barber (1902-1909 Dallas City Directories).

William West's first listing as an employee of Peoples Undertaking Company dates to 1905, in an unknown capacity, but with the death of Abner Taylor in 1909, West became President of the funeral home. William B. West died in 1911, at which time his widow, Adlissa V. West, sold his interest in the undertaking firm to his two partners, John Starks and William Ewing (1909 Dallas City Directory; Dallas County Deed Records, Vol. 540, pp. 5-6, January 13, 1912).

John Paul Starks

Certainly one of the best known names associated with Peoples Undertaking Company, John Paul Starks was born in Brandenburg, Kentucky on September 14, 1865. Starks came to Dallas in September 1882, to teach in the public schools, a position he maintained for some 39 years (Dallas *Express*; March 8, 1923).

Like many of those associated with Peoples Undertaking Company in its formative years, Starks was a man seemingly of boundless energy and many talents. He was, at one time, a teacher and principal at Fred Douglass School, publisher and president of The Dallas *Express* (the Black weekly newspaper), as well as a barber (1900-1911, Dallas City Directories).

His first recorded association with Peoples Undertaking Company dates to 1905, but it is likely that Starks was actually involved with the funeral home at its inception, in part implied due to a relation of his, Henry Starks, working as a driver for the funeral home as early as 1903 (1903 Dallas City Directory). As detailed in Chapter 2, Starks also was one of the principal parties involved in the purchase of Woodland Cemetery, a

cemetery that he later owned outright. John Starks served as People Undertaking Company's secretary in these early years (1905-1909 Dallas City Directories).

John P. Starks died on March 1, 1923, in a sanitarium in Guthrie, Oklahoma, where he had traveled from his home in Dallas to seek treatment. At his funeral, it was estimated that over 2,500 people, both Anglo and African-American, paid their last respects (*Dallas Express*; March 8, 1923).

A summary of the principal parties involved in the early years of Peoples Undertaking is given below. Research on this subject, dating after circa 1909 was not relentlessly pursued, and so in some cases, it is unknown how many years the listed individuals held their positions after this year.

Chronology Listing of Peoples Undertaking Company Personnel, listed by Title:

President

1900-1908

Abner Taylor

1909-1909+

William B. West

Manager

1900-1904

William H. Holland

1905-1909+

W. E. Ewing

Secretary

1900?-1909+

John P. Starks

Other Individuals associated with Peoples Undertaking Company

While the above history focused on the principal partners in the funeral home, others are known to have been involved with Peoples Undertaking Company in its early years.

John W. Whitfield

Whitfield was originally a barber between the years 1901 and 1908, sometimes under the employ of J. H. Anderson, but at least by 1909 his profession is given as embalmer, working for Peoples. He held this position with the company at least until 1917 (1907-1917 Dallas City Directories).

Gloster/Glastus Williams

As an employee of Peoples Undertaking Company directly related to Freedman's Cemetery, very little of any substance is known of Gloster (sometimes listed as Glastus) Williams. A rather enigmatic figure not found in the 1880 through 1910 Federal Censuses, Williams first appears in the Dallas City Directory in 1903, owning a restaurant on 675 Cochran Street. However, one year later, Gloster is listed only as a laborer (1903-1904 Dallas City Directories).

It is in Dallas's 1907 directory that Gloster Williams was noted as the official sexton for Freedman's Cemetery. However, while Williams was working as a sexton for the communal cemetery, he was actually being paid by Peoples Undertaking Company in this capacity. In 1909, Williams was still working for Peoples, though with Freedman's Cemetery closed by this time, he was no longer employed as sexton, but rather as a simple

laborer. Williams actually was both working and living at the funeral home in 1909 (1907-1909 Dallas City Directories).

Maxwell Peppers

Maxwell Peppers (sometimes listed as Maxie) began working for Peoples Undertaking Company in 1905 as an assistant embalmer. He continued working for the firm until at least 1908. However, by 1909 Maxwell was employed as a flue builder (1905-1909 Dallas City Directories).

Henry Starks

Presumably a relation of John Starks, Henry was employed by Peoples as a driver for at least two years, between 1903 and 1904 (1903-1904 Dallas City Directories).

Clem Jordan

Jordan was a hostler and later, a barnman for Peoples Undertaking Company, between 1912 and 1916 (1912 -1916 Dallas City Directories).

John Hill

Hill was employed as a clerk by Peoples in 1911 and perhaps later (1911 Dallas City Directory).

Joshua Kinnard/Kernard

Joshua Kinnard (variant spellings include Canard, Kernard) worked for Peoples in 1909 as an embalmer, but by 1913 he had opened his own funeral home. The Kinnard Mortuary operated until 1917. After Mason & Crawford (later Crawford & Company), Kinnard's business was the third African-American funeral home to be founded in the city (1909-1917 Dallas City Directories).

Public Undertaking in Dallas, as Evidenced in the Records of the Dallas City Council and Dallas County Commissioners Court

Although the town of Dallas was first incorporated on February 2, 1856 (Brown 1887:51), the earliest extant records pertaining to the city council date to September 19, 1868, or some 12 years after incorporation (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 1). While it is impossible to know with certainty, it would seem that Dallas's early city government was rather slow to establish regulations regarding the burial of the dead. Certainly, the first extant ordinance passed by the council on the matter of death and cemeteries dates to March 12, 1873.

This ordinance established the office of city sexton, to be elected annually by the city council, and whose duties would include procuring death certificates for every individual dying within the city limits, maintaining a register of deaths that would include the place of burial, and finally that "the city sexton shall receive the sum of fifteen dollars, out of the city treasury, for each and every pauper burial by him: which shall include coffin

and all other expenses" (City Ordinance Books, Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 39, 55-56).

Recognizing the social and economic realities under which the treatment of the dead took place in Dallas is a necessary first step in interpreting the archival record. Unknown individuals, such as transients or recent arrivals to the city, sometimes died within the municipality of Dallas. Lying in the city morgue and unclaimed by friends or family, these individuals were presumed to be indigents and given a pauper burial at city expense. So too, when poor blacks who were residents of Dallas died without family or the means to pay for a proper burial, the city paid for the cost of box and grave. From the inception of undertaking in Dallas in the early 1870s, Anglo mortuary firms held a monopoly on pauper burials, obtaining the contracts for the burial of indigent persons through both the city and county.

While the 1873 ordinance was written with the best of intentions, at least one important aspect of it was immediately ignored— no records of death were kept by the city, or their appointee, the city sexton. The city council also apparently overestimated its ability to pay the rather substantial sum of \$15 per indigent burial, and in an emergency session on April 15, 1876, passed an amendment to the ordinance lowering this rate to \$10 per body (Dallas City Ordinance Books, Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 291).

In spite of the inconsistency in the council's pursuit of the letter of the law, it did maintain the spirit of the law. The first election of the office of city sexton was held on July 2, 1873, with only two nominees, John Lafferty and Asa W. Morton, the town's only undertaker (see Table 3-3). Needless to say, Morton was duly elected to the post (Dallas

City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 1, p. 217).

Between 1873 and 1875, apparently no elections were held for the office of sexton, or at least none are recorded within the Council Minutes. A. W. Morton simply continued to hold the post through these years (probably because he was the only undertaker in the town), as there are intermittent entries within the city council minutes of bills submitted by Morton for payment. Between the time of his election to the post in 1873 until April 1876, Morton billed the city for his services in the amount of \$353 (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 2, pp. 83, 99, 111, 132).

With the arrival of a new undertaker, Patrick Linskie, to Dallas in 1873, and his opening for business by the summer of 1874, it is likely that the members of the Dallas City Council believed it was time to hold city sexton elections once again. Linskie and Morton were the only candidates for the job, and on April 11, 1876, Linskie won the position handily (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 2, 136-137).

Ed C. Smith won the post from Linskie in 1877, but lost it to Linskie once more in 1878. Oddly, Ranzil H. Rodgers, the individual who held the job the longest, some three years or more, was not an undertaker at all. Rodgers was a carriage builder by trade, and it was probably, at least in part, his carpentry skills that held him in good stead with the city council (1878-79 Dallas City Directory).

When election time came around again in 1882, there was no mention made of the matter of city sexton. Finally, on April 21, 1883, the Mayor addressed the matter of the burial of the pauper dead, querying just whose duty it now was. Mayor Cabell's request was referred to the Sanitary Committee, who reported back to the City Council on May 1, 1883: "The Committee on Hospital report in reference to burying Paupers that there is an

arrangement between the City and the County that the County shall bury all paupers, and your committee sees no reason why the agreement should be amended" (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 4, pp. 179,185).

Dallas County Commissioner's Court records show that between 1883 and 1899, undertakers holding pauper contracts with the county included Ed C. Smith, P. W. Linskie, Loudermilk and Miller, and James Dunn. In particular, the 1895 contract between the undertaker team of Loudermilk and Miller is given in explicit detail, and pertinent elements are excerpted below (Dallas County Commissioner's Court Minutes; Book 7, p. 196, Feb. 20, 1895):

...said undertakers agree to furnish 1st a neat coffin, stained and varnished, neatly lined.
2nd, to furnish the grave...
The coffin is to be of cypress or poplar (and) **to be in coffin shape** (emphasis added).
Said undertakers agree to furnish coffin for \$2.50 without robe and burial.

While it put an effective end to the official office of city sexton, the 1882 "arrangement" between city and county officials in regard to the pauper dead would be rescinded and shirked by the county on occasion, most notably in 1900, when city and county governments seemingly almost came to blows over the burial of single Black child (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes; Book 6, p. 277, August 18, 1893; Book 9, p. 143, July 10, 1900).

On July 10, 1900, Dallas County Commissioners handed down an edict, stating that no more paupers were to be buried at county expense. James Dunn, the Dallas undertaker who almost seemed to specialize in the indigent burial trade, was duly given

the order to cease and desist (Dallas County Commissioners Court Minutes; Book 9, p. 143). This action on the part of county officials sparked intense debate within the city government as to what was to be done to counter this declaration.

The *Times Herald* reported that this rift between city and county officials could be traced to the "small pox discussion." Apparently, a smallpox outbreak the previous winter had caused the county considerable expense, and although the city promised to re-imburse the county for half of its expenditure, no such funds had been forthcoming. In retaliation, the county finally refused to bury any paupers dying within the city limits. This feud came to a head on July 10, 1900, with the body of "an 8-months child... lying at the morgue, and the undertaker... at a loss to ascertain where his pay is coming from" (Dallas *Times Herald*; July 12, 1900). Later accounts identify the child as African-American (Dallas *Morning News*; July 13, 1900). Although never named, from city death records it is possible to ascertain that this child was John G. Jeffreys, who died on July 12, 1900. While city and county officials argued over who was responsible for the bill, James Dunn buried the child at his own expense (Dallas *Times Herald*, July 15, 1900; Dallas City Death Records, Vital Records Dept., City Hall).

The eventual result of this fiasco was the re-emergence of the position of official city undertaker to fulfill a pauper burial contract with the city of Dallas. Towards this goal, on September 23, 1901, bids were submitted to the City Council's Finance and Records Committee by three prominent local undertakers: Ed C. Smith & Brothers, George Loudermilk, and James E. Dunn (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 286). On the following day, the Council entertained the merits of each (Dallas *Morning News*, September 24, 1901), the details of which are given verbatim below:

Bids for burying city paupers were opened, read, and referred as follows: G. W. Loudermilk-Box shaped coffin, and necessary furnishings, with interment, \$3 per corpse; with "coffin-shaped" coffin, \$3.75; robe \$1 extra. Ed C. Smith & Brothers-Stained pine box, etc., \$3 per corpse. J. E. Dunn & Co.-Pine coffin, opening and filling grave and conveyance to same, without cost to the city and with the payment of one cent to the municipality for every pauper buried.

The details of this contract are extremely important, in regard to specific attributes of some graves observed archaeologically at Freedman's. As will be detailed in Chapter 4, the morphology of burial containers is a vitally important attribute, with temporal as well as economic implications. Further, in the 19th and early 20th centuries the terms, "coffin" and "casket," were precisely defined referents, and as such were not interchangeable. Strictly speaking, "coffin" refers to a hexagonal shaped burial container, while a "casket" is, most generally, a rectangular shaped box.

What the details of the three bids are saying is that Loudermilk was willing to utilize either a simple, rectangular box (i.e., "box shaped" coffin), or, at a slightly higher cost, a hexagonal shaped box (termed a "coffin" shaped coffin). The Ed C. Smith funeral home only offered to supply a rectangular box as burial receptacle, while James E. Dunn & Company, the firm that actually received the contract, stated that a "coffin," or rather a hexagonal shaped container, would be utilized.

Generally speaking, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the hexagonal coffin form was becoming increasingly limited in terms of variety and, hence, was utilized most often in less expensive burials, and in decreasing frequency overall. This general trend does not hold true for Freedman's Cemetery, in several ways, as will be addressed in detail

in subsequent chapters. Suffice it to say, James Dunn was awarded the pauper contract by the city and continued to hold it until his retirement in September 1904. Presumably, he held to the letter of his contract with the city, and used hexagonal shaped burial containers in burying the city's pauper dead.

In interring African-American indigents, this type of container would have been used by Dunn at Freedman's Cemetery as well. As will be discussed in Chapter 8, burials associated with clear, turn-of-the-century time diagnostic artifacts often possessed this increasingly archaic burial container form. Their existence strongly suggests a correlation of the archaeological record with the archival, and a undeniable identification of many of the paupers interred by James Dunn between 1901 and 1904.

On October 28, 1901, or only a month after the pauper burial contract had been awarded to James Dunn & Company, Peoples Undertaking Company, the Black funeral home, made a formal request with city officials to be allowed "to bury the colored paupers." This matter was referred to the Finance and Records committee, which apparently ignored the request entirely (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 27, p. 319).

Although one or more African-American owned funeral homes were in place in Dallas by 1900, it was not until 1910 that even the idea of contracting with a black funeral home to inter the black indigent dead was given serious consideration. The first recorded pauper burial contract awarded by the city to an African-American funeral home occurred in 1913, with Peoples Undertaking Company (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 2, Vol. 5, p.139, Aug 26, 1910; Series 2, Vol. 8, p. 208, April 13, 1913).

Table 3-1:

All Peoples Undertaking Co. transactions in G. W. Loudermilk Ledger (1903-1905)

Month/Day	Year	Service rendered	Amount
October 25	1903	To 1 carriage to F.	\$4.00
"	1903	" Hearse and team	\$8.00
January 12	1904	" Blk Hearse and team	\$8.00
January 19	1904	" white Hearse and team	\$8.00
January 28	1904	" 4 carriages	\$16.00
June 21	1904	" Palace Coach.. New cemetery	\$6.00
"	1904	" 4 carriages (@ \$5.00)	\$20.00
"	1904	" white car	\$8.00
June 24	1904	" 5 carriages, Woodland Cemetery	\$25.00
July 3	1904	" Hearse, team & driver	\$4.00
August 21	1904	" use of Hearse	\$1.00
September 25	1904	" use of Hearse	\$1.00
October 1	1904	" use of White car	\$8.00
October 17	1904	" use of Hearse	\$1.00
October 21	1904	" White car	\$8.00
November 9	1904	" White car	\$8.00
November 24	1904	" White Horse	\$1.00
November 27	1904	" White Horse	\$1.00
December 21	1904	" White car	\$8.00
December 21	1904	" 3 Hacks	\$12.00
December 21	1904	" Wagonette	\$5.00
.....	1905	" 2 Pr. stools(?) Ewing	\$10.00
March 3	1905	" Wagonette	\$6.00
"	1905	" White car	\$8.00
"	1905	" 4 carriages	\$20.00
March 12	1905	" White Car	\$8.00
April 2	1905	" 2 Carriages... New Cemetery	\$10.00
"	1905	" 1 Trapp... New Cemetery	\$6.00
April 12	1905	" 2 carriages	\$10.00
"	1905	" Coach	\$6.00
April 13	1905	" Coach	\$29.00
"	1905	" Coach	\$6.00
"	1905	R. A. Huey	\$16.00
May 12	1905	To White car	\$8.00
May 16	1905	" Coaches 5, 2 carriages	\$15.00
May 18	1905	By cash	\$15.00

Table 3-2:

All Peoples Undertaking Co. transactions in Ed C. Smith Day Books (1902-1903)

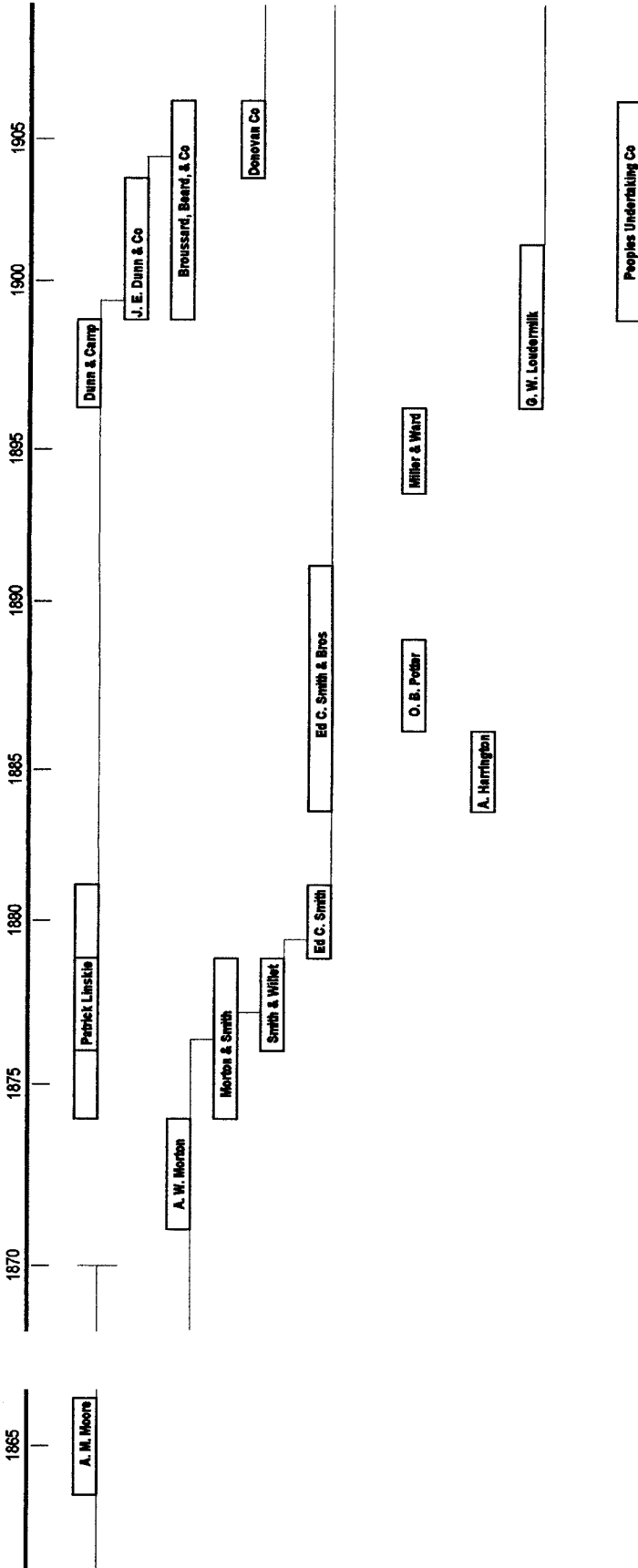
Month/Day	Year	Service rendered	Amount
January 18	1902	To Coffin and Box	\$12.50
February 23	1902	To Coffin and Hearse	\$30.00
March 18	1902	To 1 carriage Fisher	\$4.00
April 15	1902	To 1 carriage	\$4.00
August 10	1902	To Trapp Sam, 1 Horse	\$5.00
February 10	1903	To 2 carriages 5 hrs each	\$10.00
July 10	1903	To coffin No. 7 trimmed	\$30.00
September 27	1903	To Trapp	\$5.00

Table 3-3:

**Holder of the Office of City Sexton
Dallas, Texas (1873-1881)**

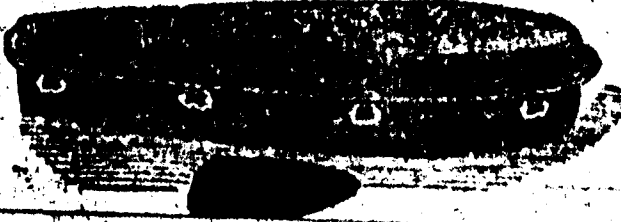
Sexton	Dates of Service	
	From	To
A. W. Morton	July 2, 1873	April 11, 1876
P. Linskie	April 11, 1876	April 17, 1877
Ed C. Smith	April 17, 1877	April 16, 1878
P. Linskie	April 16, 1878	May 20, 1879
R. H. Rodgers	May 20, 1879	May 4, 1880
R. H. Rodgers	May 4, 1880	May 31, 1881
R. H. Rodgers	May 31, 1881	.....

(Figure 3-1) Undertaking In Dallas Texas (1854-1907)



UNDERTAKING.

A. W. MORTON.



Sexton of the Masonic and City Cemeteries and

General Undertaker,

Cochran Street, Dallas, Texas,

Keeps constantly on hand ready made Coffins of all kinds and sizes. Also a full supply of

FISK'S METALLIC BURIAL CASES

And Caskets,

GLOSS WHITE COFFINS AND CASKETS

For Children, and

ROSEWOOD COFFINS AND CASKETS

Also a full supply of Undertakers' Hardware and trimmings of every kind, at wholesale and retail.

He has a handsome

OVAL GLASS HEARSE

for attendance on funerals.

Orders by mail or telegraph solicited and promptly attended to. 85111

Figure 3-2

Advertisement for A. W. Morton, Dallas's second Undertaker
(from *Dallas Weekly Herald*; Oct 30, 1874)

P. W. LINSKIE,

Corner Main and



Harwood Streets.

UNDERTAKER,

BURIAL CASES and CASKETS and COFFINS

of all descriptions always on hand. Orders from the country attended to at short notice. Graves dug and lots purchased in the city cemetery, and a splendid hearse and carriages furnished for funerals. A branch office at G. K. Merriwether's on Elm Street. Orders by telegraph promptly attended to.

Figure 3-3 Patrick W. Linskie, Undertaker (advertisement from 1875 Dallas City Directory).

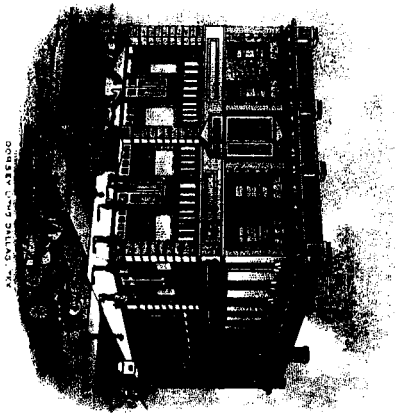


Figure 3-4

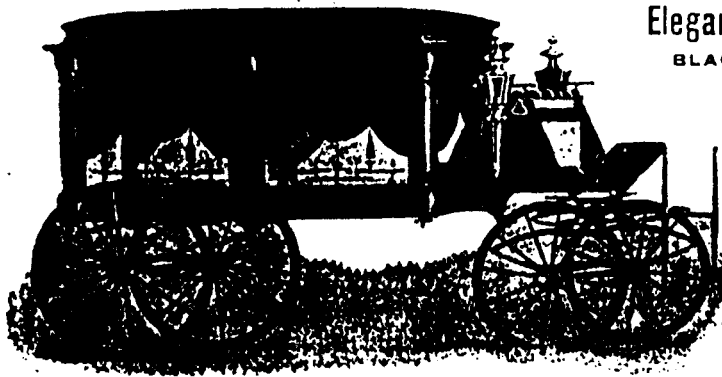
Turn-of-the-century letterhead of George Washington Loudermilk. The building illustrated in the engraving is a depiction of the funeral home. This structure was Linskie's old shop, built by him in 1884. This was also the building leased by James Dunn in 1897 (Author's personal collection).



The Peoples Undertakers Co.

A. TAYLOR, Proprietor

W. H. HOLLAND, Manager



Elegant Funeral Cars
BLACK AND WHITE

Our Funeral
Equipments equal
to any in the city
Prompt Attention

OPEN DAY
AND NIGHT

The Patronage of
the Public
Solicited

Undertakers, Embalmers and Funeral Directors

Phone 1296 103 NORTH PEARL ST., between Main and Elm Streets

Figure 3-5 Early advertisement for Peoples Undertaking Company
(from 1902 Dallas City Directory).

THE PEOPLES UNDERTAKER COMPANY

130 AND 132 PEARL STREET

PHONE MAIN 1296

Dallas, Texas, Sept 21st 1909

W. A. Warren to shipping remains
of Colby Warren to Bryan Texas
\$75.00

Ten & ^{no}/₁₀₀ Dollars (10.00) per month to be
paid on above bill.

A. W. P. Warren

We guarantee payment
A. W. P. Warren
A. W. P. Warren

Figure 3-6

1909 Peoples Undertaking Company Letterhead
(from Peoples Day Book, African-American Museum of Life
and Culture, Dallas, Texas).

Chapter 4

Chronological Controls:

A Brief History of Elements of Mortuary Hardware, and A Review of Selected Temporal Diagnostics

My ability to assign accurate dates of interment for the exhumed burials at Freedman's Cemetery was materially aided by the huge quantity and variety of coffin hardware present, as well as numerous associated personal artifacts, with clear *terminus post quem* introduction dates. In this chapter, some of the more basic temporally sensitive elements of the burial container will be addressed; then dating criteria for more idiosyncratic, personal artifacts will be addressed.

Although some of the artifacts addressed below are unique, any mortuary hardware assemblage found in association with a time diagnostic artifact could be cross-dated to other burials with similar assemblages. In this manner, specific time diagnostic artifacts recovered in association with graves allowed for the dating of individual burials, as well as establishing broad, base-line temporal controls for dozens or even hundreds of burials with similar traits.

In all, the results of establishing *terminus post quem* dates for selected artifacts permitted the creation of an entirely internal dating schema for specific trends of coffin hardware utilization endemic to nineteenth century Dallas. This internally generated dating regime both complimented and corresponded to that data derived from various

archival records, such as local undertaker's day books, as well as the coffin hardware catalogues or United States patents.

This chapter does not address any obviously dated items, such as coins. Where appropriate, these items will be covered in subsequent chapters. Rather, this chapter serves to give more lengthy histories of specific artifact types, whose temporal range is not commonly known. Further, while the *terminus post quem* introduction dates for most of the recovered artifacts were established, only those that were especially pertinent are reviewed here.

It should also be noted that numerous elements of clothing and personal effects, especially jewelry, were recovered with the graves. In particular, many of the jewelry pieces, such as the decorative cuff studs and lace/bar pins, had identical or virtually identical design matches in contemporary mail order catalogues (e.g., Sears 1897, etc.). These design matches, however, were not utilized as temporal indicators, since a catalogue appearance in 1897 did not guarantee a *terminus post quem* of that date. That is, such appearances did not preclude an even earlier availability in the market place. While general dating could have been achieved through general trends in jewelry design, these were not utilized, since other more precise temporal referents were available.

In their capacity as time diagnostics, remarkably the very real potential of a few of the below named artifact types (e.g., corrugated fasteners, safety pins) has seemingly been ignored in historic archaeology. Hopefully, this discussion will encourage their utilization by other archaeologists, especially those working in a mortuary context.

Mortuary Hardware: The Archival Record

To aid in establishing the chronology of Freedman's Cemetery, an exhaustive study of the material culture of nineteenth and early twentieth mortuary arts was undertaken. In fact, it was primarily due to the site's overall complexity that reliance on the extant literature regarding the material culture of the 19th century funerary industry was just not possible. This is why I embarked on a research project into the funerary arts of the 19th and early 20th centuries; it was simply out of necessity. Patent records, coffin and coffin hardware catalogues, and undertaker trade journals were extensively researched, and a reference collection was created.

United States Patent Records: Utility Patents (1839-1907) (N=1,069)

The utility patents registered with the United States Patent office between 1839 and 1907 were examined. In all, there were 1,069 patents for coffins, coffin hardware, and other elements associated with the funeral industry (e.g., devices to lower coffins into the grave, etc.). All of these patents were examined on microfilm, and an Excel spreadsheet was created, listing the pertinent criteria associated with each patent, including year and date, patent number, patent type, inventor, location, assignor (if any), and finally a description of the patent itself. Of the 1,069 patents examined, 292 (or 27%) of those pertinent to the material culture of Freedman's Cemetery were photocopied.

United States Patent Records: Design Patents (1843-1907) (N=369)

Design patents registered with the United States Patent office were examined, from 1843 (the first year any design patent was issued) to 1907. In comparison to the

utility patents, there were fewer design patents overall, with only 369 issued in this 64 year interval. As with the utility patents, all of the designs were examined, and an Excel spreadsheet was created with similar information. Of the 369 design patents, 354 (or 96%) were photocopied.

Coffin/Coffin Hardware Trade Catalogues

To build on the knowledge base established through the Patent records, coffin and coffin hardware trade catalogues were also sought out. These catalogues were extremely valuable in defining the morphology and terminology of mortuary hardware, as well as establishing chronological controls. Table 4-1 lists the 61 catalogues examined for this project. In all, over 4,800 pages of catalogues were either copied or examined to aid in matching Freedman's hardware to illustrated examples. Catalogues collected for this study were gathered from such major repositories as the Library of Congress (Washington, D.C.), Winterthur Museum (Winterthur, Delaware), University of Delaware- Special Collections (Newark, Delaware), and the Hagley Museum (Wilmington, Delaware). Additionally, Doreen Cooper, a National Park Service archaeologist at Skagway, Alaska, graciously assisted me early on in my research, by supplying partial photocopies of some key catalogues.

The primary result of these studies is that the chronology of the technological and stylistic innovations in mortuary hardware (both in form as well as function) is now quite clear. Dating for specific coffin hardware types, where appropriate, will be presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 8. What follows below are general historical overviews of major types of mortuary hardware or other elements of the physical grave.

Some Specific Elements of Mortuary Hardware and Burial Container

Although all mortuary hardware or other physical elements of the grave are of potential temporal significance, to what I am referring here are broad artifact types that first appear or have demonstrable design, manufacture, or use dates between the years 1869 and 1907. By identifying these temporal trends, I gained the ability to delimit Freedman's 39 year temporal range, and so more finely date the interments. For the purpose of assigning dates of interment to burials at Freedman's Cemetery, I had to establish the broad history of virtually all elements of the physical grave. Five major elements of the burial complex, however, proved especially applicable to Freedman's Cemetery, and so will be discussed here in detail: the innovation and introduction of thumbscrews, the morphology of coffins and caskets, the morphology and use dates of specific types of nails, corrugated fasteners, and elements of mortuary hardware manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company, of Elgin, Illinois.

Evolution of Mortuary Hardware

Throughout the United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, many changes were witnessed in the customs associated with burial of the dead. These changes can be seen not only in the actions and viewpoints of American society as a whole, but also change is readily apparent in the material culture associated with burial itself. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the use of elaborate burial containers or trimmings was likely the exception rather than the rule. Due primarily to expense, funerary trappings were reserved only for well-to-do families or famous personages (Rauschenburg 1990).

The types of coffin trimmings available circa 1800 would have been rather simply designed swingbail handles, and metal plates affixed to the lid or head board of the coffin, upon which would have been engraved such vital information as the deceased person's name, dates of birth and death. Additional elements might include silver screws to secure the lid, and an upholstered interior. In the settled Eastern states, such metal coffin furniture or hardware could be obtained from cabinet makers (Rauschenburg 1990), but these types of trimmings would have been all but impossible to procure in a frontier setting.

To better understand the increasingly common availability and elaboration of coffin hardware, a detailed study of mortuary hardware present within nineteenth and early twentieth century trade catalogues was undertaken (see Table 4-1).

In the 1853 Peck & Walter Manufacturing Company's price list (the earliest catalogue examined), the types of coffin hardware available for purchase consisted of just four categories: handles, hinges, white metal and silver plated coffin screws, and silver or white metal coffin tacks. Additionally, for each specific type of hardware, the varieties available were also limited.

By the time of the 1866 Sargent & Company's catalogue, the number of mortuary hardware styles had increased dramatically. Where only 16 types of handles were present in 1853, 66 kinds were available for purchase (from a single manufacturer) just one year after the end of the Civil War. While mortuary hardware had previously been somewhat static in its form, the first in a series of true innovations pertaining to the mode of design or construction of totally new handle, ornament or lid closure types, began to appear by 1865, as witnessed in the records of the United States Patent Office.

Thumbscrews As Temporal Indicators: Previous Research

The temporal aspects of thumbscrews have been explored by some researchers, with various assessments and date ranges. For example, Hacker-Norton and Trinkley point out that thumbscrews are present (at least by terminology) in the 1871 Sargent & Co catalogue, though they go on to suggest that "...thumbscrews and escutcheons may not be particularly useful for dating..." (1984: 46).

From his work on the materials from the Stirrup Court Cemetery, Woodley has proposed that at least in Ontario, thumbscrews, escutcheons, and caplifters all post date 1881 (1992: 59). Kogan and Mayer, in their work on the Former Wesleyan Methodist Church Cemetery in Ontario, only uphold Woodley's circa 1881 *terminus post quem* for thumbscrews (1995:160).

Drawing upon his work on historic cemeteries in Georgia, Patrick Garrow proposed that thumbscrews had "a probable date range of the 1870s to ca. 1921" (1987:37). More recently, and seemingly oblivious to Garrow's or others work on this subject, researchers involved with the Phillips Memorial Cemetery, in Galveston County, Texas, offer only that thumbscrews, if encountered, suggest a date of interment prior to 1900 (a false assumption) (Dockall, et al. 1996: 134, 138).

All in all, there seems to be many differences of opinion (and confusion) regarding the temporal aspects of thumbscrews in the literature, and although some of these dating schemas were based (at least superficially) upon the archival record, most are incorrect. The history of thumbscrews that follows definitively places their initial innovation in the late 1860s, and the standardization of their form in the early 1870s. Furthermore,

thumbscrews continued to be utilized well into the 20th century. Remarkably, Garrow, working in the 1980s from primarily excavated materials, estimated a date range for thumbscrews that mirrors their history based on the archival record. Despite what has been suggested by Hacker-Norton and Trinkley, on the contrary thumbscrews (and escutcheons) are actually excellent temporal diagnostics, and have been used extensively in the formulation of the Freedman's Cemetery chronology.

The Introduction and Evolution of Thumbscrews

In the early 1800s, the means of securing a coffin lid generally was limited to either nails, utilitarian screws, or preferably, more elaborate coffin screws specifically designed for the task. Coffin screws are a composite artifact, consisting of an iron (or steel) gimlet screw upon which is mounted a cast white metal head, slotted to receive a screwdriver. Typically, four or six screws were utilized to seal a coffin lid.

Formal coffin screws are offered for sale in the earliest hardware catalogue utilized in this study, the Peck and Walter Manufacturing Company Price List of 1853, where they were available in both plain white metal and silver plated varieties. Most coffin screws commonly were decorated (though simply) with a debossed filigree design around the perimeter of the screw head. Although certainly available by 1853, coffin screws likely were commonly manufactured items for some years prior to the 1850s (see Figure 4-1).

The introduction of thumbscrews as standard equipment in coffin trimmings did not occur overnight. Of course, in the mid-nineteenth century the concept of the thumbscrew was not, in and of itself, innovative, but its application as a type of coffin

closure was.

Of the sources reviewed, the first appearance of mortuary specific thumbscrews offered for sale in any form can be traced to two catalogues— one from 1869 (Sargent & Company), the other from 1871 (the catalogue for Taylor & Company, of New York). In 1869, Sargent offered eleven varieties of the traditional coffin screws, in addition to what are referred to as "White Metal Coffin Thumb Screws," available in two (though virtually identical) styles (Figure 4-2).

Although specifically called thumbscrews by name, they are surprisingly similar in appearance to the older coffin screw form. Indeed, these two "thumbscrews" offered by Sargent & Company consist of an elongated, cylindrical white metal body, with a slightly domed and straight slotted head designed to accept a screw driver, exactly like a coffin screw.

In the Taylor & Company's 1871 catalogue, only a single thumbscrew is offered for sale. Unlike those offered by Sargent, the Taylor thumbscrew is not slotted, but rather is representational, molded in the form of a funeral urn (Figure 4-3).

In the 1871 Sargent and Company catalogue, the two previous "thumbscrews" are still available for sale, but the variety of coffin screws available for purchase had been reduced from 11 to 7. By 1874, Sargent and Company offered two additional types of "thumbscrews," each similar to those introduced in 1869 by retaining the former's cylindrical appearance, with one screw distinctly "urn like" in form (Figure 4-4). In this, it is virtually identical to that offered by Taylor & Company three years earlier. These early cylindrical thumbscrew types greatly resemble the form later utilized in some caplifters, but are not the typical thumbscrew form commonly sold and utilized in the later 1870s and

on.

The same year that Sargent & Company offered four cylindrical thumbscrews types, the first design patents were issued for coffin thumbscrews. Two sequential design patents were issued on October 13, 1874, to William M. Smith and assigned by him to the Meriden Britannia Company (U.S. Design Patent Nos. 7,797; 7,798). Although both patents refer to their subject as "Design for Coffin-Screw Heads," both forms are quite unlike the older, slotted coffin screws.

One of these patents is for a roughly cylindrical screw type consisting of an urn-like motif (No. 7,798), the form of which is certainly reminiscent of the ones offered in both the 1874 Sargent & Company and Taylor & Co catalogues (Figure 4-5). The thumbscrew patented by Smith differs from the Sargent/Taylor types by the addition of two symmetrically placed handle-like projections, which while contributing to the overall aesthetic, would further have aided one's ability to maintain a grip while turning the screw.

The other thumbscrew design of 1874 patented by William Smith actually introduces the basic form that would in a very short time become the funeral industry standard— broad and flat bodied (Figure 4-6). Indeed, the time lag between the first thumbscrew patents issued to William Smith in 1874 and their common availability in catalogues was quite short. In the 1875 Taylor & Company catalogue, two entire pages are devoted to thumbscrews.

The first page (p. 130) contains six thumbscrews and their accompanying escutcheons, all variants of the urn motif (Figure 4-7). Another page, however, also was devoted to thumbscrews, and due to its placement within the catalogue itself (isolated from the other coffin hardware), it would seem to represent a late addition immediately

prior to its printing (p. 163) (Figure 4-8). This page contains six thumbscrews (and escutcheons), all variants of the patented designs of Smith's from the year prior. The copy accompanying the engravings reads, " WM. M. Smith's Improved Patent Thumb Screws. The advantages of the Screws can be readily seen, as they are not only much improved in appearance, but can be used with much less strain on the thumb and finger."

Including the Smith's patents for thumbscrews in 1874, in a four year period between 1874 and 1878, there were twelve designs issued for thumbscrews and one for an accompanying escutcheon (see Table 4-2). Nearly all of these designs became the standard products of several mortuary hardware companies, and all but one (No. 10,410) is of the flat bodied form.

In summary, the introduction of thumbscrews utilized as lid closures in coffins dates to circa 1869 and 1871, as found in the Taylor & Company and Sargent & Company catalogues of these years. These early thumbscrews were cylindrical in form, and actually resemble either the earlier coffin screws, or were urn-like in appearance, and suggest later caplifter forms. Flat bodied thumbscrews, proto-typical of later thumbscrews, were introduced by 1874, initially in the design patent of William Smith (No. 7,797), and available through catalogue by circa 1875 (Taylor & Company).

Thumbscrews are good time diagnostics, and by their presence alone will achieve a *terminus post quem* of no earlier than circa 1870 for cylindrical forms, and circa 1875 for flat bodied forms. Dating specific design motifs will achieve far better results, however, as some forms have designs patented as late as 1884. Additionally, some specific stylistic motifs were never registered with the patent office, although original designs continued to be introduced into the 20th century. By establishing their introduction into the market

place via coffin hardware catalogues, very tight dating may be achieved.

Burial Container Morphology: Coffins and Caskets

Throughout the United States in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the standard form of burial container in general use was the hexagonal shaped box, termed the **coffin**, which in design is narrow at the head, has its widest point at the shoulders, and then tapers to the feet, fitting the idealized shape of the human body. This form of burial container has been known under other names as well, including the truncated diamond form, and colloquially as a toe pincher (Habenstein and Lamers 1985; Coffin 1976).

While the hexagonal coffin was recognized as the standard form of burial container for this time, it was not the exclusive form in use. One form recovered from excavations of the eighteenth century First Cemetery site in New Orleans, was a box that had its widest point at its head end, and which subsequently tapered towards the feet. This box form, while similar to the hexagonal in its tapering aspect, also shares a trait with the rectangular box in its simplicity of design, utilizing only a single, unmodified board per long axis side (Owsley et. al. 1985).

The graves from First Cemetery are believed to have been interred throughout most of the eighteenth century, from circa 1725 to circa 1800. No other coffin form was noted by the investigators at the First Cemetery; the only variations observed seem to have been in the types of lids employed with the coffins themselves, with examples of flat, peaked, and rounded top lids all present (Owsley et. al. 1985). This true "tapered to the feet" form may well be, at least in some cases, the result of a compromise between the

desire for something akin to the traditional true coffin form, combined with the necessity of expediency and the lack of artisans skilled in producing true coffins.

While the use of the coffin (i.e., hexagonal) form was more or less ubiquitous throughout eighteenth and early nineteenth century America, by the mid-nineteenth century, a fundamental innovation had occurred in the form a burial container typically could take, with the introduction of the **casket**. The term casket is derived from the French, and means “jewelry box,” or a box to store valuables (Habenstein and Lamers 1985: 168).

It is not known exactly when or where this innovation of design was first introduced in the United States. However, the earliest known use of the term (as applied to a burial container) has been traced to the 1849 Boston City Directory wherein William Cooley, an undertaker, advertised for sale, "coffins, caskets, and robes of every description..." (Habenstein and Lamers 1985: 169; Fig 1).

While the term and concept of the casket, by strictest definition, does not necessarily dictate an absolutely rectangular form, by custom it was conceived as a generally parallel sided box, perhaps ornately trimmed, and designed specifically to provide an adequate substitute for the coffin, a box whose form, in fitting and mimicking the stylized shape of the human body, was seen by some mid-nineteenth century minds as increasingly repugnant (Farrell 1980:171)..

The first United States invention patent for a true casket in shape (though not in terminology), employing a roughly rectangular form, was issued on January 4, 1859, to Charles Richardson of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania (Pat No. 22, 537) (see Figure 4-9). The illustration of the burial container accompanying the letters of patent show a parallel sided

box with rounded or oval ends.

Curiously, this first United States patent illustrating a burial container utilizing a "casket" form was filed some ten years after the introduction of the casket, as defined solely by terminology, in Boston. In the patent's description, no mention of the specific form of the box is given, probably since it was not critical to the basic innovation or function of the container; the patent concerns itself only with the prevention of offensive gasses or odor (i.e., the creation of an airtight box).

The invention patent previously cited as the earliest for the casket (e.g., Lang 1984) was issued on April 19, 1859, to A. C. Barstow, of Providence, Rhode Island. {Please make note that this patent is often cited as occurring in *1849*, due to its actual date of patent having been mistakenly attributed to a previous decade by Farrell (1980:171); 1859 is the correct year}. The form of this burial container is overall, much less "casket like" than the previous patent, but its description does provide specific commentary on the form of the box, and thus gives additional insight into the mid-nineteenth century American sensibility:

The burial cases formerly used were adapted in shape nearly to the form of the human body, that is they tapered from the shoulders to the head, and from the shoulders to the feet. Recently, in order to obviate in some degree the disagreeable sensations produced by a coffin on many minds, the casket or square form has been adopted, and of this kind the metallic burial cases have for many reasons been preferred.

Other patents for burial cases remark on the appropriateness of their specific form. One utility patent (No. 32, 261), issued to John Weaver on May 7, 1861, consists of a rectangular casket with canted corners (or rather, an octagonal box), the benefits of which

are described as "The first peculiarity of my improved burial case consists in its having parallel sides from end to end; thereby avoiding the repulsive form of the old style of coffin" (Figure 4-10)

Another utility patent for an "Improved Coffin," issued on January 5, 1869 to J. D. Bayliss (No. 85, 507), consists of a highly stylized, but yet still recognizable hexagonal coffin form, with the box widest at the shoulders, and tapering to the head and feet. The coffin has all rounded ends, and no true or sharp corners. In the text describing the form and manner of construction for the coffin, it is stated that "the old form of coffins, with square ends and flat top, having become repulsive to many persons, other forms have been substituted for it."

In 1871, as illustrated within the pages of Taylor and Company's catalogue of this year, caskets were common in the market place, with nine pages devoted to this new form of burial container. This is in clear contrast to the older coffin form, which appears on only three pages. While it can be documented that the transition from coffin to casket by the late 1860s and early 1870s was well on its way in the eastern United States (Taylor and Company was headquartered in New York City), it is much less clear when the transition from casket to coffin occurred in Texas and specifically Dallas. The earliest known use of the *term* "casket" in Dallas, however, can be found in the initial advertisement of Patrick Linskie in 1874 (*Dallas Weekly Herald*: September 12, 1874).

It should also be noted that when caskets were introduced either nationally, or locally at Freedman's Cemetery, the hexagonal coffin did not simply disappear from use. Indeed, there are patents involving stylized hexagonal coffins at least up to 1901 (U. S. Utility Patent: No. 686, 308) (Figure 4-11). At Freedman's Cemetery, instead of having

faded from use as some might believe, the hexagonal coffin form is actually predominate for a time during the turn-of-the-century Late Period. Thus while the introduction date of the rectangular casket, where it can be estimated, can be used as a general *terminus post quem*, the converse is not true; presence of hexagonal coffins cannot be used as a *terminus ante quem*, and therefore cannot serve as the end or cap date to a temporal range.

A Brief History of Nails, in Mortuary Contexts

In general, three types of nails were commonly in use in North America. These nail varieties are defined by the specific techniques used in their construction: hand wrought, square cut, and wire nails. Hand wrought nails were common in the 17th and 18th centuries, but square cut nails were introduced in America around the year 1800, and quickly replaced hand wrought nails in general use. Cut nails were the predominate nail type in use until the late 1800s, when a new type, the wire nail, was being introduced into the United States. In a matter of only a few years, wire nails became the predominate nail type in use throughout the country (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962).

At Freedman's Cemetery, it was observed that wire nails do not enter the archaeological record until the late 1890s, or by convention, circa 1899/1900. It should be stressed, however, that cut nails are quite common, if not predominate, until circa 1904. This circa 1899/1900 introduction date of wire nails, as directly observed on burials at Freedman's Cemetery, stands somewhat at odds with previously suggested dates of introduction and dominance of wire nails as put forth by other researchers (discussed below). A commonly cited source regarding the introduction of wire nails and the

subsequent replacement of cut nails is Fontana and Greenleaf (1962), a review of which will serve as introduction to the subject.

Wire nails were rare in the United States prior to circa 1880, since the specific kind of high quality steel wire required in their manufacture had to be imported from Norway until 1879. It was in this year that a firm in the United States, the H. P. Nail Company of Cleveland, Ohio, became the first to fabricate the Bessemer steel wire and successfully produce wire nails from it (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 47).

Although wire nails were being manufactured for sale in this country by 1879, only 20,000 kegs of nails were produced in the year 1880 (1962: 48). Even eight years later, or in 1888, "...wire nail production represented a little less than a fifth of the total nail product" in the country (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962:48), meaning that cut nails were still clearly dominate in the marketplace as late as 1888, not the least of which because they were still cheaper than wire nails.

Most coffins and caskets would have utilized primarily small finishing nails in their manufacture, and it was precisely these small wire nail forms that were the most expensive to either the wholesale or retail trade. At least between 1892 and 1895, while the largest sizes of nails (e.g., 60 penny) were sold below cost (85 cents per keg), "the price... increased as the nails got smaller until the listing for 2 d (or two penny) nails was \$2.65 a keg" (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 48). Until circa 1895, then, the utilization of wire nails was likely precluded in the manufacture of coffins and caskets, due to their greater expense when compared to cut nails. As Fontana and Greenleaf point out, however, by 1895 the output of wire nails had risen to 600,000 kegs, which "represented just under three-fourths of the total nail output for the United States" (1962: 48). Finally, by 1902

the wire nail was clearly the dominate nail form in the United States (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 50).

As to the introduction date for wire nails *in the manufacture* of coffins or caskets, there are at least three factors to consider. The first factor would be one of cost. During the early 1890s, while wire nails were being sold at less than cost in the largest sizes (e.g. 60 penny), the smaller of the wire nails, including finishing nails, were actually *more expensive* than their cut nail counterparts (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 49). While some have pointed to 1890 as the year by which wire nails would have become predominate over cut nails (Shogren et al. 1989), it would seem that 1890 would mark only their common introduction into the construction industry, especially in the framing of houses, where the larger nail sizes were required (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 57).

The second factor that must be considered is that of function. While cut and wire nails obviously were created to serve the same function, in specific applications one or the other form could have been seen as preferred, and hence dominate. For example, despite the introduction of wire nails, even well into the 20th century the cut nail was still preferred in the laying of wooden floors, since they had less tendency to pull out over time (Fontana and Greenleaf 1962: 55). It may be that many of the tasks required in the making of coffins and caskets were perhaps better suited to cut nails, especially in the manufacture of hexagonal coffins employing kerfed or steam bent sides, through which constant strain would have been placed on the corner joins of the box.

The third factor is that of acceptance and hence utilization. When wire finishing nails were still more expensive than cut nails up to circa 1895, they probably would not have been employed within the coffin and casket industry on this factor alone. But as the

cost of these same nails decreased, even as fewer cut nails were being manufactured, coffin manufacturers would have been forced at one point to accept the wire nail in lieu of the cut variety. The switch, then, from the common utilization of cut nails to wire nails within the coffin industry, whether by choice or by economic necessity, likely occurred at some point between 1895 and 1900.

While these three factors may adequately explain the variables involved in the introduction of wire nails *in the manufacture* of coffins or caskets, these same factors alone do not adequately address the entry of wire nails into the archaeological record.

Any number of temporal lags could have occurred between the purchase of a keg of nails by a coffin manufacturer and their use in the construction of a finished coffin. Additional, and probably much more lengthy lags would have occurred between the manufacture of the coffin, and its shipment to a local undertaker. The final lag time, which may have been the shortest of the three, would have occurred between the time of the coffin's purchase by an undertaker, and its eventual use and therefore, ultimate entry into the archaeological record (a more detailed discussion of the historic basis for these lag times is addressed in Chapter 8).

Previous researchers in historic cemetery studies have used the types of nails encountered as a time diagnostic tool, though some debate has occurred as to the specific cutoff date to employ: one that would accurately reflect when wire nails replaced cut nails, not only in general usage but specifically in mortuary contexts (e.g., Shogren et al. 1989; Dockall et al. 1996; Atkinson and Turner 1987).

In the excavation of the Elko Switch Cemetery, an historic African-American cemetery located in rural Alabama, Michael Shogren utilized the presence of specific nail

types as the primary dating tool for the clear majority of burials encountered during excavations (Shogren et al. 1989). Shogren estimated that the year 1890 would serve as the date by which wire nails would have achieved predominate usage over cut nails. Shogren did bracket the dates assigned for each burial, however, so for example Elko Switch's Burial 31, a burial with wire nails, was dated to 1905(+/- 10 years) (Shogren et al. 1989).

Unfortunately, this 1890 cut-off date for cut nails was not based on an internally generated chronology, constructed with the aid of independent time diagnostic artifacts found with the burials themselves. Nor was it based on marked graves (e.g., with tombstone dates), as the cemetery was entirely unmarked. Rather, Shogren's 1890 date for the common introduction of wire nails was ultimately derived from a secondary citation of Lee H. Nelson's technical brief on "Nail chronology as an aid to dating old buildings" (Nelson 1963), contained within the Blackburn Cemetery report (Atkinson and Turner 1987).

Clearly Shogren never examined the original Nelson article and was merely taking his 1890 date from Atkinson, for it is Atkinson himself who essentially misconstrues the import of what Nelson was saying regarding the temporal trend of wire nails. Atkinson states that 1890 "...was the approximate year in which wire nails rapidly began replacing cut nails" (1987: 21). Nelson, however, never said that. What Nelson did say was that "Wire nails did not really become the dominate type until the late 1890s, and many builders preferred using cut nails into the twentieth century" (Nelson 1963). Thus, the application of an 1890 date in the presence of wire nails, is actually wrong at its face. It should also be emphasized that Nelson was specifically addressing only their introduction

in building construction.

Patrick Garrow, of Garrow and Associates in Atlanta, Georgia, has excavated several historic cemeteries through the years, and has also used nails as a dating tool (e.g., Garrow and Symes 1987; Garrow 1987). Garrow has found that at least in a mortuary context, cut nails are predominate in Georgia until circa 1900, not 1890 as assumed by Shogren and Atkinson, and Garrow's dating is in part, based on his excavation of burials with tombstone dates— a precise temporal referent lacking in both Shogren's and Atkinson's dating hypotheses. Garrow believes that a burial with both cut and wire nails would be transitional, and hence date circa 1900, whereas exclusively wire nail burials would probably date circa 1900 and later.

This post-1900 date for the switch in common usage from cut to wire nails is also supported by excavations at the Farewell (Harmony Road) Pioneer Cemetery, located in the city of Oshawa, regional municipality of Durham, Toronto, Canada (Archaeological Services, Inc. 1994), as well as with the Collings Cemetery excavated for the Applegate Lake Project, in Jackson County, Oregon (Brauner and Jenkins 1980).

The data from the Collings Cemetery excavations are particularly useful in examining the true temporal trends of nail utilization, since several of the excavated burials were of known individuals, with known interment dates. The evidence from the Collings Cemetery shows a clearly wide ranging temporal span for both the early introduction of wire nails, and the continued utilization of cut nails well after the turn-of-the-century. Pertinent burials from the Collings Cemetery are given in Table 4-3.

At the Collings Cemetery, although wire nails have an early introduction of 1888 in Burial 1, cut nails were utilized exclusively in 1900 on Burial 4, and were found in

conjunction with wire nails up to 1913 and 1914 (Burials 2 and 7) (Brauner and Jenkins 1980).

Generally speaking, the circa 1900 date for the introduction of wire nails, as proposed by Garrow and others, also was found to be correct at Freedman's Cemetery. At Freedman's, it was possible to generate an entirely internal chronology for cut and wire nail usage, due to the sheer number of excavated burials and the numerous time diagnostic artifacts found within many of them. To determine when wire nails were in use at Freedman's Cemetery, it was only necessary to identify those particular burials with time diagnostic artifacts whose dates approach or even exceed 1900, and then observe the types of nails recovered from these burials. Table 4-4 lists six burials at Freedman's Cemetery that were associated with both turn-of-the-century temporal diagnostic artifacts, and cut nails. Although these six are not the only examples, they should suffice to illustrate the common utilization of cut nails after 1900.

Of course, all six of these burials did not contain cut nails exclusively, but rather a mixture of cut and wire nails. This was actually a very common phenomenon encountered at Freedman's Cemetery. In fact, of the 878 Late Period burials, 129 exclusively employed cut nails (14.7%), while a little over half of Late Period interments, or 450 burials used a mixture of both cut and wire nails (51.3%). One hypothesis regarding this is given in Chapter 8.

Elgin Casket Company Hardware

The Elgin Casket Company, of Elgin, Illinois, was founded in circa 1903. In the early years of the company, it manufactured and sold only casket trimmings, not burial receptacles (Brauner and Jenkins 1980:74). At Freedman's Cemetery, mortuary hardware with the Elgin trademark (located on the underside of each piece in the form of the single embossed word "Elgin," accompanied by mold/catalogue numbers) occurred on eleven hardware types (Handles 81, 86; Escutcheon 70; Plaque 43; Caplifters 1, 27, 31; Caplifter Bases 1, 1.1, 2, 17, 21) (see Table 4-5).

These hardware types were found with a total of 40 burials. Importantly, this vital information regarding the founding date of the Elgin Casket Company was not uncovered until after I had assigned dates of interment to every Freedman's burial. As such, the hardware types bearing the Elgin mark proved invaluable as checks against my dating stratagem. Since Freedman's was closed to further interments on July 26, 1907, all of the exhumed burials must date to some time prior to this date. Further, with the case of the Elgin hardware burials, all must date sometime after 1903, the year the company was founded. Hence, there was only a four year window within which any of the Elgin burials could have been interred.

When the chronology was examined, I found that I had placed all of the Elgin hardware burials within the Late Period (1900-1907), and for those within the Late Sequence itself, all were assigned to 1904 and later. My Late Sequence accurately placed those burials that necessarily had to date sometime between 1903 and 1907, into the years 1904 through 1907. Table 4-5 lists the burials associated with Elgin Casket Company coffin hardware, in order by the specific hardware type. Also presented is the estimated

date of interment assigned to each burial, by year. The rationale for this dating is given in Chapter 8.

Corrugated fasteners (Freedman's Iron Closure Type 7)

Corrugated fasteners, commonly used to this day in joining wood (e.g., picture frames), are not infrequently recovered from historic burials (e.g., Rose 1985). However, as far as I have been able to discern from an extensive review of the archaeological literature, their time diagnostic potential has never been explored or documented. This potential is great, in part since the origin of the corrugated fastener is known. On January 20, 1884, Albert H. Walker of Brooklyn, New York, applied for a patent on a novel idea of his described as a "means for uniting wood." Six months later, on June 17, 1884, the first patent for the corrugated fastener was granted (United States Patent Records; Utility patent No. 300, 536).

While the patent date for the corrugated fastener is known, its introduction, manufacture, and hence use date is less well established. After conducting a thorough search of the following general hardware catalogues of well established firms, dating from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, I have found that the earliest catalogue appearance is much later— indeed, not until 1900. The catalogues examined for this study are given in chronological order in Table 4-6. All of these catalogues are large and inclusive affairs. For example, the 1910 Buffalo Hardware Company Catalogue is 1440 pages long.

The as-yet earliest known appearance of the corrugated fastener in the marketplace

(i.e., at least known to this author) is in the 1900 catalogue of the McIntosh-Huntington Co., of Cleveland, Ohio (Author's private collection). In a one page layout (Figure 4-12), the basic function of the fastener is described in some detail, suggesting that it was still a relatively recent product in the market place. The next known appearance of the corrugated fastener is within the 1910 Buffalo Hardware Company's Catalogue of 1910.

At Freedman's Cemetery, corrugated fasteners (known in the Freedman's hardware typology as Iron Closure Type 7) were found on 65 burials, all assigned to the Late Period (1900-1907). Those burials associated with corrugated fasteners are listed in Table 4-7. Further, this table identifies all associated time diagnostics with *terminus post quem*s of 1900 or later. All of these burials were assigned to the Late Period, and nearly all (n=63) are also present within the more finely dated Late Sequence. Of these, all date to 1903 or later.

Corrugated fasteners have been recovered from other historic cemetery excavations: Cedar Grove (Rose 1985), Elko Switch (Shogren, et al. 1989), the Blackburn Cemetery (Atkinson and Turner 1987). At these sites, burials with corrugated fasteners clearly date to the turn-of-the-century and later, based on the presence of other time diagnostics, such as wire nails, or specific forms of mortuary hardware.

With these temporal associations and the lack of catalogue appearances until the turn-of-the-century, it would seem that corrugated fasteners have a high potential as time diagnostics, and would date a burial or other associated feature to circa 1900 or later.

Associated Artifacts: Clothing, Personal Effects and Miscellaneous Artifacts

In addition to coffin hardware, the temporal ranges of several non-mortuary artifact types recovered from graves were identified. Many of these artifacts proved to be highly valuable as time diagnostics, with invention or demonstrable introduction and manufacture dates occurring at one point during the time-span of the cemetery's 39 years of operation, providing yet another tool to further partition that span into smaller and smaller time increments. Artifact types that proved valuable as time diagnostics include safety pins, buttons, dolls, cufflinks, as well as other personal effects and clothing items interred with individual burials.

Bisga Embalming Fluid

One of Freedman's pauper burials (Burial 1134) was interred with a bottle embossed with the words "Bisga Embalming Fluid." The bottle was recovered *in situ* slightly beneath the right elbow of the deceased individual, probably placed there to stabilize the arm's position for viewing (an old undertaker's trick). The burial lacked hardware, but the single rectangular casket of Burial 1134 had been constructed entirely with wire nails and was assigned to the Late Period on this association.

To better date this interment, additional information regarding the Bisga bottle was sought. In 1998, an advertisement for Bisga Embalming Fluid was discovered within the pages of *The Sunnyside*, an undertaker's trade journal. The advertisement declared it the "first product and friend maker" of the U.S. Chemical Company (Figure 4-13)(*The*

Sunnyside; April 15, 1909: 22).

The U.S. Chemical Company, headquartered in Portland, Maine, was not created until 1898 (*The Sunnyside*; March 1, 1898: 33). It likely took the company one or more years to establish a foothold in what must have been a very competitive market. The first large advertisements (i.e., half page) for Bisga appear in August 1902, when the results of the product, having been tested upon a male cadaver, were revealed. The illustration of the dead man sitting up in a chair, seemingly lifelike several months after his death, must have been a very successful ad campaign for the U.S. Chemical Company, and likely resulted in increased sales.

It is possible that Bisga was not well known or even commonly available for purchase in Texas until after its advertisements began to appear in the trade journals (e.g., *The Sunnyside*; 1902). In the Ed C. Smith daybooks, the earliest known reference to Bisga Embalming Fluid dates to September 28, 1904 (Ed C. Smith Collection; Day Book No. 18). After this date, Bisga fluid was commonly purchased by the Ed C. Smith funeral home from the U.S. Chemical Company. Burial 1134 then, interred with a discarded Bisga Embalming Fluid bottle must necessarily postdate 1898, and probably postdates 1902, the year which marks the beginning of mass marketing of Bisga fluid by the U.S. Chemical Company.

B.L.I.P.U. (Building Laborer's International Protective Union) Ribbon Badge

Burial 1234 contained the remains of an adult male, aged approximately 26 years. Associated with this gentleman was a metal and cloth ribbon/badge, that proclaimed his membership in the Building Laborer's International Protective Union, or the B.L.I.P.U.

This organization was a labor union, founded nationally in 1887 (Anonymous 1900), but the first Texas lodge was not formed until 1891. This first lodge, BLIPU Local No. 1 of Texas, was founded in Dallas (1891-1892 Dallas City Directory).

By the association of this artifact, an assured *terminus post quem* of 1891 is derived, due to the founding of this labor union in Dallas this same year. However, an even more recent dating criteria is associated with this badge. A maker's mark located on the backside of the white metal medallion reads "Whitehead and Hoag Co."

This company was a national firm that manufactured, among other things, "badges, buttons, banners, gold and enameled emblems and pins..." (1907 Dallas City Directory). While nationally known, a branch office of the Whitehead and Hoag Company was not founded in Dallas until 1901 (1901 Dallas City Directory) If it is assumed that the badge was ordered and manufactured locally, then it cannot pre-date 1901, the first year the company was present in Dallas.

.22 Rim fire cartridges (Birmingham Metal & Munitions Company, Lmt.)

Three .22 rim fire cartridges were found lying directly atop the coffin lid of Burial 433. The cartridges had a head stamp (or makers mark) of "B." This head stamp was utilized by the Birmingham Metal & Munitions Company, Lmt., of Birmingham, England. This company was founded in 1897 and went out of business in 1919 (White and Munhall 1963: 20). The presence of these cartridges on the coffin lid of Burial 433 provides an indisputable *terminus post quem* of 1897. Prior to the discovery of this dating information, the burial already had been assigned to the Late Period, and specifically dated

within the Late Sequence to 1906. This interment also is associated with Caplifter Base Type 17, which bears the maker's mark of the Elgin Casket Company, a firm not founded until 1903.

Dayton Bicycle cuff buttons

Burial 38 held the remains of an adult male, aged 41 years at death. Recovered with the burial were two unusual brass cuff buttons, consisting of a letter "D" with an embossed ribbon motif overlying the letter (Figure 4-14). Across the face of the cuff button are the words, "The Dayton Bicycle." Researching the matter further, back issues of *The Wheelmen* were consulted.

The Wheelmen is the principal journal for the Wheelmen organization, a national group dedicated to preserving both the machines and the history of early bicycling in the United States. The May 1988 issue of *The Wheelmen* contained an article on the early days of the Dayton Bicycle Club, written by this group's historian, Fred C. Fisk. Illustrated within the article was an identical match to the cuff buttons recovered from Burial 38.

Upon contacting Mr. Fisk personally, he courteously provided this history and origin. The Dayton Bicycle cuff buttons were actually the advertising premiums of the Davis Sewing Machine Company, which began manufacturing Dayton Bicycles in 1896. With the cuff button's association, it was apparent that Burial 38 could not have been interred prior to the founding of the Davis Sewing Machine Company in 1896. In fact, through hardware seriation and its spatial placement within the cemetery, Burial 38 had

already assigned the burial to the Late Period (1900-1907) and placed within the Late Sequence with a date of 1904, some eight years after the company's founding.

Pipestem cufflinks (U.S. Utility Patent No. 434,138)

The cufflinks recovered with Burial 1049 were of a unique type, utilizing a spring loaded stem. This innovation was patented by Frank I. Sherman on August 12, 1890 (Utility Patent No. 434,138) (see Figure 4-15). The burial had been dated by its associated mortuary hardware (cut nails, Handle type 140, Thumbscrew type 57, etc.), to the Middle Period (1885-1899). The added presence of the cufflinks, however, actually further delimits the interment range on this particular burial to circa 1890-1899.

Delmonico Spoon (1847 Rogers Bros)

Burial 1004 was found in association with a silver spoon. Because of its unique design, it was possible to find a match within a flatware pattern book. This utensil, manufactured by Rogers and Brothers and primarily designed for use as a bar spoon, is a "Delmonico II" type, and was first available in 1892 (Davis and Deibel 1981: 361).

The "Jumbo" Cap Pistol (The J. & E. Stevens Company)

Burial 147, containing the remains of a male child, aged approximately 10 year at death, was found in association with numerous personal effects. One of particular

significance was a cast iron, toy cap pistol (Figure 4-16). This pistol was embossed on both sides of the grips, "Jumbo...Pat. June 17, 1890." This patent is a utility type that covers the firing mechanism of the pistol. The actual aesthetic design of the pistol dates to 1895, as this is when the Jumbo was first offered for sale by Stevens (Best 1990).

Porcelain Doll (product of J. D. Kestner, marked "made in Germany, and D 8")

Burial 856 contained the remains of a subadult female, aged approximately 5 years. This child was interred with a porcelain doll, which had mold markings in cursive script at the back of the doll's head: "made in Germany," and "D 8." After 1891, dolls and other foreign imports were required by an act of Congress to be marked as to their country of origin. Prior to this year, few dolls imported to the United States were so marked (Bach 1985: vii). Thus, it is very likely that the doll recovered with Burial 856 was manufactured after 1891, on this fact alone. However, it is additionally possible to identify the manufacturer of the doll, by the presence of the "D 8" mold marking.

This mark was utilized by the company of J. D. Kestner, a German firm located in the city of Waltershausen. In 1892, Kestner began marking many of their dolls as "Made in Germany," and further, the mark "D 8" was part of a system of marks registered by the Kestner firm in 1897 (Bach 1985:70-71). Therefore, the following *terminus post quem*s are derived from the porcelain doll: the mark signifying the country of origin places its manufacture after 1891, and the mark "D 8" identifies the doll as a product of J. D. Kestner, placing its manufacture after 1897, when this system was first registered. Prior to determining the dating aspects of this doll, Burial 856 had already been assigned to the

Late Period, and was further placed with in the Late Sequence, with an estimated date of interment of 1904.

Clothing Artifacts:

Safety pins

Safety pins are ubiquitous in late nineteenth and twentieth century burials, but to my knowledge their time diagnostic potential has been ignored within the field of historical archaeology, at least as reflected through the literature. The assumption presumably has been that the introduction date of the pin is so early, as to render it of little or no value. Certainly the idea of the safety pin is not a new one; the Roman fibula pins are nothing more than crudely fashioned safety pins (Anonymous n.d.). The point that has been missed, however, is that all safety pins are not identical in form, or for that matter, in function. And it is these specific forms that, once identified, can serve as truly valuable time diagnostic artifacts.

Of the safety pins recovered at Freedman's Cemetery, 17 distinctly different types have been identified and classified within a typology created by my colleague, Ms. Victoria Owens (Owens n.d.). Of these 17 types, several have patent dates that fall within the 39 year span of operations at Freedman's Cemetery, and hence have great potential for delimiting the dates of interment. Although some of the safety pins that are the best temporal diagnostics occur on only a handful of burials, even their limited presence was of great benefit in establishing temporal controls. Only an overview of the safety pins themselves will be given here. Specific burials found in association with these safety pins

will be presented in Chapters 5, 6, and 8.

It should be noted that none of the patent dates for safety pins presented here were known to me, when I assigned the dates of interment for the 1150 burials exhumed archaeologically. Hence, any temporal diagnostic utility that they served is all after the fact, as checks against my dating strategy. None of my assigned dates of interment were contradicted by the safety pins or by any of the other time diagnostic artifacts later discovered.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 1DIII

Of all of the safety pins recovered archaeologically, the latest and hence best temporal indicator was this type, with a patent date of September 4, 1900 (U.S. Utility Patent No. 657,088). This safety pin is highly distinctive in form and as such is easily recognizable. Its principal innovation employed a coil-less end. That is, instead of a coiled wire base to provide the tension between the two wire shafts of the pin, a disc of metal was bent over to separate the two shafts.

Importantly, there was no apparent lag time between the patent assignment in 1900 and its manufacture and introduction into the market place. The earliest known catalogue occurrence of this safety pin type is within the 1901-02 Grand Leader Catalogue, of St. Louis, Missouri (Author's personal collection). This safety pin type occurred on seven burials (75, 260, 367, 460, 980, 1111, 1475), all assigned to the Late Period by other means (e.g., wire nails, specific hardware types).

The specific dates of interment assigned to these seven burials within the Late Sequence were as follows:

Bur 260	1905
Bur 1111	1906
Bur 75	1907
Bur 367	1907
Bur 460	1907
Bur 980	1907
Bur 1475	1907

Other safety pin types that provide some basic temporal controls are given below.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 1B1

Patented in 1883 (U.S. Utility Patent No. 276, 971), this pin type was found with only 14 burials, but its patent date is especially fortuitous, as it occurs just at the beginning of the Middle Period (1885-1899). Its presence on three Middle Period Burials bolsters the assignment of the introduction of early thumbscrew types to the mid-1880s and not earlier.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 1CI

Patented on January 3, 1888 (U.S. Utility Patent No. 375, 873), this type occurs on 17 burials, all assigned to the Late Period (1900-1907).

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 1F (1FI; 1FII)

This pin type is Stewart's Duplex safety pin, introduced by Isaac W. Stewart in circa 1891 (Anonymous: n.d.). This safety pin type would have first appeared in the market place in the early 1890s, and would have become increasingly common by the late

1890s. This pin was found on 70 burials, all assigned to the Late Period.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 1HI

The patent for this type was awarded to George Boden on February 13, 1900, although the patent application itself is initially dated February 21, 1898 (U.S. Utility Patent No. 643, 261). This pin occurred on four burials at Freedman's, all originally assigned to the Late Period by other means.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 2 (the Lindsay Pin)

Patented on January 1, 1878, by J. P. Lindsay, this pin occurs with 162 burials (U.S. Utility Patent No. 198, 890). Without any other dating criteria present, the presence of the Lindsay pin type delimits a burial's interment date from 39 years, to a maximum of 30 years, due to its earliest possible introduction date of 1878. Actually, although the common introduction date for the Lindsay pin conceivably could be as early as 1878, the machines necessary for mass production of safety pins were not themselves patented until circa 1877 (Anonymous: n.d.). Further, safety pins of any type do not begin to appear in catalogues until the early 1880s (e.g., Taylor & Company 1881). This is born out by the fact that of this pin's 162 occurrences on burials at Freedman's Cemetery, only one occurrence was with a burial assigned to the Early Period (1869-1884).

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 3 (the Miles Pin)

This pin type was patented by Mr. P. Miles on July 17, 1877 (U.S. Utility Patent

No. 193, 125). It occurs on a total of 22 burials, one of which has been dated to the Middle Period (Burial 1183). The remaining 21 burials were assigned to the Late Period.

Freedman's Safety Pin Type 4

Patented on May 20, 1884 (U.S. Utility Patent No. 299, 075), this pin occurs with only 5 burials, which in every case could be dated by other means (e.g., mortuary hardware). Nevertheless its time diagnostic potential should not be ignored. Of the five burials, one had been assigned to the Middle Period, while the other four were all dated to the Late Period.

Table 4-1: Coffin and Coffin Hardware Catalogues Utilized as Reference to Establish Chronology (n=61)

DATE	COMPANY NAME	LOCATION	TITLE OF CATALOG	LIBRARY
1853	Peck & Walters Mfg Co	Conn	Price list...	Alaska
1857	Peck & Walters, Sargent Bros.	Conn	Cabinet Makers' Hardware	Alaska
1859	Corbin, P & F	New Britain, Conn	Illustrated Catalogue and price list	University of Delaware
1861	Sargent & Co. (J.B.)	New Britain, Conn	Hardware Catalog	Alaska
1865	Russel & Erwin Mfg. Co.	New Britain, Conn	Illustrated Catalog of American Hardware of the Russel & Erwin Mfg Co.	Library of Congress
1865	Martham & Strong	E. Hampton, Conn.	Improved Price List	Alaska
1866	Corbin, P & F	New Britain, Conn	Price List, manufacturers of wrought cast brass... hinges, coffin trimmings...	University of Delaware
1866	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, Conn	Prices of Hardware	Alaska
1867	Crane, Broad & Co.	Chircinnell, OH	wholesale price-list of patent metallic burial cases and caskets, hearse, name plates, etc.	Wiertherthur Museum
1869	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, Conn	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue...	Alaska
1871	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, Conn	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg end for sale by Sargent & Co.	Library of Congress
1871	Taylor, H. E. & Co.	New York, NY	The Undertakers' Guide	Library of Congress
1871 (chca)	Miller Bros & Co.	Boston, Mass	Illustrated catalogue of coffin trimmings	Wiertherthur
1872 (1871)	Taylor & Co	New York, NY	Illustrated catalogue of caskets, coffins, shrouds, trimmings, etc.	Library of Congress
1874	Sargent & Co.	New Haven, Conn	Price List and Illustrated Catalogue of Hardware mfg and for sale by Sargent & Co.	Library of Congress
1875 (1874)	Taylor, H. E. & Co.	New York, NY	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertakers' Sundries	Library of Congress
1875 (chca)	C. Sidney Norris & Co	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue of Coffin Handles and Undertakers' Trimmings	University of Delaware
1876	Meriden Britannia Co	West Meriden, Conn	Second 1876 Supplement of Wm. M. Smith's original designs of Casket Trimmings	Author's Personal collection
1877	Crane, Broad & Co.	Chircinnell, OH	Illustrated catalogue of undertakers' goods	Library of Congress
1879	Taylor, H. E. & Co.	New York, NY	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertakers' Sundries	University of Delaware
1880 (chca)	Wardell & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of undertakers' trimmings and cabinet hardware	University of Delaware
1880	Meriden Britannia Co	West Meriden, Conn	Illustrated catalogue of Wm. M. Smith's fine silver, bronze, etc Casket trimmings	Wiertherthur Museum
1880	Chircinnell Coffin Co	Chircinnell, OH	Ninth Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1880	Zanesville Coffin Co.	Zanesville, OH	Illustrated Catalogue	Alaska
1881	Chircinnell Coffin Co	Chircinnell, OH	Tenth Annual Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1881	Parson, Corbitt & Co	Philadelphla, PA	Illustrated Catalogue of Undertakers' supplies	University of Delaware
1882	Chircinnell Coffin Co	Chircinnell, OH	Eleventh Annual Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1882	Collumbus Coffin Co.	Collumbus, OH	Illustrated Catalogue Wood & Cohn Covered Coffins & Caskets, undertakers hardware	Wiertherthur Museum
1883	Chircinnell Coffin Co	Chircinnell, OH	Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
1883	William Sauter	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue No. 268	University of Delaware
1884	Chappell, Chase, Maxwell & Co.	Oneida, NY	Illustrated catalogue: Cloth, velvet-covered, and wood finished Burial Caskets	Author's Personal collection
1884	Harvey Bros. Hardware Co.	San Fran, CA	No. 15 Price List & Illustrated Catalog of Hardware & Agricultural Implements	Alaska
1884	Parson, Corbitt & Co	Philadelphla, PA	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of wood, metallic, and cohn covered burial caskets	Hagley Museum, Delaware
1886	Parson, Corbitt & Co.	Philadelphla, PA	Supp. Catalogue of Undertakers' Hardware	Alaska
1887	Maryland Burial Case Co.	Baltimore, MD	Price List - Wood coffins & Caskets	Alaska

Table 4-1: Coffin and Coffin Hardware Catalogues Utilized as Reference to Establish Chronology (n=61) (continued)

DATE	COMPANY NAME	LOCATION	TITLE OF CATALOG	LIBRARY
1888	William Sauter	Baltimore, MD	Wholesale Price List	University of Delaware
1889	Boston Casket Co	Boston, MA	Book of Designs	University of Delaware
1885 (circa)	Harrisburg Burial Case Co	Harrisburg, PA	Illustrated Catalogue of Coffins, Caskets, and Undertakers' Supplies	Hegley Museum, Delaware
1890 (circa)	Warfield & Rohr	Baltimore, MD	Illustrated Catalogue	University of Delaware
n.d. (circa 1890)	Carr, W. S. & Co	Baltimore, MD	Price list of Undertakers' Hardware, W. S. Carr & Co, manufacturers	Alaska
1891	National Casket Co	New York, etc	Catalogue A	Winterthur
1894	Wilmarth, W. D. & Co	Attleboro, MA	Illustrated and descriptive catalogue of Coffin and Casket Trimmings manufactured by...	Library of Congress
1895	Belknap, W. B. & Co	Louisville, KY	Importers and jobbers of Hardware (general hardware, with some coffin trimmings)	Alaska
1895 (circa)	Louis J. Lamb (firm)	Attleboro, MA	Catalog of finest metal coffins and ornaments (with price list)	Author's Personal collection
1896	Chicago Coffin Co.	Chicago, IL	Pocket Catalogue	Library of Congress
1896	National Casket Co	Allegheny, PA	Complete Price List of Burial Robes, Linings, and Miscellaneous Dry Goods	University of Delaware
1900	Durfee Embalming Fluid Co.	Grand Rapids, MI	Durfee Embalming Fluid Company	Author's Personal collection
1901	Belknap, W. B. & Co	Louisville, KY	Catalogue No. 29 (general hardware, with coffin trimmings)	Alaska
1902	Simmons Hardware Co	St Louis, MO	Catalogue No. 421, Bulklers Hardware (general hardware, with coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1903	St. Louis Coffin Co. MFG.	St. Louis, MO	Souvenir Catalog, No. 20, Illustrating Highest Types of Our Art	Library of Congress
1903	Simmons Hardware Co	St Louis, MO	Catalogue No. 443, Bulklers Hardware (general hardware, with some coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1905	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	Chattanooga, TN	Catalogue No. 4, Illustrated catalogue of Undertakers' hardware, etc.	Library of Congress
1905	Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	Chattanooga, TN	Wholesale price list of Undertakers' Hardware, embalming instruments and sundry supplies	Library of Congress
n.d. (post 1906)	Domlon Manufacturers, Limited	Toronto, Ontario	Catalogue No. 30 Illustrating Casket Hardware designed & manufactured by....	Private collection
n.d. (circa 1910)	Schmidt Manufacturing Co	Dubuque, Iowa	Illustrated catalogue of Casket Hardware	Private collection
1911?	Milwaukee Casket Co.	Milwaukee, Wis.	Casket Catalogue D: Manufacturers & Jobbers of a complete line of....	Library of Congress
1918	Atlantic Coffin & Casket Co.	Rose Hill, NC	Catalogue 'B', Wholesale dealers in coffin & casket hardware, linings....	Alaska
1918	Simmons Hardware Co	Philadelphia, PA	Catalogue No. P, complete catalogue, (general hardware, with a page of coffin trimmings)	Library of Congress
1923	Minnesota Casket Co	Minneapolis, MN	Catalogue 'B', manufacturers of caskets of redwood, resist decay	Author's Personal collection
1928	National Casket Company	New York, etc.	Catalog 'RC', Covered Caskets	Author's Personal collection

Table 4-2: Initial Patents for Thumbscrews and Escutcheons

Thumbscrews		
Design Patent #	Date	Inventer
7,797	Oct 13, 1874	Wm. Smith
7,798	Oct 13, 1874	Wm. Smith
8,036	Feb 2, 1875	James S. Ray
8,037	Feb 2, 1875	Russell H. Burr
8,038	Feb 2, 1875	Russell H. Burr
8,277	April 20, 1875	Nehemiah Hayden
8,690	Oct 5, 1875	Cephas B. Rogers
10,348	Dec 11, 1877	Wm. Smith
10,411	Jan 22, 1878	John Reed
10,631	April 16, 1878	Cephus B. Rogers and James S. Huggins
10,834	Sept 17, 1878	J. Wilbur Rogers
10,927	Nov 26, 1878	Wm. Smith

Escutcheon		
9,361	July 4, 1876	Russell H. Burr

**Table 4-3: Nail Utilization at the Collings Cemetery:
Applegate Lake Project, Jackson County, Oregon
(from Brauner and Jenkins 1980)**

Burial	Interment Date	Cut Nails (#)	Wire Nails (#)
1	1888	5	13
2	1913	35	2
4	1900	36	
5	1911		100+
7	1914	1	25
11	1905	1	100

Table 4-4: Select Turn-of-the-Century Temporal diagnostics associated with Cut Nails

#	Burial	Artifact	<i>Terminus post quem</i>	Date Derivation	Nail Type
1	1486	Nickel	1898	Coin Minting Date	cut/wire
2	1002	Nickel	1892	Coin Minting Date	cut/wire
3	980	Safety Pin Type 1DIII	Sept 4, 1900	Utility Patent	cut/wire
4	1409	Safety Pin 1HI	Feb 13, 1900	Utility Patent	cut/wire
5	833	Quarter	1895	Coin Minting Date	cut/wire
6	492	Elgin Coffin Hardware	1903	Founding date of Company	cut/wire

Table 4-5: All Coffin Hardware, with Elgin Casket Co. maker's marks (N=40)

#	Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Nail Type	Elgin Hardware Types	
1	0451	P?	L	513	08	1904	w	Handle 81	
2	0492	U	L				c/w	Handle 86, Plaque 53	Esc. 70; Caplifter 31
3	0073	P	L	791	12	1907	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
4	0419	P	L	672	10	1906	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
5	0469	P	L	688	10	1906	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
6	0470	P	L	691	10	1906	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
7	0476	P?	L	689	10	1906	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
8	1126	P	L	718	11	1906	c/w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
9	1130	P?	L	719	11	1906	c/w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
10	1218	P	L	660	10	1906	w	Caplifter 1	Caplifter Base 1
11	0428	P	L	675	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
12	0429	P	L	676	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
13	0441	P	L	678	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
14	0442	P	L	679	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
15	0445	P	L	682	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
16	0481	P	L	692	10	1906	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
17	1190	P	L	649	10	1906	c/w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
18	1245	P	L	627	10	1905	w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
19	1431	P	L	758	12	1907	c/w	Caplifter 27	Caplifter Base 1
20	0264	P	L	573	09	1905	w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
21	0443	P?	L	681	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
22	0787	P	L	493	08	1904	c/w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
23	0896	P	L	606	09	1905	w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
24	1200	P	L	622	10	1905	w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
25	1231	P	L	650	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
26	1238	P	L	620	10	1905	c/w	Caplifter Base 1.1	
27	0075	P	L	789	12	1907	w	Caplifter Base 2	
28	0313	P	L	484	08	1904	c/w	Caplifter Base 2	
29	1199	P?	L	634	10	1905	w	Caplifter Base 2	
30	0358	P?	L	792	12	1907	w	Caplifter Base 17	
31	0431	P	L	677	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
32	0433	P	L	671	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
33	0485	P	L	694	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
34	0496	P	L	696	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
35	1187	P	L	655	10	1906	c/w	Caplifter Base 17	
36	1189	P	L	654	10	1906	c/w	Caplifter Base 17	
37	1224	P	L	659	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
38	1233	P	L	638	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
39	1447	P	L	683	10	1906	w	Caplifter Base 17	
40	1144	P	L	721	11	1906	w	Caplifter 24	

**Table 4-6: General Hardware Catalogues, Used to establish the
Introduction of Corrugated Fasteners in the Market Place**

Catalogue	Date	Location	Corrugated Fasteners
Sargent & Company General Hardware	1888	New Haven, Conn	
Peck, Stow & Wilcox Company	1890	New York	
T. C. Richards Hardware Company	1892	West Winsted, Conn	
Rice, Lewis & Son, Limited, General Hardware	1898	Toronto, Canada	
McIntosh-Huntington Company	1900	Cleveland, Ohio	Yes
Sargent & Company General Hardware	1901	New Haven, Conn	
Simmons Hardware Company, No. 421	1902	St Louis	
Simmons Hardware Company, No. 443	1903	St Louis	
Buffalo Hardware Company	1910	Buffalo, New York	Yes
Shapleigh's General Hardware, No. 300	1920	St Louis	Yes

Table 4-7:

All Corrugated Fasteners (Iron Closure Type 7) (N=65), With Associated Time Diagnostics

Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Iron Closure	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Inner Box	Nail Type	Associated Time Diagnostic	Date
0997	P	L	379	06	1903	7	131	26	20	hex	c/w		
1088	P	L	382	06	1903	7	2	26	20	hex	c/w		
1031	P?	L	397	06	1903	7	15	51	83	hex	c/w		
1036	P?	L	398	06	1903	7	144	51	83	rect	c/w		
1219	P	L	415	06	1903	7	54	60	60	rect	w		
0191	P	L	419	06	1903	7	42	26	20	hex	c/w		
1386	P?	L	450	07	1904	7		22	18	hex	w		
0212	P	L	461	07	1904	7	20	23	18	hex?	c/w		
0859	P	L	468	08	1904	7	125	23	18	rect	c/w		
0095	P	L	469	08	1904	7	88	30	25	hex	c/w		
0588	P	L	470	08	1904	7	88	30	25	hex	c/w		
0775	P	L	471	08	1904	7		23	18	rect	c/w		
0871	P	L	473	08	1904	7	101	30	18	hex	c/w		
0872	P	L	474	08	1904	7		23	25	hex	c/w		
0894	P	L	475	08	1904	7	24	23	18	hex	c/w		
0784	P	L	477	08	1904	7	101	23	25	hex	c/w		
0781	P	L	478	08	1904	7	101	30	18	hex	c/w		
0780	P	L	483	08	1904	7	99	23	18	hex	c/w		
0811	P	L	491	08	1904	7	101	30	25	hex	c/w		
0785	P	L	495	08	1904	7	24	22	2	rect	c/w		
0016	P	L	504	08	1904	7	32	25	27	hex	c		
0803	P?	L	508	08	1904	7		25	27	rect	c/w		
0791	P	L	510	08	1904	7	35	23	foil	hex	c/w		
0451	P?	L	513	08	1904	7	81	25	27	hex	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
0039	P	L	517	08	1904	7	32	25	27	rect	w		
0452	P	L	544	08	1905	7	148	23	18	rect	w		
0806	P?	L	548	08	1905	7	108	52	57	rect	c/w		
0156	P	L	556	09	1905	7	p42	28	28	rect?	w		
0289	P	L	557	09	1905	7	24	23	18	hex	c/w		
0030	P	L	564	09	1905	7	21	58	2	hex	w		
1103	P	L	586	09	1905	7	146	15	20	rect	c/w		
0012	P	L	607	09	1905	7	18.2	8	22	hex	c/w		
1302	P	L	608	09	1905	7	18.1	88	4	rect	w		
0978	P	L	609	09	1905	7		8	22	rect	w		
1240	P?	L	619	10	1905	7		3	62	hex	w		
1192	P	L	641	10	1906	7	18	27	21	hex	w		
1115	P	L	646	10	1906	7	24	16	13	hex	w		
0411	P	L	667	10	1906	7	18.2	8; 56	62	rect	w		
0427	P	L	670	10	1906	7	18.1	28	28	hex	c/w		
0440	P	L	680	10	1906	7	25	16	13	rect	w		
0443	P?	L	681	10	1906	7	77	28	16	rect	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
1447	P	L	683	10	1906	7	24	27	21	rect	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
0470	P	L	691	10	1906	7	3	13	13	rect	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
0481	P	L	692	10	1906	7	25	16	13	rect	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
0482	P	L	695	10	1906	7		8	16	hex?	c/w		

Table 4-7: (Continued)

All Corrugated Fasteners (Iron Closure Type 7) (N=65), With Associated Time diagnostics

Bur #	Bur Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Iron Closure	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Inner Box	Nail Type	Associated Time Diagnostic	Date
0486	P	L	704	10	1906	7	16	7; 16	16	rect	c/w		
1173	P?	L	713	11	1906	7	161	99	94	rect	w		
1144	P	L	721	11	1906	7	3	13	13	rect	w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
1142	P	L	722	11	1906	7	6	7	3	rect	c/w		
1133	P	L	726	11	1906	7	6	7	3	rect	w		
1109	P	L	730	11	1906	7	6	12	3	rect	w		
1412	P	L	754	12	1907	7	8	7	3	rect	w		
1475	P	L	755	12	1907	7	p42	8; 94	4	rect	w		
1430	P	L	756	12	1907	7	p42	94	95	hex	w		
1429	P?	L	757	12	1907	7		8	16	hex	w		
1431	P	L	758	12	1907	7	29.1	21; 28	16	rect?	c/w	Elgin Casket Co hardware	1903
1432	P	L	759	12	1907	7	3	2	6	rect	w		
1498	P	L	765	12	1907	7	8	12	6	rect	w		
0944	P	L	768	12	1907	7	8	7	3	rect	w		
0395	P?	L	769	12	1907	7	120	ic2		rect	c/w		
0980	P?	L	772	12	1907	7		65	65	rect	c/w		
0363	P	L	773	12	1907	7	6	7	3	rect	c/w		
0366	P	L	787	12	1907	7		8	72	rect	w		
0513	U	L				7	82	70	69	hex	c/w		
0977	U	L				7	121	9	86	rect	c/w		

Coffin Screws and Tacks.

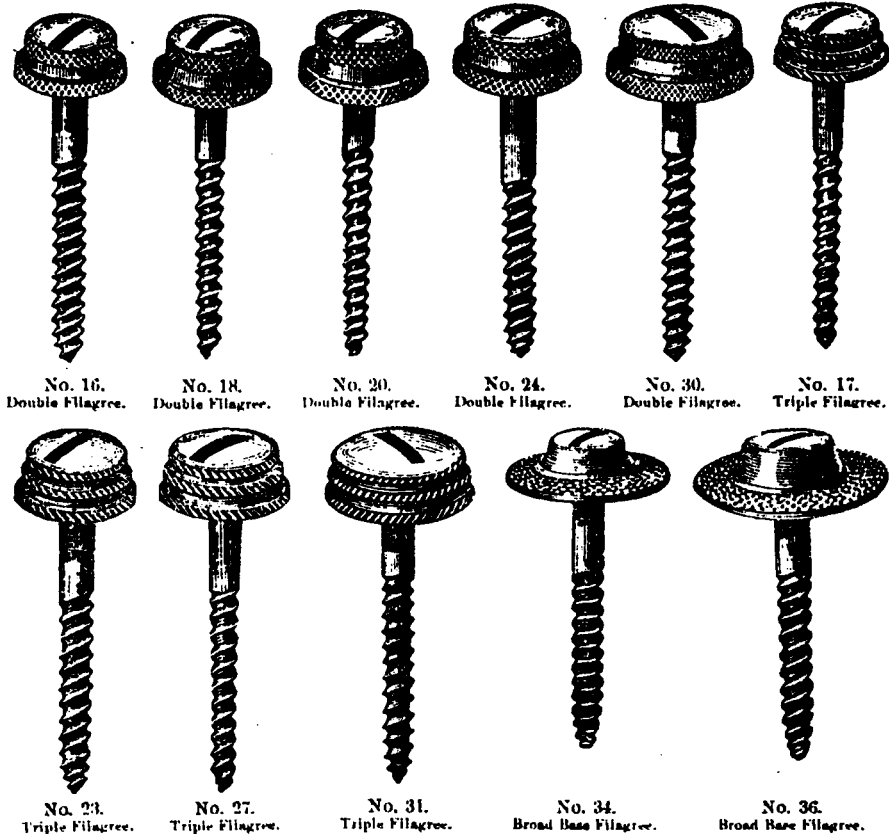
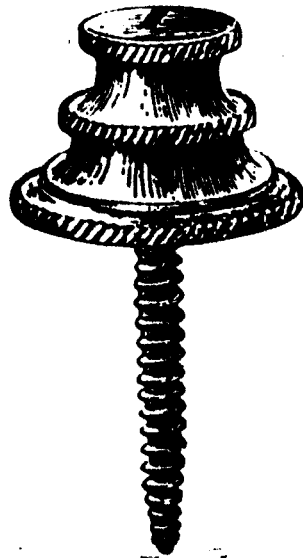


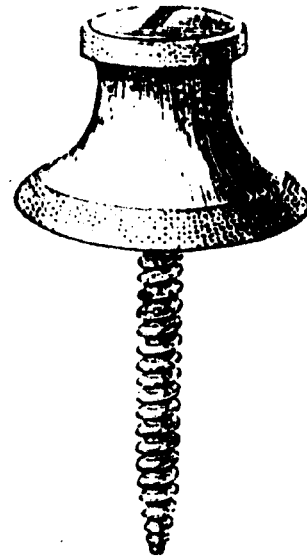
Figure 4-1 Typical white metal Coffin Screws (from 1869 Sargent & Company Catalogue).

Coffin Thumb Screws and Tacks.

THESE CUTS REPRESENT THE FULL SIZE OF TACKS AND SCREWS.



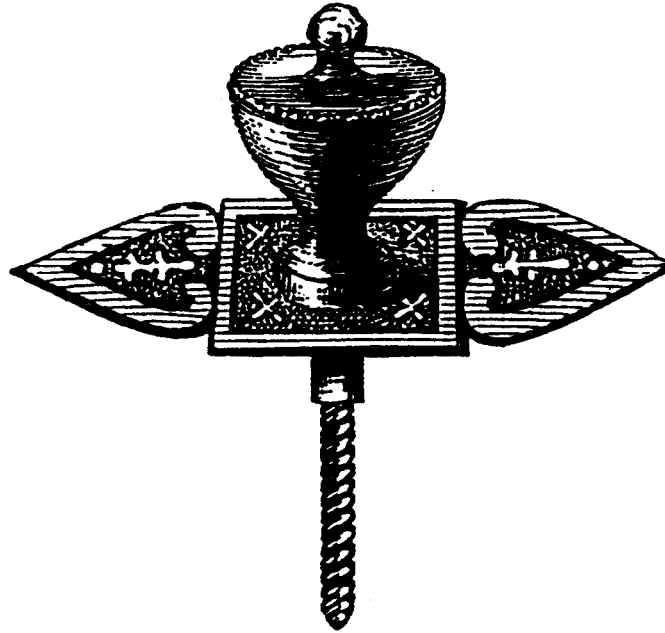
No. 500—Style of No. 510.



No. 505—Style of No. 515.

Figure 4-2

The earliest form of "Thumb Screw," circa 1869. With elongated, cylindrical bodies, and with straight slotted heads to accept a screw driver, these first generation "thumbscrews" are direct descendants of coffin screws (from 1869 Sargent & Company catalogue).



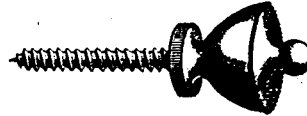
*No. 14. Urn or Thumb
Screw.*

No. 15. Plates for Urn Screws.

Figure 4-3

An "Urn or Thumb Screw." This representational screw type is an early thumbscrew form, the second generation immediately following the slotted head "thumbscrews" (from 1871 Taylor & Company catalogue).

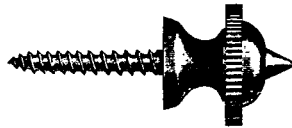
Silver Plated Coffin Thumb Screws.



No. 550 and 551. Full Size Cut.

Made to go with Escutcheons No. 50. See page 421.

No. 550, Silver Plated on White Metal, 1 1/4 in. No. 9 Screw,	per gross, \$8 25
No. 551, " " " " 1 1/4 in. No. 9 " "	" 7 75



No. 560 and 561. Full Size Cut.

Made to go with Escutcheons No. 60. See page 421.

No. 560, Silver Plated on White Metal, 1 1/4 in. No. 9 Screw,	per gross, \$9 25
No. 561, " " " " 1 1/4 in. No. 9 " "	" 8 75

Coffin Lining Nails.



No. 1, Round Head, Common Silvered, 2 1/2 ounce,	per paper, \$0 11 1/2
No. 2, Flat " " " 4 " "	" 11 1/2
No. 3, Round " " " 4 " "	" 11 1/2
No. 4, Flat " Extra Silvered, 4 " "	" 28
No. 10, Round " White Metal,	" 20

Figure 4-4

Typical second generation Thumbscrews, circa 1874. These screws are cylindrical, like previous coffin screws, but no longer slotted. Instead, like the 1871 Taylor & Co. screw, these thumbscrews are "urn shaped" (from 1874 Sargent & Company catalogue).

DESIGN.

W. M. SMITH.
Coffin Screw-Heads.

No 7,798.

Patented Oct. 13, 1874.



Witnesses.
A. J. Tinkler
J. H. Shumway

Wm M. Smith
Inventor
By *Atty.*
John S. Earle

H. PETERS, PHOTO-LITHOGRAPHER, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Figure 4-5

Cylindrical bodied, "Urn shaped" Thumbscrew, designed by William M. Smith.
This was the second thumbscrew design ever patented in the United States.
(United States Design Patent; October 13, 1874; No. 7,798)

DESIGN.

W. M. SMITH.
Coffin Screw-Heads.

7,797.

Patented Oct. 13, 1874.



Witnesses.

A. J. Tinkler
J. H. Shumway

Wm M. Smith
Inventor

By Atty.

John P. Earle

U. S. PATENT PHOTO-LITHOGRAPH, WASHINGTON, D. C.

Figure 4-6

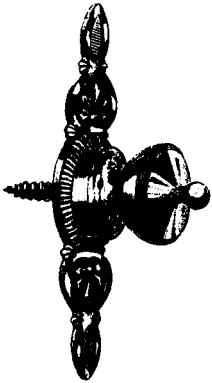
First "flat bodied" Thumbscrew form, designed by William M. Smith.

The first thumbscrew design ever patented in the United States, its innovative form would become the industry standard.

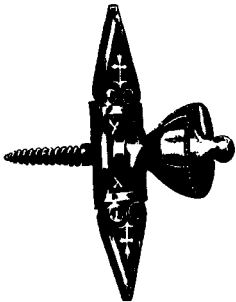
(United States Design Patent; October 13, 1874; No. 7,797)

H. E. TAYLOR & CO., No. 188 BOWERY, N. Y.

ENGRAVINGS—FULL SIZE.



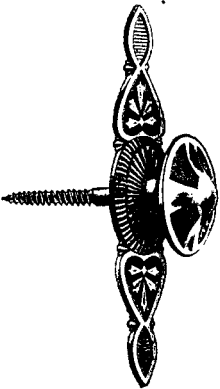
No. 49. THUMB SCREW,
with No. 52 Plate.
Lengths, $\frac{3}{8}$, 1, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



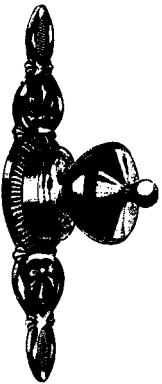
No. 50. THUMB SCREW and PLATE.
Lengths, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, 1 $\frac{1}{4}$, and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



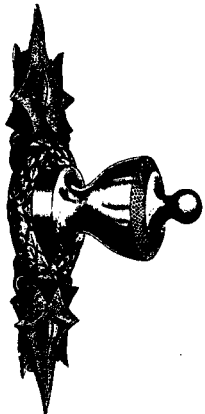
No. 51. THUMB SCREW.
(Plates can be furnished)
Lengths, $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$, and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



No. 52. THUMB SCREW and PLATE.
Lengths, $\frac{3}{8}$, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$, and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



No. 53. THUMB SCREW and PLATE.

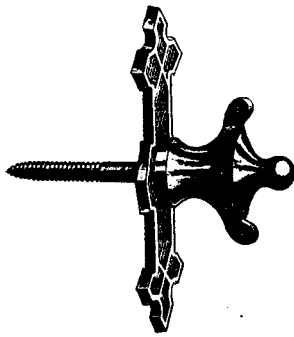


No. 54. THUMB SCREW and PLATE.

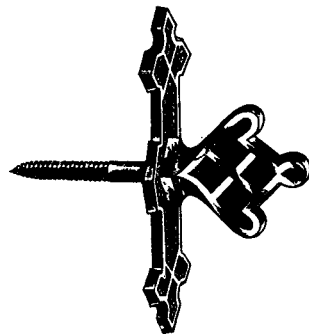
These are all heavily Silver-plated, solid metal, and of the best manufacture.
No. 53 can be had in *gold*, and No. 54 in *gold* and *oxycided*.

130

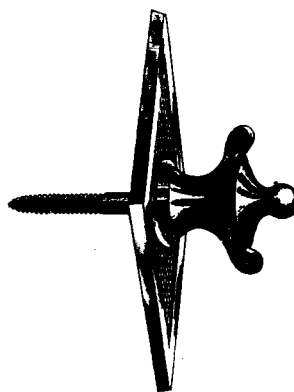
Figure 4-7 Typical second generation, "Um shaped" thumbscrews (from 1875 H. E. Taylor & Company catalogue).



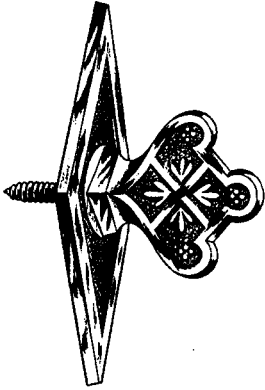
No. 60. Screw.
" 60. Screw-plate.



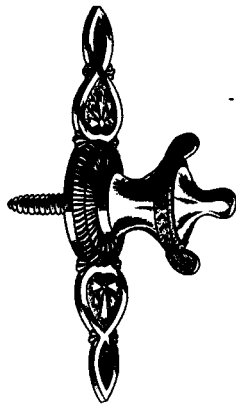
No. 61. Screw.
" 60. Screw-plate.



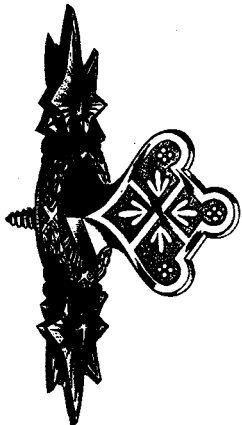
No. 60. Screw.
" 61. Screw-plate.



No. 62. Screw.
" 61. Screw-plate.



No. 60. Screw.
" 60. Screw-plate.



No. 62. Screw.
" 54. Screw-plate, gold.
" 54. Screw-plate, gold.

The advantages of these Screws can be readily seen, as they are not only much improved in appearance, but can be used with much less strain on the thumb and finger.

W.M. M. SMITH'S IMPROVED PATENT THUMB SCREWS.

Figure 4-8 First "flat bodied" thumbscrews (from 1875 H. E. Taylor & Company catalogue)

C. E. H. Richardson,

Coffin.

No. 22,537

Patented Jan. 4, 1859.

Fig. 3.

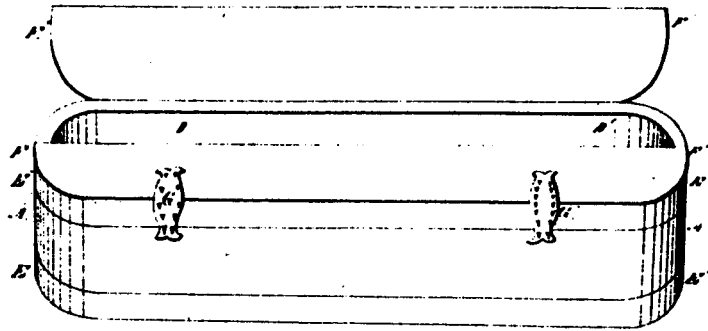


Fig. 2.

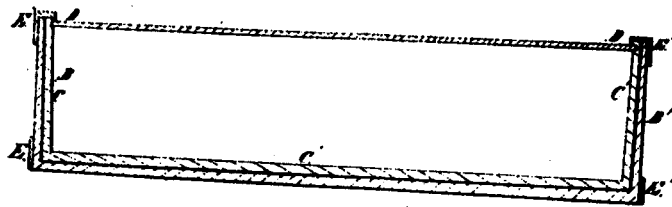
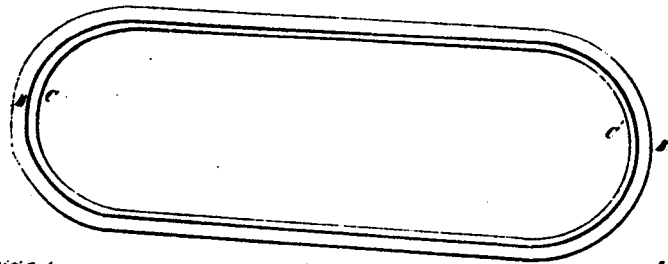


Fig. 1.



Witnesses

Jacob Jenkins

Thos. Taylor

Inventor

Chas. E. H. Richardson

AM. PHOTO-LITHO. CO. N.Y. (OSBORNES' PROCESS)

Figure 4-9

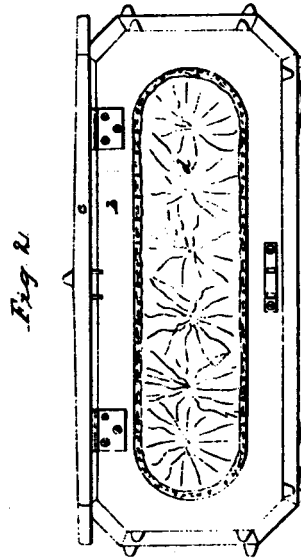
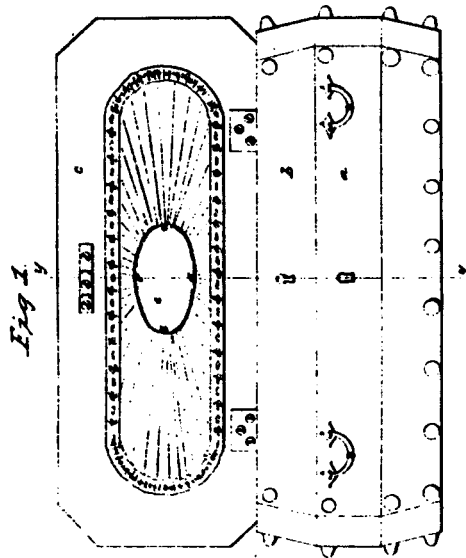
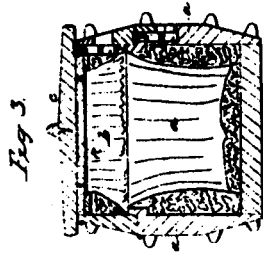
First United States patent of a "Casket," in form, though not in terminology. (United States Utility Patent, January 4, 1859; No. 22,537)

J. H. Neuter.

Esq.

32,261

Patented May 7, 1861.



Witness
J. H. Neuter
Attorney

Inventor:
John H. Neuter
By his attorney
J. C. Robbins

AN PHOTO-LITHO CO. N. Y. (BESTONES PROCESS)

Figure 4-10 First United States Patent of an "Octagonal Casket" (i.e., a rectangular box with canted corners). (United States Utility Patent; May 7, 1861; No. 32,261)

(No Model.)

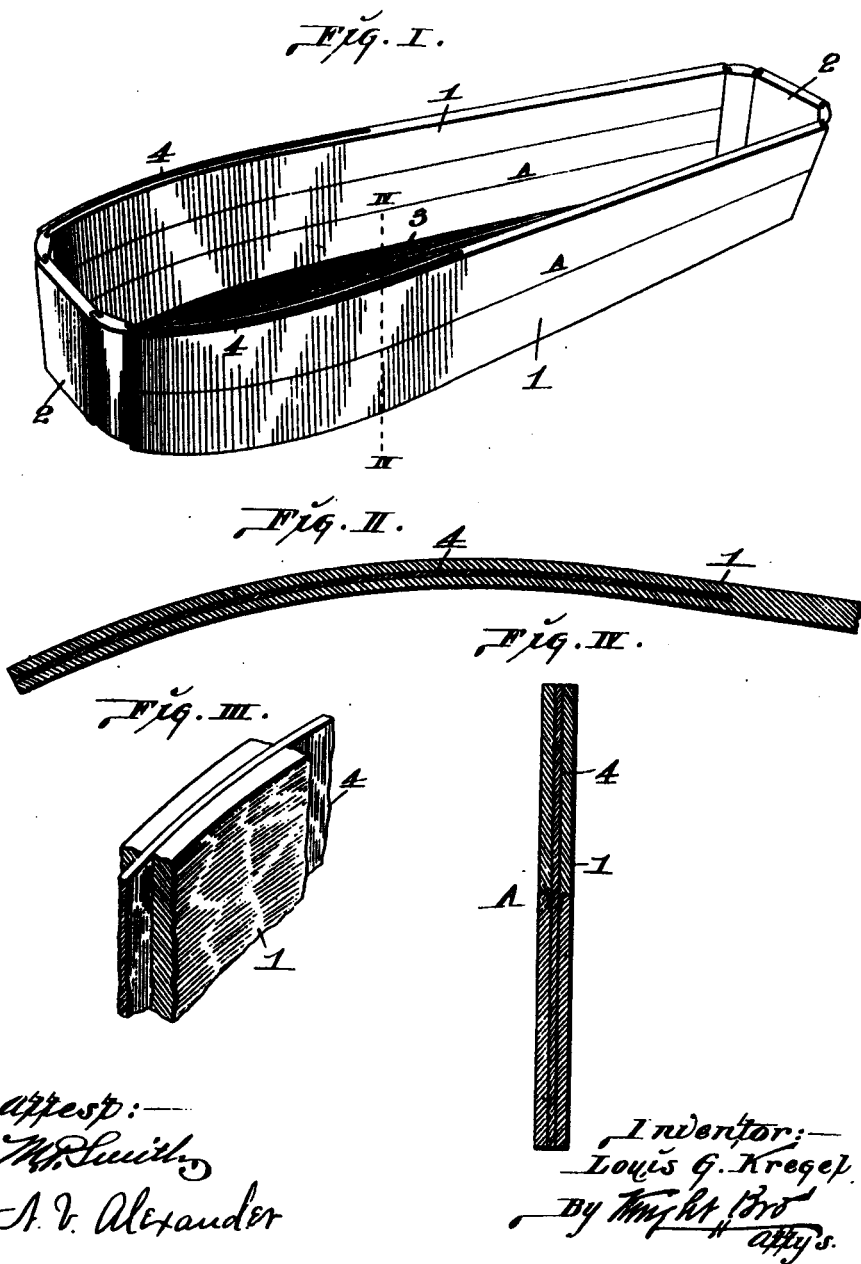
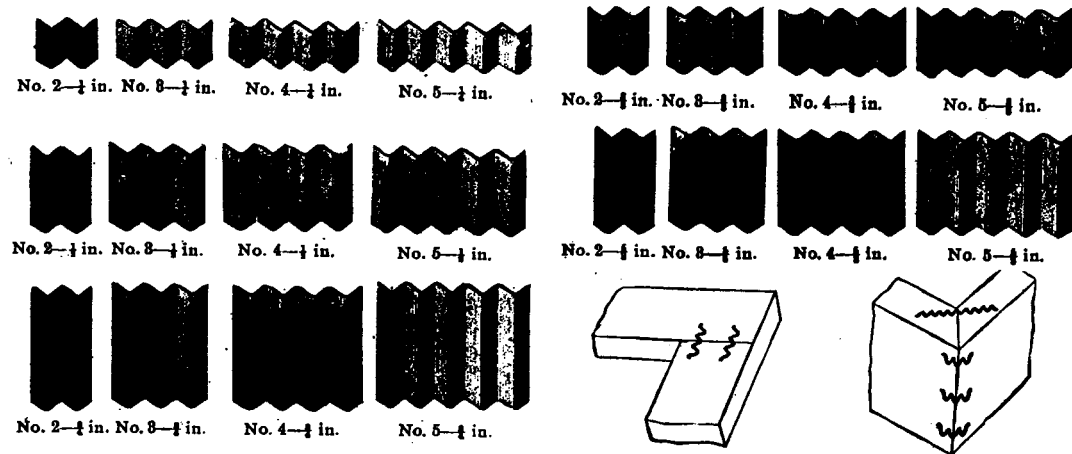


Figure 4-11 Turn-of-the-Century Patent utilizing a Hexagonal Coffin form, from a major coffin manufacturer (United States Utility Patent; November 12, 1901; No. 686,308)

Corrugated Steel Fasteners



Diagrams show how the Fasteners are used.

Depth.	$\frac{1}{4}$ in.	$\frac{3}{8}$ in.	$\frac{1}{2}$ in.	$\frac{5}{8}$ in.	$\frac{3}{4}$ in.	$\frac{7}{8}$ in.	1 in.
No. of Corrugations.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.	Per 1000.
2	\$0 45	\$0 60	\$0 60*	\$0 70*	\$0 75*	\$0 90*	\$1 00*
3	55	75	85	1 00*	1 15	1 35*	1 45*
4	70	95	1 05	1 30	1 45	1 75*	1 85*
5	80	1 20	1 30	1 85	1 90	2 20*	2 40*

Half thousand in a box.

In ordering give depth and number of corrugations. Sizes marked * not carried in stock.

This fastening device takes the place of dowels, and its proper use dispenses with tenons and mortises, and makes a stronger, better joint, with much less expense than by the ordinary manner. It is of great practical value when used simply to prevent splitting, checking or warping, as it so interlocks with the grain and fibre of the wood that it is inseparable.

The Corrugated Steel Fastener, which is made of sheet steel, to which is imparted, by means of special machinery, a sharp, penetrating edge, adapted to be readily driven into soft or hard wood, irrespective of the direction of the grain, and when so driven, its abrupt corrugations interlock with the wood and hold it firmly together.

Figure 4-12 Earliest known catalogue appearance of Corrugated Fasteners (Freedman's Iron Closure Type 7). The function of these fasteners are explained in explicit detail, suggesting that they were relatively recent innovations. (from the 1900 McIntosh-Huntington Co. Catalogue, Cleveland, OH)

BISGA



Our
first
product
and
friend
maker

U. S. CHEMICAL CO.
New York Chicago

Figure 4-13 Bisga Embalming Fluid advertisement (from *The Sunnyside*: 1909)



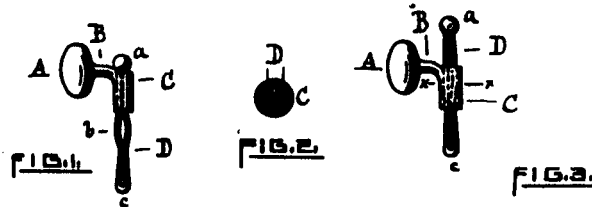
Figure 4-14 The Dayton Bicycle Cuff Buttons (Burial 38). These were advertising premiums of the Davis Sewing Machine Company, a firm not founded until 1896.

(No Model.)

F. I. SHERMAN.
FASTENING DEVICE FOR STUDS, &c.

No. 434,138.

Patented Aug. 12, 1890.



WITNESSES.

James M. Cook
Walter R. Lewis

INVENTOR.

Frank I. Sherman

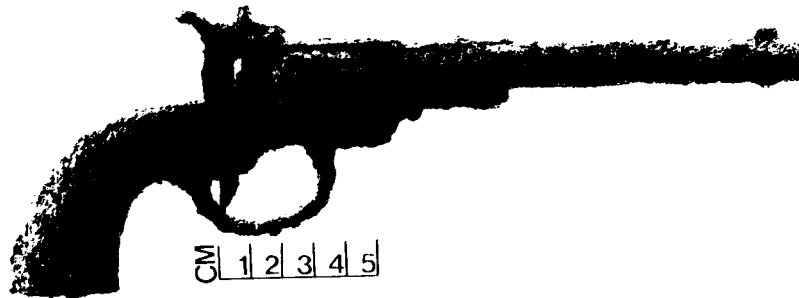
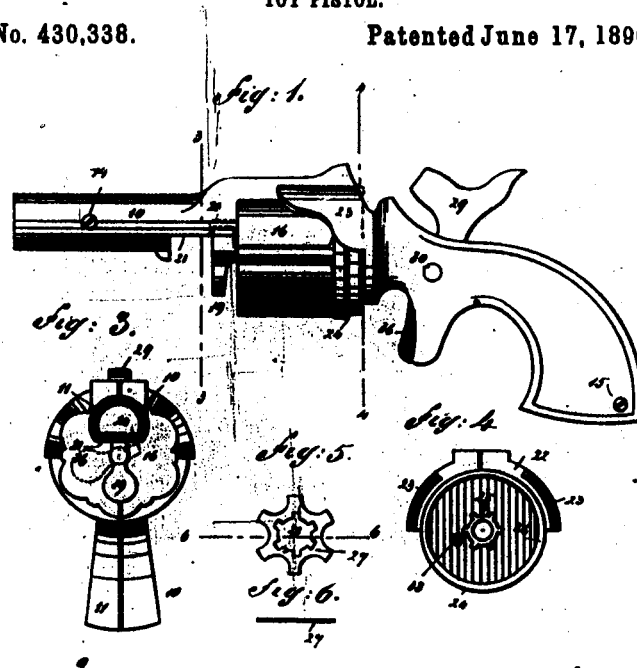
Figure 4-15 "Pipestem" cufflinks utility patent. Cufflinks of this type were recovered with Burial 1049. (United States Utility Patent; August 12, 1890; No. 434,138)

(No Model.)

E. DENNIS, Jr. & G. E. WILLIAMS.
TOY PISTOL.

No. 430,338.

Patented June 17, 1890.



BURIAL 147 41DL316

ARTIFACT BC1

Figure 4-16

The "Jumbo" Cap Pistol, recovered with Burial 147. Manufactured by the J. & E. Stevens Company, of Cromwell, Conn., its firing mechanism was patented in 1890, and its overall aesthetic appearance dates to 1895, when it first appears for sale (Best 1990)

Chapter 5

The Early Period (1869-1884)

Definition

The Early Period is the temporal designation given to the earliest identifiable burials recovered at Freedman's Cemetery. This period encompasses a sixteen year interval, from 1869 to 1884. A total of 64 burials (containing the remains of 64 individuals) are assigned to the Early Period (5.6% of exhumed remains) (see Figure 5-1; Table 5-1). While relatively few in number when compared to the other major temporal periods, the Early Period burials are extremely valuable, constituting the earliest remains recovered archaeologically.

Brief Rationale for the Early Period date range

The rationale behind the specific beginning and end dates that define the Early Period is relatively straightforward. The year that marks its beginning, 1869, also marks the founding of Freedman's Cemetery. Because of this unambiguous origin, no interments can pre-date 1869. The end date of this period, 1884, was decided upon for two basic reasons, as will be explained below.

Having a single year to serve as the end date for the Early Period (or for that matter, any period save the Late), is a convenient though obviously somewhat artificial designation. As briefly discussed in previous chapters, a significant factor in seriating and then assigning dates to the excavated Freedman's burials entailed establishing the changes

within the styles of mortuary hardware produced in the United States. While general trends are clear, the attempt to precisely pinpoint— down to a single year— when a form of mortuary hardware was superseded by another form (in the instance of the Early Period, coffin screws to thumbscrews), is a much more difficult, if not foolhardy, endeavor.

As established in Chapter 4, however, it was during the late 1870s and early 1880s that coffin screws were largely supplanted by thumbscrews. Clearly by the end of the 1880s (i.e., circa 1890), thumbscrews would truly have been the normative form of coffin lid closure, with white metal coffin screws rendered archaic and all but obsolete. With circa 1880 marking that point in time when coffin screws were surpassed by thumbscrews in popularity (as viewed through documentary sources), and 1890, when coffin screws were scarcely available at all, the temporal mid-point of these two bracketing dates would be circa 1885, a year in which coffin screw use should have ceased in all but the most unusual circumstances. This year, 1885, marks the beginning of the Middle Period, the temporal period immediately following the Early Period.

Serendipitously, the year assigned as the end date for the common use of coffin screws, or 1884, also marks Freedman's Cemetery's expansion from one to four acres. Of burials interred on this later acreage, clearly none can date prior to May 1884. Very few burials recovered from this later acreage contain any of the "early" traits commonplace within the First Acre and utilized to identify interments dating prior to 1885. For example, of the literally hundreds of burials exhumed from the 1884 acreage, only three isolated burials were found to contain coffin screws, a hallmark of the Early Period (burials 32, 66, 332).

All three were spatially quite distant from the 1869/1884 border, located instead along the extreme eastern periphery of the 1884 Acreage. Indeed, due to their spatial loci as well as associated mortuary traits (including wire nails and a turn-of-the-century thumbscrew type with Burial 32), all three of these coffin screw burials have been dated to circa 1900 or later.

The presence of truly anachronistic hardware elements on turn-of-the century graves is best explained as the result of severely limited economic circumstances. All three burials lacked handles or other hardware elements (save for the oddly associated Type 18 thumbscrews with Burial 32), and two of the three burials consisted of only single boxes (i.e., no outer box/shipping crate), which is unusual for burials of this period.

Although burials with early thumbscrew types (principally types 36, 60, 62, 63) are found in rows that lie on either side of the border between the First Acre and the 1884 Acreage (and in some cases the rows literally cross that border with no change in grave attributes), burials possessing coffin screws are not to be found on the 1884 side of this juncture. Instead, all coffin screw burials *at this juncture* are confined to the First Acre. This suggests that by the time the northern portion of the 1884 Acreage was actually being utilized, perhaps very soon after its purchase, coffin screws were no longer employed.

Terminus Ante Quem: Early Period attributes or lines of evidence

Table 5-1 outlines the dating rationale for the 64 burials assigned to the Early Period. Specific criteria contributing to the ability to assign accurate date ranges to unmarked graves, and hence identify interments that occurred prior to 1885, are outlined

below. These are followed by a detailed discussion.

1. Spatial locus (First Acre)
2. Presence, number and distribution of "early" mortuary traits
3. Economic factors of thumbscrews and coffin screws
4. Accessibility of latest styles of mortuary trimmings and correlation of the archaeological with local archival record
5. Law of superposition (i.e., stacked burials)
6. Burial orientation; spatial patterning
7. Lack of time diagnostic artifacts with a *terminus post quem* close to or exceeding 1884.

A summation regarding the ability to discriminate between (and thus identify) Early and Middle Period interments is also presented.

Detailed Discussion of Dating Criteria

Spatial Location: The First Acre

Freedman's Cemetery was four acres in extent at the time of its closure in 1907. The cemetery, however, had originally consisted of only a single acre. It remained so for a substantial sixteen year interval, from its founding in 1869, up to 1884, when the final payments upon three additional acres (first secured in 1879), were completed. Nearly ½ of this First Acre (41%), constituting the earliest portion of the cemetery, was completely

cleared of graves during archaeological investigations.

For any excavated grave recovered from Freedman's Cemetery to have the potential to date prior to circa 1885, it would necessarily have to be located within the confines of the First Acre. This does not mean to imply in any way, that only Early Period graves were recovered from the First Acre. Rather, any grave exhumed from this portion of the site conceivably could have dated to any point within a 39 year time period between 1869 (the year Freedman's was founded), to 1907 (the year in which interments ceased at Freedman's).

Presence, Number and Distribution of "Early Mortuary Traits"

Primary "Early" Mortuary Trait

1. White Metal Coffin Screws

Secondary "Early" Mortuary Traits

1. Dummy Screws
2. Hexagonal coffins employing a mitered shoulder (or rather, the lack of rectangular caskets)
3. Presence of a vaulted lid
4. Simple iron screws used as lid closure
5. Hinges
6. Screw caps

Coffin Screws

As outlined in Chapter 4 and above, one clear trend in the evolution of mortuary hardware is the introduction of thumbscrews, and the commensurate replacement of coffin screws as the standard in coffin lid closure. Thumbscrews began to appear during the 1870s and became commonplace in the 1880s. Because of this change, the presence of coffin screws as the most ubiquitous and least ambiguous of the early forms of mortuary hardware was a major factor in the identification of early graves.

In all, coffin screws were present on 46 burials at Freedman's Cemetery. Three of these coffin screw burials, however, were recovered from the extreme eastern portion of the site. As discussed above, they were positioned upon the acreage finally secured for use in 1884, and as such could not be considered for inclusion in the Early Period.

In contrast, the remaining 43 coffin screw burials were all clearly located within the area identified specifically by deed as containing the First Acre of the cemetery (Table 5-2) (Figure 5-2). The likelihood of these burials dating before the common introduction of thumbscrews was high.

Although originally 14 type numbers for morphologically distinct coffin screw forms were assigned at Freedman's Cemetery, Type 6 was later re-assigned to the ornamental tack category, and the number was not re-used (Table 5-3). Hence, there are actually a total of 13 distinct coffin screw types at Freedman's. Additionally, there is one unknown category, into which the screws from one burial were placed. These screws could not be assigned to a type due to poor preservation.

The specific types of white metal coffin screws recovered at Freedman's Cemetery are typical of those manufactured and available for sale in the 1850s through 1870s (e.g.,

see Figure 4-1). While extreme variants or unusually designed coffin screw forms are likely slightly more sensitive as time diagnostics, representing outliers (either of early forms or late variants of existing forms), the individual types recovered during excavations all seem to be of the more unremarkable type.

Assignment to the Early Period was warranted by the presence of a burial within the First Acre, found in association with coffin screws. This assignment was not made blindly or arbitrarily. Rather, other demonstrably "early" traits were always present on coffin screw burials (e.g., the hexagonal coffin with mitered shoulder joinery, the use of vaulting).

Economic factors of Coffin Screws and Thumbscrews

It is certainly true that thumbscrews were somewhat more expensive than their predecessors, coffin screws. For example, in 1869 the wholesale costs of the earliest incarnation of thumbscrews (cylindrical, slotted head) ranged from \$2.00 to \$2.55 per gross, while the coffin screws ranged only from \$1.14 to \$1.60 per gross (1869 Sargent & Company Catalogue). Ten years later, in the 1879 Hamilton, Lemmon, Arnold & Company price list, white metal thumbscrews ranged from \$3.25 to \$4.25 per gross, while the coffin screws were far less expensive, at only \$.50 to \$1.00.

At least initially, early thumbscrew types cost, on average, essentially twice as much as coffin screws. Some of this greater cost is likely due to the comparative newness of the designs and molds, and thumbscrews typically required more white metal by weight for their construction, naturally adding to their cost. During that brief interval in the mid to late 1870s when coffin screws and thumbscrews were coeval and equally abundant,

even if available through area undertakers, it is possible that coffin screws would have been utilized in lieu of thumbscrews on the basis of cost alone.

By the 1880s, however, such production costs would have been reduced, even as coffin screws as an entire class of mortuary hardware began to be dropped from the offerings of mainstream manufacturers. Even if thumbscrews were still viewed as expensive by members of the African-American community, their cheaper alternative—the remaining supply of coffin screws— may have been all but exhausted.

It should be pointed out that at Freedman's Cemetery, none of the earliest thumbscrew types (e.g., cylindrical, slotted head) were recovered. These early transitional types likely were not used at Freedman's simply due to the added costs of their manufacture. When costs in thumbscrews were reduced, these transitional forms were no longer being manufactured. As addressed in detail below, certainly by the late 1880s, coffin screws as an entire class of mortuary hardware were no longer being actively purchased by area undertakers.

Accessibility of Thumbscrews: Correlation with local Archival Record

Even after thumbscrews became the dominate form of coffin lid closure in the early 1880s, coffin screws continued to be manufactured and sold by smaller, more regional companies and secondary jobbers up to the turn of the century (e.g., W. B. Belknap & Co. Catalogues 1895, 1901). Technically speaking, then, it could be argued that coffin screws conceivably were available for use at Freedman's Cemetery up to 1900, if not later. There is archival evidence, however, both implied and unequivocal, to establish that as

thumbscrews became dominant, the purchase or utilization of coffin screws ended in Dallas.

It should be remembered that during the Early Period, when thumbscrews were becoming increasingly available and solidifying themselves as the industry standard, only Anglo undertakers were present in Dallas. In fact, Patrick Linskie and Ed C. Smith serviced virtually all of the community's undertaking needs. Since both undertakers served the entire community of Dallas, white and black, their stock of mortuary hardware would have been purchased in greater bulk and variety than if they catered to only a subset of the whole community.

In the increasingly urban environment of Dallas in the 1870s and 1880s, with the city at the crossroads of two major rail lines, restricted access to the latest types and styles of coffin trimmings would not have been a factor. For example, as early as 1873, A. W. Morton was offering "a full supply of Fisk's Metallic Burial Cases," a type of burial container manufactured by the Crane, Breed and Company in Cincinnati, Ohio (Habenstein and Lamers 1955:265; Dallas *Daily Herald*; July 10, 1873).

Any older, out-of-date stock that may have been present with either Linskie or Smith, such as coffin screws, dummy screws, and screw caps, likely was used up sporadically as the individual case required, and these increasingly archaic forms almost certainly would not have been replenished. In Chapter 6, a discussion regarding Ed C. Smith's Day Book No. 3 (dating to 1888), will address some of the types of mortuary hardware purchased by Smith in this single year. It can be stated here, however, that coffin screws, although still available from secondary jobbers and wholesalers as late as

circa 1900, were, by 1888, no longer being purchased by Ed C. Smith.

"Early" Traits: Secondary dating criteria

Dummy Screws

Dummy screws are an early form of ornamental tack, specifically designed to mimic the appearance of coffin screws. As such, their introduction date would parallel that of coffin screws, though they were utilized sporadically for years after coffin screws themselves had virtually disappeared (Figure 5-2).

Sixteen dummy screw types were present at Freedman's Cemetery, recovered from a total of 24 burials (Tables 5-4 and 5-5). Although nearly all were associated with burials dated to the Early Period (19 out of 24; 79.2%), examples were also found with Middle Period (4 out of 24; 16.7%), and much more rarely, even Late Period interments (1 out of 24; 4.2%).

The rates of dummy screw utilization for the three major temporal periods as a whole are outlined in Table 5-6. Clearly, dummy screws are commonplace during the Early Period (occurring on nearly a third of all interments), much less common with Middle Period burials (2.30%), and exceedingly rare with Late Period burials, with only a single burial (or less than one percent of Late Period interments) retaining them.

Of the four Middle Period burials with dummy screws (744, 1043, 1049, 1513), all were located within the First Acre. These burials were assigned to the Middle Period primarily due to their association with thumbscrew types 36 and 57, although the

additional presence of rectangular boxes, viewing windows, handles, and other temporally later traits were also indicative of the Middle Period. As evidenced by these four Middle Period interments, it would seem that for a brief interval in Dallas, an overlap of traits associated with the Early and Middle Periods could occur. Evidence for a possible temporal overlap of traits is discussed below.

Hexagonal Coffins (with mitered shoulder), and the lack of Rectangular Caskets

As discussed in Chapter 4, hexagonal coffins were the standard form of burial container throughout the United States in the 18th and early 19th centuries. In contrast, the rectangular casket, an innovation of design grounded principally in aesthetics and the beautification of death movement, saw its introduction at least in the eastern United States around the mid-19th century (Habenstein and Lamers 1985).

By the late 1860s and early 1870s, rectangular caskets were commonplace in mainstream catalogues (e.g., 1871 Taylor and Company), though when the transition from coffin to casket occurred in Texas and more precisely, Dallas, is less well established.

This problem of chronology is compounded by the simple fact that when the casket innovation occurred, the earlier hexagonal shaped coffin simply did not disappear from use. Rather, instead of having faded away as some might believe, at Freedman's Cemetery the hexagonal coffin form is actually *predominate* for a time during the turn-of-the-century Late Period. Therefore, although the introduction date of the rectangular casket, where it can be estimated, can serve as a general *terminus post quem*, the opposite is not true: presence of hexagonal coffins cannot be used as *terminus ante quem* and therefore cannot serve as the end or cap date to any temporal range at Freedman's.

At Freedman's Cemetery, all of the coffin screw burials containing the remains of older subadults or adults and located within the *First Acre* were *all* interred in hexagonal coffins. This suggested that before the common introduction of thumbscrews, sometime in the early to mid-1880s, the rectangular casket had for whatever reason yet to be introduced in Dallas, or at least accepted by the African-American community.

The converse was equally true, and just as important; no older subadult or adult burial dating to the Early Period utilized a rectangular casket. This absence of rectangular caskets on the burials of adults during the Early Period would later serve as a minor criteria for assigning some burials to the Middle Period.

While the number of means employed in the manufacture of hexagonal shaped burial containers, or coffins, is quite large, basically they can be reduced to just two types. The simpler of the two, and therefore either the earlier or cheaper alternative, is the simple mitered shoulder. The miter shoulder variety is just that, the long axis sides of the coffin were constructed out of two separate boards, joined together at the shoulder with a simple miter joint.

At least where sufficient preservation and lack of lateral coffin collapse were present, those coffin screw burials assigned to the Early Period had coffins that utilized the simple mitered shoulder; the form of joinery that is altogether suggestive of an earlier date. With some caveats, this consistency of association was taken as a valid temporal indicator. The hexagonal coffin, especially one displaying evidence for a mitered shoulder, was designated as an "early" trait, though as pointed out above, not a trait that is exclusive of the Early Period.

While the mitered shoulder coffin could be constructed by nearly anyone, since it required few skills and simple tools, the second variety of coffin type, the kerfed or steam bent shoulder, was much more complex and required both greater skills as a carpenter and specialized tools.

In this more elaborate form of joinery, only a single board per long axis side was employed, with the boards bent to meet the head board by one of two means; kerfing (i.e., small slits cut into the interior side of the board), or steaming (where the coffin's side boards were heated and steamed to facilitate its bending).

The kerfing or steam bent method for making hexagonal coffins was rarely observed at Freedman's Cemetery directly (one exception being Burial 598), due to a lack of sufficient wood preservation. Unlike the mitered shoulder type, however, that creates sharp and clearly definable angles, kerfing or steam bending instead produces a more vague corner, with a resulting rounded or soft shoulder.

Regardless of wood preservation, it is this soft or rounded shoulder that was usually directly observable in the ground, and hence the coffin joinery techniques employed could be extrapolated. No clear evidence of kerfed coffins was observed for the Early Period, but the kerfed variety of coffin, when either observable (e.g., Burial 598) or inferred, was ubiquitous for the Middle and Late Period interments.

Commonplace use of the kerfed coffin form, though not absolute, implies evidence of commercial manufacture. However, Dallas did not see its own wholesale coffin manufacturers until 1906, with the founding of the Chase Furniture and Coffin Company, and 1907, with the formation of the Dallas Coffin Company (1906-1907 Dallas City Directories). Therefore, all kerfed coffins interred prior to 1906 were likely shipped into

Dallas from other regional manufacturers.

The lack of observed kerfing in the Early Period coffins does not mean that kerfing or steam bent coffins were not available elsewhere in the United States during the span of the Early Period. Such mass produced coffins were commonly available at least as early as the 1870s (e.g., 1871 Taylor & Co. catalogue).

Vaulted Lid; Vaulting

One trait that was very common among coffin screw burials was the “vaulted lid,” also referred to as a “grave arch” by Bell (1994: 400). A grave employing a vaulted lid consists of a wide primary grave shaft dug to a depth of approximately 3 ½ or 4 feet, at the bottom of which is dug a more narrow, secondary shaft. It is within this secondary shaft, or niche, that the coffin or casket is placed. The secondary shaft is dug just deep and wide enough to receive the box. After the coffin has been lowered into the grave, this secondary shaft is then completely covered over with boards, typically loose transverse planks. These boards constitute the “vaulted lid” proper.

Although the origin of vaulting is unknown, it is of some antiquity. For example, vaulting was observed on Anglo graves in Pennsylvania dated to the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Swauger 1959). Vaulting would seem to have been applied as a further means to protect the primary burial receptacle from the elements. At Freedman’s, while vaulting was common with coffin screw burials, the technique was relatively rare with burials containing thumbscrews and other later hardware forms.

When coffins were shipped into a region from a commercial manufacturer, they

usually arrived packaged in an outer box or shipping crate. This rather substantial wooden packing box was nearly always placed at the bottom of the grave shaft, and the coffin or casket was subsequently lowered into it (Habenstein and Lamers 1985; Hohenschuh 1900). When confronted with a mid-to-late nineteenth century grave, the absence of an outer box certainly implies that the coffin or casket was of local manufacture. Without the luxury of a shipping crate, to serve as a handy and expeditious vault, often times a vaulted lid was prepared instead.

At Freedman's Cemetery, of the 43 coffin screw burials located within the First Acre, only one had two boxes, consisting of a true coffin and outer box (Burial 670; a subadult). In contrast, of the remaining 42 coffin screw burials, 29 (or 69.0%) were comprised of only a single coffin and a simple, vaulted lid. For the Early Period as a whole, 42 interments were observed with vaulting (42 out of 64; 65.6%).

This rate is distinctly different from Middle Period interments. Of the 125 Middle Period burials recovered with thumbscrews, a mere 18 were associated with a single box and vaulting (18 out of 125; 14.4%). For the Middle Period as a whole, the rate of vaulting is essentially identical (13.5%; 23 out of 170).

One clear indication that the phenomenon of vaulting was not likely grounded in simple economics can be seen by examining the rate of Middle Period interments buried in only a single coffin or casket, and importantly, without the additional use of vaulting (N=49; 28.8%). This means that over one quarter of all Middle Period burials were interred without the use of either an outer box or a vaulted lid, in clear contrast to the Early Period interments. With such evidence, it would seem highly likely that vaulting was a folk custom most commonly expressed during the Early Period in the 1870s, and much

less commonly utilized during the Middle and Late Periods.

Dallas undertakers of the 1870s, principally Patrick Linskie or Ed C. Smith, likely manufactured their own coffins on occasion, at least to supplement their main product line of commercially manufactured burial receptacles. As late as circa 1902, George Washington Loudermilk, the undertaker that took over Linskie's funeral home in the late 1890s, occasionally made his own coffins (Loudermilk Day Books; Sparkman-Hillcrest Funeral Home).

The presence of vaulting, then, could be an indicator of economic circumstances, at least to the extent that a locally manufactured coffin was likely used, thus lacking an outer shipping crate. Such locally produced receptacles would have become increasingly infrequent by the late 1870s, when mass production of coffins and caskets became codified, and the accessibility of railroads made interstate shipping an economically viable alternative to local manufacture.

It should be noted that vaulting may have been even more common during the Early Period than stated above. Due to the relatively poor wood preservation found under Lemmon Avenue (the section of road that encompassed the First Acre), any vaulting that originally may have been present on the remaining 14 coffin screw burials (or for that matter, any of the Early Period interments) might not have been observable, due to simple preservation factors.

Additionally, of the 64 burials dated to the Early Period, nearly half had either their grave shafts or the actual physical remains of the burial directly impacted by later interments (31 out of 64 interments; 48.4%). This is a conservative estimate; the true number of Early Period burials impacted or otherwise disturbed by later burials could be

greater.

Later disturbances created by more recent graves literally could obliterate all traces of the lid complex of earlier burials. Because of the combined factors of later disturbance due to stacked burials, and generally poor wood preservation in any case, the practice of creating vaulted lids may have been even more ubiquitous during the Early Period at Freedman's.

Simple, iron screws, used as lid closure

Several clearly early burials lacked the formal white metal coffin screws typical of the Early Period, but instead had utilitarian iron gimlet screws as lid closure, probably due to factors involving cost. Strictly speaking, while the use of utilitarian screws did not have to end with the Early Period, similarly "plain" burials located on the 1884 Acreage (and assigned to the Middle Period) were only very rarely recovered with plain iron screws (N=3; 1.8%). Even for the Middle Period as a whole, only seven burials were associated with utilitarian iron screws specifically utilized as lid closure (4.1%). In all, 16 of the burials assigned to the Early Period contained these utilitarian iron screws, used in place of white metal coffin screws (25%).

Hinges (dowel and butt)

Coffin hinges of the nineteenth century came in two basic varieties— butt hinges and dowels. Regardless of form, coffin hinges were normative mortuary hardware in the early to mid-19th century, but disappeared from coffin hardware catalogues by the 1880s. Thus the presence of a coffin hinge would seem a good indicator of a pre-1885 interment

date. No butt hinges were recovered from exhumed burials at Freedman's Cemetery, although a single dowel was recovered from Burial 1290 (Hinge type 1; see Figure 5-4).

This dowel's specific engraved design motif is itself temporally diagnostic, identical to one represented in the 1865 Russell and Erwin Manufacturing Company catalogue. Importantly, and typical of the Early Period generally, Burial 1290 was interred in a hexagonal coffin, though a vault was not detected, possibly due to the damage this burial suffered from the digging of the Late Period burial above it (Burial 1220).

Diamond Screw Cap

The diamond screw cap was an early form of coffin lid closure first patented in 1862 (U.S. Utility Patent; No. 36,635), and with an introduction date into the market place during the early 1860s (e.g., 1865 Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company Catalogue) (see Figure 5-5). Diamond caps disappear from catalogues in the 1870s, during the period when thumbscrews were becoming ubiquitous and replacing coffin screws as the dominant form of lid closure.

A diamond screw cap was recovered from a single burial at Freedman's Cemetery, Burial 1201, which contained the remains of a subadult about one year old (see Figure 5-4). This burial also possessed other "early" traits, including a hexagonal coffin with mitered shoulder and a vaulted lid.

Another interment that might have utilized a diamond screw cap is Burial 599, recovered with simple iron screws in conjunction with what were believed to be cuprous foil escutcheons. Metal preservation was quite poor, and the escutcheons were recovered

only as small fragments of metal. It is possible that these escutcheon fragments were actually poorly preserved diamond caps.

Superposition of Graves (i.e., Stacking)

Most instances of stacked burials observed at Freedman's Cemetery occurred on the First Acre of the site, where graves had been continuously though haphazardly placed since Freedman's founding. By stacking, I am referring to the phenomenon where later burials were either partially or completely superimposed over previous interments.

In at least one case, burials had been superimposed— one over the other— three deep, with one burial dating to each of the three major temporal periods (see Table 5-7). Stacking was probably unintentional and likely resulted from a lack of sufficient surface indications as to the exact locations of prior graves. The presence of stacked graves provided an excellent opportunity to determine which mortuary attributes were contemporaneous, and which clearly were not.

Nearly half of all Early Period interments had either their grave shafts or the actual physical remains of the burial complex directly impacted by later interments (31 out of 64 interments; 48.4%) (see Table 5-8). The vast majority of these cases represent Late Period burials intruding into earlier burials, but, three stacking episodes involve Middle Period interments. In other words, two burials utilizing early thumbscrew forms (as established through coffin hardware catalogues and U.S. Design Patents) and yet clearly interred prior to 1900, were dug so that they directly impacted three, even earlier graves.

Both of these Middle Period burials (1183, 689) possessed double box complexes,

consisting of inner rectangular caskets and outer shipping boxes. Though containing the remains of children, both employed such added and expensive accouterments as coffin plaques, and one (1183) had a viewing window and associated hardware.

The three impacted Early Period graves differed radically. One contained coffin screws (Burial 1202), while another (Burial 599) used a simple vaulted lid covering a single coffin, the lid of which was held in place with plain iron screws associated with foil escutcheons (possibly representing the fragmentary remains of screw caps). The third earlier grave consisted of a single hexagonal coffin that had no formal mortuary hardware of any kind (Burial 1184).

These impacted burials between them contained coffin screws, a vaulted lid, plain iron screws and possible screw caps— all attributes defined as "early." In contrast, both Middle Period burials had thumbscrew forms, one of which was Freedman's type 57, the second most ubiquitous thumbscrew utilized at Freedman's Cemetery, prior to circa 1900.

Possible coeval use of coffin screw and early thumbscrew types was certainly a factor to be considered, and in a few rare cases (as will be elaborated upon below), certain occurrences of "early" traits were found with later thumbscrew burials. The cases of stacking involving Middle Period burials, however, are irrefutable evidence that these interments were not contemporaneous with the burials they impacted.

Burial Orientation

Although all burials at Freedman's Cemetery have more or less east/west alignments, there was a wide range of variation between graves. Some burials assigned to the Early Period had grave orientations that differed from later interments within their immediate vicinity, suggesting that some time had passed between their respective interments. Generally speaking, burials in the Early Period have orientations that are most similar to "Pre-1900" Period interments, at times similar to Middle Period graves, while differing most radically from Late Period interments.

There was no one set or ideal orientation utilized during the Early Period. Rather, graves interred together within a discrete locus or cluster often had similar orientations, but this orientation did not necessarily directly compare or align with that of a more distant grouping of Early Period interments. These differences were not rigorously quantified for purposes of constructing the chronology, and as such, were almost never utilized as a burial's only chronological indicator. Rather, a grave's orientation was only one of several criteria useful in distinguishing between burials of different temporal periods (e.g., Burials 1290 and 1291).

A summary of the Early Period interments, and the major criteria used in assigning dates of interment is given below.

Coffin Screws

Forty-three burials were assigned to the Early Period, based on the presence of coffin screws and each burial's location within the confines of the First Acre (Table 5-2;

Figure 5-2). The simple presence of a coffin screw was not the sole criterion for dating any burial; each coffin screw burial additionally possessed some or all of the other criteria defined as "early (vaulting, hexagonal coffin with mitered shoulder, etc.)

Three or more "Early" Traits

Fifteen burials were placed in the Early Period based on the presence of three or more demonstrably "early" mortuary traits, including simple iron screws used in lieu of coffin screws, diamond screw caps, dummy screws, vaulted lids, hexagonal coffins, and hinges (Table 5-9).

Special Circumstances

Six burials retained only one or two early traits, but each commanded special circumstances that allowed assignment to the Early Period (see Table 5-10). The rationale for this assignment is further elaborated upon below.

1). **Burial 706.** This burial was found beneath a later interment (Burial 687), itself dating to the Early Period.

2). **Burial 1290.** This interment had a single hexagonal box and no other early traits, but the burial's orientation (53 degrees) is consistent with Early Period interments in its immediate vicinity (e.g., Burial 1291; 63 degrees), and dissimilar to other burials in the area dating to the Middle or Late Periods (e.g., Burial 1220: 99 degrees; Burial 1188: 94

degrees).

3). **Burial 1247.** This is a disturbed burial, where if vaulting had been present, it would have been difficult to recognize. Additionally, this interment is in an older row, located between two burials dating to the Early Period: Burial 1263, with coffin screw 7, and Burial 1330, possessing three early diagnostic traits.

4). **Burial 1300.** This burial has Handle Type 94, a type that occurs with only three burials at Freedman's, the other two instances in association with coffin screw 5. Additionally, this burial was impacted by Burials 1299 and 1301, dating to the Late Period. Any white metal coffin screws that may have been present might have been displaced by these disturbances.

5). **Burial 1129.** This grave has Ornamental Tack type 56 (a dummy screw made to mimic a coffin screw) and an hexagonal box. This tack occurs only twice at Freedman's Cemetery. Its second appearance is with Burial 1263, which also has Coffin Screw type 7.

6). **Burial 1184.** This burial was impacted by the placement of Burial 1183, an interment dated to the Middle Period.

Terminus post quem/ Terminus ante quem:

**Evaluating the Dating Criteria, and a possible Contemporaneity of Coffin Screws
and Thumbscrews, Hallmarks of the Early and Middle Periods**

Obviously, just as important as what was recovered from the Early Period burials is what was lacking. No matter how many presumably "early" traits might have been present on a burial interred within Freedman's First Acre, a single artifact with a *terminus post quem* approaching or exceeding 1884 would have rendered an "early" grave a candidate for either the Middle or Late Periods.

Equally true however, is that many of the artifact types proven to be time sensitive and thus utilized in the creation of the Freedman's chronology (such as specific forms of mortuary hardware), may have been precluded from use on a burial in the past simply due to basic factors of economics. Hence, it could be argued that any number of the burials assigned to the Early Period due to their lack of complex mortuary hardware, are actually poor burials from a later time period. This possibility is a minor but unavoidable pitfall that must be addressed in assigning burials to either the Early or Middle Periods.

There are several lines of evidence that suggest that this was not the case, however. One of the most ubiquitous artifact types recovered at the cemetery that definitely would not have been excluded due to cost, and further has proven to be highly time diagnostic, is the common safety pin. Safety pins were recovered from 454 burials at Freedman's Cemetery (454/1150; 39.5%).

As pointed out in Chapter 4, the safety pin in the nineteenth century was not static in form, but rather saw several innovations in design and manufacture. Many of these

safety pin innovations are documented in United States Patent records, so the changes, temporally speaking, are well defined. Although the first safety pin patent was issued in the United States in 1849, to Walter Hunt (United States Utility Patent; No. 6,281), some years passed before mass production and market demands together created a common availability.

The date of this common availability is an unknown one, but it probably occurred during the late 1870s, when mass production of safety pins first became possible (Anonymous: n.d.). In any case, only two burials assigned to the Early Period were recovered in association with safety pins (Burials 1278, 1315) (2/64; 3.1%).

Another Early Period interment, Burial 1300, was severely disturbed by the Late Period Burial 1299. Only approximately 40 cm of the eastern portion of Burial 1300 remained intact. Recovered in the screen from the upper fill of Burial 1300 was a fragment of a safety pin. However, at the time of recovery, the excavators expressed doubts that the pin originated with this interment, since there was essentially no fill between the bottom of 1299 and the bottom of 1300. As such, this fragment of safety pin likely was associated with the Late Period grave, 1299.

The relatively low frequency of safety pin utilization in the Early Period contrasts the Middle Period, where 37/170 interments had safety pins (21.8%). For the Late Period, the frequency was even greater, with nearly half of all burials were associated with the pins (412/878 interments; 46.9%).

The most common type of safety pin recovered at Freedman's Cemetery was also one of the earlier forms; the Lindsey Pin, patented by John P. Lindsey in 1878, was found with 162 burials (United States Utility Patent: No. 198,890). Only one burial assigned to

the Early Period was recovered with a possible Lindsey type pin (Burial 1315), although this pin may actually be the Hunt safety pin, patented in 1849 (United States Utility Patent; No. 6,281).

If it is, in actuality, the Lindsey pin type in association with Burial 1315, then this burial cannot have been interred prior to 1878 and likely was buried in the early 1880s. It is located very near the boundary between the first Acre and the 1884 Acreage, isolated from the core of Early Period interments and suggestive of a later, rather than earlier date of interment. It is possible that Burial 1315 represents one of the very last Early Period burials.

For Burial 1278, the other Early Period burial in clear association with a safety pin, the highly fragmentary nature of the pin precludes clear identification as to type.

Another trait that differentiates Early from Middle Period interments is that of vaulting, a folk custom of some antiquity. Discussed in some detail above, it can be reiterated here that the use of the vaulted lid is extremely common with coffin screw burials and other burials assigned to the Early Period, but is uncommon or rare with early thumbscrew burials, as well as Middle Period burials in general.

Further, the use of vaulting is not, in and of itself, grounded in economics. It is true that vaulting was used almost exclusively with single coffins (i.e., burial containers without shipping boxes), and the presence of a single box can be interpreted as reflecting limited economic circumstances. As addressed above, however, many burials assigned to the Middle Period also consisted of single coffins, without benefit of an outer box, but in

clear contrast to the Early, only a small percentage of Middle Period graves used vaulting.

As addressed above, the types of mortuary hardware displayed at any given point in time may in part be economically based (if not in the retail trade, then in the wholesale), so one can easily imagine how there could be some overlap in the use of older styles of hardware coinciding with the use of more contemporarily produced hardware types. Although it has been established that thumbscrews were initially more expensive than the older coffin screws, consumers, however, may not have been cognizant of the differences, or indeed, have been given any real choice in the matter of specific coffin accouterments.

It does seem obvious, however, that undertakers, as well as wholesale dealers and distributors of mortuary hardware, would have wished to use up any remaining stock of older hardware types before purchasing quantities of newer items. If older styles of hardware were still present in the stock of local undertakers when new styles became available, a mixture of both older and newer styles probably would have been utilized, not only at the same time, but sometimes even on the same burial.

At Freedman's Cemetery, there are four cases of burials exhibiting an overlap of hardware types, hence constituting a possible time of transition between the traits utilized to define the Early and Middle Periods. Each of the cases given below demonstrate either contemporaneous usage of hallmark traits designating major temporal periods (e.g., coffin screws = Early Period; thumbscrews = Middle Period), or at the very least, a direct and seamless continuity between the Early and Middle Periods.

The first evidence for contemporaneity of Early and Middle Period traits can be

seen in Burials 744 and 687. Burial 744 was associated with an early thumbscrew type (Thumbscrew 36) and cut nails. These artifacts in conjunction with knowledge of this interment's location form the basis of its assignment to the Middle Period. This grave, however, additionally was recovered with ten ornamental tacks in the form of dummy screws, or fake white metal coffin screws (Ornamental Tack Type 33). Finally, Burial 744 also was outfitted with examples of Handle type 92, a simple double lug swingbail form.

Burial 687, assigned to the Early Period, employed Coffin Screw type 5 as its lid closure. While this burial does not have Ornamental Tack type 33, it was outfitted with Handle type 92, the identical handle present on Burial 744. Further, these burials are spatially very near one another; indeed, they are literally within the same row. Clearly, essentially simultaneous usage of thumbscrews and coffin screws may be inferred by comparing the attributes of these two burials.

Coffin Screw type 5, the type recovered from Burial 687, does appear to have been one of the last in common usage at Freedman's, for the following reasons. First, it is the most ubiquitous of the coffin screws recovered at Freedman's Cemetery (N=15). Additionally, of all burials with coffin screws, those employing Type 5 have the greatest frequency of rectangular boxes, with 47% (or 7 out of 15 burials). Also, this coffin screw type is one of the very few that still appear for sale in mainstream coffin hardware catalogues of the early 1880s (e.g., 1882 Cincinnati Coffin Company). Finally, of the 43 burials that were found with coffin screws and dating to the Early Period, only three had handles, and all three also possessed Coffin Screw Type 5.

Other co-occurrences of Early and Middle Periods traits can be observed on

Burials 1043, 1049, and 1513, the three Middle Period interments with dummy screws (see Table 5-5). While an overlap of usage between coffin screws and thumbscrews would seem logical and may be present in these cases, there is very little evidence to suggest that it was either intensive or of long duration.

As discussed above, certain attributes endemic to burials containing coffin screws, including the use of vaulting and the hexagonal box form, are conversely much less common in early thumbscrew burials, and these attributes are not necessarily economically based, but are rather a cultural bias or folk custom common to the period. Since these traits are not commonly found on burials dating to the Middle Period (i.e., early thumbscrew burials), it would seem that most of the burials assigned to the Early Period clearly were interred some years prior to 1885, and hence are not contemporaneous with Middle Period interments.

Additionally, coffin screw burials dating to the Early Period are confined to the First Acre purchase. Burials containing early thumbscrews and dating to the Middle Period, however, have a spatial distribution that implies interment dates after 1884, as they are not restricted to the First Acre, but instead are commonly found on both sides of the boundary line separating the First Acre from the 1884 Acreage. The 43 burials recovered with coffin screws on Freedman's First Acre then, do not represent "cheaper" Middle Period burials utilizing anachronistic accoutrements, but rather are graves utilizing the formal mortuary hardware contemporary to their date of interment, the Early Period.

Some overlap in the usage of earlier and later hardware types may have occurred, as in Burials 744 and 687, cited above, but this realization must be tempered with the

knowledge that such overlap was probably rare, as it is abundantly evident that traits present during the Early Period are relatively rare for the Middle Period. I am convinced that the assignment of all coffin screw burials located within the First Acre to the Early Period is tenable.

If, for example, Burials 687 and 744 are truly contemporaries— representing a transitional period between the predominate usage of coffin screws in the 1870s and early 1880s, and the emergence of thumbscrews in the mid 1880s— then their dating probably lies somewhere around the juncture of these two time periods, or circa 1884/85. In these two cases, it was deemed more reasonable to place each burial into the Period with which it had the most traits in common. They may indeed be roughly contemporaneous, but the juncture of the Early and Middle Period date ranges can accept this scenario without any necessary modification or caveat.

Table 5-1:
Early Period (1869-1884): Criteria Utilized in the Establishment of
***Terminus Ante Quem*, In Assignment of Dates of Interment**

Time Diagnostic or Trait	# of Burials	%
Presence of Coffin Screws	43	67.2
Presence of 3 "early" traits	15	23.4
Presence of Special Circumstances	6	9.4
Total Number of Early Period Burials	64	100

Notes:

1. All burials Had to Be located within First Acre
2. "Early" traits include presence of: dummy screws, hexagonal coffins with mitered shoulder, vaulting, simple iron screws as lid closure, screw caps, hinges.

Table 5-2: All Early Period Burials with Coffin Screws (N=43)

Burial #	Period	Description	Age	Handle	Coffin Screw	Escutcheon	Outer box	Inner box	Ornamental Tack	Nail
578	E	adult F?	54.50		3	foil	vault	hex	33	c
567	E	subadult	0.55		4			rect	33	c
1119	E	adult M?	42.50		4		vault?	hex	59	c
1172	E	adult M?	31.80		4		vault?	hex		c
1202	E	subadult	80.00		4			rect?		c
1310	E	adult F	16.00		4		vault	hex		c
1315	E	subadult	0.35		4		vault	rect		c
1360	E	subadult (female)	11.56		4			hex		c
1395	E	subadult	1.42		4			hex		c
1077	E	adult M?	18.00		4?; 9		vault?	hex	57; 58	c
461	E	subadult	0.10		5		vault?	rect?	55	c
550	E	subadult	1.13		5	72	vault	rect	39	c
569	E	subadult	3.80		5	72	vault	hex		c
574	E	adult M?	98.00		5	foil	vault	hex	?	c
670	E	subadult	5.60		5		rect	rect	?	c
687	E	subadult	0.70	92	5	72		rect		c
711	E	adult F	18.00	94	5		vault	hex		c
1073	E	adult F	36.80		5		vault	hex		c
1204	E	subadult (male)	1.73		5		vault	hex		c
1257	E	subadult	0.26		5	foil		rect?		c
1265	E	subadult	0.00		5		vault	rect		c
1267	E	adult M	44.10		5		vault	hex		c
1272	E	adult M?	34.80	94 (4)	5			hex		c
1278	E	subadult	0.98		5		vault	hex		c
1124	E	subadult	0.44		5?			rect		c
1069	E	adult F	18.50		7		vault?	hex	33	c
1116	E	subadult	83.00		7		vault	rect	61	c
1118	E	subadult	0.65		7		vault	rect	60	c
1154	E	adult M	34.50		7		vault	hex		c
1263	E	subadult	0.86		7			?	56	c
1291	E	adult F?	25.40		7		vault	hex		c
1404	E	subadult (male)	11.50		7			rect		c
1064	E	subadult	0.96		8		vault	hex	54	c
1161	E	adult M?	54.70		9		vault	hex	57; 58	c
1162	E	adult F?	30.20		10		vault	hex	67	c
1226	E	subadult (female)	1.18		10		vault	hex	62	c
1251	E	adult F	33.60		10			hex		c
1177	E	subadult (female)	0.58		11		vault	hex	55	c
1243	E	subadult	0.00		11; 12		vault	hex		c
1281	E	subadult	0.62		12		vault	hex		c
1391	E	subadult (female)	0.64		12; 14			hex	69	c
1237	E	subadult	1.52		13			hex	54	c
1235	E	subadult (female)	11.13		?	foil	vault	hex		c

Table 5-3: All Coffin Screw Types recovered from Freedman's Cemetery (N=14)

Coffin Screw Type	Total # of Occurances	Spatial Locus		# associated with Early Period
		1st Acre	1884 Acreage	
1	1		1	...
2	1		1	...
3	2	1	1	1
4	9	9	...	9
5	15	15	...	15
6	<i>re-classified as Om. Tack type 62</i>			....
7	7	7	...	7
8	1	1	...	1
9	2	2	...	2
10	3	3	...	3
11	2	2	...	2
12	3	3	...	3
13	1	1	...	1
14	1	1	...	1
?	1	1	...	1

**Table 5-4: All White Metal "Dummy Screw" Types (Ornamental Tacks)
Recovered from Freedman's Cemetery (N=16)**

#	Tack Type	Total # of occurrences	Time Period		
			Early	Middle	Late
1	16	1			1
2	33	4	3	1	
3	51	1		1	
4	53	1		1	
5	54	2	2		
6	55	2	2		
7	56	2	2		
8	57	3	3		
9	57.1	1		1	
10	58	2	2		
11	59	1	1		
12	60	1	1		
13	61	1	1		
14	62	2	2		
15	63	1	1		
16	67	1	1		

**Table 5-5: All Dummy Screws (Ornamental Tacks)
Recovered from Freedman's Cemetery (N=24)**

#	Burial #	Description	Age	Time Period	Ornamental Tack	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail
1	567	subadult	0.55	E	33		cs4			rect	c
2	578	adult F?	54.50	E	33		cs3	foil	vault	hex	c
3	1069	adult F	18.50	E	33		cs7		vault?	hex	c
4	1064	subadult	0.96	E	54		cs8		vault	hex	c
5	1237	subadult	1.52	E	54		cs13			hex	c
6	461	subadult	0.10	E	55		cs5		vault?	rect?	c
7	1177	subadult (female)	0.58	E	55		cs11		vault	hex	c
8	1129	subadult	0.00	E	56					hex	c
9	1263	subadult	0.86	E	56		cs7			?	c
10	1077	adult M?	18.00	E	57; 58		cs4?; cs9		vault?	hex	c
11	1161	adult M?	54.70	E	57; 58		cs9		vault	hex	c
12	1512	adult I	20.40	E	57		is			hex	c
13	1119	adult M?	42.50	E	59		cs4		vault?	hex	c
14	1118	subadult	0.65	E	60		cs7		vault	rect	c
15	1116	subadult	83.00	E	61		cs7		vault	rect	c
16	527	subadult	0.66	E	62		is		vault	rect	c
17	1226	subadult (female)	1.18	E	62		cs10		vault	hex	c
18	1266	subadult	80.00	E	63		is			hex?	c
19	1162	adult F?	30.20	E	67		cs10		vault	hex	c
20	744	subadult	0.60	M	33	92	36	foil	rect	rect	c
21	1043	subadult	0.12	M	51		36; 89	foil	rect	rect	c
22	1049	adult I	50.70	M	53	140	57	76	rect	rect	c
23	1513	adult IM	14.50	M	57.1	177	57	59	rect	rect?	c
24	66	subadult	0.45	L	16		cs2			hex	c/w

Table 5-6: Dummy Screw Utilization by Time Period

Period	# of burials with dummy screws	Total # of burials	% of burials with screws
Early	19	64	29.70%
Middle	4	171	2.30%
Late	1	878	0.10%

Table 5-7: An Incidence of Stacking, with three superimposed burials, one over the another

Stacked	Burial	Time Period	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Plaque	Nail type
top	680	Late	...	Hex	...	...	...	...	wire
middle	689	Middle	Rect	Rect	...	57	75	B	cut
bottom	599	Early	Vaulting	Hex	...	iron screw	foil	...	cut

Table 5-8: All Early Period Burials with later Burials stacked above them

Early Period Internments Below Middle and Late Period Burials (N=31)											The Middle and Late Period Burials Interred Above them										
#	Burials	Description	Outer Box	Inner Box	Comn Screw	Escutcheon	Om Tack	Nail Type	Burials	Time Period	Description	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type				
1	461	subaduit	vault?	rect?	cs5		55	c	460	L	Adult-F	145	2	6	rect	rect	w				
2	527	subaduit	vault	rect	is		62	c	710	L	Adult-M				hex	hex	w				
3	552	subaduit	vault	hex	is			c	553	L	Adult-F?	24	16	13	rect	rect	cw				
									558	L	2 Adult-Males				hex	hex	w				
4	574	Adult-M?	vault	hex	cs5	foil	?	c	672	L	Adult-M?				hex	hex	w				
5	578	Adult-F?	vault	hex	cs3	foil	33	c	669	L	subaduit				rect	rect	w				
6	599	subaduit	vault?	hex	is	foil		c	669	M	subaduit		57	75	rect	rect	c				
									680	L	Adult-M				hex	hex	w				
7	687	subaduit		rect	cs5	72		c	553	L	Adult-F?	24	16	13	rect	rect	cw				
8	670	subaduit	rect	rect	cs5		?	c	594	L	Adult-M	6	16	foil	hex	hex	cw				
9	706	subaduit		?				c	553	L	Adult-F?	24	16	13	rect	rect	cw				
10	1073	Adult-F	vault	hex	cs5			c	1074	L	Adult-M?				hex	hex	cw				
11	1077	Adult-M?	vault?	hex	cs9, 4?		57, 58	c	1076	L	Adult-F	2, 7	20	17	hex	hex	cw				
12	1105	Adult-F?	vault	hex	is			c	1046	L	Adult-F	34	1c2		rect	rect	w				
									1056	L	Empty Casket	8	7	3	rect	rect	w				
13	1116	subaduit	vault	rect	cs7		61	c	1117	L	Adult-I	24	27	21	rect	rect	w				
14	1118	subaduit	vault	rect	cs7		60	c	1117	L	Adult-I	24	27	21	rect	rect	w				
15	1148	Adult-IM	vault?	hex	is			c	1101	L	subaduit				vault	hex	cw				
16	1184	subaduit	?	hex				c	1183	M	subaduit	158	45	44	rect	rect	c				
17	1202	subaduit		rect?	cs4			c	1183	M	subaduit	158	45	44	rect	rect	c				
18	1226	subaduit	vault	hex	cs10		62	c	1167	L	subaduit	6	7, 12	3	rect	rect	cw				
19	1235	subaduit	vault	hex	cs7	foil		c	1236	L	Adult-M?	2, 24	16	13	rect	rect	w				
20	1237	subaduit		hex	cs13		54	c	1236	L	Adult-F	16	27	21	rect	rect	cw				
21	1247	Adult-M		hex	is?			c	1245	L	Adult-M?	24	27	21	hex	hex	w				
22	1251	Adult-F		hex	cs10			c	1165	L	Adult-M	6	7	3	rect	rect	w				
23	1263	subaduit		?	cs7		56	c	1264	L	Adult-IM	2	53	52	rect	hex	cw				
									1244	L	Adult-M?	15	79-90	42	rect	rect	cw				
24	1265	subaduit	vault	rect	cs5			c	1264	L	Adult-IM	2	53	52	rect	hex	cw				
25	1281	subaduit	vault	hex	cs12			c	1180	L	Adult-F?	152	52	2	rect	rect	cw				

Table 5-8: All Early Period Burials with later Burials stacked above them (continued)

Early Period Interments Below Middle and Late Period Burials											The Middle and Late Period Burials Interred Above them										
#	Burials	Description	Outer Box	Inner Box	Coffin Screw	Escutcheon	Orn Tack	Nail Type	Burials	Time Period	Description	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type				
26	1280	subadult		hex				c	1220	L	Adult-F	18	59	89	rect	rect	w				
27	1291	Adult-F?	vault	hex	cs7			c	1190	L	Adult-F?	24	16	21	rect	rect	cw				
28	1300	Adult-I	?	hex				c	1299	L	Adult-I	18	27	21	rect	rect	cw				
29	1330	Adult-M	vault	hex	is			c	1329	L	subadult	2.1	53	52	rect	hex	w				
30	1335	subadult	vault	hex	is			c	1249	L	subadult	159	56	16	rect	rect	w				
31	1512	Adult-I		hex			57	c	1240	L	subadult	18.2	3	62		hex	w				
									1229	L	subadult					hex	w				
									1463	L	subadult		53	52	rect	rect?	w				

Table 5-9: Burials assigned to the Early Period, on the presence of three "early" traits (N=15)

Burial #	Period	Description	Age	Outer box	Inner box	Coffin Screw	Escutcheon	Ornamental Tack	Nail
527	E	subadult	0.66	vault	rect	iron screws		62	c
552	E	subadult	0.76	vault	hex	iron screws			c
599	E	subadult (male)	8.07	vault?	hex	iron screws	foil		c
1106	E	adult F?	38.90	vault	hex	iron screws?			c
1148	E	adult IM	41.20	vault?	hex	iron screws?			c
1176	E	subadult (female)	6.48	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1201	E	subadult	1.20	vault	hex	iron screws	103		c
1241	E	subadult	1.90	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1266	E	subadult	80.00		hex?	iron screws		63	c
1274	E	subadult	0.53	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1279	E	adult F	23.40	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1330	E	adult M	39.80	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1335	E	subadult	0.64	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1363	E	subadult	1.40	vault	hex	iron screws			c
1512	E	adult I	20.40		hex	iron screws		57	c

Table 5-10: Burials assigned to the Early Period, due to "special circumstances" (N=6)

#	Burial #	Period	Description	Age	Handle	Outer box	Inner box	Stacking	Coffin Screw	Ornamental Tack	Misc. hardware	Nail
1	706	E	subadult	0.00			?	553 (L;1906)		?		c
2	1290	E	subadult (female)	0.00			hex				Hinge type 1 (1)	c
3	1247	E	adult M (& 1377)	38.20			hex		is?			c
4	1300	E	adult I	99.00	94	?	hex					c
5	1129	E	subadult	0.00			hex			56		c
6	1184	E	subadult (male)	5.89		?	hex					c

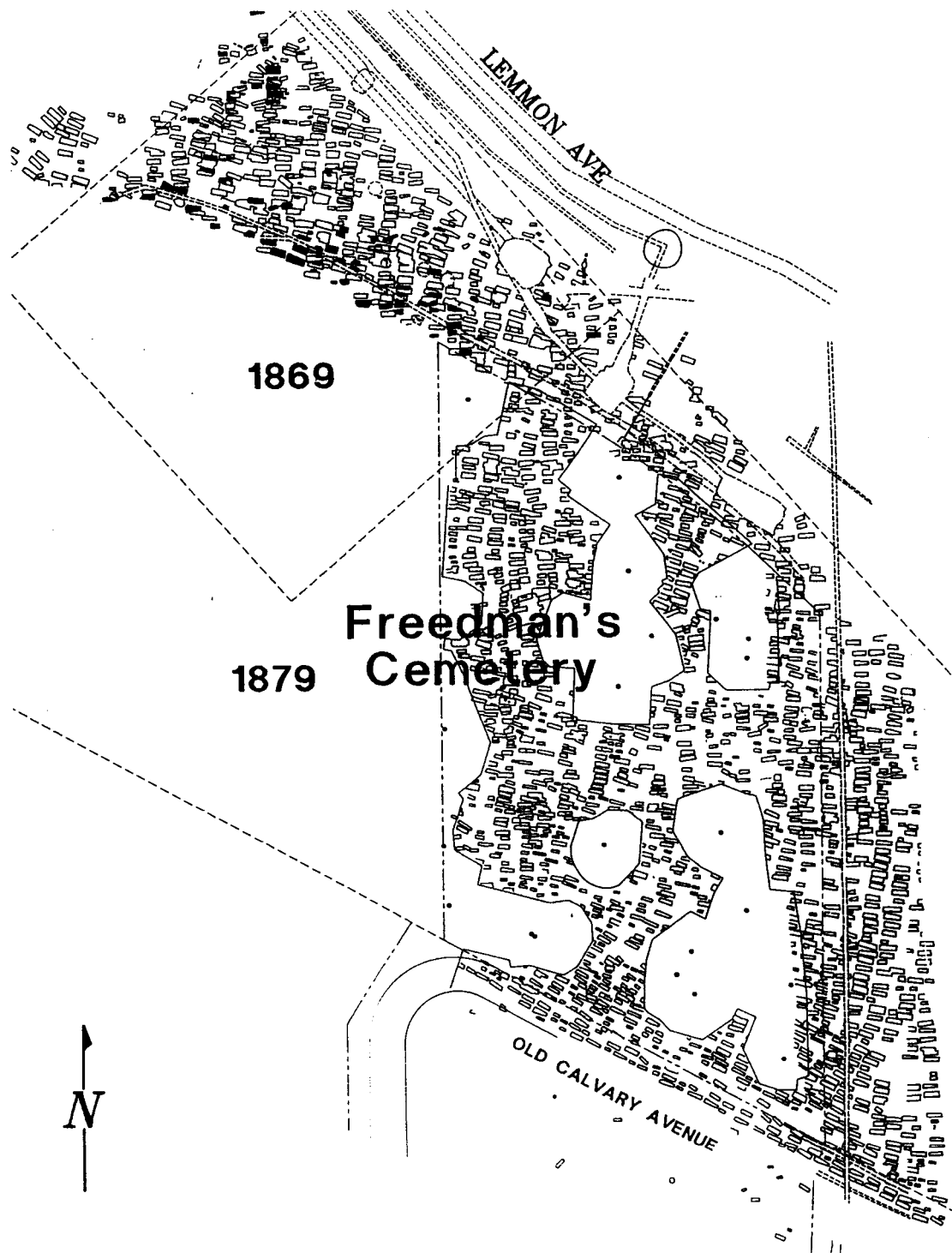


Figure 5-1 Distribution of all Early Period burials at Freedman's Cemetery (n=64). The historic boundaries of the cemetery are rendered in a dotted line. The "First Acre," purchased in 1869, is located in the northwest corner of the site.

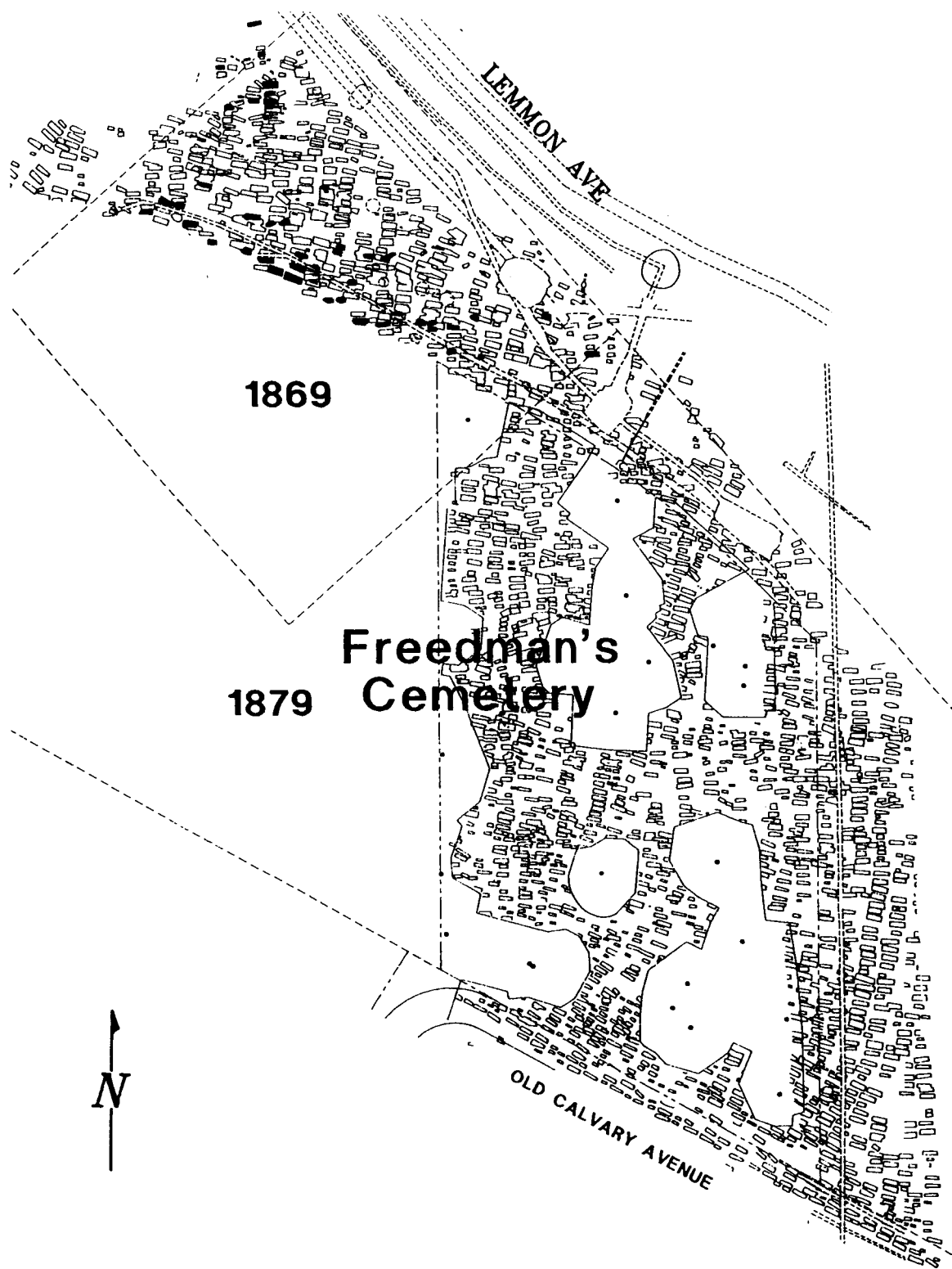


Figure 5-2

Distribution of all Coffin Screws associated with Early Period burials (N=43)

WHITE METAL COFFIN TACKS.

(ENGRAVINGS FULL SIZE.)



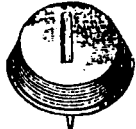
No. 28, Per gross, - - - - - \$0.45



No. 20, Per gross, - - - - - \$0.50



No. 24, Per gross, - - - - - \$0.56



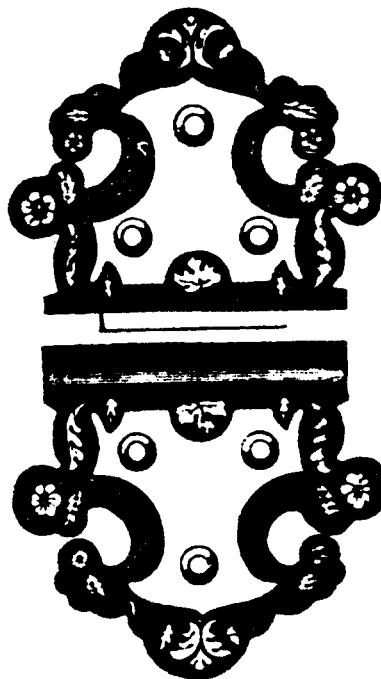
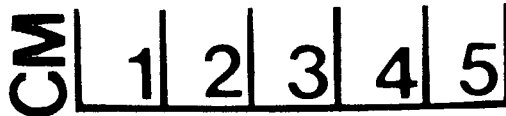
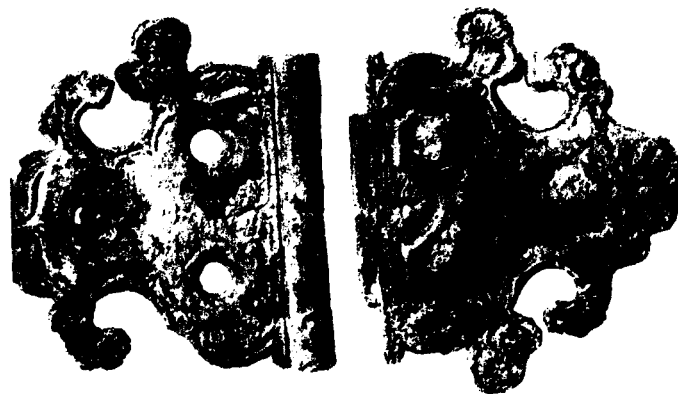
No. 30, Per gross, - - - - - \$0.70



No. 34, Per gross, - \$0.62 No. 36, Per gross, - \$0.84

Figure 5-3

Typical White Metal "Dummy Screws" (Ornamental Tacks), made to mimic coffin screws (from 1865 Markham & Strong catalogue).



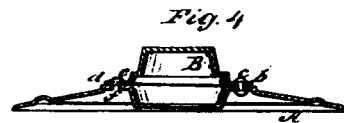
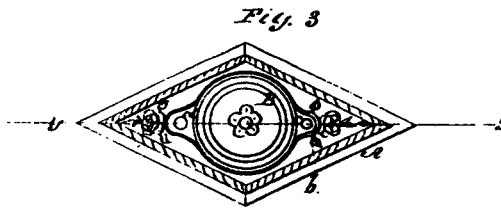
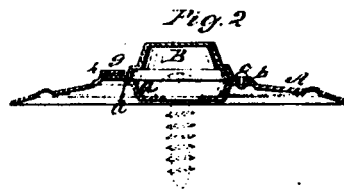
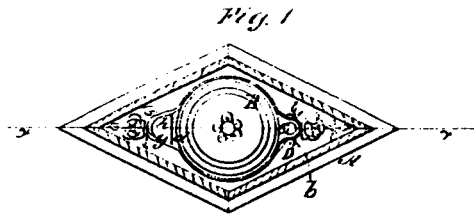
No. 7 Dowell.

Silver Plated Coffin Butts and Dowells.

Figure 5-4

Dowell (a type of hinge), recovered from Burial 1290. This type is identical to a dowell manufactured and sold by the Russell & Erwin Manufacturing Company (engraving from 1865 Russell & Erwin catalogue).

A. B. Bailey,
Coffin Screw Cap.
No. 36,635 *Patented Oct. 14, 1862.*



Witnesses
W. Brown
C. O. Reed

Inventor;
A. B. Bailey
per Munn & Co
Attorneys

AM PHOTO LITHO CO NY - BARNES PROCESS

Figure 5-5

The "Coffin Screw Cap," a form of coffin lid closure first patented in 1862. A screw cap of this type was recovered with Burial 1201 (United States Utility Patent, No. 36,635).

Chapter 6

The Middle Period (1885-1899)

Definition

The Middle Period at Freedman's Cemetery is the temporal designation given to those exhumed burials determined to have been interred after 1884, but prior to 1900. Thus, the Middle Period is a fifteen year interval, spanning 1885 through 1899. In all, 170 burials containing the remains of 171 individuals (14.8% of all exhumed burials), have been assigned to the Middle Period (Figure 6-1).

Necessity for Establishment of both *Terminus Ante Quem* and *Terminus Post Quem* for Middle Period

For assigning burials to the Early Period, it was simply enough to determine that a burial pre-dated circa 1885. Since the year of Freedman's Cemetery's founding is known, it alone could serve as the *terminus post quem* or the other delimiter of the temporal range for the Early Period. Since neither the beginning nor ending of the Middle Period coincides with the founding or closure of the cemetery, however, it was necessary to establish both a *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem* for burials assigned to this Period.

Essentially, each burial was dated twice. First, the *terminus post quem* for each

grave was established, to exclude any that were candidates for the Early Period. Once it could be determined that a burial dated after circa 1884, the second task was to identify artifacts or specific attributes present with each burial that would not have been in use after 1900.

Specific Dating Criteria: *Terminus Post Quem*

The first step necessary in the assignment of burials to the Middle Period was to establish an association of either artifacts or other circumstances (e.g., spatial locus, law of superposition) that have a demonstrable *terminus post quem* either approaching or exceeding 1885. This association could be direct, as with a coin found within a burial. The association also could be indirect, through the application of cross-dating. An example of cross-dating would be if one burial is dated by the direct association of a coin, while a second burial is assigned the same general temporal range because it has the same types of coffin hardware and the two are in close proximity or have other spatial attributes in common.

Another example of a *terminus post quem* would be in the application of the law of superposition, where a later interment is inadvertently placed atop an earlier one. Necessarily, the burial on top must be of a more recent origin. Perhaps the most basic *terminus post quem* for some Middle and Late Period burials is that of location, with interments on the 1884 Acreage necessarily dating after this year. The specific criteria utilized as *terminus post quem* for the Middle Period burials are given below. A summary of these dating criteria and the number of interments covered by each can be seen in Table 6-1.

Terminus post quem: Spatial locus

One major tool utilized in the dating of individual burials is a basic one, the burial's location within the cemetery. Although burials recovered from the First Acre of 1869 could have been interred at any point during the 39 year interval that Freedman's Cemetery remained open, burials found within the three additional acres paid off in 1884 could be candidates only for the Middle or Late Periods, circa 1885 and later.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the fifteen year time gap between the First Acre purchase of 1869 and the 1884 Acreage was serendipitous, and permitted discrimination between those artifactual elements that were contemporaneous and those that clearly were not. Hence, the spatial locus of individual burials could be a prime dating criteria if recovered from the 1884 Acreage, and a secondary dating tool for all other burials (in part through the application of cross dating) by demonstrating the differences in material culture between the two areas (1869 vs. 1884).

A total of 47 burials could be assigned to the Middle Period (47 out of 170; 28%) by their location, as they were all within the additional acreage acquired in 1884 (see Table 6-2). Twenty-eight of these 47 burials were associated with thumbscrews, the prime temporal diagnostic of the Middle Period, and so in any case were dateable by other means. Their presence on the 1884 Acreage, however, helped to more firmly establish the general introduction date of thumbscrews at Freedman's Cemetery. While 28 of the 47 Middle Period Burials located on the 1884 Acreage possessed mortuary hardware, the remaining 19 burials were assigned to the Middle Period primarily based on their

occurrence within the 1884 Acreage (11.2%)(see Table 6-2).

Although 47 Middle Period burials were interred within the 1884 Acreage, the bulk of the burials assigned to the Middle Period were located instead on Freedman's First Acre (N=123). This fact did not present a major hurdle in teasing out those select burials, of all those located on the First Acre, that could be assigned to the Middle Period.

As detailed below, the material culture of the majority of Middle Period burials lying on either side of the interface between the 1869 and 1884 Acreage is essentially identical. By applying cross-dating alone, if the Middle Period burials located on the 1884 Acreage have identical mortuary hardware as the burials located solely within the First Acre, then it is likely that the two groups of burials are largely contemporaneous.

Terminus post quem: Thumbscrews

While there were several classes and varieties of mortuary hardware found in association with Middle Period interments (e.g., handles, thumbscrews, plaques, etc.), for dating purposes the best and certainly most ubiquitous time diagnostic is thumbscrews. Other elements of mortuary hardware were at times just as diagnostic (e.g., specific types of coffin handles, plaques), but their presence on burials was less common due to their added expense. Thus in the interest of brevity and clarity, while many types of mortuary hardware were associated with Middle Period interments, in the vast majority of cases only thumbscrews will be stressed here.

A heavy emphasis on thumbscrews as the chief time diagnostic of the Middle Period has two clear advantages. First, thumbscrews are one of the most ubiquitous hardware types recovered from burials of this period. Additionally, as discussed in

Chapter 4, thumbscrews as a form of mortuary hardware were innovative in the 1870s and only achieved dominance in the material culture of 19th century mortuary arts sometime between 1880 and 1890. The mid-point date of 1885 seemed a convenient cut-off for the end of the common usage of coffin screws, and the normative use of thumbscrews.

In the mortuary arts of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were only two basic forms of thumbscrews in use: cylindrical and flat bodied (see Chapter 2). Cylindrical thumbscrews were direct derivations of coffin screws, and indeed many early forms retained such coffin screw elements as the slotted head, at least in their initial appearance in the early 1870s. Later variants retained only the cylindrical motif and were modified to resemble truly representational elements, principally funerary urns.

Of the types of thumbscrews recovered at Freedman's Cemetery, none were of the first generation (i.e., tall and cylindrical, while retaining a slotted head), and only three coffin lid closures were of the immediate second generation of early thumbscrew types (i.e., cylindrical, funerary urn shaped). At the time of their recovery, all three of these lid screw types were classified typologically not as thumbscrews, but rather as caplifters (Caplifter types 8, 29, 54). This assignment was based on our prior knowledge of nineteenth century mortuary hardware styles.

After completing a detailed appraisal of the morphological parameters of mortuary hardware dating from the 1850s to circa 1930 (from catalogues and design patents), it became clear that this initial assignment was in error. Two of the three caplifter types, types 29 and 54, were utilized during the Middle Period and so will be discussed here.

Of the 108 thumbscrew types defined for Freedman's Cemetery as a whole, 26 were associated with Middle Period interments (see Figure 6-2). When the two

thumbscrews erroneously assigned as caplifter types (and dated to the Middle Period) are included, then this number is increased to 28. For the 170 burials assigned to the Middle Period, 125 (73.5%) contained thumbscrews (Table 6-3). This includes the two caplifter types addressed above.

The specific thumbscrew types associated with Middle Period interments are given in Table 6-4 by type number. Some thumbscrew types recovered from Middle Period interments were not exclusively utilized during this period, but rather had intermittent usage into the Late Period (e.g., ts 14, 19). Table 6-4 reflects this and lists each thumbscrew's total frequency of occurrence on the site as a whole, as well as those exclusive for the Middle Period.

Some of these thumbscrew types are patented designs, with patent dates spanning 1874 through 1884 (Table 6-5). Since some forms have designs patented in the mid-1870s and were available for purchase in the late 1870s, burials associated with these thumbscrews had the potential to date prior to 1884, or to the Early Period. However, the hypothesis that thumbscrews would not have been in common usage at Freedman's Cemetery prior to circa 1885 has been established through three lines of evidence.

First, as stated above, the spatial locus for many Middle Period thumbscrew burials was well within the 1884 Acreage (see Table 6-5). Second, the circa 1885 introduction date at Freedman's for thumbscrews (and hence most burials assigned to the Middle Period) is bolstered by their association with several other time diagnostic artifacts, most commonly specific forms of the ubiquitous safety pin (see Table 6-6). As detailed in Chapter 4, some types of late nineteenth century safety pins are highly time diagnostic. Armed with this knowledge, their presence could be utilized to more finely establish and

assign date of interment ranges.

In this case, the best associated temporal indicators are Safety Pin types 1BI and 1BII, both of which share a design patented in 1883, as well as Safety Pin type 4, dated to 1884. These pin types were found in association with Thumbscrews 19, 36, and 37. The refined dating of thumbscrew types 19 and 36, by these associations, are of particular importance, due to their frequency of occurrence. In fact, Thumbscrew type 36 was the most commonly used thumbscrew in the Middle Period (n=30). Although both thumbscrew types were patented in the mid to late 1870s (see Table 6-5), their association with safety pins patented in 1883 serves to illustrate their common use dates not to the 1870s, but rather the mid-1880s or later.

Although many more temporal diagnostic artifacts were associated with Middle Period interments, such as the Lindsey Safety Pin (Freedman's Type 2), patented in 1878 and found with 9 Middle Period interments, only artifacts with the latest dates possible are emphasized in Table 6-6. Thus, although the Lindsey pin is associated with Thumbscrew type 57 on two occasions (Burials 549, 1268), Thumbscrew type 14 on two burials (1168, 1169), as well as Thumbscrew types 60, 62, and 36, these associations are not emphasized, since other dating criteria produce better results.

The third form of temporal control for the Middle Period thumbscrews is derived from 19th century coffin hardware trade catalogues. Table 6-7 displays the earliest known catalogue appearances of all thumbscrew types recovered from Middle Period interments. I must emphasize that this table does not indicate every catalogue appearance known to me from the archival materials consulted (see Table 4-1). Rather, it lists only each thumbscrew's earliest known appearance. These catalogue appearances demonstrate that

many of the thumbscrews associated with Middle Period interments were definitely available from mainstream manufacturers in the early to late 1880s.

Finally, all the known dating aspects of the Middle Period thumbscrews discussed above are combined in a single composite table (Table 6-8). This table includes not only the initial dates of the thumbscrew designs themselves, but also any temporally diagnostic artifacts found in direct association with them, their initial catalogue appearances, and the specific acreage upon which these thumbscrew burials were located.

Even when rare or unique thumbscrew types could not be directly dated by spatial locus, design patent, or associated time diagnostic, it should be remembered that the flat bodied thumbscrew form itself cannot predate circa 1874 (the year William Smith patented the form), and all of the initial design variants up to the late 1870s are known.

At Freedman's Cemetery, regardless of their particular form, thumbscrews as a general class of artifact are demonstrably the best indicators of mid-1880s and later burials.

Terminus Post Quem: Other Diagnostic Mortuary Hardware

Four burials located within the First Acre and assigned to the Middle Period lacked thumbscrews, but did contain other temporally diagnostic coffin hardware elements (4 out of 170; 2.35%). Since these interments were located within the First Acre, their association with specific elements of temporally diagnostic mortuary hardware served as their primary dating criterion. These four additional burials are:

1. **Burial 691-Subadult (Age 0.76 years).** This subadult interment was located within an early row containing both Early and Middle Period burials, and was associated with a diamond shaped foil ornamental tack type (Type 42) (see Figure 5-5 for the basic tack morphology). Although this tack form was available from manufacturers as early as the 1860s (e.g., Russell and Erwin 1865), at Freedman's Cemetery the diamond shaped ornamental tack was not found with any burial assigned to the Early Period (i.e., associated with coffin screws or other early temporal diagnostics). Burial 689, a Middle Period interment located to the immediate north, contained both Thumbscrew type 57 and Ornamental tack type 42— the identical type recovered from this interment.

Additionally, Burial 691's alignment is essentially identical to this demonstrated Middle Period burial (Burial 691: 82 degrees; Burial 689: 79 degrees). For both to exhibit the same alignment within a single row, to be laid together side by side, and for each to share a specific coffin hardware type, all strongly suggest contemporaneity.

2). **Burial 585-Subadult (Age 0.10 years).** As with the previous burial (691), Burial 585 contained a diamond shaped foil tack type (Type 21), and so more than likely did not date to the Early Period. Additionally, this specific tack type was found with another Middle Period interment, Burial 523, which was located nearby this burial and associated with Thumbscrew type 60.

3). **Burial 1158-Subadult (Age 1.66 years).** This subadult was interred in a single hexagonal coffin with vaulting. The only formal coffin hardware recovered were Type 59 escutcheons, found in association with plain iron screws. Escutcheon Type 59 is a struck

up, cuprous foil type, and its design motif was first seen in 1877, within the Crane, Breed & Company catalogue of that year (p. 173). Additional manufacturers offered this type into the twentieth century: 1882 Columbus Coffin Company catalogue (p. 31); 1894 W. D. Wilmarth & Co. catalogue (p. 7); 1896 Chicago Coffin Co. catalogue (p.117); 1905 Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Company catalogue (p. 165).

This escutcheon type was found with eight burials at Freedman's, seven of which were assigned to the Middle Period (this includes Burial 1158). The other six Middle Period interments were all associated with thumbscrews: type 57 (five occurrences), type 60 (one occurrence). The Middle Period burial nearest this interment, Burial 1123, contained this escutcheon type, in addition to Thumbscrew type 57 and Handle type 44.1.

4. **Burial 1307-Adult Female (Age 33.10 years).** This burial consisted of a double coffin complex of two hexagonal boxes. The only formal coffin hardware recovered was five examples of Escutcheon type 15, used in conjunction with simple utilitarian iron screws. Escutcheon type 15 is the paired escutcheon for Thumbscrew type 36, and itself was patented on February 2, 1875, by Russell H. Burr for the company of C. Rogers & Brothers (U.S. Design Patent No. 8,038). This escutcheon type was found with 46 burials at Freedman's, 23 of which were assigned to the Middle Period. Due to its close ties with Thumbscrew type 36, and indeed by sharing a design patent with this thumbscrew, Escutcheon 15 alone is a good temporal diagnostic for the Middle Period.

Terminus post quem: Morphology of Burial Container

While a clear majority of the 170 Middle Period interments were so assigned, based on the presence of thumbscrew types (N=125; 73.5%) or other well defined mortuary hardware forms (N=4; 2.35%), for burials without mortuary hardware, other attributes were sought to serve as possible *terminus post quem*. One already discussed is that of location within the cemetery, with interments present on the 1884 Acreage necessarily dating after 1884 (exclusive of mortuary hardware; N=17, or 10%). Making things more difficult from a dating standpoint, however, is that the majority of Middle Period interments actually were located on Freedman's First Acre.

It was fortunate that most of the previously discussed burials were distinguishable from interments dating to the Early Period due to the presence of temporally sensitive coffin hardware. In the past, however, as now, the utilization of mortuary hardware was based primarily on the bereaved family's ability to pay additional costs. Because of simple economics, burials entirely lacking in mortuary hardware and located within the First Acre still could have been interred after 1885, or indeed at any time up to 1907.

Due to the high probability of some "plain" burials on the First Acre actually representing poorer economic circumstances and not a greater antiquity, it became necessary to establish either a single criterion or a suite of attributes that would allow discrimination between burials dating to the Early Period and those "plain" burials dating to the time encompassed by the Middle Period.

Two critical attributes that typically were both present and observable with every interment, regardless of age or economic circumstances, were the shape of the burial container and the types of nails used in its manufacture. One of these two criteria, nails,

simply could not be used to distinguish between Early and Middle Period interments, as cut nails were *exclusively* utilized until the very late 1890s (or by convention here, circa 1899/1900), so nail type could serve only as a criterion to discriminate between pre-1900 and post-1900 interments.

That left only the shape of the burial container to stand, within the First Acre, as a distinguishing criterion between normative Early Period interments and austere Middle Period interments. As discussed in Chapter 4, the morphology of burial containers changed through time. The primary change is from hexagonal shaped coffins to rectangular (or parallel sided) caskets.

Generally speaking, this change took place nationally some time in the latter half of the nineteenth century, but of course a precise moment cannot be determined, and it is well established that considerable overlap of coffins and caskets occurred in any event. Clearly, when caskets were introduced, coffins were not simply replaced, but rather both types could be used more or less interchangeably for decades.

A factor further limiting the usefulness of coffin morphology as temporal indicator is that with small children or infants, the form of burial container used often was rectangular, regardless of the time period. This phenomenon was observed not only at Freedman's, but is known ethnographically (Wigginton 1973: 313) and observed directly at other historic cemeteries (e.g., Matternes 1998: 178). Hence, it would not be possible to assign the burials of infants or subadults to a particular time period based solely on burial container form.

At Freedman's Cemetery, however, it was observed that of those older subadults and adults located on the First Acre and found in association with coffin screws, *all* were

associated exclusively with hexagonal coffins. This would seem to represent a clear temporal trend. Those remaining burials of adults and older subadults assigned to the Early Period, based on the presence of other early traits such as dummy screws, simple utilitarian screws, spatial locus, orientation and the presence of vaulting, also utilized hexagonal coffins in all cases.

Adult burials interred during the Early Period utilized hexagonal coffins exclusively, though it is unknown when the casket form made its first appearance in Dallas. The earliest use of *the term* “casket” in Dallas, at least implying the use of a rectangular burial container, can be traced to the initial advertisement of Patrick Linskie in 1874 (*Dallas Weekly Herald*: September 12, 1874; see Chapter 3). Therefore, the exclusive use of hexagonal coffins with adults in the Early Period, if not predating the common introduction of the casket form in Dallas, apparently does predate this form's acceptance within Dallas's African-American community. In clear contrast, during the Middle Period rectangular caskets were commonplace with the graves of adults associated with early thumbscrews. Of the 125 Middle Period thumbscrew burials, 81 employed rectangular caskets (64.8%)— a rate virtually identical for the Middle Period as a whole (N=110; 64.7%).

This observation allowed an additional 15 adult burials lacking hardware to be assigned to the Middle Period, with the rationale that while located on the First Acre, the presence of a rectangular casket would serve as a signifier for a Middle Period designation (15 out of 170; 8.8%) (see Table 6-9). Each of these 15 burials had, in part or whole, additional criteria that either bolstered or did not preclude a Middle Period assignment: location within a clear row of predominately Middle Period burials; absence of wire nails

and so probably dating before circa 1900.

Terminus Post Quem: Special circumstances -

Other burials assigned to the Middle Period

Seven burials were assigned to the Middle Period due to special circumstances. All were located within the area of Freedman's First Acre, making it necessary to use criteria specific to each to discriminate between either an Early or Middle Period designation. All had exclusively cut nails, and this circumstance, along with their spatial loci, excluded them from serious consideration for the Late Period. For these 7 burials, the shape of the burial container could not be used as a criteria for assigning dates of interment, as either hexagonal boxes were employed or the interments were subadults.

Four of the 7 interments contained ornamental tacks, all diamond shaped studs composed of struck up, cuprous foil (Burials 585, 587, 655, 683). This basic form of ornamental tack was not found with burials assigned to the Early Period, but were commonplace with thumbscrews, handles, plaques, and other formal mortuary hardware that are considered hallmarks of Middle or Late Period interments.

Some types of cuprous diamond studs (a specific form of ornamental tack) were available for purchase during the time range encompassed by the Early Period (see above). What is being stressed here is that such hardware forms were never recovered in association with those most recognizable formal attributes of the Early Period (e.g., coffin screws, dummy screws, etc.).

Of the four burials assigned to the Middle Period due to their association with *specific* mortuary hardware types, two were so designated by the presence of a cross-date

between specific tack types and other Middle Period interments with known time diagnostics (e.g., thumbscrews). Despite having diamond shaped ornamental tacks, the four burials discussed here were not included within that more assured dating category, because the cross date to known Middle Period interments was lacking in these cases. Rather, the specific ornamental tack types employed with these four burials (587, 655, 683, 1326) are unique. Therefore, there was no basis for a Middle Period designation, beyond the basic form of the tack itself.

These seven burials are the most problematic of all those dated to the Middle Period, as each has at least some potential to date prior to 1885. It was felt that sufficient evidence was present, however, to date them all to the later temporal period, rather than the earlier.

1). **Burial 587-Adult Female.** This interment had a diamond shaped foil ornamental tack type (OT type 37), a form of tack not seen in burials assigned to the Early Period. This ornamental tack type occurs only once at Freedman's Cemetery, with this burial. Additional evidence bolstering a Middle Period assignment is the burial's location within a truncated row containing only three burials, all assigned to the Middle Period. The interment to its immediate north is Burial 645, containing such hardware types as Handle type 5.1 and Thumbscrew type 72, as well as an unknown foil type of ornamental tack. The other Middle Period burial within this short row is 655, assigned to the Middle Period based on the presence of Ornamental Tack type 36, a pressed copper foil type, discussed below.

2). **Burial 655-Subadult (age 0.54 years).** This burial also contained a diamond shaped tack (OT type 36), an ornamental tack type not associated with burials assigned to the Early Period. Additionally, this burial's location is consistent with other Middle Period interments, within the short row alluded to with Burial 587.

3). **Burial 683-Subadult (Age 1.06 years).** As with Burials 587 and 655, this interment had a pressed copper foil, diamond tack type (OT type 41), a form not seen in burials assigned to the Early Period. This interment is somewhat isolated, and as such is only vaguely located within a "row," consisting of only one other burial. This other burial, 671, contained the remains of a subadult, and was assigned to the "Pre-1900" Period due to a complete lack of dating criteria, save for cut nails.

4). **Burial 1326-Subadult (Age 0.00 years).** This burial is surrounded by definitive Middle Period burials (e.g., 1397, 1321) and is located along the boundary between the First Acre and the 1884 Acreage— an area where Early Period interments are rare. Burial 1326's orientation, at 92 degrees, is virtually identical to Burial 1325 (94 degrees), the definite Middle Period burial to its immediate east.

5). **Burial 422-Adult Female (Age 31.00 years); Subadult (Age 0.10 years).** This interment had grave goods consisting, in part, of an earthenware bowl and celluloid hair pin. The beginning date for the use of celluloid in the manufacture of hair combs is 1874, and so it is unlikely that hair pins of celluloid would have been manufactured before

this date (Friedel 1983). The bowl bears the mark of "Charles Meakim, Burslem," an English pottery manufacturer who used this particular mark between 1870 and 1882 (Godden 1964). For both items, a certain lag time is very likely between their manufacture, subsequent purchase, use, and then final disposition in the grave, suggesting a date some years after the *terminus post quem* of 1874, so a Middle Period designation seems warranted. Finally, Burial 422 had an orientation of 86 degrees, similar to the Middle Period interment located within a row to its immediate north (Burial 435; 78 degrees), and dissimilar to the two Early Period interments within its immediate vicinity (e.g., Burial 1290, 53 degrees; Burial 1291, 63 degrees).

6). **Burial 1206-Adult Male? (Age 17.50 years)**. This burial was located within a clear, if short, row of definitive Middle Period interments, immediately between Burial 474 (Handle type 82, Thumbscrew type 36, etc.), and Burial 1210 (Handle type 5.2, Thumbscrew type 96, etc.). Additionally, this individual was interred wearing a suit coat outfitted with several military style brass buttons. These buttons were manufactured by the J. H. Wilson Company, and their particular style dates from 1873 to the early 1900s (Johnson 1948). A certain lag time is inevitable between the manufacture and introduction of these artifacts to the market place, and an additional lag time from their purchase to eventual interment.

7). **Burial 1393-Adult-Male (Age 32.80 years)**. This interment is located within a clear Middle Period row, near the juncture of the First Acre and the 1884 Acreage, where Early Period graves are rare. It also is located between Burials 1303 (containing

the remains of an adult female, interred within a rectangular box) and 1305 (containing an adult male, also in a rectangular casket). The orientation of Burial 1393, at 99 degrees, is very similar to that of these two Middle Period interments (Burial 1303, 97 degrees; Burial 1305, 103 degrees). The orientations of Early Period interments located within this burial's immediate vicinity, however, differ to a greater extent (Burial 1278, 90 degrees; Burial 1279, 75 degrees; Burial 1272, 90 degrees).

**Rationale regarding the Middle Period's end date or
Terminus Ante Quem: three major lines of evidence**

Since the Middle Period dates between 1885 and 1899, and because Freedman's Cemetery was open and received interments up to July 26, 1907, it also was necessary to identify elements within burials that, while present after 1885, would not have been in common use after 1900.

This required establishing one or a number of delimiters, or *terminus ante quem*, that would allow for discrimination between those burials that dated before circa 1900 and therefore could be assigned to the Middle Period, and those burials dating circa 1900 and later and therefore belonged to the Late Period. The reasoning behind the choice of the year, 1899, to serve as the end date for the Middle Period is straightforward and is based on three basic lines of evidence.

First, the nail types utilized in the manufacture of burial receptacles changed from cut to wire. Second, on clearly turn-of-the-century burials, specific mortuary hardware

elements began to exhibit highly redundant spatial patterning. This patterning was correlated with the archival record and the founding of Peoples Undertaking Company in 1900. Finally, the presence of stacked burials revealed those hardware types and other grave attributes that were coeval, and those that were clearly not. This last factor was enormously helpful in making the distinction between Middle and Late Period graves.

Terminus Ante Quem: Wire Nails

The nails utilized in the construction of outer boxes, coffins, and caskets were the most common artifact type recovered archaeologically at Freedman's Cemetery. As detailed in Chapter 4, the types of nails changed rapidly in the late 1890s, with the once ubiquitous square cut nail being supplanted by the wire nail. While cut nails were certainly still in use *after* 1900, it was by circa 1899/1900 that wire nails began to appear in the archaeological record at Freedman's Cemetery and elsewhere.

Nails were critical in my ability to establish chronological controls over the graves at Freedman's Cemetery, and were utilized time and time again as a basic guide for assigning dates of interment, especially where other artifacts were either useless as time diagnostics, or were lacking altogether. I did not, however, slavishly follow a strictly nail derived or controlled chronology, or allow the mere presence or absence of cut or wire nails to dictate a narrow assessment when other factors were available with which to better assess a burial's date of interment.

Such is the case with a few burials that were assigned to the Middle Period, though containing wire nails. Although burials with exclusively cut nails were normative for the

Middle Period, there were 12 interments that contained both cut and wire nails (see Table 6-10). Although wire nails were present with at least some of these 12 interments, it is important to consider that cut nails also were present in every case.

Equally important is that except for Burial 417, all of these burials contain a clear majority of cut nails, and in some cases (e.g., Burial 1141) even the presence of wire nails is extremely tentative.

These 12 burials all contained coffin hardware types that were typical of other pre-1900 interments (e.g., Handles 75, 44.1, 26; Thumbscrews 14, 36, 57, 60, 63). Further, they occurred in rows lying immediately beside other well defined Middle Period burials, that often had identical hardware types, but yet completely lacked wire nails.

Spatially, none of these 12 graves were located along the easternmost portion of the cemetery, where the beginning of the Late Period has been most clearly established, and hence where the bulk of circa 1900 and later graves were placed. Indeed, all 12 of these burials actually lie on the First Acre.

Finally, at least two (and possibly four) of the 12 Middle Period interments found with some wire nails had been impacted by later interments (i.e., a later burial had been stacked atop these two burials). Burial 1276 was impacted by Late Period Burial 1190, while Burial 1328 was impacted by Late Period Burial 1211. Although it is possible that these stacking episodes may have caused mixing of nail types from the later to the earlier interments, the point to be made here is that it is unlikely that these interments, even with the presence of both cut and wire nails, could post date 1900, when a later burial clearly dating to this later time period had been interred directly on top of them.

Depending upon the specific source of coffin or casket manufacturer and the rapidity by which manufacturers shipped out newly constructed boxes, it is possible that a few burial containers interred before 1900 were built using some wire nails. What is clear, however, from the sheer number of examples at Freedman's Cemetery is that wire nails, as a general rule, do not appear prior to circa 1899/1900. In the case of these 12 interments, it seemed warranted to assign each to the Middle Period, giving greater weight to the evidence of their associated mortuary hardware assemblages, and the additional evidence provided by stacking.

I must strongly emphasize, however, that although wire nails may have a common *introduction* date into the archaeological record of circa 1899/1900, this year does not mark the end of cut nails. Rather, cut nails were either present or predominate for three or four years after 1900, and in rarer cases can be found on some of the last burials interred at Freedman's. Burials with exclusively cut nails accounted for 14.7% of all Late Period interments (N=129), and the number of burials found in association with both cut and wire nails amounted to just over half of all Late Period burials (N=450; 51.3%).

How then, was it possible to differentiate between a Middle Period burial with cut nails and a Late Period burial with identical types of nails? While there were many factors at work, it was accomplished primarily by correlating complex burial patterning (both spatial and artifactual) with the phenomena of stacked burials, the archival record, and internal time diagnostics associated with specific burials.

***Terminus Ante quem: Correlation of Mortuary Hardware Patterning with the
Historical Record: The Founding of Peoples Undertaking Company***

Of the correlation with the historical record, which will be addressed in greater detail in Chapter 8, suffice it to say there is an important change in the local source of interments at Freedman's Cemetery after 1900, with the founding of Peoples Undertaking Company, the first Black undertakers in the city. This shift in the predominate undertaker serving the African-American communities of Dallas is clearly reflected both in the death records recorded at City Hall, as well as in the mortuary hardware recovered archaeologically. There is some mortuary hardware patterning to the Middle Period burials, with recognizable sets of hardware slowly changing through time (as detailed below). This patterning, however, is simply not at the same complexity of scale, nor is it expressed in the sheer number of burials as seen during the Late Period.

**Specific forms of mortuary hardware
with demonstrable dating/spatial patterning**

While the presence of specific mortuary hardware often served as *terminus post quem*, many of these same hardware types could serve equally well as *terminus ante quem*. That is, some key types of coffin hardware commonly utilized during the Middle Period were not utilized during the Late Period. This abrupt end can be explained in two ways. First and most importantly, the local source of interments at Freedman's Cemetery radically changed by circa 1900, from two or more Anglo undertakers to a single Black

undertaker performing most of the burials. While there was some continuity of hardware types between pre and post-1900 interments (e.g., Thumbscrew 14), some of the most distinctive Middle Period hardware types, namely Handle type 75 and Thumbscrew types 36, 57, and 63, simply are not seen in the Late Period, save for two isolated Late Period occurrences of Thumbscrew type 36.

Second, the types of coffin hardware offered for sale by mainstream hardware manufacturers and wholesale jobbers were constantly changing. Some of the forms popular during the 1880s and 1890s and recovered from Middle Period interments at Freedman's were in some cases not available from these same jobbers after circa 1900. From archival sources, it was established that many of the predominate thumbscrew types for the Middle Period, such as Thumbscrew 36 and 57, were no longer offered for sale, at least by mainstream manufacturers, after circa 1890. In particular, one example of the temporally restricted range of a key Middle Period hardware type will be given below.

Handle type 75, the most common pre-1900 handle type, is illustrated in three catalogues: the 1880 Zanesville Coffin Company catalogue, the 1881 Paxson, Comfort, & Co catalogue, and the circa 1890 Harrisburg Burial Case Co catalogue. It also may be referenced in the Hawley Brothers catalogue of 1884 and the 1887 Maryland Burial Case Company catalogue (see Table 4-1). However, this form simply does not appear in any of the other catalogues that were used for reference, particularly those circa 1900 and later catalogues, that include some of the most detailed available (e.g., the 1902 St. Louis Coffin Company Catalogue contains 374 pages). Additional temporal and archival data regarding Handle Type 75 is given below.

Terminus ante quem: Superposition/Stacked Burials

As discussed elsewhere, stacking was quite common at Freedman's Cemetery. By the term stacking, I mean instances where the grave shaft for a later interment was positioned and dug down so that it partially or completely superimposed itself over an earlier burial, or at times actually intruded into an earlier grave. The majority of stacking observed at Freedman's Cemetery occurred on the First Acre, most often involving Late Period interments superimposed over burials assigned to the Early or Middle Periods.

Table 6-11 is a summary of those Middle Period interments (and a limited accounting of their attributes) that were found *beneath* a later interment. In all, 38 burials assigned to the Middle Period obviously were positioned beneath later graves. This constitutes roughly one fifth of all Middle Period burials (22.4%). Through a simple application of cross-dating, if one fifth of Middle Period interments necessarily predate circa 1900 due to the presence of stacked Late Period burials atop them, then other Middle Period interments (i.e., burials with like attributes) also probably have similar dates of interment.

Mortuary hardware found with these burials includes some of the most common types associated with the Middle Period: Thumbscrew types include 14, 36, 57, 60, and 63. Two of the stacked Middle Period burials (1147, 1223) were associated with Handle type 75, the significance and temporal range of which will be addressed below.

In contrast, the hardware found with those Late Period burials superimposed above them were all unambiguous circa 1900 and later forms, including such major types as Handles 3, 6, 21, 24, and Thumbscrew types 2, 7, 16, 23, and 27. The initial appearance of all these hardware types is seen in catalogues dating to circa 1900 or later,

with essentially none known in pre-1900 trade catalogues. (A more detailed assessment of this catalogue dating of Late Period hardware will be discussed in Chapter 8).

Up to this point, the discussion of the Middle Period has been a simple dichotomy between formulating first the *terminus post quem*, and then the *terminus ante quem*. Now that the validity of the Middle Period has been established, I will present a brief overview of the spatial and artifactual patterning inherent within this temporal interval. Finally, this chapter will close with a correlation of the local archival record, and some artifact types recovered with Middle Period interments.

Spatial Extent/Patterning of Middle Period burials

Working within the temporal parameters of the Middle Period (as defined by elements that determine both *terminus post quem* and *terminus ante quem*), there is a requisite spatial element inherent and vital to this analysis, and ultimately, to the assured dating of Middle Period interments. While it is obvious that Early Period interments are restricted in their spatial extent (due to the necessity of their location within the First Acre of Freedman's), burials assigned to the Middle Period also are somewhat spatially restricted.

Integral with the basic and easily discernable pattern of burials exhibiting an east/west grave orientation and placement within north/south rows, there was in operation at Freedman's a spatially based *temporal* pattern of cemetery utilization, driving and dictating the general parameters of grave placement. The basic pattern is a west to east

utilization of the cemetery. This pattern can be demonstrated within the Middle Period itself, with some of the earliest burials dating to the Middle Period primarily located within the First Acre. As the interior core of Freedman's began to fill with graves, new rows were established to the east of existing rows. This spatial/temporal trend may best be observed by examining the distribution of four key Middle Period thumbscrews (Types 57, 60, 36, 63).

Thumbscrew type 57 would seem to have been one of the earliest common thumbscrew types utilized by Dallas undertakers in the 1880s and early 1890s. Its spatial distribution is confined solely to the First Acre, with none on the 1884 Acreage. Figure 6-3 displays (in red) the distribution of burials containing Thumbscrew Type 57. On this same map, all Early Period burials are mapped in blue. Spatially, there would seem to be a clear continuity between the Early Period interments and those Middle Period graves containing Thumbscrew 57, with the early thumbscrew burials more often than not extending, to the north, those rows already defined by Early Period graves.

Temporally, the next major thumbscrew type defined for the Middle Period (in use during and after Thumbscrew type 57) is Type 60. Figure 6-4 maps the distribution of Middle Period interments with Thumbscrew 60 (in red), as well as the previously discussed Thumbscrew 57's distribution (marked in blue).

The spatial distribution of Thumbscrew type 60 is on the whole quite similar to Thumbscrew 57, with the extension of rows that had previously been defined by Early Period burials. Indeed, the two types were at least somewhat contemporaneous, since Burial 549 contained both. One important distinction, however, can be made in regard to the spatial distribution of Thumbscrew type 60, not seen with Thumbscrew 57. Several

burials with Thumbscrew type 60 were clustered at the juncture marking the boundary of the First Acre and 1884 Acreage, and in fact burials with Type 60 actually lie within two rows that cross the division between the two tracts of land. This is clear evidence that during the time interval of Thumbscrew 60's utilization, burials began to be commonly interred within the 1884 Acreage. As can be seen, although burials with Thumbscrew type 60 are widely distributed, there is a far greater concentration of burials to the east.

After Thumbscrew type 60, temporally the next major Middle Period Thumbscrew is type 36. Burials with this thumbscrew are displayed in red on Figure 6-5, while Thumbscrew 60's distribution is given in blue. Thumbscrew type 36 appears to be the "direct descendant" of Thumbscrew type 60, as there is an entire row of burials containing this type immediately to the east of the two small rows composed of burials associated with Thumbscrew 60. The eastern extent of Thumbscrew type 36 is greater than all of the previously discussed Middle Period thumbscrew types, and indeed, a single outlier—dated to the Late Period—is present on the area once encompassed by the southbound Frontage Road (Burial 123).

The final major thumbscrew type known for the Middle Period is type 63. Figure 6-6 displays the spatial distribution of interments associated with type 63, rendered in red, with the previously discussed Thumbscrew type 36 mapped in blue. Thumbscrew 63 is similar to Thumbscrew type 36 in its eastern distribution, but is dissimilar in its western distribution, suggesting that by the late 1890s, fewer and fewer new graves were dug on the First Acre. Rather, most new interments were laid to rest on the 1884 Acreage within the newly formed rows to the east.

In part as demonstrated from these selected thumbscrew types, the spatial extent

of exhumed Middle Period interments is actually somewhat restricted. It combines the excavated portions of the First Acre with the excavated northern portion of the 1884 Acreage— in all, an area essentially encompassing that part of the cemetery once covered by Lemmon Avenue.

As discussed in Chapter 8, there is a seamless continuity between the placement of Middle and Late Period graves. The earliest of the exhumed Late Period interments were located along the northeastern most portion of Lemmon Avenue, while later Late Period graves continued in newly formed rows down the entire eastern extent of the cemetery, within that portion of the site once covered by the South bound frontage road of Central Expressway.

Correlation of Attributes of the Middle Period with The Archival Record:

The Ed C. Smith's Day Book No. 3 (January 1887 through July 1888)

As detailed in Chapter 3, one of the most prominent undertakers in Dallas was Ed C. Smith. While the Ed C. Smith Funeral Home no longer exists, a major portion of this firm's ledgers, day books, and other funeral records were donated to the Genealogy Department of the Dallas Public Library.

Of the materials in the Ed C. Smith collection, one of the more valuable is the firm's Day Book that spans the interval of January 1887 through July 1888, known here as Day Book No. 3. While the earliest extant day book (Day Book No. 1) dates to August 1883, it is Day Book No. 3 that is of greatest utility. It is only within this book and the

single year 1887 that the everyday purchases of mortuary hardware from the Louisville Coffin Company are listed in the minutest detail.

It truly is an amazing record, for within a portion of these three hundred pages, the day-to-day coffin hardware purchases made by Smith from the Louisville Coffin Company are noted in the following ways: by the specific type of hardware (e.g., handle, thumbscrew, etc.); by catalogue number (which often equates to mold numbers, embossed on the backs of handles, plaques, escutcheons, and other hardware types); by the quantity purchased; and finally by the price paid for each item.

From the contents of Day Book No. 3, it can be established that by 1888, Ed C. Smith was no longer purchasing white metal coffin screws, but rather had fully switched over to the exclusive use of thumbscrews. This is a vital piece of information, for it confirms that the trend of coffin hardware utilization observed nationally, as documented through coffin hardware catalogues and design patents, was also true locally for Dallas.

With this wealth of detail, it was possible to actually match some hardware types present within the archival record to examples from exhumed burials. That is, elements of coffin hardware purchased by Ed C. Smith in 1887 were in some cases identical to hardware recovered from Freedman's Cemetery and dating to the Middle Period, resulting in a true correlation of the archaeological with the archival record, and an important confirmation of the dating schema.

The primary examples of this correlation are Freedman's Handle types 75, 44, and 44.1— types almost exclusively associated with the Middle Period. In fact, type 75 is the most common handle utilized at Freedman's Cemetery prior to 1900, occurring on a total of 25 burials. All three handles (75, 44, 44.1) are double lug swingbail types, and they

share an identical design motif. That is, they are the same handle in appearance, differing only in size. The largest handle is type 75, the intermediate size is Handle type 44, while the smallest of the handles is 44.1.

The use of a single handle design employing several varying sizes (typically three), was quite common in the late nineteenth century. The rationale was one combining a frugality of design with the greatest range of variety through size. The largest of the handles would be utilized with adults, the medium sized handles would serve for adolescents or older subadults, while the smallest of the handles would be used on the coffins of small children or infants.

An especially critical element in my ability to identify these handles as types purchased by Ed C. Smith are the presence of mold numbers; each of these three handle types was embossed with a small number on the backs of their lugs and bails. This number is a mold identification number placed there by the manufacturer through the initial casting process (i.e., the number was itself integral within the mold). This number allowed the identification of a particular handle in warehousing, shipping, and other aspects of inventory control.

The mold number often served double duty, becoming the catalogue number for the handle when advertised within the pages of wholesale catalogues. With these three handle types, the numbers are arranged in a series; Handle type 75 has a mold identification number of "1210," Handle type 44 is marked with the number "1206," while the smallest of these handles, 44.1, is marked with the number "1204."

The same numbers that appear as mold identification numbers on the backs of these three handles, also appear within the Ed. C. Smith Day Book No. 3, as catalogue

numbers (see Figure 6-7). Beginning on Friday, January 14, 1887, "½ doz. No. 1210 Handles \$1.12" were purchased. Number 1210 handles continued to be purchased throughout the Day Book at the price of \$1.12 (or occasionally \$1.13) per half dozen. Handles identified with the catalogue numbers of "1206" and "1204" also were purchased by Smith. The No. 1206 handles had a wholesale cost of \$1.00 per half dozen, while a half dozen of the No. 1204 handles cost a mere 87 cents.

The three handles recovered archaeologically at Freedman's Cemetery varied in size alone, with the largest labeled with the mold number 1210 and the smallest marked with the number 1204. This size gradation perfectly matches the gradation in the cost of the handles purchased by Smith in 1887. While no extant copies of catalogues for the Louisville Coffin Company, the source of Smith's hardware, have been located, it can be established through other catalogues that this correlation is likely a correct one.

Handle Types 75, 44, and 44.1 are exactly illustrated in two of the catalogues utilized in this study (see Table 4-1): the Harrisburg Burial Case Company catalogue (circa 1890), and the 1881 Paxson, Comfort & Company catalogue. Importantly, for each of these catalogues, the same catalogue/mold numbers are given in the same incremental sizes; # 1210, # 1206, # 1204 (see figure 6-8).

Additionally, pricing information is given in the Paxson, Comfort & Company catalogue; Freedman's Handle type 75 (their handle "1210"), had a wholesale cost of \$2.00 for one dozen pairs, Handle type 44 (#1206) cost \$1.75, while Handle type 44.1 (#1204) cost only \$1.50 per dozen pairs.

In the price list for the Maryland Burial Case Company catalogue of 1887, what would appear to be the same handles are being offered for sale:

1204	Price per dozen pair	\$2.25
1206	Price per dozen pair	\$2.50
1210	Price per dozen pair	\$2.75

The prices vary somewhat from catalogue to catalogue, probably due to variabilities in metal costs, inflation, and geography, but the catalogue costs for these handles are very similar to the Day Book's prices when one considers that Smith is buying only a half dozen handles per order, not a whole dozen (as sold in the catalogues).

Another probable match between an excavated hardware type and examples noted in Smith's Day Book No. 3 can be found with Freedman's Handle type 26. This handle is a single lug swingbail, specifically designed for use with the coffins of young children. It is quite small and employs a lamb/sunburst design motif on its lug. This handle was found with both Middle (N=6) and Late period interments (N=7).

Handle type 26 has a mold number of "260," and a very similar handle is illustrated in the Sargent & Company catalogues of 1871 and 1874 with this same number, "260," serving as a catalogue number. A handle with this same catalogue number also is present throughout Smith's Day Book No. 3, where the typical entry would read "½ dozen # 260 Handles \$.75."

Since Handle type 26 is smaller than Handle Type 44.1 (the most diminutive of the double lug swingbails discussed above), and this larger child's handle was being purchased by Smith for 88 cents per half dozen, the further reduced price of 75 cents noted for

Handle #260 would logically correspond, strongly suggesting a match between the archival and archaeological records.

**Table 6-1: Criteria Utilized in Establishment of *Terminus Post Quem*,
for Burials assigned to the Middle Period (1885-1899)**

Predominate Time Diagnostic or Trait	Total # of Burials	%	Location in Cemetery	
			1st Acre	1884 Acreage
Presence of "early" Thumb-screw types	125	73.5	97	28
Presence of Other Diagnostic Mortuary Hardware	4	2.4	4	
Presence of Burial on 1884 Acreage	19	11.2		19
On 1st Acre, Presence of Rectangular Box with Adult Burials on 1st Acre, with Special Circumstances	15	8.8	15	
	7	4.1	7	
Total Number of Middle Period Interments	170	100%	123	47

**Table 6-2: Terminus Post Quem/Spatial Locus:
All Middle Period Burials located on 1884 Acreage (N=47)**

Burials Associated with Thumbscrews (N=28)											
#	Burial #	Description	Age	1884 Acreage	Coffin hardware	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail
1	374	subadult	0.5	y	y		63	foil	rect	rect	c
2	1353	subadult	0.22	y	y		63	102	hex	hex	c
3	1354	subadult	0	y	y		60	foil	rect	rect	c
4	1357	subadult	0.34	y	y	169	60	98	rect	rect	c
5	1359	subadult	0.23	y	y		36		vault	hex	c
6	1361	adult M	41.25	y	y	74	36		rect	rect	c
7	1364	adult M	43.3	y	y	75	63	60	vault	rect	c
8	1367	adult M?	29.5	y	y	75	36	foil	rect	rect	c
9	1369	subadult	0.12	y	y		60	97	vault	rect	c
10	1370	subadult	0.77	y	y	26	36	15		hex	c
11	1371	subadult	0.2	y	y	26	36	15	rect	rect	c
12	1373	subadult	0.3	y	y		106	47		rect	c
13	1381	subadult	3.8	y	y	44.1	19	60	rect	rect	c
14	1382	subadult	1.4	y	y		105	60		rect	c
15	1401	adult F	31.3	y	y	82	49	47	hex	hex	c
16	1405	adult M?	30.35	y	y	75	63	32	hex	hex	c
17	1406	empty casket (adult)	96	y	y		c54	38		hex	c
18	1410	adult I	97	y	y	74	63	60	vault	rect	c
19	1420	adult F	40.2	y	y	75	63	32	hex?	hex?	c
20	1427	subadult	0.3	y	y		14	foil	rect	?	c
21	1433	adult F?	37.1	y	y		107	60	vault	hex	c
22	1452	adult F	49.5	y	y	82	36	15	hex	hex	c
23	1455	subadult	0.45	y	y		36	foil	rect	rect?	c
24	1464	adult I	99	y	y	75	19	60	rect?	?	c
25	1467	subadult	0	y	y		63	60	rect	rect?	c
26	1469	subadult	0.1	y	y		36	15	rect	rect	c
27	1471	adult F?	38.8	y	y	75	36	15		hex	c
28	1494	adult F	32.7	y	y		36	102	hex?	hex	c

Burials Not Associated with Thumbscrews (N=19)											
#	Burial #	Description	Age	1884 Acreage	Coffin hardware	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail
1	373	subadult	80	y						?	c
2	1355	adult I	98	y			is			rect	c
3	1356	subadult	0.45	y						rect	
4	1358	subadult	1.8	y						rect	c
5	1372	subadult	0.45	y						hex	c
6	1411	subadult	0.18	y			is			rect	c
7	1416	subadult	0.25	y					rect	hex	c
8	1419	subadult	0.1	y						rect	c
9	1421	subadult	0.49	y					vault	rect	c
10	1426	subadult	0	y						rect	c
11	1435	subadult	0.1	y					vault?	hex	c
12	1436	subadult (female)	0.65	y			is		rect	hex	c
13	1438	subadult	0.15	y						rect	c
14	1440	subadult	0.19	y						hex?	c
15	1441	subadult	0	y						rect	c
16	1445	subadult	0	y						?	c
17	1448	subadult	0	y						rect	c
18	1408	adult I	99	y	y	75			?	?	c
19	1439	Adult IM	99	y	y	149				hex	c

Table 6-3: Middle Period Burials assigned due to presence of Thumbscrews (N=125)

Burial #	Description	Age	First Acre (1869)	1884 Acreage	Handle	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrews assoc with VW	Escutcheon	Nail
374	subadult	0.50		y		rect	rect	63		foil	c
377	adult F?	40.42	y		75	hex	hex	19		32	c
378	subadult	0.00	y			rect	rect	62		61	c
387	adult IM	36.90	y		74	rect?	rect	63		60	c
392	subadult (female)	5.23	y		53	rect	rect	57		59	c
394	subadult (female)	9.90	y		44	rect	rect	57		59	c
407	subadult	1.54	y		44	rect	rect	63		60	c
417	adult F	26.90	y		75	rect	rect	36		15	c/w
474	adult M?	34.00	y		82	rect	rect	36	64	15	c
506	adult IF	44.40	y		75	hex	hex	14		47	c
523	adult M	35.30	y				hex	60		foil	c
526	subadult	2.50	y			rect	rect	14		foil	c
537	adult IF	51.60	y		75	hex	hex	14		47	c
549	subadult (female)	0.70	y		90; 91	vault	hex	57	60	73	c
551	subadult	2.70	y		89		hex	72		71	c
565	subadult (female)	4.76	y		151	rect	rect	36		15	c
573	subadult	1.24	y		44.1	rect	rect	60		foil	c
608	subadult	1.83	y		83	rect	hex	37		15	c
618	subadult	0.25	y				rect	36			c
630	subadult	0.38	y				rect	67; 68		67	c
631	subadult	0.40	y			vault	rect	67		67	c/w?
634	subadult	2.82	y				rect	c29			c
645	adult F	33.80	y		5.1	rect	hex?	72		71	c
651	subadult	2.10	y			rect	rect	36			c
656	subadult	0.18	y			rect	rect	73		foil	c
689	subadult	0.21	y			rect	rect	57		75	c
708	subadult	0.49	y			rect	rect	57		76	c
744	subadult	0.60	y		92	rect	rect	36		foil	c
771	subadult	0.54	y		98	rect	rect	19		32	c
786	subadult (female)	2.30	y			vault	rect	36		foil	c
1026	adult F	35.50	y		134	rect	rect	72		71	c
1030	adult F	39.50	y		53	vault	hex	57		73	c
1034	adult M?	35.40	y			rect	rect	36		15	c/w
1043	subadult	0.12	y			rect	rect	36; 89	89	foil	c
1049	adult I	50.70	y		140	rect	rect	57		76	c
1050	adult F?	35.50	y		75	rect	rect	60		90	c/w
1063	adult IM	33.00	y		143	rect	rect	40.1		92	c
1066	adult F?	52.00	y		53	rect	hex	57		59	c
1105	adult F?	38.20	y		149	hex	hex	36		15	c
1123	subadult	1.48	y		44.1	vault	rect	57		59	c
1131	subadult	0.50	y		51.2	rect	rect	14		12	c
1132	adult M	38.10	y			hex	hex	19		32	c
1136	subadult (female)	12.50	y		75	rect	rect	19			c

Table 6-3: (Continued)

Burial #	Description	Age	First Acre (1869)	1864 Acreage	Handle	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrews assoc with VW	Escutcheon	Nail
1138	adult M?	56.60	y		75		hex	36		15	c
1141	adult M	40.00	y		75	rect?	rect?	63		15	c/w?
1147	adult M?	44.10	y		75	rect	rect	19		60	c
1157	adult M	44.50	y			hex	hex	36		15	c
1159	subadult	0.98	y				hex	63			c
1165	adult M	48.10	y			hex	hex	19		32	c/w?
1168	subadult (female)	1.65	y		45	rect	rect	14		47	c/w
1169	subadult (female)	1.06	y				rect	14			c
1171	adult M?	41.50	y		149	rect	rect	95		96	c
1174	adult F	30.00	y		75	hex	hex	36		15	c
1183	subadult	2.07	y		158	rect	rect	45		44	c
1191	subadult	2.27	y		45	rect	hex	36		15	c
1195	subadult (female)	1.92	y			vault	rect	60		foil	c
1208	subadult	0.00	y			rect	rect	36		47	c
1210	subadult	1.06	y		5.2	rect	rect	96	60	97	c
1216	subadult	0.58	y			rect	rect	57		105	c
1223	adult M	42.40	y		75	hex	hex	36		15	c
1225	adult F	35.80	y		82	hex	hex	19		32	c
1227	adult F	30.70	y		155	rect	rect	19		32	c/w?
1230	subadult	0.12	y			rect	hex	36	62	15; 47	c
1242	adult I	99.00	y			?	?	96		106	c
1252	adult F?	29.20	y		75	rect	rect	60		foil	c
1253	subadult	0.93	y		157	rect	rect	57		76	c
1254	subadult (female)	11.40	y		160	rect	rect	68; 68.1		100	c
1268	adult M	31.60	y		53	rect	rect?	57		73	c
1276	subadult	2.13	y		44.1	rect	rect	60	62	98	c/w
1286	subadult	3.43	y		162	rect	hex	36		15	c
1287	adult IM	23.80	y		164; 165	rect	rect	67		67	c
1292	adult F	30.90	y		154	vault	hex	57		73	c
1295	subadult	0.10	y		26	rect	hex	19		32	c
1318	adult M?	50.20	y		75	hex	hex	63		15	c
1319	adult I	15.00	y			vault?	rect	57			c/w
1320	subadult	0.68	y			vault	rect	103		foil	
1321	adult F?	31.60	y		75	rect	rect	49			c
1324	adult M?	37.30	y		75	rect?	rect?	63	62	15	c
1325	adult F?	27.20	y		75		rect	36		102	c
1328	adult M	40.10	y		53	rect	rect	97		foil	c/w?
1332	subadult	0.12	y				rect	62		102?	c
1333	subadult	0.00	y			vault	rect	62		foil	c
1334	subadult	1.13	y			rect	?	97			c
1336	subadult	0.10	y		167	rect	rect	102		97	c
1338	subadult	0.94	y		26	rect	hex	36		108	c
1339	subadult	1.20	y		26	rect	?	60		102?	c

Table 6-3: (Continued)

Burial #	Description	Age at Death	First Acre (1869)	1884 Acreage	Handle	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrews assoc with WW	Escutcheon	Nail
1342	adult M?	33.90	y		75	rect	rect	60		foil	c
1346	subadult	1.38	y		26	rect	hex	14		15	c/w?
1347	subadult	11.08	y		170	vault	rect	60		foil	c
1348	subadult	0.15	y		169	rect	rect	60	62	98	c
1349	adult I	29.50	y		75	rect	rect	60		foil	c
1352	adult IM	98.00	y		170	rect	rect	60		foil	c
1353	subadult	0.22		y		hex	hex	63		102	c
1354	subadult	0.00		y		rect	rect	60		foil	c
1357	subadult	0.34		y	169	rect	rect	60		98	c
1359	subadult	0.23		y		vault	hex	36			c
1361	adult M	41.25		y	74	rect	rect	36			c
1364	adult M	43.30		y	75	vault	rect	63		60	c
1367	adult M?	29.50		y	75	rect	rect	36		foil	c
1369	subadult	0.12		y		vault	rect	60		97	c
1370	subadult	0.77		y	26		hex	36		15	c
1371	subadult	0.20		y	26	rect	rect	36		15	c
1373	subadult	0.30		y			rect	106		47	c
1376	adult M?	39.30	y			rect	rect	57; 67		67; 71	c
1378	adult F?	25.60	y			vault	hex	97		foil	c
1381	subadult	3.80		y	44.1	rect	rect	19		60	c
1382	subadult	1.40		y			rect	105		60	c
1397	adult F?	18.50	y		5.1	vault	rect?	73			c
1400	subadult (female)	0.80	y		168	rect	rect	60			c
1401	adult F	31.30		y	82	hex	hex	49	62	47	c
1403	subadult	0.53	y		136.1	rect	rect	60		59	c
1405	adult M?	30.35		y	75	hex	hex	63		32	c
1406	empty casket (adult)	96.00		y			hex	c54		38	c
1410	adult I	97.00		y	74	vault	rect	63		60	c
1420	adult F	40.20		y	75	hex?	hex?	63		32	c
1427	subadult	0.30		y		rect	?	14		foil	c
1433	adult F?	37.10		y		vault	hex	107		60	c
1452	adult F	49.50		y	82	hex	hex	36		15	c
1455	subadult	0.45		y		rect	rect?	36		foil	c
1464	adult I	99.00		y	75	rect?	?	19		60	c
1467	subadult	0.00		y		rect	rect?	63		60	c
1469	subadult	0.10		y		rect	rect	36		15	c
1471	adult F?	38.80		y	75		hex	36		15	c
1494	adult F	32.70		y		hex?	hex	36		102	c
1513	adult IM	14.50	y		177	rect	rect?	57		59	c

Table 6-4: Thumbscrews Associated with the Middle Period (N=28)*

Thumbscrew Type	Total # associated with burials	# associated with Middle Period Burials
14	66	8
19	24	11
36	32	30
37	3	1
40.1	5	1
45	3	1
49	9	2
57	16	16
60	22	19
62	8	8
63	13	13
64	3	1
67	4	4
68	2	2
68.1	1	1
72	3	3
73	2	2
89	1	1
95	1	1
96	2	2
97	3	3
102	1	1
103	1	1
105	1	1
106	1	1
107	1	1
caplifter 29	1	1
caplifter 54	2	2

**(This number includes two caplifter types)*

Table 6-5: Thumbscrews with Design Patents

Type	Thumbscrew Types Associated with the Middle Period (N=28)*			Thumbscrew Patent Date	Inventor	Design Patent No.
	# associated with Middle Period	# of Burials located on 1884 Acreage				
14	8	1		Sept. 17, 1878	J. W. Rogers	10,834
19	11	3		April 16, 1878	C. B. Rogers & J. S. Huggins	10,631
36	30	10		Feb 2, 1875	R. H. Burr	8,038
37	1	0				
40.1	1	0		June 3, 1884	W. M. Smith	15,044
45	1	0				
49	2	1		June 3, 1884	W. M. Smith	15,044
57	16	0				
60	19	3				
62	8	1				
63	13	7				
64	1	0				
67	4	0				
68	2	0		Oct 13, 1874	W. M. Smith	7,797
68.1	1	0		Oct 13, 1874	W. M. Smith	7,797
72	3	0		Oct 13, 1874	W. M. Smith	7,797
73	2	0				
89	1	0				
95	1	0		Oct 13, 1874?	W. M. Smith	7,797
96	2	0		Sept 17, 1878	J. W. Rogers	10,834
97	3	0				
102	1	0				
103	1	0				
105	1	1		March 18, 1879	W. M. Smith	11,077
106	1	1				
107	1	1				
Caplifter 29	1	0				
Caplifter 54	2	2				

*(Note: this count includes the two caplifters)

Table 6-6: Terminus post quem of Selected Artifacts Associated with Middle Period Thumbcrew Burials

Thumbcrew Types Associated with the Middle Period (N=28)*			Associated Artifact Terminus Post Quem
Thumbcrew Type	# associated with Middle Period	# of Burials on 1884 Average	
14	8	1	Associated Temporal Diagnostic
19	11	3	
36	30	10	safety pin 1B (burials 1131, 1346) safety pin 1B (burial 771)
37	1	0	
40.1	1	0	safety pins 1B (burial 1191), 1B (burials 618, 1370); 1B (burial 1191) safety pin type 4 (burial 808)
45	1	0	safety pin type 3 (burial 1183)
49	2	1	
57	16	0	pipe stem cuff button (burial 1049)
60	19	3	separable plaques: types 67, 70, 86, 88, 89 (burials 1050, 1252, 1352, 1357, 1342, 1347)
62	8	1	Caplifter Base type 11 (burial 1324)
63	13	7	
64	1	0	
67	4	0	
68	2	0	
68.1	1	0	
72	3	0	
73	2	0	
89	1	0	
95	1	0	separable plaque type 70 (burial 1171)
96	2	0	
97	3	0	
102	1	0	separable plaque type 86 (burial 1336)
103	1	0	
105	1	1	
106	1	1	
107	1	1	
Caplifter 29	1	0	
Caplifter 54	2	2	

*(Note: this count includes the two caplifters)

Table 6-7: Earliest Known Catalogue appearance of Thumb screws Associated with Middle Period

Thumb screw Types Associated with the Middle Period (N=28)*					
Thumb screw Type	# associated with Middle Period	# of Burials located on 1884 Acreage	Date of Earliest Known Catalogue Appearance	Company	
14	8	1	1883	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
19	11	3			
36	30	10	1881	Paxson, Comfort & Co	
37	1	0			
40.1	1	0			
45	1	0			
49	2	1			
57	16	0	1877	Crane, Breed, & Co	
60	19	3	1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
62	8	1	1882	Columbus Coffin Co	
63	13	7	1880	Harrisburg Burial Case Co	
64	1	0			
67	4	0	1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
68	2	0	1879	H. E. Taylor & Co	
68.1	1	0	1879	H. E. Taylor & Co	
72	3	0	1877	Crane, Breed & Co	
73	2	0	1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
89	1	0	1884	Hawley Brothers	
95	1	0	1884	Hawley Brothers	
96	2	0	1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
97	3	0	1882	Cincinnati Coffin Co	
102	1	0			
103	1	0	1884	Hawley Brothers	
105	1	1	1880	Wm Sauter	
106	1	1	1877	Crane, Breed, & Co	
107	1	1			
Caplifter 29	1	0			
Caplifter 54	2	2			

*(Note: this count includes the two caplifters)

Table 6-8: Summary Dating for Thumbscrews associated with the Middle Period

Type	Thumbscrew Types Associated with the Middle Period (N=28)*		Thumbscrew Patent Date	Associated Artifact <i>Terminus Post Quem</i>	Catalogue Introduction Date
	# associated with Middle Period	# of Burials located on 1884 Acreage			
14	8	1	1878	1883	1883
19	11	3	1878	1883	
36	30	10	1875	1883	1881
37	1	0		1884	
40.1	1	0	1884		
45	1	0		1877	
49	2	1	1884		
57	16	0		1890	1877
60	19	3		1879	1882
62	8	1		1880	1882
63	13	7			1885
64	1	0			
67	4	0			1882
68	2	0	1874		1879
68.1	1	0	1874		1879
72	3	0	1874		1877
73	2	0			1882
89	1	0			1884
95	1	0	1874?	1879	1884
96	2	0	1878		1882
97	3	0			1882
102	1	0		1879	
103	1	0			1884
105	1	1	1879		1880
106	1	1			1877
107	1	1			
Caplifter 29	1	0			
Caplifter 54	2	2			

*(Note: this count includes the two caplifters)

Table 6-9: Burials on First Acre assigned to the Middle Period, due to rectangular casket (N=15).

Burial #	Description	Age	First Acre	1884 Acreage	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbscrew	Nail
375	adult M?	99.00	y			rect		c
389	adult M?	99.00	y			rect		c
425	subadult	7.45	y			rect		c
498	adult M?	17.00	y			rect		c
545	adult M	35.30	y			rect		c
603	adult M?	48.70	y			rect		c
616	adult F	39.80	y			rect		c
650	adult F	98.00	y			rect		c
657	adult M?	37.50	y			rect		c
658	adult I	43.90	y			rect		c
659	adult M	26.60	y			rect		c
1025	adult IM	25.50	y			rect		c
1303	adult F?	33.90	y			rect		c
1305	adult M?	36.60	y			rect		c
1350	adult AF	98.00	y			rect	is	c

Table 6-10: all Middle Period Burials associated with Wire Nails or possible Wire Nails (N=12)

Burial #	Description	Age	Stacking*	First Acre	1884 Acreage		Handle	Thumbcrew	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail	Summary of Associated Nail Types			
												Total # of Cut Nails (includes fragments)	# of Cut Nail Heads	Total # of Wire Nails (includes fragments)	# of Wire Nail Heads
417	adult F	26.9		Y			75	36	rect	rect	c/w	16	3	42	2
631	subadult	0.4		Y				67	vault	rect	c/w?	58	25	3 fragments?	0
1034	adult M?	35.4		Y				36	rect	rect	c/w	31	18	11	6
1050	adult F?	35.5		Y			75	60	rect	rect	c/w	6	2	2	2
1141	adult M	40	possible impact by Burial 460	Y			75	63	rect?	rect?	c/w?	14	11	1 fragment?	0
1165	adult M	48.1		Y				19	hex	hex	c/w?	55	42	6 fragments	1
1168	subadult	1.65		Y			45	14	rect	rect	c/w	12	9	10	4
1227	adult F	30.7	possible impact by Burial 1224	Y			155	19	rect	rect	c/w?	27	23	4	3
1276	subadult	2.13	impacted by Burial 1190	Y			44.1	60	rect	rect	c/w	40	34	2	2
1319	adult I	15		Y				57	vault?	rect	c/w	24	5	3	3
1328	adult M	40.1	impacted by Burial 1211	Y			53	97	rect	rect	c/w?	27	9	3	2
1346	subadult	1.38		Y			26	14	rect	hex	c/w?	53	30	5	1

* (all burials found above these Middle Period graves date to the Late Period)

Table 6-11: Middle Period Interments Below Late Period Burials (N=38)

Middle Period Interments (N=38)								The Late Period Burials Interred Above them								
#	Burials	Description	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Burials	Description	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type
1	498	adult M?					rect	c	497	adult F					hex	w
2	526	subadult		14	foil	rect	rect	c	709	empty box					hex	c/w
3	597	adult F		is	foil	vault	hex	c	584	adult F					hex	w
4	616	adult F					rect	c	470	adult M?	3	13	13	vault	rect	w
5	645	adult F	5.1	72	71	rect	hex?	c	653	adult IM					hex	c/w
6	650	adult F					rect	c	663	adult M					hex	w
									598	adult M	21	23	18	hex	hex	w
7	651	subadult		36		rect	rect	c	428	adult IF	24	16	21	rect	rect	w
8	657	adult M?					rect	c	600	adult M					hex	w
9	658	adult I					rect	c	519	adult M					hex	w
10	683	subadult					hex	c	553	adult F?	24	16	13	rect	rect	c/w
11	689	subadult		57	75	rect	rect	c	680	adult M					hex	w
12	691	subadult				rect	rect	c	593	subadult		69	68		rect	w
13	744	subadult	92	36	foil	rect	rect	c	556	adult F					hex	w
14	786	subadult		36	foil	vault	rect	c	710	adult M					hex	w
15	1030	adult F	53	57	73	vault	hex	c	1029	adult M		26	46	hex	hex	c/w
16	1147	adult M?	75	19	60	rect	rect	c	1134	adult M					rect	w
17	1157	adult M		36	15	hex	hex	c	1111	subadult	p42	94	95	rect	rect	w
									1135	empty box	8	7	3	rect	rect	w
18	1191	subadult	45	36	15	rect	hex	c	1163	adult F	6	7	3	rect	rect	w
19	1195	subadult		60	foil	vault	rect	c	1196	adult F	2	27	21	rect	rect	w
20	1206	adult IM					hex	c	1151	adult F?	36	19; 29	23; 32	rect	rect	w
21	1223	adult M	75	36	15	hex	hex	c	1222	adult F?	6; 38	26	20	rect	rect	w/c?
22	1230	subadult		36	15; 47	rect	hex	c	1133	adult F?	6	7	3	rect	rect	w
23	1276	subadult	44.1	60	98	rect	rect	c/w	1190	adult F?	24	16	21	rect	rect	c/w
24	1292	adult F	154	57	73	vault	hex	c	1192	adult F?	18	27	21	rect	hex	w
									1193	adult F	24	27	21	rect	rect	w
25	1305	adult M?					rect	c	1409	subadult	32	25	27	rect	rect	c/w
26	1307	adult F?		is	15	hex	hex	c	1306	empty box	21	104	107	rect	rect	c/w
27	1320	subadult		103	foil	vault	rect		1323	empty box	6	2	3	rect	rect	w
28	1328	adult M	53	97	foil	rect	rect	c/w?	1211	adult I	16	16	3	rect	rect	w/c?
29	1353	subadult		63	102	hex	hex	c	1366	adult M		2	6	rect	rect	w
30	1376	adult M?		57; 67	67; 71	rect	rect	c	1217	adult M?	24	27	21	rect	rect	w
31	1393	adult M?					hex	c	1351	subadult	35	25	27	rect	rect	c/w
32	1397	adult F?	5.1	73		vault	rect?	c	1392	empty box	21	104	107	rect	rect	c?
33	1403	subadult	136.1	60	59	rect	rect	c	1346	adult M	18	27	21		rect?	?
34	1408	adult I	75				?	c	1407	adult M?	16	51	6	rect	hex?	c/w
35	1411	subadult		is			rect	c	1412	adult M?	8	7	3	rect	rect	w
36	1433	adult F?		107	60	vault	hex	c	1432	adult M	3	2	6	rect	rect	w
37	1471	adult F?	75	36	15		hex	c	1470	adult M?	41	108	111	rect	hex?	c/w
38	1494	adult F		36	102	hex?	hex	c	1475	subadult	p42	8; 94	4	rect	rect	w

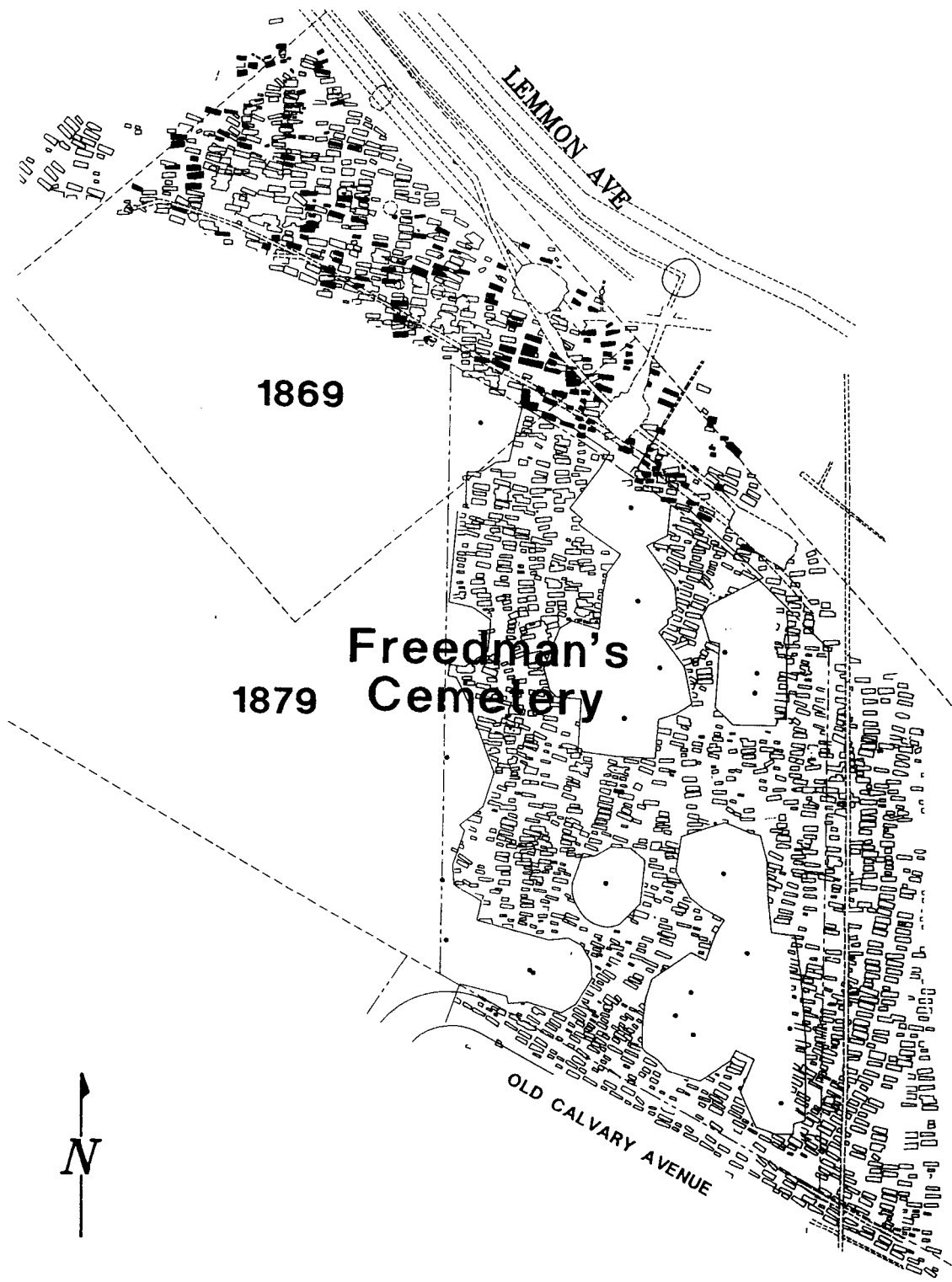


Figure 6-1

Distribution of all burials assigned to the Middle Period (N=170).



Figure 6- 2 Middle Period Thumbscrews (by Type Number)



89



95



96



97



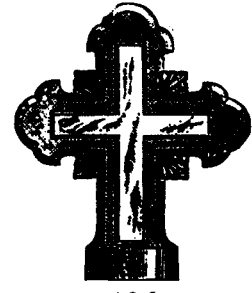
102



103



105



106



107



Caplifter 29



Caplifter 54

Figure 6-2 Middle Period Thumbscrews (continued)

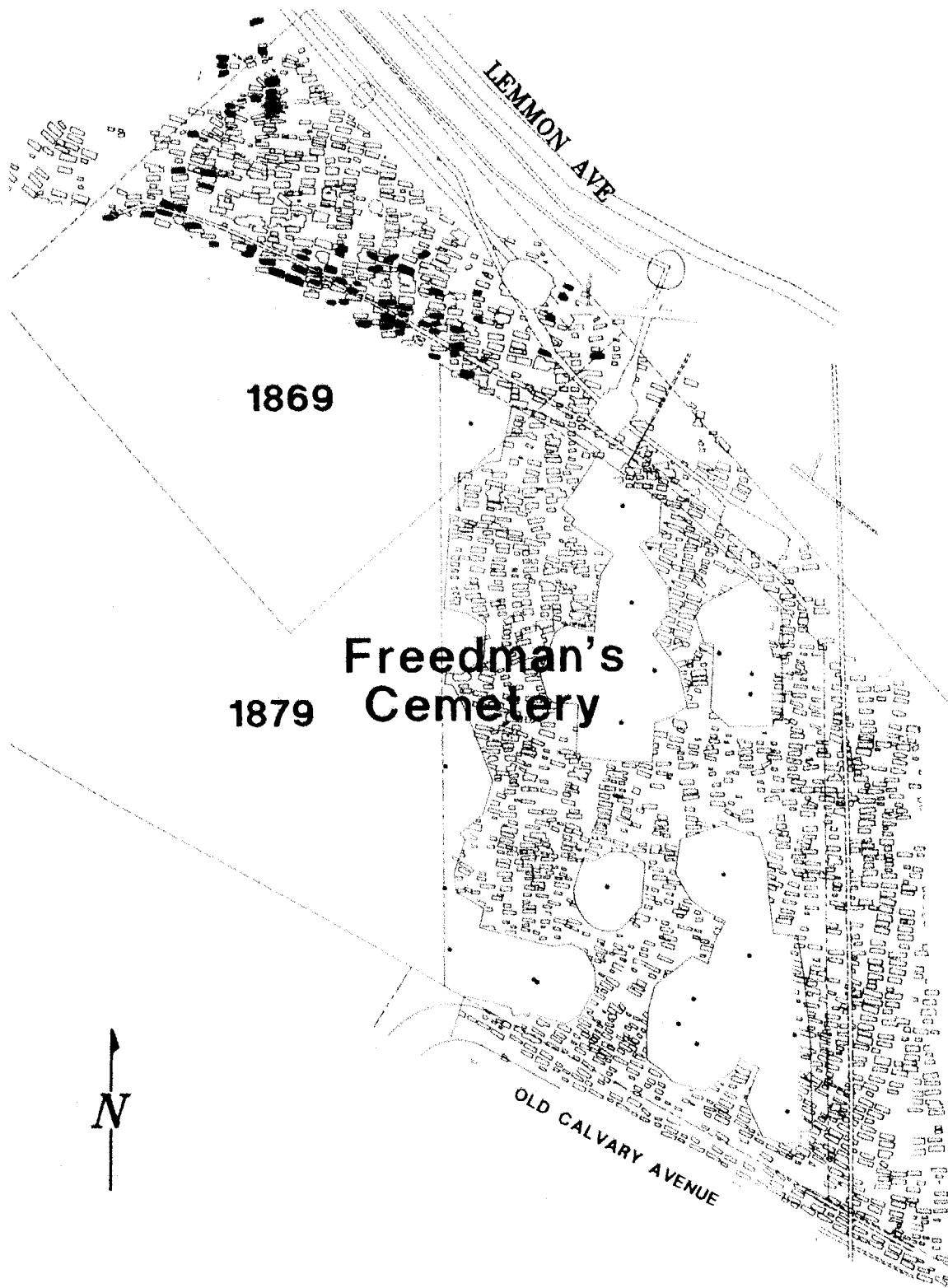


Figure 6-3 Distribution of all burials containing Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 57 (in red), and all Early Period internments (in blue).

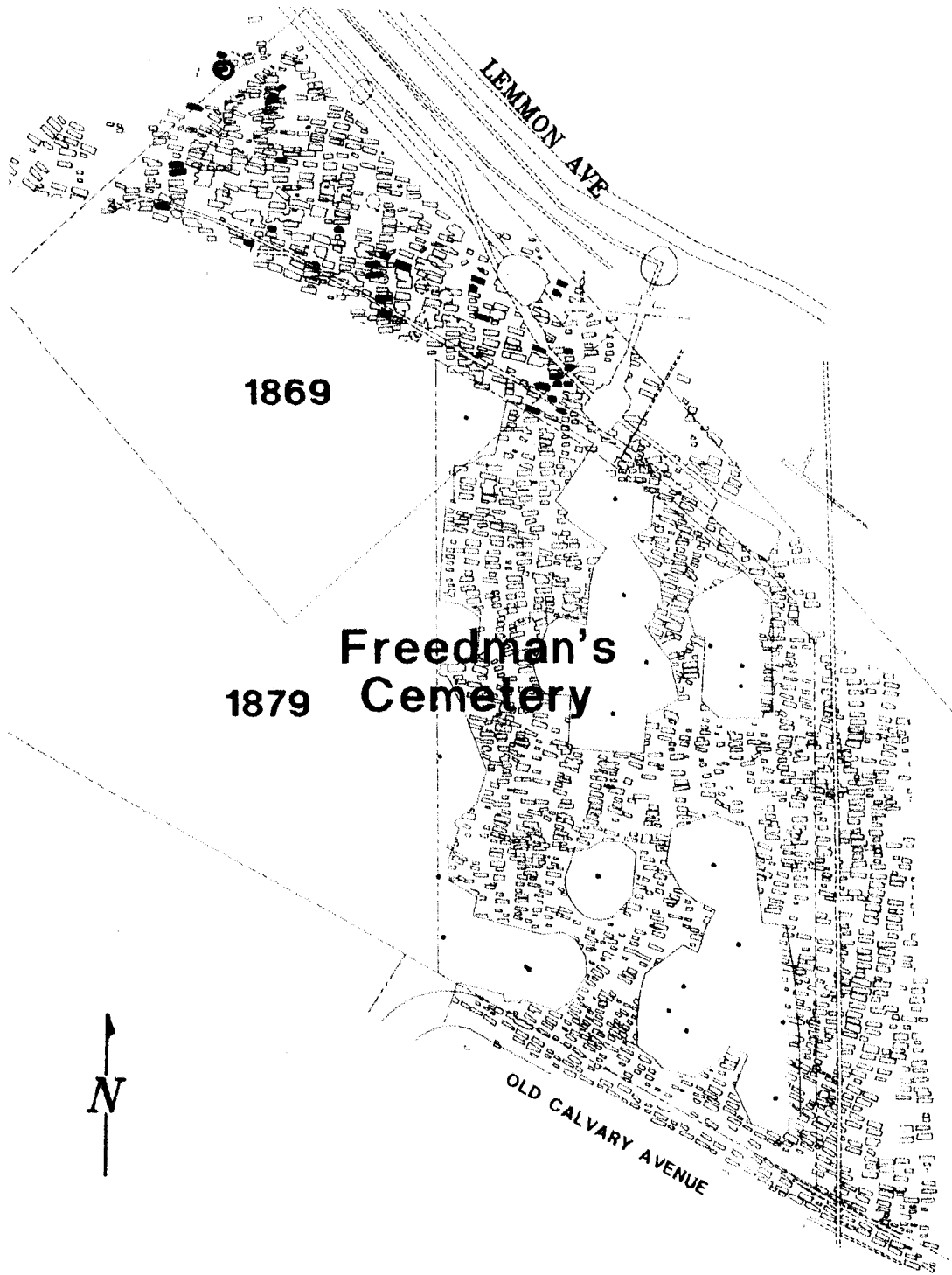


Figure 6-4 Distribution of all burials containing Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 60 (in red), and Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 57 (in blue).

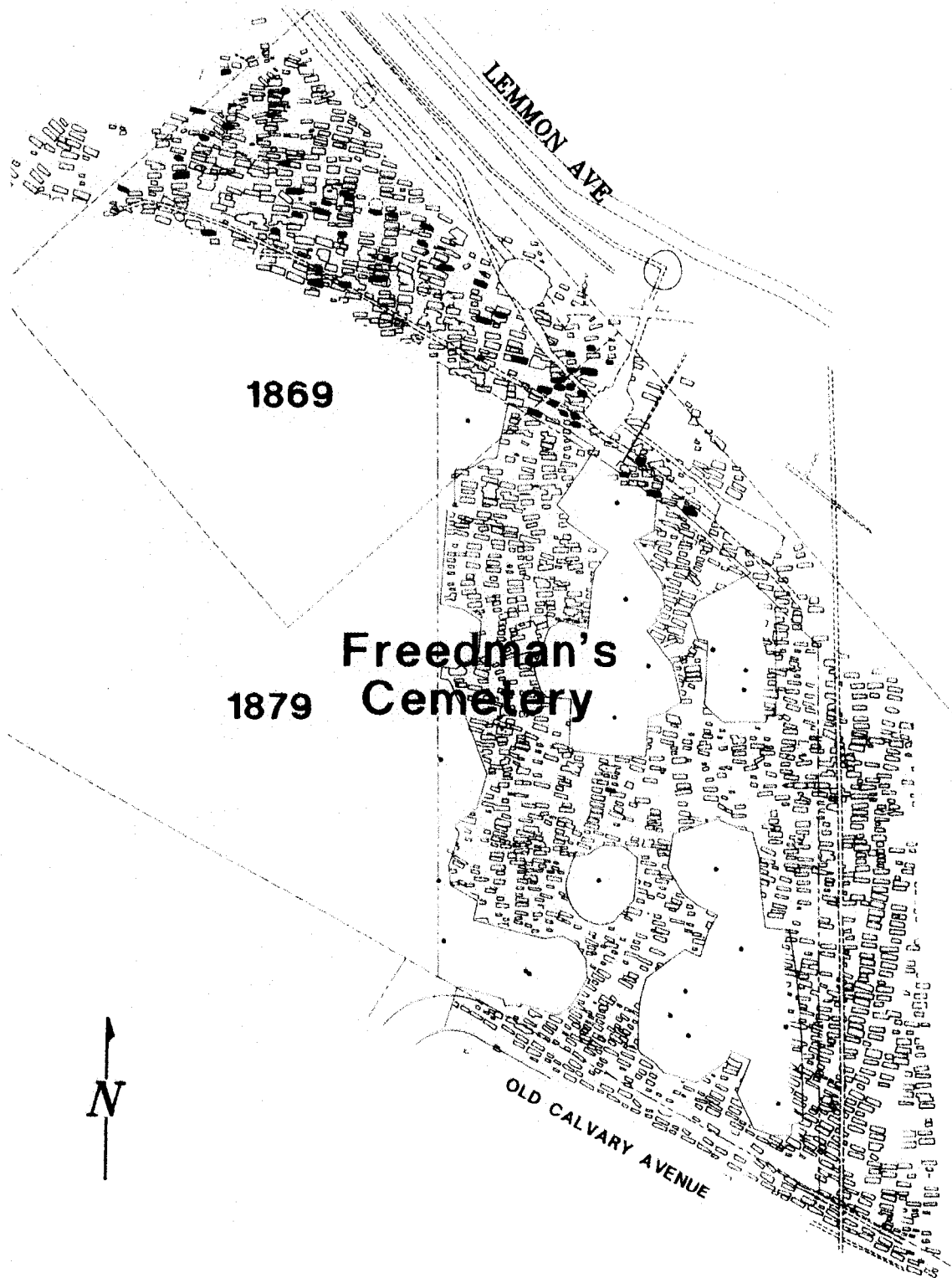


Figure 6-5 Distribution of all burials containing Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 36 (in red), and Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 60 (in blue).

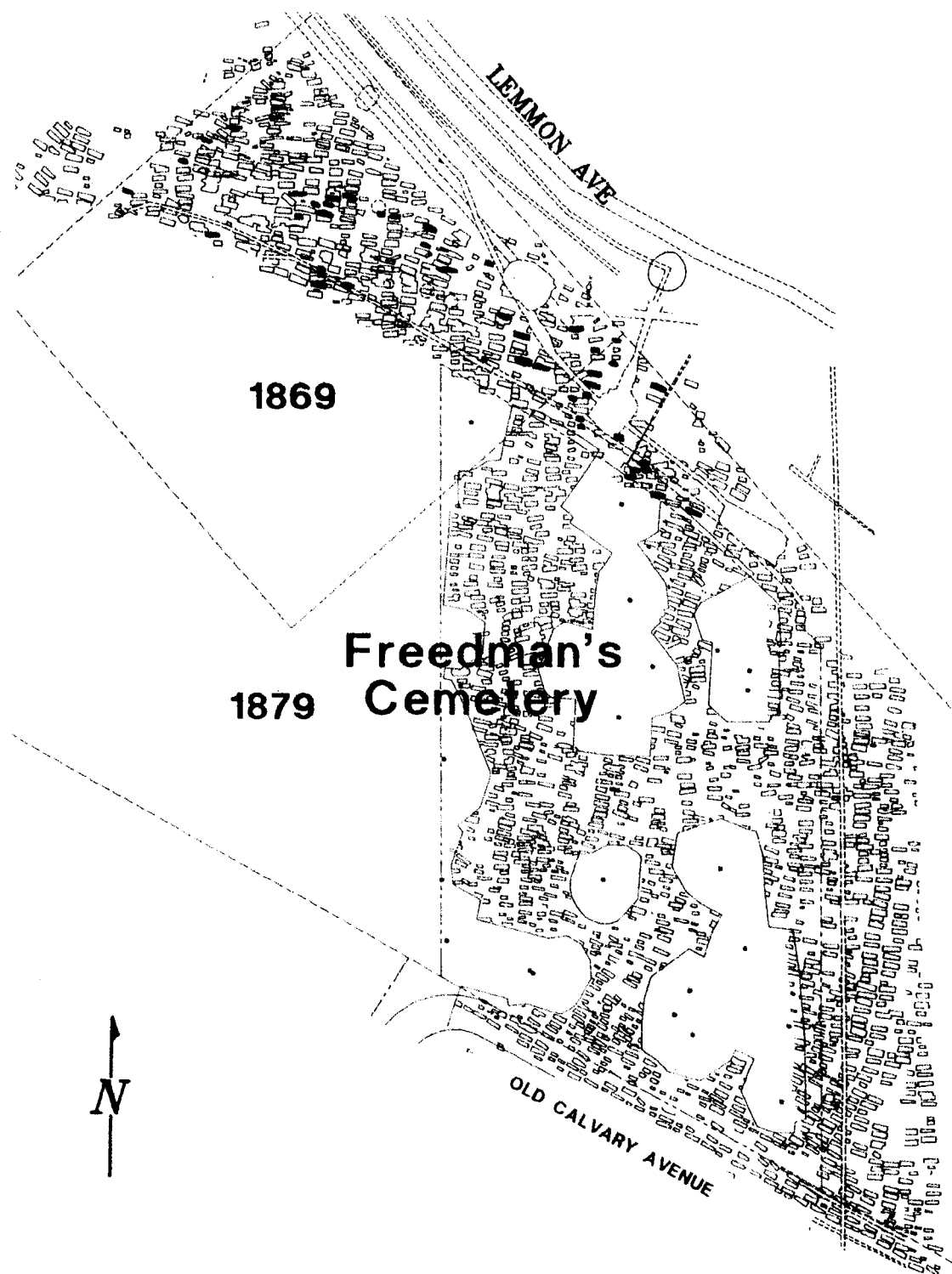


Figure 6-6 Distribution of all burials containing Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 63 (in red), and Middle Period Thumbscrew Type 36 (in blue).

Monday May 7th 1887

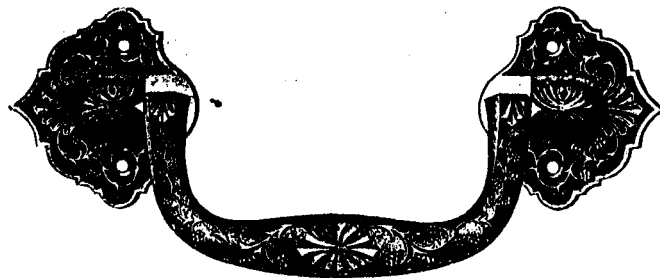
✓	Louisville Coffin Co		
✓	By 1 No 2-5-9 Handles	875	
✓	" 12 No Pr 1210 Handles	119	

✓	Louisville Coffin Co	
✓	By 1 No 0 4-6	330
✓	" 1 No 7-2 Handles	355
✓	" 1/4 doz No 273 V. Plates	75
✓	" 1/2 " Pr 1206 Handles	100

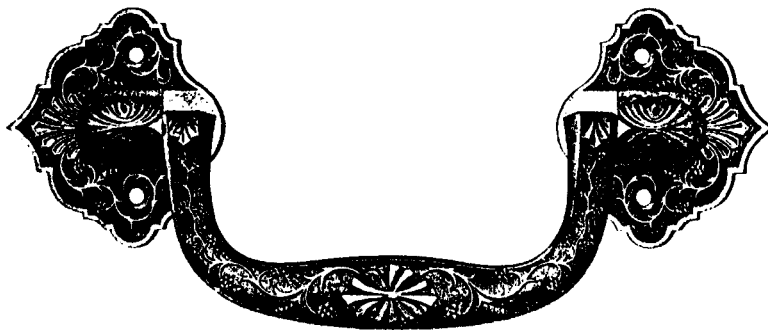
✓	Louisville Coffin Co	
✓	By 1 No 0 5-9 Handles	675
✓	" 1 " 0 3	180
✓	" 1/4 doz 110 V. Plates	70
✓	" 1/4 " 112 Name Plates	136
✓	" 1/2 " Pr 1204 Handles	88

Figure 6-7

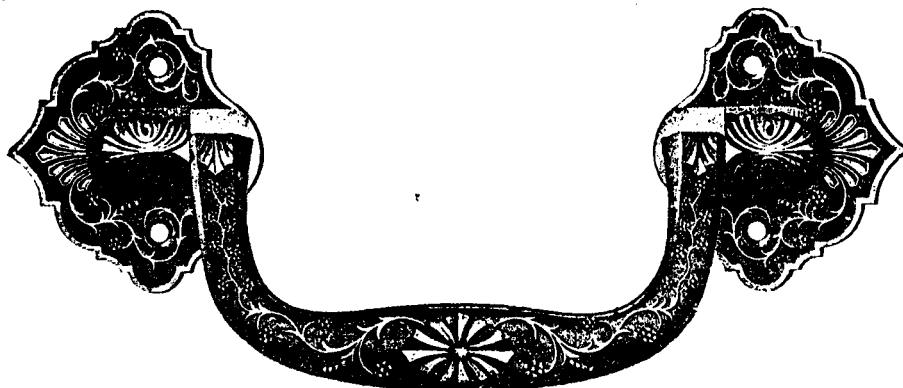
Purchases of mortuary hardware made by Dallas undertaker Ed C. Smith in 1887, from the Louisville Coffin Company. Of particular interest are the handles ordered by Smith on several occasions, listed by their catalogue numbers: #1210, #1206, and #1204. Three handle types recovered archaeologically at Freedman's have mold numbers on the backs of their lugs, identically matching these catalogue numbers. (from Ed C. Smith Day Book No. 3; Genealogy Department, Dallas Public Library).



No. 1204.



No. 1206.



No. 1210.

Figure 6-8

Freedman's Handle types 75 (#1210), 44 (#1206), and 44.1 (#1204), as illustrated in the Harrisburg Burial Case Company catalogue (circa 1890). The handle types recovered archaeologically at Freedman's have mold numbers on the backs of their lugs, that identically match the catalogue numbers given above. These numbers also correspond to handles purchased by local undertaker Ed C. Smith in 1888.

**FREEDMAN'S CEMETERY (1869-1907):
A CHRONOLOGICAL RECONSTRUCTION
OF AN EXCAVATED AFRICAN-AMERICAN BURIAL GROUND,
DALLAS, TEXAS**

Pt. 2

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts**

By

**JAMES MICHAEL DAVIDSON, B.A.
University of Texas at Austin, 1990**

**August 1999
University of Arkansas**

Chapter 7

The "Pre-1900" Period (1869-1899)

Definition

The "Pre-1900" Period is the temporal period designation within which were placed burials that, while determined to date prior to circa 1900, could not be further assigned to the Early or Middle Periods. As such, the "Pre-1900" Period spans 1869 to 1899. By necessity, all of the burials placed in the category "Pre-1900" were located within the confines of the First Acre, as location on the 1884 Acreage would naturally date a burial after 1884, or to the Middle or Late Periods.

This temporal period is a compromise, allowing some dating to be achieved, though of a much coarser nature than other periods. Fortunately, this period contains relatively few burials. In all, 37 interments containing the remains of 37 individuals (3.2% of total) were assigned to the "Pre-1900" Period (see Table 7-1; Figure 7-1).

The vast majority of burials in this temporal period are subadults (N=26; 70.3%). This is due to the greater number of subadult interments (when compared to adults) completely lacking in artifacts to serve as chronological indicators (e.g., mortuary hardware, clothing artifacts, etc). The only time diagnostic hardware element associated with these 37 burials was nails, all of them exclusively cut. While strongly suggestive of an interment date prior to 1900, cut nails could not further serve to discriminate between an Early and Middle Period designation.

Although the presence of a rectangular shaped burial container, or casket, was

used to place 15 adult interments lacking coffin hardware within the Middle Period, this dating method could not serve a similar role with the burials of subadults, as burial container morphology in children and infants has proven to be largely insensitive temporally (e.g., Matternes 1998).

Most of these 37 "Pre-1900" burials have one or two of the traits viewed as characteristic of Early Period interments. Further, these interments are commonly located within rows predominately composed of burials assigned to the Early Period. However, interments were assigned to the Early Period largely on the presence of three or more "early" traits, or unambiguous indicators such as coffin screws. While many of the 37 interments assigned to this more general "Pre-1900" Period may date to the 1870s or early 1880s, and therefore would be contemporaneous with Early Period interments, sufficient and compelling evidence was lacking to make this assertion.

Of the 37 burials assigned to this temporal period, one third (n=12; 32.4%) were found lying beneath more recent interments, all of which have been assigned to the Late Period (see Table 7-2). The multiple stacking episodes suffered by several of the graves give additional credence to a pre-1900 temporal designation.

Table 7-1: All burials assigned to "Pre-1900" Period (N=37)

#	Burial #	Period	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Nail
1	403	P	subadult (female)	0.00		rect		c
2	409	P	subadult	81.00	?	?		c
3	435	P	subadult	2.25	vault	hex		c
4	566	P	subadult	0.10		rect		c
5	662	P	subadult	0.54	vault	rect	is	c
6	671	P	subadult	1.56	rect	rect	is	c
7	1037	P	subadult	0.10	rect	rect		c
8	1051	P	adult M?	38.50	vault?	hex		c
9	1121	P	subadult	0.10	vault	hex		c
10	1143	P	subadult (female)	1.30		rect		c
11	1170	P	subadult (male)	7.00	vault?	hex		c
12	1197	P	adult M?	44.10		hex		c
13	1205	P	adult F?	35.40	rect	hex	is?	c
14	1255	P	subadult	0.03		hex	is	c
15	1256	P	subadult (female)	5.35	vault	hex		c
16	1259	P	subadult	0.10	?	?		c
17	1260	P	subadult	0.41		hex	is	c
18	1270	P	subadult	80.00		?		c
19	1275	P	subadult (female)	0.23		hex		c
20	1277	P	adult F?	50.40	?	hex	is	c
21	1280	P	adult M?	43.50		hex		c
22	1282	P	subadult	0.00	rect	rect		c
23	1296	P	subadult	0.25		hex	is	
24	1297	P	adult I	19.15		hex	is	c
25	1298	P	adult F?	22.60		hex	is	c
26	1304	P	adult F?	36.00		hex		c
27	1308	P	adult M?	33.40		hex	is	c
28	1309	P	adult IM	28.70		hex		c
29	1311	P	subadult	0.00		hex	is	c
30	1312	P	subadult	0.10	vault	hex		c
31	1313	P	subadult	1.32	rect?	rect?		c
32	1317	P	subadult	0.49	rect?	hex?		c
33	1340	P	subadult	1.46	vault	hex		c
34	1344	P	subadult	0.82		hex?	is	c
35	1374	P	subadult	0.12		rect		c
36	1380	P	adult M	98.00		hex		c
37	1394	P	subadult	0.00		?		c

Table 7-2: All burials assigned to the "Pre-1900" Period, found below later interments

"Pre-1900" Period Interments, below Late Period Burials (N=12)										The Late Period Burials interred above them									
#	Burials	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbscrew	Nail	Burials	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Plaque	Nail		
1	435	subadult	2.25	vault	hex	is	c	405	subadult	0.0	rect	rect					w		
2	671	subadult	1.56	rect	rect	is	c	560	adult-IM	16.3		hex					w		
3	1051	adult M?	38.50	vault?	hex		c	1045	adult-F?	30.5	rect	rect					w		
4	1143	subadult (female)	1.30		rect		c	1142	adult-M	35.2	rect	rect	6	7	3		w		
5	1260	subadult	0.41		hex	is	c	1262	adult-F?	48.3	rect	rect	19	16	13	7	c/w		
6	1270	subadult	80.00		?		c	1271	subadult	11.87	rect	rect	156	27	21	40	c/w		
7	1296	subadult	0.25		hex	is	c	1273	adult-I	98.00	rect	rect	24	27	21	40	w		
8	1309	adult IM	28.70		hex		c	1306	empty box	....	rect	rect	21	104	107	1	c/w	
9	1311	subadult	0.00		hex	is	c	1302	subadult	0.80	rect	rect	18.1	88	4	28	w		
10	1313	subadult	1.32	rect?	rect?		c	1193	adult-F	45.20	rect	rect	24	27	21	66	w		
11	1344	subadult	0.82		hex?	is	c	1173	adult-M?	32.70	rect	rect	161	99	94	6	w		
12	1380	adult M	98.00		hex		c	1322	adult-M	47.00	rect	rect	6	7	3		w		

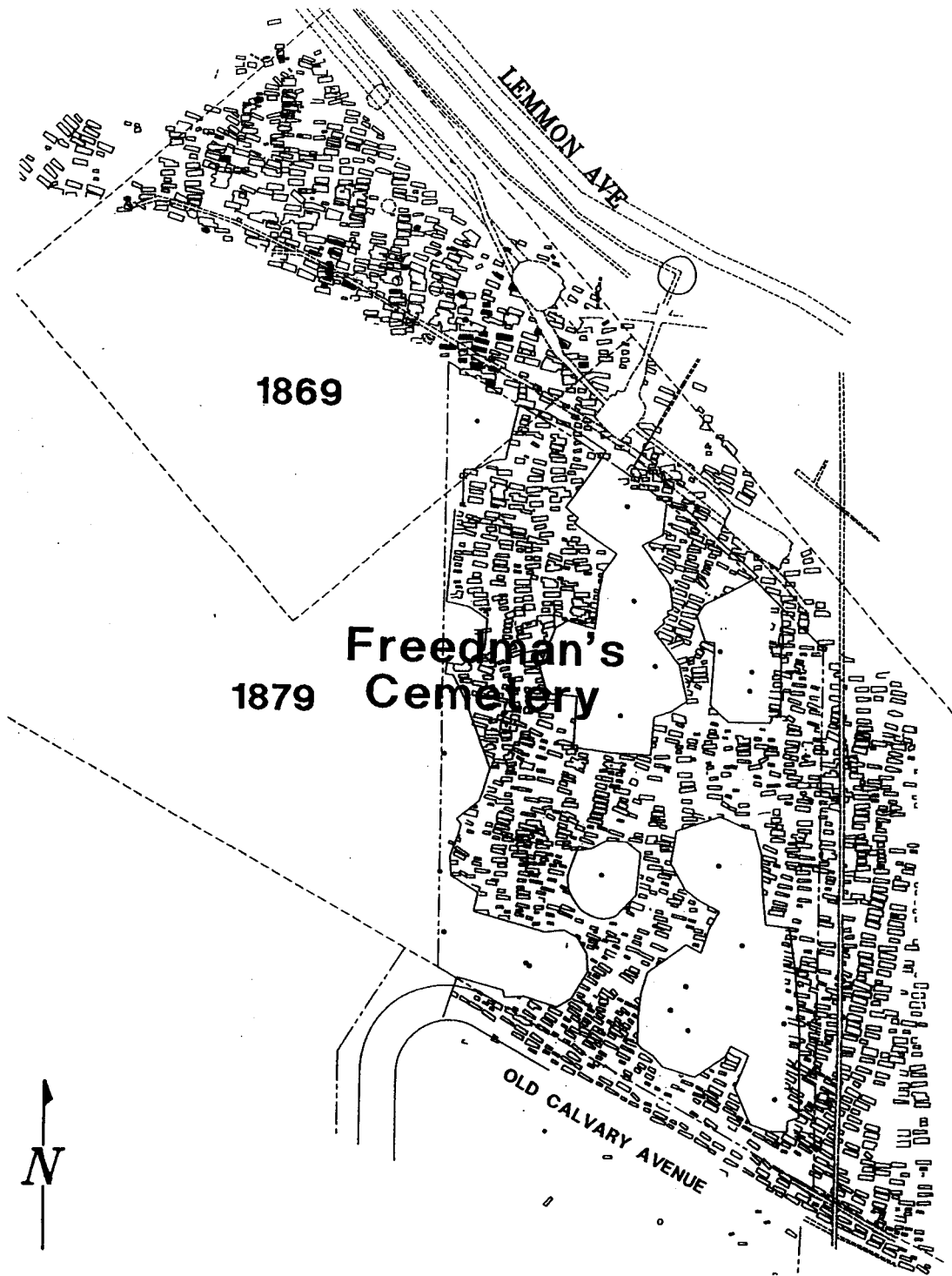


Figure 7-1 Distribution of all burials assigned to the "Pre-1900" Period (n=37).

Chapter 8

The Late Period/Late Sequence (1900-1907)

Definition

The Late Period consists of an eight year interval spanning 1900 through 1907. A total of 878 interments containing 884 individuals (872 single and 6 double interments; 76.3% of total exhumed) were assigned to the Late Period (see Figure 8-1).

Accounting for the Late Period Demography

The Late Period has the shortest time depth of any of the temporal periods defined for Freedman's Cemetery, yet contains the bulk of exhumed burials. This is primarily the result of two factors.

First, there was a continual increase in Dallas's African-American population, from a mere 97 Blacks in 1859 (ten years before Freedman's Cemetery is founded), to 9,035 in 1900. Ten years later, by 1910, the African-American population of Dallas had essentially doubled to 18,024 (U. S. Federal Census; Kimball 1927: 25). During the 39 year interval that Freedman's remained open, the largest population living in Dallas would necessarily have coincided with the terminal Late Period. Due to the huge population increase experienced in Dallas, if the death rate had remained constant (or even declined slightly), there was simply a much greater population after 1900 for which death to occur.

The second factor contributing to the greater number of burials dated to the Late Period lies in the way the cemetery was first utilized and later excavated. As explained

elsewhere, the historic 4 acre Freedman's Cemetery initially was begun on a single acre tract in its extreme northwest corner. As the cemetery expanded in 1884 to include three additional acres, these previously unavailable and hence pristine portions of the cemetery were utilized in turn. The growth of the cemetery, however, was not a haphazard process, but rather an organic one, with new rows of burials slowly radiating out from the established rows located at the heart of the First Acre, in an accretional process.

In the years immediately following 1884, the oldest rows on the First Acre would have expanded to the south, with newly established rows created to the east. As these rows began to fill with graves, even more rows were established to the east. By the turn of the century, the eastern boundary of the site had almost been reached by newly established rows of graves.

Excavation at Freedman's Cemetery was strictly dictated by the necessities of Central Expressway expansion. Removal of graves first began in November 1991 along the eastern periphery of Freedman's Memorial Park, within a strip of land comprising the expanded right-of-way. A short time later, the area and scope of excavation increased, due to the necessity of retrieving graves previously impacted in the 1940s by the paving of both the Expressway's frontage road and Lemmon Avenue.

The excavation areas thus lay only along the northern and eastern peripheries of the cemetery. The northern excavation area, where graves were recovered beneath Lemmon Avenue, constituted a virtual cross-section of time, with almost one half of the First Acre excavated, and a goodly sampling of Middle Period graves. Only the northernmost portions of these rows were excavated, however.

It was only along the easternmost portion of the cemetery, within the park right-

of-way and beneath the southbound frontage road, that complete rows of graves were exhumed. As observed through these excavations, rows were typically formed at the southern boundary of the cemetery, expanding northward as graves were added on an almost “first come, first serve basis.” Since complete rows were exhumed only along the eastern portion of the cemetery, and these exhumed graves dated exclusively to after the turn of the century, naturally the result was a far greater number of Late Period burials. In contrast, if the same areal extent of excavations, from north to south, had occurred in the very center of the cemetery, the greatest number of exhumed graves would have dated to the Middle Period.

Rationale for Late Period Time Span; Dating

The rationale behind the choice of beginning and end dates for this temporal period is both basic and complex. The *terminus ante quem*, or end date of the Late Period, is the same as that of the cemetery itself— July 26, 1907. As discussed in Chapter 2, this date marks the day when the new city pauper cemetery was opened; with that event, the date upon which interments ceased at Freedman's Cemetery. Since the end date for Freedman's Cemetery is precisely known, the *terminus ante quem* for the Late Period is a given. What remained to be established, then, was the Late Period's *terminus post quem*. The beginning date of 1900 was chosen by the following criteria and lines of evidence:

1. Initially, the simple existence of exhumed burials dating to circa 1900 and later had to be established. To this end, temporally diagnostic artifacts associated with burials were identified. Although many recovered artifacts had readily identifiable and demonstrable dating, only those diagnostics that were pertinent to the terminal 19th and early 20th centuries were stressed. Each identified time marker exhibited an indisputable and relevant *terminus post quem*. For example, as detailed in Chapter 4, such temporal diagnostics included all coffin hardware manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company, a firm not founded until 1903.

With the identification of key burials with relatively precise dating, these same temporal assignments were next applied to other burials with identical types and patterns of coffin hardware utilization, and/or location. That is, through cross dating, burials with established dating were utilized to date other interments with similar spatial attributes, artifactual attributes, and most commonly, a combination of both.

2. After establishing the existence of circa 1900 and later interments either through their association with precisely dated artifacts (e.g., coins) or through cross dating, the burials were then seriated. That is, burials were arranged in order with the earliest graves placed at the beginning of the sequence, while the most recent burials were positioned at the end. The task of placing Late Period burials within a calibrated sequence of events was made far easier by the extremely apparent and highly redundant patterning of mortuary hardware.

Seriation was first established with a sequence containing only a limited number of Late Period interments displaying the most obvious hardware patterning. Using this

preliminary sequence as a template, a much larger and more inclusive burial sequence was then constructed, containing associated burials with either like hardware types, appropriate spatial locus (or proximity), and (typically) a combination of both.

3. The final major piece of evidence offered as support for a 1900 *terminus post quem* is in the correlation of grave patterning with a major change experienced at the turn of the century—the founding of the first Black undertaker in the city, Peoples Undertaking Company. Since Peoples began operations in 1900, much of the abrupt change witnessed in the artifactual patterning of burials dated after 1900 could be safely attributed to this firm. In this way the Late Sequence was calibrated to real calendar years, with its beginning of 1900 matching the advent of Peoples Undertaking, and its end date of 1907 coinciding with the closure of the cemetery as an active burial ground.

Correlation of archaeological data with the archival record was critical in dating interments to the Late Period. True, assignment of most Late Period interments could have been achieved through a simple seriation of the graves alone. However, while relative dating could have been accomplished without relying upon the historical record, calibrating the derived sequence would have been more problematic and ultimately less precise.

Thus, I could circumvent the necessity of blindly following a strictly nail based dating schema. Although wire nails did begin to enter the archaeological record toward

the close of the 19th century (certainly appearing by circa 1899/1900), it was also clear that cut nails continued to be utilized into the 20th century (see the discussion of nails in Chapters 4 and 6). Many burials dating after 1900 still contained either exclusively cut nails, or a mixture of both. In the final analysis 129 burials assigned to the Late Period utilized cut nails exclusively (14.7% of the total Late Period; Table 8-1). Without the luxury of the archival record, the task of separating these turn-of-the-century burials from Middle Period graves with identical nail types would have been much more difficult.

**Summary of Burial Composition of Late Period,
Based on Dating Criteria**

While the Late Period contains a total of 878 burials, this number actually can be subdivided into several categories of graves. For the purposes of assigning dates of interment, three internal subdivisions or categories were devised, as determined by each burial's attributes. A summary of these three burial groupings is found below and in Table 8-2.

The Late Sequence

Most burials in the Late Period are contained within a category termed the Late Sequence, which is simply a group of 801 burials that have been seriated. That is, these 801 burials were placed within a temporally based sequence of events. With the creation of this Late Sequence, 801 burials have estimated dates of interment narrowed down to a

single year, within the broader eight year interval of the Late Period. Formulation of the Late Sequence relied heavily on extremely redundant artifactual patterning, that could be further attributed to a single source within the archival record; namely Peoples Undertaking Company. The Late Sequence and its formulation will be discussed in some detail below.

Indigents

The next group of interments within the Late Period are 68 graves of Indigents. This burial grouping actually contains the remains of 72 individuals, due to the presence of 4 double interments (i.e., 2 individuals buried within a single box; burials 487/494, 558, 815, 1041). Note that this number does not include every indigent grave assigned to the Late Period, but only those graves that were not included within the Late Sequence. These 68 indigent burials were dated by a variety of criteria, including the presence of wire nails, stacking, associated temporal diagnostics, and correlation with the archival record.

Unique Hardware Burials

The final graves within the Late Period are the burials of 9 individuals whose mortuary hardware assemblages were either ambiguous or of such a unique nature that they could not be dated relative to the greater Late Sequence. Therefore, these burials are all dated independently through their accompanying artifact assemblages.

Sorting Out the Pattern:

Constructing a Preliminary Burial Sequence in the Late Period

The sequence of events at Freedman's Cemetery was one in which the trend of land utilization was from west to east, i.e., from the First Acre to the 1884 Acreage. This resulted in the most recent graves, at any given time, being interred primarily in the unused eastern portion of the cemetery, within newly formed rows. This trend in land utilization at Freedman's Cemetery was demonstrated in Chapter 7 for selected Middle Period interments located within the limits of excavations, along the northern portion of the cemetery.

While spatial and artifactual patterning were observed in the Middle Period (see Chapter 6 Figures, 6-3 through 6-6), the number and type of attributes, as well as the number of burials involved, were limited. From multiple lines of evidence presented below, such patterning greatly intensified during the time encompassed by the Late Period.

For the Late Period, interments lying along side one another frequently had identical or virtually identical coffin hardware assemblages, especially within the frontage road area, or the eastern most portion of the cemetery. At times, every category of mortuary hardware matched— handles, thumbscrews, escutcheons, plaques, ornaments, ornamental tacks, and nails. This pattern of cemetery utilization, as identified by the spatial distribution of graves with like coffin hardware types, can be readily demonstrated by examining the distribution of a handful of key turn-of-the-century handle types: Freedman's types 10, 7, 2, 21, and 24 (see Table 8-3; Figures 8-2 and 8-3).

Figure 8-2 displays the spatial distribution of these five handles; types 10, 7, 2, 21, and 24. These types are some of the most common, and hence representative, handles recovered from Freedman's Cemetery. In sum, these five handle types account for about one fifth of the total Late Period interments (22.6%; 198 out of 878 burials).

By mapping the locations of burials containing these handle types, clearly defined rows or areas of intensive utilization are evident within the frontage road area. Within these rows, a single handle type apparently was dominant at any given time.

Of the five handles, the westernmost row is represented by Handle type 10; i.e., a somewhat irregular row of Handle type 10 burials is located along the western periphery of excavations. This haphazard row gives way to a more orderly row of Handle type 7 burials, immediately adjacent and to the east. The row to the east of this, although containing a handful of type 7 handles, clearly is dominated by burials containing Handle type 2. The next area of interments, immediately to the east of this row, is predominately composed of interments with Handle types 21 and 24.

It should be noted that none of the handle types discussed or charted above are exclusive to the frontage road area, but rather examples also are located along the northern portion of the cemetery, on both the First Acre and the 1884 Acreage purchases. These isolated graves, with identical handle and other mortuary hardware types, are contemporaneous with the frontage road burials, and at least in part probably represent the most recent elements of family plots, with the later interments placed next to the earlier graves of loved ones.

**The Preliminary Sequence:
Its Relative Dating and A Demonstration of the Association
of the Five Handle Types**

When one examines their attributes, it is clear that burials in the preliminary sequence can be relatively dated. For example, Handle 10 is the type found within the western most row on the frontage road, and it is this handle type that has the highest rate of associated cut nails (Table 8-3). In contrast, Handle type 24 predominately was found along the easternmost extent of the cemetery (before spilling onto the northern portions of the site). Its primary locus is spatially most distant from the row defined by Handle type 10, and Handle type 24 was not found with a single burial associated with exclusively cut nails (Table 8-3).

Associated Time Diagnostics:

Assigning *Terminus Post Quem* to burials in the Preliminary Late Sequence

In attributing these burials to the Late Period, spatial distribution is only a part of the total equation. Indeed, it is only when spatial patterning is supplemented with other dating criteria that these burials can be viewed in their best contexts.

Table 8-3 lists the handle types in order as they are found within their predominate rows, from west to east. This order is obviously a spatial one, but it is also a

chronological order. That is, Handle type 10, the first handle listed, is one of the earliest types clearly associated with the Late Period, while Handle type 24 was utilized on some of the last burials interred at the cemetery.

The dating criteria for these handle types, and hence the burials with which they were associated, are given in Tables 8-4 and 8-5. By examining time diagnostic artifacts found in association with many of these "patterned" burials, it became clear that these same graves date circa 1900 and later.

Table 8-4 displays those burials associated with only unambiguous temporal diagnostic artifacts. The first temporal diagnostic given is a unique form of safety pin, Type 1F, introduced by Stewart in circa 1891 (see Chapter 4). This pin type was likely available for purchase prior to 1900, but there likely was also a certain lag time (of unknown duration) between the innovation of the pin form and its subsequent tooling and manufacture. Additional lags in time would have followed during this pin type's distribution at the wholesale level, and eventual purchase in the Dallas community, all occurring prior to its having been interred. The point to be made here is that the presence of this pin type establishes a broad based (and minimum) mid-1890s *terminus post quem* for Burial 330, with Handle type 10.

Each of the other individual artifacts in Table 8-4 offer a more assured turn-of-the-century dating for these handle types. First, an 1895 quarter was found associated with Handle type 7 (Burial 833). Also, a pair of Dayton Bicycle cuff buttons, necessarily dating after 1896, were associated with Handle type 2 (Burial 38; see Chapter 4 for information regarding Dayton Bicycle premiums). Finally, three .22 rimfire bullet cartridges were found resting atop the coffin lid of Burial 431, a coffin that was outfitted with Handle

Type 24. These rimfire cartridges, with a head stamp of "B," for Birmingham Metal and Munitions Company, of Birmingham, England, have a *terminus post quem* of 1897 (see chapter 4). Again, as with the safety pin type addressed above, a certain lag time is to be expected between the manufacture of an item, and its subsequent deposition within a burial.

Finally, for the Preliminary Late Sequence, the artifacts with the most recent *terminus post quem* given in Table 8-4 are various mortuary hardware elements manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company, of Elgin, Illinois. This company was not founded until 1903, so any hardware bearing the "Elgin" trademark must, of necessity, date to 1903 or later (see Chapter 4).

In the Preliminary Sequence, only Handle type 24 was associated with Elgin hardware, on a total of 11 burials. This association is critical, for it demonstrates that Handle 24 was utilized in Dallas during or after 1903. Moreover, it should be remembered that Freedman's Cemetery closed in the summer of 1907, so Handle type 24 was, at most, utilized during only a four year interval, from 1903 to 1907.

This dating is bolstered by archival information from historic coffin hardware catalogues. Over 61 catalogues spanning the years 1853 through 1926 were consulted (see Chapter 4). The five handle types in the Preliminary Sequence were compared to those contained in these catalogues, and all matches given in Table 8-5.

Although very similar styles were observed, no identical catalogue matches were found for Handle types 10 and 7, the two earliest handles in this limited, preliminary sequence. However, Handle type 2's first known appearance was in 1896, in the Chicago

Coffin Company's catalogue of that same year. Its initial late 1890s appearance in the marketplace fits well with the turn of the century date assigned to Handle type 2, as established through its association with the Dayton Bicycle cuff buttons (1896 and later), as well as its relative dating derived from its position within the sequence itself. Handle type 2 lies within rows between Handle 10, the earliest defined for the preliminary sequence, and type 24, the latest handle in the sequence.

As for Handle type 24, its catalogue appearances are all after 1900. Examples are shown within the St. Louis Coffin Company catalogue of 1902/1903, as well as the Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Company catalogue of 1905.

Up to this point in the preliminary sequence, the focus has been on the handles' dating and spatial patterning. One final statement should be made regarding the handles types in the preliminary Late Sequence, and that is their associations with one another. The five handles are not only linked together spatially and temporally, but also share specific mortuary hardware types in common, including virtually every class of hardware (e.g., thumbscrews, escutcheons, caplifters, plaques, ornaments, etc.). Of particular interest is these handle types' clear association with each other.

Table 8-6 displays all burials recovered from Freedman's Cemetery that contained examples of two of the five handles in the preliminary sequence. In all, three of the five handle types were found in use together, on three separate burials. That is, there is a single coffin containing examples of both Handle type 7 and Handle type 2 (Burial 1076). Next, Handle Types 2 and 21 were found together with a single burial, 847 (in addition to a third type, Handle 131). Finally, Burial 1236 was recovered in association with five

examples of Handle type 24, and a single lug from Handle type 2. These three hardware associations, taken together, stand as near incontrovertible evidence for a single source or point of origin for the interments possessing them (i.e., a single undertaker).

Additional associations between the burials in the Preliminary Sequence bolster this conclusion. Other types of coffin hardware associated with these handles are often identical, and even burials with different handles (e.g., types 2 and 7), when found in proximity, can share common elements.

Figure 8-4 displays a detail of the frontage road area of excavations, with select burials possessing Handle types 2 and 7 highlighted. A table with key hardware attributes is embedded within the figure, with specific burials within the table indicated on the map. These selected burials were not the only ones to display commonalities of traits. Rather, similar patterning was observed all through the preliminary sequence. The displayed burials are chosen only as examples of a much larger and generalized phenomenon.

It must be remembered that during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there was a seemingly endless variety of mortuary hardware forms and styles. Indeed, virtually hundreds of different kinds and styles of coffin handles, thumbscrews, escutcheons, plaques, and other types of hardware were available for purchase at any given time. For identical types of hardware to appear on burials lying together, side by side, is highly suggestive of a single source for hardware. And a common source for hardware is not the only factor to be considered.

While it is possible for two different funeral homes operating in the same town to have purchased, in some instances, identical types of mortuary hardware, it is less likely that two firms would have utilized the same types of mortuary hardware together in the

same consistent combinations. It is exceedingly improbable that they would have utilized identical kinds of mortuary hardware, often in the same combinations with a very idiosyncratic nature, at the exact same time, with sequential burials laid side by side together in the ground.

The best explanation for the complex and highly redundant artifactual patterning observed is that a single undertaker was the source for those burials contained within the preliminary sequence. In a detailed discussion of the death records available from Dallas City Hall and other sources below, it will be unequivocally demonstrated that there was indeed a single undertaker dominant after the turn-of-the-century within the African-American community of Dallas, namely Peoples Undertaking Company.

The Primary Source for the Late Period Interments:

Peoples Undertaking Company

The Archival Record: Death Records for Freedman's Cemetery (1900-1907)

Typical of many American cities in the nineteenth century, Dallas was late to establish an accurate and systematic means of recording deaths (Preston and Haines 1991). The earliest burial ordinances passed by the Dallas City Council, in 1873 and 1879, spoke to the necessity of keeping death records, but neither were enforced. Indeed, it was not until 1887 that death records began to be collected for deaths occurring in the city limits of Dallas (Dallas City Ordinance Books, Series 1; Vol. 1, pp. 28-39; Vol. 3, pp. 73-74; Vol. 5, pp. 93-94).

Unfortunately, the information contained within the death records of the late 1880s and 1890s is limited in extent. Neither place of interment nor undertaker is given. After the turn of the century, death records contained more detailed information. Beginning in September 1902, both the place of interment and undertaker are consistently noted in the city death records for the first time. This practice continued, (although at times haphazardly) until circa 1908, when more limited information, for a time, once again became the rule.

There are six primary sources for African-American deaths in Dallas, from which a composite set of records was created: City Hall death records; obituaries from the *Dallas Times Herald*; Ed C. Smith Funeral Home Records; George W. Loudermilk Funeral Home Records; Peoples Undertaking Funeral Home Records; and extant grave markers in area cemeteries (see Table 8-7).

Although a handful of pre-1900 records were collected, the information contained within them is extremely limited, reduced to name (or initials), race, gender, and cause of death. Further, although death records after 1907 are available, none deal with Freedman's Cemetery directly, but rather document interments at Woodland Cemetery, New City Cemetery (the pauper cemetery opened in 1907), as well as others. Therefore, for the purposes of this discussion (i.e., regarding the archival record as it pertains to the Late Period), only those records that date from January 1, 1900 to July 31, 1907 will be addressed (N=1433).

Table 8-7 shows the types of records available, their number, and general date ranges. Since some of these records are duplicated in two or more sources, a totaling of this table will not reflect the actual number of death records. Although there is

considerable overlap from the various sources, the bulk of the available records are from Dallas City Hall. The second most voluminous source for Black deaths was the *Times Herald* obituaries. Supplementing these records are those collected from the three funeral homes. While there is considerable redundancy and overlap between sources, noticeable gaps in the records still remain. Some of these gaps will be explained in detail below.

Please take careful note that the number 1433, given in Table 8-7, is not the total number of dead *interred at Freedman's Cemetery* during this time span. Rather, this number denotes every documented African-American death, regardless of place of interment. Table 8-8 displays the breakdown in the number of dead recorded for Dallas, and the cemeteries (if known) in which they were subsequently interred— Freedman's Cemetery (both known and presumed), Woodland Cemetery, other cemeteries, or unknown disposition. A careful appraisal of this table, combined with knowledge of the demography of early 20th century Dallas reveals that the existing death records are far from complete.

Interpreting the Death Records

Table 8-9 displays the United States Census data for the city of Dallas for three enumerations (1890, 1900, and 1910), as well as the city population as calculated by Dallas officials in 1873 (1873 Dallas City Directory). The total population of Dallas was 42,638 in 1900, though by one decade later, this number had increased to 92,104. The population of Dallas had essentially doubled in a ten year interval between 1900 and 1910.

This increase was also experienced within the African-American communities of Dallas. The 1900 Black population of Dallas (n=9,305) had doubled by 1910 (n=18,024).

One factor contributing to this marked population increase was the annexation of the adjoining town of Oak Cliff, Dallas's smaller sister city across the Trinity River. Oak Cliff, in addition to the adjoining towns of Lisbon, Honey Springs (as well as other communities) were all officially annexed to Dallas on April 3, 1903 (Minutaglio and Williams 1990:104-105).

The Late Period encompasses an eight year period that neatly spans the interval between these two enumerations. The death records collected for the period 1900 through 1907, if accurate, should then reflect this population increase by a commensurate increase in the number of dead in the records. At the very least, no decrease should be noted.

Yet, when the number of total Black deaths compiled in Table 8-8 are examined, it is clear that the records must be less than complete for some years. The total number of Black deaths recorded in 1900 is 170, but this number drops slightly to 150 in 1901. The next year shows an additional decrease (1902; n=131). However, in 1903, the number of Black deaths jumped to 290, or essentially doubled from that recorded for the previous years.

There are three possible explanations to account for this marked increase in the number of deaths recorded from 1902 (n=131) to 1903 (n=290). First, a dramatic increase in the death rate, with no real increase in population could account for this increase in the number of dead. Second, the death rate could have remained constant, and the African-American population of Dallas merely doubled in the span of a single year.

The simplest explanation, and the one most likely, is that the records available for the number of Black deaths in the years 1900 through 1902 are incomplete.

This is almost certainly the case, at least in part because the source for Black deaths for the period between 1900 and 1902 was not the City Hall records, but rather obituaries extracted from the pages of the *Dallas Times Herald*. The population was increasing during this period as well, and so the actual number of deaths occurring in the years 1900 through 1902 likely was a little less than 1903's figures.

The number of deaths reported in 1904 seems to be consistent with the figures known for 1903, showing a slight increase (290 to 299), but the following years, 1905 through 1907, show a continual decrease in the number of Black deaths reported for Dallas, from 198 in 1905, to an all-time low in 1907 of just 71 deaths.

This latter period should reflect most strongly the population increase experienced by Dallas between 1900 and 1910, but paradoxically, the number of recorded deaths actually decreases substantially. The most logical explanation is that many Black deaths simply were not recorded at City Hall during the year 1905 through 1907. In fact, Peoples Undertaking Company apparently stopped recording their own interments at City Hall in 1906, though it is well documented through their own records that they continued to inter at Freedman's Cemetery and elsewhere with at least the same frequency as in previous years (Peoples Undertaking Daybooks).

Since the death records are almost certainly incomplete for the years 1900-1902 and 1905-1907, the years 1903 and 1904 will serve as proxy to represent the number of dead per annum experienced by Black Dallas just after the turn-of-the-century.

Table 8-10 lists the number of burials interred by each undertaker in Dallas from 1900 through 1907. Note that this table is not exclusive to Freedman's Cemetery, but rather includes every known death recorded from 1902 to July 26, 1907. The next table (8-11), subdivided by undertaker, actually lists the number of dead **known for Freedman's Cemetery** for this same temporal range. The totals in this table correspond exactly with those given in Table 8-8, save for the year 1902, when for some records, the specific undertaker is not given.

The death records may be utilized in many ways. One pertinent calculation is the number of indigent versus non-indigent deaths. This is of particular utility, since such a simple dichotomy is one easily observed in the archaeological record. The breakdown of indigent and non-indigent interments, by undertaker, is given in Tables 8-12 and 8-13.

Only the years 1903 and 1904 are summarized in this manner, due to the incomplete nature of the 1900-1901 and 1905-1907 records. For these two years, Peoples Undertaking Company (the African-American funeral home), interred three quarters of all paying customers (75.4%), with George Loudermilk interring most of the remaining burials (n=58; 20.1%) (see Table 8-13). Presumably, a similar rate occurred in the years for which only incomplete records are available.

The archival record is clear, then— for those interments dating to 1900 and later and displaying any type of mortary hardware (i.e., non-indigent), at least 3 out of 4 would have been interred by a single undertaker, Peoples. Therefore, those turn-of-the-century burials present in the preliminary burial sequence (discussed above), clearly associated with one another artifactually, spatially, and temporally— all implying a single source or

point of origin— can be safely attributed to Peoples Undertaking Company.

Constructing The Late Sequence: Filling in the Gaps

Burials containing the five handle types discussed above are not the only turn-of-the-century graves to exhibit artifactual and spatial patterning. Rather, these burials were chosen because they most easily served to illustrate the various factors of existing spatial, temporal, and artifactual patterns.

One important point to be emphasized again is that interments definitely were not randomly distributed across the cemetery landscape. No doubt family plots and groupings did exist. At least by the turn of the century, however, most interments were placed in the cemetery on a first come, first serve basis. Indeed, despite the lack of an official sexton until 1906-1907, there was still a spatial order inherent within Freedman's Cemetery (at least in certain sections of the site).

The ability to maintain this order, as to the alignment of burials within rows and the formation of new rows, was likely both simplified and intensified with the founding of Peoples Undertaking Company in 1900. During the Late Period, with half of all interments made at Freedman's interred by Peoples (based on the figures for 1903-04; see Table 8-10), the grave diggers employed by this firm would have both formulated and maintained the knowledge of grave location, and so by, row continuity and integrity.

The distribution of burials containing the five handle types illustrates this point quite readily. This basic pattern permits the establishment of a much broader sequence of events, inasmuch as the other burials found within these same rows or areas, lacking these

specific handle types, yet still possessing other mortuary hardware types in common, also date to the same time period.

The Late Period: Late Sequence

Of the 878 interments assigned to the Late Period and thus dated to 1900 or later, 801 (or 91.2% of total Late Period) could be seriated, or placed within a sequence that is temporally based and determined by a combination of artifactual and spatial attributes.

Building in part on the rows first defined by five handles (types 10, 7, 2, 21, 24), this Late Sequence is also broken up into easily definable rows or areas of burial concentrations. In all, 12 "rows" were defined for the Late Sequence. Eight of these rows are true rows (rows 1 through 7 and 9). The remaining "rows" are strictly speaking, not singular, linear arrangements of burials, but rather are burial groupings that have looser spatial definitions, and so in their formulation, rely more heavily on mortuary hardware associations. These comprise "rows" 8, and 10 through 12.

Since the term "row" was utilized at an early stage in the creation of the sequence, it seemed reasonable to continue its use as the signifier for the internal divisions within the sequence, despite the looseness of the definition in certain instances.

Table 8-14 gives the breakdown of these 12 rows and the number of burials assigned to each. As easily discerned, the numbers of burials assigned to each row are not uniform, but instead vary widely from a low of 32 (Row 11), to a high of 105 (Row 6). This is due to the manner in which the rows were constructed. For the true rows (1 through 7, 9), the divisions between them were simply determined by the number of

burials contained within that row, in addition to those burials located elsewhere, but possessing identical mortuary hardware assemblages. In sum, divisions (i.e., breaks between "rows") within the sequence were imposed only where natural or easily discernable breaks in artifactual or spatial patterning was observed.

All of the burials in the Late Sequence were sequentially numbered from 1 to 801. For example, Burial 126 was the first grave assigned to Row 1, and so was the first burial in the Late Sequence, with a sequence number of 1. The last burial in the sequence was the final interment placed in Row 12 (Burial 288), hence its Sequence number (801) was the last assigned.

Like the burials in the preliminary sequence, the rows contained within the Late Sequence are temporally organized. That is, Row 1 contains some of the first burials interred during the Late Period (circa 1900), while Row 12 is made up of some of the very last interments ever placed within Freedman's Cemetery (circa 1907).

The breakdown of burials in the Late Sequence, as to type or general classification, is given in Tables 8-15 and 8-16. Each burial was designated as belonging to one of four categories, listed as Burial Type. If a burial displayed a mortuary hardware assemblage that was a part of the overarching artifactual patterning suggestive of a single source or point of origin, then it was classified as a Peoples interment (code=**P**) or probable Peoples interment (code=**P?**). Of the 801 Late Sequence burials, 746 displayed artifactual patterning consistent with a single source of mortuary hardware, believed to be largely the product of Peoples Undertaking.

If the grave was totally lacking in mortuary hardware, and displayed other attributes of an indigent or pauper buried at city expense, it was classified as an indigent (code=I). Present within the Late Sequence are 36 indigent burials. Now most Late Period indigent burials, by their very definition, could not be placed within the Late Sequence, as they totally lacked mortuary hardware. However, the indigent burials in the Late Sequence were located in the Frontage road area of excavations, positioned within Late Sequence rows. Thus it was still possible to place these 36 burials within the Late Sequence, due to their spatial loci within those rows defined by patterned hardware burials.

Burials associated with unique mortuary hardware assemblages were coded with the letter "U" (n=14). Similarly, burials that had some hardware elements in common with believed Peoples graves, but in odd or incongruous combinations, were designated as Ambiguous Interments, and coded with the letter "A" (n=5). As with the indigents discussed above, it was possible to assign these 19 burials to the Late Sequence only due to their presence within the true rows present on the Frontage Road excavation area.

Assigning Dates of Interment: Calibrating the Late Sequence

Due to the nature of its construction, burials in the Late Sequence already were relatively dated. With knowledge of the archival record, it became possible to go one step further and calibrate the sequence to actual calendar years. Since it was established through the combined death records that Peoples Undertaking Company was responsible for at least 75% of all non-indigent interments, the bulk of artifactual patterning observed

with Late Period interments could be attributed the firm.

This factor was the primary basis for using the year 1900 (People's founding), as both the beginning of the Late Period, as well as the *terminus post quem* for the artifactual and spatial patterning that defines (and is contained within) the Late Sequence. The *terminus ante quem* for both the Late Sequence, in addition to the greater Late Period, is the end date of Freedman's Cemetery (July 26, 1907).

Calibrating the Late Sequence: Procedures

The Late Sequence was calibrated using only the presumed Peoples burials, since the frequency of burials interred by this firm was, essentially, the basic unit of measure employed—the very point upon which the archaeological data was meshed with the archival. As pointed out above, however, the Late Sequence is not composed exclusively of presumed Peoples interments; in fact, 55 burials (out of 801; 6.9%) were almost certainly non-Peoples in origin (e.g., Indigent, n=36; Unique or Ambiguous Hardware burials, n=19). Therefore, although these 55 interments are dated by their location within the Late Sequence, for the purpose of calibrating the sequence these burials could not be utilized in the calculations.

Two basic assumptions were made in calibrating the Late Sequence. First, it was assumed that the majority of Peoples' burials interred from 1900 through the summer of 1907 had been exhumed. The second factor that was assumed in calibrating the Late

Sequence was a roughly static death rate for the eight years encompassing the Late Period. Significant change in the death rate is unlikely, and would be extremely difficult to establish for the 8 year interval, since the death records are less than complete for some years. Nonetheless, the first assumption would seem grounded in both the archaeological as well as the historical record.

Certainly the sheer number of clearly turn-of-the-century graves recovered from the Frontage road area, displaying a unique spatial and artifactual pattern, suggested that the majority of graves dating after circa 1900 had been recovered. Post 1900 dating criteria, combined with an appropriately narrow time depth to the burials contained within the area of excavations, made this possibility especially compelling.

For example, several time diagnostics displaying mid-1890s *terminus post quem*s were recovered from the westernmost graves, such as the 1895 quarter and the circa 1891 safety pin associated with Handles 10 and 7. In contrast, several post-1900 diagnostics were recovered from the easternmost graves; e.g., the Elgin Casket Company hardware (dating to 1903 or later), recovered in association with Handle type 24. Simply put, the sheer number of graves clearly dated after 1900 strongly suggested that the majority of post 1899 interments originally interred by Peoples had been recovered (Total Late Period =878; presumed Peoples burials =746).

To calibrate the Late Sequence, the total number of months during the Late Period that Freedman's Cemetery was open and receiving interments was calculated. Although the Late Period lasts from 1900 to 1907, an eight year interval, historical records show

that Freedman's Cemetery was actually closed on July 26, 1907. Therefore the number of months contained within the Late Period (spanning from January 1, 1900 to July 31, 1907), is 91 (i.e., 12 months x 7 years = 84; 84 months + 7 months = 91 months).

To establish the estimated rate of interments made by Peoples Undertaking Company at Freedman's Cemetery, **the number of exhumed burials attributed to them (746)** was divided by the number of months contained within the Late Period (n=91). The product of this simple calculation is 8.20 burials per month interred at Freedman's Cemetery by Peoples, for 91 months.

For one year, then, the number of dead estimated to have been interred by Peoples (*based on exhumed burials*) is 98.4 (i.e., 12 months, multiplied by 8.20 burials) (see Table 8-16). Uncannily, this number, 98.4, is a virtual match for the number of dead known from the Death Records to have been interred at Freedman's Cemetery by Peoples Undertaking Company in 1903 (n=98 burials), which is the most complete year of the Death Records available for comparison.

Since the single year of 1903 is the most complete in the death records, it was utilized as a proxy by which to calculate the number of dead interred by Peoples Undertaking at Freedman's Cemetery for the remaining years.

As the estimated rate of burials interred by Peoples per year, or 98.30, essentially matches the number known for 1903, it is obvious that the number of estimated Peoples interments (as derived from the death records), if calculated from the same year, will yield a similar figure.

The total number of Peoples interments, **as estimated from the death records**, was calculated as follows. First, the number of dead interred by Peoples in 1903 was divided by twelve to derive the rate of burials per month, for the single year (98 divided by 12, = 8.167). The resulting number, 8.167, rounded up to 8.2, was next multiplied by the number of months in the Late Period (n=91). The end result was an expected one. The derived product, or 746.2 burials estimated to have been interred by Peoples Undertaking Company at Freedman's Cemetery matches the number of exhumed graves attributed to Peoples based on their artifactual and spatial patterning (n=746). Table 8-16 gives the number of burials in the Late Sequence, by year, as well as by burial type (e.g., P=Peoples, etc.).

The extremely precise correspondence between the calculated number of Peoples' burials at Freedman's Cemetery in the death records, and those exhumed burials displaying highly redundant patterning, is likely somewhat coincidental. It is possible that some Peoples burials interred at Freedman's lie well within the interior of the cemetery (e.g., as later additions to family plots), and so were not exhumed. Additionally, it is possible that some interments made at Freedman's Cemetery by the second most prolific undertaker, George W. Loudermilk, were mistakenly attributed to Peoples. The number of Late Period burials exhibiting unique or ambiguous mortuary hardware is only 28, but it is known from Loudermilk's own day books that his funeral home interred 158 individuals at Freedman's between January 1, 1902, and July 31, 1907.

A few of these were still born infants, and so may have been interred in simple boxes lacking hardware, a single factor that if true, would not in itself detract from the

number of burials attributed to Peoples. Additionally, many of Loudermilk's interments may have been located within the interior of the cemetery and so were never discovered during excavations. This would seem a plausible hypothesis, since except for the necessity of interring within predetermined loci (e.g., family plots), each individual undertaker or their grave diggers seemed to have had a preferred locale within the cemetery within which their own burials were repeatedly placed.

This likelihood of individual undertakers having a preferred area for their interments can be demonstrated from the exhumed burials. For example, the vast majority of graves located within the frontage road area of excavations display highly redundant patterning that can be largely attributed to a single source, presumed to be Peoples. In contrast, most recovered indigent burials are isolated from the frontage road area, and instead are concentrated along the northern periphery of excavations (e.g., the Lemmon Avenue area) in discrete clusters (see Figure 8-5). During the period in which Freedman's Cemetery was open, only Anglo undertakers held the various contracts for pauper burial with the county and city of Dallas.

Calibrating the Late Sequence: Caveats

Of course, the calculated number of interments made by Peoples between January 1900 and July 26, 1907, as calculated from a single year, is a rather crude measure that ignores the increase in population between 1900 and 1910. A not insignificant portion of this population increase experienced by Dallas can be attributed, however, to the annexation of the town of Oak Cliff in 1906, and Oak Cliff had its own black cemetery.

Any African-Americans dying in Oak Cliff, then, would not have been interred in Freedman's Cemetery.

While the increase in population between 1900 and 1907 is a factor that would suggest an increase in the number of dead interred at Freedman's Cemetery by Peoples (as well as other area undertakers), an additional factor actually suggests a continual decrease in the number of burials interred there after 1902. This additional factor is the presence of Woodland Cemetery (or the "New Colored Cemetery"), open for interments after January 1902. Between 1900 and August 1907, the number of deaths unambiguously indicated in the records for Woodland is 81 burials. This number must be considered a minimum, however, since after 1901 there are 180 burials in the Death records for which place of interment *wasn't* given, and additionally, the disposition of virtually all of Peoples interments after the summer of 1906 is unknown. Some of these were no doubt interred at Woodland Cemetery.

This is especially likely after 1904, when the records are known to be far from complete, and further, when Woodland likely was becoming an increasingly viable alternative to Freedman's. Of course, any annual increase in the number of interments made at Woodland Cemetery would mean a decrease in the number of burials at Freedman's. When the two factors of Woodland Cemetery's founding and the underlying understanding regarding the turn-of-the-century population increase are taken into account, the amazing similarity in the number of exhumed burials attributed to Peoples and the estimations derived from the archival record cannot be ignored, and strongly suggest an almost undeniable correlation.

A Description of the Late Sequence, Row by Row

The preliminary sequence, as discussed above, exhibits complex spatial and artifactual patterning attributed to Peoples Undertaking. This limited sequence, however, did not necessarily encompass the beginning of the pattern; i.e., it may not include the earliest burials interred by Peoples.

Rather, it must be emphasized that the preliminary sequence was formed only from those burials that exhibited the most obvious patterning (i.e., the most ubiquitous handle types). To determine the full extent of this patterning of distinctive mortuary hardware assemblages, the traits of all the exhumed graves were next examined.

A lengthy analysis revealed that the earliest handle type in the preliminary sequence, type 10, did appear to be the earliest predominate Peoples' handle type. Other burials, however, with identical hardware assemblages (save for the presence of Handle type 10), were both present and often adjacent to Handle 10 burials. Some of these apparently contemporary burials were concentrated within a row lying immediately to the west and adjacent to the haphazard row of handle type 10's displayed in Figure 8-2.

Approximately 40 of these associated burials exhibited clear affinities with Handle type 10 and 7 burials based on identical matches of multiple hardware forms shared by all burials. These associated burials, and the patterning they exhibit, diminish as burials continued to the west, until the assemblages eventually become indistinguishable from graves associated with the Middle Period. Indeed, the juncture of Middle Period burials and those patterned burials assigned to the Late Period occurs primarily along the northeastern extent of excavations, essentially where Lemmon Avenue and the southbound frontage road of Central Expressway meet. The earliest of Peoples burials,

then, where the complex pattern of mortuary hardware assemblages begins, are actually contained within a haphazard row, termed Row 1 of the Late Sequence.

As each Row is defined below, a table of all burials assigned to it is provided, as well as an overview map of the cemetery, illustrating each row's location. For Rows 1 through 7 and 9, where the spatial locus of individual burials is a primary criterion, further spatial referents are given. For these rows, the tables have been embedded into a detail map, displaying only the main portion of each row and excluding any outliers.

Although the scale is necessarily small, in part to include as many of the mortuary hardware types as possible, this procedure seemed the most expeditious means to an end. Alternatively, charting the locations of multiple coffin hardware elements would have required many more figures, extensive use of color, and even then the point may have been lost, due to the nature of the inclusive pattern, broken up and isolated as one or two elements at a time.

The tables provided with each Row contain the following information.

1. **Burial number:** the unique number designation for each exhumed grave.
2. **Burial Type:** the designation assigned to each grave that suggests its point of origin, based on its mortuary hardware assemblage. There are four designations; **P=Peoples**, **I=Indigent**; **U=Unique Hardware (unknown Undertaker)**; **A=Ambiguous Hardware**.

3. **Late Sequence:** a number, signifying each burial's position within the Late Sequence, numbered sequentially from 1 to 801.
4. **Year:** the estimated year in which each interment took place, based on the calibrated Late Sequence.
5. **Handle:** the handle type (or types) recovered with each interment; the number given is each handle's unique type number.
6. **Thumbscrew:** the thumbscrew type (or types) recovered with each interment, designated by type number. Note that all entries within this field describe only thumbscrews utilized as the *primary lid closure* for each burial; i.e., it is primarily a functional category. If a caplifter type, in lieu of a formal thumbscrew, was used for the purpose of securing a coffin lid, it will be present within this category, identified with a "c" prefix. If additional thumbscrews were present on a particular burial, but were associated with the viewing window complex, then these thumbscrews will be found under the Caplifter field, with a "t" prefix.
7. **Escutcheon:** the escutcheon type (or types) recovered with each interment.
8. **Caplifter:** this field designates all caplifters, by type number, associated with each burial. Their presence signifies that a viewing window was present on the burial. A

separate viewing window field was not included due to space limitations within the table itself. If a thumbscrew was associated with the viewing window complex, it will be included within this field, designated with a "t" prefix.

9. **Caplifter Base:** this field lists the type number of all caplifter bases associated with the viewing window complex of each interment. If an escutcheon type was used in lieu of a formal caplifter base, then it is included under this field and so noted using an "e" prefix.

10. **Plaque:** this field gives the type number for every plaque or ornament present on every burial. Plaque is the dominant type, but if an ornament is present instead or in addition to a plaque, it is signified with an "o" prefix.

11. **Ornamental Tack:** this field encompasses all ornamental tack types assigned at the cemetery, and each occurrence is noted by their specific type numbers.

12. **Iron Closure:** this field denotes the presence of all coffin fittings or internal construction elements by type number. This field is included principally to show the presence of Iron Closure 7, the designation at Freedman's for corrugated fasteners. These fasteners are time diagnostics, having an introduction date into the market place of circa 1900 (see Chapter 4).

It should be noted that while these mortuary hardware categories are consistently given for burials in each of the 12 Rows, these are not the only mortuary hardware elements recovered from these same burials. Additionally, for purposes of dating these same interments with the archival record, only two classes of mortuary hardware will be utilized: handles and thumbscrews. Although the dating aspects of other classes of hardware, such as plaques, ornaments, and caplifters, are known to me, including these elements would have produced extreme redundancy in the dating of individual burials, and would have made an at times tedious business even more so.

Some of the more representative mortuary hardware types associated with the Late Period are illustrated in Figures 8-29 and 8-30, in addition to Figure 8-3. Figure 8-29 provides visual identifications of 8 Handle types, while Figure 8-30 illustrates 15 of the more common Thumbscrew types.

The Late Sequence: Row 1 (1900)

Definition

Row 1, the first row in the Late Period's Late Sequence, is comprised of 45 burials (see Figures 8-6, 8-7; Table 8-17). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, all of Row 1 dates to 1900. This burial grouping is a true, though at times haphazardly composed, row, with most of its burials predominately located at the extreme western edge of excavations, within the Freedman's Memorial Park right-of-way.

Some burials not within the row proper (i.e., not spatially linked), yet possessing identical or nearly identical hardware assemblages, were placed within the row sequence.

Their relative position within the sequence was determined solely by those burials that exhibited the best correspondence or match of traits. This procedure for the placement of burials with like hardware assemblages was followed for all of the Late Sequence rows. Of the 45 burials in Row 1, seven were not spatially within the row proper: 1100, 1294, 1418, 1417, 1477, 1480, 1500.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 1 is displayed in Figure 8-7. Row 1 is composed of a majority of presumed Peoples burials (P; n=30;66.7%), with 11 Indigents (I; 24.4%), 3 Unknown hardware burials (U; 6.7%), and 1 burial with ambiguous coffin hardware (A; 2.2%) comprising the remainder of the row's composition.

The haphazard arrangement of the burials comprising Row 1 probably results from the fact that more than a single undertaker was responsible for the interments, with at least two, and probably three, undertakers actually involved: Peoples Undertaking, an unknown firm responsible for the "Unknown hardware" burials (possibly representing George Loudermilk), and finally the bulk of the "indigent" graves that were almost certainly interred by James Dunn, the Anglo undertaker who held the pauper burial contract with the county and the city between 1900 and 1904.

The mortuary hardware present within Row 1 is a curious mixture of both old and new forms of an eclectic variety. If the primary source of hardware was a jobber or mortuary wholesaler, one would expect a greater consistency of types, which is not the case for this row.

One possible interpretation for this mixture of hardware is that immediately after its founding, Peoples Undertaking Company obtained its initial stock not from a single mainstream supply house, but rather from a variety of sources, probably including Ed C. Smith and George Loudermilk, the two major white undertakers in the city. Although primary documents dating to 1900 are lacking from both the Loudermilk and Smith daybooks, their earliest extant records, dating to 1902, demonstrate that Peoples Undertaking was on relatively good terms with both Anglo mortuaries. Such cooperation is evidenced in Peoples' documented purchases of coffins and other goods from both Loudermilk and Smith (see Chapter 3; Tables 3-1 and 3-2).

For example, although the Ed C. Smith daybook spanning the year 1900 is missing (Daybook No. 15; November 2, 1899 through September 13, 1901), Day Book No. 16 (September 14, 1901 through August 30, 1902) contains several notations of the firm of Peoples Undertaking purchasing materials from Smith, beginning in January 1902. Table 3-2 displays all known references to Peoples Undertaking Company in the Ed C. Smith Day Books, from 1902 and continuing through the years that Freedman's Cemetery remained open.

Peoples Undertaking Company also was on good terms with George W. Loudermilk. This is documented through Loudermilk's own records. Although none of Loudermilk's pre-1902 daybooks are extant, the ledgers for 1902 and up reveal several Peoples entries. Table 3-1 displays all known entries of Peoples Undertaking in the Loudermilk ledgers from circa 1902 to 1905.

Although Peoples is noted only as renting hearses, carriages, and teams of horses from Loudermilk for these years, it is not unlikely that between 1900 and 1902, before

Peoples had established its own source for mortuary hardware, the firm purchased at least a portion of its initial stock from Loudermilk. By purchasing hardware in this manner—probably in an attempt to save money for themselves and their clientele— at times older, out of fashion hardware likely would have been obtained. Other mortuary hardware forms contained within Row 1, however, are demonstrably turn-of-the-century in origin.

Temporal Patterning

Burials in Row 1 are estimated to have been interred circa 1900, based on the calibrated Late Sequence. Certainly a number of coffin hardware types utilized with Row 1 burials are older forms, some with patent dates as early as the 1870s (e.g., Thumbscrew types 1, 14, 19, all patented 1878). Both thumbscrew types 14 and 19 were utilized primarily during the Middle Period at Freedman's, but yet are especially prominent in the artifact assemblage of Row 1, appearing on a total of 18 burials. It is clear, however, that these interments date after 1899 based on other dating criteria.

Some mortuary hardware types present in Row 1 have demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates (see Table 8-17). For any element of mortuary hardware to be represented in this table, each had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers only from the late 1890s or later, as established from the 61 coffin hardware catalogues consulted for this project (see Chapter 4). In particular, Handles 15, 18, and 23— all present in Row 1 and temporally diagnostic— are illustrated in Figure 8-29, while Thumbscrew type 15 can be found in Figure 8-30.

The Late Sequence: Row 2 (1900)

Definition

Row 2 is comprised of 34 burials (see Figures 8-8 and 8-9; Table 8-18). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, all burials within Row 2 have been dated to 1900. Of this row's 34 burials, 26 are within the eastern portion of the cemetery, along the south bound frontage road. These 26 burials define the spatial extent of Row 2 proper, a somewhat haphazardly aligned grouping, similar to Row 1 in this regard. Eight burials assigned to Row 2 are actually located on along Lemmon Avenue, within the First Acre or the northern portion of the 1884 Acreage: 1021, 1425, 1446, 1451, 1453, 1463, 1466, 1479. As with Row 1, the exact placement of these eight burials within the Late Sequence was determined by each burial's unique hardware assemblage.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 2 is shown in Figure 8-9. Row 2 is composed of a clear majority of presumed Peoples burials (P; n=29), with only 5 burials not displaying artifact assemblages consistent with a single source: 3 Indigents (I), 1 Unique hardware burial (U), and 1 burial displaying ambiguous coffin hardware (A).

Overall, the mortuary hardware assemblage contained within Row 2 is much more cohesive and consistent than seen with Row 1. For example, three predominate thumbscrew types present in Row 2 (Thumbscrews 14, 15, and 49) were present with 79% of all burials in Row 2 (n=27).

Handle types 10, 18, and 48, all double lug swingbails, are the handles primarily

utilized by adults (combined; n=14; 41.2%). Continuities are present in the burials, even between burials with rare or unique handle occurrences. One quick way of demonstrating such continuities is by examining the hardware assemblages of burials, across handle types.

Burial 1453, with Handle type 26 (single lug swingbail), is a subadult less than a year old. Burial 317, associated with Handle type 10 (double lug swingbail), is that of a subadult, aged six years. Finally, Burial 1451, containing the remains of an adult male, was associated with Handle type 47— a double lug swingbail of a more elaborate type than Handle type 10. Although these burials contain individuals of varying ages at death, and all have very different handle types, they share many hardware elements in common: caplifters, thumbscrews, escutcheons, ornamental tacks, and even thumbscrews used idiosyncratically as viewing window cover fasteners.

The consistency of Row 2's mortuary hardware assemblage suggests both a common *local* point of origin for these burials (i.e., Peoples Undertaking), as well a common source of manufacture (or alternatively, wholesaler).

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-18 gives the dating aspects of selected hardware present within burials in Row 2. In addition, one clothing element associated with Burial 330, the type 1F Safety pin (first introduced in 1891), provides a *terminus post quem* likely no earlier than the mid-1890s. This dating is consistent with the estimated interment date of 1900 for Row 2 interments within the calibrated Late Sequence.

Some coffin hardware types present in Row 2 are older forms (e.g., Thumbscrew

type 14, patented 1878). Row 2 does differ somewhat from the previous row, however, in that more hardware clearly has its origin or dominate usage in the turn of the century. Especially useful in this regard are the multiple associations of Thumbscrew type 15, first seen (in the sources used as reference), in the turn-of-the-century Chattanooga Coffin Co. Catalogue (see Figure 8-30).

As with Row 1, each hardware type in Table 8-18 had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later.

The Late Sequence: Row 3 (late 1900/ early 1901)

Definition

Row 3 contains 84 burials (see Figures 8-10 through 8-12; Tables 8-19 and 8-20). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, the burials within Row 3 date to late 1900 and early 1901.

Of this row's 84 burials, 46 are contained within the eastern portion of the cemetery, along the south bound frontage road. These 46 burials define the spatial extent of Row 3 proper. As with the two previous rows, Row 3 is at times a haphazardly aligned grouping. The remaining 38 burials assigned to Row 3 are located along Lemmon Avenue, either within the First Acre or the northern portion of the 1884 Acreage. The specific placement of each of these burials was entirely based on its unique hardware assemblage.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 3 is illustrated in Figures 8-11 and 8-12. Unlike the previous rows, Row 3 is almost entirely composed of presumed Peoples burials (P; n=82; 97.6%), with only 2 burials displaying artifact assemblages inconsistent with a single source {1 Indigent (I), and 1 Unique hardware burial (U)}.

Referring to the tables in Figures 8-11 and 8-12, it can be seen that the standardized mortuary hardware assemblages, present in part in Row 2, is intensified in Row 3, though some idiosyncratic hardware still remains. For adults, common handle types include types 10 and 18 (combined, n=22; 26.2% of total Row 3). Handle type 2, the most common handle recovered at Freedman's Cemetery (n=53 burials), occurs for the first time in the Late Sequence in Row 3, on a total of three burials. For children, the most common handle types are all single lug swingbail "Lamb" types, including Handles 11, 23, 26, 130.

Row 3 clearly is dominated by a single thumbscrew, Type 15, which occurs on 44 burials in Row 3, or over half of the burials in the entire row (52.4%). Dating criteria for specific artifacts, and mortuary hardware is given below.

Temporal Patterning

As determined by the calibrated Late Sequence, burials within Row 3 date to late 1900 and early 1901. Table 8-19 gives the pertinent time diagnostics present within burials in Row 3, both dating to 1891.

Additionally, demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for certain hardware types are given in Table 8-20. As before, to be present in this table, each

hardware type had to have first appeared for purchase from mainstream manufacturers, beginning in the late 1890s or later, as determined from mortuary hardware catalogues (see Chapter 4). The handle types in Row 3 offer some variety, with those available from turn-of-the-century mortuary hardware companies well represented in Table 8-20. Thumbscrew type 15's dominance within the row translates to an equal dominance of this table.

The Late Sequence: Row 4 (late 1901/1902)

Definition

Row 4 contains 93 burials (see Figures 8-13 through 8-15; Tables 8-21 and 8-22). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, these burials date to late 1901 and early 1902.

Of this row's 93 burials, 73 are contained within the eastern portion of the cemetery, along the south bound frontage road. These burials define the spatial extent of Row 4 proper. Overall, Row 4 is a haphazard, bifurcated burial grouping. This bifurcation apparently occurred when Row 4 intersected with Row 3 (see Figures 8-13 and 8-31). Twenty burials assigned to Row 4 actually are located along Lemmon Avenue. The specific placement within Row 4 of each of these burials was based on its unique hardware assemblage.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 4 is displayed in Figures 8-14 and 8-15. Most burials contained within Row 4 have hardware assemblages implying a

single source or point of origin (P), consistent with Peoples Undertaking Company in the archival record (N=84; 90.3% of Row 4 interments). The remaining Row 4 burials include 6 graves of indigents (I) (6.5%) and 3 burials with unique hardware assemblages (U) (3.2%).

Principal handle types present in Row 4 are Handle's 2 (n=11) and 7 (n=21) (see Figure 8-3). Combined, these two handles account for over 1/3 of all of Row 4 (n= 32; 34.4%). The principal thumbscrew type in Row 4 is type 6, also occurring on 32 interments (34.4% of total Row 4).

In delineating unique hardware assemblages suggestive of a single source of interments (i.e., Peoples Undertaking), the spatial distribution and artifact associations of escutcheon types 45 and 5 are important to consider (see Figure 8-30). Type 45's paired thumbscrew type is usually 48, while escutcheon type 5's matched thumbscrew is type 6. Yet careful examination of some burials in Row 4 will reveal that these types often are swapped out, or rather, mismatched. That is, thumbscrew type 6 is sometimes not utilized with its design match (escutcheon type 5), but rather with type 45, and vice versa. The interments most commonly associated with these thumbscrew and escutcheon types are handles 2 and 7. The wholesaler or manufacturer, as well as jobber, would not have readily offered these types in mismatched sets, so their mixing is the result of a particular local undertaker, almost certainly Peoples. This particular example is not unique; rather, such idiosyncratic hardware assemblages are commonplace.

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-21 gives the pertinent, associated time diagnostics present within burials in Row 4. The sole diagnostic identified for Row 4, and chosen for inclusion, were five occurrences of Safety Pin type 1F, which has an introduction date of circa 1891, providing a *terminus post quem* likely in the mid-1890s.

Demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for specific hardware types are given in Table 8-22. For inclusion, each hardware type had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later. All of these dating criteria are consistent with the estimated interments dates of late 1901 and early 1902, as defined within the calibrated Late Sequence.

The Late Sequence: Row 5 (1902)

Definition

Row 5 contains 63 burials (see Figures 8-16 and 8-17; Tables 8-23 and 8-24). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, these burials date to 1902.

Fifty-four burials are located in the eastern portion of the site, within that area once covered by the south bound frontage road of North Central Expressway. These 54 burials define the spatial boundaries of Row 5 proper. In contrast with previous rows, Row 5 is a well constructed, highly linear burial grouping (see Figure 8-16). Only 9 burials assigned to Row 5 are located along Lemmon Avenue. The specific location within the row for each of these 9 burials was dependant upon their particular mortuary hardware assemblages.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 5 is displayed in Figure 8-17. As previously noted with Row 4, the principal handle type present in Row 5 is Handle 7 (n=20), while Handle type 2 accounts for only two interments. As with Row 4, these two types together account for over 1/3 of all of Row 4 (n=22;34.9%). Four thumbscrew types in this row (types 2, 13, 16, 20), combined, were present on over half the interments (N=38; 60.3% of total Row 5) (see Figure 8-30). Clearly, most burials in Row 5 display hardware assemblages strongly indicative of a single source or point of origin, believed to be Peoples Undertaking Company (P; n=57; 90.4% of Row 5 interments). The remaining Row 5 burials are the graves of 6 indigents (I) (9.5%).

Temporal Patterning

Pertinent late 19th century time diagnostics associated with Row 5 burials are given in Table 8-23. Although the predominate artifact type, as in previous rows, is Safety Pin type 1F, the inclusion of an 1898 nickel in Burial 1486 is serendipitous and bolsters the circa 1902 date assigned to all of the burials present in Row 5.

Specific hardware types with demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates are listed in Table 8-24. Each hardware type present had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4 for catalogues used as reference). The *terminus post quem*s from these associated artifacts are consistent with the circa 1902 dating assignment determined from the calibrated Late Sequence.

The Late Sequence: Row 6 (late 1902/1903)

Definition

Row 6 contains 105 burials (see Figures 8-18 through 8-20; Tables 8-25 and 8-26). As such, it is the largest of the 12 "Rows" defined for the Late Sequence. The burials in Row 6 date to late 1902 and 1903.

Of the 105 burials assigned to Row 6, 66 (or 62.9%) are located in the eastern portion of the site, within that area once covered by the south bound frontage road of North Central Expressway. These 66 interments define the spatial boundaries of Row 6 proper. As with Row 5, Row 6 is a well constructed, highly linear burial grouping (see Figure 8-18). Thirty-nine burials assigned to Row 6 are located along Lemmon Avenue. The position of each within the row was based upon their specific mortuary hardware assemblages.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 6 is displayed in Figures 8-19 and 8-20. Burials in this row possess hardware types utilized together in such a way as to strongly suggest a single source or point of origin, interpreted as Peoples Undertaking Company (P; n=104; 99% of Row 6 interments). Row 6 contains a single indigent burial (I)(Burial 905).

Referring to the tables in Figures 8-19 and 8-20, it can be seen that the standardized mortuary hardware assemblages present in previous rows still remain. For

adults, common adult handle types are types 2, 7, and 131 (combined, n=34; 32.4% of total Row 6). Handle type 2, Freedman's most common variety (n=53 burials), occurs with the most frequency (n=23; 22% of Row 6 burials).

Row 6 clearly is dominated by a handful of thumbscrew types, including types 11, 26, and 53. Combined, these thumbscrews were present on 52 burials in Row 6, or nearly half of the burials in the entire row (49.5%). Their sheer number of occurrence within a restricted area is in itself suggestive of a single source. Additionally, these thumbscrews also were occasionally found in association with each other, on individual burials (e.g., Burials 765 and 898; Ts 11 and 26), bolstering the hypothesis of a single source (e.g., Peoples). Dating criteria for specific artifacts, and mortuary hardware, is given below.

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-25 gives the associated time diagnostics present with burials in Row 6. Burials in this row are well dated, with an 1892 nickel (Burial 1002), and one Safety pin type 1DIV (patented in 1896), in addition to several interments associated with corrugated fasteners (N=7), which have an established circa 1900 introduction date in the market place (see Chapter 4).

Demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for known hardware types are given in Table 8-26. Each of these hardware types was available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers beginning in the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4). The associated artifacts clearly are in agreement with the calibrated Late Sequence's estimated dating of burials in Row 6 to late 1902 and 1903.

The Late Sequence: Row 7 (late 1903/1904)

Definition

Row 7 contains a mere 40 burials (see Figures 8-21 and 8-22; Tables 8-27 and 8-28). The burials in this row are estimated to date to late 1903 and early 1904.

Row 7 is a highly linear burial grouping (see Figure 8-21). Virtually all of Row 7's interments are located within the eastern portion of the site, or that area once covered by the south bound frontage road of North Central Expressway, defining the spatial boundaries of Row 7 proper (N=37; 92.5%). Only 3 burials assigned to Row 7 are located along Lemmon Avenue. The position within the sequence for each of these 3 burials was determined solely by their individual mortuary hardware assemblages.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

Row 7's artifactual and spatial patterning is displayed in Figure 8-22. Burials in this row possess hardware types strongly suggestive of a single source or point of origin, interpreted as Peoples Undertaking Company (P; n=38; 95% of Row 7). Besides these probable Peoples graves, Row 7 also contains the grave of a single indigent (I; Burial 876), and one unique hardware burial (U; Burial 832).

Referring to the table in Figure 8-22, it can be seen that standardized mortuary hardware assemblages, present in previous rows, remains a constant. For adults, common handle types are types 2, 20, and 21 (combined, n=18; 45% of total Row 7). Handle type 2 (Freedman's most common handle), occurs with much less frequency than in the previous Row 6 (n=5; 12.5% of Row 7 burials), while another very similar double lug

swingbail type, Handle type 21, is the most common handle in Row 7 (n=9; 22.5%). This handle, in part, seems to have been the direct replacement for Handle type 2, and in fact, both occur together on a single burial in this row (Burial 847).

Of thumbscrew types present in Row 7, a few are truly dominant, including types 22 and 23 (see Figure 8-30). Together, these two thumbscrews were present on 30 burials in Row 7, or three quarters of the row's graves (75%). Again, as with previous thumbscrews, their sheer frequency of occurrence within a restricted area is, in itself, highly suggestive of a single source or point of origin. Additional evidence bolstering this conclusion is the fact that these thumbscrews are commonly associated with each other on individual burials (e.g., Burials 809, 834, and 847 all possess both thumbscrew types). Specific dating criteria for pertinent artifacts and mortuary hardware is given below.

Temporal Patterning

The burials in this row are estimated to date to late 1903 and early 1904. Row 7's associated time diagnostics, as given in Table 8-27, only support this dating. Although few in number, the key artifacts represented here offer up excellent *terminus post quem*s, with the corrugated fasteners recovered from two burials, as well as the 1895 Quarter recovered with Burial 833.

Demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for known hardware types are given in Table 8-28. To be listed, each given hardware type was necessarily available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers beginning in the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4).

The Late Sequence: Row 8 (late 1904/ early 1905)

Definition

Row 8 contains 91 burials (see Figure 8-23; Tables 8-29 through 8-31). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, these burials date to late 1904 and early 1905.

Of the burials assigned to Row 8, 74 are within the eastern portion of the cemetery, along the southbound frontage road. These 74 burials (81.3%) define the spatial extent of Row 8 proper. Unlike previous "rows," Row 8 is not a true linear alignment, but rather consists of a concentration of graves within a well bounded and highly restricted area. While the bulk of Row 8's burials are within the southbound frontage road area, 17 (or 18.7% of the row) are located along Lemmon Avenue, either within the First Acre or the northern portion of the 1884 Acreage. Their specific placement within the sequence was entirely based on each grave's unique hardware assemblage.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 8 is displayed in Figure 8-23 and Table 8-29. Since there was no linear arrangement to the graves for this row, the identification of mortuary hardware assemblages of individual graves, in combination with each burials' location, was not attempted. Rather, knowledge of the restricted spatial extent of the burial grouping and a simple reference to the table should suffice. Row 8 is almost entirely composed of presumed Peoples burials (P; n=88; 96.7%), with only 3 burials displaying artifact assemblages inconsistent with a single source: 2 Indigents (I; Burials 1019 and 768), and 1 Ambiguous hardware burial (A; Burial 984).

Referring to Table 8-29, it can be seen that the standardized and yet idiosyncratic mortuary hardware assemblages present in previous rows are also present in Row 8. For adults, common handle types include types 24, 2, and 21 (combined, n=16; 17.62% of total Row 8). As usual, for children the most common handle types are single lug swingbail "Lamb" varieties, including Handles 32 (N=13; 14.3% of Row 8) and 35 (N=7; 7.7% of Row 8).

The thumbscrew types utilized with burials in Row 8 are dominated by a few types, including Thumbscrew type 23 (N=30; 33%), type 22 (N=7; 7.7%), and thumbscrew type 25 (N=26; 28.6%). Not only are these types ubiquitous, they were often found associated with one another on individual interments, a pattern strongly suggesting a common source or point of origin for these graves.

For example, thumbscrew type 25 is a diminutive type designed primarily for use with children's coffins, while Thumbscrew types 22 and 23 are adult-sized forms (see Figure 8-30). When thumbscrew type 23 was utilized on a burial with a viewing window, the diminutive thumbscrew type 25 was often used on the same burial, as fasteners for the viewing window cover panel. Co-occurrence of these two types was observed on ten burials at Freedman's Cemetery, and three of these co-occurrences were in Row 8 (Burials 769, 787, 805). Dating criteria for specific artifacts, and mortuary hardware, are given below.

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-30 lists the pertinent time diagnostics within Row 8's burials. Multiple time diagnostic artifacts demonstrating an undeniable post-1900 *terminus post quem*

were present on 24 burials in Row 8, including three burials associated with Elgin Casket Company (a firm not founded until 1903). Further, one burial was found with cuff buttons advertising the Dayton Bicycle (a type of bicycle not distributed by the Davis Sewing Machine Company until 1896), and three burials were recovered with examples of Safety Pin type 1HI, not patented until February 13, 1900. Burials in Row 8 have been dated by their position within the late Sequence to late 1904 and early 1905, and the associated time diagnostics tend to confirm this assessment.

Demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for certain hardware types are given in Table 8-31. As before, to be present in this table, each hardware type had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4).

The Late Sequence: Row 9 (1905)

Definition

Row 9 contains 59 burials (see Figures 8-24 and 8-25; Tables 8-3 and 8-33). With the applied calibration of the Late Sequence, the burials in this row are estimated to date to 1905.

Virtually all of the burials assigned to Row 9 are located along the extreme eastern periphery of the cemetery property, within that area once covered by the south bound frontage road of North Central Expressway (N=51; 86.4%). Only 8 burials assigned to Row 9 are located elsewhere, namely along Lemmon Avenue. The position within the sequence for each of these 8 burials was determined solely by their individual mortuary

hardware assemblages. Unlike the previous Row 8, Row 9 is a well defined and linear burial grouping (see Figure 8-24).

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

Row 9's artifactual and spatial patterning is illustrated in Figure 8-25. The vast majority of mortuary hardware assemblages displayed are strongly indicative of a single source or point of origin, interpreted as Peoples Undertaking Company (P; n=53; 89.8% of Row 9). Besides the probable Peoples graves, Row 9 also contains 4 Unique hardware burials (6.8%), and 2 burials with Ambiguous coffin hardware (3.4%).

Ubiquitous and idiosyncratic mortuary hardware assemblages are present in this row. For adults, common handle types include types 21 and 24, both occurring on 7 burials (combined, n=14; 23.7% of total Row 9). Both handle types are commonly associated with Thumbscrew type 23.

This thumbscrew is the dominate type in Row 9, occurring with a total of 10 burials (16.9% of Row 9). The second and third most ubiquitous thumbscrew types are 16 (N=9; 15.3%), and 25 (N=5; 8.5%). Combined, these three types were associated with 24 graves (or 40.7% of Row 9). As with previous rows, these thumbscrew types were at times found in association with one another, with individual burials (e.g., Burial 264). Specific dating criteria for these artifacts and others are given below.

Temporal Patterning

Pertinent time diagnostics associated with Row 9's interments are listed in Table 8-32. Artifacts from a total of 11 burials were chosen for inclusion. All display a *terminus*

post quem of at least circa 1900, and two (associated with Elgin hardware), must have been interred no earlier than 1903.

Further dating criteria can be found in Table 8-33, where demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for known hardware types are given. To be listed, each given hardware type was necessarily available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers beginning in the late 1890s or later. The associated artifacts clearly are in total agreement with the calibrated Late Sequence's estimated dating of burials in Row 9 to 1905.

The Late Sequence: Row 10 (late 1905/early 1906)

Definition

Row 10 contains 97 burials (see Figure 8-26; Tables 8-34 through 8-36). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, these burials date to late 1905 and early 1906.

Unlike previous rows, burials in Row 10 are located primarily on the First Acre along the northern extent of excavations, within the area once covered by Lemmon Avenue. The spatial arrangement of Row 10 is not linear. Rather, Row 10 is a discrete burial cluster, somewhat amorphous in form.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

Virtually all burials contained within Row 10 display hardware assemblages consistent with a single source or point of origin, believed to be Peoples Undertaking Company (P; N=96; 99% of Row 10 interments). Without commonality of mortuary

hardware, and the very structure of Row 10 essentially precluding assignment to the row based solely on spatial referents, only a single grave not believed to be Peoples (P), was assigned to this row— Burial 478, designated as an Unique (or Unknown Undertaker) hardware burial (U; 1% of Row 10).

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 10 is displayed in Figure 8-26 and Table 8-34. The principal handle type present in this row is Handle 24, an adult sized, double lug swingbail type (for Row 10, N=33). This single handle type was associated with over one third of the row's interments (34.4%). The principal thumbscrew in Row 10 is type 27, occurring on 28 interments (28.9% of total Row 10). Handle type 24 and Thumbscrew type 27 are both ferrous in composition (unusual for coffin hardware during this period) and both commonly are associated with one another.

In recognizing unique hardware assemblages suggestive of a single source of interments (e.g., Peoples Undertaking), the spatial distribution and artifact associations of Thumbscrew types 27 and 23, and Escutcheon types 21 and 18, are worth noting (see Figure 8-30). Both Thumbscrew 27 and Escutcheon 21 are cast iron in composition, while Thumbscrew 23 and escutcheon 18 are white metal. The design match for Type 27 Thumbscrew is Escutcheon type 21, while the matched escutcheon for Thumbscrew type 23 is type 18. These are the matched pairs, as one would have seen them in mortuary hardware catalogues, and as they would have been purchased. Examination of Table 8-35, however, will reveal that one burial in Row 10 had a mismatched ts/esc set; Thumbscrew type 27 was utilized with Escutcheon type 18 on Burial 1215 (the escutcheon whose design actually matches Thumbscrew 23).

In the Late Sequence, Thumbscrew type 27 was utilized most commonly with

burials in Row 10, while Thumbscrew type 23 was primarily found in Rows 7 through 9. In fact, the latter type occurs only once in Row 10, its final appearance in the Late Sequence. It is possible that the mismatched ts/esc set on Burial 1215 represents utilization of residual type 18 escutcheons (i.e., all that remained in stock from the last purchase of the type) with the then predominate thumbscrew type, resulting in a mismatched set. This association demonstrates a good continuity between major two thumbscrew types (Type 23, N=64 interments; Type 27, N=32), linking the two types and implying a single source or point of origin for the associated interments. Note that this example is not unique. Rather, such idiosyncratic hardware assemblages are commonplace within Row 10, and throughout the Late Sequence

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-35 gives the pertinent, associated time diagnostics present with burials in Row 10. This row has multiple artifacts with *terminus post quem*s of 1900 and later, though all assignments actually are based on two factors; the introduction of corrugated fasteners (Iron Closure type 7), determined to be circa 1900, and elements of coffin hardware manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company, a firm not founded until 1903 (see Chapter 4). An assured 1903 or later dating for 27 burials in Row 10 (27.8% of the row), clearly supports the dating for this row, derived from the calibrated Late Sequence, of late 1905 and early 1906.

Additional dating criteria bolstering this temporal assignment are listed in Table 8-36, where demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for specific hardware types are given. For inclusion, each hardware type had to have been available for purchase from

mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4).

The Late Sequence: Row 11 (late 1906/early 1907)

Definition

Row 11 contains 32 burials (see Figure 8-27; Tables 8-37 through 8-39). Within the calibrated Late Sequence, these burials date to late 1906 and early 1907.

As with Row 10, burials in Row 11 are located primarily on the First Acre along the northern extent of excavations. Similarly, the spatial distribution of Row 11 burials is not linear, but rather consists of a discrete burial cluster. The burials of Row 10 somewhat frame the extent of Row 11.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

The mortuary hardware assemblages within Row 11 are consistent with a single source or point of origin, all presumed to be Peoples Undertaking Company (P; N=32; 100% of Row 11 interments).

Row 11's artifactual and spatial patterning are displayed in Figure 8-27 and Table 8-37. The dominant handle type for Row 11 is Handle 6, an adult sized, double lug swingbail type. It occurs on over one third of Row 11 burials (for Row 11, N=11; 34.4%). The second most common handle associated with this row is Type 8 (N=4; 12.5% of Row 11) (see Figure 8-29).

Of the thumbscrew types associated with Row 11, the three most common are types 7, 12, and 16. Thumbscrew type 7 is dominant, appearing with 15 burials (46.9%).

All three types either appear together, or have associated hardware elements in common. For example, thumbscrews 12 and 7 were utilized together on Burials 1114 and 1167, and all three thumbscrew types were utilized with the most common handle type in the row, Type 6.

Temporal Patterning

Row 11's associated time diagnostics demonstrating *terminus post quem*s in the 20th century are given in Table 8-38. Nine burials had identified artifact types with unquestionable dating of 1900 or later, including two burials associated with a specific form of safety pin not patented until 1900 (Burials 1111, 460), and three interments associated with Elgin Casket Company hardware, necessarily dating to 1903 or later (Burials 1126, 1130, 1144) (see Chapter 4). Thus, the estimated dating for burials in Row 11, of late 1906 and early 1907, is entirely consistent with these associated time diagnostics.

Demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for particular hardware types are listed with Table 8-39, with each given coffin hardware element available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers only from the late 1890s or later (see Chapter 4).

The Late Sequence: Row 12 (1907)

Definition

Row 12 contains 58 burials (see Figure 8-28; Tables 8-40 through 8-42), dated within the calibrated Late Sequence to early and mid 1907. Row 12, the last of the burial

groupings that make up the Late Sequence, is the most erratic and idiosyncratic of the 12 rows. As with Rows 10 and 11, this row's spatial distribution is not linear. Rather, the burials that form Row 12 have an erratic distribution across the cemetery landscape. As such, each burial's mortuary hardware assemblage was the chief criteria for placement within the "row" proper. The majority of Row 12 burials are located along the northern extent of excavations, within that area once covered by Lemmon Avenue, though some graves extend onto the southbound frontage road.

Spatial/Artifactual Patterning

Most burials in Row 12 possess mortuary hardware assemblages consistent with a single source or point of origin, presumed to be Peoples Undertaking Company (P; N=53; 91.4% of Row 10 interments). The remaining 5 burials assigned to Row 12 are Indigents (I; 8.6%).

The artifactual and spatial patterning that defines Row 10 is displayed in Figure 8-28 and Table 8-40. The principal adult handle types are 3 (n=6), 6 (n=4), and 8 (n=12). In total, these handles were present on 37.9% of Row 12 interments.

All three handle types share coffin hardware in common, especially the dominant thumbscrew types: 2, 7, and 12 (see Figure 8-30). All three handle types were associated with these thumbscrews, in various combinations. For example, Thumbscrew type 2 was found in association with Handle types 3 (Burials 46, 1432, etc.) and 6 (Burial 1323), and Thumbscrew type 7 was recovered with Handles 8 (Burials 62, 178, etc.) and 6 (Burials 49, 363, etc.). Other hardware types in common with these three handle types include Plaque types 1 and 2, all found with Handles 3, 6, and 8.

Temporal Patterning

Table 8-41 gives the pertinent, associated time diagnostics present within burials in Row 12. Sixteen burials were associated with artifacts possessing *terminus post quem*s of 1900 and later. Temporal controls include the 1900 introduction date of corrugated fasteners (or Iron Closure type 7), elements of coffin hardware manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company (a firm not founded until 1903), and Safety Pin Type 1DIII, a type patented in September 1900 (see Chapter 4). With *terminus post quem*s of 1900 or later associated with over one quarter of the interments in Row 12 (N=16; 27.6%), the estimated year of interment of 1907 assigned to these graves, as derived from the calibrated Late Sequence, is well supported.

Additional dating criteria supporting this dating are shown in Table 8-42, where demonstrable circa 1900 or later introduction dates for specific hardware types are given. For inclusion, each hardware type had to have been available for purchase from mainstream manufacturers from the late 1890s or later.

Interpreting the sequence of events in the Late Sequence

With the criteria used to define the spatial, artifactual, and temporal basis of the 12 rows in the Late Sequence established, it now becomes possible to re-examine these same rows as a relatively seamless sequence of events. This overview, though admittedly brief, will establish diachronic trends in the material culture (and implied socioeconomics) of the graves, reveal the pattern in regard to the utilization of the cemetery landscape, and

additionally this pattern's implications. Also, a brief note on the basic demographic composition of the rows will be given. Finally, trends in the Late Sequence will be correlated with the historic record.

The spatial parameters of Rows 1 through 5 are shown in Figure 8-31. This figure displays a detailed map of only the southbound frontage road area, or the easternmost portion of the cemetery.

Viewed in its wider context, the somewhat erratic nature of Row 1 (delineated in yellow) can be seen to have been based, in part, on its drifting slightly to the west and merging (or intersecting) with a previously formed (and unexcavated) row. Indeed, the somewhat erratic method of burial placement and row continuity seen in Row 1 seem to have many parallels within the unexcavated Freedman's Memorial Park area, where rows can be seen to merge and separate throughout their course.

The meandering nature of Row 1 continues with Rows 2 and 3. Certainly Row 4's bifurcation, or the split that occurs within the row towards its northern extent, probably is the result of its intersecting with elements of the previous Row 3. As described previously, the "erraticness" of Rows 1 through 4 probably can be traced to multiple undertakers and grave diggers responsible for individual interments within the rows. It is only with Row 5 that the spatial arrangement of burials becomes more orderly.

Within the calibrated Late Sequence, the interments in Row 5 have estimated interment dates of 1902. It was in this same year that Woodland Cemetery, formed to replace Freedman's, opened to the public. Additionally, 1902 saw elements within the African-American community petitioning the Dallas City Council to have Freedman's

Cemetery closed (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 28, p. 107).

The resulting report from the Council's Sanitary Committee asserted that the cemetery was entirely filled with graves (Dallas City Council Minutes; Series 1, Vol. 28, p. 107). Actually, in referring to Figure 8-31, it can be seen that this was somewhat close to the truth; the only pristine, unused portions of the cemetery lay in its extreme southeast corner, where Rows 6 through 9 later were formed.

Row 6 closely parallels the orientation and slightly arching nature of Row 5, and as a result is a well constructed complement (Figure 8-32). Row 7 is much the same, except for an interesting phenomenon that occurs at the end of this row. Due in part to the orientation and curvature at the southern ends of Rows 5 and 6, the orientation of Row 7 is such that it literally runs into the eastern boundary of the cemetery somewhat abruptly, leaving it much more truncated in comparison to previous rows.

With the end of Row 7, the remaining pristine portion of the cemetery consisted of a small, triangular "pie wedge" at the site's extreme southeastern boundary, an area that was filled with burials assigned to Row 8. The necessity of filling in this triangular area with graves accounts for the idiosyncratic spatial configuration of this row.

The nature of Row 9, the final row on the frontage road, is also quite interesting. The orientation of burials within Row 9 differs significantly from those in previous Rows 4 through 7, and even Row 8 (e.g., Burial 263, Row 9, 79 degrees; Burial 846, Row 6, 110 degrees). This is because the orientation of Row 9 is based not on previous rows, but rather the graves are aligned perpendicular to the eastern boundary of the cemetery. It is likely that graves in Row 9 were interred on or immediately adjacent to the footpath that would have skirted the border between Freedman's Cemetery and adjacent properties.

The end of Row 9 probably reached the northeast corner of the cemetery in the estimated year of 1905. As Freedman's continued to be utilized by the African-American community, no more pristine areas were available at the site. This necessitated a return to Freedman's First Acre, with burials assigned to Rows 10 and 11. Due to the unorganized nature of interments made there in the 1870s and 1880s, the First Acre contained some isolated areas empty of graves. Unfortunately, in the process of interring new graves, earlier interments sometimes were impacted. The *Dallas Times Herald* newspaper articles, published in June 1905 and June 1906 and decrying the stacking episodes occurring at this time, reflect burials assigned to Rows 10 and 11, dated to these same years.

In September 1906, the meeting between Mayor Smith, Patrick Donovan and Peoples Undertaking Company resulted principally in two things: a temporary continuance in issuing burial permits, as well as the hiring of Gloster Williams to serve as sexton for Freedman's Cemetery. The hiring of Williams in the fall of 1906 likely resulted in fewer incidents of stacked graves. Indeed, in reference to Figure 8-33, the significant decrease in the numbers of stacking episodes seen in Rows 11 and 12 of the Late Sequence—two rows that logically would have included the most stacking of any of the Late Sequence—at least in part likely reflects the good work of Gloster Williams.

As with the incidence of stacked burials in the Late Sequence (Figure 8-33), other important trends present within the Sequence are charted in Figures 8-34, 8-35, 8-37, and 8-38. Some of these trends are of particular significance, in part because they can be correlated to the historical record.

Historical Trends in the Late Sequence

Figure 8-34 displays the rate of Hexagonal Coffin utilization in the Late Sequence, by Row and percentage. Of particular importance is the fact that hexagonal coffin utilization, instead of showing a continual decrease, as might be expected from national trends (see Chapter 4), actually increases during the early years of the Sequence before declining to a mere 12.1% in Row 12, or 1907. This trend in hexagonal coffin utilization can itself be correlated with other trends, both archaeological and archival.

First, the rates of those burials possessing both cut *and* wire nails together were charted against hexagonal coffins (Figure 8-35). It can be seen that the decline in hexagonal coffins beginning in circa 1903 has a parallel in burials associated with both cut and wire nails utilized together on a single burial.

With burials containing both cut and wire nail varieties, when cases of sufficient wood preservation allowed for the separation of nails into inner and outer coffin samples, it was found that the inner boxes (i.e., the coffin proper), most often had exclusively cut nails, while the outer box or packing crate had exclusively wire nails. This suggested that the coffins were actually sufficiently older than their shipping crates, at least to have been constructed with a temporally older variety of nail type— cut nails. The reason why outer boxes, or shipping crates, would be of more recent construction can be explained by the method used in their creation.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, immediately after coffins or caskets were constructed by commercial coffin manufacturers they were typically warehoused on shelves until an undertaker or retailer placed an order for them. When an order was filled,

one of the things that had to be done was to crate the coffins for shipment. This involved a "packer," who would build a box of rough, unfinished lumber around the coffin on all sides (Anonymous 1925: 44,50).

Coffin and casket manufacturers, perfecting the mass production of burial receptacles, at times were forced to warehouse surplus coffins. Apparently this was especially true in the late 1890s, when market conditions and increased competition flooded the market with cheap coffins and trimmings. The choice was to either sell with little or no profit (or even at a loss), or to warehouse coffins until prices rose (*The Sunnyside*; March 1898: 8; 16-17; 34; Oct 1902: 28). By circa 1900 and 1901, prices for coffins and caskets had risen sufficiently to no longer be the subject of debate in the undertaker trade journals (e.g., *The Sunnyside*; Aug 1901: 15). Thus, when a warehoused coffin, manufactured in circa 1898 with cut nails, was shipped to an undertaker in 1901, it was shipped in a packing crate built immediately prior to shipment. This crate would have been constructed with the dominant nail type at the time, or the wire variety.

At its founding in 1900, Peoples Undertaking Company would have begun to build a business with both the local community, as well as the commercial manufacturers of coffins, caskets, and mortuary hardware. It is possible that Peoples sought out for purchase the most inexpensive coffins possible, so as to pass on that savings to their customers. Such inexpensive burial containers would have especially included the hexagonal coffin variety.

It is unknown where Peoples purchased coffins during its earliest years of operation, but in their earliest extant daybook (1907-1910), it is recorded that coffins from the Memphis Coffin Company were utilized. This was a very large regional manufacturer,

and from their own letterhead, its physical plant appears to have had the capacity to warehouse literally thousands of coffins (Figure 8-36).

Although Peoples records for these years do not exist, the George W. Loudermilk daybooks (beginning in 1902) document the types of burial containers utilized by him on Black burials. Recall that to the late 19th and early 20th century undertaker, the terms “coffin” and “casket” were precise referents, based largely on their shape. In the typical day book, the entry for burial container was headed with the title “Size and Style of *Casket or Coffin*” (emphasis added). By the notation given in this field, it was possible in most cases to determine what shape of burial container Loudermilk used for individual funerals between 1902 and 1907. The results of charting his hexagonal coffin utilization by percentage and year are directly compared to that seen in Freedman’s Late Sequence, and are presented in Figure 8-37.

There is not a one-to-one correlation between the two datasets, and this would not be expected. What is interesting, however, is that the decreasing trend in coffin utilization seen in the excavated burials in Freedman’s Late Sequence is mirrored in the local archival record. This suggests that the Late Sequence is a valid reconstruction of events in the turn of the century Freedman’s Cemetery.

Another way to assess the validity of the Late Sequence is to examine the diachronic trend of any coffin element that was not itself used as an attribute in establishing the seriation. One such element is the presence or absence of a viewing window on coffins or caskets (Figure 8-38).

Viewing windows are not present on any Early Period burials, and only 15% of Middle Period interments possessed them. In Row 1 of the Late Period’s Late Sequence,

only 12% of interments have windows. By Row 6, or circa 1902/1903, however, half of all burials in Freedman's Late Sequence have windows.

Clearly there is an unambiguous trend in the increased utilization of coffins or caskets with viewing windows. From the Loudermilk daybooks, it can be established that in turn of the century Dallas, an adult sized *hexagonal coffin* without a window typically had a retail cost of \$15.00, while the same coffin outfitted with a viewing window retailed for \$20.00. This suggests that expenditures for the typical funeral in Dallas's African-American community increased over a broad segment of the population between 1900 and 1907.

One final way to establish the accuracy of the Late Sequence Rows as reflecting actual events is to examine the demographic composition of the individual rows, in relationship to one another. In Rows 1 through 6, and 8, individuals under 5 years of age account for 39% of the burials. Such consistency suggests a sequence of events that mirrors reality. In contrast, Rows 7 and 9 each contain only 25% of individuals under the age of five years. Both of these rows, due to their placement along the eastern boundary of the cemetery, were perhaps most susceptible to the destruction of the shallower graves of subadult, during construction activities, accounting for this lower subadult composition.

Other Late Period Burials, not in the Late Sequence (n=77):

Indigents (n=68)

Unique hardware burials (n=9)

Although the Late Sequence contains the vast majority of burials assigned to the Late Period, 77 graves in the Late Period were excluded from the Late Sequence due either to a complete lack of hardware, ambiguous spatial loci, and most often, a combination of both factors.

The Indigents (N=68)

A total of 104 indigent burials were identified for the Late Period. Of these, 36 were addressed and accounted for in the Late Sequence discussion above. The remaining 68 indigent burials could not be placed in the Late Sequence, since their locations (almost exclusively on Lemmon Avenue) precluded such an assignment (see Table 8-43).

Due to a complete lack of mortuary hardware, the assignment of these 68 indigent burials to the Late Period was made based on the following lines of evidence:

1. Presence of wire nails
2. Correlation of archaeological data with the archival record
3. Associated time diagnostics
4. Stacking

Table 8-43 lists the 68 Indigent burials by burial number and other attributes, including the *terminus post quem* provided by the association of a few key time diagnostic artifacts. Such artifact types as the 1897 Quarter recovered with Burial 563 bolsters a turn of the century dating for these graves. Further, the presence of wire nails with all of these Indigent burials strongly suggests a circa 1900 or later date.

Another dating criterion is the presence of multiple stacking episodes involving these indigent burials. These data are tabulated in Table 8-44. One third of the graves were interred over earlier graves. Five of the grave impacted by the Indigent burials also date to the Late Period. For example, Burial 1045, the grave of an Indigent, impacted Burial 1044, a Late Period grave dated to 1903 in the Late Sequence.

Of the Indigent graves addressed here, three had graves interred above them (Table 8-45). One of these stacking episodes in particular is well dated. Indigent Burial 815 was found in association with a safety pin patented in 1900, providing its own *terminus post quem*, as well as that of the later graves interred above it, both of which were dated within the Late Sequence to 1907.

Multiple stacking incidents, some occurring after only a couple of years between interments, were part and parcel of the highly erratic nature of the Indigent graves distribution generally, and their equally variable grave orientations. These inconsistencies and the casual nature of interment, seen in the multiple stacking episodes, is consistent with the lack of respect (or even contempt) exhibited by the exclusively Anglo undertakers, chief among them James Dunn, who were ultimately responsible for these graves.

One final element suggestive of a turn of the century origin for these Indigent

burials is the shape of the burial container— in this case, the simple, mitered-shoulder hexagonal coffin, used in conjunction with wire nails (n=34; or 50% of sample). From the historical record, it is known that from the late 1890s to circa 1902 or later, local undertakers under contract to both the city and county at times agreed contractually to utilize the hexagonal coffin form in the interment of paupers (see Chapter 3).

“Unique” Hardware Burials (N=9)

In addition to the majority of burials with hardware indicative of single source (believed to be Peoples and coded as "P"), there were placed within the Late Sequence 5 burials with Ambiguous hardware (coded as A) and 14 interments exhibiting “Unique” Hardware forms (coded as U).

While these burials have been addressed in the Late Sequence discussion, there are an additional 9 burials associated with Unique mortuary hardware (either in form or in the unique combination of elements) that although dated to the Late Period, could not be placed within the Late Sequence. Dating criteria for these 9 interments will be discussed here.

Table 8-46 lists the burial number and a limited number of attributes for these 9 interments. Additionally, any pertinent time diagnostics associated with the graves are listed. In all, a third of the 9 burials had time diagnostics of circa 1900 or later.

Another means of dating utilized was each burial's spatial location. Six of the burials (125, 145, 312, 337, 365, 977) were actually located on the southbound frontage

road area (the easternmost portion of the cemetery within which the Late Sequence is principally based), so these graves can be dated to circa 1900 or later, by location alone.

Of those three burials not located in this area of Freedman's (Burials 464, 492, 513), additional dating criteria were utilized, such as the stacking episodes occurring with two interments (Table 8-47). Burial 464, located on Freedman's First Acre, is superimposed above an earlier grave (Burial 468), that is dated to the Late Period and assigned an interment date of 1901 within the Late Sequence. The other incidence of stacking occurs with Burial 492, which intruded into Burial 491, an indigent grave dated to the Late Period. Of course, Burial 492's *terminus post quem* of 1903, from multiple hardware elements manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company, also dates the burial to the Late Period.

Identifications: Correlation of Exhumed Burials with Death Records

Even during excavations, the identification of individual burials always was viewed as an end goal. Though laudable, this goal has proven extremely difficult to achieve. At present, only five individuals exhumed from Freedman's Cemetery have been tentatively identified with the archival record. Detailed histories of these five individuals are given below (see also Table 8-48).

1. Burial 147 contained the remains of an approximately 10 year old boy, who had suffered a double amputation of both feet, at the mid ankles. The bones of the feet, however, did not display any signs of crushing, or other trauma necessitating amputation.

Therefore, one likely explanation for such an amputation is blood poisoning, or gangrene, also referred to as septicemia.

The age at death of this individual, at 10 years, was an unusual one within the demography, making a match with the death records possible. When these records were examined, only one individual matched all of the known parameters: age, sex, cause of death, undertaker, and cemetery. This individual's name was Lewis Clark, who died on April 3, 1904, of "Infected Septicemia," at the age of ten. He was interred at Freedman's Cemetery by Peoples Undertaking Company.

By comparison, Burial 147 was a male child, aged 9.60 years skeletally. His estimated date of interment in the Late Sequence was late 1903, comparing very favorably with the early 1904 date of death of Lewis Clark. Additionally, Burial 147's mortuary hardware had been identified as displaying patterning with other burials, suggestive of a common source or point of origin, in this case "Peoples Undertaking."

2. The next possible identification involves Burial 1188, and a man named Tucker Harris. Harris was a day laborer, who worked for a time at the Trinity Cotton Oil Company (1903 Dallas City Directory) before going to work in 1906 for the M, K & T Rwy. Freight Depot (1906 Dallas City Directory).

In January, 1907, Harris was romantically involved with Pearl Hooper, a 20 year old girl some years younger than himself. However, the girl's mother had forbidden Harris to see her child. On the evening of January 7, 1907, Tucker Harris met Pearl Hooper on a foot bridge crossing the "branch" in the vicinity of Louise and Gladstone Streets. Witnesses stated that words were exchanged between the two, and then Tucker

Harris shot her three times in the chest with a .45 cal. revolver at point blank range, killing her. When he was certain she was dead, Tucker turned the gun on himself, firing a single round into his heart, killing himself instantly (*Dallas Times Herald*: Jan 8, 1907; *Dallas Morning News*: Jan 8, 1907).

George Loudermilk took the remains of Pearl Hooper and laid her to rest in Woodland Cemetery at the request of her mother, Tammie. The total cost of her funeral was \$111.00 (Loudermilk Day Books, Jan. 7, 1907). The remains of Tucker Harris became the responsibility of Peoples Undertaking Company, and Harris was interred by Peoples in Freedman's Cemetery.

Burial 1188 contained the remains of an adult male, age at death approximately 38 years. His coffin had mortuary hardware believed to have been the product of Peoples Undertaking Company. The most distinctive thing about Burial 1188, however, was a single bullet recovered from the chest cavity. A forensic study of this round subsequently identified it as a .45 caliber pistol ball, fired from a Colt Revolver. Since Tucker Harris committed suicide and died instantly, the surgical removal of the bullet would not have been necessary, and the bullet would have thus remained in the body at the time of interment. Additionally, the estimated date of interment for Burial 1188, within the Late Sequence, is late 1906, correlating quite well with the very early 1907 date of death for Tucker Harris.

3. Burial 90 was that of a juvenile male, aged 13.30 years at the time of his death. This burial was associated with two pieces of bird shot mixed in with the bones of the face. This association suggested a possible cause of death.

In the death records, one record matched in the following regards: age, sex, and cause of death. This “match” was a 14 year old boy named Oscar Eapham, who on May 24, 1902, died of an accidental, self inflicted shot gun wound. Prior to his death, this boy suffered for two weeks with the injury, which was probably due to sepsis infection. Since Eapham lingered for two weeks, it seems likely that medical attention, probably administered by Dr. Bluitt, would have sought to remove as many of the shotgun pellets as possible. This may be the reason so few pellets were recovered with the skeletal remains (*Dallas Times Herald*: May 24, 1904).

The undertaker who interred Eapham is unknown, and the place of interment is not known with certainty from extant records, though with Woodland Cemetery open only for five months at the time of Oscar Eapham’s death, it is quite likely that he was interred at Freedman’s Cemetery.

4. The next identification is based not on the cause of death, but rather on the inclusion with Burial 1080 of a distinctive type of mortuary hardware: an Odd Fellows plaque attached to the coffin lid (Plaque type 68).

From an 1894 land transfer deed recorded in the Dallas County Records building, a complete roster of the Comet Lodge No. 3134, Grand United Order of Odd Fellows was discovered (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. 186, p. 8, October 24, 1894). One member of the Comet Lodge was a John Pate. In the Dallas City death records, it is

recorded that a J. H. Pate died on August 29, 1904, at the age of 49 years, and he was interred at Freedman's Cemetery by Peoples Undertaking Company.

Burial 1080 had mortuary hardware identified as likely the product of Peoples Undertaking, and in the calibrated Late Sequence, Burial 1080 was interred in late 1903, a fairly close match for the summer of 1904 death of John Pate. Additionally, the man interred in Burial 1080 was a member of the Odd Fellows lodge, based on the Odd Fellows coffin plaque associated with the burial. Finally, Burial 1080 was skeletally aged at 47.60 years, very closely matching the 49 years of age attained by John Pate.

5. The last possible identification, Burial 1109, is the most tenuous, and yet the unique set of circumstances that are involved would seem to allow for at least the possibility of a correct match.

In a 1901 Dallas newspaper, a brief article entitled "Two Negroes Shot in Affrays Today" stated that in a saloon at the corner of Austin and Columbia Streets, a man named Frank Talley, "...was shot in the neck with a .32 caliber pistol. The bullet entered the right side of the neck and lodged" (*Dallas Times Herald*: November 9, 1901).

At the time of the article's publication, the wound was non fatal, and Talley's death was not recorded immediately after the event, nor for that matter, at any other time, suggesting that Mr. Talley survived the attack. What makes this case of particular interest is that it has a correlation with Burial 1109, which contained the remains of an approximately 33 year old man. Recovered with the skeletal remains was a .32 caliber pistol round. The bullet was found lodged in the body of one of the cervical vertebra

(C7), and the bone had remodeled, or grown around the bullet to a certain extent. This remodeling is evidence that the bullet was not the cause of death of this individual.

Rather, the man in Burial 1109 carried the bullet in his neck for some time, perhaps years.

Frank Talley's death, if indeed he died between 1900 and 1907, was not recorded. It should be noted, however, that Burial 1109 is believed to have been interred by Peoples Undertaking Company, and has an estimated date of interment of late 1906. It is during this same period that Peoples Undertaking Company, for whatever reason, did not record their deaths at City Hall. Thus, there are two set of circumstances that would appear to match. Unfortunately, one vital piece of information, namely a death record for Frank Talley, is lacking. In the end, Burial 1109 has a very interesting possible identity, but also a highly speculative one.

Response to Criticism of The Freedman's Burial Chronology:

A Final Defense

The chronology formulated and argued in this and previous chapters is entirely grounded to archival evidence. It begins in 1869, with the purchase of Freedman's First Acre, and ends with the closing of Freedman's, with the opening of the city pauper cemetery on July 26, 1907 (see Chapter 2). As stated in Chapter 2, however, the traditional dates of the cemetery place its formation some years prior to Emancipation, and further, have the site closing in the mid 1920s. These dates, originating on the marker erected by Dallas City Park officials in the 1960s, do not have any apparent basis in the

historical record.

Since there was this discrepancy between the beginning and closure dates utilized by me, and those popularly known, the veracity of these events, both the cemetery's founding and its closure, were not accepted blindly but rather were tested through an extensive examination of the archival (and indeed the archaeological) record.

Defending the *terminus post quem*: The 1869 founding date of Freedman's Cemetery

The 1869 beginning date of the cemetery, its *terminus post quem*, can be traced to the initial deed for the First Acre of the site (Dallas County Deed Records; Vol. L, p. 240). The once popular belief that Freedman's Cemetery had its origin as a slave burial ground has been sufficiently disproved by a discovery I recently made of a forgotten cemetery in downtown Dallas, the old Dallas Burial Ground. This earlier burial ground was likely founded in the early to mid 1840s, and from archival documentation it could be established that it served as the primary place of interment within the Dallas community for both Anglo settlers and African-American slaves. Although documentation is vague on this point, the Old Dallas Burial Ground likely was closed by circa 1869, the same year that Freedman's Cemetery was founded (Davidson 1998). Because of this discovery, I have had no criticism or dispute as to the origin of Freedman's Cemetery. Freedman's closure date, however, has been openly called into question.

Defending the *terminus ante quem*: The 1907 closure of Freedman's Cemetery

One criticism of the burial chronology that I formulated for Freedman's Cemetery is that it seemingly disregards the possibility of any interments occurring after July 26, 1907, the date upon which Freedman's was legally closed.

From the archival record, it is clear that Freedman's Cemetery was condemned by mayoral decree in the summer of 1906, and formally closed on July 26, 1907. Some reviewers of this work, however, have argued that this was only a legal/technical closure, one on paper only, and that occasional interments continued after this date. But when the archival record is examined for any evidence of this continuance, none can be found.

Archival Record: City Death Records (Dallas City Hall)

The city death records examined for the Freedman's Project revealed no interments placed there after July 26, 1907. By the turn-of-the-century, Freedman's Cemetery had been known in the death records by three names: "Negro Pauper," "Old Colored," or "North Dallas" Cemetery. None of these designations, or other clear descriptives, could be found in the official death records between Freedman's closure in July 1907, up to circa 1915.

Some have suggested that since burial in Freedman's Cemetery after 1907 would have been an illegal act, no official record of such practices, had they occurred, would have been made at city hall. That is, a lack of documentation at city hall regarding such interments does not necessarily mean that further interments at Freedman's didn't actually occur—they simply were not recorded in the official records. The archival record, however, does not end with these "official" sources.

Archival Record: George W. Loudermilk/Peoples Undertaking Co. Day Books

The private day books of both George Loudermilk and Peoples Undertaking Company, the two undertaking firms that handled virtually all of the non-indigent trade within Dallas's African-American community, exist for at least some of the years immediately following Freedman's 1907 closure. I carefully examined Loudermilk's day books for the years 1907 through 1910. Page by page, and record after record, I diligently searched for mention of any burial performed at Freedman's Cemetery after July 26, 1907. I found none.

For Peoples Undertaking Company, two extant day books were both pertinent to this discussion, and available for examination. The earlier of the two day books contains 600 pages of records. It begins on July 1, 1907, the very month Freedman's Cemetery closed, and stretches to June 23, 1910. The few records of funerals that specifically record Freedman's Cemetery as the place of interment (referred to as "Old"), span only a handful of days, from July 2, 1907, to July 11, 1907. After this date, the place of interment is usually left blank, except for an occasional recording of "Woodland" Cemetery, and somewhat more commonly, instances in which the body is shipped to another town (e.g., Muskogee, Waxahachie, etc.).

During the 1907-1910 period covered by Peoples' earliest extant daybook, the "unknown" factor present in the blank "place of interment" field might suggest to some to be potentially a Freedman's interment. Such, however, does not seem the case. Rather, a blank entry for place of interment seems to have suggested quite another thing to the person who filled out the day book—namely a default interment at the New Colored (i.e., Woodland) Cemetery. This is based, in part, on the fact that for at least two records, it is

quite clear that a blank entry actually signified interment at Woodland.

The funeral of N. G. Whitehead, who died on January 25, 1908, is present in Peoples' Day Book No. 1, as record number 97. His place of interment was left blank in the day book, but his tombstone was actually located within Woodland Cemetery. The same is true of William Robinson, who died on June 12, 1909 (Peoples Day Book No. 1, Record No. 374). A place of interment is not given in the Day Book, but his tombstone was found to exist in Woodland Cemetery.

It should be remembered that at this time, the principal parties of Peoples Undertaking Company were also essentially the owners and proprietors of Woodland Cemetery. Recording the location of burials that took place at Woodland Cemetery would have likely seemed to Peoples' personnel as superfluous and redundant.

The next available Peoples day book dates to 1915. It begins on March 18, 1915, continues to December 30, 1915, and contains a total of 267 records. About half of the records have the place of interment noted, and of these, none refer to Freedman's Cemetery by any of its known descriptives. Again, while some might argue that blank records have the potential to be Freedman's Cemetery interments, evidence exists to the contrary. The funeral of Henry Holt Clay, who died on September 6, 1915, is recorded in the 1915 Peoples day book. Although his place of interment was left blank, his tombstone was found in Woodland cemetery.

Since burial at Freedman's Cemetery after 1907, like shipping a body to another town for burial, would have been the exception rather than the rule, one would expect that such post 1907 Freedman's interments, if any did occur, to be explicitly noted. None were.

Archaeological Evidence for 1907 *terminus ante quem*

Some reviewers of this work have been skeptical of some of the temporal diagnostics defined and utilized for the Late Period, believing that their presence on a burial is actually suggestive of a post 1907 date. Specifically, corrugated fasteners and coffin hardware manufactured by the Elgin Casket Company have been singled out in this regard.

Corrugated Fasteners:

The proposed counter-argument is the unlikelihood that corrugated fasteners could have been utilized by coffin and casket manufacturers prior to 1907, since these fasteners apparently were not commonly available from manufacturers until circa 1900 (see Chapter 4). It can be clearly demonstrated from a simple reference to the archaeological record, however, that coffins and caskets associated with corrugated fasteners were certainly available for purchase, and further, were commonly utilized at Freedman's Cemetery prior to 1907. Table 4-7 lists all burials associated with corrugated fasteners (known in the Freedman's hardware typology as Iron Closure Type 7).

As can be seen in this table, out of 65 burials with Iron Closure 7, one was associated exclusively with cut nails (Burial 16; 1.5%), while over half had burial containers manufactured with both *cut* and *wire* nails (34 out of 65 burials; 52.3%). As suggested above, such interments are commonly indicative of a coffin or casket made of cut nails, and an outer box or shipping crate manufactured of wire nails. From personal

experience, I can state that corrugated fasteners were recovered from the corners of the actual coffin or casket, and not the outer shipping crate. Further, I can demonstrate the utilization of corrugated fasteners in the construction of the actual coffin or casket, as I personally own a turn-of-the-century child's coffin that utilizes both corrugated fasteners in its four corners as well as the manufacturing innovation patented by Louis Kregal in 1901 (see Figure 4-11).

Because of the presence of cut nails, the *manufacture* of these coffins or caskets likely does not post-date the turn of the century, and almost certainly does not date after 1902, and these same coffins were additionally assembled using corrugated fasteners. While the curation of mass produced coffins produced in the late 1890s can be demonstrated (due to overproduction by wholesale manufacturers; see above), it is a virtual certainty that the supply of these curated coffins (likely manufactured in the late 1890s as evidenced by cut nails), would have been completely exhausted in the immediate years after 1907.

Clearly, with over half of those exhumed burials with corrugated fasteners additionally associated with cut nails, a terminal 19th and very early 20th century utilization of corrugated fasteners in the manufacture of coffins and caskets is well established, and the proposed July 1907 date for the end of interments at Freedman's Cemetery remains valid.

Elgin Casket Company Hardware:

Another criticism of my chronology has been leveled against an early acceptance of Elgin Casket Company hardware into the archaeological record. Specifically, the counter-

argument against my work has been that with the founding of the Elgin Casket Company not occurring until 1903, it seems unlikely that hardware bearing their mark could possibly have entered the archeological record prior to July 26, 1907.

Again, a simple reference to Freedman's own archaeological data should suffice to vindicate my chronology, and an early (i.e., pre-July 26, 1907) introduction of Elgin hardware in Dallas. Table 4-5 lists all of the coffin hardware that have the Elgin Casket Company maker's mark. In all, 40 burials were associated with Elgin hardware, but exactly one quarter of these interments were additionally associated with cut nails (10 out of 40 burials; 25%). Further, save for two hardware elements (Caplifter Type 24; Handle 81) occurring with two burials (Burials 451; 1144), every *specific type* of Elgin hardware is associated with cut nails on at least one burial.

For example, Caplifter Type 1 (Caplifter Base Type 1) is associated with 8 burials, and two of these have cut nails. Additionally, Caplifter Type 27 (Caplifter Base Type 1) is associated with a total of 9 burials, and two of these have cut nails. Clearly, as with corrugated fasteners, the association of cut nails actually suggests an earlier, rather than later date. Specifically, a pre-July 26, 1907, date of interment for burials with Elgin hardware is entirely valid.

From our knowledge of the parameters of the late 19th and early 20th century funeral trade, as established through an examination of the archival record, it cannot be denied that an early utilization of contemporary produced hardware is possible. By the early years of the twentieth century, Dallas was hardly an isolated rural community. The 1903 founding of the Elgin Casket Company, in Elgin, Illinois, would not have gone undetected for very long in a major metropolitan market like Dallas.

Although Peoples Undertaking Company records from these years are no longer extant, from the ledgers of George Loudermilk it can be established that his firm had a large number of suppliers of coffin, caskets, and mortuary hardware, and that these suppliers were constantly changing. In a four year interval (1902 to 1906), G.W. Loudermilk purchased goods from at least twelve wholesale manufacturers or jobbers, from all over the country: Orleans Casket Co, F.C. Riddle & Brothers, National Casket Co, C. E. Louis Co, Memphis Coffin Co, Mound Coffin Co, St. Louis Coffin Co, Griffith Casket Co, Richmond Casket Co, Kregal Casket Co, Cleveland Coffin Co, Gate City Coffin Co. While there were wholesale suppliers in the immediate North Dallas area (e.g., a branch office of the Ohio Valley Coffin Company in Fort Worth, Texas), Loudermilk avoided them and instead sought out goods from as far away as Ohio (*The Sunnyside*: XXXII(7), 1902).

Undertakers in the early 20th century, especially those in urban environments, did not labor in ignorance or in a vacuum. Rather, they were highly informed consumers. There were a plethora of means by which news of newly established manufacturers could be made available, such as in publications like the nationally distributed *Casket* and *The Sunnyside* (both monthly undertaker's trade journals), through the annual proceedings of such organizations as the Casket Manufacturers Association of America, and unsolicited mass catalogue mailings made available by the annual National Undertaker's Directory, first published in 1903 (*The Sunnyside*: 35(1) Jan 1903), in addition to jobbers (i.e., traveling salesmen) directly visiting their places of business.

To be successful, the Elgin Casket Company would have had to have been aggressive in establishing a wide customer base, in part because the coffin trimmings

market at the turn of the century was depressed generally, as an editorial in the July 1, 1902 *The Sunnyside* makes clear:

...from the Norfolk Cutlery Co., manufacturers of silver-plated table cutlery, Norfolk, Virginia.:

“Gentlemen: We want to start our factory up very shortly manufacturing coffin handles. We would like to do some business with you.”

R.B. Fentress, president, our correspondent, writes:

“It occurred to us that possibly you might give them some fatherly advice on the condition of the coffin hardware business. They probably are not aware that the hardware manufacturers give twenty four handles for a dozen and at prices that are exceedingly low. They probably cannot succeed in the present condition of trade against concerns already in possession of what trade there is ...”

For the Elgin company to have survived and prospered in this highly competitive and saturated trimmings market, it would have had to cast a very broad net to establish its customer base as quickly as possible. Dallas, as a major metropolitan city, would have been viewed as a highly lucrative market for the young company.

The Late Sequence:

What has been ignored in the criticism of my burial chronology is the evidence present within the Late Sequence itself. One cannot attempt to view any of the exhumed burials as isolated, and this is especially true of those dating after 1900. Even without the clear evidence of a turn of the century origin for the corrugated fastener and Elgin hardware, the Late Sequence by its very nature would still argue against a post July 26, 1907, dating for these interments. The Late Sequence is not a simple grouping of burials based on the weakest of associations. Rather, it is based on *highly redundant* and *idiosyncratic* mortuary hardware assemblages, in combination with equally redundant

spatial patterning. All of the burials in the sequence are interconnected, in a virtually seamless manner.

To demonstrate this once again using only the Elgin hardware burials, Table 8-49 is an accounting of all of the burials associated with Elgin hardware, sorted by their order within the Late Sequence. This table differs from Table 4-5, in that a majority of the associated mortuary hardware is included. An examination of this table will easily demonstrate the redundancy and virtually identical hardware assemblages between multiple burials. These associations strongly point to their contemporaneity, while the cut nail associations suggest an early turn-of-the-century dating for the burials.

Previously Exhumed Graves/Empty Boxes:

One piece of archaeological evidence suggestive of an abrupt and complete closure of Freedman's Cemetery on July 26, 1907, is both the number of previously exhumed burials encountered during excavations, and more importantly, the dating of these exhumations. In the Late Period, 17 burials showed clear evidence of a prior exhumation, and of these, 14 are present within the Late Sequence (see Table 8-50; Figure 8-39).

By prior exhumation, I mean that these 17 graves had been moved— all or virtually all of the physical remains of the individuals were removed for reburial elsewhere, likely not long after the burials had been interred. Moving graves was not an uncommon practice in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and in 1880 legal provisions were made for the process locally by the Dallas City Council (Dallas City Ordinance Books: Series 1, Vol. 1, pp. 467-468; December 22, 1880).

While the reasons for exhumation are likely many, the principal underlying

rationale was to maintain family plots, and allow for the burial of future family members beside their loved ones. With Freedman's Cemetery closure on July 26, 1907, future interments were legally barred. One logical and legal alternative for placing future (and illegal) burials at Freedman's would have been the removal of the remains of family members from Freedman's. Reinterment of the remains then could have occurred at Woodland Cemetery, where new family plots could have been formulated and familial groupings retained. When Figure 8-39 is examined, it is clear that most of these "prior exhumations" are present in Row 12 of the Late Sequence (5 out of 14; 36%), and Row 12 burials have an estimated year of interment of 1907. This means that almost one in ten of the burials in Row 12, containing some of the last interments ever made at Freedman's Cemetery, actually had been exhumed many years prior to highway department excavations (5 out of 58 burials; 8.6%).

It may be that the closing of Freedman's Cemetery, though imminent in theory, was still viewed as an abrupt one by the African-American community. It is known that burials continued at Freedman's Cemetery up to days of its closure on July 26, 1907. After Freedman's closure, however, future interments of loved ones could no longer be placed beside the dead in Freedman's Cemetery, since it was against the law to do so. One alternative that was practiced by at least a few families for which we have clear archaeological evidence was exhumation of their loved ones for re-interment elsewhere, likely Woodland Cemetery.

The Possibility of Interments at Freedman's Cemetery after July 26, 1907.

The evidence presented above all very strongly suggest that no additional interments were made at Freedman's Cemetery, after its final closure on July 26, 1907. That is, not one death record, out of hundreds reviewed from several sources, can demonstrate that even a single burial took place at Freedman's Cemetery after this date. So too, the archaeological evidence shows continuous burials up to July 26, 1907, but no evidence for interments after this date. The quite clear evidence suggested by the 17 "previously exhumed" graves also supports the fact that no additional burials were placed in Freedman's after 1907. Finally, let us not forget that not a single time diagnostic artifact whose *terminus post quem* dated after 1903 was found associated with *any* grave.

Now that I have argued my case, let me now suggest that the death records, though voluminous, are still incomplete. And perhaps most importantly, let me point out that only about one acre of the four acre site was exhumed of burials. The highway department excavations, though massive in scope, still only skirted around the oldest portion of Freedman's, where the earliest interments and most established family plots would logically have been located.

The chronology presented in this and seven previous chapters is for Freedman's Cemetery as a whole, yes, but is most specifically constructed around *those 1150 burials exhumed archaeologically*. Certainly the inclusive dates established for Freedman's "life" as an active cemetery, spanning 1869 to 1907, are valid and defensible. Yet, although I am highly confident that none of the 1150 exhumed burials dates after July 26, 1907, neither I, nor anyone else can know with absolute certainty what lies within the remaining

3 acres of the cemetery. There may indeed be burials present within the unexcavated boundaries, placed there well after the legal closure of the cemetery in 1907. This possibility, though slight, remains in arguable, and cannot be denied.

Table 8-1: Nail Utilization in the Late Period (1900-1907)

	#	%
Unknown nails	9	1
Exclusively Cut Nails	129	14.7
Both Cut and Wire Nails	450	51.3
Exclusively Wire Nails	290	33
Total Number of Burials	878	100

Table 8-2: Late Period Composition (Dating Criteria)

	#
Burials in Late Sequence	801
Indigents (not in Late Sequence)	68
"Unique" Hardware Burials (not in Late Sequence)	9
Total	878

Table 8-3: Nail Types associated with Five Handles in Preliminary Late Sequence

Handle Type	# of Burials with Handle type	# of Burials in Late Period	Cut Nails		Cut/Wire Nails		Wire Nails	
			#	%	#	%	#	%
10	24	24	10	41.7	13	54.2	1	4.2
7	50	50	6	12	43	86	1	2
2	53	53	2	3.8	45	85	6	11.3
21	22	22	4	18.2	10	45.5	8	36.4
24	49	49	0	0	17	34.7	32	65.3

Table 8-4: Key Temporal Diagnostics associated with burials in the Preliminary Late Sequence

Handle Type	Selected Temporal diagnostics on associated Burials*	<i>Terminus post quem</i>
10	Safety Pin type 1F (Burial 330)	1891
7	U.S. Quarter (Burial 833)	1895
2	Dayton Bicycle Cuff Buttons (Burial 36); BLJPU Labor Union Ribbon (Burial 1234)	1896; circa 1901
21		
24	22 Rifle Cartridges, with headstamp "B" (Burial 431) Elgin Casket Co coffin hardware (burials 431, 433, 441, 442, 445, 1187, 1190, 1224, 1233, 1245, 1447)	1897 1903

* (see Chapter 4 for dating rationale)

**Table 8-5: Earliest Known Catalogue Appearances
for Handles in Preliminary Late Sequence**

Handle Type	Earliest Known Catalogue Appearance	<i>Terminus post quem</i>
10	unk	...
7	unk	...
2	Chicago Coffin Co	1896
21	unk	...
24	St. Louis Coffin Co; Chattanooga Coffin & Casket Co	1902; 1905

**Table 8-6: Individual Burials with two Handle types,
in Preliminary Late Sequence**

Burial	Handle		Handle	
	Type	# on burial	Type	# on burial
1076	7	2	2	4
847	21	2	2	2
1236	24	5	2	1

**Table 8-7: Total Number of Available African-American
Death Records for Dallas, Texas
(January 1, 1900 through July 26, 1907) (N=1433)**

Source	Date Range	# of Records
Dallas City Hall	1902-1907	967
Dallas <i>Times Herald</i> obituaries	1900-1907	658
G. W. Loudermilk Day Books	1902-1907	222
Ed C. Smith Day Books	1900-1907	unk #
Peoples Undertaking Day Book	July 1907	14
Grave Markers (Woodland Cemetery)	1903;1905	3

Table 8-8: Total number of Known Black Deaths recorded for Dallas, Texas, by Year and Place of Interment (January 1, 1900 through July 26, 1907)

Year	Freedman's Prob. Freedman's		Combined Freedman's		Woodland		Unknown Cemetery		Other Cemetery		All #
	#	#	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
1900	4	162	166	97.6	.....	...	.....	...	4	2.4	170
1901	3	144	147	98	.....	...	.....	...	3	2	150
1902	65	.....	65	49.6	10	7.6	41	31.3	15	11.5	131
1903	195	.....	195	67.2	22	7.6	42	14.5	31	10.7	290
1904	209	3	212	70.9	20	6.7	34	11.4	33	11	299
1905	131	.....	131	66.2	14	7.1	27	13.6	26	13.1	198
1906	76	.....	76	61.3	8	6.5	15	12.1	25	20.2	124
1907	29	1	30	42.2	7	9.9	21	29.6	13	18.3	71
Total	712	310	1022	71.3	81	5.7	180	12.6	150	10.5	1433

Table 8-9: Population of Dallas, Texas*

Year	White	Black	Total	% of <i>Black Pop.</i>
1873	5,832	1,222	7,054	17.32%
1890	30,006	8,061	38,067	21.18%
1900	33,603	9,305	42,638	21.19%
1910	74,080	18,024	92,104	19.57%

*(1873 data derived from 1873 Dallas City Directory)

*(1890-1910 data derived from U.S. Census)

Table 8-10: All Known Dead Listed In City Death Records (n=1112), from January 1, 1902 through July 26, 1907, sorted by Undertaker

	1902		1903		1904		1905		1906		1907	
	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-July 26	%
Undertaker	# of burials	%	# of burials	%	# of burials	%	# of burials	%	# of burials	%	# of burials	%
Peoples Undertaking Co.	29	22.10%	141	48.60%	138	46.20%	81	40.90%	32	25.80%	15	21.10%
G. W. Loudermilk	56	42.70%	38	13.10%	40	13.40%	40	20.20%	31	25%	31	43.70%
Ed C. Smith	1	.8%	5	1.70%	12	4%	9	4.50%	13	10.50%	10	14.10%
James Dunn/Dorovan/BB & Co.	6	4.60%	74	25.50%	97	32.40%	62	31.30%	41	33.10%	10	14.10%
Unknown	39	29.80%	32	11%	12	4%	6	3%	7	5.60%	5	7%
Total	131	100	290	100	299	100	198	100	124	100	71	100

Table 8-11: All Interments made at Freedman's Cemetery between Sept 9, 1902 and July 26, 1907, by a known Undertaker (n= 667)

Undertaker	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1907
	Sept. 9 -Dec. 31	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	Jan. 1-July 26
Peoples Undertaking Co.	17	98	88	42	22	8
G. W. Loudermilk	7	22	33	31	19	12
Ed C. Smith	0	0	0	0	0	0
James Dunn/Donovan/BB & Co.	3	70	87	57	35	9
Unknown Undertaker	0	5	1	1	0	0
Total	27	195	209	131	76	29

Table 8-12: Summary of City Death Records for select years, comparing the Rate of Indigent Vs. Non-Indigent Burials*

	1903		1904		Combined 1903-04	
	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	%	# of burials	%
Undertaker						
Non-Indigent Burials (Peoples, Loudermilk, Smith)	144	67.30%	147	62.60%	291	64.80%
Indigent Burials (Dunn, B. B & Co)	70	32.70%	88	37.40%	158	35.20%
Total	214	100%	235	100%	449	100%

* (sample is derived from both "Combined Freedman's" and "Unknown Cemetery" data sets)

Table 8-13: Summary of City Death Records, for all non-indigent Deaths, for most complete years*

	1903		1904		Combined 1903-04	%
	# of burials	%	# of burials	%		
Undertaker (non-indigent burials)	114	79.20%	104	71.70%	218	75.40%
Peoples Undertaking Co.	25	17.40%	33	22.80%	58	20.10%
G. W. Loudermilk	5	3.50%	8	5.50%	13	4.50%
Ed C. Smith	144	100%	145	100%	289	100.00%
Total						

* (sample is derived from both "Combined Freedman's" and "Unknown Cemetery" data sets)

Table 8-14: Late Sequence Composition and Temporal Range, By Rows

Row	Sequence #	# of burials per row	Date Range
1	1-45	45	1900
2	46-79	34	1900
3	80-163	84	1900-1901
4	164-256	93	1901-1902
5	257-319	63	1902
6	320-424	105	1902-1903
7	425-464	40	1903-1904
8	465-555	91	1904-1905
9	556-614	59	1905
10	615-711	97	1905-1906
11	712-743	32	1906-1907
12	744-801	58	1907
	<i>Total</i>	<i>801</i>	<i>1900-1907</i>

Table 8-15: Late Sequence Composition, by type of Burial

Burial Type	Code	#
Peoples Interments	<i>P</i>	746
Indigent (no hardware)	<i>I</i>	36
"Unique Hardware" (unknown undertaker burials)	<i>U</i>	14
"Ambiguous Hardware" burials	<i>A</i>	5
Total		801

Table 8-16: The Late Sequence- Number and type of Burials By Estimated Year of Interment

Year	Span	Peoples	Indigent	Unique	Ambiguous	Total
				Hardware	Hardware	
1900	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98	15	5	2	120
1901	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98	4	1		103
1902	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98	8	2		108
1903	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98	1			99
1904	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98	3	1	1	103
1905	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98		4	2	104
1906	Jan. 1-Dec. 31	98		1		99
1907	Jan. 1 -July 31	60	5			65
Totals	91 months	746	36	14	5	801

**Table 8-17: Row 1 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)
8	36	1	1900	15, 59, 60	Chattanooga (1905)	
1418	28	1	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
34	23	1	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
128	3	1	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
126	1	1	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)	

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)
1	44	1	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
32	24	1	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)
53	17	1	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
130	4	1	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

**Table 8-18: Row 2 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match
364	78	2	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)
137	72	2	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)
368	71	2	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)
341	70	2	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)
1463	65	2	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)
329	64	2	1900	18	Chattanooga (1905)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match
137	72	2	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)
368	71	2	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)
343	69	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
1021	68	2	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)
1479	61	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
1453	60	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
1451	59	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
317	58	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
117	51	2	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)
61	48	2	1900	49	Chicago (1896)
302	46	2	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-19: Row 3 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
1182	88	3	1900	Cuff Stud (patented; no. 459,469)	Sept. 15, 1891
1456	110	3	1900	Safety Pin (1FII)	1891

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-20: Row 3 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of selected Mortuary Hardware types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)
22	161	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
19	159	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
945	156	3	1901	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
371	155	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
1483	150	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
942	149	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
362	148	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
1102	147	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
612	139	3	1901	2	Chicago (1896)	
934	138	3	1901	2	Chicago (1896)	
1462	135	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
925	134	3	1901	18	Chattanooga (1905)	
981	132	3	1901	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
1053	124	3	1901	2	Chicago (1896)	
912	122	3	1901	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
911	121	3	1901	128	Chicago (1896)	
468	114	3	1900	29	Schmidt (circa 1910)	
6	113	3	1900	29	Schmidt (circa 1910)	
1456	110	3	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
1492	109	3	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
675	107	3	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	
311	95	3	1900	23	Chattanooga (1905)	

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)
22	161	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
21	160	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
19	159	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1499	158	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
371	155	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
943	153	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1164	152	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1487	151	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1483	150	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
942	149	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
362	148	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1102	147	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1454	146	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1457	143	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1474	142	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1465	141	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1458	140	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
990	137	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	

Table 8-20 (continued)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)
929	133	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
981	132	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
922	131	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
921	130	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
346	128	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1016	125	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1053	124	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1484	123	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
912	122	3	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1017	118	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1007	117	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
468	114	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1456	110	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1492	109	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1491	108	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
675	107	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
686	106	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
698	105	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
314	101	3	1900	15; 77	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)
311	95	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
720	94	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1476	92	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
1434	91	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
108	90	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
64	87	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
65	85	3	1900	15	Chattanooga (1905)	
68	83	3	1900	49	Chicago (1896)	

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-21: Row 4 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
966	171	4	1901	Safety Pin (1F)	1891
591	172	4	1901	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
1337	181	4	1901	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
351	212	4	1901	Safety Pin (1F)	1891
1104	242	4	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-22: Row 4 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
1207	256	4	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1496	248	4	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
1314	244	4	1902	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
1414	243	4	1902	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
1104	242	4	1902	50	St. Louis (1903)		
11	241	4	1902	50	St. Louis (1903)		
1511	240	4	1902	50	St. Louis (1903)		
354	235	4	1902	109	Chattanooga (1905)		
135	234	4	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
989	231	4	1902	54	Chicago (1896)		
993	230	4	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
998	227	4	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
356	223	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
331	219	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
334	217	4	1901	50	St. Louis (1903)		
336	216	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
936	211	4	1901	50	St. Louis (1903)		
1213	198	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
920	197	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
913	187	4	1901	50	St. Louis (1903)		
7	177	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
110	176	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
750	175	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
756	174	4	1901	2	Chicago (1896)		
798	173	4	1901	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
591	172	4	1901	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
966	171	4	1901	2.2	Chicago (1896)		
85	168	4	1901	57	Schmidt (circa 1910)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
385	238	4	1902	84	Chattanooga (1905)		
135	234	4	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
396	233	4	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
320	226	4	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
327	221	4	1901	54	Chattanooga (1905)		
334	217	4	1901	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
1284	215	4	1901	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
351	212	4	1901	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
742	178	4	1901	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
1022	167	4	1901	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
86	166	4	1901	41	Chattanooga (1905)		

* (see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-23: Row 5 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
92	258	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
338	273	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
1486	278	5	1902	U.S. Nickel	1898
316	284	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
1385	287	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
1175	290	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
897	299	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
909	308	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891
564	312	5	1902	Safety Pin (1FI)	1891

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-24: Row 5 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
192	318	5	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1076	317	5	1902	2, 7	Chicago (1896)		
166	314	5	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
564	312	5	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
335	310	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
976	305	5	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
898	300	5	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
897	299	5	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1083	289	5	1902	54	Chicago (1896)		
1288	288	5	1902	54	Chicago (1896)		
1385	287	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
878	286	5	1902	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
316	284	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
738	281	5	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1486	278	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
338	273	5	1902	57	Schmidt (circa 1910)		
948	263	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
119	261	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
345	260	5	1902	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
315	259	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
92	258	5	1902	23	Chattanooga (1905)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
165	313	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
564	312	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
335	310	5	1902	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
906	306	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
976	305	5	1902	22	Chicago (1896)		
904	304	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
903	303	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
899	301	5	1902	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
897	299	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
894	298	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1316	296	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
893	295	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
892	294	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
884	292	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
883	291	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1175	290	5	1902	91	Chattanooga (1905)		
1083	289	5	1902	91	Chattanooga (1905)		
1288	288	5	1902	91; 50	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	
1385	287	5	1902	91	Chattanooga (1905)		
878	286	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
316	284	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
880	283	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
870	282	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
738	281	5	1902	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
869	280	5	1902	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
2	279	5	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1486	278	5	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
868	277	5	1902	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1285	275	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
55	274	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
338	273	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
751	272	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1459	262	5	1902	38	Chicago (1896)		
119	261	5	1902	38	Chicago (1896)		
345	260	5	1902	38	Chicago (1896)		
92	258	5	1902	2	Chattanooga (1905)		

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-25: Row 6 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
1002	335	6	1903	U.S. Nickel	1892
1033	354	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1004	378	6	1903	Rogers & Bros Silver Spoon design	1892
997	379	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1088	382	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1031	397	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1036	398	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
147	404	6	1903	Jumbo Cap Pistol (patent/catalogue)	1890/1895
586	406	6	1903	Safety Pin (Type 1DIV) Patent	January 14, 1896
1219	415	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
191	419	6	1903	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

Table 8-26: (Continued)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
198	416	6	1903	24	Chattanooga (1905)		
593	408	6	1903	69	Chicago (1896)		
570	407	6	1903	69	Chicago (1896)		
586	406	6	1903	69	Chicago (1896)		
211	394	6	1903	78	Chicago (1896)		
321	386	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
895	385	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
890	384	6	1903	24	Chattanooga (1905)		
889	376	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1032	370	6	1903	86	Chattanooga (1905)		
1039	369	6	1903	86	Chattanooga (1905)		
878	363	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
873	362	6	1903	78	Chicago (1896)		
1107	353	6	1903	50; 86	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	
841	345	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
763	339	6	1903	78	Chicago (1896)		
999	336	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1002	335	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
988	334	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
835	327	6	1902	78	Chicago (1896)		
103	320	6	1902	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

**Table 8-28: Row 6 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
1506	424	6	1903	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
1044	422	6	1903	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
185	420	6	1903	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
198	416	6	1903	22	Chicago (1896)		
1219	415	6	1903	54	Chicago (1896)		
975	411	6	1903	54	Chicago (1896)		
200	405	6	1903	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
147	404	6	1903	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
1092	402	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
201	401	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1407	399	6	1903	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1031	397	6	1903	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
209	396	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
525	395	6	1903	54	Chicago (1896)		
211	394	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
216	393	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1329	392	6	1903	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
1398	391	6	1903	2.1	Chicago (1896)		
342	390	6	1903	73	Chicago (1896)		
218	387	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
321	386	6	1903	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
895	385	6	1903	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
890	384	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1086	383	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1088	382	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1090	381	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1082	380	6	1903	139	Chicago (1896)		
997	379	6	1903	131	Chicago (1896)		
1004	378	6	1903	131	Chicago (1896)		
1166	377	6	1903	131	Chicago (1896)		
889	376	6	1903	131	Chicago (1896)		
888	375	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
887	373	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1080	372	6	1903	78	St. Louis (1903)	Chicago (1896)	
1108	371	6	1903	78	St. Louis (1903)	Chicago (1896)	
1039	369	6	1903	54	Chicago (1896)		
996	368	6	1903	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
865	361	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1264	360	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
533	359	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
852	357	6	1903	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1033	354	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
1006	351	6	1903	2, 131	Chicago (1896)		
1075	350	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
854	349	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
846	347	6	1903	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
765	346	6	1903	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
840	344	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
837	332	6	1903	2	Chicago (1896)		
836	331	6	1902	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
96	330	6	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
97	326	6	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
99	325	6	1902	2	Chicago (1896)		
101	322	6	1902	54	Chicago (1896)		

Table 8-27: Row 7 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
833	429	7	1903	U.S. Quarter	1895
856	440	7	1904	Porcelain Doll (marked "made in Germany")	(1891)/1897
1386	450	7	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
212	461	7	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-28: Row 7 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
223	458	7	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
230	452	7	1904	21, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
857	441	7	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
847	439	7	1904	2, 21, 96	Chicago (1896)		
845	438	7	1904	135	St. Louis (1903)		
842	436	7	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
832	433	7	1904	112	St. Louis (1903)		
826	432	7	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
834	428	7	1903	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
808	426	7	1903	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
205	462	7	1904	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
863	451	7	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
1386	450	7	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
231	449	7	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
847	439	7	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
843	437	7	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
91	434	7	1904	50	Chicago (1896)		
833	429	7	1903	22	Chicago (1896)		

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-29: all Row 8 Burials, with associated mortuary hardware

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
844	P	555	1905	24	23	18			o7		
830	P	554	1905	15; 38	22	2	5; t22	5; e2	18?	34; 36	
829	P	553	1905	3	16	13	28	19	B		5
265	P	552	1905	24; 38	22	2			18		
266	P	551	1905	35	25	27			23	5	
267	P	550	1905	33	26	14	t25	e27	18		
807	P?	549	1905	110	79	82	t79	e82	4		
806	P?	548	1905	108	52	57	t23		59	1	1; 7
819	P	547	1905	6	52	57	t55	e26	10	1	
818	P	546	1905	20	52	57	t83	e80	10		
1151	P	545	1905	36; 38	19; 29	32; 23	38	25	69; o14;o21;o24;o25	6	5
452	P	544	1905	148	23	18	12		22; o14;o24;o25		5?; 7
817	P?	543	1905	111	ic2		38	25	60		
816	P	542	1905	24	25	27					
986	P	541	1905	24	23	18				?	
800	P	540	1905	18	22	2			18	?	
891	P	539	1905	15	22	2					
1409	P	538	1905	32	25	27			23	5?	
1351	P	537	1905	35	25	27			B	5	
828	P	536	1905	32	25	27			B		
827	P	535	1905	35	25	27			61		
529	P	534	1905	24	23	18			A	34	
820	P	533	1904	24	23	18			X	?	
799	P?	532	1904						o7	50	
269	P?	531	1904	102			35	23	16		5
273	P	530	1904	32	25	27	t25	e27	24	6	
1327	P	529	1904	32	25	27			16	5?	
1027	P	528	1904	32	25	27			16	5?	
275	P	527	1904	11	25	27			16	?	
1091	P?	526	1904		30	27					
274	P	525	1904		30	27			o?	?	
276	P	524	1904	29; 38	23	foil			o7		
277	P?	523	1904		25	18				5	
1038	P	522	1904	32	23	18					
279	P	521	1904	32	23	18			23		1
280	P	520	1904		23	18			13		
916	P	519	1904		25	27			23	5?	
579	P	518	1904	32	25	27			23	5; 6	
39	P	517	1904	32	25	27			23	6	7
789	P	516	1904	32	25	27			23; o?		
489	P	515	1904	32	29	23	t29		23		
804	P	514	1904	32	29	23	t29		23	5	
451	P?	513	1904	81	25	27			47		7
1155	P	512	1904	35	29	23	t29		23		
93	P	511	1904	35	23	25	t29	e27	23		

Table 8-29: (continued)

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumb screw	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
791	P	510	1904	35	23	foil			23		1; 7
1054	P	509	1904	35	23	18			23	5	
803	P?	508	1904		25	27			23	5; 34	7
774	P?	507	1904		25	27				5; 34	
287	P	506	1904	36	23	25	12			?	1; 3?
14	P	505	1904	p42	15	24			42	5	1
16	P	504	1904	32	25	27			14	5	1; 7
285	P	503	1904	27	25	27			14	5	
813	P	502	1904	123	23	18	12		A; o7		
157	P	501	1904	21	23	foil					
802	P	500	1904		23	foil				1	
801	P	499	1904	21	55	18	36; t55	7; e26	10		
286	P	498	1904	33	23	26	t25	9; e27	o7	5; 6	
1150	P?	497	1904	148	53	52	17	e52	A; o22?		
867	P	496	1904	100	30	25			o22	1	1
785	P	495	1904	24	22	2			18		7
983	P	494	1904	24							
787	P	493	1904	101	23	18	1.1; t25	1.1; e27		4	
812	P	492	1904	33	23	18					
811	P	491	1904	101	30	25	t30	e27	o7	6	7
810	P?	490	1904		55	27				1	
805	P	489	1904	103	23	18	12; t25	e27	B	?	
38	P	488	1904	2	2	2					
504	P	487	1904	2; 16	2	2					
490	P	486	1904	2	2	2			o?		
851	P	485	1904	2	23						
313	P	484	1904	96	23	26	2	2	B; o21		1
780	P	483	1904	99	23	18	12		B; o21		7
307	P	482	1904	49	43	42			4		
5	P?	481	1904	49; 38	43	42	t43	e42	34	4; 8; 15	
767	P?	480	1904		25	27				4	
984	A	479	1904							?	
781	P	478	1904	101	30	18	36; t30	7; e27	o7	6	7
784	P	477	1904	101	23	25	12; t55; t29	e23; e25			7
768	I	476	1904								
994	P	475	1904	24	23	18	t23; t30			?	7
872	P	474	1904		23	25					7
871	P	473	1904	101	30	18	36; t30	7; e27	o7	6	7
769	P	472	1904	21	23	27	t25	e27; e80	o7	6	
775	P	471	1904		23	18			o7	4?	7
588	P	470	1904	88	30	25			o7	6	7
95	P	469	1904	88	30	25	t30		o7	1?	7
859	P	468	1904	125	23	18	39?	e27	A	4?; 6?; 46?	7
1019	I?	467	1904								
773	P	466	1904	78	22	2	5	5	X		
141	P?	465	1904	41	22	foil	11.1	11	18	46	

Table 8-30: Row 8 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	Terminus Post Quem
859	468	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
95	469	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
588	470	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
775	471	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
871	473	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
872	474	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
994	475	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
784	477	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
781	478	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
780	483	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
313	484	8	1904	Elgin Casket Co. hardware (Caplifter Base 2)	1903
38	488	8	1904	Dayton Bicycle Cuff Buttons	1896
811	491	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
787	493	8	1904	Elgin Casket Co. hardware (Caplifter Base 1.1)	1903
785	495	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
16	504	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
803	508	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
791	510	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
451	513	8	1904	Elgin hardware (handle 81); corrugated fastener; safety pin (type 1H)	1903; 1900; 1900
39	517	8	1904	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1409	538	8	1905	Safety Pin (Type 1H)	1900
452	544	8	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1151	545	8	1905	Safety Pin (Type 1H)	1900
806	548	8	1905	Safety Pin (Type 1H)	1900

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-31: Row 8 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
844	555	8	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
830	554	8	1905	15, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
829	553	8	1905	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
265	552	8	1905	24, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
819	547	8	1905	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1151	545	8	1905	36, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
816	542	8	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
986	541	8	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
800	540	8	1905	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
891	539	8	1905	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
529	534	8	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
820	533	8	1904	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
276	524	8	1904	29, 38	Schmidt (circa 1910)	St. Louis (1903)	Chattanooga (1905)
785	495	8	1904	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
983	494	8	1904	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
38	488	8	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
504	487	8	1904	2, 16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
490	486	8	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
851	485	8	1904	2	Chicago (1896)		
5	481	8	1904	49, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
994	475	8	1904	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
773	466	8	1904	78	St. Louis (1903)	Chicago (1896)	
141	465	8	1904	41	Chattanooga (1905)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
830	554	8	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
829	553	8	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
265	552	8	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
806	548	8	1905	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
819	547	8	1905	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
818	546	8	1905	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
800	540	8	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
891	539	8	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
14	505	8	1904	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
785	495	8	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
38	488	8	1904	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
504	487	8	1904	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
490	486	8	1904	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
773	466	8	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		
141	465	8	1904	22	Chicago (1896)		

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-32: Row 9 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	Terminus Post Quem
156	556	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
289	557	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
30	564	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
264	573	9	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1.1)	1903
260	579	9	1905	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII)	1900
466	585	9	1905	U.S. Indian Head Penny	1898
1103	586	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
896	606	9	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1.1)	1903
12	607	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
1302	608	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900
978	609	9	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (Introduction date)	circa 1900

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-33: Row 9 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
289	557	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
154	559	9	1905	37	Chattanooga (1905)	Sargent & Co (1920)	
139	560	9	1905	37	Chattanooga (1905)	Sargent & Co (1920)	
995	561	9	1905	37	Chattanooga (1905)	Sargent & Co (1920)	
1140	563	9	1905	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
271	569	9	1905	24, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
262	576	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
255	578	9	1905	40	Chattanooga (1905)		
248	581	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
247	582	9	1905	106, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
244	587	9	1905	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
243	589	9	1905	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
241	590	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
239	591	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
238	592	9	1905	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
235	596	9	1905	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
229	598	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
227	599	9	1905	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
221	602	9	1905	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
220	603	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
219	604	9	1905	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1028	605	9	1905	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
896	606	9	1905	18.1	Chattanooga (1905)		
12	607	9	1905	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1302	608	9	1905	18.1, 18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
204	611	9	1905	3, 17	Chattanooga (1905)		
194	612	9	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
151	572	9	1905	29.1	Schmidt (circa 1910)		
245	584	9	1905	29	Schmidt (circa 1910)		
263	574	9	1905	34	St. Louis (1903)		
1046	575	9	1905	34	St. Louis (1903)		
224	601	9	1905	25	St. Louis (1903)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
171	613	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
194	612	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
204	611	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1302	608	9	1905	88	Chattanooga (1905)		
896	606	9	1905	88	Chattanooga (1905)		
1028	605	9	1905	88	Chattanooga (1905)		
219	604	9	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
220	603	9	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
221	602	9	1905	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
226	600	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
229	598	9	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
235	596	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
239	591	9	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
243	589	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
244	587	9	1905	22	Chicago (1896)		
1103	586	9	1905	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
247	582	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
248	581	9	1905	16; 18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
255	578	9	1905	35	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
270	570	9	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
271	569	9	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
153	566	9	1905	32	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

* (see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-34: all Row 10 Burials, with associated mortuary hardware

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
624	P	711	1906	3	2	13	3	3	A	29	17; 5
1062	P	710	1906	24						2; 25?	
1399	P	709	1906	16	16	3	4; t8	3; e64	40	25?	
642	P?	708	1906		16	foil				1; 25; 26	
594	P	707	1906	6	16	foil			o7	2; 35?	
530	P?	706	1906	87	7	3			?	24?; 35	
483	P	705	1906	24	27	21			12	21	
486	P	704	1906	16	7; 16	16	t8	e64	2	6	7
495	P	703	1906	25	16	13	4	3	48	21	1
511	P?	702	1906		18					7	
1470	P	701	1906	41	108	111			A	2?; 24	
553	P	700	1906	24	16	13	t21	e74		2	
544	P	699	1906	24	75	13			o7	6	
542	P	698	1906	41	75	47	t21	e38	55	22	
499	P	697	1906	24	16	47				2; 24	
496	P	696	1906	18.1	16	13	t21	17	50	21	
482	P	695	1906		8	16	t8		39	6	7
485	P	694	1906	29.1	28	16	24; t21	17; e29	19	21	
480	P	693	1906	24	27	21	t28	e22	12	21	
481	P	692	1906	25	16	13	27	1	o20	21	5; 7
470	P	691	1906	3	13	13	1	1	2	6	5; 7
478	U	690	1906		66	foil				?	
476	P?	689	1906	80	ic2		1	1	45		3
469	P	688	1906	25	ic2		1	1	46	?	5
462	P	687	1906	76	ic2		25	18	7		5
463	P	686	1906	18	7	3			2	6?	
448	P	685	1906	18.1	28	28			28	21	
446	P	684	1906	79	7	3	28	19	44	7	
1447	P	683	1906	24	27	21	24; t32	17; e29	12		7
445	P	682	1906	24	16	21	27; t32	1; e16	12	21	
443	P?	681	1906	77	28	16	1.1	1.1	28	?	7
440	P	680	1906	25	16	13	28	19	27?; o20	21	1; 7
442	P	679	1906	24	27	21	27; t28	1; e22	12	21	
441	P	678	1906	24	16	21	27; t32	1; e16	12	22	
431	P	677	1906	24	27	21	24	17	12		
429	P	676	1906	25	16	13	27	1	43; o20		1; 5
428	P	675	1906	78	16	13	27; t32	1; e16	12	21	
432	P	674	1906	24	16	21			12	6	
290	P	673	1906	25	ic2		4	3	27		
419	P	672	1906	25	16	13	1	1	27; o20	11	
433	P	671	1906	24	27	21	24; t56	17; e64	41		
427	P	670	1906	18.1	28	28			28	6; 27; 28	7
418	P	669	1906	3	64	63	4	3	B		
413	P	668	1906	76	64	63	25	18	40	?	
411	P	667	1906	18.2	8; 56	62			39		7
426	P	666	1906	24	16	21	28; t69	19; e22		11; 29	
1221	P	665	1906	24	16	21	28; t28; t69	19; e22	15	27?	
1222	P	664	1906	6; 38	26	20			10		

Table 8-34: (continued)

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
1085	P?	663	1906	64	59	89					
1220	P	662	1906	18;33	59	89	49; t59	35	52; o20?	6	
423	P	661	1906	24	16	21			15	117;29	
1218	P	660	1906	25	16	13	1	1	2		5?
1224	P	659	1906	24	27	21	t56; t88	17; 20; e4	15	29	
1178	P	658	1906	16	52	57			17	10; 29	
1180	P?	657	1906	152	52	2	48	34	75		5
1188	P	656	1906	24	27	21			12	21; 65	
1187	P	655	1906	24	27	21	24; t88	17; e4	15; o26	?	
1189	P	654	1906	24.1	56	64	24; t56	17; e64	28	6; 27	
1228	P	653	1906	18.1;18.2	3	62			28		
1160	P	652	1906	24	16	13	t21	e74	o7	11	
1229	P	651	1906	24	16	2	t21	e74	o7?	2	
1231	P	650	1906	20	23	18	1.1; t23	1.1; e27	C		
1190	P	649	1906	24	16	21	27; t32	1; e16	12; o20	11?	
540	P	648	1906	24	27	21			12; o20?	?	
1193	P	647	1906	24	27	21			12; o20	66	
1115	P	646	1906	24	16	13				2	7
1117	P	645	1906	24	27	21			15	27?	
1194	P	644	1906	24	16	21			15	27;66?	
1196	P	643	1906	2	27	21	22; t88	20; e4	12	66?	
1345	P	642	1906	18	27	21					
1192	P	641	1906	18	27	21				64?	7
1198	P	640	1906	18.1	3	22	4; t3	3; e4			
1232	P	639	1906	156	27	21			2		
1233	P	638	1906	24	27	21	24; t88	17; e4	2	29?	1
1269	P	637	1905	156	27	21			2		
1217	P	636	1905	24	27	21			2	?	
1262	P	635	1905	19	16	13	4	3	7		5
1199	P?	634	1905	163	ic2		2	2	17		5
1273	P	633	1905	24	27	21			40		
1271	P	632	1905	156	27	21	50; t8	36; e4	40		
1299	P	631	1905	18	27	21	4; t88	3; e4	o?	64?	
1249	P	630	1905	159	56	16	51		28		
1246	P	629	1905	3	16	13	50	36	40	64	1; 5
1468	P	628	1905	24	27	21			7	6; 64	
1245	P	627	1905	24	27	21	27; t56	1; e64	7		
1244	P	626	1905	15	79;90	42	19; t90	e24	85	6; 64	
1341	P	625	1905	2	27	46	52	e29	40		
1234	P	624	1905	2	27	46	50; 52	36; e29	40		
1248	P	623	1905	18.2	56	64					
1200	P	622	1905	18.2	56	64	1.1; t56	1.1; e64	74		
1236	P	621	1905	2;24	16	13			40	6; 64	
1238	P	620	1905	16	27	21	1.1	1.1	12	64?	
1240	P?	619	1905		3	62			28	64	7
1239	P	618	1905	18.2			50	36			
1203	P?	617	1905	156	16	99			37		
1215	P	616	1905	33	27	18			52	1	
1214	P?	615	1905						40		

Table 8-35: Row 10 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	Terminus Post Quem
1240	619	10	1905	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1238	620	10	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1.1)	1903
1200	622	10	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1.1)	1903
1245	627	10	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
1199	634	10	1905	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 2)	1903
1233	638	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
1192	641	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1115	646	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1190	649	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
1231	650	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1.1)	1903
1189	654	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
1187	655	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
1224	659	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
1218	660	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
411	667	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
427	670	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
433	671	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
419	672	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
428	675	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
429	676	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
431	677	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
441	678	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
442	679	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
440	680	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
443	681	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1); Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
445	682	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
1447	683	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17); Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
469	688	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
476	689	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
470	691	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1); Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
481	692	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1); Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
485	694	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
482	695	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
496	696	10	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903
486	704	10	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900

*(see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-36: Row 10 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
624	711	10	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1062	710	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1399	709	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
594	707	10	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
483	705	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
486	704	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
495	703	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
1470	701	10	1906	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
553	700	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
544	699	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
542	698	10	1906	41	Chattanooga (1905)		
499	697	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
496	696	10	1906	18.1	Chattanooga (1905)		
485	694	10	1906	29.1	Schmidt (circa 1910)		
480	693	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
481	692	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
470	691	10	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
469	688	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
462	687	10	1906	76	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
463	686	10	1906	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
448	685	10	1906	18.1	Chattanooga (1905)		
1447	683	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
445	682	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
443	681	10	1906	77	Chattanooga (1905)		
440	680	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
442	679	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
441	678	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
431	677	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
429	676	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
428	675	10	1906	78	St. Louis (1903)	Chicago (1896)	
432	674	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
290	673	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
419	672	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
433	671	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
427	670	10	1906	18.1	Chattanooga (1905)		
418	669	10	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
413	668	10	1906	76	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
411	667	10	1906	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
426	666	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1221	665	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1222	664	10	1906	6, 38	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1220	662	10	1906	18, 33	Chattanooga (1905)		
423	661	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1218	660	10	1906	25	St. Louis (1903)		
1224	659	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1178	658	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago Coffin Co (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1180	657	10	1906	152	Chattanooga (1905)	Schmidt (circa 1910)	
1188	656	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1187	655	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1189	654	10	1906	24.1	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1228	653	10	1906	18.1, 18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1160	652	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1229	651	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1190	649	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
540	648	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1193	647	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1115	646	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

Table 8-36: (continued)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
1117	645	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1194	644	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1196	643	10	1906	2	Chicago (1896)		
1345	642	10	1906	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
1192	641	10	1906	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
1198	640	10	1906	18.1	Chattanooga (1905)		
1232	639	10	1906	156	St. Louis (1903)		
1233	638	10	1906	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1269	637	10	1905	156	St. Louis (1903)		
1217	636	10	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1199	634	10	1905	163	Chattanooga (1905)		
1273	633	10	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1271	632	10	1905	156	St. Louis (1903)		
1299	631	10	1905	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
1246	629	10	1905	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1468	628	10	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1245	627	10	1905	24	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1244	626	10	1905	15	Chattanooga (1905)		
1341	625	10	1905	2	Chicago (1896)		
1234	624	10	1905	2	Chicago (1896)		
1248	623	10	1905	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1200	622	10	1905	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1236	621	10	1905	2, 24	Chicago (1896)	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)
1238	620	10	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1239	618	10	1905	18.2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1203	617	10	1905	156	St. Louis (1903)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbcrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
624	711	10	1906	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1399	709	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
642	708	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
594	707	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
530	706	10	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
483	705	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
486	704	10	1906	7, 16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
495	703	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
511	702	10	1906	18	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
553	700	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
544	699	10	1906	75	Chattanooga (1905)		
542	698	10	1906	75	Chattanooga (1905)		
499	697	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
496	696	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
480	693	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
481	692	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
463	686	10	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
446	684	10	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1447	683	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
445	682	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
440	680	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
442	679	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
441	678	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
431	677	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
429	676	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
428	675	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
432	674	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
419	672	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

Table 8-36: (continued)

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
433	671	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
418	669	10	1906	64	Chattanooga (1905)		
413	668	10	1906	64	Chattanooga (1905)		
411	667	10	1906	56	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
426	666	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1221	665	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
423	661	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1218	660	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1224	659	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1178	658	10	1906	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
1180	657	10	1906	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
1188	656	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1187	655	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1189	654	10	1906	56	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1228	653	10	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1160	652	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1229	651	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1190	649	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
540	648	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1193	647	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1115	646	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1117	645	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1194	644	10	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1196	643	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1345	642	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1192	641	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1198	640	10	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1232	639	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1233	638	10	1906	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1269	637	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1217	636	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1262	635	10	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1273	633	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1271	632	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1299	631	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1249	630	10	1905	56	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1246	629	10	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1468	628	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1245	627	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1341	625	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1234	624	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1248	623	10	1905	56	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1200	622	10	1905	56	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1236	621	10	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1238	620	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1240	619	10	1905	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1203	617	10	1905	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1215	616	10	1905	27	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

Table 8-37: all Row 11 Burials, with associated mortuary hardware

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
1095	P?	743	1907							6	
1093	P?	742	1907		7	3				6	
1098	P?	741	1907		7	3				1; 10	
1059	P	740	1907	6	12	6			2	6	
1056	P	739	1907	8	7	3				6	
449	P	738	1907		2	6				1; 2	5
668	P?	737	1907	145	2	6	t93	e74		2	1
467	P	736	1906	8	7	3	t8	e22		1	
460	P	735	1906	145	2	6				2	
1137	P?	734	1906			6				1	
1163	P	733	1906	6	7	3	t94	e95; e4		6	
1135	P	732	1906	8	7	3	t8	e22		6	
1110	P	731	1906	8	7	3	t8	e22		6	
1109	P	730	1906	6	12	3			40	6	7
1111	P	729	1906	p42	94	95	t3	e95	16; 42	6	
1112	P	728	1906	53	12	6	t8		2	1	
1114	P	727	1906	6	7; 12	3				6?	
1133	P	726	1906	6	7	3	t3	e95	40	6	7
1074	P?	725	1906							2	
1149	P	724	1906	118	7	3	t8	e22		1; 6	
1167	P	723	1906	6	7; 12	3			40	6	
1142	P	722	1906	6	7	3	t8	e22		6	7
1144	P	721	1906	3	13	13	24		o20		7
1185	P	720	1906	6	7	3	t3	e95	A	6	
1130	P?	719	1906	150	ic2?		1	1	71		2?
1126	P	718	1906	3	16	13	1	1	2		1
1153	P	717	1906	6	7	3; 62					
1122	P	716	1906	6	16	94	28; t28	19; e28	40	6	
1125	P	715	1906	6	7	3				?	
1211	P	714	1906	16	16	3	28; t3	19; e62	40	9	
1173	P?	713	1906	161	99	94			6		7; 5?
1375	P	712	1906	18	16	3	t3	e16	2	6	

Table 8-38: Row 11 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	Terminus Post Quem
1173	713	11	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1126	718	11	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
1130	719	11	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
1144	721	11	1906	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter 24); Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
1142	722	11	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1133	726	11	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1111	729	11	1906	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII)	1900
1109	730	11	1906	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
460	735	11	1906	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII)	1900

* (see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-39: Row 11 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
1059	740	11	1907	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1163	733	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1109	730	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1114	727	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1133	726	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1149	724	11	1906	118	St. Louis (1903)	Chattanooga (1905)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1167	723	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1142	722	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1144	721	11	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1185	720	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1130	719	11	1906	150	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1126	718	11	1906	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1153	717	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1122	716	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1125	715	11	1906	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1211	714	11	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	Chicago Coffin Co (1896)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1173	713	11	1906	161	St. Louis (1903)		
1375	712	11	1906	18	Chattanooga (1905)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbscrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
1093	742	11	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1098	741	11	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1056	739	11	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
449	738	11	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
668	737	11	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
467	736	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
460	735	11	1906	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1163	733	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1135	732	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1110	731	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1133	726	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1149	724	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1167	723	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1142	722	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1185	720	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1126	718	11	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1153	717	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1122	716	11	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1125	715	11	1906	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1211	714	11	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
1375	712	11	1906	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-40: all Row 12 Burials, with associated mortuary hardware

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
1422	P	744	1907	19	2	3	9	7			1; 5?
1301	P	745	1907	21	104	107			A	1	
1306	P	746	1907	21	104	107			1	1	
1331	P	747	1907	8	104	107			1	1	
1392	P	748	1907	21	104	107			87	1	
1258	P	749	1907	3	2	6	t94	e62	1	10	
1323	P	750	1907	6	2	3	t94	e4	1	6	
1322	P	751	1907	6	7	3				1; 6	
1365	P	752	1907	3	2	3			6	6	
1366	P	753	1907		2	6				?	
1412	P	754	1907	8	7	3	t32	e22	2	1	7
1475	P	755	1907	p42	8; 94	4	t8	e4	16; 42	40.1	7
1430	P	756	1907	p42	94	95	t8	e95	16; 42	6	7
1429	P?	757	1907		8	16			C		7
1431	P	758	1907	29.1	21; 28	18	27; 1.1; t21; t28	1; 1.1; e29	2		7
1432	P	759	1907	3	2	6	t94	e16	1	10; 64	7
1449	P?	760	1907	173	ic2		57	39	17		5
1478	P	761	1907	8	7	3	t32	e22	2	1	
1489	P	762	1907	2.2	69	68			35	6	
1490	P	763	1907	23	69	foil	20	7	4	36	
20	P	764	1907	53	12; 14	6; 36			2		
1498	P	765	1907	8	12	6	t8	e16	2	1; 10	7
31	P?	766	1907	56	52	50	t8		37	1; 10	
28	P	767	1907	8	12	6			2	1; 10	
944	P	768	1907	8	7	3	t85	e65	2	1	7
395	P?	769	1907	120	ic2				48	1	7; 5
324	P	770	1907	8	7	3	t85	e65		1	
178	P	771	1907	8	7	3				1	
980	P?	772	1907		65	65	t85	e65	16	1	7
363	P	773	1907	6	7	3	t8	foil	2	1	7
933	P	774	1907		7	3				1; 6	
937	P?	775	1907							1; 6?	
355	I	776	1907								
47	I	777	1907								
46	P	778	1907	3	2	3	t3	e4	1		
48	I	779	1907								
52	P	780	1907	76	ic2		9	7	40		5
54	P?	781	1907	118	12	6	t8		2	1	
930	P	782	1907		8	foil	t8	e7	16	1; 6	
149	P	783	1907	8	12	6	t8		2	1	
150	I	784	1907								
44	I	785	1907								
49	P	786	1907	6	7; 8	3; 6			2	1	
366	P	787	1907		8	72	t8			1; 6	7
367	P	788	1907		7	foil				1; 6	
75	P	789	1907	12	ic2		2	2	2	10	
910	P?	790	1907		8					1; 6	
73	P	791	1907	3	16	13	1	1	2		
358	P?	792	1907	71			24	17	A		3
136	P	793	1907	3	ic2		2.1	2.1	6		3
383	P	794	1907	8	12	6	t8	e16	2	1; 6	
303	P	795	1907	8	7; 19	3; 32			2	1	
62	P	796	1907	8	7	3				1	
866	P?	797	1907	31	92	93			4	?	
821	P	798	1907		12	6				1	
814	P	799	1907	18	12	6	44; t40.1	30; e87	A	1	
268	P	800	1907	18	12	6				5	5?
288	P?	801	1907		7	3			A	10	

Table 8-41: Row 12 - Selected Temporal diagnostic artifacts*

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Time Diagnostic Artifacts	Terminus Post Quem
1412	754	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1475	755	12	1907	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII); Corrugated Fasteners	1900;1900
1430	756	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1429	757	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1431	758	12	1907	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1, 1.1);Corrugated Fastener	1903; 1900
1432	759	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
1498	765	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
944	768	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
395	769	12	1907	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII); Corrugated Fasteners	1900;1900
980	772	12	1907	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII); Corrugated Fasteners	1900;1900
363	773	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
366	787	12	1907	Corrugated Fasteners (introduction date)	circa 1900
367	788	12	1907	Safety Pin (Type 1DIII)	1900
75	789	12	1907	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 2);Safety Pin (Type 1DIII)	1903; 1900
73	791	12	1907	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 1)	1903
358	792	12	1907	Elgin Casket Co hardware (Caplifter base 17)	1903

* (see Chapter 4 for dating criteria)

**Table 8-42: Row 12 - Earliest Known catalogue appearance*
of Selected Mortuary Hardware Types**

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Handle	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
268	800	12	1907	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
814	799	12	1907	18	Chattanooga (1905)		
136	793	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
73	791	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
49	786	12	1907	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
54	781	12	1907	118	St. Louis (1903)	Chattanooga (1905)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
52	780	12	1907	76	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
46	778	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
363	773	12	1907	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
31	766	12	1907	56	St. Louis (1903)		
1490	763	12	1907	23	Chattanooga (1905)		
1489	762	12	1907	2.2	Chicago (1896)		
1449	760	12	1907	173	Chattanooga (1905)		
1432	759	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1431	758	12	1907	29.1	Schmidt (circa 1910)		
1365	752	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		
1322	751	12	1907	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1323	750	12	1907	6	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1258	749	12	1907	3	Chattanooga (1905)		

Burial #	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Thumbcrew	Catalogue Match (1)	Catalogue Match (2)	Catalogue Match (3)
288	801	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
866	797	12	1907	92	Chattanooga (1905)		
62	796	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
303	795	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
73	791	12	1907	16	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	
367	788	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
49	786	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
46	778	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
933	774	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
363	773	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
178	771	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
324	770	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
944	768	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
31	766	12	1907	52	Chattanooga (1905)		
1490	763	12	1907	69	Chicago (1896)		
1489	762	12	1907	69	Chicago (1896)		
1478	761	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1432	759	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1412	754	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1366	753	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1365	752	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1322	751	12	1907	7	Chattanooga (1905)	St. Louis (1903)	Schmidt (circa 1910)
1323	750	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1258	749	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		
1422	744	12	1907	2	Chattanooga (1905)		

*(see Chapter 4 for list of catalogues used as reference for this study)

Table 8-43: All Late Period Indigent Burials, not accounted for in the Late Sequence (N=68)

Burial #	Burial Type	Description	Age	Outer	Inner	Nail	Time Diagnostic Artifact	<i>Terminus Post Quam</i>
173	I	subadult	0.23	rect	hex	c/w		
405	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
408	I	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w		
412	I	adult M	53.60		hex	c/w		
421	I?	adult M	42.90		rect	c/w		
430	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
444	I	adult I	25.60		hex	w		
471	I	adult F	17.40	vault	hex	w		
473	I	subadult	0.54	rect	hex	c/w		
477	I	adult I	99.00		rect	w		
479	I?	subadult	0.06		rect?	w		
487	I	adult M (also Bur 494)	48.80		hex	w		
491	I	adult M	43.70	vault	hex	c/w		
497	I	adult F	97.00		hex	w		
514	I	adult M	42.50		hex?	w		
515	I	adult M	54.50		hex	c/w		
519	I	adult M	46.90		hex	w		
520	I	adult M	41.00		hex	w		
556	I	adult F	23.00		hex	w		
557	I	adult F	38.00		hex	c/w		
558	I	adult M;adult M (42.00)	48.90		hex	w		
560	I	adult IM	16.30		hex	w		
561	I	subadult	0.10		rect	w		
562	I	adult M	47.80		hex	c/w		
563	I	adult M	34.50		hex	w	United States Quarter	1897
568	I	adult F	20.00		hex	c/w	Patented safety pin (1DIV)	January 14, 1896
571	I	subadult	0.13		rect	c/w		
577	I	adult M	45.80		?	w		
580	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
582	I	subadult	0.08		rect	c/w		
583	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
584	I	adult F	41.40		hex	w		
589	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
592	I	adult F	32.00		hex	w		
597	I	subadult	0.05		rect	w		
600	I	adult M	55.00		hex	w		
635	I	adult M	37.20		rect?	w		
643	I	adult F?	98.00		rect	c/w		
648	I	subadult	0.10		rect	w		
653	I?	adult IM	26.00		hex	c/w		
669	I	subadult	0.10		rect	w		
672	I	adult M?	99.00		hex	w		
680	I	adult M	52.90		hex	w		
709	I	empty casket (adult)	96.00		hex	c/w		
710	I	adult M	49.60		hex	w		
746	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
815	I	adult M + subadult 0.15y	30.60		hex	w	Patented safety pin (1HI)	Feb.13, 1900
1011	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w		
1018	I	subadult	0.09		rect	c/w		
1024	I	subadult	0.15		rect	c/w		
1035	I	adult I	18.10		hex?	w		
1041	I	adult M + subadult 0.00y	41.00		hex	w		
1045	I	adult F?	30.50		rect	w		
1058	I	adult F?	39.40		hex	w		
1065	I	adult IM	28.30		rect	w		
1070	I?	adult IF	99.00	?	?	w		
1071	I	empty casket (adult)	96.00		rect	w		
1072	I	adult M	30.50		hex	w		
1079	I	adult M	51.50		hex	w		
1081	I	adult M	38.20		rect	w		

Table 8-43: (continued)

Burial #	Burial Type	Description	Age	Outer	Inner	Nail	Time diagnostic Artifact	<i>Terminus Post Quem</i>
1087	I	subadult	0.10		rect	c/w		
1096	I	adult I	99.00		rect	w		
1101	I	subadult	0.10	vault	rect	c/w		
1134	I	adult M	37.10		rect	w	Bisga bottle	1898/1903
1156	I	subadult	0.10		rect	w		
1443	I	subadult	2.60	rect	hex	c/w		
1450	I	subadult	0.00		rect	w/c?		
1461	I	adult M	19.00		rect	c/w		

Table 8-44: All Late Period Indigent Burials (not in Late Sequence), Interred above earlier burials (N=22)

Indigent Burials (not in the Late Sequence)							Impacted Burials										
#	Burial #	Burial Type	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Burial #	Time Period	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbcrew	Eucutcheon	Nail Type
1	405	|	subadult	0.0		rect	w	435	P	subadult	2.25	vault	hex				c
2	412	|	adult-M	53.6		hex	c/w	414	L; 1901	adult-M?	54.90	hex	hex	7	6	5	c/w
3	497	|	adult-F	97.0		hex	w	498	M	adult-M?	17.00		rect				c
4	519	|	adult-M	46.9		hex	w	658	M	adult-I	43.90		rect				c
5	556	|	adult-F	23.0		hex	w	744	M	subadult	0.60	rect	rect	92	36	foil	c
6	558	|	adult-M (2)	42; 48.9		hex	w	552	E	subadult	0.76	vault	hex		is		c
7	560	|	adult-IM	16.30		hex	w	671	P	subadult	1.56	rect	rect		is		c
8	563	|	adult-M	34.50		hex	w	650	M	adult-F	98.00		rect				c
9	584	|	adult-F	41.40		hex	w	587	M	adult-F	17.80	vault	hex		is	foil	c
10	600	|	adult-M	55.00		hex	w	657	M	adult-M?	37.50		rect				c
11	653	!	adult-IM	26.00		hex	c/w	645	M	adult-F	33.80	rect	hex?	5.1	72	71	c
12	669	|	subadult	0.10		rect	w	578	E	adult-F?	54.50	vault	hex		cs3	foil	c
13	672	|	adult-M?	99.00		hex	w	574	E	adult-M?	98.00	vault	hex		cs5	foil	c
14	680	|	adult-M	52.90		hex	w	599	E	subadult	8.07	vault?	hex		is	foil	c
								689	M	subadult	0.21	rect	rect		57	75	c
15	709	|	empty casket	...		hex	c/w	526	M	subadult	2.50	rect	rect		14	foil	c
16	710	|	adult-M	49.60		hex	w	527	E	subadult	0.66	vault	rect		is		c
								786	M	subadult	2.30	vault	rect		36	foil	c
17	1041	|	adult-M; subadult	41; 0.0		hex	w	1042	L; 1901	adult-F	25.70	rect	hex	137	6	15	c
18	1045	|	adult-F?	30.50		rect	w	1044	L; 1903	subadult	11.53	rect	rect	15	53	52	w
								1051	P	adult-M?	38.50	vault?	hex				c
19	1079	|	adult-M	51.50		hex	w	1080	L; 1903	adult-M	47.60	hex	hex	78	10	7	c/w
20	1101	|	subadult	0.10	vault	rect	c/w	1148	E	adult-IM	41.20	vault?	hex		is?		c
21	1134	|	adult-M	37.10		rect	w	1147	M	adult-M?	44.10	rect	rect	75	19	60	c
22	1156	|	subadult	0		rect	w	460	L; 1907	adult-F	25.40	rect	rect	145	2	6	w

Table 8-45: All Late Period Indigent Burials (not in Late Sequence), with burials interred above them (n=3)

Indigent Burials (not in Late Sequence)							Burials above Indigent graves									
#	Burial #	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail	Burial #	Time Period	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Nail
1	491	adult-M	43.70	vault	hex	c/w	*492	L; 1903+	empty casket	...	hex	hex	86	60	70	c/w
2	672	adult-M?	99.00		hex	w	594	L; 1906	adult-M	50.60	hex	hex	6	16	foil	c/w
3	*815	adult-M; subadult	30.60		hex	w	1093	L; 1907	subadult	0.06	rect	rect	7	3		w
							1095	L; 1907	subadult	0.13	rect	rect				w
*(associated with safety pin type 1H; patented Feb. 13, 1900)							*(associated with Elgin Casket Co. hardware; 1903 and later)									

(Note: Burial 672 is also placed above Burial 574; Early Period)

Table 8-46: All "Unique Hardware Burials," not accounted for in the Late Sequence (N=9)

Burial #	Burial Type	Description	Wt	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Plaque	Material	Time Diagnostic Artifact	Terminus Post Quem
1	U	adult F?	37.40	rect	rect	43	20	17	X	w		
2	U	adult M?	21.70	rect	rect	58	c16	51	A:om 14	cw		
3	U	adult M?	34.60	rect	oct	95		77	58	c		
4	U	adult F?	26.50	hex	hex	70	61	58	X	c		
5	U	subadult	2.10	rect	rect	114	85	11	4.1	cw		
6	U	subadult	0.05		rect				orn?	cw		
7	U	empty casket (adult)	96.00	hex	hex	86	60	70	53	cw	Elgin Casket Co. hardware	1903
8	U	adult IF	20.65	hex	hex	82	70	69	51	cw	corrugated fasteners	circa 1900
9	U	adult F?	44.80	rect	rect	121	9	86	B: om 23	cw	corrugated fasteners	circa 1900

Table 8-47: All Late Period "Unique Hardware" Burials (not in Late Sequence), interred above earlier burials (N=2)

"Unique Hardware" Burials (not in Late Sequence)																					
#	Burial #	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Plaque	Nail	Impacted burials										
1	464	subadult	0.05		rect				Om?	cW	468	L, 1900	P	Adult-female	36.80	rect	hex	29	15	foil	cW
2	492*	empty casket	96.00	hex	hex	86	60	70	53	cW	491	L	I	adult-male	43.70	vault	hex				cW

*(associated with Elgin Casket Co. hardware; 1903 and later)

Table 8-48: Possible Identifications made, from a comparison of Exhumed Burials to Death Records (N=5)

Exhumed Burial										Possible Match To Death Records									
Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lake Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Identifying Characteristic	Name	Age	Sex	Death Date	Undertaker	Cemetery	Cause of death	Identifying Characteristic			
1	147	P	L	404	6	1903	subaduit (male)	9.60	double amputee	Lewis Clark	10	M	April 3, 1904	Peoples	Freedman's	Infected Septicemia	cause of death		
2	1188	P	L	656	10	1906	adukt M	38.20	.45 ca. bullet in chest	Tucker Harris	unk	M	January 8, 1907	Peoples	Freedman's	suicide; .45 bullet to heart	bullet		
3	90	I	L	164	4	1901	subaduit (male?)	13.30	bird shot in face	Oscar Eaphram	14	M	May 23, 1902	not given	not given	accidental shot gun blast to face	bird shot		
4	1080	P	L	372	6	1903	adukt M	47.60	Odd Fellows insignia	J. (John) H. Pate	49	M	August 29, 1904	Peoples	Freedman's	Natural causes	member of Odd Fellows lodge		
5	1109	P	L	730	11	1906	adukt M?	32.70	.32 bullet lodged in cer. vertebra	Frank Talley	unk	M	unk	unk	unk	unk	.32 cal. bullet lodged in neck		

Table 8-49: All burials with Elgin Casket Co. hardware (with associated hardware types)

Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Handle	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Nail	Caplifter	Caplifter 2	Caplifter 3	Caplifter 4	Caplifter Base	Caplifter Base 2	Caplifter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2	VW Latch	VW Latch 2	Ornamental Tack	
313	P	L	484	8	1904	adult I	34.10	96	rect	rect	23	26	cw	2				2				B	021	1		2		4
787	P	L	493	8	1904	adult M	46.30	101	rect	rect	23	18	cw	1.1	125			1.1	e27				47		7			
451	P?	L	513	8	1904	subadult	1.59	81	hex	hex	25	27	w										B					
264	P	L	573	9	1905	adult IF	43.40	33	rect	hex?	23		w	1.1	125			1.1	e27									
896	P	L	606	9	1905	subadult	0.20	18.1	?	hex	88	4	w	1.1				1.1				28						
1238	P	L	620	10	1905	adult F	23.40	16	rect	rect	27	21	cw	1.1				1.1				12			6	37	64?	
1200	P	L	622	10	1905	subadult	0.64	18.2	rect	rect	56	64	w	1.1	156			1.1	e64			74						
1246	P	L	627	10	1905	adult M?	18.00	24	hex	hex	27	21	w	2	156			1	e64			7		5		67		
1199	P?	L	634	10	1905	adult F?	40.00	163	rect	rect	ic2		w					2				17						
1233	P	L	638	10	1906	adult F?	33.60	24	hex	hex	27	21	w	1.1	188	24		e4	17			2		1				29?
1190	P	L	649	10	1906	adult F?	32.40	24	rect	rect	16	21	cw	27	132			1	e16			12	020					117
1231	P	L	650	10	1906	adult M?	31.40	20	hex	hex	23	18	w	1.1	123			1.1	e27			C						
1189	P	L	654	10	1906	subadult	4.61	24.1	rect	hex	56	64	cw	24	156			17	e64			28					6:27	
1187	P	L	655	10	1906	adult F?	30.70	24	rect	rect	27	21	cw	24	188			17	e4			15	026				?	
1224	P	L	659	10	1906	adult M	34.80	24	rect	rect	27	21	w	156	188			17	e4	20		15					29	
1218	P	L	660	10	1906	adult F?	24.00	25	rect	rect	16	13	w	1				1				2		57		3		
433	P	L	671	10	1906	adult IF	42.90	24	rect	rect	27	21	w	24	156			17	e64			41						
419	P	L	672	10	1906	adult F?	28.60	25	rect	rect	16	13	w	1				1				27	020			5		11
428	P	L	675	10	1906	adult M	54.50	78	rect	rect	16	13	w	27	132			1	e16			12						21
429	P	L	676	10	1906	adult F?	25.00	25	rect	rect	16	13	w	27				1				43	020	1	5	3	67	
431	P	L	677	10	1906	adult M	40.90	24	rect	rect	16	21	w	27	132			17	e16			12						22
441	P	L	678	10	1906	adult F?	26.30	24	rect	rect?	16	21	w	27	132			1										
442	P	L	679	10	1906	adult F?	28.00	24	rect	rect	27	21	w	27	128			1	e22			12						21
443	P?	L	681	10	1906	subadult	3.63	77	rect	rect	28	16	w	1.1				1.1				28		7				?
445	P	L	682	10	1906	adult F	35.60	24	rect	rect	16	21	w	27	132			1	e16			12						21
1447	P	L	683	10	1906	adult F?	35.40	24	rect	rect	27	21	w	24	132			17	e29			12		7				
469	P	L	688	10	1906	adult M	41.80	25	rect	rect	ic2		w	1				1				46		5	3	3		?
476	P?	L	689	10	1906	adult F	27.60	80	rect	rect	ic2		w	1				1				45		3				
470	P	L	691	10	1906	adult M?	36.70	3	vault	rect	13	13	w	1				1				2		5	7	6	3	6
481	P	L	692	10	1906	adult IM	34.80	25	rect	rect	16	13	w	27				1				C	020	7	5	37	67	21
485	P	L	694	10	1906	subadult (female)	3.58	29.1	rect	rect	28	16	w	24	121			17	e29			19						21
486	P	L	696	10	1906	adult F	27.40	18.1	rect	rect	16	13	w	121				17				50						21
1126	P	L	718	11	1906	adult M	19.00	3	hex	hex	16	13	cw	1				1				2		1		3		

Table 8-49 (continued)

Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Handle	Outer Box	Inner Box	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Nail	Caplifter	Caplifter 2	Caplifter 3	Caplifter 4	Caplifter Base	Caplifter Base 2	Caplifter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2	VW Latch	VW Latch 2	Ornamental Tack
1130	P?	L	719	11	1906	subadult (female)	4.81	150		rect	lc27		cw	1				1			71		27		5	7?	
1144	P	L	721	11	1906	adult F?	51.50	3	rect	rect	13	13	w	24							020		7		3	6	
1431	P	L	758	12	1907	subadult	2.15	29.1	rect	rect?	21.28	16	cw	27	1.1	128	121	1	1.1	e29	2		7				
75	P	L	789	12	1907	adult F	27.80	12	rect	rect	lc2		w	2				2			2				5	6?	10
73	P	L	791	12	1907	adult M?	42.90	3	hex	hex	16	13	w	1				1			2						
368	P?	L	792	12	1907	adult I	21.40	71	rect	rect			w	24				17			A						
482	U	L				empty casket (adult)	96.00	86	hex	hex	60	70	cw	31				21			53				6		6

Table 8-50: All Previously Exhumed Burials (i.e., empty box) in Late Period, sorted temporally by Late Sequence #

#	Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Handle	Outer Box	Inner box	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Nail	Caplifer	Caplifer Base	Plaque	Iron Closure	W/Latch	Ornamental Tack
1	797	I	L	270	5	1902	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00			hex			w						
2	1033	P	L	354	6	1903	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	2	rect	rect	53	52	c/w	150	5; e66	07	7; 1		?
3	205	P	L	462	7	1904	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	20	rect	rect	52	57	w	39		48		6; 1	45?
4	521	P	L	431	7	1904	"empty casket" (adult)	99.00	28	hex	hex	10	14	c/w	6	e66		1		
5	263	U?	L	574	9	1905	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	34		rect	ic2					21	?		
6	1135	P	L	732	11	1906	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	8	rect	rect	7	3	w	18	e22				6
7	668	P?	L	737	11	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	145	rect	rect	2	6	c/w	193	e74		1		2
8	1056	P	L	739	11	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	8	rect	hex	7	3	w					5	6
9	1059	P	L	740	11	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	6	?	hex	12	6	w/c?			2			6
10	1306	P	L	746	12	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	21	rect	rect	104	107	c/w			1			1
11	1392	P	L	748	12	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	21	rect	rect	104	107	c?			87			1
12	1323	P	L	750	12	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	6	rect	rect	2	3	w	194	e4	1			6
13	1365	P	L	752	12	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	3	rect	rect	2	3	w			6		9?	6
14	46	P	L	778	12	1907	"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	3	rect	rect	2	3	w/c?	13	e4	1			
15	492	U	L				"empty casket" (adult)	96.00	86	hex	hex	60	70	c/w	31	21	53		6	6
16	709	I	L				"empty casket" (adult)	96.00			hex			c/w						
17	1071	I	L				"empty casket" (adult)	96.00			rect			w						

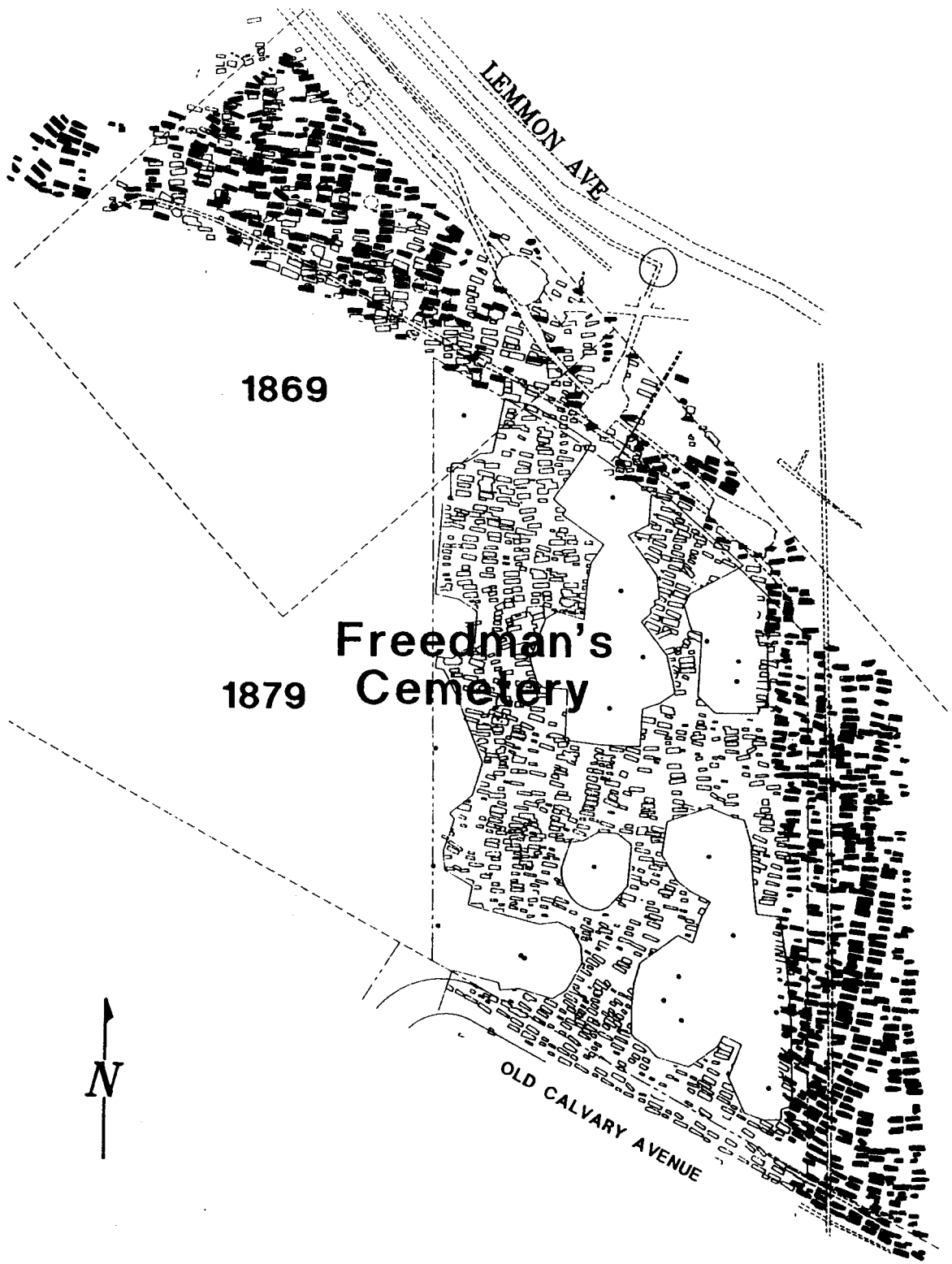


Figure 8-1 Distribution of all burials assigned to the **Late Period** (in bold) (N=878)

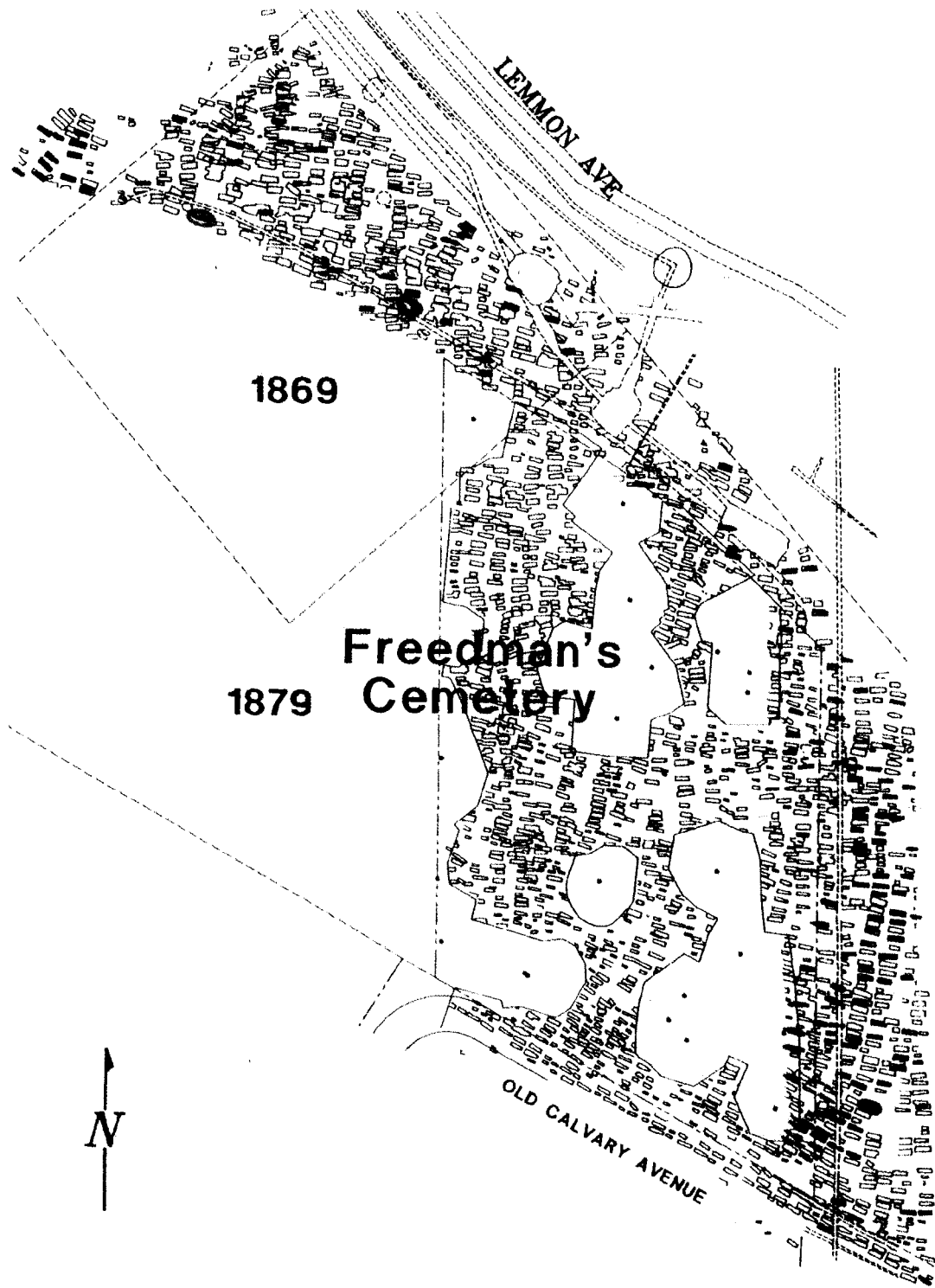
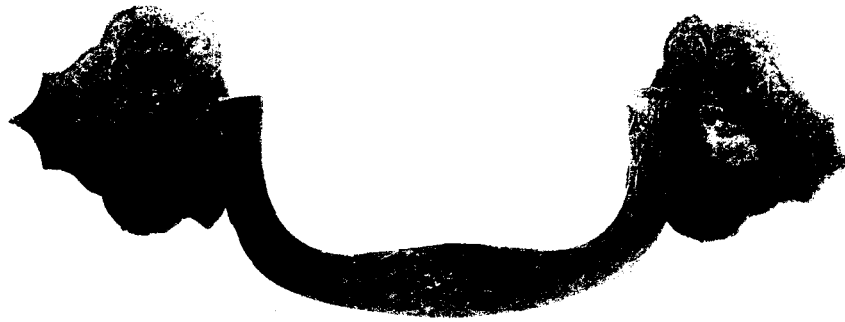
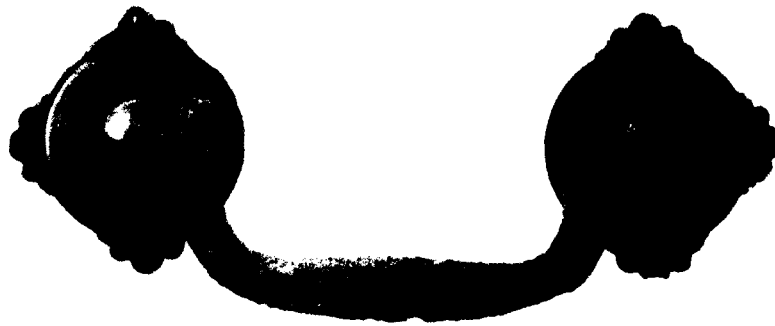


Figure 8-2 Spatial distribution of Coffin Handles that define the Preliminary Late Sequence (Handle 10 in violet; Handle 7 in blue; Handle 2 in red; Handle 21 in green; Handle 24 in yellow).



Handle 10



Handle 7

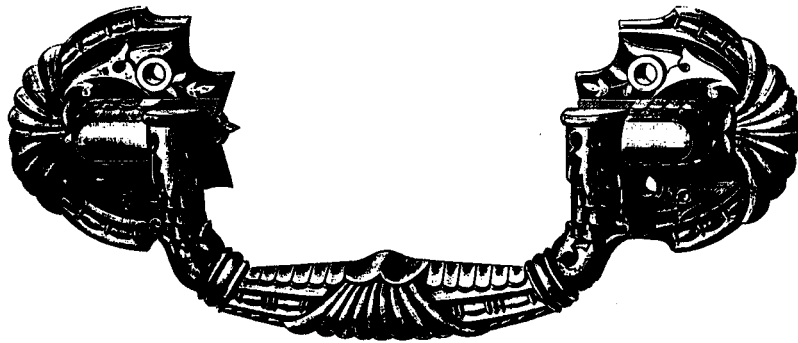


Handle 2

Figure 8-3 Handles that define the Preliminary Late Sequence (Handles 10, 7, 2, 21, 24)



Handle 21

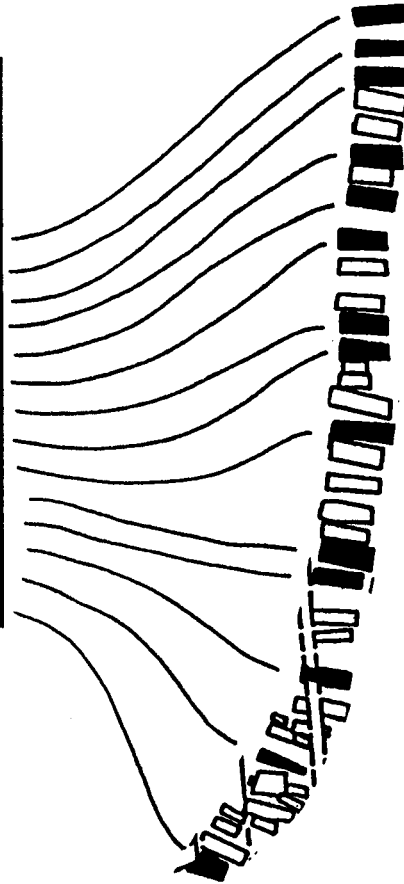


Handle 24

Figure 8-3 (continued)

Figure 8-4: Distribution of Selected Burials, *
illustrating artifactual and spatial patterning

Burial #	Outer Box	Inner Box	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Plaque	Nail	Iron Closure
976	rect	rect	2	22	60		c/w	1
903	hex	hex	7	2	49	3	c/w	1
904	hex	hex	7	2	49		c/w	1
898	rect	rect	2	11; 26	20	o20	c/w	1
894	hex	hex	7	12; 2	10		c/w	
893	hex	hex	7	16	30	B	c/w?	1
884	hex	hex	7	16	30	3	c/w	1
883	hex	hex	7	2	49		c/w	1
880	hex	hex	7	16	30	A	c/w	1
751	hex	hex	7	2	10		c/w	
757	hex	hex	7	13	9		c	1
795	hex	hex	7	13	9		c/w	1
778	hex	hex	7	81	9	3	c/w	1?
89	hex	hex	7	13	9		w	



*(burials were located in eastern portion of the site,
 beneath the southbound frontage road)

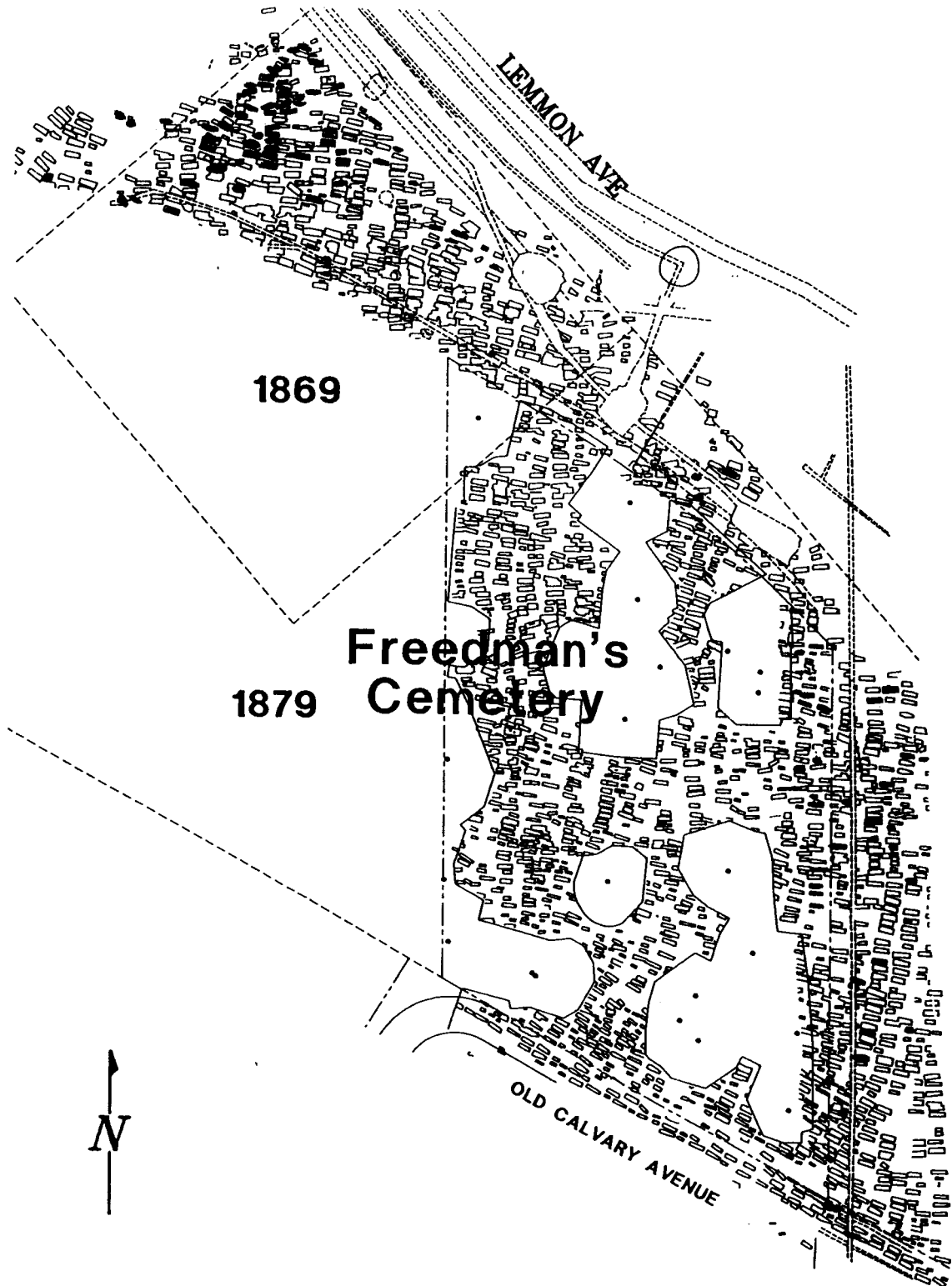


Figure 8-5 All "Indigent" Burials in the Late Period (n=104)

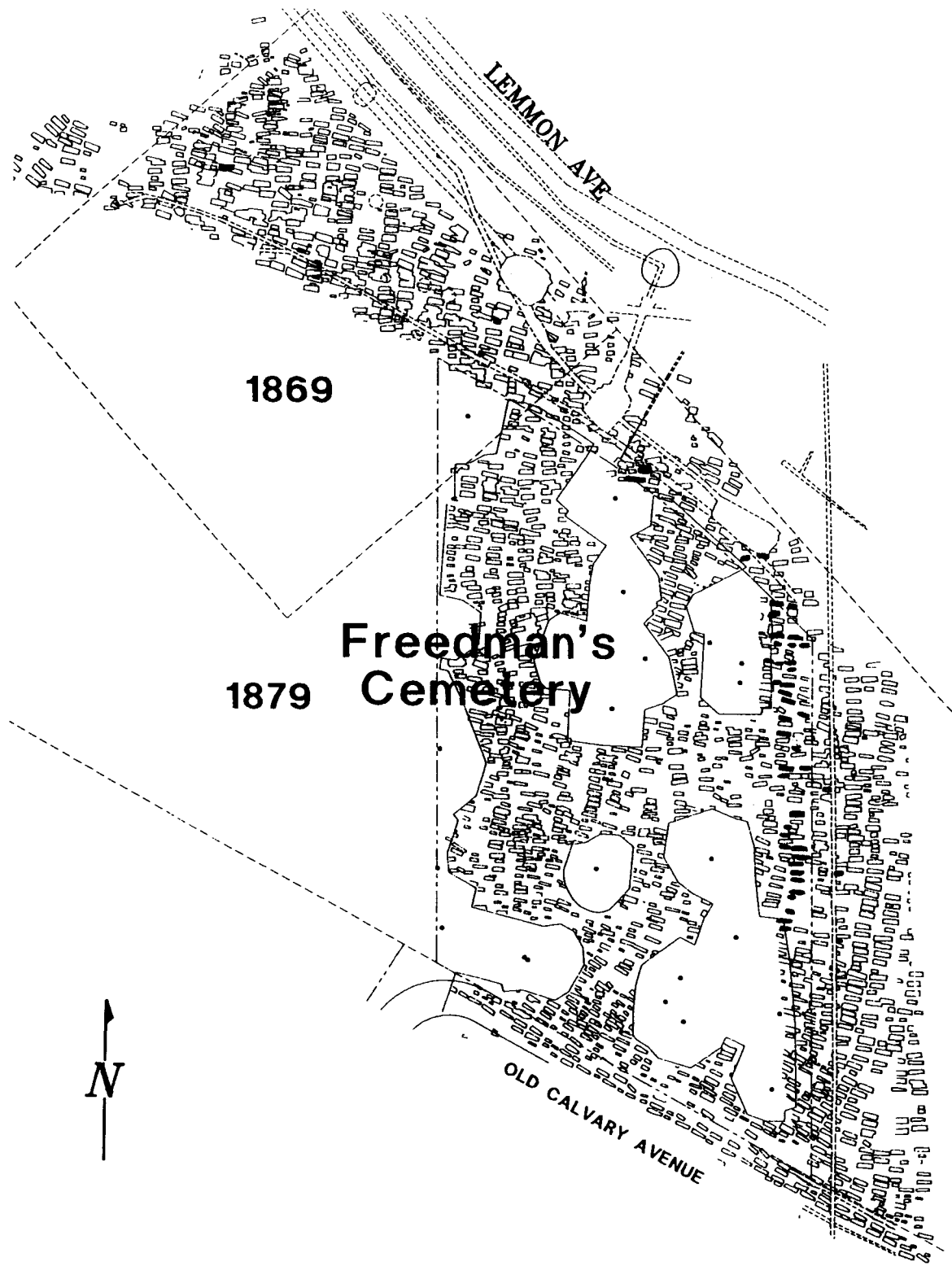
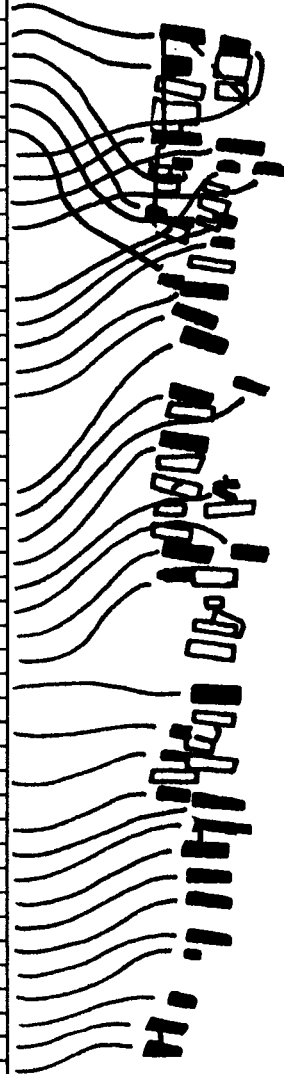


Figure 8-6 Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 1**, Late Sequence (circa 1900)

Figure 8-7: Artifact and Spatial patterning of Row 1 Burials

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Capitulum	Capitulum Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tool	Iron Closure
305	I	45	1900								
1	P?	44	1900		15	12			5?	14	
10	I	43	1900								
306	U	42	1900		39					dome	
17	P?	41	1900		14	36					
24	I	40	1900								
1485	P?	39	1900		14	47					
4	P?	38	1900	46	37	foil			o12	48?	
3	I	37	1900								
8	P?	36	1900	15, 59, 60	40.1	15	t40.1		5	dome	
1294	P?	35	1900	44.1	1	40.1	t1	e38	5		
1417	P?	34	1900	172	40.1	40.1	55	e38	92		
9	P?	33	1900		40.1	11	t40.1		5?	48?	
15	P?	32	1900		14	14					
18	P?	31	1900	45	37	11			X	48?	
23	I	30	1900								
26	I	29	1900								
1418	P?	28	1900	23	19	32	56; t19	38; e38	C		
1500	P	27	1900	10	19	14			A		1
1100	P	26	1900	10, 51.1	19	foil				?	
27	P	25	1900	10	19	32			C		1
32	P?	24	1900		18; ca 1	14				4	
34	P	23	1900	15	14	foil			o12		
36	P	22	1900	10	14	11			B		1
40	I	21	1900								
41	U?	20	1900	1	1	1	t1?	e1?			
43	P	19	1900	4	4; 5				A		
158	A	18	1900							3	
53	P	17	1900	9	15	10					
1477	P?	16	1900		14	foil				48	
58	P?	15	1900		14					48?	
1480	P?	14	1900	72	14	foil			o3	48	
74	P	13	1900	11	14	12			o3	48	
370	P?	12	1900	72	5	foil			o3		
76	P	11	1900	14	5; 19	12; 1			o3	48?	
140	P?	10	1900		14	12					1
138	I	9	1900								
134	P	8	1900	10	14						
133	I	7	1900								
132	I	6	1900								
131	I	5	1900								
130	P?	4	1900		15	foil			o3	48?	
128	P	3	1900	23	14	foil					1
127	U	2	1900	52	46	15	11.1; 146	11	C	dome	1
126	P	1	1900	18	14	15			A	48?	1



*(indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

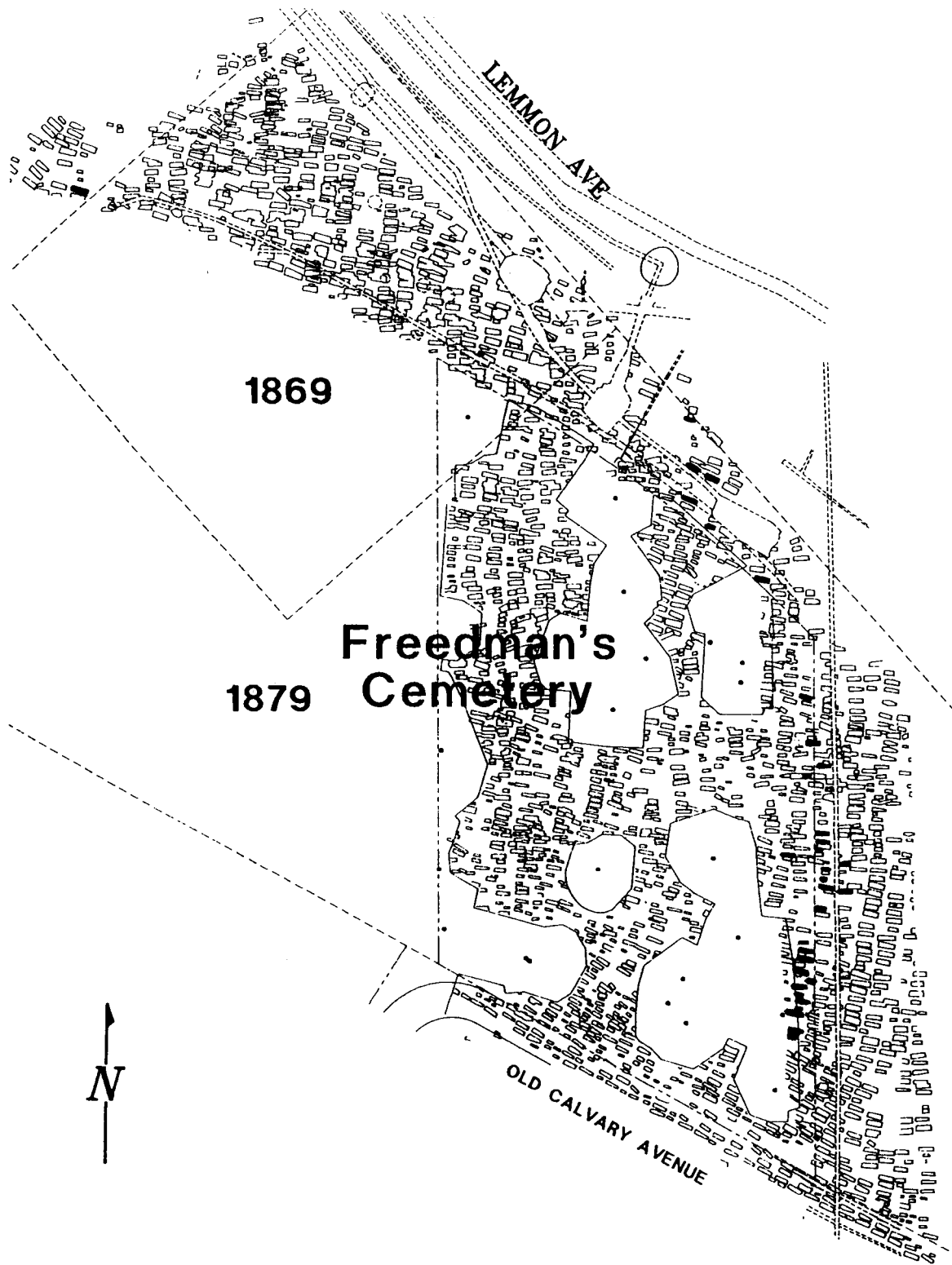
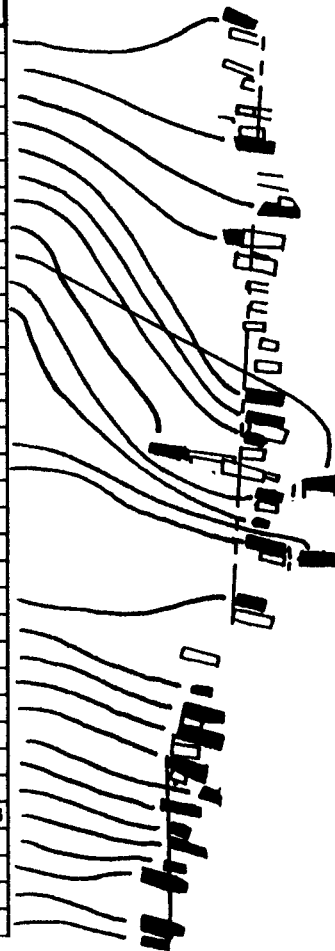


Figure 8-8

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 2**, Late Sequence (circa 1900)

Figure 8-9: Artifact and spatial patterning of Row 2 Burials

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
25	I	79	1900								
364	P	78	1900	18	14	12			X		1
932	P?	77	1900	116	5	32	15	7; e38	A		1
51	P?	76	1900		14	47					
982	I	75	1900								
359	P	74	1900	48	14	foil			o5	48?	1
357	P	73	1900	26	14	foil			X		
137	P	72	1900	18	15				o5	dome	
368	P	71	1900	18	15	foil			o5		
341	P	70	1900	23	14	foil					
343	P?	69	1900	69	49	15	t49	e36	5	48?	
* 1021	P	68	1900	136	15				o5	48	1?
* 1425	P?	67	1900		14	foil				48	
* 1446	A	66	1900							?	
* 1463	P	65	1900	18	14	foil			o5		1
329	P	64	1900	18	14	foil			o5		1
330	P	63	1900	10	14	foil			A		
* 1466	P?	62	1900		14	foil					
* 1479	P	61	1900	48	49	foil			A		1
* 1453	P?	60	1900	26	49	54	t49	e36	C	48	
* 1451	P	59	1900	47	49	110	t49	5; e38	68?	48	1
317	P	58	1900	10	49	54	5; t49	5; e38	A	?	1
123	U	57	1900	44	36	15			X		
122	P	56	1900	10	14	11				48?	1
120	P?	55	1900		14	foil					
118	P	54	1900	4	14	12					1
116	P?	53	1900		14	foil					
115	P	52	1900	10	14	foil			B	48?	
117	P?	51	1900		15	foil				48?	
112	P?	50	1900	48	42	32	11.1	11	B	dome	1; 3
111	I	49	1900								
61	P	48	1900	10	49	32	5; t49	5; e38	X	dome	
71	P	47	1900	10	14	14			X		
302	P?	46	1900		15	15	t15	e36	A	14	



* (indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

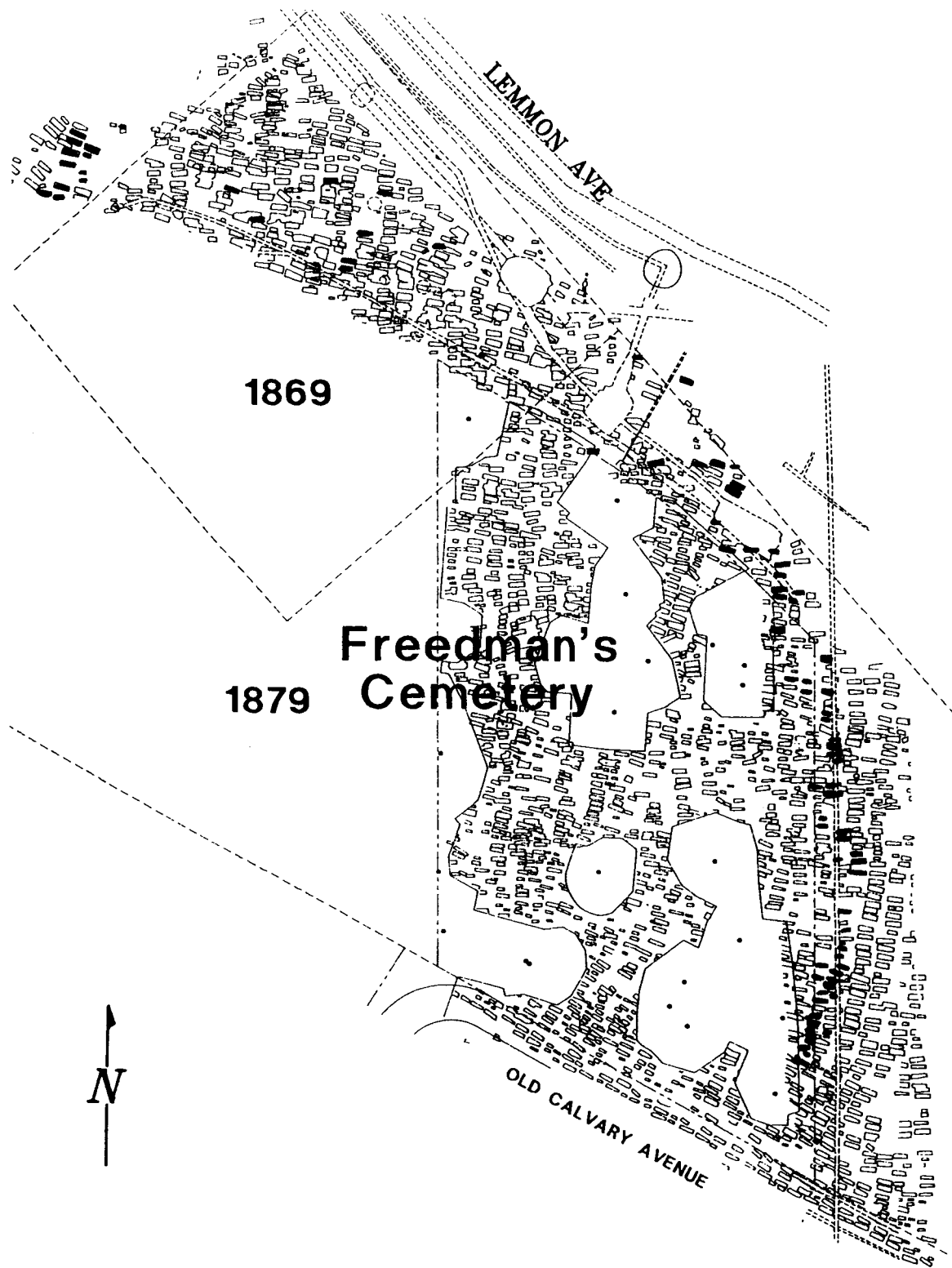
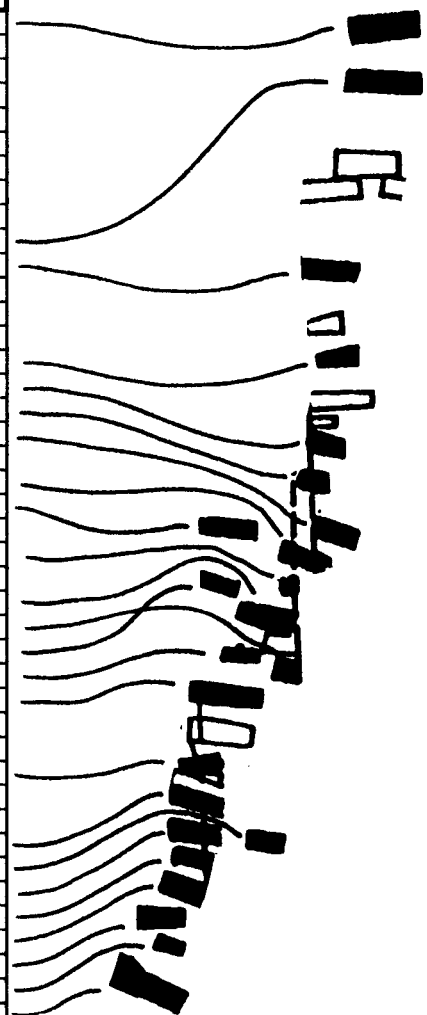


Figure 8-10

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 3, Late Sequence** (circa 1900/1901)

Figure 8-11: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 3 Burials
(Southern Portion of Row 3)

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Capliner Type	Capliner Base	Plaque	Ornamental Teak	Iron Closure
911	P?	121	1901	127,128,129	40	40	11.2; t15	22; e38	C		1
* 1008	P	120	1900	147	6	15					
* 1009	P	119	1900	26	40	40			5		
* 1017	P?	118	1900		15	15		e38		?	1
* 1007	P	117	1900	10	15	15			3		1
* 1005	P	116	1900	10	40	40			33		1
* 1003	P	115	1900	10	40	40			65; c9		1
* 468	P	114	1900	29	15	foil				34	
* 6	P	113	1900	29	40	40			33		1
* 901	P	112	1900	10	40	40			33	48	1
* 322	P?	111	1900	136	14	12			A	48	1
* 1456	P	110	1900	23	15	15	t15	e38	91	48	
* 1492	P	109	1900	23; 130	15	15	t15	e38	A	48	
* 1491	P	108	1900	130	15	15	t15	e38	91		
* 675	P	107	1900	23	15	15	t15	e38	A		
* 686	P?	106	1900		15	47	t15	e38	5	19; 97; 13	
* 698	P?	105	1900		15	47				49	
* 705	I	104	1900								
* 1012	P?	103	1900		14	44				48	
* 724	P	102	1900	10	14	47	t76	e44			
* 314	P?	101	1900	97	15; 77	foil				48?	
* 1481	P?	100	1900	51	14	47			5		
* 838	P?	99	1900	51	14	47					
* 1120	P	98	1900	10	14	47					1
* 726	P	97	1900	10	14	47			A		
* 739	P?	96	1900	122	14	47					
* 311	P	95	1900	23	15	10	19.1; 33	e38	C	48?	
* 720	P	94	1900	26	15	10			5?	48?, 19	
* 113	P	93	1900	62	40	10	11.2	22; e38	A		1
* 1476	P	92	1900	47	15	32	18	14	A		1
* 1434	P?	91	1900	107	15	10	5	5	B		1
* 108	P?	90	1900	62	15	15	19	e38	B		
* 1181	P?	89	1900	153	19	32	5; t19	5	B		1
* 1182	P	88	1900	47; 61	14	32	5; t14	5; e38	A	?	
* 64	P	87	1900	61	15	10	18	14	X		1
* 755	P?	86	1900		14	44			4.1		
* 85	P	85	1900	47	15	10		e38	B		1
* 86	U	84	1900		cs2					16	
* 68	P?	83	1900		49					?	
* 79	P?	82	1900		47	47					
* 80	P?	81	1900	51	45	44			A		
* 88	P?	80	1900		14	12					1



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

**Figure 8-12: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 3 Burials
(Northern Portion of Row 3)**

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter Type	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
* 458	P	163	1901	10							
1495	P	162	1901		19	47					1
22	P	161	1901	18	15	10	5	5	X	48?	1
21	P?	160	1901		15	12			C, o9	13	
19	P	159	1901	18	15	10			X	dome	1
1499	P	158	1901	10	15	15, 38					1
946	P?	157	1901		40	40			4.1	48	
945	P	156	1901	23	14	foil			C	47?	
* 371	P	155	1901	18	15	10			3	48?	
* 998	P	154	1901	133	71	39					1
* 943	P?	153	1901		15	47				19, 1?	
* 1164	P	152	1901	133	15	10			3		1
* 1487	P	151	1901	10	15	5			3		1
* 1483	P	150	1901	18	15	47			3	48	1
* 942	P	149	1901	18	15	10			33	48	1
* 362	P	148	1901	18	15	47			3	20	
* 1102	P	147	1901	18	15	47			3	?	1
* 1454	P?	146	1901	171	15	109	17	13	A		1
* 940	P?	145	1901		?						
* 1482	P?	144	1901	174	5	109	17	13	A	48	
* 1457	P?	143	1901		15	109					
* 1474	P	142	1901	10	15	109			A	48	1
* 1465	P	141	1901	10	15	47, 38				?	1
* 1458	P	140	1901	10	15	47, 38			3		1
* 612	P	139	1901	2	14	47			3	?	1
* 934	P	138	1901	2	14	47			3		1
* 990	P?	137	1901		15	47				19, 48	1
* 1480	P	136	1901	4	14	47			3		1
* 1462	P	135	1901	18	47	47			3		1
* 925	P	134	1901	18	14	32				48	1
* 929	P	133	1901	48	15	10	37, t45	5, e44	3	?	10
* 981	P	132	1901	23	15	10		e38	5	48, 49	
* 922	P?	131	1901		15						
* 921	P	130	1901	47	15	10	5	5	X		1?
* 347	P	129	1901	11	14	15			4?	48	
* 346	P?	128	1901		15	47				19	
* 1010	P?	127	1901		14?						
* 1020	P	126	1901	11	14					48	
* 1016	P?	125	1901		15	15			5	14	
* 1053	P	124	1901	2	15	15	16	e38	B		1
* 1484	P	123	1901	176	15	10	t76	e38	X		
* 912	P	122	1901	23, 130	15	15	t76	e38	A		

* (Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

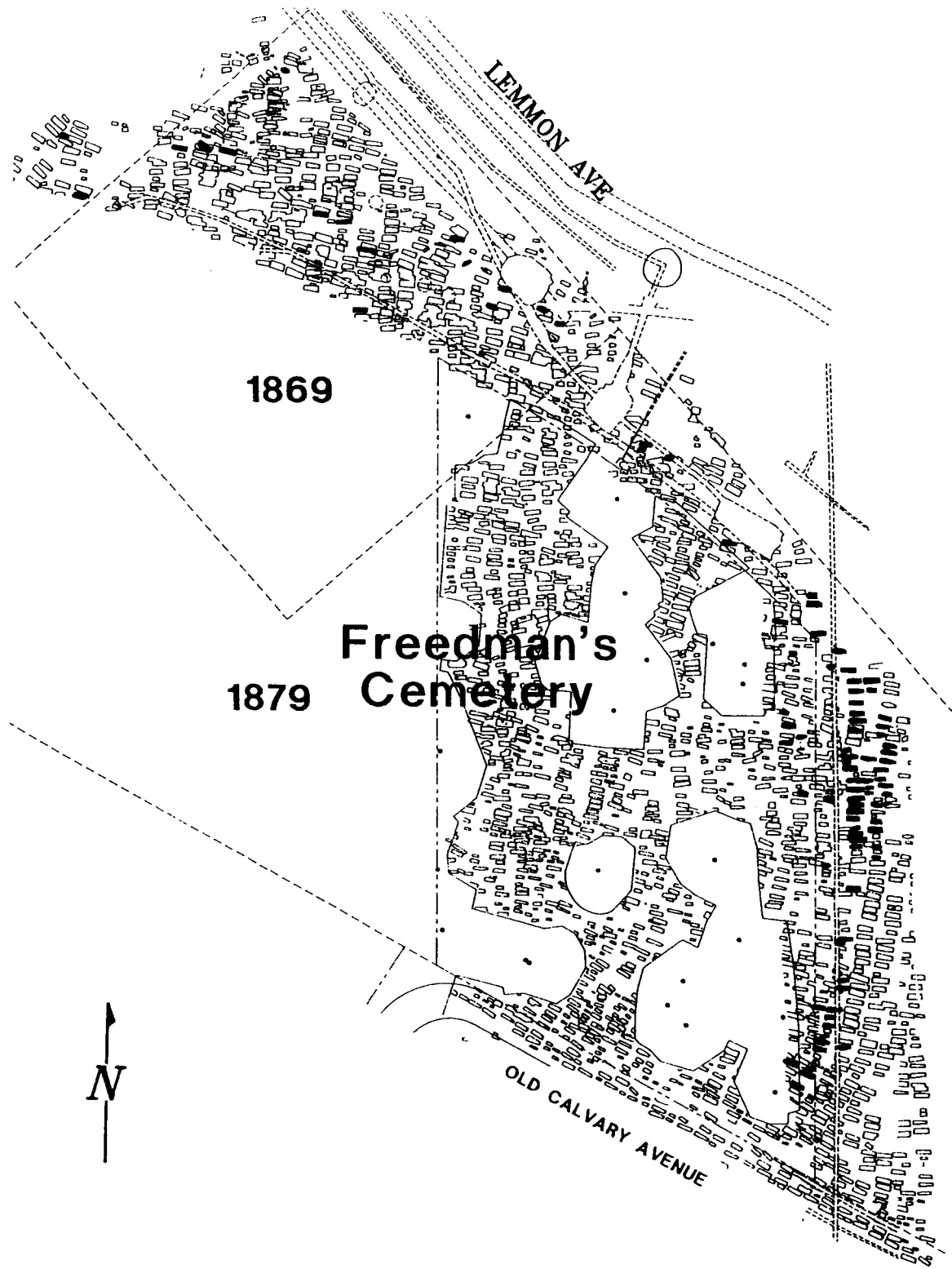


Figure 8-13

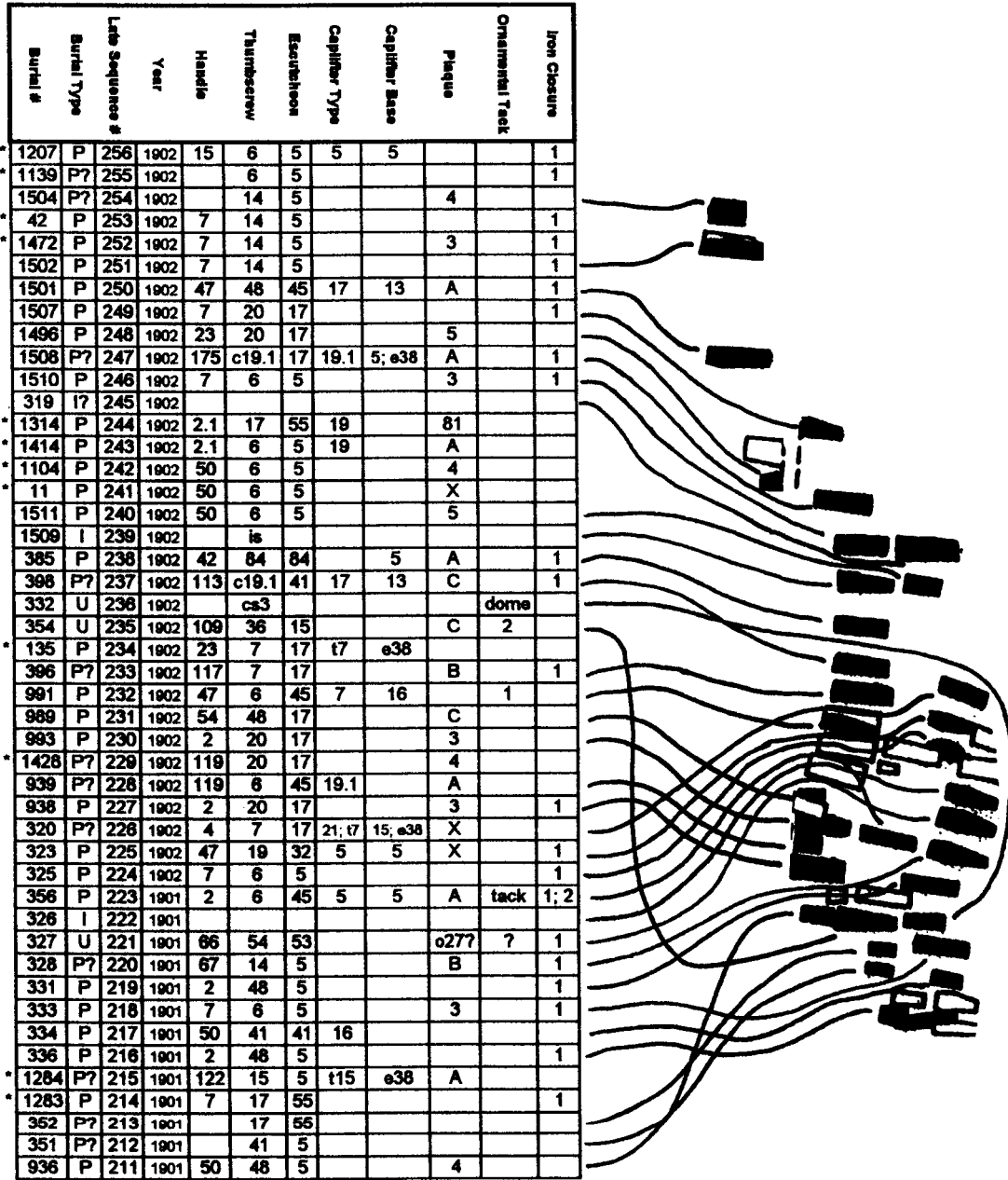
Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 4, Late Sequence** (circa 1901-1902)

**Figure 8-14: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 4 Burials
(Southern Portion of Row 4)**

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbscrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter Type	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
353	P	210	1901	47	48	17	21	15	X		1
* 1179	P?	209	1901	44	6	15					1
* 1042	P?	208	1901	137	6	15			64		1?
* 410	P?	207	1901		20	17			78		1
* 1040	P?	206	1901	13	6	foil			A		1
* 35	P?	205	1901	13	6	foil			X		1?
33	P	204	1901	7	17	10					1
29	P?	203	1901		6	15			C		1
924	P	202	1901	42	17	55	5	5	A		1
360	P	201	1901	7	14	47			3		1
360	P	200	1901	7	6	5			3		1
361	I	199	1901								1
* 1213	P	198	1901	2	48	45			3		1
920	P	197	1901	2	48	45					1
348	P	196	1901	7	6	5	26		47		1
45	P?	195	1901	5	6	5			4		1
918	P	194	1901	7	6	5			3		1
* 1415	P?	193	1901	126	14	foil			A	48	1
907	P?	192	1901	126	87	31			4		1
979	P?	191	1901		19	32			4		1
919	I	190	1901								1
915	P	189	1901	7	48	45	43; t19	29; e38	A		1
914	P	188	1901	7	14	5	7	16	A		1
913	P	187	1901	50	6	45			C		1
900	P	186	1901	42	17	55	5	5	B		1
* 414	P	185	1901	7	6	5					1
* 1052	P	184	1901	7	6	5					1
679	P	183	1901	7	6	5			3		1
* 665	P?	182	1901	136.1	6	5			72		1
* 1337	P	181	1901	130	17	55	19		78		1
736	P	180	1901	130	17	55			57		1
735	P	179	1901	5	14	5	16		4		1
742	P	178	1901	7	41	5			3	?	1
* 7	P	177	1901	2	6	5					1
110	P	176	1901	2	6	5			3		1
750	P	175	1901	2	6	5			3	20?	1?
756	P	174	1901	2	6	45			3		1
798	P	173	1901	2.1	71	39			4		1
* 591	P	172	1901	23	71	39	t71	e39	54		1
966	P	171	1901	2.2	71	39			4		1
758	P	170	1901	104; 105	6	5					1
70	P?	169	1901	107	6	45	37	16	C		1
85	P	168	1901	57	48	45	t48	e38	A		1
* 1022	P	167	1901	7	41	41	5	5	A		1
86	P	166	1901	47	41	41	5	5	X		1
301	P	165	1901	7	48	45					1
90	I	164	1901								1

*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

Figure 8-15: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 4 Burials
(Northern Portion of Row 4)



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

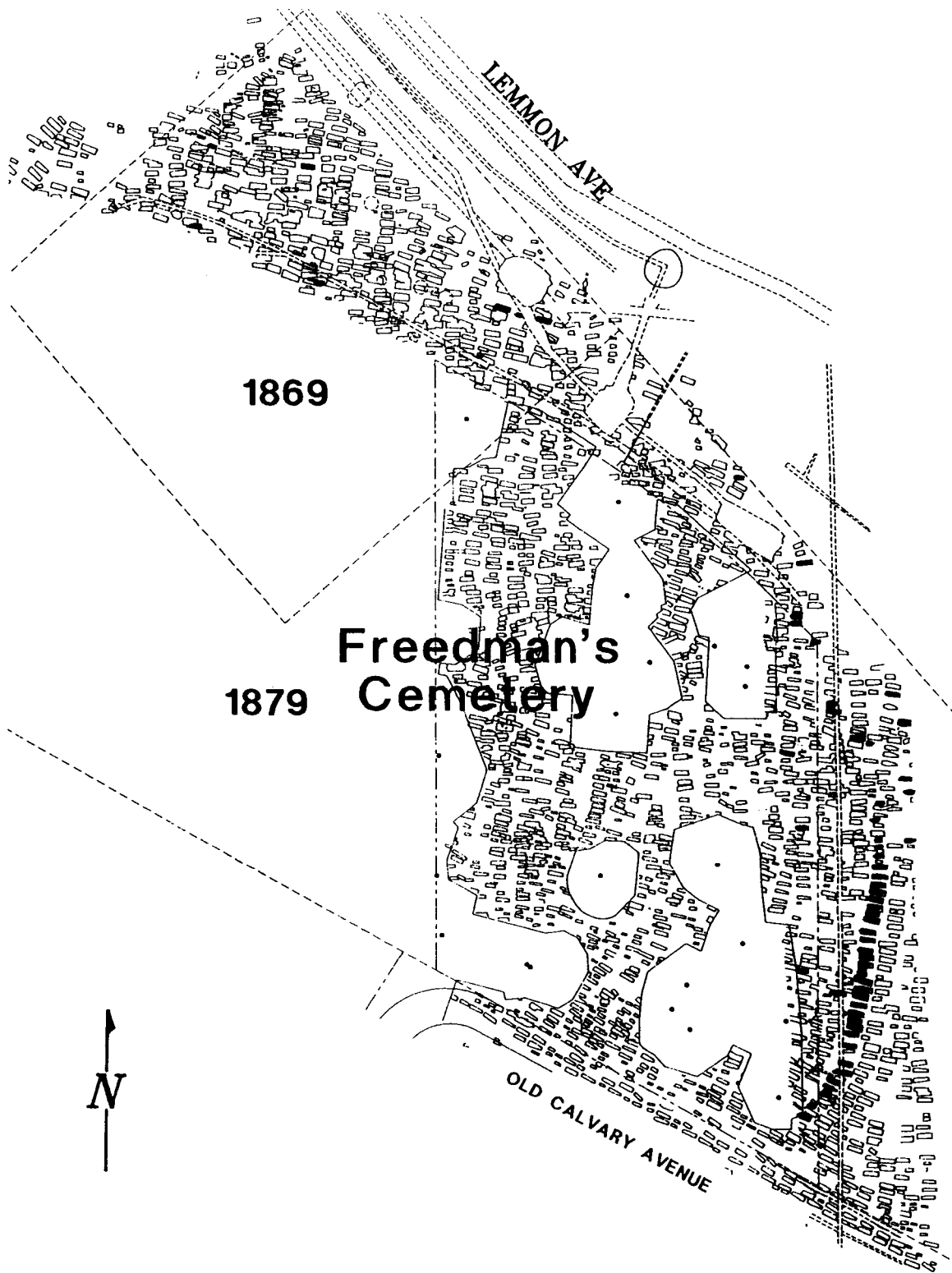
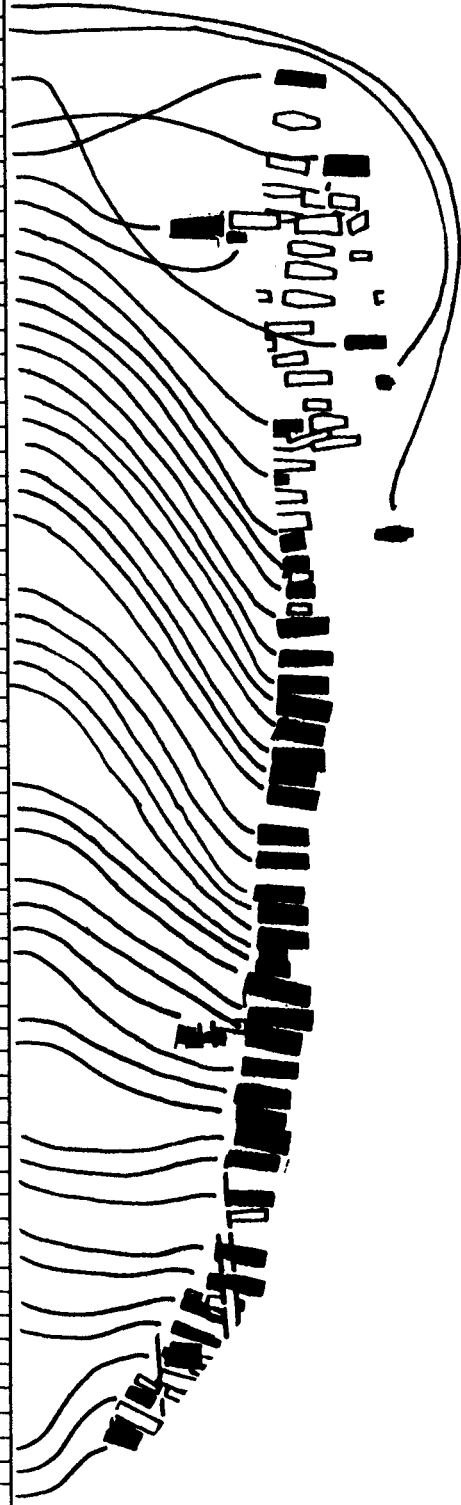


Figure 8-16 Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to Row 5, Late Sequence (circa 1902)

Figure 8-17: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 5 Burials

Burial #	Burial Type	Sequence #	Latitude	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter Type	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
197	P	319	1902	7	20	17				C		1
192	P	318	1902	15	20	30				3		1
1078	P	317	1902	2;7	20	17				3		1
174	P	316	1902	7	20	17				3		1
1488	P	315	1902	7	20	9				3		1
166	P	314	1902	15	20	17	5	5		A		
165	P	313	1902	7	16	30				3		
564	P	312	1902	15	16	30	42	28		A		1
384	P?	311	1902		11	8				X		1
335	P	310	1902	23	52	57	152			5		
349	I	309	1902									
909	I	308	1902									
908	I	307	1902									
906	P	306	1902	130	16	30				62		
976	P	305	1902	2	22	60					?	1
904	P	304	1902	7	2	49						1
903	P	303	1902	7	2	49	5	5		3		1
902	P	302	1902	42	26	20	7	16		C, o7	?	1
899	P	301	1902	132	52	57				3	?	
898	P	300	1902	2	11; 26	20				o20		1
897	P	299	1902	15	2	10				4		17
894	P	298	1902	7	12; 2	10						
947	P	297	1902	7	12	30	17	13		3		1
1316	P	296	1902	7	16	30		37		B		1
893	P	295	1902	7	16	30				B		1
892	P	294	1902	42	2	49	5	5		3		1
885	I	293	1902									
884	P	292	1902	7	16	30				3		1
883	P	291	1902	7	2	49						1
1175	P	290	1902		91	88				4		
1083	P	289	1902	54	91	88				63		
1288	P	288	1902	54	91; 50	88				4	1; 70	
1385	P	287	1902	23	91	88	t91	e88		A		
878	P	286	1902	2.1	2	55	t2			36; o7		1
877	P?	285	1902		13							
316	P	284	1902	23	16	30				36	48	
880	P	283	1902	7	16	30				A		1
870	P	282	1902		2	49						1
738	P	281	1902	15	16	30	41	27		3		
869	P	280	1902	42	41	10				3; C		1
2	P?	279	1902		7	10				4		
1486	P	278	1902	23	7	10				4?		
868	P	277	1902	42	7	10	o14.1			3; o14.1		
860	I	276	1902									
1285	P	275	1902	7	2	10	5	5		3	?	1
55	P	274	1902	7	2	10		5		3		1?
338	P?	273	1902	57	2	10	19			A		1
751	P	272	1902	7	2	10						
757	P	271	1902	7	13	9						1
797	I	270	1902									
37	P?	269	1902		13	9				4		
795	P	268	1902	7	13	9					?	1
794	P	267	1902	42	13	9		5				1
472	P	266	1902	42	13	9	5; t13	5; e88		3		1
764	P	265	1902	42	13	9	5	5		3		
778	P	264	1902	7	81	9				3		1?
948	P	263	1902	23	13	9				35		
1459	P?	262	1902		36	5	16			36		
119	P	261	1902	23	38	39				57		
345	P	260	1902	2.1	38	47						
315	P	259	1902	23	13	9				36		
92	P	258	1902	23	2	49	t2	e38		36		
89	P	257	1902	7	13	9						



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

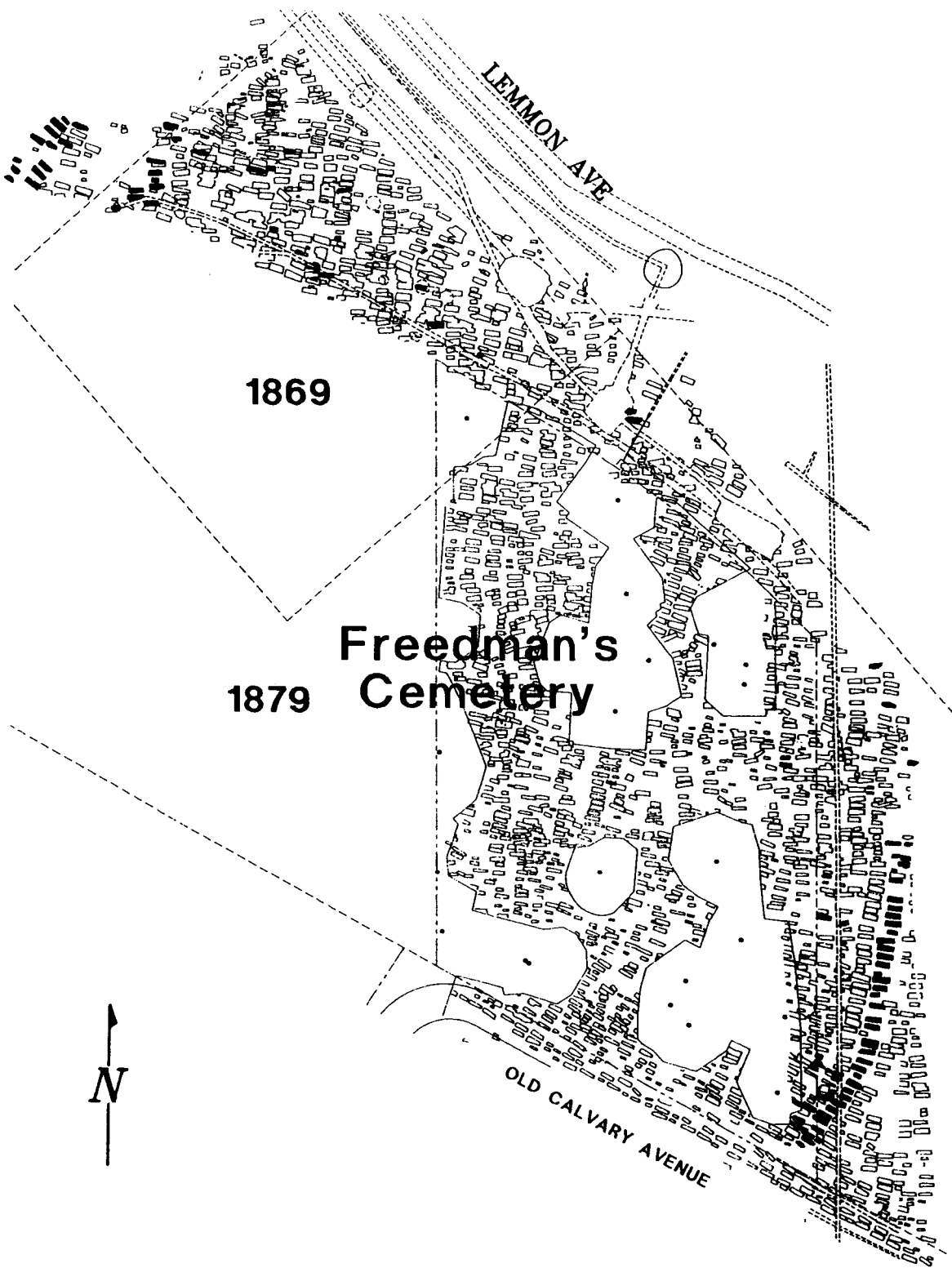


Figure 8-18

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to Row 6, Late Sequence (circa 1902-1903)

Figure 8-19: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 6 Burials
(Southern Portion of Row 6)

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifter	Caplifter Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
1108	P	371	1903	78	53	52	47	32	X		1
1032	P	370	1903	p42	86	20			42; 66	52	
1039	P	369	1903	54	86; 90	85			4	5	
996	P	368	1903	23	53	52				5?	
1493	P	367	1903	pC	53	52			4; C	5	
881	P	366	1903	p42	53	52			4; 42	5; 48.1	
879	P	365	1903	115	53	52			68; B; o7	31	
882	P	364	1903	107	11	78	15	12	A	?	
876	P?	363	1903		18	14					
873	P	362	1903	7	78	79	15; 78	12; o79	50		
865	P	361	1903	2	26	20			o16; o7	?	
1264	P	360	1903	2	53	52			9	?	1
633	P	359	1903	2	53				9; o7	43	
864	P	358	1903	65	26	20	11.1; 82	11	9; o7; o27		1
862	P?	357	1903	15	19	32	5	5	3		1
861	P	356	1903	84	26	20	13	11	C; o7	?	
855	P?	355	1903		11	8					
1033	P	354	1903	2	53	52	80	5; o66	o7	?	1; 7
1107	P	353	1903	p42	60; 86	85	6		42		1
1089	P	352	1903	p42	90	85			42; 66	5	
1006	P	351	1903	2; 131	26	20	6; 86	o24; o85	o77	5	
1075	P	350	1903	2							
854	P	349	1903	2	53	20	86	o85	o7	?	
853	P?	348	1903						o20?	?	
846	P	347	1903	18	26	20			o16	?	
785	P	346	1903	23	26	20	t11		30	5	
841	P?	345	1903		18	14				6	
840	P	344	1903	2	53	52					
81	P?	343	1903		20	17			4		
83	P?	342	1903		20	17			4	48?	
84	P	341	1903		82	81			4; o2	47	
949	P?	340	1903		82	20			4	?	1
783	P?	339	1903		78	79				?	
779	P?	338	1903		82	81			4	47	
1029	P?	337	1903		26	46				27	
999	P?	336	1903		18	20; 46				2	
1002	P?	335	1903		18	46					
988	P?	334	1903		18	46					
146	P?	333	1903		11	8			o1; o2	48?	1
837	P	332	1903	2	11	8					
836	P	331	1902	15	80	41	13	24	C		
96	P	330	1902	2	26	17					
459	P	329	1902	84	26	20	15	12	X	31; 22	
98	P	328	1902	7	26	20	18; 26	12	3; o7	?	1
835	P	327	1902	7	78	79	14; 78	10; o79	50; o1	31	
97	P	326	1902	2	20	17	5	5	A		1
99	P	325	1902	2	11	78			o20	45	
100	P	324	1902	7	20	17			3		
106	P	323	1902	7	26	20	14	10	3; o7	?	
101	P	322	1902	54	20	17	t20		35		
102	P	321	1902	7	44	43			3		
103	P?	320	1902		18	46					



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue Area)

Figure 8-20: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 6 Burials
(Northern Portion of Row 6)

Burial #	Burial Type	Late Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Caplifer	Caplifer Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
1506	P	424	1903	2.1							
1212	P	423	1903	7	98	101	20	7	B		1
1044	P	422	1903	15	53	52	t51	7	C		
164	P	421	1903	65	53	52	20	7	X	?	1
185	P	420	1903	16	10	7					
191	P	419	1903	42	26	20	7	16	11; o1; o7	17	7;1
199	P	418	1903	115	26	20	40	26	A		
129	P?	417	1903	68	is?	19				?	1
198	P	416	1903	22	24	19			5		
1219	P	415	1903	54	60	60			4		7
1152	P	414	1903	p42	c6	24			4; 42	31	
310	P	413	1903	p42	c6	24			4; 42		
935	P	412	1903	26	c6				4	5	
975	P	411	1903	54	c6	24			4	5	
1055	P	410	1903	p42	74	38			8; 42		
546	P	409	1903	p42	74	38			8; 42; o19		
593	P	408	1903		69	68			5	2	
570	P	407	1903		69	59			5; o19	40; 39?	
586	P	406	1903		69	68			49	25; 26?	
200	P	405	1903	23	26	20			8		1
147	P	404	1903	2.1	9; 10	7				2; 5	
121	P	403	1903	p42	10	7			31; 42	5	
1092	P	402	1903	2	10	7	6	e24		5	
201	P	401	1903	2	10	7	6; 7	6; e24	B		
905	I	400	1903								
1407	P	399	1903	16	51	6			9	?	
1038	P?	398	1903	144	51	83	46		9	5; ?	7;1
1031	P?	397	1903	15	51	83	t53; t66	e66			7
209	P	396	1903	2	26	20	186	e78; e85	50; o7	5	
525	P	395	1903	54	53	52		e24		5; 31	
211	P	394	1903	2	53; 78	52	6	e24	B		
216	P	393	1903	2	10	7					
1329	P	392	1903	2.1	53	52			80	5; 68	
1398	P	391	1903	2.1	53	52					
342	P?	390	1903	73	53	52			C	5	1
1094	P	389	1903	65	53	52			C	5	
217	P	388	1903	65	53	52				57	1
218	P	387	1903	2	53	52	e; t11	e8; e24	o7		
321	P	386	1903	23	18	46			5	11	
895	P	385	1903	23	18	8; 78			30	?	
890	P	384	1903	2	24	19			3		
1086	P	383	1903	2	26	20				2	
1088	P	382	1903	2	26	20	6	e24		5	7
1090	P	381	1903	2	26	20			o?	?	
1082	P?	380	1903	139	26	20	6; 17	13; e24		?	
997	P	379	1903	131	26	20	6	e24			7
1004	P	378	1903	131	26	20					1
1166	P	377	1903	131	53	52			o15?		
889	P	376	1903	131	18	52	17	13	o7		
888	P	375	1903	18	100; 101	104			o20		
67	P?	374	1903		11	78			4		
887	P	373	1903	2	11	78	11.1; t11	11	50	45	
1080	P	372	1903	78	10	7			9; 68		



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue Area)

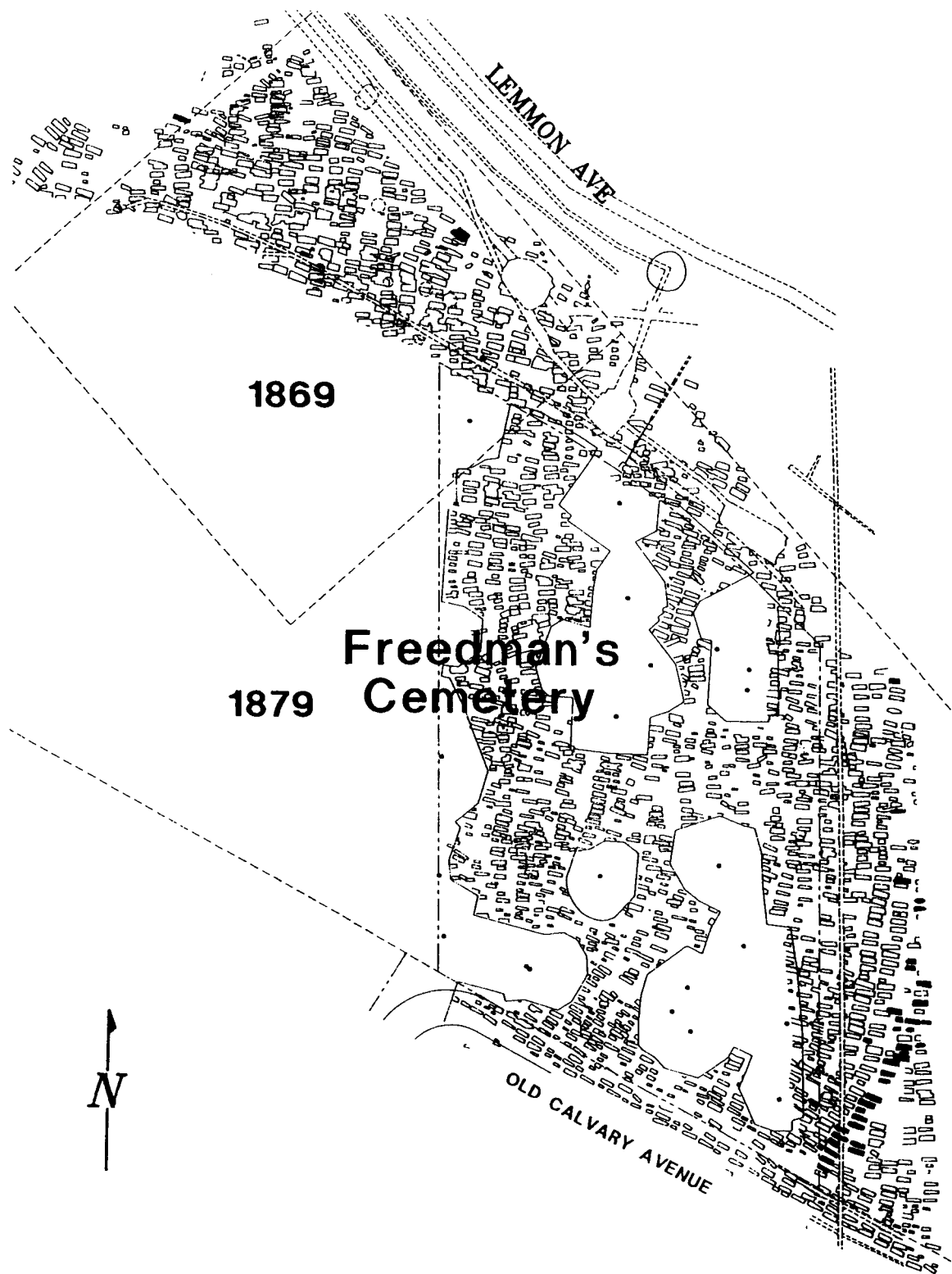
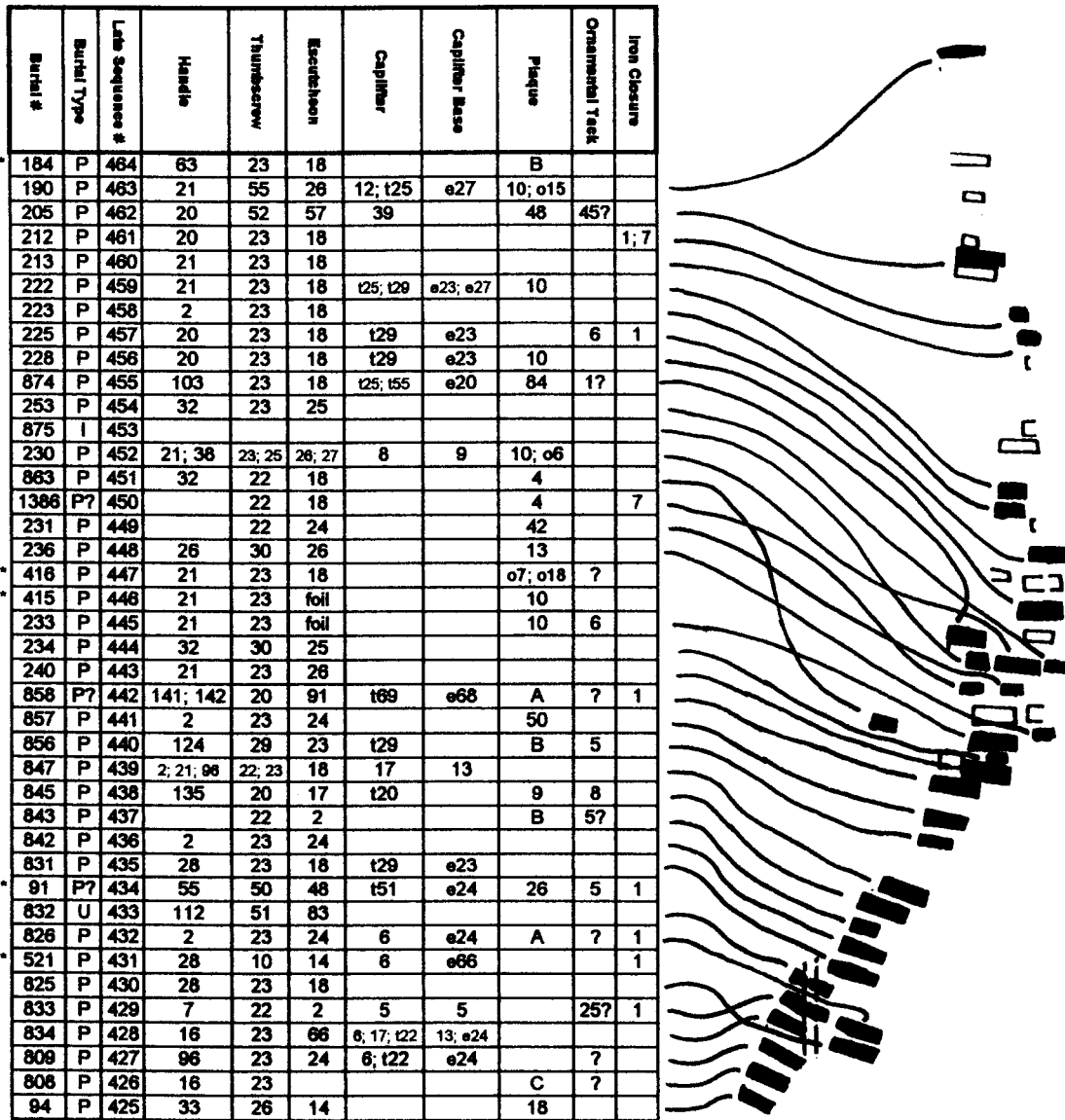


Figure 8-21

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 7, Late Sequence** (circa 1903-1904)

Figure 8-22: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 7 Burials



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

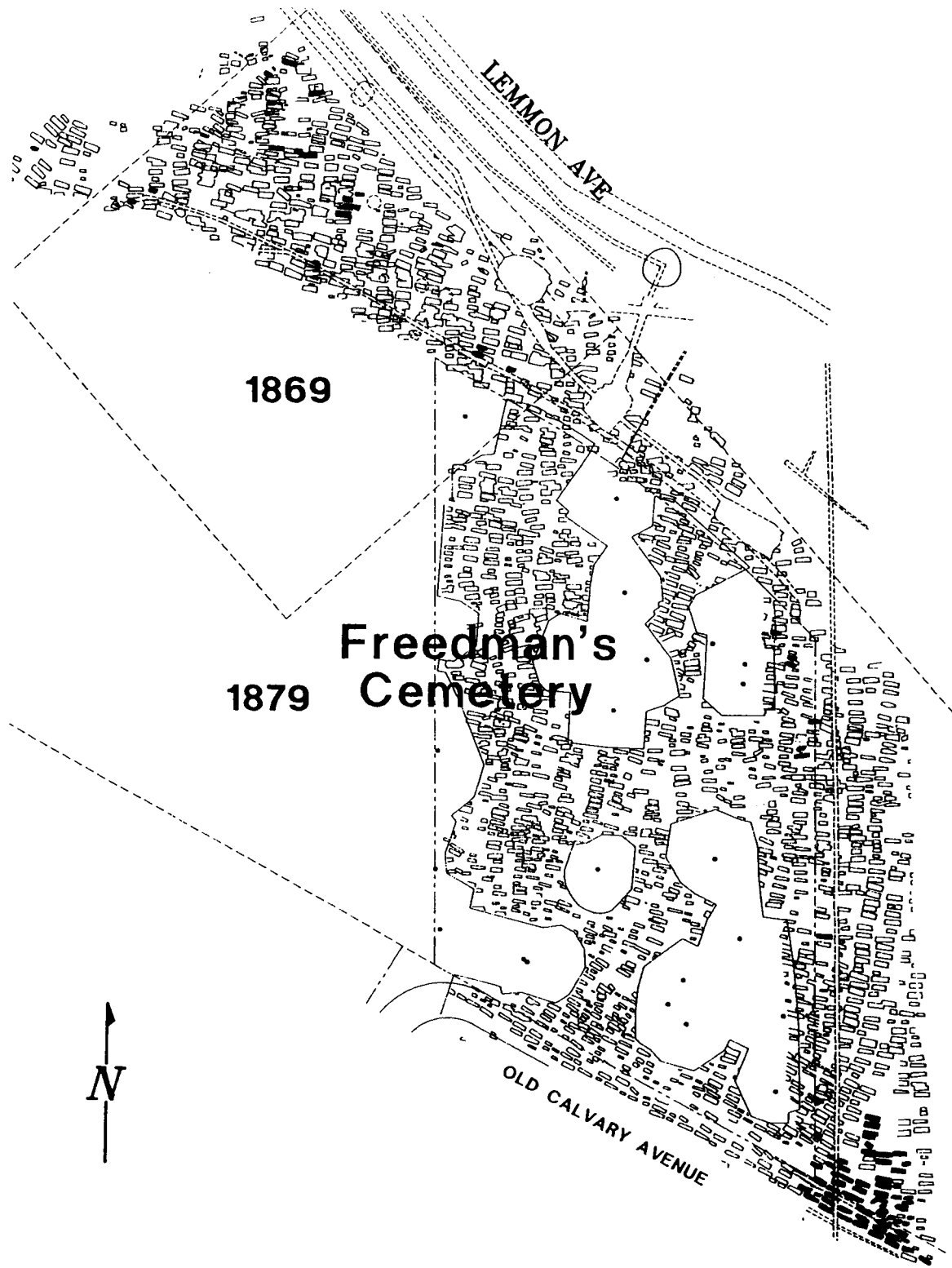


Figure 8-23

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 8, Late Sequence** (circa 1904-1905)

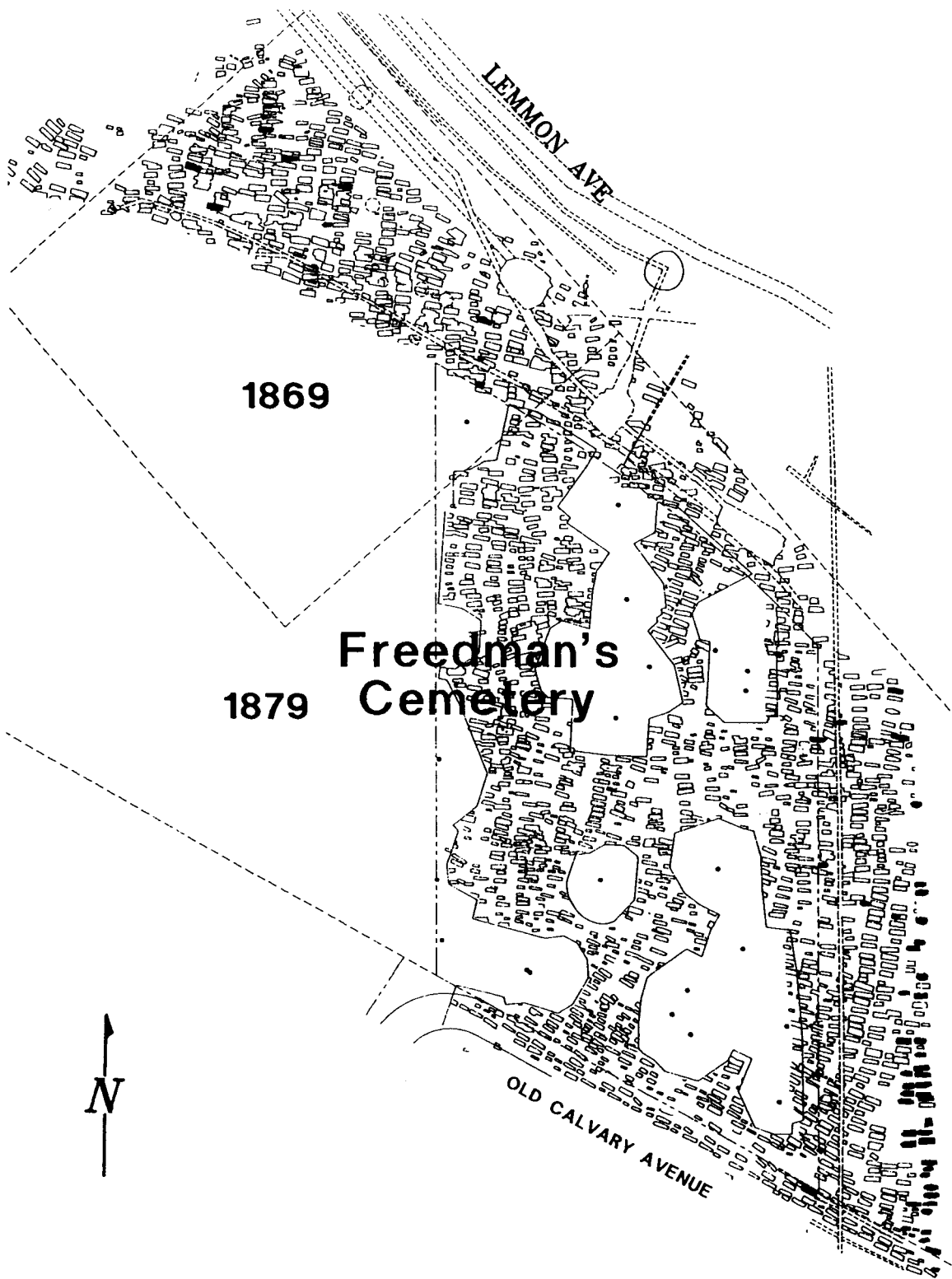
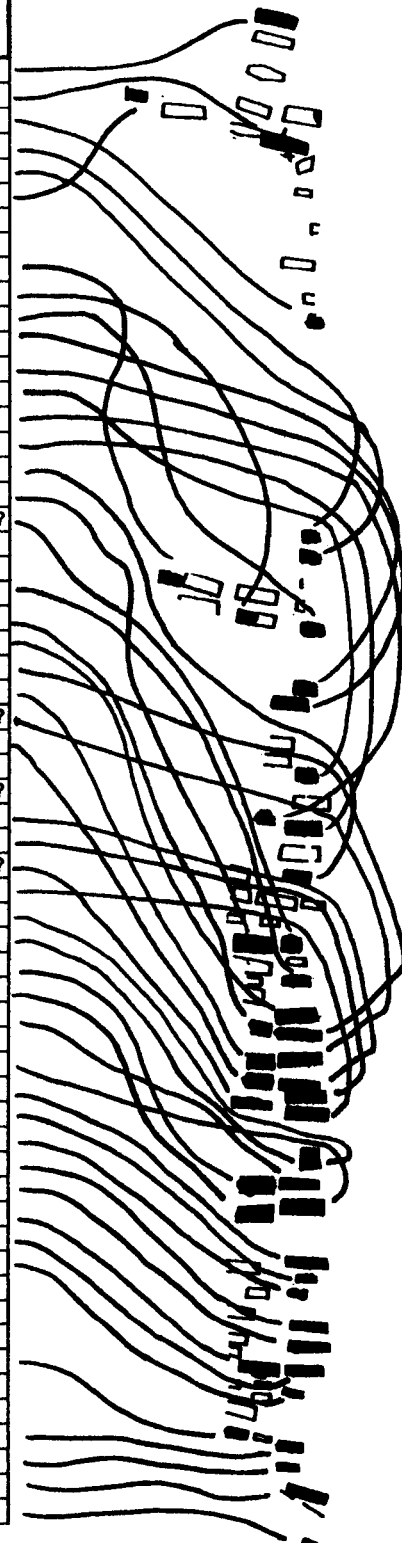


Figure 8-24

Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 9**, Late Sequence (circa 1905)

Figure 8-25: Artifact and Spatial Patterning of Row 9 Burials

Burial #	Burial Type	Lab Sequence #	Year	Handle	Thumbcrew	Escutcheon	Capitulum	Capitulum Base	Plaque	Ornamental Tack	Iron Closure
162	A	614	1905	64					X	7	
171	P	613	1905	19	16	13	4	3	7		5
194	P	612	1905	24	16	21	t21	e16			
204	P	611	1905	3; 17	16	13	3	3			
210	A	610	1905	sb							1
978	P	609	1905		8	22	t8	e22		6	7
1302	P	608	1905	18.1; 18.2	88	4			28		7
12	P	607	1905	18.2	8	22			28		7
896	P	606	1905	18.1	88	4	1.1	1.1	28		
1028	P	605	1905	18.2	88	4	45;188	31;e4	28		
219	P	604	1905	15	22	2					2
220	P	603	1905	24	27	21	t28	e22			
221	P	602	1905	18	7	3			9;o20;o4		
224	P	601	1905	25					o7		3
226	P	600	1905	21	16	13			18	?	
227	P	599	1905	18		9			A	7	
229	P	598	1905	24	21;27	21;29	3	3	12		
232	U	597	1905	168	ic2		3	3	83		
235	P	596	1905	3	16	13	3	3	7		37
488	P	595	1905	85	23	18	28	19	18	32	
598	P	594	1905	21	23	18			56;o7	?	
237	P	593	1905	21	23	18			32;o7	?	1
238	P	592	1905	6	23	18			59		
239	P	591	1905	24	27	21	9	7;e29	15		
241	P	590	1905	24	30	25				9; dome	
243	P	589	1905	41	16	13			X;o7	6	
242	P?	588	1905	28	31	31		5	X	5; dome	57
244	P	587	1905	15	22	2	5	5	18		
1103	P	586	1905	146	15	20	t23;t25	e27	52	1	7
466	P	585	1905	17	26	20	7	16	52		17
245	P	584	1905	29	26	20	7;e;t25	6;e27	18	?	
246	P	583	1905	21	23	18				?	4
247	P	582	1905	106; 38	16	foH	11.2	22	B		37
248	P	581	1905	16	16; 18	13			17;B	6;9	
261	P?	580	1905		8				16	1;6	
280	P?	579	1905		8	22			16	6	
255	U?	578	1905	40	35; ic2	35			29;o20;o8	?	5
256	U	577	1905	39	34					12	
262	P	576	1905	16	13	9	10	e33	20;o20		
1046	P?	575	1905	34	ic2				18	1	5
263	U?	574	1905	34	ic2				21		?
264	P	573	1905	33	23		1.1;t25	1.1;e27	B		
151	P	572	1905	29.1	28	16;29		7;e29	19;o13		
152	P?	571	1905		21						
270	P	570	1905	30	27	21			18		
271	P	569	1905	24;38	16	foH	11	8	22		
272	P	568	1905	21	23				X	?	
283	P	567	1905	21	23				10	?	
153	P	566	1905	31	32	16	t32		B		
1293	P?	565	1905	28	60	7	53	7	38		
30	P	564	1905	21	58	2			38		7
1140	P	563	1905	23	58	60	6	e24	26		1
278	P?	562	1905	26	33	34			26	5	
995	P	561	1905	37	25						
139	P?	560	1905	37	33	34	t33		23		
154	P?	559	1905	37	33	34			25		
155	P	558	1905	32	c6	20	6		4?		1
289	P	557	1905	24	23	18	t25;t29	e26;e27		?	7
156	P	556	1905	p42	28	28			28;42	11	7



*(Indicates a burial not present on detail map; e.g., Lemmon Avenue area)

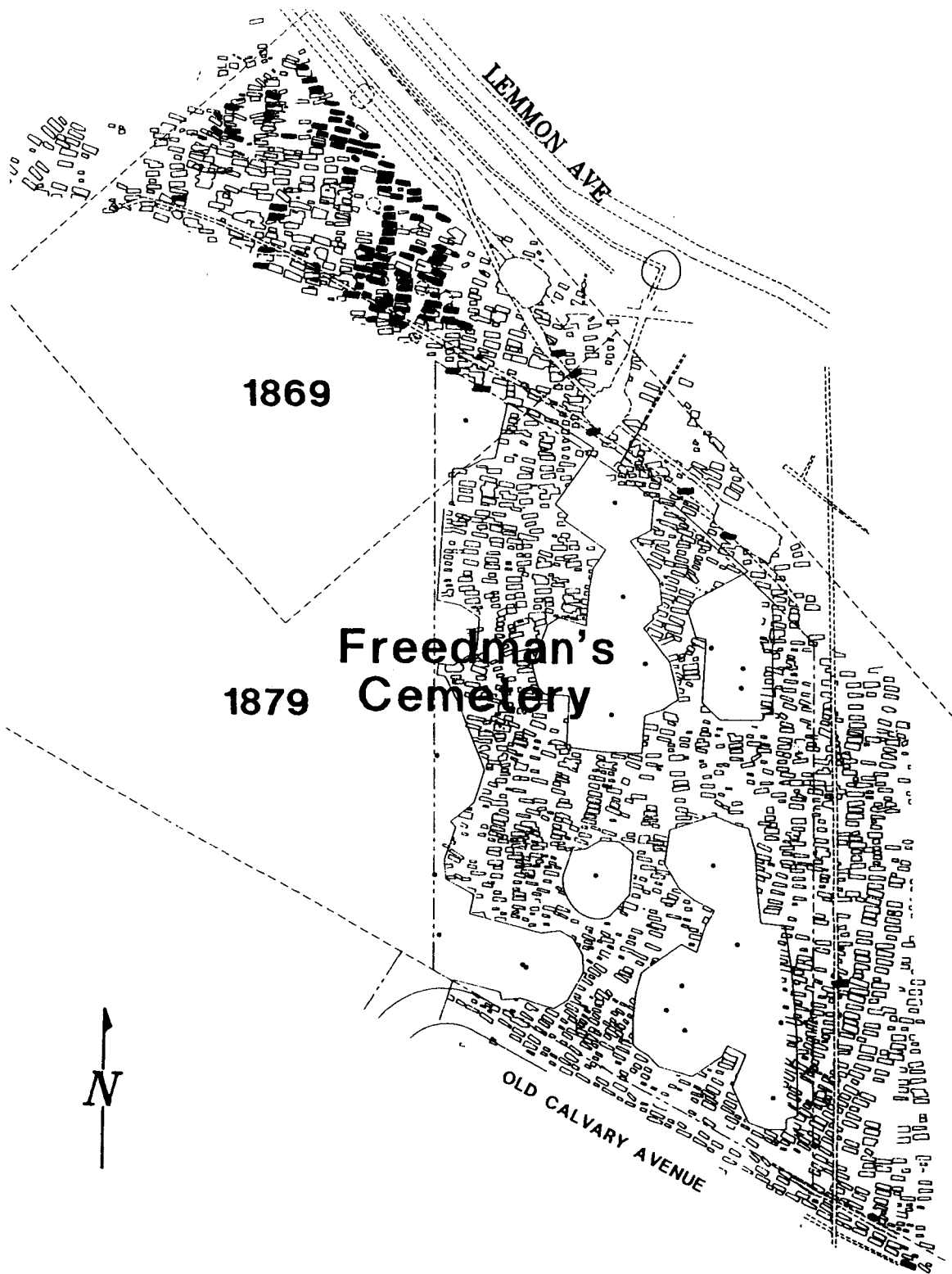


Figure 8-26 Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 10**, Late Sequence (circa 1905/1906)

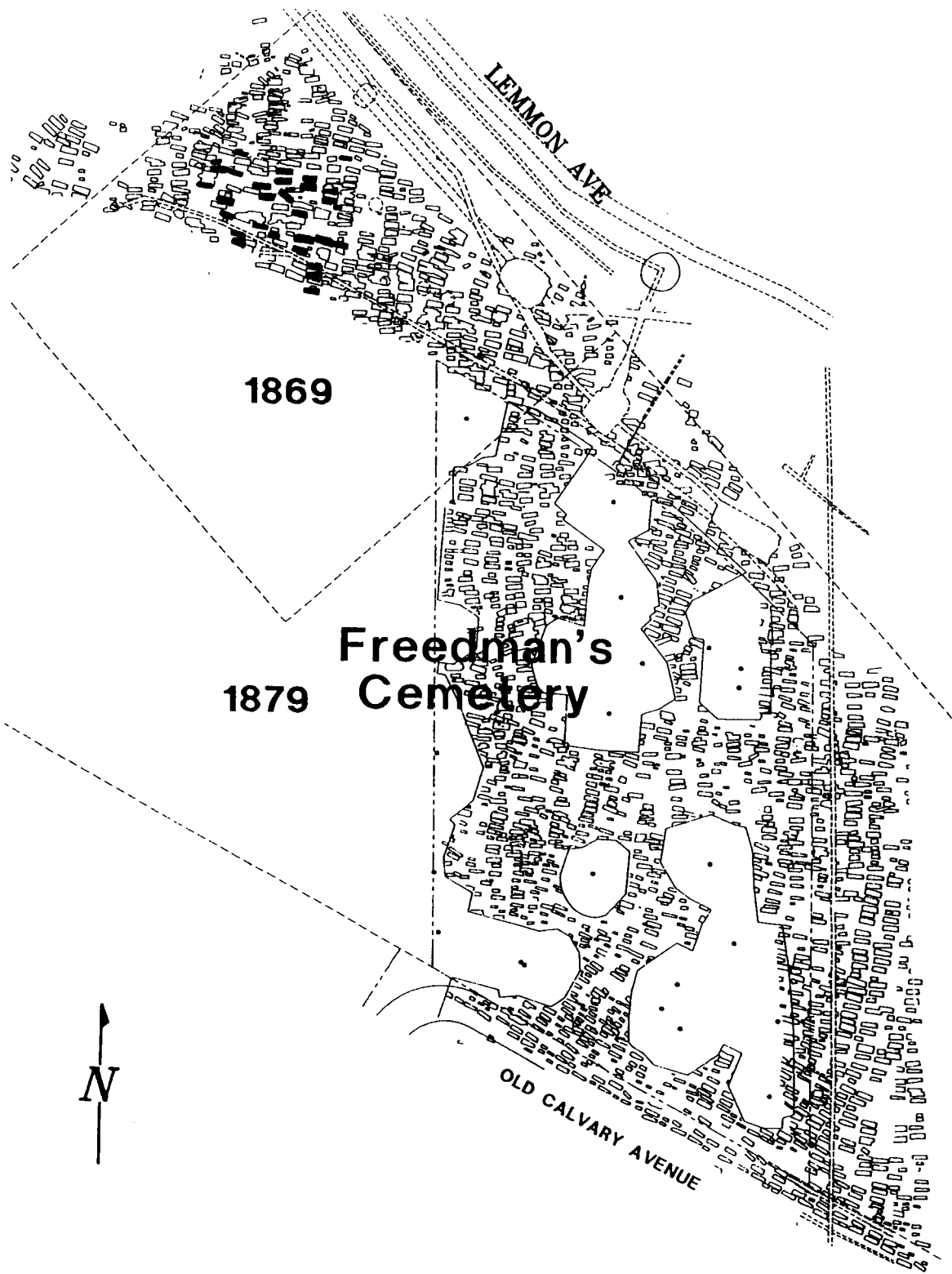


Figure 8-27 Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 11**, Late Sequence (circa 1906/1907)

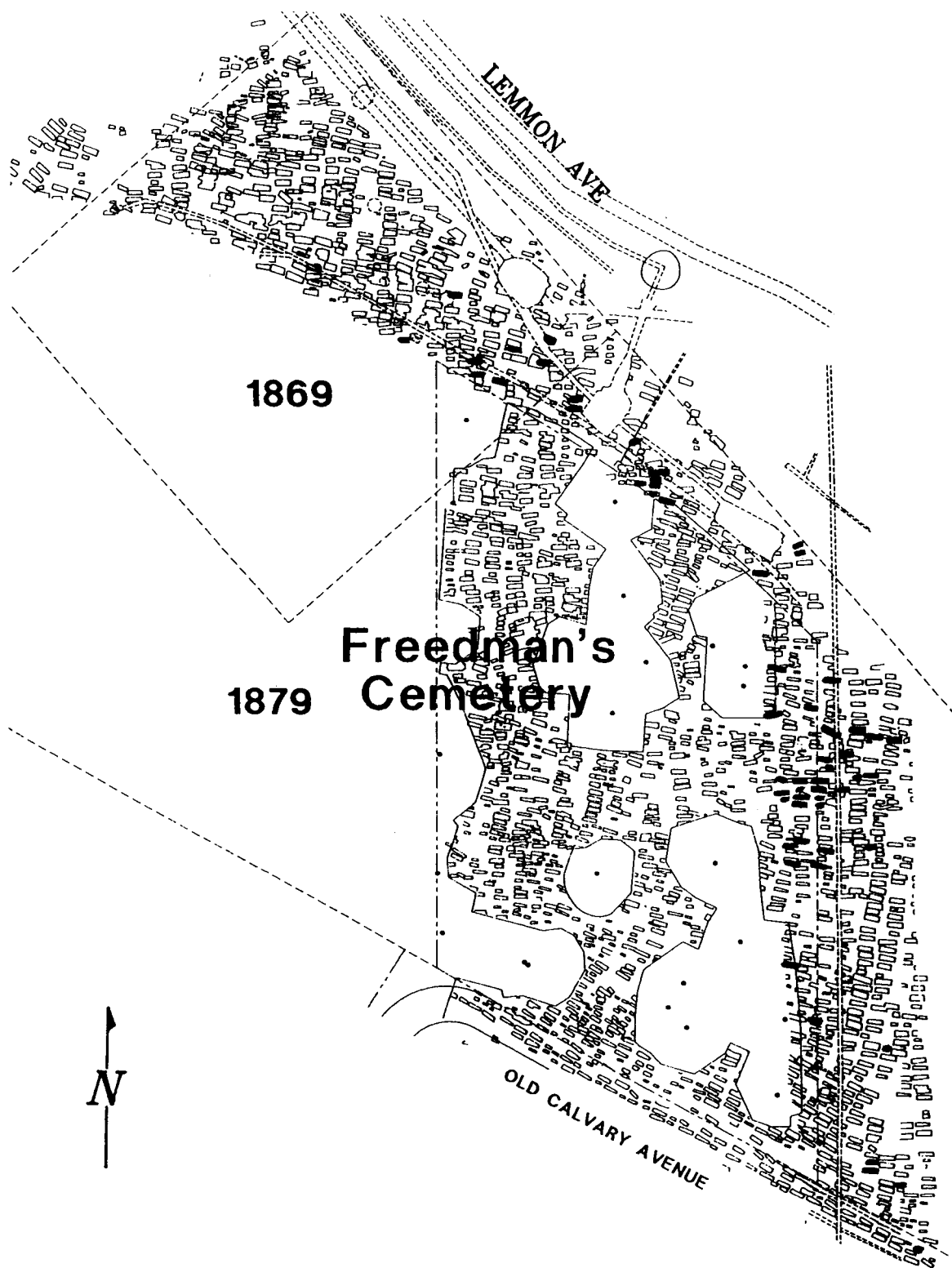
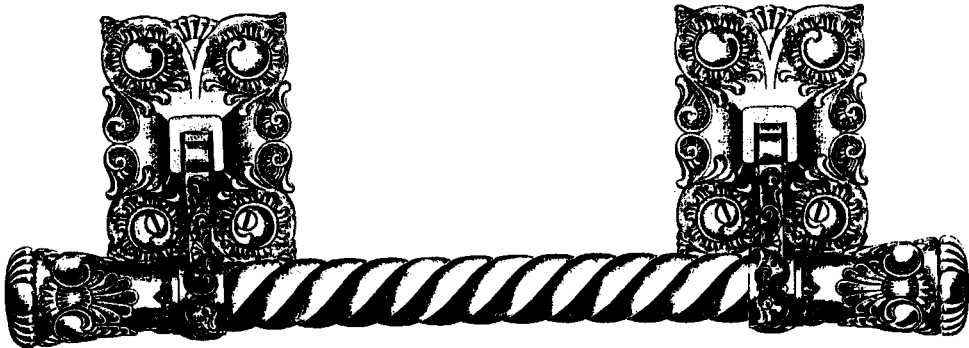


Figure 8-28 Distribution of all burials (in bold), assigned to **Row 12**, Late Sequence (circa 1907)

Figure 8-29 Select Late Period Handle types



Handle 3



Handle 6

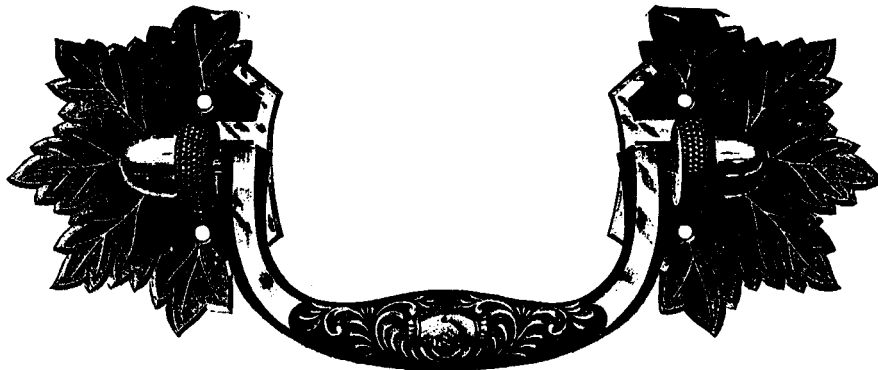


Handle 8

Figure 8-29 Select Late Period Handle types (Continued)



Handle 15

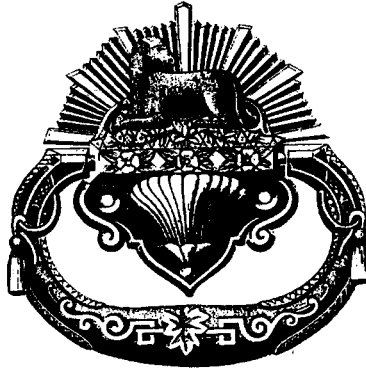


Handle 16

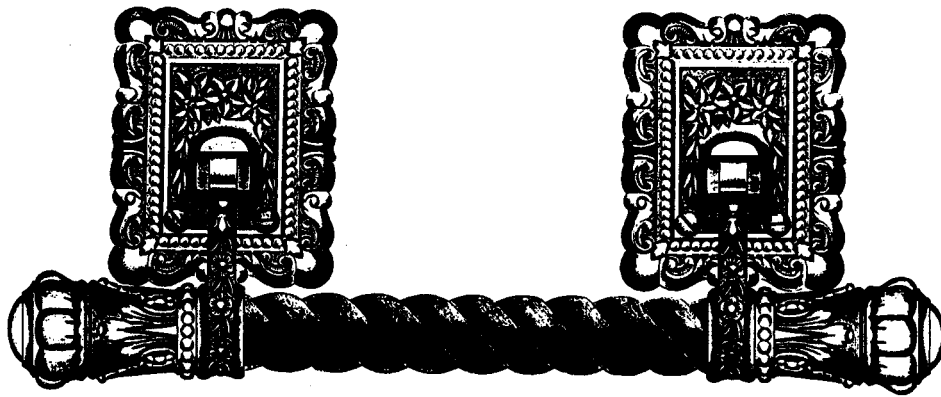


Handle 18

Figure 8-29 Select Late Period Handle types (Continued)

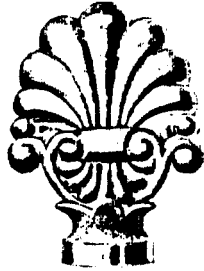


Handle 23



Handle 25

Figure 8-30 Selected Late Period Thumbscrew Types



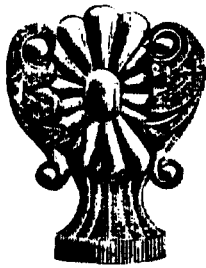
Type 2



Type 3



Type 6



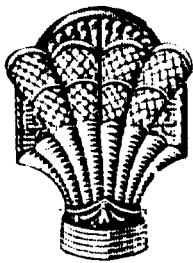
Type 7



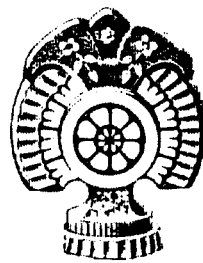
Type 11



Type 13



Type 15



Type 16



Type 18

Figure 8-30 Selected Late Period Thumbscrew Types (Continued)



Type 20



Type 22



Type 23



Type 27



Type 48



Type 69

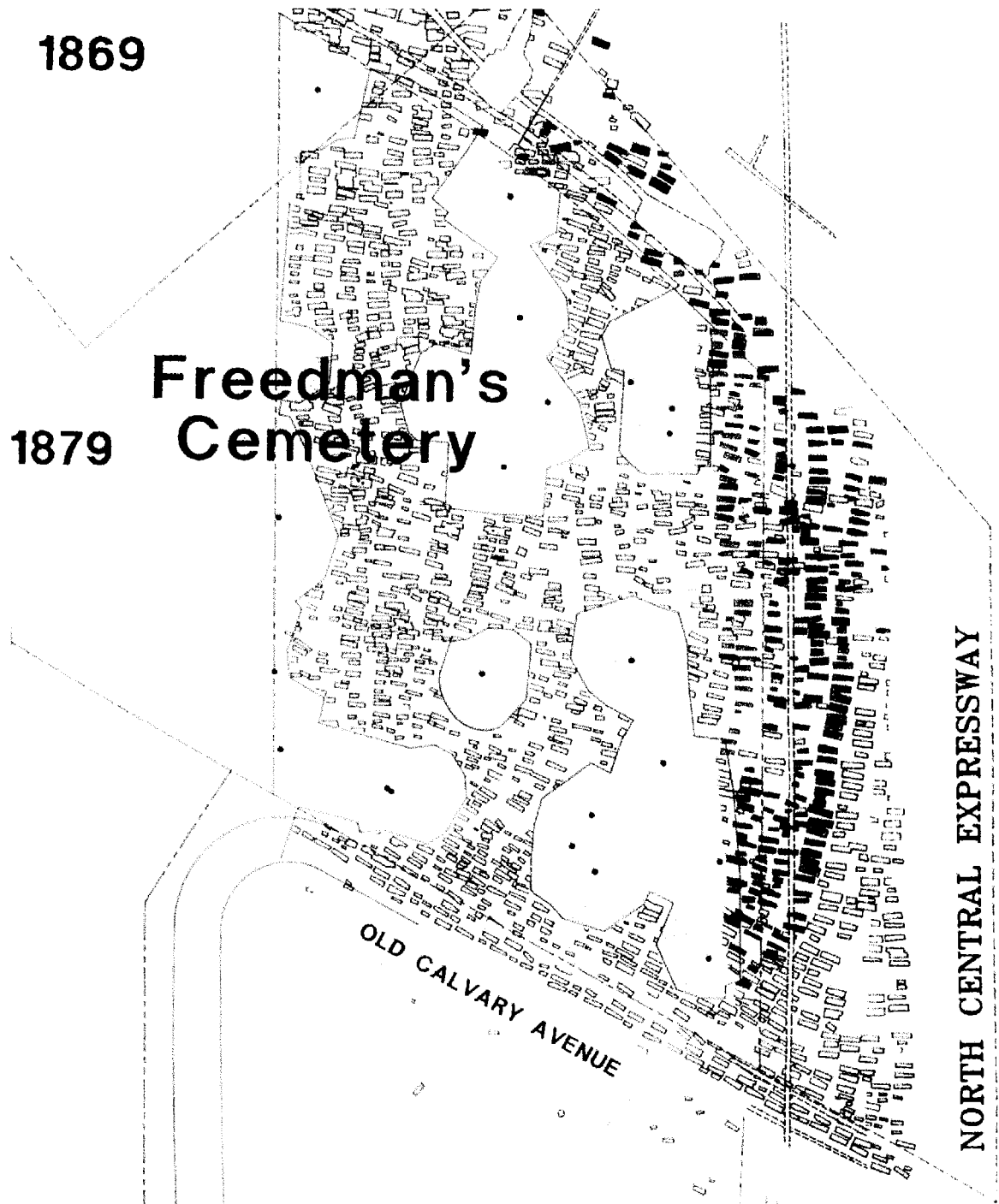


Figure 8-31 Spatial Distribution of Late Sequence Rows 1 through 5 (frontage road only):
 (Row 1 in yellow; Row 2 in red; Row 3 in blue; Row 4 in green; Row 5 in violet).

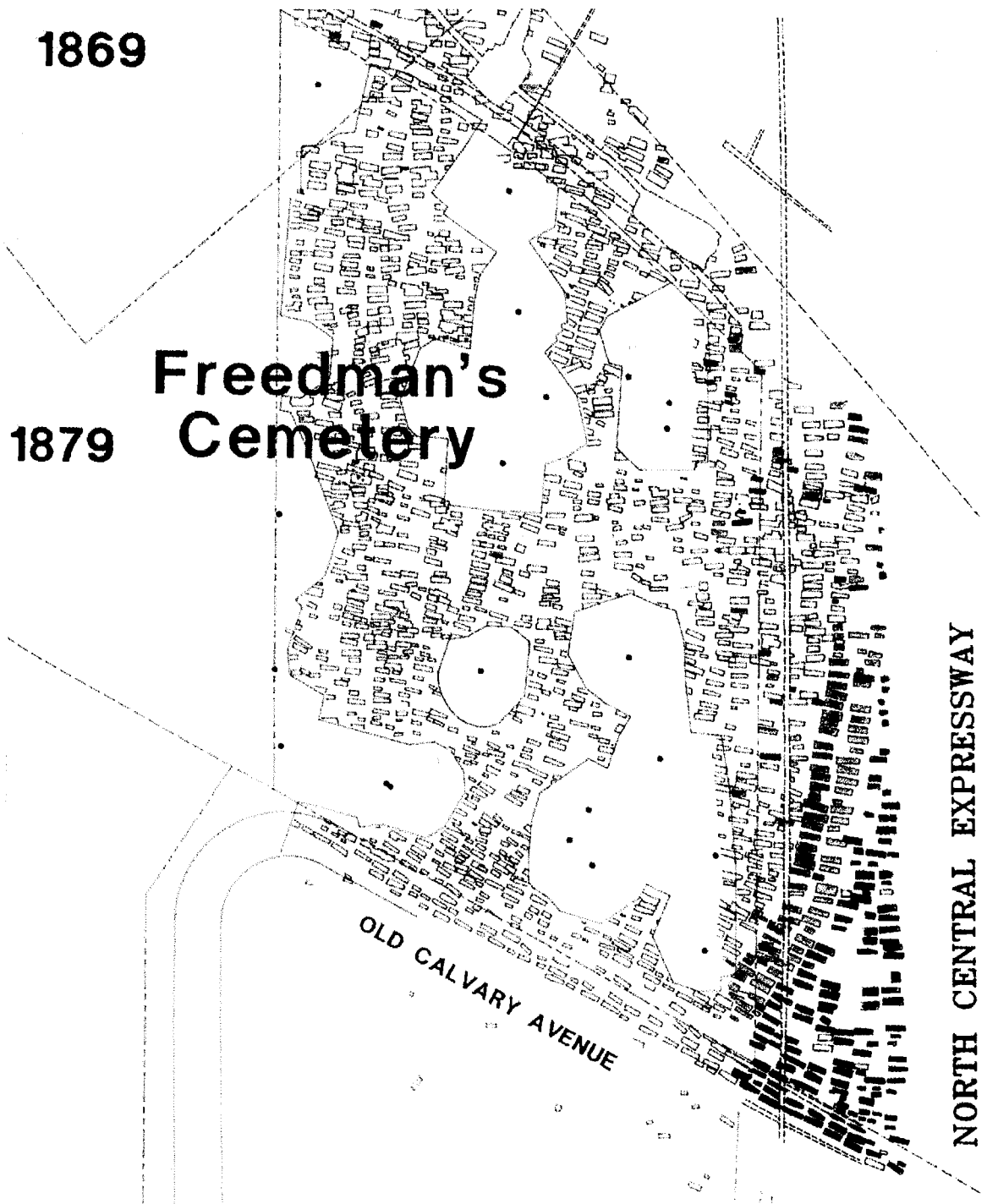
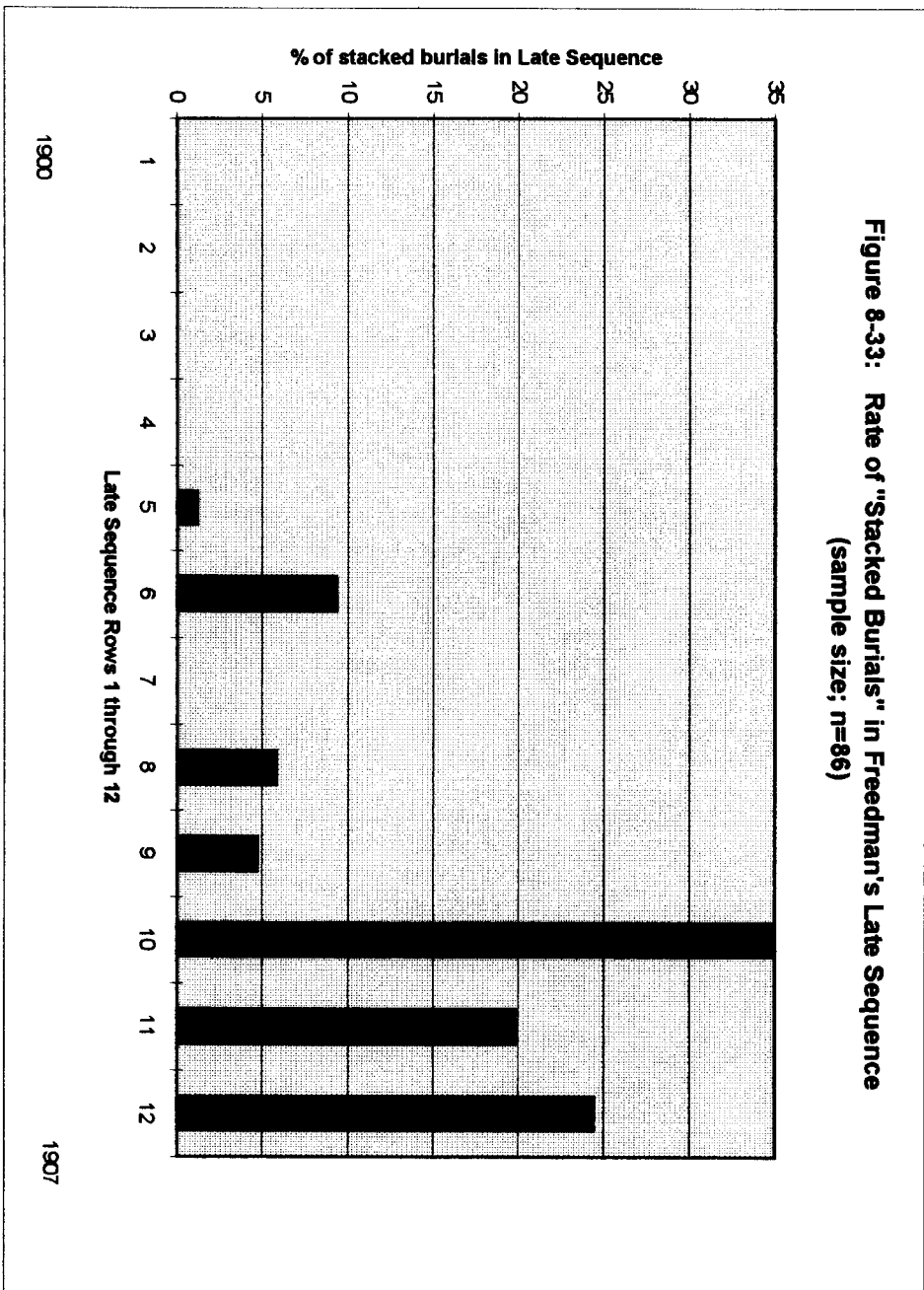


Figure 8-32 Spatial Distribution of Late Sequence Rows 5 through 9 (frontage road only):
 (Row 5 in violet; Row 6 in yellow; Row 7 in red; Row 8 in blue; Row 9 in green).

**Figure 8-33: Rate of "Stacked Burials" in Freedman's Late Sequence
(sample size; n=86)**



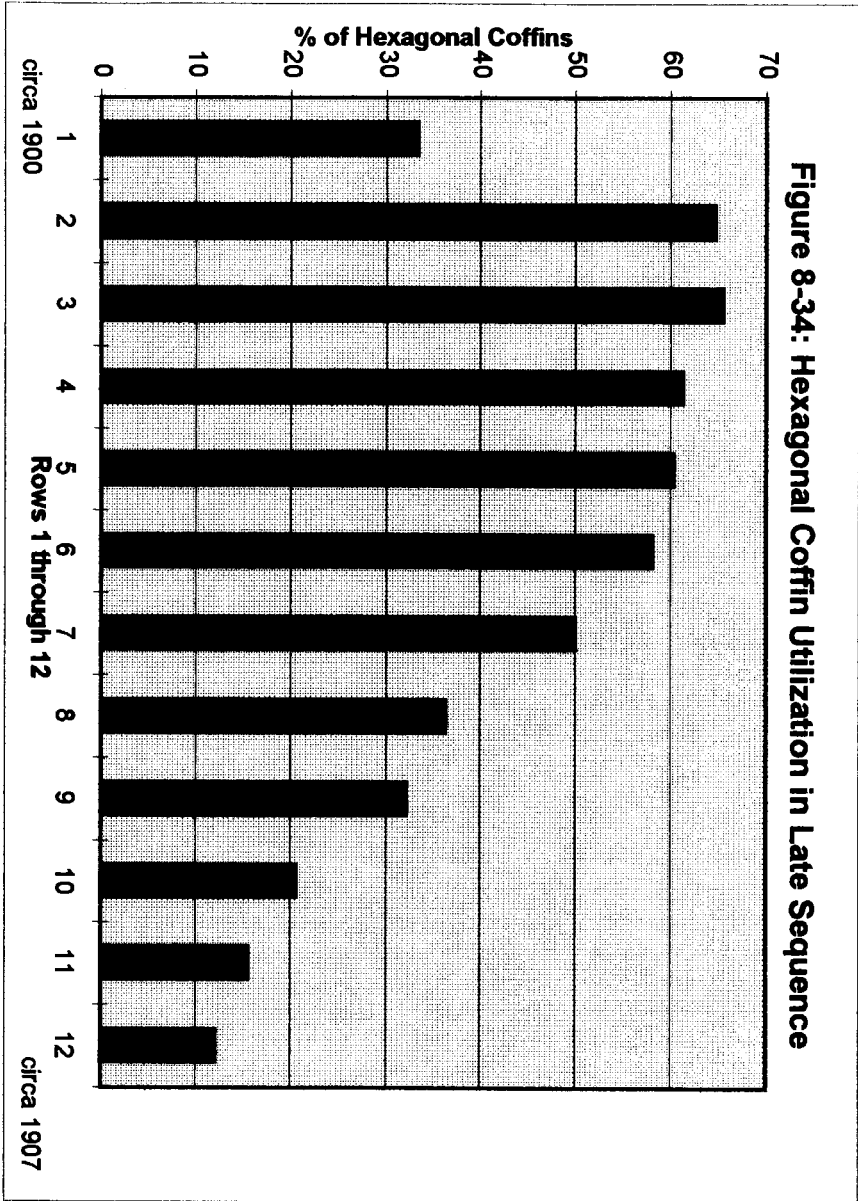
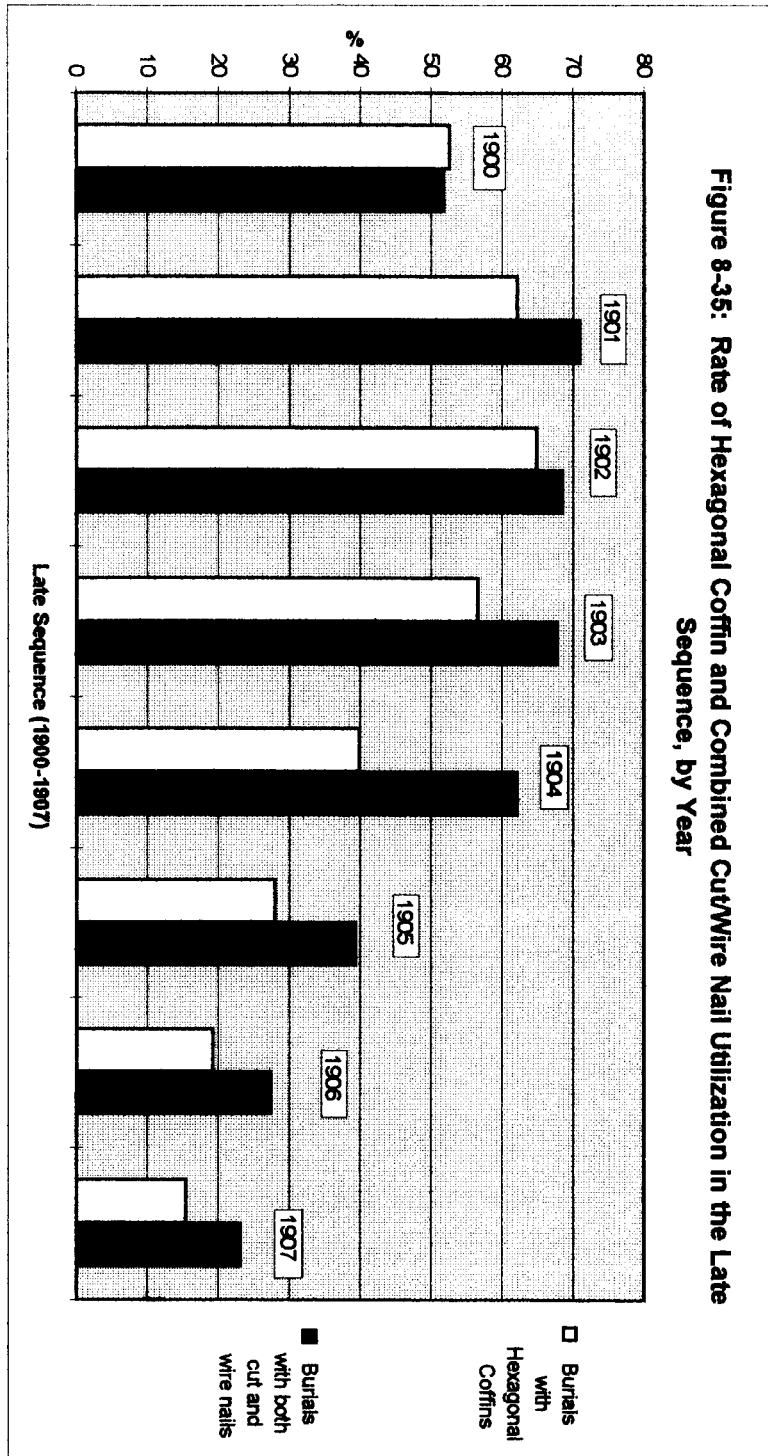


Figure 8-35: Rate of Hexagonal Coffin and Combined CutWire Nail Utilization in the Late Sequence, by Year



J. T. WILLINGHAM, PRES'T & GEN'L MGR.

MANUFACTURERS OF UNDERTAKERS VEHICLES, CASKETS, COFFINS, HARDWARE, UNDERTAKERS DRY GOODS AND SUPPLIES.

O. M. HAMILTON, VICE PRES. & TREASURER.



Figure 8-36 Memphis Coffin Company letterhead (circa 1914), illustrating the coffin manufacturer's huge physical plant (Author's personal collection).

Figure 8-37: Hexagonal Coffin Utilization in Late Sequence and G. W. Loudermilk records

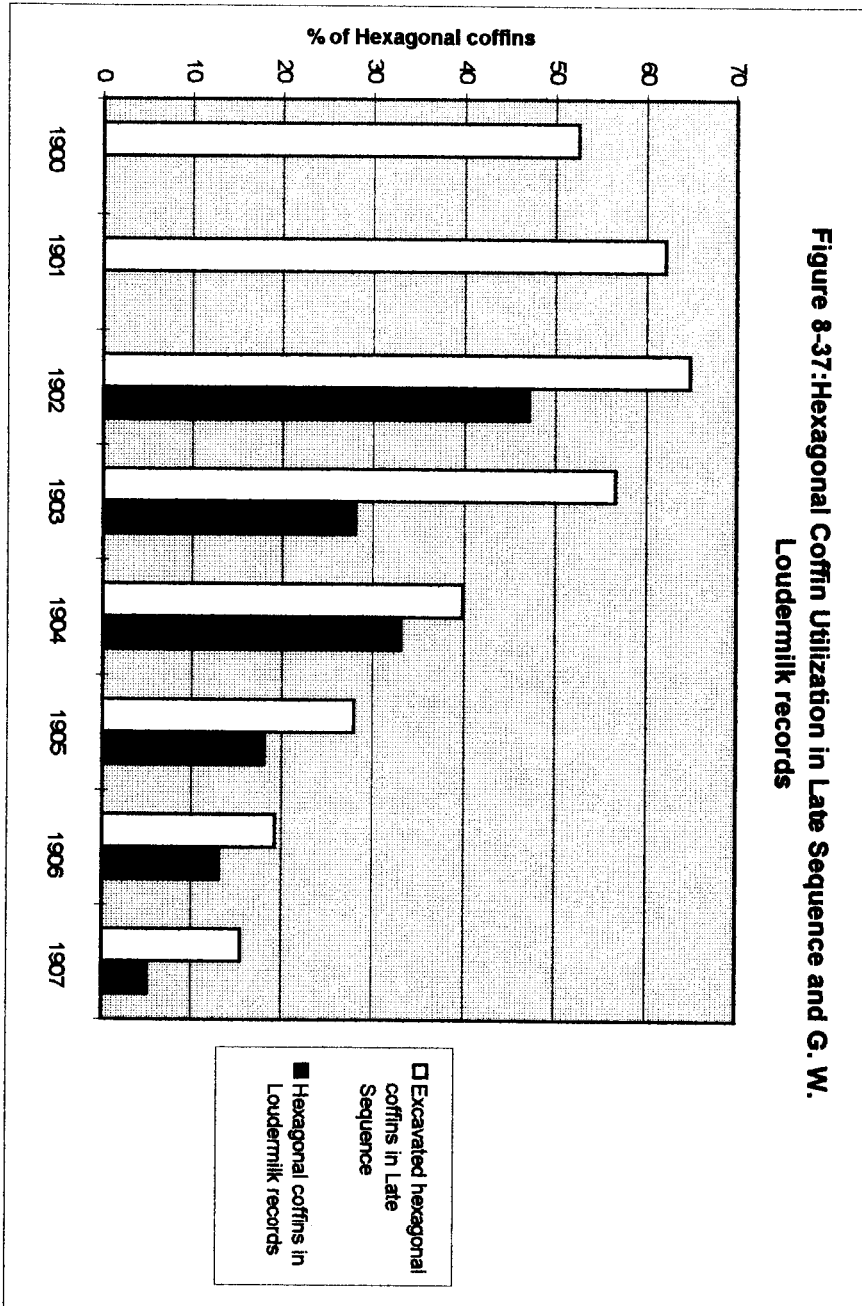
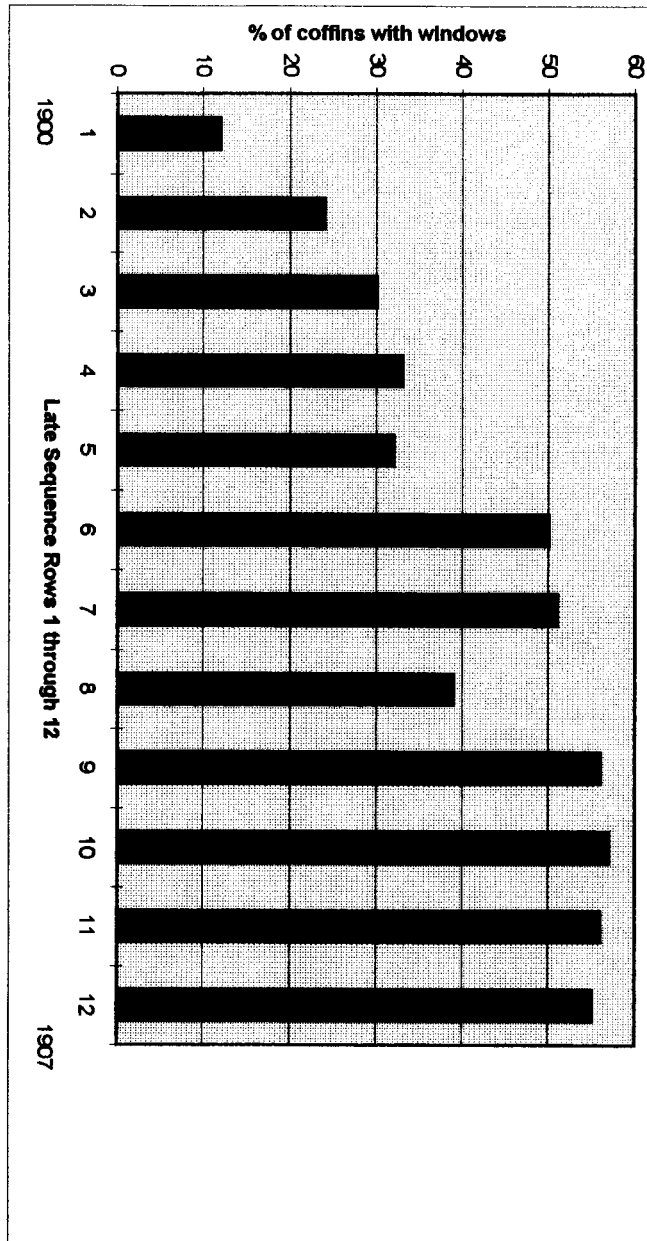


Figure 8-38: Diachronic Trend in Viewing Window Utilization during the Late Period at Freedman's Cemetery



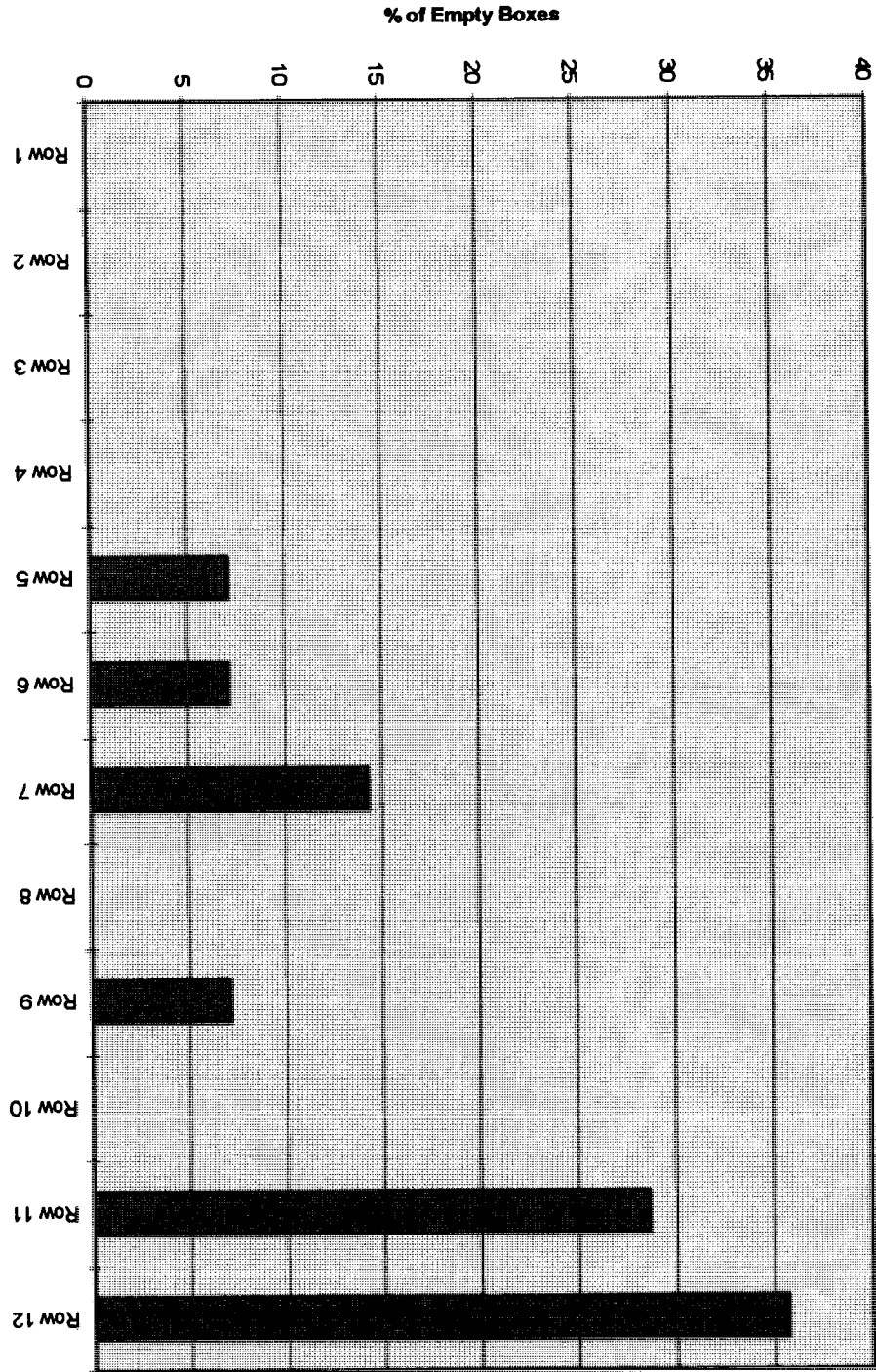


Figure 8-39: Frequency of Previously Exhumed Burials in Late Sequence, by Row (sample size: N=14)

Chapter 9

Summary and Conclusions

The primary goal of this thesis simply was to establish chronological controls over each and every exhumed burial at Freedman's Cemetery. This goal, though basic, is of major importance. Without knowing when someone lived and died, without the ability to view them in the very context of their times, it becomes difficult to judge with any certainty the quality or content of their lives in any meaningful way— economically, spiritually, or socially. Thus, after basic documentation, establishing the chronology of the cemetery was the first order of business. In the previous eight chapters, this has been largely achieved.

The goal of this thesis was not to suggest universal means by which any and all historic graves may be dated. Some of the temporal controls utilized here (e.g., the Bisga embalming fluid bottle) are decidedly unique to Freedman's Cemetery. Many of the artifacts and historical trends identified for Freedman's, however, will have direct applications for other historical cemeteries, and certainly the underlying principal of this dating exercise can be universally applied— namely the dogged determination to utilize every means, both archival and archaeological, to achieve the end goal of assigning relatively refined dates of interment.

Adequate Documentation is Crucial

Of the 1150 burials exhumed archaeologically, 1149 could be placed within one of the four time periods defined for the site. The only burial for which no dating (beyond the beginning and end dates for the cemetery) could be achieved was Burial 1127. This was a highly disturbed infant's grave, from which no artifacts of any kind were recovered. This burial should serve as a cautionary tale, a symbol of the frequent lack of *adequate documentation* afforded to historic graves.

All too often in early work at historic cemeteries, such as that performed at Cedar Grove in 1982 (Rose 1985), there was a failure to adequately document the associated artifactual material. At Cedar Grove, although the coffin hardware (with some notable exceptions), was handled sufficiently, the clothing and personal effects were not well described, and many items never were photographed. For example, although safety pins were quite common inclusions in the graves, only three examples were photographed. While the potential of safety pins as temporal diagnostics was not known at the time of excavation, adequate photo documentation of **all** of the artifacts would have provided this researcher and others the means to apply new (and refined) dating criteria to the exhumed burials. (Fortunately, I have been able to formulate a more refined dating schema for Cedar Grove through a reanalysis of the mortuary hardware alone).

Any failings of the Cedar Grove Project easily can be forgiven due to the times in which it was investigated. In 1982, it truly was a pioneering effort— there was no prior research design to follow, and the time constraints placed upon the researchers were huge. Unfortunately, however, even recent investigations of historic cemeteries often have failed to adequately document the artifactual materials recovered with historic graves.

For example, research at Phillips Memorial Cemetery, an African-American burial ground in Galveston County, Texas, occurred at the same time as the Freedman's Cemetery investigations. The resulting report of investigations (Dockall et al. 1996), however, failed to document (or at the very least, report) the material culture adequately. Coincidentally, the dating of these unmarked graves is only nebulously achieved; the site chronology is a statistically based schema that at times defies common sense.

Additionally at Phillips Memorial, instead of utilizing a mortuary hardware typology that would make clear distinctions between different design motifs (such as that used at Cedar Grove, Freedman's, etc.), the handles and other hardware elements were lumped into large, undifferentiated groups based on the broadest of possible forms (e.g., short bar, swingbail). In this manner, although at least three distinctly different types of swingbail handles were recovered (as could be established from published illustrations), all were designated as "Type A Handles," a "catch all" category that ignored vitally important distinctions. Although ambiguously stated in the report (Dockall et al. 1996:10), it is possible that photo documentation performed on the materials may be sufficient to re-type the mortuary hardware in the future, based on the Freedman's typology.

What the Phillips Memorial Cemetery researchers failed to understand was that coffin handle designs did not become static after a certain year, but rather continual innovations occurred well into the 20th century. Although, functionally speaking, two distinctly different double lug swingbails may be classified as the same handle, as they utilize similar technologies and forms in their manufacture, for dating purposes it is rather the specific embossed design motif that is most often the critical factor, not the basic means by which the bail articulates with the lugs. Although old designs continued to be

manufactured for years after their creation, a double lug swingbail handle designed in 1870 is easily discernable from a double lug swingbail created in 1900. Unfortunately, due to the inadequate methods utilized in the analysis and reporting of the Phillips Memorial mortuary hardware, it is virtually impossible to apply the methods of dating, largely based upon the archival record, that I established for Freedman's Cemetery.

In the Phillips Memorial Cemetery report (Dockall et al 1996), it is never stated if the clothing artifacts were photographed. Certainly none are illustrated. With Freedman's Cemetery, specific clothing elements proved to be especially time diagnostic. Like Cedar Grove, however, without adequate documentation of the Phillips Memorial materials it will be impossible to identify these items.

The result of this lack of documentation is that the importance of the Phillips Memorial Cemetery site— a potentially important data set and valuable as a comparative for Freedman's (both represent 19th and early 20th century African-American Texas communities)— is greatly diminished. This loss of potentially highly valuable information did not have to occur, and stemmed largely through a lack of diligence and an almost total unfamiliarity with the pertinent elements of both the material culture of the 19th and early 20th century American funeral industry and the tenets of historical archaeology.

If the contents of historic graves are not *adequately documented*— both skeletal and artifactual— to maximize the potential for the recovery of lost time and thereby gain a greater understanding of the past— the differences that separate historic cemetery investigations lead by archaeologists and cemetery removal jobs performed by liscenced undertakers are subtle ones, and only by degree. I'm quite serious— the publication of a

report that merely describes the number of handles associated with a given burial **is not** adequate documentation, and is not science if the resulting documentation and analyses are of such a general and vague nature that they do not further our knowledge of the past. Since its inception in the 1970s, with some notable exceptions (e.g., Garrow 1987; Elia and Wesolowsky 1989) the field of historic mortuary archaeology has been somewhat stagnant—real advancements have been slight. Of course, there are some valid defenses—time, monetary and logistical demands are very definite limiting factors in this field of research.

The Phillips report is not being singled out here because it is the “worst” of the more recent cemetery investigations. It is not an exception to otherwise exemplary work; rather, most historic cemeteries that are dug archaeologically are handled poorly at best. Although I can safely say that the Freedman’s Cemetery Project definitely had its share of problems, adequate documentation was certainly not one of them.

Relatively precise dating of unmarked graves can be achieved *only* through adequate documentation of the physical grave and *all* associated artifactual materials. If literally days and infinite care are spent in the exhumation of a single grave, and not a single photograph is taken or detailed line drawing rendered, then the grave and its contents were not adequately documented.

Burial recovery and documentation at Freedman’s Cemetery included extensive photo documentation of even small, utilitarian items such as safety pins. If such care had not been taken, at least one major means of temporal control would have been totally lost. Indeed, without photo documentation all of the subtle distinctions that helped to

differentiate between the myriad form of safety pins could not have been achieved; 17 distinctly different pin types would have been reduced to one, resulting in the loss of literally hundreds of valid *terminus post quem*s.

The necessity of adequately documenting any associated artifact types is not lessened if the graves are marked, and hence already dated. Rather, while chronology was the first goal of this research, it was never intended to be the end goal. Yes, only the temporal component of the associated artifacts is emphasized in this work. But artifacts are never just one thing, or another. Rather, they are mirrors, reflecting and allowing insight into virtually every aspect of human thought and action. Every artifact serves as both temporal indicator, and as a reflection of the social realm, the culture in which it was created and utilized and finally, interred. Additionally, the contents of any dated grave is quite valuable, to demonstrate the actual temporal range of utilization of given artifact types, and social customs. Clothing artifacts serve well as time diagnostics, but they also demonstrate the way in which the dead were dressed at any given time, and what is considered “proper” in one time, can radically change. When a grave has been dated, we are not “done” by any means, as I hope to show through future work on the Freedman’s Cemetery materials.

Future Research

This is a simple, nuts and bolts thesis. No grand theories or universal laws of human behavior were contained within. Its principal concern was simply one of chronology. However, although it is a necessary first step in any analysis, *chronology is never an end goal*, unto itself. Chronology is the foundation, certainly, but any foundation

is wanting and ultimately a waste, unless something meaningful is built upon it. Simply knowing the history of 19th century mortuary hardware backwards and forwards is something akin to a parlor trick, a means to “break the ice at parties”— poor data, really, unless it is actually used.

Now that the graves have been dated, the next step in the process will be to apply the chronology and integrate it with all of the available data. For example, for Freedman’s Cemetery voluminous skeletal data are available. Health trends in demography, birth rate, mean age at death, and the increase or decline in pathological conditions now can be charted diachronically. A preliminary step in this direction has been an internal comparison of Freedman’s three major time periods, as well as a intrasite comparison of Freedman’s Late Period to the Cedar Grove population (Davidson et al. n.d.).

Also, a detailed fine grained diachronic analysis of socioeconomics will likely bear some fruit, despite the numerous caveats and pitfalls inherent in such studies. Certainly, a diachronic study of specific burial practices dictated not by economics, but rather by tradition or social custom (e.g., the use of shell as grave makers), will be of great interest— the very meat of anthropology.

The Freedman’s methodology of historic cemetery investigation, rooted in the historic Cedar Grove excavation but expanded upon and improved considerably over the years, would readily serve as a model for future cemetery investigations. Excavations were conducted in Dallas continuously — rain or shine, 365 days a year— during a three and a half year interval, and the bugs inherent within the research design at the onset, when revealed through experience, were shaken out during the course of the field work.

So too, I have had approximately six years to “work the bugs out” of the dating

schema presented here, as this is the length of time that I have been actively at work on the subject. It is not perfect, and as emphasized elsewhere many elements are likely idiosyncratic to Freedman's Cemetery, but all in all the hardware typology and various dating schemas formulated for this work readily can be adapted for any historical cemetery of similar temporal range (i.e., after circa 1850). The results could be of major significance. Imagine— skeletal populations with relatively *precise* dates of interment, a means to subdivide time within a single site, allowing both intersite and intrasite diachronic analyses.

Finally, let me say here as baldly as possible that my research into the archival record of the 19th and early 20th century funerary industry, to date, is definitely not to be considered comprehensive by any means. It is a firm step in the right direction, I grant you, but still only a “first step.” Unfortunately, due to time and space limitations I could include only small and selected portions of this research in this work (e.g., Chapter 4; Appendix A).

In time I hope to flesh out the primer contained within Appendix A, and transform it into a comprehensive guide to mortuary hardware based on both the archaeological and archival records. This will take some time; there are many more catalogues of dozens of companies that I have not examined, but feel compelled to do. There is simply a lot I don't know. For example, I would estimate that somewhere between 15 to 20% of the Freedman's Cemetery mortuary hardware types could not be matched to a manufacturer through the catalogues I used for this analysis.

Coda

We as human beings find value within ourselves and our loved ones, and we as a culture consciously choose to remember those that have gone on into death, expressing both love and grief through deed and word,— grave and epitaph. The exhumation of a human grave, then, bears squarely upon us as anthropologists, the terrible weight of “responsibility.” We are not merely technicians mechanically going about the necessary though unpleasant task of removing impediments to progress, moving graves *merely* for the necessities of construction.

Rather, when we open a grave, we are charged with the responsibility to make the cost of this intrusion, this effrontery, bear its own weight, be paid in full with *remembrance*. True, although in a sense we are resurrectors of old grief, this is grief in a sense we can never know— individuals who loved and laughed and cried— we can never know them. This is not our place nor our right. But through the proper care, in terms of adequate documentation, we *can* “see through old eyes,” the dead “can live again,” and the gray shadow that lies on so much of the past can be lifted, if only slightly and imperfectly— for why do we study historic graves, if not to learn something true about the past, and perhaps, ourselves?

If nothing else is served by thesis, I hope it has shown that the past is not unknowable, that an unmarked grave is not undatable, and that the potential for placing an individual grave within its proper temporal contexts is high, and the rewards for doing so— even higher.

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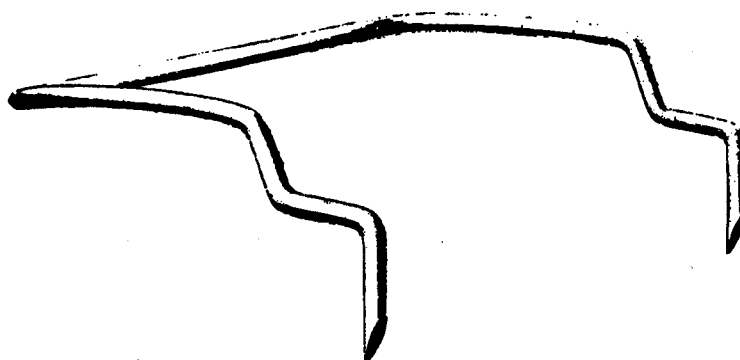
Appendix A:
A Primer of Coffin Hardware, Coffins, and Caskets

This simple lexicon has been created to aid the reader unfamiliar with the material culture of historic burials of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Arranged alphabetically, and illustrated where appropriate, the major types of coffin hardware and other materials presented here are ones that are commonly encountered when excavating an historic grave.

N.B. This primer was originally created for a specific historic cemetery investigation (Alan Parkway Cemetery, in Houston, Texas). Its audience was primarily the field crews excavating the burials, its intention only that of providing the same terminology of mortuary hardware utilized for Freedman's Cemetery (along with a brief functional and temporal definition), so that future comparisons made between the two sites would be more easily achieved. Beyond the origin of the illustrations, no references are included in this work, primarily because of the nature of its creation. All of the points made herein (whether functional or chronological) are based either on my knowledge of the archival record, or the archaeological record of Freedman's Cemetery. It is included with this thesis to provide terminology, and little else. Due to time constraints, no attempt has been made to edit for content, or otherwise alter this document in any significant way from that utilized by the Allan Parkway Cemetery Project in 1998..

Box Hooks - Constructed of iron wire, bent to form an angular "U" shape, box hooks (sometimes called shell hooks) are simple handles that occasionally will be found mounted on the exteriors of outer (or shipping) boxes. Often, the iron wire has been coated with a black enamel (Japanned) finish. They are fairly good time diagnostics, however, dating to the mid-1890s and later. Freedman's Handle Type 38 is a box hook. It occurs on 9 burials, all dated to the Late Period. Additionally, all 9 burials are also assigned to the Late Sequence, and date between 1904 and 1906.

Outside Box Hook.



No. 3½ Copper Bronzed.

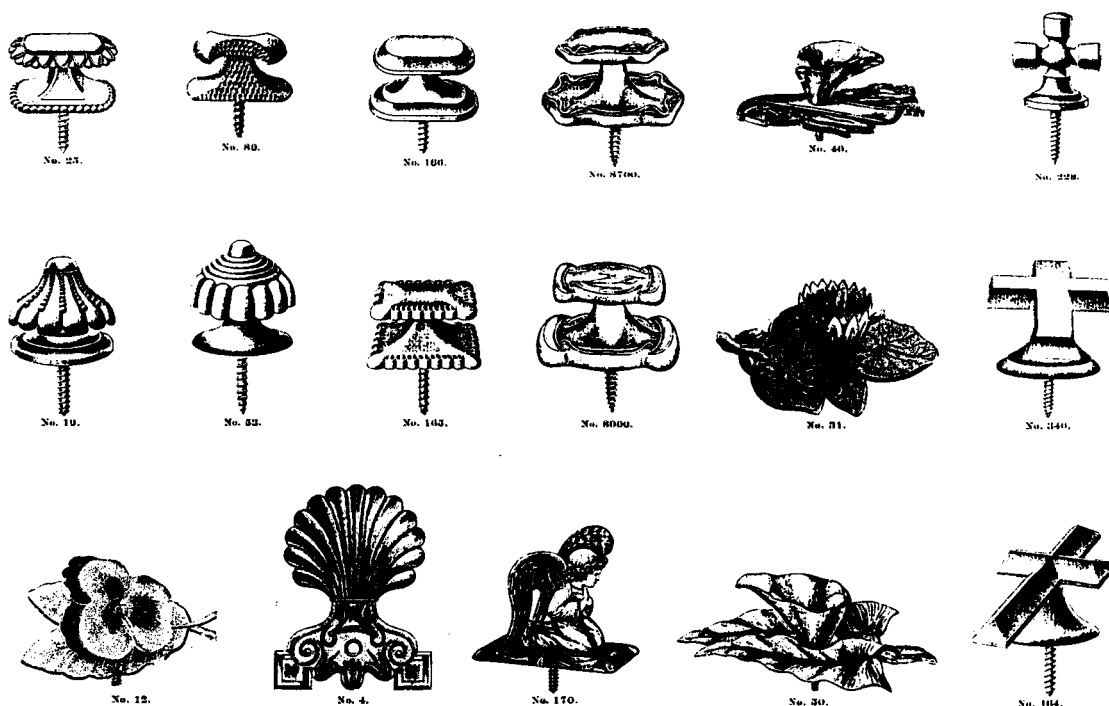
(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Caplifters- typically composed of cast white metal, caplifters were principally designed to be mounted atop the wooden panel that covers a viewing window. Functionally, they serve the same purpose as door knobs or drawer pulls, a handy means to grasp and remove the panel or VW cover. Beyond functionality, caplifters could be highly decorative, with such motifs known as rose buds, calla lilies, and mourning doves, though simple knob or dome shaped types are perhaps more common.

Occasionally caplifters can be found mounted upon a lid, when no window glass is present. This suggests that although the lid had once been constructed with removable panels, glass was for whatever reason not employed. Caplifters are usually associated with a matching caplifter base, or screw plate, through which the caplifter mounting screw is inserted. Temporally speaking, caplifters are only somewhat diagnostic as a general class of artifact, though certain motifs or designs are temporally well defined. Caplifters become commonplace in the late 1870s and early 1880s, and fade from use in the 1920s.

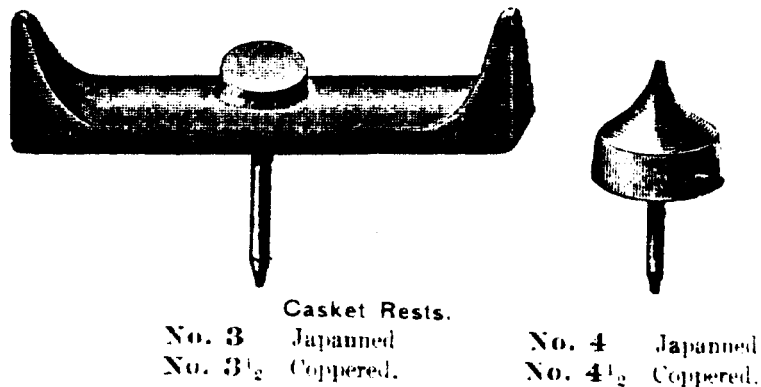
Caplifter Bases- the decorative screw plate associated with caplifters. As with caplifters, bases are almost always constructed of white metal. (see Caplifters)

CAP LIFTERS.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Casket Rests- are small, usually conically shaped objects, with a single screw mounted on their bases. Typically constructed of iron, they can have a black enamel (Japanned) finish. These objects were designed to screw into the interior base of an outer coffin box, to serve two basic functions; secure the coffin (or inner box) during shipment, and allow for easy extraction of the lowering straps during burial. Casket rests are good temporal indicators, with at least one form patented in 1891.



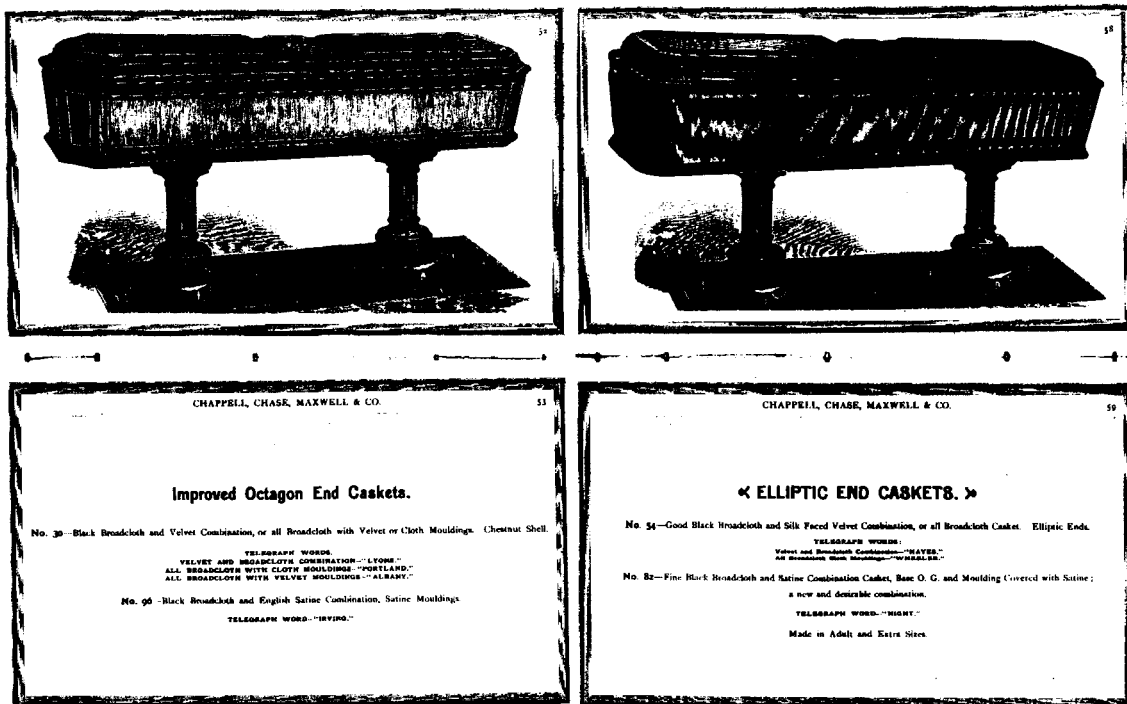
(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Caskets- Though often used as a generic term, one specific definition of a casket is a rectangular shaped burial receptacle; or in variants, a parallel sided box, with rounded (elliptical) ends or canted corners. The Casket remains distinct from a true coffin, which is a six sided or hexagonal shaped box. Note that Octagonal shaped boxes (i.e. rectangular boxes with canted corners), are also referred to as caskets.

True rectangular Caskets do have some time diagnostic potential, as their common

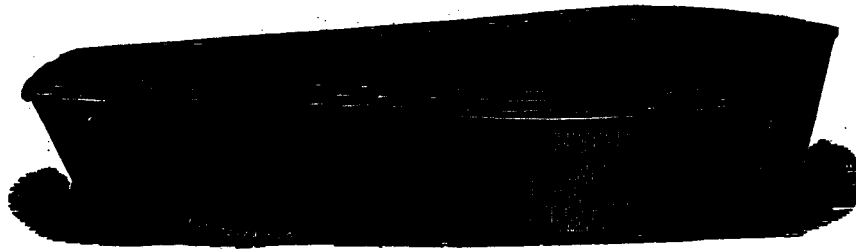
use did not occur until the mid-nineteenth century. It is important to note, however, that this common introduction date for caskets is best established for the Eastern and Atlantic costal states. From evidence observed at Freedman's Cemetery, it is likely that in Texas the introduction of rectangular Caskets may have been delayed.

At Freedman's Cemetery, hexagonal coffins were almost exclusively utilized with adult burials during the Early Period (1869-1884). That is, rectangular caskets utilized in adult burials do not appear until the mid-1880s. It should be noted, however, that the temporal sensitivity of rectangular boxes does not seem to apply to the burials of small children or infants. As established at Freedman's Cemetery, hexagonal coffins were often shipped in rectangular shipping crates. (see Coffins)



(from 1884 Chappell, Chase, Maxwell & Co Casket Catalogue)

Coffins- Though often used as a generic term for any burial container, a more precise definition would be a six sided or hexagonal shaped box, that is widest at its shoulder, and tapers towards the head and feet. True Coffins (i.e., hexagonal boxes) are not the best temporal indicators. Coffins were the normative form of burial container for much of the United States at least from the 1700s until the mid-nineteenth century, when caskets (or parallel sided/rectangular) boxes were introduced. It is well established, however, that hexagonal coffins continued to be manufactured and utilized into the twentieth century. From historical accounts it is known that hexagonal coffins continued to be used in Dallas into the 1920s. (see Caskets)



A NEW FLAT TOP COFFIN.

Raised panel, upper part movable, lower part permanent; ends of top and panel oval; moulding around base; of the following woods and numbers, viz.:
No. 5. *Whitewood, imitation of Rosewood.* (Made to order only.)
" 13. *Walnut, plain.* (Adult sizes only kept in stock.)

(from 1871 Taylor & Co Catalogue)

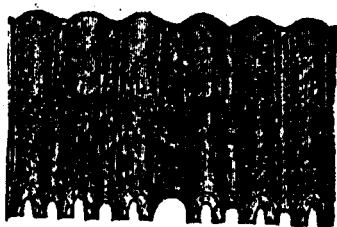
Coffin Screws- Consisting of a white metal screw cap solidly soldered atop an iron screw, Coffin screws have a slotted head designed to accept a screw driver for mounting, just like an ordinary iron screw. Minimally decorated, Coffin screws were primarily designed and utilized as a type of lid closure, and are temporally quite early. They were certainly in common use in the 1850s, and were probably available even earlier than that. When mounted upon a coffin lid, coffin screws are usually found in either sets of four (or six), symmetrically arranged with one screw near each corner of the box. If 6 coffin screws are present, the two additional screws are mounted opposite each other at the shoulder or waist. Thumbscrews replaced coffin screws as the normative form of lid closure during the 1870s and 1880s. The overall temporal range of coffin screws, however, can be as great as circa 1840-1900; a sixty year interval. (see also Dummy (Coffin) Screws)

Coffin Screws and Tacks.



(from 1869 Sargent & Co Catalogue)

Corrugated Fasteners- As their name suggests, these fasteners are corrugated strips or short segments of sheet metal, usually made of steel and not much larger than a postage stamp. Corrugated fasteners were designed to join two pieces of wood together, and like nails, were simply driven into wood with a hammer. These fasteners were utilized in the manufacture of caskets, outer boxes (and occasionally coffins) just after the turn-of-the-century, and when present are commonly located in the corners of the boxes. Excellent time diagnostics, corrugated fastener are still in use today, and can be commonly found in such things as picture frames.















DIVERGENT SAW EDGE
SIX CORRUGATIONS, ALL $1\frac{3}{32}$ INCH
WIDE

(from 1920 Shapeleigh Hardware Catalogue)

Dummy Screws (Coffin Tacks)- this artifact is actually a specific type of ornamental tack. Dummy screws (or coffin tacks) are merely the white metal screw caps from coffin screws, that instead of being mounted on a substantial wood screw, are rather mounted on a small tack shank. As such, these fake screw heads are merely decorative (i.e., they serve no true utilitarian function). Dummy screws were commonly employed in conjunction with coffin screws. Four or six coffin screws would actually serve to seal the coffin lid, and then dummy screws would simply be tacked down along the lid edge, and between the actual screws, giving the appearance that a dozen or more of coffin screws are present. Dummy screws have essentially the same temporal range as coffin screws, and are rarely utilized with other forms of lid closure, such as thumbscrews.

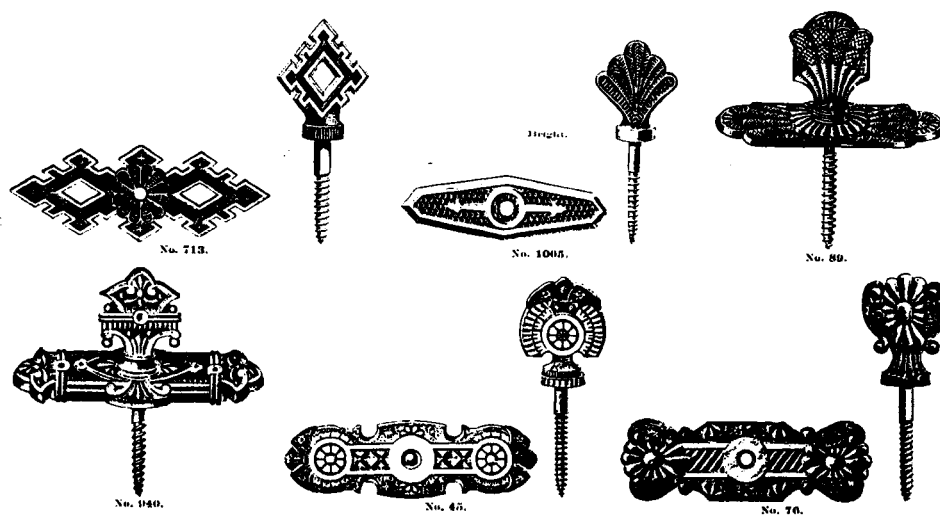
WHITE METAL COFFIN TACKS.

(ENGRAVINGS FULL SIZE.)

		
No. 28, Per gross, -	-	- \$0.45
		
No. 20, Per gross, -	-	- \$0.50
		
No. 24, Per gross, -	-	- \$0.56
		
No. 30, Per gross, -	-	- \$0.70

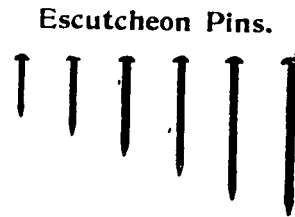
(from 1865 Markham & Strong Hardware Catalogue)

Escutcheons- the decorative screw plate through which a thumbscrew or coffin screw is mounted, escutcheons as a generic class of artifact have a very wide temporal range (circa 1850-1920+). Although escutcheons commonly had symmetrically placed design motifs molded on their face, with the introduction of thumbscrews in the 1870s, this design motif would, more often than not, mimic or match the design of its paired thumbscrew. In other words, thumbscrews and escutcheons were usually designed and sold as matched sets. Escutcheons are both functional as well as decorative. They function as stops for thumbscrews, preventing them from being screwed down too deeply and marring the wooden lid. Their primary use, however, would seem to have been a decorative one. While securely held in place when the coffin or thumb screws are screwed down, escutcheons are themselves mounted to the coffin lid by means of small (usually cuprous) tacks, known as escutcheon pins. A small hole at either escutcheon end is where the escutcheon pins were commonly mounted. Some escutcheons are simple, flat disc shapes, but even these discs usually have a single escutcheon pin hole, for affixing it to the coffin lid.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Escutcheon pins- a small, usually cuprous tack or pin, resembling a small nail; these pins are used to affix certain types of mortary hardware to a coffin or casket. As their name implies, escutcheon pins are commonly employed in attaching escutcheons to coffin lids, but can also be found with plaques and ornaments. As a general rule, however, caplifter bases do not employ escutcheon pins. Occasionally, lining tacks were used instead of escutcheon pins for the same purpose.

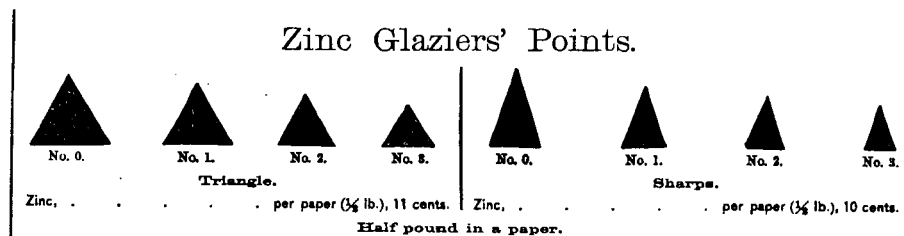


Sizes, $\frac{1}{8}$, $\frac{3}{16}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, 1 in.

In pound or quarter pound boxes.

(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Glaziers points- small triangular-shaped, flat metal pieces, usually composed of tin or zinc. Glaziers points were utilized to wedge or hold a window pane firmly in place within its wooden sash or frame, prior to its being puttied with caulk (or glazing). As such, glaziers points were sometimes utilized in viewing windows found in coffins, and hence may be recovered archaeologically. The mere presence of one or more glaziers points is not time diagnostic (at least based on current knowledge). They are good indicators of the presence of a static viewing window type, however, which is an important observation in and of itself, especially when caulking does not preserve (for a fuller explanation of the static viewing window, see **Viewing Windows**).



(from 1888 Sargent & Co General Hardware Catalogue)

Handles- as one might assume, handles are commonly mounted on the sides of coffins and caskets, and primarily serve as the means by which the box may be carried when transporting it from the home (or mortuary) to the burial site. There are several basic forms and a huge variety of stylistic types of coffin handles. The differences between these types (and their sub-types) will be elaborated upon below.

Swingbail handles- come in two basic varieties, single and double lug. Double lug swingbails also have a variant type; the tipped swingbail.

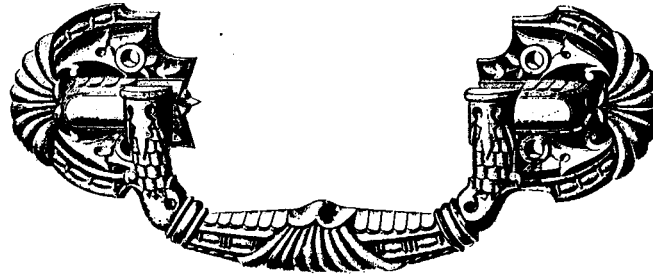
double lug swingbail- defined by its simplicity of form and construction, swingbail handles are composed of three basic elements; two identical lugs and a bail, which forms the gripping portion of the handle proper. The lug is that portion of the handle that is rigidly attached to the coffin by screws, and into which the bail is subsequently mounted. The bail forms the gripping portion of the handle, the shape of which is most often a simple "U," at the ends of which are two metal pins (of iron or steel wire) solid cast and integral to the bail itself. It is these iron pins on the bail's ends that are inserted into the lug sockets when the handle is attached to the coffin side.

As a general class of artifact, swingbails have an extremely wide temporal range,

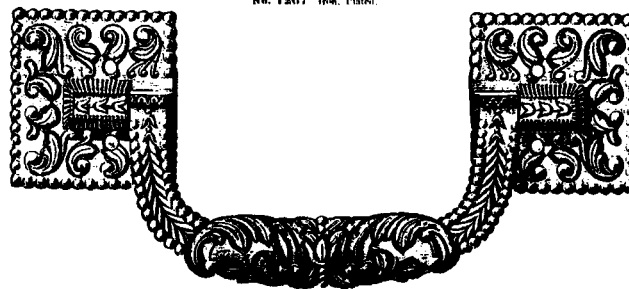
literally from the 1700s into the 20th century, when they were largely replaced by the short bar handle form, however specific stylistic motifs are more tightly dated.



No. 642.



No. 1207 Iron Plate.

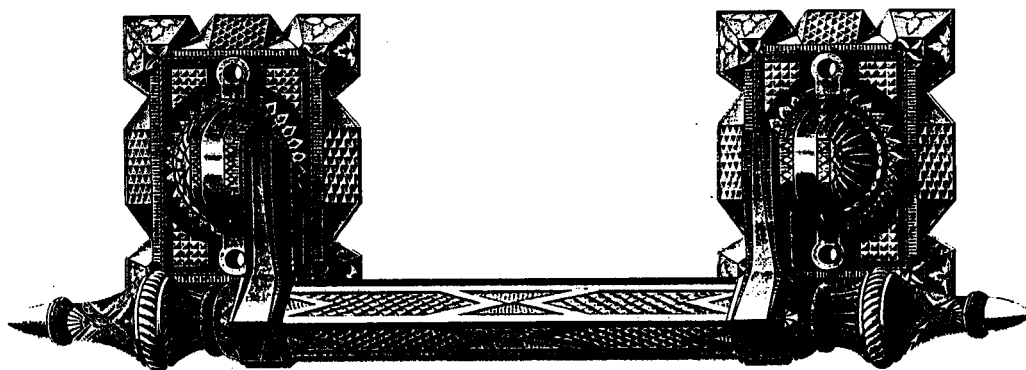


No. 80.

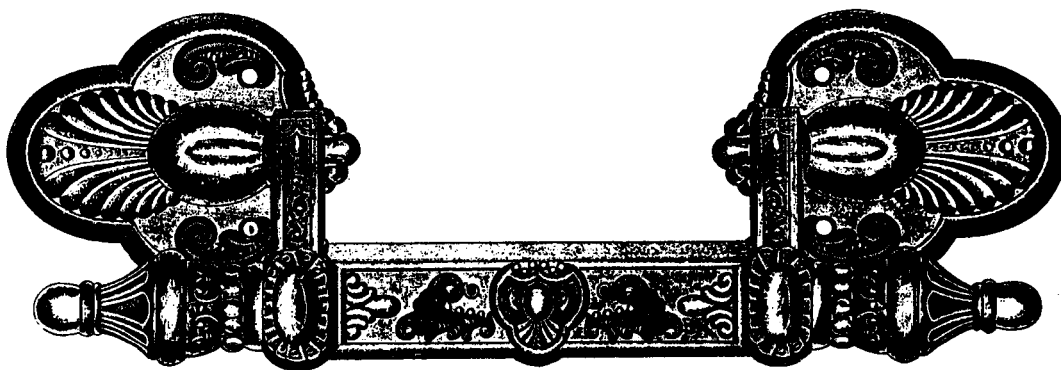
(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Double lug swingbail with tips- a variant of the swingbail, first introduced after the innovation of the short bar handle form in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Essentially, a tipped swingbail is a handle that in its manufacture and functionality, is exactly like a

classic swingbail, but is designed to at least mimic, or superficially look the part of the more expensive short bar. Swingbail handles with these attached tips were usually more substantial in weight than the regular swingbail handles (i.e., involving more metal), and so in pricing did fall somewhere in between regular swingbails and true short bar handles. The temporal range of the double lug swingbail handles with tips, would be something on the order of 1870 to circa 1915, though only a limited number of these styles were available for purchase after circa 1900.



No. 1718. Handle.



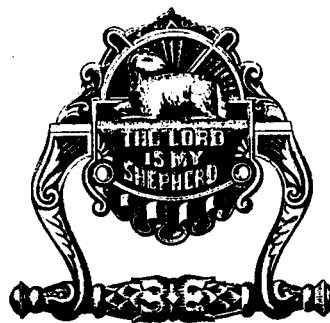
No. 25.

(from Paxson, Comfort & Co Catalogue; 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

single lug swingbail- from the 1850s on, the single lug swingbail is most commonly found with children. It is composed of two basic parts; a single lug and a bail. The overall temporal range is quite large for many stylistic motifs in this class of handle. For example, some of the "lamb" handles designed expressly for children were available for at least a hundred years, from the 1850s to the 1950s.



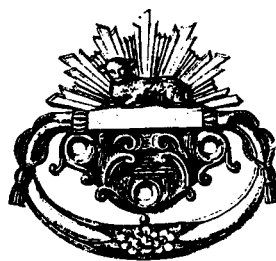
No. 20.



No. 30.



No. 201.



No. 1753 Imitation Handle.
Cast in one piece; suit does not fit.

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

double lug short bar- the short bar handle as defined here, is differentiated from the swingbail handle form by several criteria. First, the typical short bar handle is composed of many more and different parts than the swingbail. There are nine parts comprising a typical short bar: two lugs, two lug arms, two separate socket (or fulcrum)

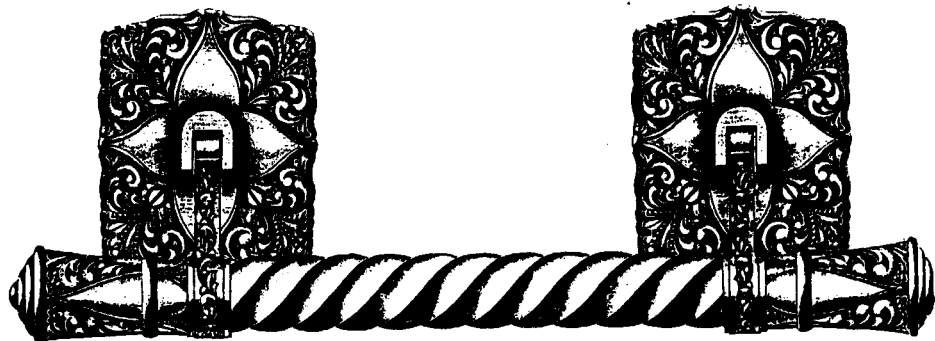
pins, a bar (conceivably composed of a variety of materials and forms), and two tips that go on the bar's ends. In some cases, the tips are actually cast with the lug arms as a single, solid piece.

While technologically more complex than a swingbail, the short bar handle form makes up for this complexity by being more adaptable in form, and probably sturdier in its weight bearing capacity. Temporally, short bars began to appear with any frequency in the early 1870s, and largely replaced swingbails by the early 1900s, especially on more elaborate and hence more expensive burials.



No. 8080 Silver Rope Bar.

No. 8081 B.R. Satin Rope Bar.



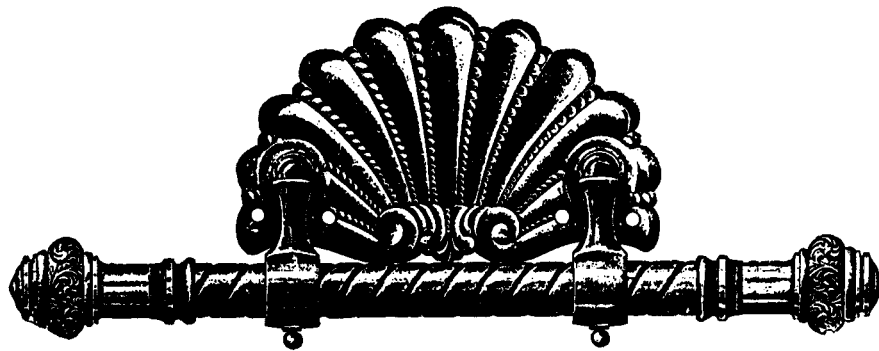
No. 0200 Silver Rope Bar.

No. 0201 B.R. Satin Rope Bar.

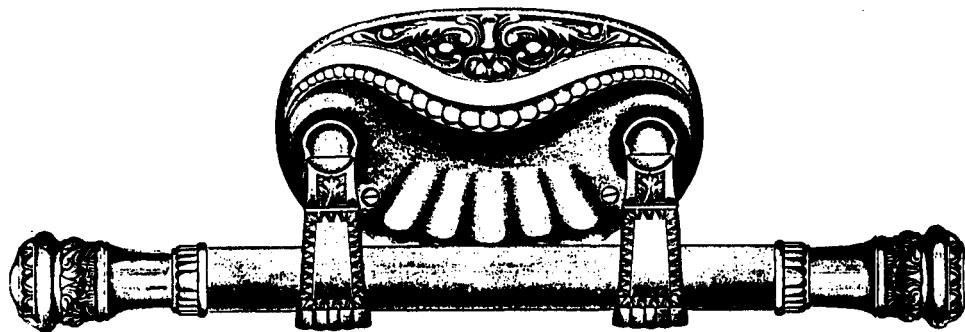
ROUND BAR HANDLES.

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

single lug short bar- a rarer form than the more common double lug short bar types, sometimes utilized when eight handles are present on a casket. In these cases, single lug short bars are often positioned at the head and feet boards of the coffin or casket. The temporal range is conceivably the same as for standard short bars, from circa 1870 well into the 20th century, though a cursory examination of mortuary hardware catalogues suggests that they really begin to appear with any frequency in the 1890s.



No. 77. All Silver.
No. 365. Black Satin and Silver.



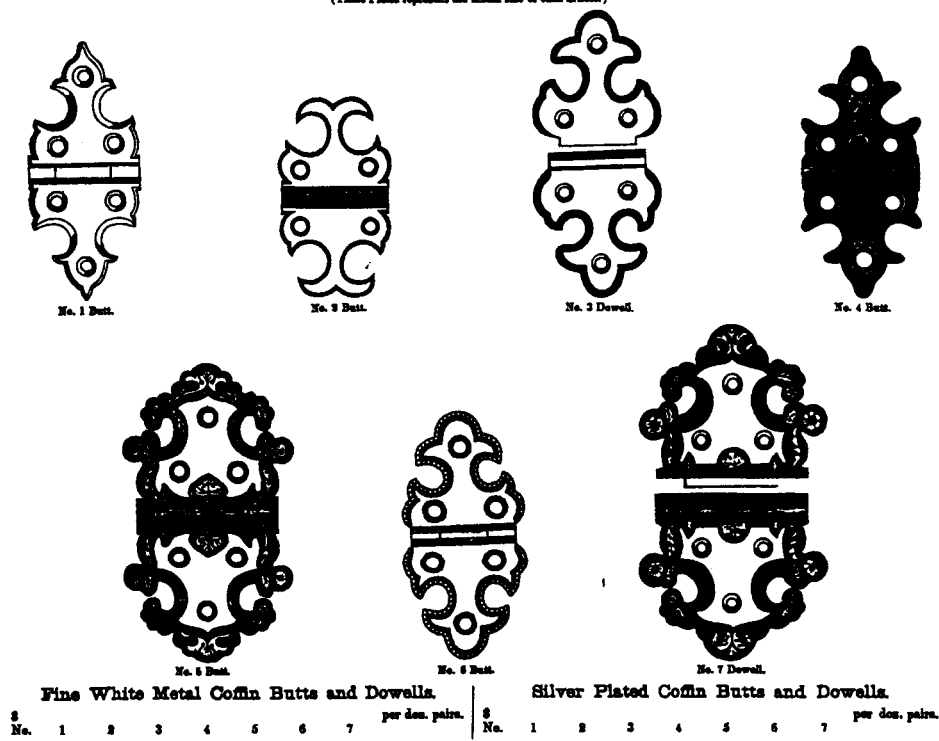
No. 410. Silver Rope Bar.

(from 1902 St. Louis Coffin Co Catalogue)

Hinges- coffin hinges of the nineteenth century come in two basic varieties; butt hinges and dowels. Butt hinges are true hinges, much like typical modern-day hinges in design. By this, I mean that butt hinges employ two symmetrical arms (or butts) which are held

together by means of a pin, upon which the hinge pivots. Dowels, however, differ in that while there are two symmetrical plates, they lack a pivot pin or the means to attach one. Instead, one plate of the dowel would be mounted on the coffin side, while the other would mount on the coffin lid. The two plates would articulate together through a slot or socket on one of the plates, and a narrow lip on the other. In a very real sense, although they serve some of the same functions of hinge, dowels are a unique form. The chief advantage of the dowel was that although the lid could be held together for display with the lid either open or closed, the lid could also be entirely and quickly removed from the box by simply lifting up on it sufficiently for the socket to release the lip. Temporally speaking, the use of coffin hinges of any variety is quite early, probably from the 1700s into the 1870s, at which time they begin to disappear from mainstream coffin hardware catalogues.

COFFIN BUTTS AND DOWELS.
(These Plates represent the actual size of each article.)

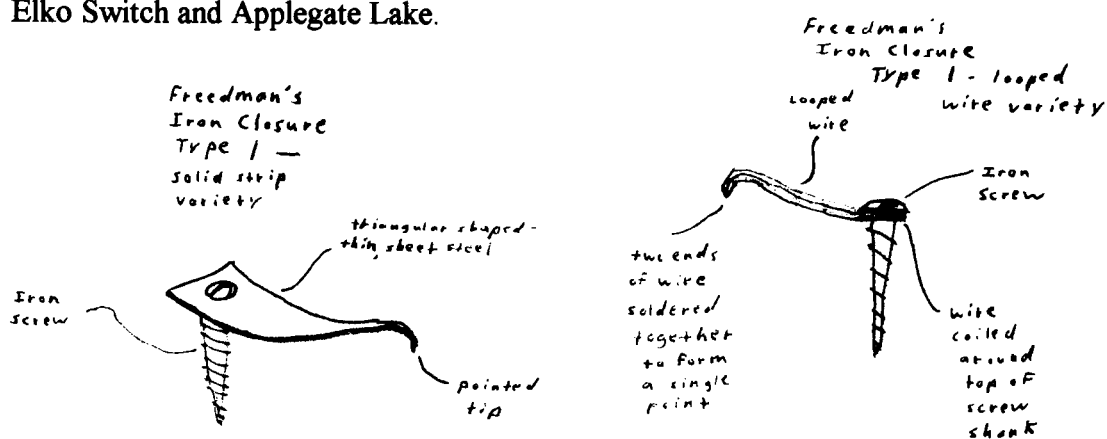


Fine White Metal Coffin Butts and Dowels.							\$	Silver Plated Coffin Butts and Dowels.									
No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	\$	No.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	per doz. pairs.

(from 1865 Russell & Erwin Hardware Catalogue)

Iron Closures (Coffin Lid Latches, etc.)- a catch-all term used during the Freedman's Cemetery excavations to refer to many different kinds of coffin components typically made of iron, and utilized either in the initial construction of the box itself (e.g., see corrugated fastener; also braces, struts, "L" bolts, etc.), or alternatively, used to seal the coffin lid in lieu of thumbscrews. Although often poorly preserved, iron closures (i.e., all iron coffin fittings) can be highly time diagnostic, and hence should be treated with care.

One iron closure in particular should be noted; Freedman's Cemetery Iron Closure Type 1. As crudely sketched below, this closure comes in two varieties. One consists of a solid, flat strip of iron or steel plate - an elongated and tapered triangle in outline, with an iron screw inserted through its widest end, and a pointed tip at its other. The other form of this closure is a looped wire type, in which a heavy steel wire has been bent around the head of an iron screw, with the ends of the wire soldered together to form a single sharpened point. Both forms were used identically in the construction of coffins, and less commonly caskets. They are typically found within the interior corners of coffins, where they were employed to join the two side boards to the head board. Temporally diagnostic, these closures have been recovered at Freedman's Cemetery, as well as the cemeteries of Elko Switch and Applegate Lake.



Iron Screws (i.e., plain screws)- plain utilitarian screws were often used in coffin box construction, especially in the outer box/shipping crate. In very cheap (or temporally early) burials, plain iron screws could be used as the primary means to seal the lid, serving as an inexpensive alternative to white metal coffin screws, and, later in time, thumbscrews. Although often difficult to differentiate from nails while in the field, due to their screw threads being obscured in rust and their overall poor preservation, the *in situ* identification of screws can be an important one, especially if a single large screw is found in each corner of the box, and no other means of lid closure is recovered. Of course, utilitarian screws were also utilized to mount handles and other hardware types.

Lining- except in the cheapest of burials, all coffins were once upholstered and then lined in cloth. In some cases, these linings constituted one of the more substantial costs incurred in the purchase of a coffin or casket. Although they rarely preserve archaeologically, the former presence of a lining can be assumed by the recovery of several lining tacks.

TAYLOR & Co., 163 BOWERY, N. Y.

33

HEAD OR INSIDE LININGS.



No. 1. Cashmere,
Satin de Chine, White Silk Fringe and Chenille Gimp.

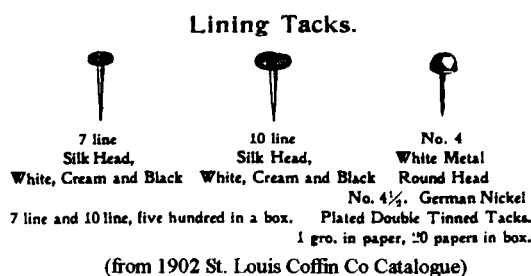


No. 4. Cashmere,
Stamped Satin and White Silk Fringe.
No. 6 is the same, but with White and BLACK Silk Fringe.

(from 1871 Taylor & Co Catalogue)

Lining Tacks- The primary function of lining tacks was just that, to tack down the lining within the interior of the coffin or casket. Lining tacks could also be used in lieu of escutcheon pins, serving to attach escutcheons to coffin lids. These tacks are very small, and are usually composed of two parts; a short iron shank and in the most common variety, a plain, domed lead head. Often, the iron shank does not preserve or becomes detached from the head of the tack. When this occurs, all that is often recovered is just the more substantial domed, lead tack head. Other varieties of tack could also be in use, especially on the older interments (i.e., pre-1890). Any simple, all steel or iron tacks recovered from a burial in any number likely served as lining tacks. As determined at Freedman's Cemetery, the diameter of the typical lead domed tack head is 5 to 6 mm, which is just at or under 1/4 inches. This means that if burial fill is water screened through 1/4 inch mesh, most if not all of the tack heads present on a burial stand a very good chance of being recovered.

The ability to determine whether a coffin or casket was lined is an important observation, as a lining's presence or absence is a basic economic indicator. While tiny fragments of cloth may at times be preserved, especially when lying in direct contact with cuprous coffin hardware, it often is difficult (if not impossible) to distinguish any such fabric as lining, distinctive from clothing remains. The recovery and accurate identification of lining tacks will serve the same purpose, with greater assurance and validity.



Nails- obviously, nails were utilized in the construction of coffins, caskets, and outer boxes. The two types or varieties of nails you will likely encounter are square cut and wire. The Cut nail was the nail of choice throughout most of the nineteenth century until the late 1890s, at which time it began to be largely replaced by wire nails. At Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, it was observed that wire nails do not appear on coffins until circa 1900, although cut nails continued to be used haphazardly until circa 1906. In the most general sense, the accurate designation of the types of nails used on any given burial can be the most valuable and basic dating tool available.

— 1232 —

STEEL CUT NAILS, IN KEGS.

Price List Adopted December 1st, 1906.
We do not carry any Steel Cut Nails in Half Kegs.

Size.	Description.	Number of Nails to the Pound.	Price of 100 lbs.	Size.	Description.	Number of Nails to the Pound.	Price of 100 lbs.
2d	Common	64	1 1/2	6d	Casing	28	2 1/2
4d	Common	36	1 1/2	8d	Casing	18	2 1/2
6d	Common	24	1 1/2	10d	Casing	12	2 1/2
8d	Common	18	1 1/2	6d	Clinch	30	2 1/2
10d	Common	12	1 1/2	8d	Clinch	18	2 1/2
12d	Common	9	1 1/2	10d	Clinch	12	2 1/2
14d	Common	6	1 1/2	Iron Cut Shingle Nails, Large Heads.			
20d	Common	3	1 1/2	1 1/2 in.	Sh.	24	4 1/2
30d	Common	1 1/2	1 1/2	2 in.	Sh.	12	4 1/2
40d	Common	1	1 1/2	3 in.	Sh.	8	4 1/2
50d	Common	1	1 1/2	4 in.	Sh.	6	4 1/2
60d	Common	1	1 1/2	5 in.	Sh.	4	4 1/2

100 lbs. in a Keg.
— 1232 —

— 1233 —

STANDARD WIRE NAILS, IN KEGS.

Price List Adopted December 1st, 1906.
We do not carry any Standard Wire Nails in Half Kegs.

Size.	Description.	Number of Nails to the Pound.	Price of 100 lbs.
2 1/2 in.	Fine Blued	64	1 1/2
3 in.	Fine Blued	48	1 1/2
3 1/2 in.	Fine Blued	36	1 1/2
4 in.	Fine Blued	24	1 1/2
4 1/2 in.	Fine	18	1 1/2
5 in.	Fine	12	1 1/2
5 1/2 in.	Common	8	1 1/2
6 in.	Common	6	1 1/2

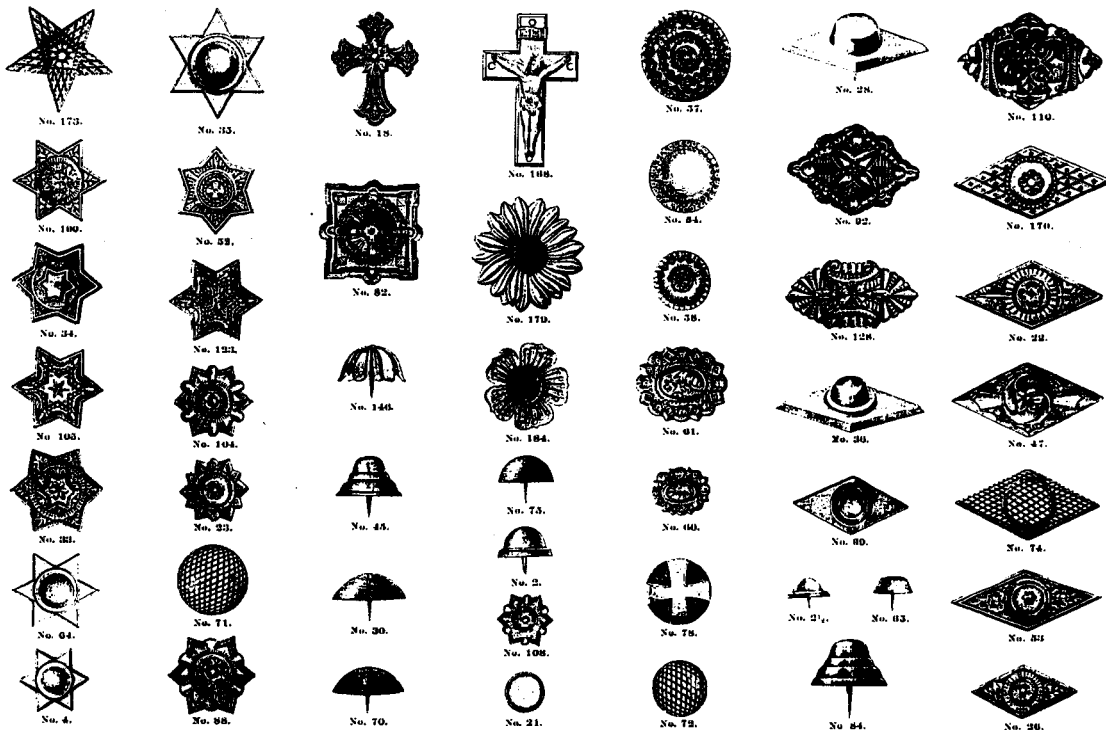
100 lbs. in a Keg.
— 1233 —

(from 1902 Simmons Hardware Co Catalogue)

Ornamental Tacks- known by a variety of specific terms (dummy screw, coffin tack, stud, diamond tack, etc.), this general class of artifact consists of small, geometric, floral, or representational ornaments, affixed to a small pin or tack and usually attached to the edge of a coffin lid. Additional locations can include the sides of the coffin itself.

Temporally speaking, the earliest forms of the ornamental tack known are the dummy screw (or coffin tack), and the simple diamond stud, dating to the mid-1800s. Later forms include stars, flowers, crosses, bell shapes, and even lambs. Save for the dummy screws, which were composed of white metal, most ornamental tacks were made of a thin and foil-like struck-up cuprous plate. Temporally, they range from the 1850s (and probably earlier), to circa 1910.

STUDS.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Ornaments- although at times somewhat reminiscent of some ornamental tack types, examples of this class of artifact are larger, usually more elaborate in design, and more substantial in materials and manufacture. Ornaments are always representational, most commonly depicting floral motifs. Specific motifs include Calla lilies, bouquets of flowers, sheaves of wheat, a hand holding a rose, etc.

Other types of ornaments can include such things as fraternal orders symbols (e.g., Masons, Odd Fellows), crosses and crowns, and doves. Like plaques, ornaments are usually large and centrally mounted along the longitudinal axis of the coffin lid, commonly placed directly over the thorax, pelvis, or occasionally over the lower legs of the body. The primary criterion used in distinguishing between ornaments and plaques is that ornaments are just that, purely ornamental, while plaques contain words or phrases, including such factory engraved sentiments as "Our Darling," "Rest In Peace," and "At Rest."



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Plaques- this class of artifact is composed of a stamped (copper or tin based) or cast (white metal, pewter, bronze) metal plate, affixed to the coffin lid usually over either the thorax or pelvis. Plaques come in two basic varieties. The first type consists of blanks, ordered from the manufacturer or jobber, upon which were custom engraved the name of the individual, and such niceties as the dates of birth and death.

Perhaps more common in the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, were the factory engraved or stamped plaques, bearing such generic words, phrases, or sentiments as: Father, Mother, Brother, Sister; Our Darling, Our Babe, Our Loved One (for children); At Rest, and Rest in Peace (commonly used with adults). Plaques are normally attached to the coffin lid by means of two or more escutcheon pins. The typical forms of plaques are generally speaking, more or less oval or rectangular, though one popular form variant was the ribbon motif.

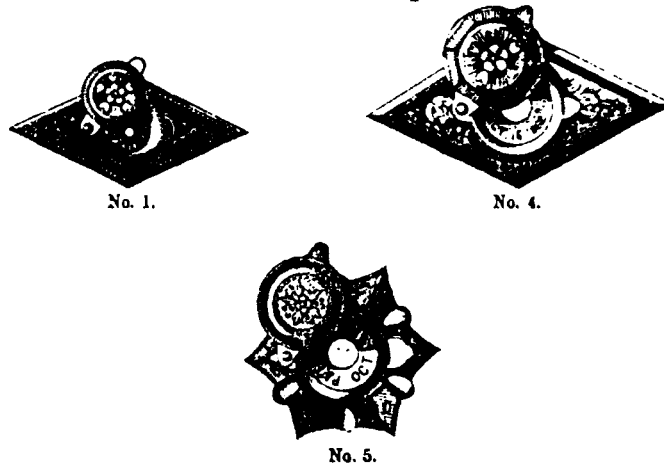
Most plaque types preserve quite well archaeologically. Occasionally, however, some thin cuprous or pewter alloyed plaques will be very poorly preserved, and in fact can consist of only metal "dust," minuscule fragments or just a metallic stain.



(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Screwcaps (diamond caps)- an early form of lid closure, screw caps date to the early 1860s and consist of three basic elements: an escutcheon (usually diamond shaped); a simple iron screw that is inserted and screwed down through the escutcheon plate; and a domed, thin metal cap that is mounted on the escutcheon, but which can pivot to cover and hide the screw from view. When poorly preserved, screwcaps are often difficult to distinguish from simple escutcheons being utilized with iron screws. The time period that screw caps were actually in use is likely a very short one (circa 1860-1880).

Diamond Caps.

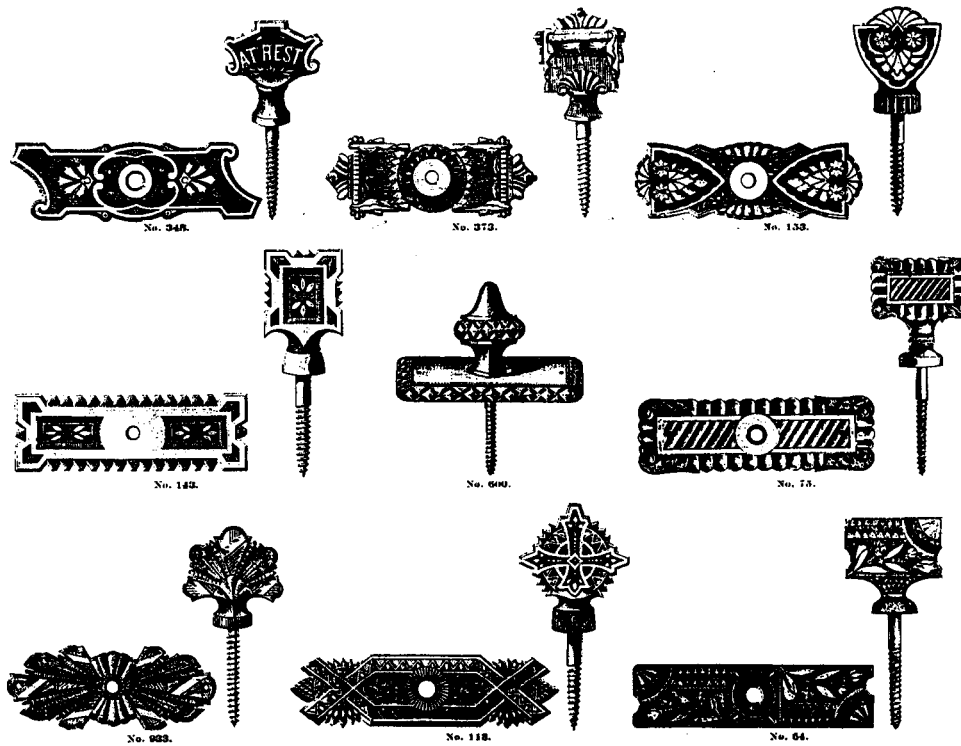


(from 1865 Russell & Erwin Hardware Catalogue)

Shortbars (see Handles)

Swingbails (see Handles)

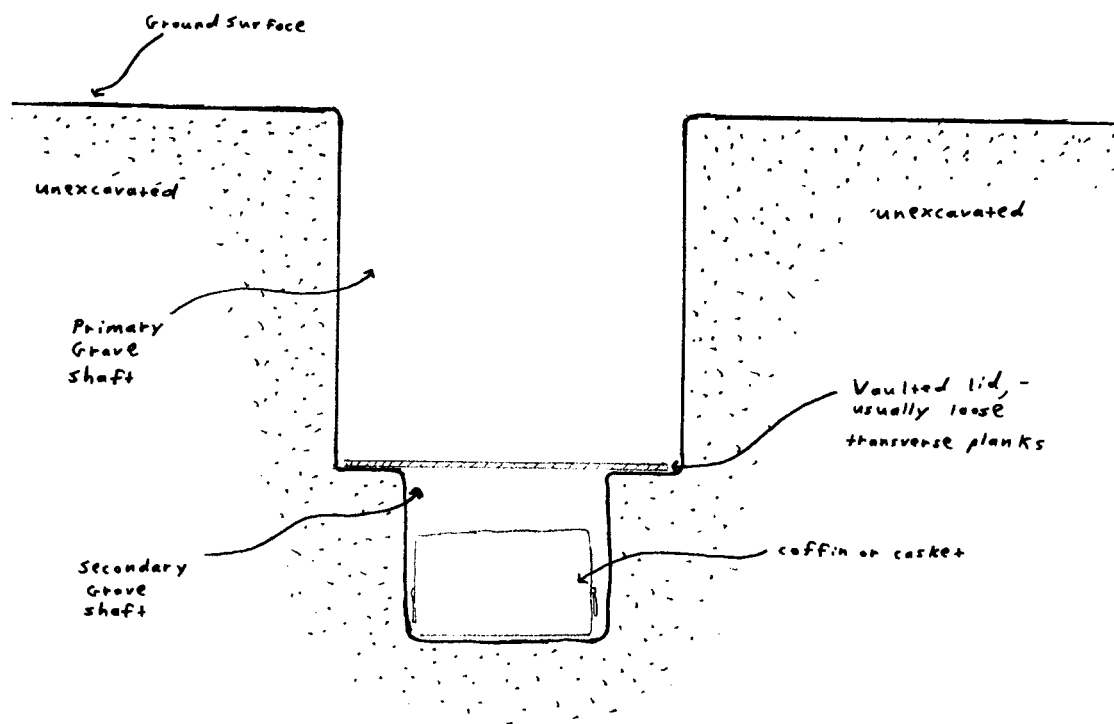
Thumbscrews- the predominate form of lid closure likely to be encountered during excavations. Thumbscrews were introduced as mortuary hardware during the 1870s and became the normative form of closure in the 1880s, replacing the then anachronistic coffin screws. Like the earlier coffin screws, thumbscrews were commonly utilized in sets of four or six, and the escutcheons paired with thumbscrews often form stylistically matched sets. Temporally, thumbscrews were utilized from the 1870s well into 20th century. They were eventually replaced by internally embedded coffin lid latches, which themselves saw an initial introduction into the market place in the mid-1880s.



All Thumb Screws shown on this page are 1 1/4 inches in length.

(from 1905 Chattanooga Coffin and Casket Co Catalogue)

Vaulting- Vaulting is where a wide primary grave shaft is dug to a depth of approximately 3 1/2 or 4 feet, at the bottom of which is dug a more narrow, secondary shaft, into which the coffin or casket will be placed. The secondary shaft (or niche) is dug just deep and wide enough to receive the box. This secondary shaft is then completely covered over with boards, typically loose transverse planks, to protect the coffin. Its presence is significant, as the use of vaulting can be both a temporal indicator, as well as an indicator of added care or costs.



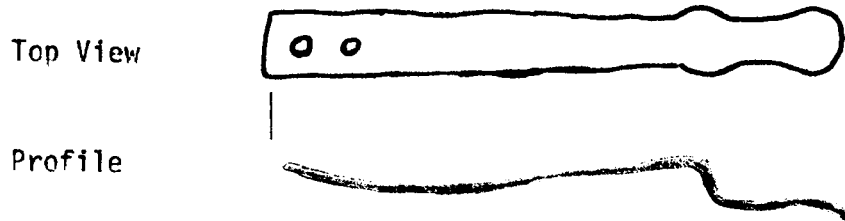
Viewing Windows- to view the dead, coffins and caskets were not infrequently constructed with coffin lids employing sectional or removable panels, often with glass plates or windows. The presence and style of a viewing window are both economic as well as temporal indicators. The specific shapes of viewing windows could be quite varied, but generally they tend to be oval and egg shaped. Temporally later forms are usually larger and rectangular (or otherwise angular).

Viewing windows are actually quite complex, with two general forms present; static or sliding. In static windows, the glass plate has been inserted from the underside (or posterior) surface of the coffin lid, into a cut-out with a rabbeted lip or inset. The glass is then secured in place by means of window putty and glaziers tips, just like a window in a house. Strong evidence indicating that a static window is present would consist of the recovery of window caulking, either an outline of whitish powder or small wedge shaped fragments of intact caulk, as well as the recovery of one or more glaziers tips, which are small triangular bits of metal, usually made of tin or zinc.

The other type of window is the sliding variety, which means that the glass is inset into a frame, within which it can be slid open and closed freely. The purpose of this was to allow easy access to the body, without having to remove the entire lid. Sliding viewing window complexes are much more elaborate than static windows, and their presence on a burial suggests a much higher cost. Due to poor wood preservation, however, the sliding window is often impossible to detect directly, but one likely indicator of its presence (that

does preserve) is a specific form of viewing window latch (Freedman's V. W. Latch Type 6).

Freedman's V.W. Latch Type 6



length = 10.2 cm
width = 1.11 cm

Fig. 2.

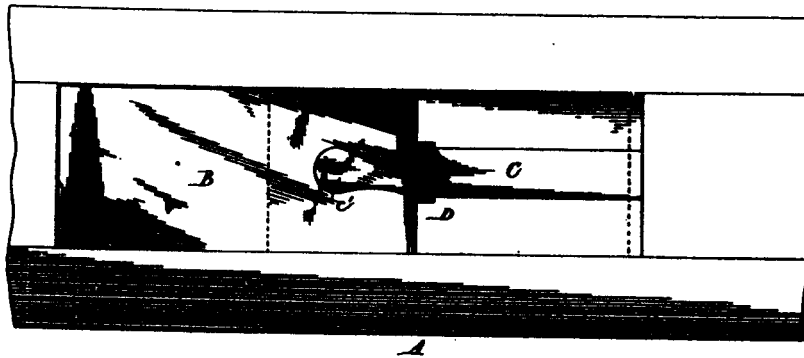
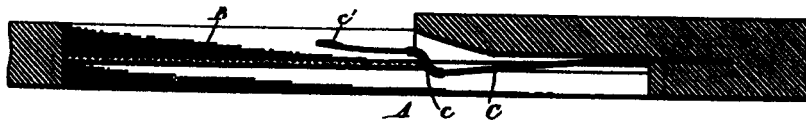
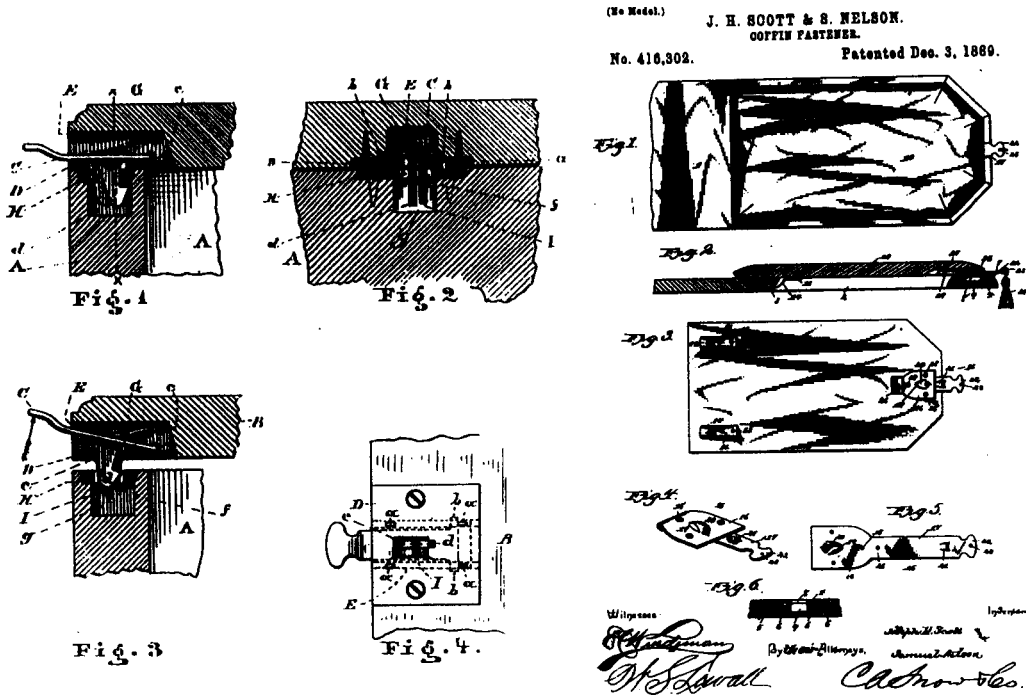


Fig. 1.



(from 1891 Utility Patent, U.S. Patent Office)

Viewing Window Panel Cover/ Viewing Window Latches- the glass plate of viewing windows, whether static or sliding, is invariably covered by a viewing window panel cover. To secure this cover panel to the coffin lid proper, two means were commonly employed. The less elaborate method consists of typically three (though sometimes four) diminutive thumbscrews and escutcheons (as designed for a child's coffin), that are simply screwed through the periphery of the cover panel, and into the coffin lid itself. The more elaborate means of attaching a viewing window panel cover is with an internally embedded latch, mounted at the head end of the coffin, with the operating thumb lever accessible under the lid edge. These latches are usually spring loaded, compound closures, and are excellent temporal indicators.



(from 19th Century Utility Patents; U.S. Patent Office)

**Appendix B:
Freedman's Cemetery
Mortuary Hardware Database: Typology, Structure and Definitions**

The major categories and overall form of the Freedman's mortuary hardware typology were initially determined by Ms. Cynthia Banks, the original artifact analyst with the project. While basically intuitive, some categories within the typology are actually quite ambiguous and muddled. This ambiguity became apparent while excavations were still ongoing, and an attempt was made to correct or modify the more obvious errors, in hopes of clarification. Some ambiguous categories remain, however, as will be alluded to below (see Iron Closures, Viewing Window Latches, Miscellaneous Hardware).

For the major categories, the Freedman's system of mortuary hardware typology can actually be summed up in a few words: a new type designation was required when *any* unique design (*or unique combination of elements*) was encountered. For example, the first Thumbscrew encountered during excavations was given the type designation of Number 1. If the very next burial excavated uncovered a thumbscrew with an even *slightly* different design motif, than it was assigned a new type number.

With coffin handles (forms of mortuary hardware that are actually composite artifacts), an additional rationale was employed. If a newly encountered handle combined previous known elements in a unique combination, (e.g., a lug from a previously typed handle, with a bail from yet another previously typed form), then this *unique combination* of previously known components constituted a **new** type.

While any new design demanded a new type designation (even if the design might vary only slightly) size variants of the same design **did not** receive an entirely new type designation. Rather, any variations in size received a *variant designation*, which consisted of a numerical suffix identifier. For example, with Handle type 18, there is the main type, and two size variants of the same identical design: **Handle type 18** (adult sized double lug swingbail); **Handle type 18.1** (subadult sized double lug swingbail); and **Handle type 18.2** (infant sized double lug swingbail).

Note that in the Freedman's Typology, generally speaking, **form defines function**, and hence defines the particular category to which any hardware type was originally assigned. Within the hardware database, however, it is functionality (i.e., context) that controls the particular field into which artifacts were placed. I say this here because not uncommonly, coffin hardware types were used in ways other than for which they were originally designed.

For example, diminutive thumbscrews and their accompanying escutcheons often would be found in association with the viewing window cover panel. By their morphology, they were distinctly thumbscrews, and hence were assigned a type number within the category **Thumbscrew**. If they were recovered in association with the viewing window cover, however, functioning as a part of the viewing window complex, in the database they were placed within the appropriate field for caplifters, though with the prefix modifier "t" (e.g., "t45", or "t8", or whatever the case might be). Hence, they could be clearly designated as to both their association (in this case, the viewing window,

and not the coffin lid proper), and yet still retain their proper morphological placement within the thumbscrew category. Conversely, caplifters used as thumbscrews (i.e., associated with the coffin lid), were placed within the database under the Thumbscrew field, but with a “C” prefix modifier (e.g., c16, c1.1, etc.).

One unusual cross listing that sometimes occurred deals with Plaque type 42, which mimics the look of a child’s coffin handle. Morphologically a plaque, sometimes these were placed on the coffin lid, and so naturally were placed within the database under the Plaque category. Sometimes, however, four examples of Plaque type 42 would be found on the sides of the coffin, exactly where coffin handles would have been placed. In these instances, these plaques were placed within the database, under the Handle category field, but with a “p” prefix , modifier.

The database created for the mortuary hardware recovered during the Freedman's Cemetery excavations was necessarily presupposed upon the coffin hardware typology. The database was originally created in Dbase III+. It contains 84 fields. This includes some quantity fields for specific hardware forms. Additionally, extra fields for some hardware types are present, to account for more than a single variety encountered on a burial (e.g., two distinctly different caplifter types, etc).

The Fields:

No. 1. Burial Number/Feature Number. At Freedman's, every feature encountered was given a number within a sequential system. Many of these did not actually constitute a burial (i.e., they contained no human remains). This means that while 1513 features were noted in the right-of-way and area of excavations, only 1150 of these were actually burials.

No. 2. Burial Type. This field literally designates the type of burial, that as far as possible, could be differentiated between local sources of mortuary hardware (e.g., Peoples), or with the case of the Indigents, social strata. This field was employed with only Late Period interments. In many cases, it simply differentiates pauper/indigent versus non-pauper. The four categories are: Peoples Undertaking (Code=P), Unique Hardware (Code=U), Ambiguous Hardware (Code=A), Indigent burials (Code=I).

No. 3. Time Period. At Freedman's, three major (and one minor) temporal periods have been established; Early (1869-1884) (Code=E), Middle (1885-1899) (Code=M), Late (1900-1907) (Code=L), and Pre-1900 (1869-1899) (Code=P).

No. 4 Late Sequence. Of the 878 burials assigned to Freedman's Late Period, 801 of them have estimated dates of interments down to a single year. This field records the sequential number assigned to burials within this sequence.

No. 5. Row. For the Late Period's Late Sequence, 9 true Rows and 3 groupings of burials termed "rows" were defined. These rows correlate with Field No. 4, the Late Sequence. Rows were sequentially numbered from 1 to 12.

No. 6. Year. This field is the estimated year of interment assigned to burials present within the Late Period's Late Sequence.

No. 7. Handle form. This field is designed to differentiate the three basic morphological forms of handles present on any given burial. Note: this is *not* the type field. This field records the form of the handle, as it can be defined within one of three categories; swingbail (Code=*sw*), swingbail with tips (Code=*swt*), and short bar (Code=*sb*). This field was created to establish diachronic trends in mortuary hardware preferences, socioeconomics, etc.

No. 8. Description. this field literally describes the feature number. If it is a true burial; it is described, for example, as Adult-Male, Adult-Female, Indeterminate Adult, Subadult, etc. If not a true burial, the description is more idiosyncratic (e.g., isolated handle, wooden post, etc.).

No. 9. Age. Literally the calculated age-at-death of the individual. The skeletal ages at death range from 0.00 to 60 years. Values above 60 are not chronological ages, but rather are age codes: Age Group 80 (0.0-0.49 years); Age Group 81 (0.5-0.9 years); Age

Group 83 (2.0-2.9 years); Age Group 85 (5.0-9.9 years); Age Group 96 (20-60 years);
Age Group 97 (20-35 years); Age Group 98 (35-60 years); Age Group 99 (20-60 years).
See Condon (et al., 1995), for detailed rationale of age estimations.

No. 10 marks the Beginning of the true Mortuary Hardware Type categories

No. 10. Handle. The specific type of coffin handle, one of a sequential number. At Freedman's, when typing handles any unique design demanded a new type designation, even if the design may vary only slightly. However, simple size variants of the same design do not receive an entirely new type designation, but rather, received a variant designation.

No. 11. Han1_NO. This field marks the actual "count" of recovered types from a single burial, as defined in Field No. 10 (e.g., 4, 6, etc.).

No. 12. HAN2_TYPE. If more than one type of handle is recovered from a single burial, then this field marks the second handle type.

No. 13. Han2_NO. the count, or frequency of occurrence, of Field No. 12.

No. 14. HAN3_TYPE. If three different handle types are recovered from a single burial, then this field marks the third handle type.

No. 15. Han3_NO. The count, or frequency of occurrence, of Field No. 14.

No. 16. OUTER_BOX. The shape or form of the outer box of the coffin complex, if present. This was defined at Freedman's as one of four categories: "vault," "rect," "hex," or "indeterminate". Inevitably, there were cases where the excavator thought it was rectangular (etc.), but was far from certain. In that case, a question mark was added (e.g., "rect?").

No. 17. INNER_BOX. The shape or form of the inner box of the coffin complex. At Freedman's, while we recognized the possible presence of octagonal caskets in one or two few cases (i.e., rectangular boxes with canted corners), the evidence in every case (save for the metallic casket with Burial 312), was circumstantial, and as such were categorized in the blanket category "rectangular." Therefore, save for Burial 312, which has an actual octagonal casket, the inner box category records one of two possibilities: **rect** or **hex**. The "tapered to the feet" form, recorded for some historic cemeteries, was never observed at Freedman's Cemetery.

No. 18. FINISH_IN. The finish of the inner box of the burial. Usually paint (e.g., white, red primer, etc), though sometimes cloth covered burial containers were observed.

No. 19. FINISH_OUT. the finish of the outer box of the burial.

No. 20. TS_TYPE. The distinct thumbscrew type, as utilized as the coffin lid closure.

If a caplifter type was utilized as the lid closure, in lieu of thumbscrews, it was placed within this field, but given the prefix designation "c," to delineate it as a true caplifter type, morphologically distinct from thumbscrews. Conversely, a thumbscrew type, in form, but utilized functionally as something else other than a lid closure, was placed within that particular category within the database. This commonly occurred when thumbscrews were associated with viewing windows, and utilized as closure for the panel covers, or as caplifters. In such cases, in the database the particular thumbscrew was given a "t" prefix, to differentiate it from actual caplifter types.

If a coffin screw was utilized on a burial, it is recorded under this field, with a prefix designation of "cs."

No. 21. TSNO. The frequency of occurrence of No. 20.

No. 22. TS2_TYPE. This field is utilized only if two distinctly different types of thumbscrew are recovered from a single burial, and both were utilized as the lid closure.

See the caveat given for field No. 20.

No. 23. TS2NO. The frequency of occurrence of No. 22.

Nos. 24 through 27; Escutcheons, etc. These fields are for the occurrence of escutcheons, and are set up identically to the thumbscrews.

No. 28. NAIL_TYPE. This field records the type of nails recovered from each burial. The categories assigned are: cut (Code=c), wire (code=w), or both cut and wire (code=c/w).

Note: there is no field within the database that records the number of nails recovered, nor is there a category that records the penny weights. Both types of data were recorded, however, and are present within the specific artifact inventories.

29. WINDOW_TYPE. The specific type of viewing window form. At Freedman's Cemetery, there were a total of 16 established and morphologically distinct forms, five of which are considered provisional. The types are Letter designations, from **Type A** to **Type P**.

Nos. 30 through 45; Caplifters, Caplifter Bases. These fields record the distinct types of caplifters and caplifter bases. See caveats given above).

Nos. 46 through 50; Plaque type, Plaque_2, Plaque_3, Plaque_4, Plaque_5. These fields designate the type of plaque, or ornament, recovered from each burial. Since almost without exception, only a single variety of a given type would be recovered with a specific

burial, there are no quantity fields associated with plaques. Additionally, any recovered ornaments were placed within plaques fields, but with the prefix designation "o."

Plaques that were observable in the field, but were so fragmentary in nature (e.g., metallic stain) that they were not recoverable were typed in only a general sense: **A** = rectangular outline or form of plaque; **B** = oval outline; **C** = other type of outline; **X** = unknown outline.

Nos. 51 through 56. IRON1_TYP, etc. These fields designate the types and frequency of occurrence of what are termed "iron closures." This category (along with the categories *viewing window latch*, and *miscellaneous coffin hardware*), is the most poorly defined and hence least distinct of any of the morphological types established at Freedman's Cemetery. Even the descriptive term, "iron closure", is a poorly chosen one, as some of the materials are copper based. Within this category are included construction components, such as corrugated fasteners, as well as internally embedded latches used as the primary means of securing the coffin lid. Many of these elements should actually be included within the viewing window latch category, or even combined with the miscellaneous category.

Nos. 57 through 62. VWLATCH1, etc. These fields designate the types and frequencies of occurrence of viewing window latches encountered on burials. For problems with this category, see the discussion included above with iron closures.

No. 63. GLAZE_TIP. This field merely notes the presence or absence of glaziers tips, sometimes recovered with static viewing windows. Actually, if glaziers tips were present on a burial, the entry is always the frequency of occurrence (e.g. 3 (3 tips recovered, etc.).

No. 64. VW_CAULK. This field marks the presence of viewing window caulking.

When present in any form, the entry was a simple "Y" for yes.

Nos. 65 through 72. OrnTack1, etc. These fields record the type and frequency of ornamental tacks recovered from any given burial. While there were many different forms and varieties of ornamental tacks (e.g., dummy screws, diamond studs, etc), this single category includes all form variants.

Nos. 73 through 76. MISC_HARD, etc. These fields record the type and frequency of occurrence of the category, Miscellaneous Coffin Hardware, on any given burial. See the discussion above, under iron closures (nos. 51-56), for an idea of the problems inherent within this category. Mainly included here are iron braces, found in the interior corners of the coffin or casket.

No. 77. OTHER_HARD. This field records the presence of other types of coffin hardware, not accounted for above. Specifically, the sole occupant of this field at Freedman's came to be a single dowel (a hinge-like hardware form).

No. 78. LIN_UNLIN. This field was used to record the presence or absence of lining within a burial. This was determined from all available evidence, not just the recovery of fabric believed to represent lining remains. If lining was believed to be present on a burial, a simple "Y" for yes was entered. Otherwise, the field was left blank.

No. 79. MATTING. This field records the presence or absence of matting, or excelsior tufting, used to upholster the coffin interior prior to lining it in cloth. If believed to be present, a simple "Y" for yes was entered.

No. 80. LINING. This field records the presence of actual fabric remains, believed to be the remnants of the coffin lining. If believed to be present, a simple "Y" for yes was entered.

No. 81. LEAD_TACK. This field records the presence and frequency of occurrence of domed, lead headed lining tacks. If present, the actual numerical frequency was entered into the field.

No. 82. IRON_TACK. This field records the presence and frequency of occurrence of iron bodied lining tacks. If present, the actual numerical frequency was simply entered into the field.

No. 83. TIN_TACK. This field records the presence and frequency of occurrence of tin bodied lining tacks. If present, the actual numerical frequency was simply entered into the field.

No. 84. UNID_TACK. This field was used, only when the excavator or analyst neglected to record the material type of the lining tacks recovered. If present, the actual numerical frequency was simply entered into the field.

**Appendix C:
Freedman's Cemetery
Mortuary Hardware Database— Selected Fields**

This appendix lists all 1513 features defined for Freedman's Cemetery during the course of investigations. Due to space limitations, however, the frequency of occurrence fields for the mortuary hardware types have been omitted. See Appendix B for a description of the rationale of the database.

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Last Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neck Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack 1	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
0001	P2	L	044	1	1900	subadult	0.27	rect	rect	c/w				15		12									57												
0002	P2	L	279	5	1902	subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c				7		10									4												
0003	I	L	037	1	1900	adult M	44.80	rect	rect	c																											
0004	P2	L	038	1	1900	adult I	27.10	hex?	hex?	c	46			37		foil									012												
0005	P2	L	481	8	1904	subadult	3.65	rect	rect	c/w	49	38		43		42		F	143			ø42			34												
0006	P	L	113	3	1900	adult M?	34.80	hex	hex	c/w	29			40		40									33												
0007	P	L	177	4	1901	adult I	35.40	rect	rect	c/w	2			6		5									5												
0008	P2	L	036	1	1900	subadult	6.62	rect	rect	c/w	15	59	60	40.1		15		N	140.1						57												
0009	P2	L	033	1	1900	subadult	0.50	rect	rect	c				40.1		11		N	140.1																		
0010	I	L	043	1	1900	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c																											
0011	P	L	241	4	1902	subadult (female)	0.55	rect	rect	c	50			6		5									X												
0012	P	L	607	9	1905	subadult	0.45	rect	rect	c/w	18.2			8		22									28												
0013						empty shaft																															
0014	P	L	505	8	1904	subadult	1.00	rect	hex	c/w?	ø42			15		24									42												
0015	P2	L	032	1	1900	subadult	1.34	rect	rect	w				14		14									14												
0016	P	L	504	8	1904	subadult	0.10	rect	hex	c	32			25		27																					
0017	P2	L	041	1	1900	subadult	1.90	rect	rect	c				14		36																					
0018	P2	L	031	1	1900	subadult	1.10	rect	rect	w	45			37		11																					
0019	P	L	159	3	1901	adult F?	31.20	hex	c	18				15		10									X												
0020	P	L	764	12	1907	adult M	44.50	rect	rect?	c	18			12	14	6	36								2												
0021	P2	L	160	3	1901	adult M	26.40	rect	rect	c/w				15		12									09												
0022	P	L	161	3	1901	adult M?	34.20	hex	hex	c	18			15		10		E	5						X												
0023	I	L	030	1	1900	adult IM	17.40	rect	rect	c																											
0024	I	L	040	1	1900	subadult	0.00	rect?	rect?	c																											
0025	I	L	079	2	1900	adult F?	26.40	rect	rect	c																											
0026	I	L	029	1	1900	adult F?	22.00	rect	rect	c/w				19		32																					
0027	P	L	025	1	1900	adult F?	15.50	hex	hex	c/w	10			12		6																					
0028	P	L	767	12	1907	adult I	64.50	hex	hex	c	8			6		15																					
0029	P2	L	203	4	1901	subadult	1.08	vault	hex	w	21			58		2																					
0030	P	L	564	9	1905	adult M	35.20	hex	hex	w	56			52		50		N	18																		
0031	P2	L	766	12	1907	adult M?	33.60	rect	rect?	c/w				18		14																					
0032	P2	L	024	1	1900	adult F	41.50	hex	c/w					17		10																					
0033	P	L	204	4	1901	adult M?	46.80	rect	?	c	7			14		foil																					
0034	P	L	023	1	1900	adult F	23.50	hex	hex	c	15			6		foil																					
0035	P2	L	205	4	1901	subadult (female)	7.18	rect	rect	c	13			14		11																					
0036	P	L	022	1	1900	adult M	27.50	hex	c/w		10			13		9																					
0037	P2	L	269	5	1902	subadult (female)	2.50	rect	rect	c/w?				2		2																					
0038	P	L	488	8	1904	adult M?	41.00	rect	hex?	w	32			25		27																					
0039	P	L	517	8	1904	subadult	0.71	rect	rect	w																											
0040	I	L	021	1	1900	subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c																											
0041	U?	L	020	1	1900	subadult	4.36	rect	rect	c/w	1			1		1		O	11?				ø12														
0042	P	L	253	4	1902	adult I	35.20	hex	c/w					14		5																					
0043	P	L	019	1	1900	adult M	39.40	rect	rect	c/w	4			4		5																					
0044	I	L	785	12	1907	adult F	24.50	rect	rect	w																											
0045	P2	L	195	4	1901	subadult	1.56	rect	rect	c/w?	5			6		5																					
0046	P	L	778	12	1907	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	w/c?	3			2		3		D	13				ø4														
0047	I	L	777	12	1907	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w																											
0048	I	L	779	12	1907	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w																											
0049	P	L	786	12	1907	adult M?	39.80	rect	rect	w	6			7		8		3	6	N																	

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lat Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplter	Caplter 2	Caplter 3	Caplter Base	Caplter Base 2	Caplter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2		
0099	P	L	325	6	1902	adult IM	34.70	rect	rect	c/w	2			11		78									020					45	457					
0100	P	L	324	6	1902	adult M7	36.10	hex	hex	c/w	7		20		17										3											
0101	P	L	322	6	1902	subadult	0.10	rect	hex	c	54		20		17			M	120						3											
0102	P	L	321	6	1902	adult M7	18.00	hex	hex	c/w	7		44		43																					
0103	P7	L	320	6	1902	subadult	0.89	hex	hex	w			18		46																					
0104						empty shaft																														
0105						mismarked stain																														
0106	P	L	323	6	1902	adult IF	29.50	hex	hex	c/w	7		26		20			D	14						3	07										
0107						empty shaft																														
0108	P7	L	090	3	1900	adult F	32.50	hex	hex	c	62		15		15			A	19			e38			B											
0109						mismarked stain																														
0110	P	L	176	4	1901	adult F	16.60	rect	rect	c/w	2		6		5										3											
0111	L	L	049	2	1900	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c/w	48		42		32			A	11.1			11			B											
0112	P7	L	050	2	1900	adult F	28.80	hex	hex	c/w	62		40		10			N	11.2			22	e38		A											
0113	P	L	093	3	1900	adult IF	37.00	hex	hex	c/w	62																									
0114						empty shaft																														
0115	P	L	052	2	1900	adult F	42.50	hex	hex	c	10		14		foil										B											
0116	P7	L	053	2	1900	subadult	0.77	rect	rect	c			14		foil																					
0117	P7	L	051	2	1900	subadult	0.45	rect	rect	c			15		foil																					
0118	P	L	054	2	1900	adult IF	30.20	hex	hex	c	4		14		12																					
0119	P	L	261	5	1902	subadult	0.72	rect	rect	c	23		38		39																					
0120	P7	L	055	2	1900	adult F	40.60	hex	hex	c			14		foil																					
0121	P	L	403	6	1903	subadult	1.40	rect	hex	w	p42		10		7											31	42									
0122	P	L	056	2	1900	adult M	34.10	hex	hex	c/w	10		14		11																					
0123	U	L	057	2	1900	subadult	2.15	rect	rect	c	44		36		15																					
0124						empty shaft																														
0125	U	L				adult F?	37.40	rect	rect	w	43		20		17			E	13	13		e38 e37														
0126	P	L	001	1	1900	adult M	28.20	hex	hex?	c	18		14		15																					
0127	U	L	002	1	1900	adult F	45.90	hex	hex	c/w	52		46		15			E	11.1	146		11														
0128	P	L	003	1	1900	subadult	4.19	rect	rect	c	23		14		foil																					
0129	P7	L	417	6	1903	adult M7	42.60	rect	rect	w	68		167		19			C																		
0130	P7	L	004	1	1900	subadult	0.30	rect	rect	c/w			15		foil																					
0131	L	L	005	1	1900	adult F	51.30	rect	rect	c																										
0132	L	L	006	1	1900	adult M	40.60	rect	rect	c																										
0133	L	L	007	1	1900	adult I	17.60	rect	rect	c																										
0134	P	L	008	1	1900	adult F	32.60	rect	rect	c	10		14		17																					
0135	P	L	234	4	1902	subadult	0.68	rect	hex	c	23		7									e38														
0136	P	L	793	12	1907	adult F	52.70	rect	rect	w	3		102					C	2.1			2.1														
0137	P	L	072	2	1900	adult IM	98.00	hex	hex	w	18		15																							
0138	L	L	009	1	1900	adult M	26.80	rect	rect	c																										
0139	P7	L	560	9	1905	subadult	1.70	rect	rect	w	37		33		34																					
0140	P7	L	010	1	1900	adult F?	37.10	rect	hex	c	41		22		12																					
0141	P7	L	465	8	1904	adult F? + subadult 0.20y	35.70	rect	rect	w/c?																										
0142						mismarked part of Trench 21																														
0143						iso handle ball (no assoc)																														
0144						mismarked stain																														
0145	U	L				adult M?	21.70	rect	rect	c/w	58		c16		51																					
0146	P7	L	333	6	1903	subadult	0.62	rect	hex	c/w			11		8																					
0147	P	L	404	6	1903	subadult (male) (amputated feet #161)	9.60	rect	rect	w	2.1		9		10																					

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	List Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neck Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure				
0148	P	L	783	12	1907	mismarked stain	23.90	rect	rect	w	8			12		6		N	18						2												
0149	P	L	784	12	1907	adult F	0.00	rect	rect	w				28		29	16	M				7	e29		19	o13											
0150	P	L	572	9	1905	subadult	1.62	rect	hex?	w	29.1			21																							
0152	P7	L	571	9	1905	subadult -excavated by grandall	80.00	rect	rect	w	31			32		16		O	132						B												
0153	P	L	566	9	1905	subadult	0.76	rect	rect	w	37			33		34									25												
0154	P7	L	559	9	1905	subadult (female)	2.80	rect	rect	w	32			33		20		M	6						47												
0155	P	L	558	9	1905	subadult	1.45	rect	hex	c/w	32			28		28									28		42										
0156	P	L	556	9	1905	subadult	0.25	rect	rect?	w	p42			23		foil																					
0157	P	L	501	8	1904	adult F?	32.80	rect	rect	c/w	21																										
0158	A	L	018	1	1900	adult F?	23.80	rect	rect	w																											
0159						human fibula of #158 (under #46)																															
0160						iso bone-human																															
0161						amputated feet of #147																															
0162	A	L	614	9	1905	adult I	96.00	rect	rect	w	64														X												
0163						iso handle lug (poos assoc w/#224)					25							J	20						7												
0164	P	L	421	6	1903	adult F?	26.90	hex	hex	c/w	65			53		52									X												
0165	P	L	313	5	1902	adult IM	96.00	rect?	rect?	c/w	7			16		30									3												
0166	P	L	314	5	1902	adult F	23.50	hex	hex	c	15			20		17		G?	5						5												
0167						wood marker over #166																															
0168						ulnae & fibula of #165																															
0169						wood marker over #166																															
0170						iso bone-human																															
0171	P	L	613	9	1905	adult M	98.00	indet	indet	w	19			16		13		?	4					3													
0172						iso bone-human																															
0173	I	L				subadult	0.23	rect	hex	c/w																											
0174	P	L	316	5	1902	adult F	30.50	hex	hex	c/w	7			20		17										3											
0175						iso t/esc (no assoc)																															
0176						iso bone-human																															
0177						iso bones-human & ants (no assoc)																															
0178	P	L	771	12	1907	adult F	26.60	rect	rect	w	8			7																							
0179						iso bone-indeterminate																															
0180						iso bone-human																															
0181						iso bone-human																															
0182						iso bone-human																															
0183	P	L	464	7	1904	adult IM	98.00	rect	rect	w	63			23		18									B												
0185	P	L	420	6	1903	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	w	16			10		7																					
0186						iso plaque (Our Darling) (no assoc)																															
0187						iso finger ring (no assoc)																															
0188						iso bone-human																															
0189						iso caplifer (no assoc)																															
0190	P	L	463	7	1904	adult I	21.70	hex	hex	c/w	21			55		26		P	12					3													
0191	P	L	419	6	1903	adult IM	14.90	hex	hex	c/w	42			26		20		J	7																		
0192	P	L	318	5	1902	adult M?	45.20	rect	rect	c/w	15			20		30																					
0193						iso bone-nonhuman																															
0194	P	L	612	9	1905	adult I	25.90	rect	rect	w	24			16		21		?	121						e16												
0195						iso bone-nonhuman																															
0196						iso shoe sole fragment (no assoc)																															

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neat Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3		
0197	P	L	319	5	1902	adult F	32.20	hex	hex	cw	7			20		17										C							1			
0198	P	L	416	6	1903	subadult (female)	4.36	rect	hex	cw	22			24		19										5										
0199	P	L	418	6	1903	adult IM	20.70	hex	hex	cw	115			26		20		J	40				26		A											
0200	P	L	405	6	1903	subadult (female)	4.47	rect	hex?	cw	23			26		20									8											
0201	P	L	401	6	1903	adult F	35.80	rect	rect	cw	2			10		7		K	6	7		e24	6	B												
0202						iso bone-human																														
0203						iso bone-human																														
0204	P	L	611	9	1905	adult I	23.70	rect	rect	w	17			16		13		?	3			3			48											
0205	P	L	462	7	1904	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	w	20			52		57		H7	39																	
0206						iso bone-human																														
0207						iso handle frag assoc w/#204																														
0208						iso bone-human																														
0209	P	L	396	6	1903	subadult (female)	11.65	rect	hex	c	2			26		20		A	186	186		e85	e79	50	07				5							
0210	A	L	610	9	1903	adult I	98.00	?	rect	cw?	sb						?																			
0211	P	L	394	6	1903	adult IF	18.00	rect	rect	cw	2			78		52		D	6			e24		B												
0212	P	L	461	7	1904	adult I	98.00	hex?	hex?	cw	20			23		18		?																		
0213	P	L	460	7	1904	adult I	99.00	hex?	hex?	c	21			23		18		?																		
0214						iso bone-human																														
0215						iso bone-human																														
0216	P	L	393	6	1903	adult M?	41.80	rect	rect	cw	2			10		7		J																		
0217	P	L	388	6	1903	adult M	36.70	hex	hex	cw	65			53		52		J																		
0218	P	L	387	6	1903	adult F	32.00	rect	rect	cw	2			53		52		D7	6	111		e24	e8	07												
0219	P	L	604	9	1905	adult I	97.00	?	?	w	15			22		2		?																		
0220	P	L	603	9	1905	adult IM	28.20	rect?	rect?	w	24			27		21		?				e22														
0221	P	L	602	9	1905	adult F?	34.20	rect	rect	w	18			7		3		D						9	04	e20										
0222	P	L	459	7	1904	adult I	23.20	rect	hex	c	2			23		18		?				e27	e23	10												
0223	P	L	458	7	1904	adult M	99.00	hex	hex	c	25			23		18		?																		
0224	P	L	601	9	1904	adult I	99.00	rect?	rect?	w	20			23		18		?				e23														
0225	P	L	457	7	1904	adult I	47.50	?	hex	c	21			16		13									18											
0226	P	L	600	9	1905	adult M	99.00	rect	hex	w	18					9									A											
0227	P	L	599	9	1905	adult F?	31.90	rect	rect	w	20			23		18		E	129			e23		10												
0228	P	L	456	7	1904	adult IM	39.40	rect	rect	w	21			27		21		A	3			3		12												
0229	P	L	598	9	1905	adult M	27.80	rect	rect?	w	21			23		26		N	8			9		10												
0230	P	L	452	7	1904	adult M?	98.00	rect?	rect?	w	21			25		27		N	3						06											
0231	P	L	449	7	1904	subadult	0.25	hex	hex	c?				22		24		C	3			3		42												
0232	U	L	445	7	1904	adult M	41.40	rect	rect	w	166			12											83											
0233	P	L	597	9	1905	adult M	27.80	rect	rect	w	21			23		25									10											
0234	P	L	444	7	1904	subadult	0.26	rect	rect?	w	32			30		25									7											
0235	P	L	596	9	1905	subadult	96.00	rect	rect	w	26			16		13		N	3			3														
0236	P	L	448	7	1904	subadult	1.02	rect	rect	w	3			30		26									13											
0237	P	L	593	9	1905	subadult (female)	5.74	rect	rect	cw	21			23		18									32	07										
0238	P	L	592	9	1905	subadult (male)	12.50	rect	rect	w	6			23		18																				
0239	P	L	591	9	1905	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	w	24			27		21		D	9	121		7	e29	15												
0240	P	L	443	7	1904	adult F	35.00	rect	hex	cw	21			23		26																				
0241	P	L	590	9	1905	adult M	30.10	hex	hex	cw	24			30		25		N																		
0242	P?	L	588	9	1905	adult M	37.40	hex	hex	w	28			31		31		N																		
0243	P	L	589	9	1905	adult M	26.60	rect	rect	w	41			16		13		D	5						X											
0244	P	L	587	9	1905	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	w	15			22		2		D	5																	
0245	P	L	584	9	1905	adult F	26.40	rect	rect	w	29			26		20		D	7	125	6	6	e27	18												

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neal Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbecw	Thumbecw 2	Eachteon	Eachteon 2	Viewing Window	Capfiter	Capfiter 2	Capfiter 3	Capfiter Base	Capfiter Base 2	Capfiter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
0246	P	L	583	9	1905	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	c	21					18																					
0247	P	L	582	9	1905	adult F	36.80	hex	hex	c/w	106	38				foil		A	11.2			22			B												
0248	P	L	581	9	1905	adult M?	46.30	rect	rect	c/w	16				18																						
0249						iso bone-undeterminate																															
0250						iso bone-human																															
0251						iso bone-nonhuman																															
0252						iso t/assoc (prob assoc w/#229)																															
0253	P	L	454	7	1904	subadult (female)	0.82	rect	rect	w	32					21																					
0254	U?	L	578	9	1905	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	?	40					23																					
0255	U?	L	577	9	1905	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	w	39					35	lc2																				
0256	U	L	577	9	1905	adult I																															
0257						iso (ornstone & button (no assoc))																															
0258						iso bone-undeterminate																															
0259						wooden post at SE corner of #260																															
0260	P?	L	579	9	1905	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w						22		N																			
0261	P?	L	580	9	1905	subadult	0.93	rect	rect	c/w						8		N																			
0262	P	L	576	9	1905	adult IF	30.70	hex	hex	?	16					9		H	10		e33																
0263	U?	L	574	9	1905	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect		34				lc2																						
0264	P	L	573	9	1905	adult IF	43.40	rect	hex?	w	33					2		N	1.1	1.1	1.1	e27															
0265	P	L	552	8	1905	adult F	35.40	rect	rect	w	24	38				2																					
0266	P	L	551	8	1905	subadult (female)	4.98	rect	rect	c/w	35					27		K	1.25			e27															
0267	P	L	550	8	1905	adult F?	29.90	rect	hex	w	33					14																					
0268	P	L	800	12	1907	subadult	12.50	rect	rect	w	18					6		J	3.5		23																
0269	P?	L	531	8	1904	subadult	0.47	rect	rect	c/w	102					21																					
0270	P	L	569	9	1905	adult IM	31.30	hex	hex	c/w	24	38				foil		N	1.1																		
0271	P	L	570	9	1905	adult IF	98.00	rect	rect	w	21					23																					
0272	P	L	568	9	1905	adult I	0.00	rect	rect	c/w	32					27		M	1.25		e27																
0273	P	L	530	8	1904	subadult	1.06	rect	rect	c/w	11					27																					
0274	P	L	525	8	1904	subadult	0.52	rect	rect	c/w	32					30																					
0275	P	L	527	8	1904	subadult	32.00	rect	rect	c/w	38	29				23																					
0276	P	L	524	8	1904	adult F	0.10	rect	rect	c	26					foil																					
0277	P?	L	523	8	1904	subadult	0.66	rect	rect	c	28					34																					
0278	P?	L	562	9	1905	subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c/w	32					18																					
0279	P	L	521	8	1904	subadult	0.03	rect	rect	c/w	15					18																					
0280	P	L	520	8	1904	subadult																															
0281						iso handle ball (prob assoc w/ # 891)																															
0282						iso bone-human																															
0283	P	L	567	9	1905	adult IF	17.10	rect	rect	c/w	21					23																					
0284						iso bone-human																															
0285	P	L	503	8	1904	subadult	0.57	rect	rect	c/w	27					27																					
0286	P	L	498	8	1904	adult M	47.50	rect	rect	c/w	33					26		A	1.25		e27																
0287	P	L	506	8	1904	adult F	40.40	hex	hex	c/w	36					23		J	1.2																		
0288	P?	L	801	12	1907	subadult	0.52	rect	rect	w	7					3																					
0289	P	L	557	9	1905	adult I	34.80	hex	hex	c/w	24					18		D	1.25	1.25	e29																
0290	P	L	673	10	1906	adult M	55.20	rect	rect	w	25					lc2		C	4			3															
0291						iso handle lug, tip																															
0292						fence post (poss SE corner of cem)																															
0293						not assigned																															
0294						mismarked stain																															

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Eacutheon	Eacutheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
0295						mismarked stain																															
0296						mismarked stain																															
0297						iso t/assoc (no assoc)								26		20																					
0298						iso bone-human																															
0299						iso ts (no assoc)																															
0300						iso handle lug (assoc w/#204)																															
0301	P	L	165	4	1901	adult F	40.30	hex	hex	C	7			48	45			D	115			e38			A												
0302	P?	L	046	2	1900	subadult	1.50	rect	rect	C/W	23			15	15										2												
0303	P	L	795	12	1907	adult M?	65.00	rect	rect	W	8			19	7	32	3																				
0304						not in ROW-reassign letter designation																															
0305	I	L	045	1	1900	adult M	54.50		rect	C																											
0306	U	L	042	1	1900	subadult	0.08		rect	C																											
0307	P	L	482	8	1904	subadult	0.30	rect	rect	W	49																										
0308						iso wooden marker (poss w/#145)																															
0309						iso post (no assoc)																															
0310	P	L	413	6	1903	subadult	0.08	rect	rect	?	p42					24									4	42											
0311	P	L	095	3	1900	subadult	2.15	rect	rect	C/W?	23			15	10			D	19.1	33		e38	e38		C	42											
0312	U	L				adult M?	34.60	rect	rect	C	96					77		C	32						58												
0313	P	L	484	8	1904	adult I	34.10	rect	rect	C/W	96			23	26			E	2						B	021											
0314	P?	L	101	3	1900	subadult (male)	7.35	rect	rect	C/W	97			77	15	foil																					
0315	P	L	259	5	1902	subadult (female)	1.18	rect	rect	C/W	23			13	9											36											
0316	P	L	284	5	1902	subadult (female)	1.50	rect	rect	C	23			16	30											36											
0317	P	L	058	2	1900	subadult (male)	6.63	rect	rect	C/W	10			49	54			D	5	149		5	e38		A												
0318						iso shell (assoc w/#184)																															
0319	I?	L	245	4	1902	adult I	99.00		?	C/W																											
0320	P?	L	226	4	1902	adult F	14.50	rect	rect	C	4			7	17			N	21	17		15	e38		X												
0321	P	L	386	6	1903	subadult (female)	2.05	hex	hex	C/W	23			18	46											5											
0322	P?	L	111	3	1900	adult F	99.00	hex	hex	C/W?	136			14	12											A											
0323	P	L	225	4	1902	adult F?	36.40	hex	hex	C/W	47			19	32			N	5			5			X												
0324	P	L	770	12	1907	adult F	24.90	rect	rect	C/W	8			7	3			N	165			e65															
0325	P	L	224	4	1902	subadult (male)	14.90	hex	hex	C/W	7			6	5																						
0326	I	L	222	4	1901	adult IF	32.20		hex	C																											
0327	U	L	221	4	1901	adult M?	38.90	hex	hex	C	66			54	53																						
0328	P?	L	220	4	1901	adult M?	38.40	hex	hex	C/W	67			14	5			G																			
0329	P	L	064	2	1900	adult F?	35.60	hex	hex	C/W	18			14	foil																						
0330	P	L	063	2	1900	adult F?	33.70	hex	hex	C	10			14	foil																						
0331	P	L	219	4	1901	adult M	46.80	hex	hex	C/W	2			48	5																						
0332	U	L	236	4	1902	subadult	3.04	rect	hex	C				cs3																							
0333	P	L	218	4	1901	adult F	18.00	hex	hex	C/W	7			6	5																						
0334	P	L	217	4	1901	subadult	1.30	rect	rect	C/W	50			41	41			O	16																		
0335	P	L	310	5	1902	subadult	1.08	rect	hex	W	23			52	57			O	152																		
0336	P	L	216	4	1901	adult F?	36.30	hex	hex	C/W	2			48	5																						
0337	U	L				adult F?	26.50	hex	hex	C	70			61	58			A	22	23																	
0338	P?	L	273	5	1902	subadult	3.34	rect	rect	C	57			2	10			B	19																		
0339						iso headstone (no assoc)																															
0340						iso t/assoc (Trench 20-poss assoc w/#135)																															
0341	P	L	070	2	1900	subadult	5.57	rect	rect	C/W	23			7	17																						
0342	P?	L	390	6	1903	subadult	2.50	rect	hex	C/W	73			53	52																						
0343	P?	L	069	2	1900	subadult (female)	1.38	hex	hex	C	69			49	15			M	149			e38															

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
0344	P	L	260	5	1902	subadult	0.49	rect	rect	w	2.1			38		47																					
0345	P7	L	128	3	1901	subadult	0.85	rect	rect	cw				15		47																					
0346	P7	L	129	3	1901	subadult (female)	1.95	rect	rect	c	11			14		15																					
0348	P	L	196	4	1901	subadult (male)	9.02	rect	rect	cw	7			6		5		E	26																		
0349	I	L	309	5	1902	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w						5																					
0350	P	L	200	4	1901	adult F?	32.00	hex	hex	cw	7			6		5																					
0351	P7	L	212	4	1901	subadult	0.71	rect	rect	cw				41		5																					
0352	P7	L	213	4	1901	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	cw	47			17		55																					
0353	P	L	210	4	1901	adult M?	34.80	hex	hex	cw	47			48		17		E?	21																		
0354	U	L	235	4	1902	adult M?	29.00	hex	hex	cw?	109			36		15																					
0355	I	L	776	12	1907	adult F?	28.30	rect	rect	w						45																					
0356	P	L	223	4	1901	adult M?	50.00	hex	hex?	cw	2			6		45		A?	5																		
0357	P	L	073	2	1900	subadult	0.47	rect	hex?	c	26			14		foil																					
0358	P7	L	792	12	1907	adult I	21.40	rect	rect	w	71			14		foil		C	24																		
0359	P	L	074	2	1900	adult F?	44.10	hex	hex	cw	48			14		foil																					
0360	P	L	201	4	1901	adult I	35.60	hex	hex	cw	7			14		47																					
0361	I	L	199	4	1901	adult F?	33.90	rect	rect	c						47																					
0362	P	L	148	3	1901	adult M?	37.40	rect	hex	cw	18			15		47		N	18																		
0363	P	L	773	12	1907	adult F?	35.80	rect	rect	cw	6			7		3																					
0364	P	L	078	2	1900	adult F?	37.20	hex	hex	c	18			14		12		M	120																		
0365	U	L	787	12	1907	subadult	2.10	rect	rect	cw	114			85		11																					
0366	P	L	787	12	1907	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w				8		72		D	18																		
0367	P	L	786	12	1907	subadult	0.35	rect	rect	w				7		foil																					
0368	P	L	071	2	1900	adult IM	99.00	hex	hex	cw	18			15		foil																					
0369						empty shaft																															
0370	P7	L	012	1	1900	subadult	2.50	rect	rect	c	72			5		foil																					
0371	P	L	155	3	1901	adult F?	47.50	rect	hex?	cw	18			15		10																					
0372						headstone frag (no assoc)																															
0373	M					subadult	80.00				?					foil																					
0374	M					subadult	0.50	rect	rect	c				63																							
0375	M					adult M?	99.00	rect	rect	c																											
0376	M					empty shaft																															
0377	M					adult F?	40.42	hex	hex	c	75			19		32																					
0378	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c				62		61																					
0379						iso bone-human																															
0380						iso bone-nonhuman & nonmortuary arts																															
0381						iso coffin planks																															
0382						disturbed human bones in pit of #3																															
0383	P	L	794	12	1907	adult F?	34.50	rect	rect	w	8			12		6		D	18																		
0384	P7	L	311	5	1902	subadult	0.00	rect	rect?	cw				11		8																					
0385	P	L	298	4	1902	adult M?	27.80	hex	hex	cw	42			84		84		A																			
0386						iso bones-nonhuman & nonmort arts																															
0387	M					adult IM	36.90	rect?	rect	c	74			63		60																					
0388						post east of #387																															
0389	M					adult M?	99.00	rect	rect	c																											
0390						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 5)																															
0391						iso bone-human																															
0392	M					subadult (female)	5.23	rect	rect	c	53			57		59																					

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
0393						empty shaft w/2 shells in shaft																																
0394	M					subadult (female)	9.90	rect	rect	C	44			57		59																						
0395	P7	L	769	12	1907	adult F	26.60	rect	rect	C/W	120			1c2				C																				
0396	P7	L	233	4	1902	adult M7	31.50	hex	hex	C/W	117			7		17		A																				
0397						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0398	P7	L	237	4	1902	adult F7	35.00	hex	hex	C/W	113			C19.1		41		A	17																			
0399						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0400						iso headstone frag																																
0401						iso headstone frag & post (no assoc)																																
0402						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0403	P					subadult (female)	0.00		rect	C																												
0404						wooden post (gross northern boundary)																																
0405	L					headstone frag (no assoc)	0.00		rect	W																												
0406	M					subadult	1.54	rect	rect	C	44			63		60																						
0407	L					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	W																												
0408	L					subadult	81.00	?	?	C																												
0409	P					subadult	0.08	rect	rect	C				20		17																						
0410	P7	L	207	4	1901	subadult	0.84	rect	rect	W	18.2			8	56	62																						
0411	P	L	667	10	1908	subadult																																
0412	L					adult M	53.60	hex	C/W																													
0413	P	L	668	10	1908	adult F7	31.60	rect	rect	W	76			64		63		E	25																			
0414	P	L	185	4	1901	adult M7	54.90	hex	hex	C/W	7			6		5																						
0415	P	L	446	7	1904	adult F7	29.20	rect	rect	W	21			23		18																						
0416	P	L	447	7	1904	adult F	26.90	rect	rect	C/W	75			36		15																						
0417	M					adult F	29.20	rect	rect	W	3			64		63			4																			
0418	P	L	669	10	1908	adult IM	28.60	rect	rect	W	25			16		13			1																			
0419	P	L	672	10	1908	adult F7																																
0420						wooden post (gross assoc w/425)																																
0421	IP	L				adult M	42.90		rect	C/W																												
0422	M					adult F + subadult 0.10y	31.00	rect	hex	C																												
0423	P	L	661	10	1908	adult M7	45.20	rect	rect	W	24			16		21																						
0424						mismarked stain																																
0425	M					subadult	7.45		rect	C																												
0426	P	L	666	10	1908	adult IF	45.10	rect	rect	W	24			16		21		D	28	169																		
0427	P	L	670	10	1908	subadult	1.85	rect	hex	C/W	18.1			28		28																						
0428	P	L	675	10	1908	adult M	54.50	rect	rect	W	78			16		13		D	27	132																		
0429	P	L	676	10	1908	adult F7	25.00	rect	rect	W	25			16		13		N	27																			
0430	L					subadult	0.00		rect	W																												
0431	P	L	677	10	1908	adult M	40.90	rect	rect	W	24			27		21																						
0432	P	L	674	10	1908	adult F7	96.00	rect	rect	W	24			16		21		D	24	156																		
0433	P	L	671	10	1908	adult IF	42.90	rect	rect	W	24			27		21																						
0434	P					iso bone-human																																
0435	P					subadult	2.25	vault	hex	C																												
0436						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0437						ceramic cluster-grave decor assoc																																
0438						iso bone-ndeterminate																																
0439						iso bones-ndeterminate																																
0440	P	L	680	10	1908	adult F	28.00	rect	rect	W	25			16		13		D	28																			
0441	P	L	678	10	1908	adult F7	36.30	rect	rect?	W	24			16		21		D	27	132																		

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neck Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
0442	P	L	679	10	1906	adult F?	28.00	rect	rect	w	24			27		21		D	27	128		1	e22		12					21			7				
0443	P?	L	681	10	1906	subadult	3.63	rect	rect	w	77			28		16		D	1.1			1.1			28					7							
0444	I	L				adult I	25.60	hex	hex	w																											
0445	P	L	682	10	1906	adult F	36.60	rect	rect	w	24			16		21		A	27	132		1	e16		12				21								
0446	P	L	684	10	1906	adult M?	30.70	rect	rect	w	79			7		3		C	28			19		44					7								
0447						iso bone-nonhuman																			28				21								
0448	P	L	685	10	1906	subadult	0.82	rect	rect	w	18.1			28		28																					
0449	P	L	738	11	1907	adult M	54.20	hex	hex	w				2		6																					
0450						wood post (no assoc)																															
0451	P?	L	513	8	1904	subadult	1.58	hex	hex	w	81			25		27		C?	12						47												
0452	P	L	544	8	1905	adult F?	19.00	rect	rect	w	148			23		18									22	014	024	025									
0453						mismarked stain (utility disturbance)																															
0454						mismarked stain (utility disturbance)																															
0455						mismarked stain (utility disturbance)																															
0456						probable utility pole																															
0457						iso shell (no assoc)																															
0458	P	L	163	3	1901	adult F	33.30	rect	rect	M?	10					20		K	15		12			X					31		22						
0459	P	L	329	6	1902	adult M	21.80	hex	hex	CW	84			26		6																					
0460	P	L	735	11	1906	adult F	25.40	rect	rect	w	145			2		2																					
0461	E					subadult	0.10	vlr?	rect?	C				CS5																							
0462	P	L	687	10	1906	adult M	57.60	rect	rect	w	76			1c2		3		L	25		18			7					67								
0463	P	L	686	10	1906	adult F	29.20	rect	rect	CW	18			7											2												
0464	U	L				subadult	0.05	rect	rect	CW																											
0465						iso bone-nonhuman																															
0466	P	L	585	9	1905	adult M?	14.50	rect	rect	w	17			26		20		G	7		16			52													
0467	P	L	736	11	1906	adult F	31.30	rect	rect	w	8			7		3		A	18		e22																
0468	P	L	114	3	1900	adult F	36.80	rect	hex	CW	29			15		foil																					
0469	P	L	688	10	1906	adult M	41.80	rect	rect	w	25			1c2				C	1		1				46												
0470	P	L	691	10	1906	adult M?	36.70	vaunit	rect	w	3			13		13		C	1		1				2												
0471	I	L				adult F	17.40	vaunit	hex	w								D	5	113	5	e66			3												
0472	P	L	266	5	1902	adult F	30.60	hex	hex	CW	42			13		9																					
0473	I	L				subadult	0.54	rect	hex	CW								N	23	164	e37	e38															
0474	M					adult M?	34.00	rect	rect	C	82			36		15																					
0475						headstone frag atop #477																															
0476	P?	L	689	10	1906	adult F	27.60	rect	rect	w	80			1c2				?	1		1				45												
0477	I	L				adult I	99.00	rect	rect	w						foil																					
0478	U	L	690	10	1906	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w				66																							
0479	I?	L				subadult	0.06	rect?	rect?	w																											
0480	P	L	693	10	1906	adult M	30.30	rect	rect	w	24			27		21		N	e28		e22				12												
0481	P	L	692	10	1906	adult M	34.80	rect	rect	w	25			16		13		D	27		1				C	020											
0482	P	L	695	10	1906	subadult	1.02	rect	hex?	CW	8			8		16		D	18						39												
0483	P	L	705	10	1906	adult M?	51.20	rect	rect	CW	24			27		21																					
0484						mismarked stain																															
0485	P	L	694	10	1906	subadult (female)	3.58	rect	rect	w	29.1			28		16		A	24	121	17	e29			19												
0486	P	L	704	10	1906	adult F	19.00	rect	rect	CW	16			16		16		N	18		e64				2												
0487	I	L				adult M (#494 in box)	48.80	hex	hex	w																											
0488	P	L	595	9	1905	adult M?	41.30	hex	hex	CW	85			23		18		I	28																		
0489	P	L	515	8	1904	subadult	0.11	rect	hex?	w	32			29		23		M	129																		
0490	P	L	486	8	1904	adult M?	39.80	rect	rect	CW	2			2		2																					

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
0491	I	L				adult M	43.70	vault	hex	c/w	86			60		70		G	31			21		53					6	?								
0492	U	L				empty casket (adult)	96.00	hex	hex	c/w																												
0493	L					headstone frag at east end of #495	0.20																															
0494	L					subadult in box of #487																																
0495	P	L	703	10	1908	adult I	35.90	rect	rect	w	25			16		13		D	4			3		48														
0496	P	L	696	10	1908	adult F	27.40	rect	rect	w	18.1			16		13			121			17		50														
0497	I	L				adult F	97.00	hex	hex	w																												
0498	M					adult W?	17.00	rect	rect	c																												
0499	P	L	697	10	1908	adult M	47.10	hex	hex	w	24			16		47																						
0500						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0501						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0502						iso shell (no assoc)																																
0503						iso funerary object & marble																																
0504	P	L	487	8	1904	subadult (male)	11.90	rect	rect	w	2	16		2		2																						
0505						iso post (no assoc)																																
0506	M					adult IF	44.40	hex	hex	c	75			14		47									A													
0507						mismatched stain, east end of #506																																
0508						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0509						shell concentration atop #530																																
0510						iso shell (possibly assoc w/#504)																																
0511	P?	L	702	10	1908	adult W?	49.40	hex	hex	c/w				18																								
0512						empty shaft																																
0513	U	L				adult IF	20.65	hex	hex	c/w	82			70		69		E	30			20		51														
0514	I	L				adult M	42.50	hex?	hex?	w																												
0515	I	L				adult M	54.50	hex	hex	c/w																												
0516						post (no assoc)																																
0517						post (near SW corner of #521)	46.90	hex	hex	w																												
0518						post (near NE corner of #521)	41.00	hex	hex	w																												
0519	I	L				adult M	99.00	hex	hex	c/w	28			10		14		O	6			e66																
0520	I	L				adult M	46.90	hex	hex	w																												
0521	P	L	431	7	1904	adult I	35.30	hex	hex	c				60		foil																						
0522						mismatched (part of #521)																																
0523	M					adult M																																
0524						empty shaft																																
0525	P	L	395	6	1903	subadult	0.16	rect?	hex?	w	54			53		52		M			e24																	
0526	M					subadult	2.50	rect	rect	c				14		foil																						
0527	E					subadult	0.66	vault	rect	c				ls																								
0528						empty shaft																																
0529	P	L	534	8	1906	adult W?	98.00	rect?	hex	c/w	24			23		18									A													
0530	P?	L	706	10	1908	adult M	17.50	rect	rect	w	87			7		3									Y?													
0531						mismatched stain																																
0532						iso bone-nonhuman																																
0533	P	L	359	6	1903	adult F	31.20	rect	rect	c/w	2			53																								
0534						disturb scatter-normal art & human																																
0535						empty shaft																																
0536						mismatched stain																																
0537	M					adult IF	51.60	hex	hex	c	75			14		47		N	5	114																		
0538						mismatched stain																																
0539						mismatched stain																																

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2				
0540	P	L	648	10	1906	adult M	42.90	rect	rect	w	24			27		21																						
0541	P	L	698	10	1906	mismarked stain adult M	32.40	rect	rect	c/w	41			75		47		A	121			e38			12	0207				22								
0543	P	L	699	10	1906	iso bone-human adult M	41.10	hex	hex	w	24			75		13									07													
0544	P	L	409	6	1903	subadult adult M	35.30	rect	rect	c				74		38																						
0546	P	L	409	6	1903	subadult empty shaft	0.00	hex	hex	w	p42																											
0547	P	L				empty shaft post (no assoc)																																
0548	M	M				subadult (female)	0.70	vault	hex	c	90	91		57		73		D	160			e29																
0549	M	M				subadult (female)	1.13	vault	rect	c				cs5		72																						
0550	E	E				subadult	2.70	hex	hex	c	89			72		71																						
0551	M	M				subadult	0.76	vault	hex	c				is																								
0552	E	E				subadult	40.60	rect	rect	c/w	24			16		13		D	121			e74																
0553	P	L	700	10	1906	adult F?																																
0554						empty shaft																																
0555						trash pit-hum/nonhum bone & nonmortuary arts																																
0556	L	L				adult F	23.00	hex	hex	w																												
0557	L	L				adult F	38.00	hex	c/w																													
0558	L	L				adult M (48.90) + adult M (42.00)	48.90	hex	hex	w																												
0559	L	L				mismarked stain (part of #553)																																
0560	L	L				adult M	16.30	hex	hex	w																												
0561	L	L				subadult	0.10	rect	hex	w																												
0562	L	L				adult M	47.80	hex	c/w																													
0563	L	L				adult M	34.50	hex	hex	w				16		30		A	42			28																
0564	P	L	312	5	1902	adult F?	18.50	hex	hex	c/w	15			36		15																						
0565	M	M				subadult (female)	4.76	rect	rect	c	151																											
0566	P	P				subadult	0.10	rect	rect	c																												
0567	E	E				subadult	0.55	rect	hex	c				cs4																								
0568	L	L				adult F	20.00	hex	c/w																													
0569	E	E				subadult	3.80	vault	hex	c				cs5		72																						
0570	P	L	407	6	1903	subadult	1.30	hex	hex	w?				69		59																						
0571	L	L				subadult	0.13	rect	rect	c/w																												
0572						headstone frag (between 563 & 515)																																
0573	M	M				subadult	1.24	rect	rect	c	44.1			60		foil																						
0574	E	E				adult W?	96.00	vault	hex	c				cs5		foil																						
0575						post (poss assoc w/ #670)																																
0576						marker for #593																																
0577	L	L				adult M	45.80	vault	?	w																												
0578	E	E				adult F?	54.50	vault	hex	c				cs3		foil																						
0579	P	L	518	8	1904	subadult	0.38	rect	rect	w	32			25		27																						
0580	L	L				subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w																												
0581	L	L				iso bone-Indeterminate																																
0582	L	L				subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c/w																												
0583	L	L				subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w																												
0584	L	L				adult F	41.40	hex	hex	w																												
0585	M	M				subadult	0.10	vault	rect	c				69		68																						
0586	P	L	406	6	1903	subadult	0.16	rect	rect	w				is		foil																						
0587	M	M				adult F	17.80	vault	hex	c						25																						
0588	P	L	470	8	1904	adult M	28.80	hex	hex	c/w	88			30																								

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Eachthead	Eachthead 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3			
0599	L					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w																											
0590	L					empty shaft																															
0591	P	L	172	4	1901	subadult	0.56	rect	rect?	cw	23			71		39			0	171		e39			54												
0592	L					adult F	32.00	hex	hex	w				69		66									5												
0593	P	L	408	6	1903	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w				16		66									07												
0594	P	L	707	10	1906	adult M	50.60	hex	hex	cw	6			1		foil																					
0595						iso ls (no assoc)																															
0596						iso esc (no assoc)																															
0597	L					subadult	0.05	rect	rect	w						45																					
0598	P	L	594	9	1905	adult M	34.20	hex	hex	w	21			23		18									56	07											
0599	E					subadult (male)	8.07	vt?	hex	c				is		foil																					
0600	L					adult M	55.00	hex	hex	w																											
0601						subadult																															
0602						mismarked-west end of #652																															
0603	M					dog burial	48.70	rect	rect	w																											
0604						adult M?																															
0605						iso plank (no assoc)																															
0606						iso bone-nonhuman & post (north bound)																															
0607						headstone frag (no assoc)																															
0608	M					post (north boundary)																															
0609						subadult																															
0610						posthole w/headstone frag (north boundary)																															
0611						empty shaft																															
0612	P	L	139	3	1901	adult I	32.60	hex	hex	cw	2			14		47																					
0613						tree stump																															
0614						posthole (northern boundary)																															
0615						posthole w/limestone frags (north boundary)																															
0616	M					adult F	39.80	rect	rect	c																											
0617						posthole w/cement frags (north boundary)																															
0618	M					subadult	0.25	rect	rect	c				36																							
0619						railroad tie																															
0620						mismarked slain																															
0621						headstone frag (Trench 7)																															
0622						posthole (northern boundary)																															
0623						ceramic cluster (non-mortuary)																															
0624	P	L	711	10	1906	adult M	40.00	rect	rect	w	3			2		13			D	3		3		A													
0625						headstone frag (Trench 7)																															
0626						wooden fence rail (northern boundary)																															
0627						disturbance w/subadult cranium frags																															
0628						posthole (northern boundary)																															
0629						shell cluster (no assoc)																															
0630	M					subadult	0.38	rect	rect	c				67		67																					
0631	M					subadult	0.40	vault	rect	cw?				67		67																					
0632						posthole (northern boundary)																															
0633	M					headstone frag (no assoc)	2.82	rect	rect	c																											
0634						subadult																															
0635	L					adult M	37.20	rect?	rect?	w																											
0636						posthole (northern boundary)																															
0637						posthole w/headstone frag (north boundary)																															

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifter	Caplifter 2	Caplifter 3	Caplifter Base	Caplifter Base 2	Caplifter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2			
0638						posthole (northern boundary)																														
0639						grave marker (no assoc)																														
0640						shell assoc w/ #309																														
0641						posthole - northern boundary																														
0642	P?	L	708	10	1806	adult I	99.00	hex	hex	w				16		foil																				
0643	I	L				adult F?	98.00	rect	rect	c/w																										
0644						trash pit-non human bones,nail,glass																														
0645						adult F	33.80	rect	hex?	c	5.1			72		71																				
0646						concrete block																														
0647						posthole - northern boundary																														
0648	I	L				subaduit	0.10	rect	rect	w																										
0649						posthole w/leadstone frag (north boundary)																														
0650						adult F	98.00	rect	rect	c																										
0651						subaduit	2.10	rect	rect	c				36																						
0652						empty shaft																														
0653	I?	L				adult IM	26.00	hex	hex	c/w																										
0654						empty shaft - part of 645																														
0655						subaduit	0.54	rect	rect	c																										
0656						subaduit	0.18	rect	rect	c																										
0657						adult M?	37.50	rect	rect	c				73		foil																				
0658						adult I	43.90	rect	rect	c																										
0659						adult M	28.60	rect	rect	c																										
0660						posthole - northern boundary																														
0661						posthole - northern boundary																														
0662						subaduit	0.54	vault	rect	c				is																						
0663						headstone frag (Trench 7)																														
0664						headstone frag (Trench 7)																														
0665						iso bone-human (Trench 7)																														
0666						iso bone-human (Trench 7)																														
0667						iso bone-human assoc w/#491																														
0668	P?	L	737	11	1807	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	c/w	145			2		6		D	193			e74														
0669	I	L				subaduit	0.10	rect	rect	w																										
0670						subaduit	5.60	rect	rect	c				cs5																						
0671						subaduit	1.56	rect	rect	c				is																						
0672	I	L				adult M?	99.00	hex	hex	w																										
0673						iso bone-nonhuman																														
0674						iso bone-human & handle-assoc w/31																														
0675	P	L	107	3	1800	subaduit	0.71	rect	hex	c/w	23			15		15		M	115			e38														
0676						trash pit w/human bone,brick,nails																														
0677						iso handle assoc w/ # 312																														
0678						iso bone-human & nonhuman assoc/31																														
0679	P	L	183	4	1801	adult IM	27.80	hex	hex	c	7			6		5																				
0680	I	L				adult M	52.90	hex	hex	w																										
0681						shells on #312																														
0682						iso handle assoc w/ # 312																														
0683						subaduit (female)	1.06	hex	hex	c																										
0684						iso bone-human																														
0685	P?	L	182	4	1801	subaduit	0.40	rect	rect	c/w?	136.1			6		5		M	115			e38														
0686	P?	L	106	3	1800	subaduit (female)	0.70	rect	hex	c/w				15		47																				

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifter	Caplifter 2	Caplifter 3	Caplifter Base	Caplifter Base 2	Caplifter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2		
0687	E					subadult	0.70		rect	c	92			CS5		72																				
0688						shells on #312																														
0689	M					subadult	0.21	rect	rect	c				57		75																				
0690						iso bone-human																														
0691	M					subadult	0.76	rect	rect	c																										
0692						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0693						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 20)																														
0694						iso marker (Trench 20)																														
0695						iso bone-human (no assoc)																														
0696						iso bone-nonhuman (no assoc)																														
0697						iso bone-nonhuman (no assoc)																														
0698	P?	L	105	3	1900	subadult	83.00	rect	rect	c/w				15		47																				
0699						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0700						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0701						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0702						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0703						iso bone-human & shells (Trench 20)																														
0704						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 20)																														
0705	I	L	104	3	1900	adult IM	42.00	hex	hex	c																										
0706	E					subadult	0.00		?	c																										
0707						wooden marker (Trench 20)																														
0708	M					subadult	0.49	rect	rect	c				57		76																				
0709	I	L				empty casket (adult)	96.00	hex	hex	c/w																										
0710	I	L				adult M	49.60	hex	hex	w																										
0711	E					adult F	18.00	vault	hex	c				CS5		38																				
0712						iso bone-human & ls/esc (Trench 20)																														
0713						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 20)																														
0714						iso bone-human, ls, esc, vw (Trench 20)								76		38																				
0715						iso bone-human tooth (Trench 20)																														
0716						iso bone-human & handle (T20)																														
0717						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0718						iso ls/esc (Trench 20)								76		38																				
0719						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0720	P	L	094	3	1900	subadult (female)	0.80	rect	rect	c/w?	26			15		10																				
0721						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0722						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0723						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0724	P	L	102	3	1900	subadult	4.00	rect	rect	c	10			14		47																				
0725	P	L	097	3	1900	adult AF	96.00	hex	hex?	c/w	64			14		47																				
0726	P	L	097	3	1900	adult AF					10																									
0727						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 20)																														
0728						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0729						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0730						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0731						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0732						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0733						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0734						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0735	P	L	179	4	1901	subadult	1.30	rect	rect?	c/w	5			14		5																				

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Capfltr	Capfltr 2	Capfltr 3	Capfltr Base	Capfltr Base 2	Capfltr Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
0736	P	L	180	4	1901	subadult	0.70	rect	rect	cw	130			17		55									57													
0737						iso handle ball (Trench 20)					15			16		30		D	41			27			3													
0739	P	L	281	5	1902	adult I	99.00	hex	hex	cw	15			14		47																						
0739	P?	L	096	3	1900	subadult	0.15	vault	rect	c	122			14																								
0740						iso handle (Trench 20)					15																											
0741						iso bone-human (Trench 20)					15																											
0742	P	L	178	4	1901	adult F	32.60	rect	hex?	cw	7			41		5									3										1			
0743						shells & glass vessels -east of #11					92			36		foil		N	34			e727																
0744	M					subadult	0.60	rect	rect	c	92																											
0745						iso handle lug, ball (Trench 20)					2																											
0746	I	L				subadult	0.00		rect	w	2																											
0747						iso handle lug, ball (Trench 20)					2																											
0748						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0749						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0750	P	L	175	4	1901	adult IM	36.20	hex	hex	cw	2			6		5									3											17		
0751	P	L	272	5	1902	adult I	47.00	hex	hex	cw	7			2		10																						
0752						iso bone-indeterminate (no assoc)																																
0753						iso buckle, nail (Trench 20)				w																												
0754						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0755	P?	L	086	3	1900	subadult	0.05	vault	rect	cw	2			14		44									4.1													
0756	P	L	174	4	1901	adult M	42.30	hex	hex	cw	2			6		45									3													
0757	P	L	271	5	1902	adult F?	31.10	hex	hex	c	7			13		9																						
0758	P	L	170	4	1901	adult M?	27.90		hex	cw	104			6		5																						
0759						iso bone-human (no assoc)																																
0760						iso bone-human (no assoc)																																
0761						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0762						iso bone-nonhuman (no assoc)																																
0763	P?	L	339	6	1903	subadult	0.12		rect	w/c?	42			78		79																						
0764	P	L	265	5	1902	adult F?	99.00	hex	hex	cw	42			13		9		D	5			5			3													
0765	P	L	346	6	1903	subadult	0.30	rect	rect	cw	23			26		20		O	111						30													
0766	P?	L	480	8	1904	subadult (female)	0.75	rect	rect	cw				25		27																						
0769	P	L	476	8	1904	adult I	99.00	rect	rect	w	21			23		27		D	125			e27 e80			07													
0769	P	L	472	8	1904	adult F?	28.60	rect	rect	cw	21			13		9																						
0770						iso bone-human & s/assoc (Trench 20)																																
0771	M					subadult	0.54	rect	rect	c	96			19		32		D	7			e38 e38																
0772						iso bone-human (no assoc)																																
0773	P	L	466	8	1904	adult M?	34.30	hex	hex	cw	78			22		2		K	5			5			X													
0774	P?	L	507	8	1904	subadult	0.24	rect	rect	w/c?				25		27																						
0775	P	L	471	8	1904	subadult	0.10	rect	rect	cw				23		18																						
0776						iso marker (Trench 20)																																
0777						mismarked stain																																
0778	P	L	264	5	1902	adult F?	37.50	hex	hex	cw	7			81		9									3													
0779	P?	L	338	6	1903	subadult	0.05	rect	hex	cw	82			82		81		D	12						4													
0780	P	L	483	8	1904	adult F?	96.00	hex	hex	cw	99			23		18		D	12																			
0781	P	L	478	8	1904	adult F	39.10	hex	hex	cw	101			30		18		D	36			130			07													
0782						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 20)																																
0783						iso handle lug (Trench 21)																																
0784	P	L	477	8	1904	adult I	17.80	hex	hex	cw	101			23		25		A	12			e55 e297			e25 e23													

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lat Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplter	Caplter 2	Caplter 3	Caplter Base	Caplter Base 2	Caplter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
0785	P	L	495	8	1904	adult I	31.00	rect	rect	c/w	24			22		2									18													
0786	M	L				subadult (female)	2.30	vault	rect	c	101			23		18		D	1.1	125		1.1	e27															
0787	P	L	493	8	1904	adult M	46.30	rect	rect	c/w	21			23																								
0788	P	L	516	8	1904	iso bone-horhuman (Trench 21)	0.67	rect	rect	c/w	32			25		27									23	07												
0789	P	L	516	8	1904	bone-human (assoc w/ # 312)	0.67	rect	rect	c/w	32			25		27									23	07												
0790	P	L	510	8	1904	subadult (male)	3.05	rect	hex	c/w	35			23		foil																						
0791	P	L	510	8	1904	subadult (male)	3.05	rect	hex	c/w	35			23		foil																						
0792						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0793						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																																
0794	P	L	267	5	1902	adult M?	33.80	hex	hex	c/w	42			13		9		A?				5																
0795	P	L	268	5	1902	adult I	54.50	hex	hex	c/w	7			13		9																						
0796						mismarked stain																																
0797	I	L	270	5	1902	empty casket (adult)	96.00			w																												
0798	P	L	173	4	1901	subadult	3.43	rect	hex	c	2.1			71		39																						
0799	P?	L	532	8	1904	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c/w				22		2																						
0800	P	L	540	8	1905	adult F?	52.50	hex	hex	w	18			22		18																						
0801	P	L	499	8	1904	adult IF	28.80	hex	hex	c/w	21			55		18		A	36	155		7	e26															
0802	P	L	500	8	1904	adult IM	32.50	hex	hex	w				23		foil																						
0803	P?	L	508	8	1904	subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w	32			29		27		O	129	12																		
0804	P	L	514	8	1904	subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w	32			29		27		A	125	12		e27																
0805	P	L	489	8	1904	adult IF	34.50	rect	rect	c/w	103			23		18		A	125	12		e27																
0806	P?	L	548	8	1905	subadult	2.35	rect	rect	c/w	108			79		82		M	123			e82																
0807	P?	L	549	8	1905	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	c/w	110			23		24		M	179																			
0808	P	L	426	7	1903	adult M?	96.00	rect	rect	c/w	16			23		24		J	6	e22		e24	e24															
0809	P	L	427	7	1903	adult IM	42.90	hex	hex	c/w	96			23		25																						
0810	P?	L	490	8	1904	subadult	0.25	rect	rect	c/w	101			30		27		AD	130			e27																
0811	P	L	491	8	1904	adult F	32.00	hex	hex	c/w	101			30		25																						
0812	P	L	492	8	1904	adult IM	34.90	rect	rect	c/w	33			23		18		H	12																			
0813	P	L	502	8	1904	adult I	96.00	rect	rect	c/w	123			23		18		H	12																			
0814	P	L	799	12	1907	adult F?	28.80	hex	hex	w	18			12		6		D	44	140.1		30	e87															
0815	I	L				adult M + subadult 0.15y	30.60	hex	hex	w				25		27																						
0816	P	L	542	8	1905	adult M?	96.00	rect	rect	c/w	24			25		27																						
0817	P?	L	543	8	1905	adult F?	28.10	rect	rect	c/w	111			ic2		57		E	38			25																
0818	P	L	546	8	1905	adult I	96.00	rect	rect	c	20			52		57		E	183			e80																
0819	P	L	547	8	1905	adult IM	33.70	rect	rect	c/w	6			52		57		D	155			e26																
0820	P	L	533	8	1904	adult AF	96.00	rect	rect	c/w	24			23		18																						
0821	P	L	798	12	1907	subadult (male)	9.48	vault	hex					12		6																						
0822						posthole (no assoc)																																
0823						posthole (no assoc)																																
0824						posthole (no assoc)																																
0825	P	L	430	7	1903	adult M?	34.50	hex	hex	c/w	28			23		18																						
0826	P	L	432	7	1904	adult I	34.00	hex	hex	c/w	2			23		24		J	6			e24																
0827	P	L	535	8	1905	subadult	2.15	rect	hex	c/w	35			25		27																						
0828	P	L	536	8	1905	subadult	0.11	rect	hex	c/w	32			25		27																						
0829	P	L	553	8	1905	adult F?	21.50	hex	hex	w	3			16		13		E	28			19																
0830	P	L	554	8	1905	adult F?	39.70	rect	rect	c/w	15			22		2		D	5	e22		5	e2															
0831	P	L	435	7	1904	adult IM	28.60	hex	hex	c/w	28			23		18		A	129			e23																
0832	U	L	433	7	1904	adult AF	97.00	rect	hex	c/w?	112			51		83		A	5			5																
0833	P	L	429	7	1903	adult IM	96.00	hex	hex	c/w	7			22		2		A	5			5																

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Track	Ornamental Track 2	Ornamental Track 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2		
0834	P	L	428	7	1903	adult F?	36.40	hex	hex	cw	16			23		66		H	6	122	17	e24	e24	13												
0835	P	L	327	6	1902	subadult (male)	10.52	rect	rect	cw	7		78		79		D	14	176			10	e79		50	01										
0836	P	L	331	6	1902	adult F? + subadult 0.00y	98.00	hex	hex	cw	15		80		41		?					24														
0837	P	L	332	6	1903	adult IF	32.80	rect	rect	cw	2		11		8																					
0838	P?	L	099	3	1900	subadult (female)	0.15	rect	rect?	c	51		14		47																					
0839						mismarked stain (part of #69)																														
0840	P	L	344	6	1903	adult I	44.50	rect	rect	cw	2		53		52																					
0841	P?	L	345	6	1903	subadult	1.30	hex	hex	c			18		14																					
0842	P	L	436	7	1904	adult I	20.00	hex	hex	cw	2		23		24																					
0843	P	L	437	7	1904	subadult	0.28	rect	rect	cw	2		22		2																					
0844	P	L	555	8	1905	adult I	26.70	rect	rect	cw	24		23		18																					
0845	P	L	438	7	1904	adult AM	33.60	hex	hex	cw	135		20		17																					
0846	P	L	347	6	1903	adult M?	98.00	rect	hex	cw	18		26		20																					
0847	P	L	439	7	1904	adult I	98.00	rect	rect	cw	2		22		23																					
0848						iso bone-human (Trench 21)																														
0849						iso ls (Trench 21)																														
0850	P	L	485	8	1904	adult M?	99.00	hex	hex	cw	2		23																							
0851						wood marker between #837 & 840																														
0852																																				
0853	P?	L	348	6	1903	subadult	0.65	rect	rect	cw			53		20		AD	186																		
0854	P	L	349	6	1903	adult F?	31.00	rect	rect	w	2		11		8																					
0855	P?	L	355	6	1903	adult IM	33.70	hex	hex	cw			29		23		M	129																		
0856	P	L	440	7	1904	subadult (female)	4.80	rect	rect	w	124		23		24																					
0857	P	L	441	7	1904	subadult	11.50	rect	rect	cw	2		23		91		D	169																		
0858	P?	L	442	7	1904	adult M	31.50	hex	hex	w	142	141	20		18		A	397																		
0859	P	L	468	8	1904	adult I	19.40	rect	rect	cw	125		23		20																					
0860	I	L	276	5	1902	adult I	34.20	rect	rect	c			26		20		G	13																		
0861	P	L	356	6	1903	adult F?	23.30	hex	hex	cw?	84		19		32		G?	5																		
0862	P?	L	357	6	1903	adult F	0.40	rect	rect?	w	32		22		18																					
0863	P	L	451	7	1904	subadult	33.30	hex	hex	cw	15		22		22																					
0864	P	L	358	6	1903	adult IF	35.60	hex	hex	cw	65		26		20		AD	11.1	152																	
0865	P	L	361	6	1903	adult M?	30.60	rect	rect	cw	2		26		20																					
0866	P?	L	797	12	1907	subadult	0.21	rect	rect	w	31		92		93																					
0867	P	L	466	8	1904	adult F	15.60	hex	hex	cw	100		30		25																					
0868	P	L	277	5	1902	adult IM	35.40	hex	hex	c	42		7		10		G	014.1																		
0869	P	L	280	5	1902	adult AM	26.30	hex	hex	cw	42		41		10		G																			
0870	P	L	282	5	1902	adult IF	17.40	?	hex	c			2		49																					
0871	P	L	473	8	1904	adult F	36.20	hex	hex	cw	101		30		?		18	A	36	130																
0872	P	L	474	8	1904	adult I	99.00	rect	hex	cw	7		23		25																					
0873	P	L	362	6	1903	adult F?	21.25	rect	rect	c	7		78		79		A?	15	178																	
0874	P	L	455	7	1904	adult IF	99.00	rect	rect?	cw	103		23		18		A	155	125																	
0875	I	L	453	7	1904	subadult	0.00	rect	rect?	cw?			18		14																					
0876	P?	L	285	6	1903	subadult	0.20	hex	hex	cw?			13																							
0877	P?	L	285	5	1902	adult IM	41.40	?	rect	c			2		55		K	12																		
0878	P	L	286	5	1902	subadult	5.63	rect	rect	cw	2.1		5		52		A																			
0879	P	L	365	6	1903	adult M	32.20	hex	hex	cw?	115		53		30																					
0880	P	L	283	5	1902	adult IF	32.00	hex	hex	cw	7		56		52																					
0881	P	L	366	6	1903	subadult	0.30	rect	hex	w	pd2		53		52																					
0882	P	L	364	6	1903	adult F?	30.30	hex	hex	cw	107		11		78		G	15																		

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Life Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3			
0883	P	L	291	5	1902	adult F?	34.10	hex	hex	cw	7			2		49																					
0884	P	L	292	5	1902	adult IF	99.00	hex	hex	cw	7			16		30																					
0885	I	L	293	5	1902	adult IF	27.10		rect	c																											
0886						deleted number																															
0887	P	L	373	6	1903	subadult	8.90	rect	rect	w	2					78		AD	11.1	111		11			50												
0888	P	L	375	6	1903	adult M?	99.00	hex	hex	c	18			100		104										020											
0889	P	L	376	6	1903	adult I	99.00	hex	hex	cw	131			18		52		D	17						07												
0890	P	L	384	6	1903	adult IM	17.40	rect?	rect?	w/c?	2			24		19																					
0891	P	L	539	8	1905	adult I	15.50	rect	rect	cw	15			22		2																					
0892	P	L	294	5	1902	adult IF	33.00	hex	hex	cw	42			2		49		G	5																		
0893	P	L	295	5	1902	adult F?	39.50	hex	hex	cw?	7			12		10																					
0894	P	L	298	5	1902	adult IF	17.50	hex	hex	cw	7			16		2																					
0895	P	L	385	6	1903	subadult	1.34	rect	hex	cw	23			18		8		AD	1.1																		
0896	P	L	606	9	1905	subadult	0.20			w	18.1			88		4																					
0897	P	L	299	5	1902	subadult (male)	12.20	rect	rect	cw	15			2		10																					
0898	P	L	300	5	1902	adult IF	98.00	rect	rect	cw	2			11		26																					
0899	P	L	301	5	1902	adult M	43.00	rect	rect	cw	132			52		57		E?	5																		
0900	P	L	186	4	1901	adult F?	28.80	hex	hex	cw	42			17		55																					
0901	P	L	112	3	1900	adult F?	37.40	rect	hex	cw	10			40		40		J	7																		
0902	P	L	302	5	1902	adult F	32.10	rect	hex	cw	42			26		20		A	5																		
0903	P	L	303	5	1902	adult M?	36.50	hex	hex	cw	7			2		49																					
0904	P	L	304	6	1903	subadult	0.24		rect	cw	7			2		49																					
0905	I	L	400	6	1903	subadult	0.85	rect	rect?	cw	130			16		30																					
0906	P	L	306	5	1902	subadult	0.15	rect	hex	cw	126			87		31																					
0907	P?	L	192	4	1901	subadult	0.00	vaull	rect	cw																											
0908	I	L	307	5	1902	subadult	0.00		rect	cw																											
0909	I	L	308	5	1902	subadult (female)	0.00	rect	rect	cw																											
0910	P?	L	790	12	1907	subadult	16.50	hex	hex	cw	127			8		40																					
0911	P?	L	121	3	1901	adult IF	2.40	rect	hex?	cw?	23			40		15		D	11.2	115		22			e38												
0912	P	L	122	3	1901	subadult (male)	0.87	rect	rect	cw?	50			15		45		M	176																		
0913	P	L	187	4	1901	subadult	42.60	hex	hex	cw	7			6		5		A	7																		
0914	P	L	188	4	1901	adult I	7.55	rect	rect	cw	7			14		45		D	43	119		16															
0915	P	L	189	4	1901	subadult (male)	0.00	rect?	hex?	c	7			25		27																					
0916	P	L	519	8	1904	subadult																															
0917						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																															
0918	P	L	194	4	1901	subadult (male)	11.20	rect	hex	cw?	7			6		5																					
0919	I	L	190	4	1901	subadult	0.12		hex	c																											
0920	P	L	197	4	1901	subadult (female)	10.46	rect	rect	cw?	2			48		45		A	5																		
0921	P	L	190	3	1901	adult IF	15.50	hex	hex	cw	47			15		10																					
0922	P?	L	131	3	1901	subadult (female)	3.30			cw				15		15																					
0923						disturace w/ls. esc. glass (T207)																															
0924	P	L	202	4	1901	adult I	36.00	hex	hex	cw	42			15		38																					
0925	P	L	134	3	1901	adult M?	42.30			cw	18			14		32		A	5																		
0926						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																															
0927						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																															
0928						iso wood marker																															
0929	P	L	133	3	1901	adult M?	28.70	hex	hex	c	48			15		10		D	37	145		5															
0930	P	L	782	12	1907	subadult	4.50	rect	rect	w	23			8		60																					
0931						iso handle ball (Trench 20)																															

Form/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Capfitter	Capfitter 2	Capfitter 3	Capfitter Base	Capfitter Base 2	Capfitter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2		
0932	P?	L	077	2	1900	adult F?	35.50	hex	hex	c/w	116			5		32		N	15	15		e38	7		A					6	1		1			
0933	P	L	774	12	1907	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w				7		3									3								6	1		
0934	P	L	138	3	1901	adult F?	35.10	hex	hex	c/w	2			14		47									3								5		1	
0935	P	L	412	6	1901	subadult	0.40	w/?	rect	c/w	26			66											4											
0936	P	L	211	4	1901	subadult	0.64	rect	rect?	c/w?	50			48		5									4											
0937	P?	L	775	12	1907	subadult	0.01	rect	rect	w																										
0938	P	L	227	4	1902	adult M?	33.30	hex	hex	c/w	2			20		17		M	19.1						3											
0939	P?	L	228	4	1902	subadult	0.25	rect	hex?	c	119			6		45									3											
0940	P?	L	145	3	1901	subadult	0.56	rect	rect	?				?											A											
0941						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0942	P	L	149	3	1901	adult F?	32.10	hex	hex	c/w	18			15		10									33											
0943	P?	L	153	3	1901	subadult	1.68	rect	rect	c/w	8			15		47		D	165						2											
0944	P	L	768	12	1907	adult F?	34.80	rect	rect	w				7		3									2											
0945	P	L	156	3	1901	subadult	1.26	rect	rect	c/w	23			14		60									C											
0946	P?	L	157	3	1901	subadult	0.22	rect	rect	c/w	7			40		40		G	17						4.1											
0947	P	L	297	5	1902	adult F	32.40	hex	hex	c/w	7			12		30									3											
0948	P	L	263	5	1902	subadult	1.10	rect	rect	c/w	23			13		9									35											
0949	P?	L	340	6	1903	subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w?				82		20										4										
0950						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0951						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0952						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0953						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0954						vw glass frags (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0955						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0956						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0957						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0958						iso vw glass frags (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0959						iso esc (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0960						iso glass & bone-indel (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0961						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0962						nothing in bag (labelled bone)(Trench 21)																														
0963						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0964						nothing in bag (labelled bone)(Trench 21)																														
0965						iso bone-human (sec 8, Trench 21)																														
0966	P	L	171	4	1901	subadult	0.11	rect	rect	c/w	2.2			71		39									4											
0967						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0968						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0969						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0970						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0971						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0972						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0973						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0974						iso bone-human (Trench 20)																														
0975	P	L	411	6	1903	subadult	0.28	rect	rect?	w	54			66		24									4											
0976	P	L	305	5	1902	adult M	37.20	rect	rect	c/w	2			22		80		F	15						8	023										
0977	U	L				adult F?	44.80	rect	rect	c/w	121			9		86		D	18																	
0978	P	L	609	9	1906	subadult	1.00	rect	rect	w				8		22																				
0979	P?	L	191	4	1901	subadult	0.05	rect	rect	c/w				19		32										4										
0980	P?	L	772	12	1907	subadult	1.17	rect	rect	c/w				65		65		A	165							16										

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Capflier	Capflier 2	Capflier 3	Capflier Base	Capflier Base 2	Capflier Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2				
0981	P	L	132	3	1901	subadult	0.60	rect	rect	cw/7	23																										
0982	L	L	075	2	1900	adult M	33.90	rect	rect	cw																											
0983	P	L	494	8	1904	adult I	99.00	hex	hex	cw	24																										
0984	A	L	479	8	1904	adult I	99.00	?	?	w																											
0985	P	L	541	8	1906	adult IF	15.00	hex	hex	cw	24																										
0986	P	L	541	8	1906	adult IF	15.00	hex	hex	cw	24																										
0987	P	L	334	6	1903	subadult	0.60	hex	hex	w																											
0988	P	L	231	4	1902	subadult	0.08	rect	rect	c	54																										
0989	P	L	137	3	1901	subadult	0.15	rect	rect	cw/7	47																										
0990	P	L	232	4	1902	adult IM	31.60	hex	hex	cw																											
0991	P	L	232	4	1902	adult IM	31.60	hex	hex	cw																											
0992	P	L	230	4	1902	adult F	38.50	hex	hex	cw	2																										
0993	P	L	475	8	1904	adult F	20.10	hex	hex	cw	24																										
0994	P	L	561	9	1906	subadult	86.00	?	?	cw	37																										
0995	P	L	368	6	1903	subadult (female)	2.40	rect	rect	w	23																										
0996	P	L	379	6	1903	adult M?	39.40	hex	hex	cw	131																										
0997	P	L	154	3	1901	adult M?	42.60	hex	hex	cw	133																										
0998	P	L	336	6	1903	adult M?	26.60	hex	hex	cw																											
1000						headstone frag (poss assoc #1104)																															
1001						iso headstone frag (no assoc)																															
1002	P?	L	335	6	1903	adult M?	33.20	hex	hex	cw																											
1003	P	L	115	3	1901	subadult (female)	6.30	rect	rect	cw	10																										
1004	P	L	378	6	1903	adult F?	46.20	vaill	hex?	cw	131																										
1005	P	L	116	3	1900	adult F	38.90	hex	hex	cw	10																										
1006	P	L	351	6	1903	adult M	56.20	hex	hex	cw	131																										
1007	P	L	117	3	1900	adult F?	44.80	hex	hex	cw/7	10																										
1008	P	L	120	3	1900	adult IM	15.30	hex	hex	c	147																										
1009	P	L	119	3	1900	subadult	0.50	w/7	rect?	cw	26																										
1010	P?	L	127	3	1901	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	cw/7																											
1011	L					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w																											
1012	P?	L	103	3	1900	subadult	0.46	rect	rect	c																											
1013						fence post (poss western boundary)																															
1014						fence post (poss western boundary)																															
1015						fence post (poss western boundary)																															
1016	P?	L	125	3	1901	subadult	0.46	rect	rect	c																											
1017	P?	L	118	3	1900	adult M?	18.10	vaill	hex	cw																											
1018	L					subadult	0.09	rect	rect	cw																											
1019	P?	L	467	8	1904	adult I	99.00	?	?	cw																											
1020	P	L	126	3	1901	subadult	0.51	rect	rect	cw/7	11																										
1021	P	L	068	2	1900	adult M?	40.00	hex	hex	cw	138																										
1022	P	L	167	4	1901	adult F	27.00	hex	hex	cw	7																										
1023	L					utility pole w/ironmortary arts, nonhuman																															
1024	L					subadult	0.15	rect	rect	cw																											
1025	M					adult IM	25.50	rect	rect	c																											
1026	M					adult F	35.50	rect	rect	c	134																										
1027	P	L	528	8	1904	subadult	0.49	rect	rect	w	32																										
1028	P	L	605	9	1906	subadult	1.41	rect	rect	w	18.2																										
1029	P?	L	337	6	1903	adult M	42.80	hex	hex	cw																											

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Over Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3			
1030	M					adult F	39.50	vault	hex	C	53			57		73																					
1031	P?	L	397	6	1903	adult F?	42.30	rect?	hex	C/W	15			51		83		?	153	186		e66	e66														
1032	P	L	370	6	1903	subadult	0.15	rect	rect	w	D42			86		20																					
1033	P	L	354	6	1903	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	C/W	2			53		52		A	150			e66	5														
1034	M					adult M?	35.40	rect	rect	C/W				36		15																					
1035	L					adult L	18.10	hex?	hex?	w																											
1036	P?	L	398	6	1903	adult F	30.80	rect	rect	C/W	144			51		83		J	46																		
1037	P					subadult	0.10	rect	rect	C																											
1038	P	L	522	8	1904	subadult	0.43	rect?	w		32			23		18																					
1039	P	L	389	6	1903	subadult	0.40	rect	hex	w	54			86		85																					
1040	P?	L	206	4	1901	adult M?	48.20	hex	hex	C	13			6		foil																					
1041	L					adult M + subadult 0.00y	41.00	hex	hex	w																											
1042	P?	L	208	4	1901	adult F	25.70	rect	hex	C	137			6		15		N	189		foil?																
1043	M					subadult	0.12	rect	rect	C																											
1044	P	L	422	6	1903	subadult (female)	11.53	rect	rect	w	15			53		52		C	151																		
1045	L					adult F?	30.50	rect	rect	w																											
1046	P?	L	575	9	1905	adult F?	32.00	rect	rect	w	34			1c2																							
1047						iso bone-nonhuman (Trench 22)																															
1048						bone-human in utility pole (assoc 103)																															
1049	M					adult L	50.70	rect	rect	C	140			57		76																					
1050	M					adult F?	35.50	rect	rect	C/W	75			60		90		?	20.1																		
1051	P					adult M?	38.50	W?	hex	C	7																										
1052	P	L	184	4	1901	adult F?	44.70	rect?	hex?	C/W				6		5																					
1053	P	L	124	3	1901	adult F	44.00	hex	hex	C/W	2			15		15		PH	16			e38															
1054	P	L	509	8	1904	subadult	2.50	rect	rect	w	35			23		18																					
1055	P	L	410	6	1903	subadult	0.18	vaunt	hex	w	D42			74		38																					
1056	P	L	739	11	1907	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	hex	w	8			7		3																					
1057	L					mismatched stain	39.40		hex	w																											
1058	L					adult F?	96.00	?	hex	w/C?	6			12		6																					
1059	P	L	740	11	1907	empty casket (adult)																															
1060						not assigned																															
1061						iso iron frag-nonnort (Trench 22)																															
1062	P	L	710	10	1908	adult M?	36.80	?	hex	w/C?	24																										
1063	M					adult M	33.00	rect	rect	C	143			40.1		92																					
1064	E					subadult	0.96	vaunt	hex	C				cs8																							
1065	L					adult M	28.30	rect	rect	w																											
1066	M					adult F?	52.00	rect	hex	C	53			57		59																					
1067						cement anchor-no artifacts																															
1068						mismatched stain																															
1069	E					adult F	18.50	W?	hex	C																											
1070	L					adult F	99.00	?	?	w																											
1071	L					empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	w																											
1072	L					adult M	30.50		hex	w																											
1073	E					adult F	36.80	vaunt	hex	C				cs5																							
1074	P?	L	725	11	1908	adult M?	36.20	?	hex	C/W																											
1075	P	L	350	6	1903	adult L	96.00	?	?	C/W	2			20		17		?																			
1076	P	L	317	5	1902	adult F	35.10	hex	hex	C/W	2																										
1077	E					adult M?	18.00	W?	hex	C				cs4?		cs9																					
1078						mismatched stain																															

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
1079	L					adult M	51.50	hex	hex	w																											
1080	P	L	372	6	1803	adult M	47.50	hex	hex	c/w	78			10		7	A?								9	68											
1081	L					adult M	38.20	rect	hex	w																											
1082	P?	L	380	6	1803	adult F	22.50	hex	hex	w	139			26		20	AD	6	17																		
1083	P	L	289	5	1802	adult F	0.58	rect	hex	c/w	54			91		88									63												
1084						headstone frag (no assoc)																															
1085	P?	L	663	10	1800	adult I	99.00	rect	rect	c/w	64			59		89																					
1086	P	L	363	6	1803	adult F?	26.10	rect	hex	c/w	2			26		20																					
1087	L					subadult	0.10	rect	rect	c/w	2																										
1088	P	L	382	6	1803	adult F? & shell concen	25.60	hex	hex	c/w	2			26		20	D	6																			
1089	P	L	352	6	1803	subadult	0.10	rect	rect	w	p42			90		65																					
1090	P	L	381	6	1803	adult M?	34.50	rect	hex	c/w	2			26		20																					
1091	P?	L	526	8	1804	subadult	0.07	rect	rect	c				30		27																					
1092	P	L	402	6	1803	adult F	37.00	vaull	rect	c/w	2			10		7	A	6																			
1093	P?	L	742	11	1807	subadult	0.06	rect	rect	w				7		3																					
1094	P?	L	389	6	1803	adult F?	45.20	hex	hex	w	65			53		52	A?																				
1095	P?	L	743	11	1807	subadult	0.13	rect	rect	w																											
1096	L					adult I	99.00	rect	rect	w																											
1097						cement post anchor																															
1098	P?	L	741	11	1807	subadult (female)	0.08	rect	rect	w				7		3																					
1099						bones of 1106/disturbed by 1046																															
1100	P	L	026	1	1800	adult M	48.80	rect	hex	c	10	51.1		19		foil																					
1101	L					subadult	0.10	vaull	rect	c/w																											
1102	P	L	147	3	1801	adult F	19.00	hex	hex	c	18			15		47																					
1103	P	L	586	9	1805	adult IF	97.00	rect	rect	c/w	146			15		20	D	23	25																		
1104	P	L	242	4	1802	subadult	0.58	rect	rect	c	50			6		5																					
1105	M					adult F?	38.20	hex	hex	c	149			36		15																					
1106	E					adult F?	38.90	vaull	hex	c				8?																							
1107	P	L	353	6	1803	subadult	0.06	rect	hex	c/w	p42			50		86	M	6																			
1108	P	L	371	6	1803	adult M	27.10	hex	hex	c/w	78			53		52	G	47																			
1109	P	L	730	11	1808	adult M?	32.70	rect	rect	w	6			12		3	E?	18																			
1110	P	L	731	11	1808	adult M	36.90	rect	rect	w	8			7		3	A	13																			
1111	P	L	729	11	1808	subadult	2.90	rect	rect	w	p42			94		95	A	13																			
1112	P	L	728	11	1808	adult M	36.50	rect	rect	w	53			12		6	A	18																			
1113						marker for #1135																															
1114	P	L	727	11	1808	adult F?	30.50	rect	rect	w	6			12		3																					
1115	P	L	646	10	1808	adult M	26.30	hex	hex	w	24			16		13																					
1116	E					subadult	83.00	vaull	rect	c				cs7																							
1117	P	L	645	10	1808	adult I	55.00	rect	rect	w	24			27		21																					
1118	E					subadult	0.65	vaull	rect	c				cs7																							
1119	E					adult M?	42.50	vr?	hex	c				cs4																							
1120	P	L	098	3	1800	subadult (female)	9.00	rect	hex?	c	10			14		47																					
1121	P	L	716	11	1808	adult F	0.10	vaull	hex	c				16		94	A	28	28																		
1122	P	L	716	11	1808	adult F	36.50	rect	rect	w	6			57		59																					
1123	M					subadult	1.48	vaull	rect	c	44.1			cs57																							
1124	E					subadult	0.44	rect	rect	c				cs57																							
1125	P	L	715	11	1808	adult M	38.00	rect	rect	c/w	6			7		3	A	1																			
1126	P	L	718	11	1808	adult M	19.00	hex	hex	c/w	3			16		13																					
1127	?					subadult	0.00	hex	hex	c/w	3																										

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Neck Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcover	Thumbcover 2	Eachtheon	Eachtheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
1128	E					disturbance w/ human bone, nail, glass	0.00	?	?	ch/w																												
1129	P?	L	719	11	1908	subadult (female)	4.81	rect	ch/w	c	150			lc27		12		J	1			1			71													
1130	M					subadult	0.50	rect	ch/w	c	51.2			14		32									72													
1131	M					adult M	38.10	hex	hex	c				19				A	13			e95			40													
1132	P	L	726	11	1908	adult F?	17.40	rect	rect	w	6			7		3																						
1133	P	L	726	11	1908	adult F?	37.10	rect	rect	w	6			7		3																						
1134	L					adult M	96.00	rect	rect	w	8			7		3		D?	18			e22																
1135	P	L	732	11	1908	empty casket (adult)	12.50	rect	rect	c	75			19																								
1136	M					subadult (female)	0.46	rect	rect	w	75					6																						
1137	P?	L	734	11	1908	subadult	56.60	hex	hex	c	75			36		5																						
1138	M					adult M?	47.10	hex	hex	c/w				6		15																						
1139	P?	L	255	4	1902	adult F?	0.30	rect	hex?	c/w	23			6		5		M	6			e24			26													
1140	P	L	563	9	1905	subadult	40.00	rect?	ch?	c/w?	75			63		15																						
1141	M					adult M	36.20	rect	rect	c/w	6			7		3		A	18			e22																
1142	P	L	722	11	1908	adult M	1.30	rect	rect	c																												
1143	P	L	721	11	1908	subadult (female)	51.50	rect	rect	w	3			13		13		?	24						020													
1144	P	L				subadult F?																																
1145						subadult (female)																																
1146						subadult																																
1147	M					adult M?	44.10	rect	rect	c	75			19		60																						
1148	E					adult M	41.20	w/?	hex	c				19		15																						
1149	P	L	724	11	1908	adult M	60.00	rect	rect	w	118			is?		3		A?	18			e22																
1150	P?	L	497	8	1904	adult F?	29.90	rect	rect	w	148			53		52		E	17			e52			A	022?												
1151	P	L	545	8	1905	adult F?	26.40	rect	rect	w	36			19		32		C?	38			25			69	024	025	014	021	6								
1152	P	L	414	6	1903	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w	p42			06		24									42	4												
1153	P	L	717	11	1908	adult I	99.00	?	rect	c/w	6			7		3																						
1154	E					adult M	34.50	vaull	hex	c				cs7		62																						
1155	P	L	512	8	1904	subadult	0.72	rect	hex	w/c?	35			29		23		M	129						23													
1156	I	L				subadult	0.10	rect	rect	w																												
1157	M					adult M	44.50	hex	hex	c				36		15																						
1158	M					subadult	1.66	vaull	hex	c				16		59																						
1159	M					subadult	0.98	hex	hex	c				63																								
1160	P	L	652	10	1908	adult M?	30.06	rect	rect	c/w	24			16		13		A	121			e74																
1161	E					adult M?	54.70	vaull	hex	c				cs9																								
1162	E					adult F?	30.20	vaull	hex	c				cs10																								
1163	P	L	733	11	1908	adult F	30.80	rect	rect	w	6			7		3		A	194			e95	e4															
1164	P	L	152	3	1901	adult IM	36.00	hex	hex	c/w	133			15		10																						
1165	M					adult M (sub frag #1289 in box)	48.10	hex	hex	c/w?				19		32		?																				
1166	P	L	377	6	1903	subadult (male)	97.00	hex	hex	c/w	131			53		52																						
1167	P	L	723	11	1908	subadult (female)	12.35	rect	rect	c/w	6			7		3																						
1168	M					subadult (female)	1.65	rect	rect	c/w	45			14		47																						
1169	M					subadult (female)	1.06	rect	rect	c				14																								
1170	P					subadult (male)	7.00	w/?	hex	c																												
1171	M					adult M?	41.50	rect	rect	c	149			95		96		D	195			e96																
1172	M					adult M?	31.80	w/?	hex	c				cs4																								
1173	P?	L	713	11	1908	adult M?	32.70	rect	rect	w	161			99		94		K							6													
1174	M					adult F	30.00	hex	hex	c	75			36		15																						
1175	P	L	290	5	1902	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	w				91		89																						
1176	E					subadult (female)	6.48	vaull	hex	c				18																								

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Late Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Omnamental Tack	Omnamental Tack 2	Omnamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure			
1177	E					subadult (female)	0.58 vault	hex	hex	C	16			CS11		57		A							17												
1178	P	L	658	10	1908	adult IF	41.70	hex	hex	w	16			52		15		7	48						17												
1179	P?	L	209	4	1901	subadult	5.27	rect	rect	C	44			6		2		2	48						17												
1180	P?	L	657	10	1908	adult F?	41.40	rect	rect	CW	152			52		32		N	119						75												
1181	P?	L	089	3	1900	adult F	52.00	hex	hex	CW	153			19		32		?	5	114					B												
1182	P	L	088	3	1900	adult I	29.90	hex	hex	CW?	47			14		32		?	5						A												
1183	M					subadult	2.07	rect	rect	C	158			45		44		B	145						A												
1184	E					subadult (male)	5.89	?	hex	C															A												
1185	P	L	720	11	1908	adult M?	38.00	rect	rect?	w	6			7		3		A	13						A												
1186						iso handle (no assoc)																															
1187	P	L	655	10	1908	adult F?	30.70	rect	rect	CW	24			27		21		A	24	188					15	026											
1188	P	L	656	10	1908	adult M	38.20	rect	rect	w	24			27		21		A	24						12												
1189	P?	L	654	10	1908	subadult	4.61	rect	hex	CW	24.1			56		64		A	24	156					12												
1190	P	L	649	10	1908	adult F?	32.40	rect	rect	CW	24			16		21		AD	27	132					12	020											
1191	M					subadult	2.27	rect	hex	C	45			36		15										12	020										
1192	P	L	641	10	1908	adult F?	98.00	rect	hex	w	18			27		21										12	020										
1193	P	L	647	10	1908	adult F	45.20	rect	rect	w	24			27		21										12	020										
1194	P	L	644	10	1908	adult IF	41.40	rect	rect	w	24			16		21										15											
1195	M					subadult (female)	1.92	vaull	rect	C				60		foil		A	22	188						12											
1196	P	L	643	10	1908	adult F	42.60	rect	rect	w	2			27		21										12											
1197	P	L	640	10	1908	adult M?	44.10	?	hex	C				3		22		A	4	13						17											
1198	P	L	634	10	1908	adult F?	5.83	?	hex	W/C?	18.1			3		22		A	4	13						17											
1199	P?	L	634	10	1908	adult F?	40.00	rect	rect	w	163			ic2		64		C	2							17											
1200	P	L	622	10	1908	subadult	0.64	rect	rect	w	18.2			56		64		A	1.1	156						74											
1201	E					subadult	1.20	vaull	hex	C				18		103																					
1202	E					subadult	80.00	rect?	rect?	C				cs4																							
1203	P?	L	617	10	1908	adult IF	23.50	rect	rect	w	156			16		99										37											
1204	E					subadult (male)	1.73	vaull	hex	C				cs5																							
1205	P					adult F?	35.40	rect	hex	C				is7																							
1206	M					adult IM	17.50	hex	C																												
1207	P	L	256	4	1902	adult M	17.50	hex	hex	CW	15			6		5		G	5																		
1208	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	C				36		47																					
1209						iso handle (lug, ball (Trench 23)																															
1210	M					subadult	1.06	rect	rect	C	5.2			96		97		A	160							73											
1211	P	L	714	11	1908	adult I	30.10	rect	rect	W/C?	16			16		3		A	28	13						40											
1212	P	L	423	6	1903	adult F	40.40	hex	hex	CW	7			98		101		G	20							B											
1213	P	L	198	4	1901	adult M?	48.60	hex	hex	CW	2			48		45																					
1214	P?	L	615	10	1908	subadult	0.12	rect	rect	W/C?				27		18																					
1215	P	L	616	10	1908	adult F?	27.00	rect	rect	CW	33			27		18										52											
1216	M					subadult	0.58	rect	rect	C				57		105																					
1217	P	L	636	10	1908	adult M?	45.00	rect	rect	w	24			27		21		C	1							2											
1218	P	L	660	10	1908	adult F?	24.00	rect	rect	w	25			16		13																					
1219	P	L	415	6	1903	subadult	0.92	vaull	rect	w	54			80		60		D	49	159																	
1220	P	L	662	10	1908	adult F?	29.00	rect	rect	w	18			59		89																					
1221	P	L	665	10	1908	adult F?	45.80	rect	rect	w	24			16		21		A	28	169	128																
1222	P	L	664	10	1908	adult F?	35.40	rect	rect	W/C?	38			26		20																					
1223	M					adult M	42.40	hex	hex	C	75			36		15																					
1224	P	L	659	10	1908	adult M	34.80	hex	hex	w	24			27		21		A	156	188																	
1225	M					adult F	35.80	hex	hex	C	82			19		32																					

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplith	Caplith 2	Caplith 3	Caplith Base	Caplith Base 2	Caplith Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
1226	E					subadult (female)	1.18 vault	hex	hex	C	155	18.1	18.2	CS10	32	D7	5	119				5	e56		77					62			1				
1227	M					adult F	30.70 rect	rect	rect	CW?	155	18.1	18.2	19	62	D7	5	119					e56		28					44							
1228	P	L	653	10	1905	subadult	1.87 rect	hex	hex	w	24			16	2	D7	121					e74		07?						2							
1229	P	L	651	10	1905	subadult (male)	12.85 rect	rect	rect	w	24			36	15	47	M	182				e38															
1230	M					subadult	0.12 rect	hex	hex	C	20			23	18	D	1.1	123				e27															
1231	P	L	650	10	1905	adult M?	31.40 hex	hex	hex	w	156			27	21	A	188	24				e4	17							297							
1232	P	L	639	10	1905	adult M	20.00 rect	rect	rect	w	24			27	21	A	50	52				e29															
1233	P	L	639	10	1905	adult F?	33.80 hex	hex	hex	w	24			27	27	A	50	52																			
1234	P	L	624	10	1905	adult M?	26.30 rect	rect	rect	CW	2			CS7	46	foil																					
1235	E					subadult (female)	11.13 vault	hex	hex	C	2	24		16	13																						
1236	P	L	621	10	1905	adult M?	30.00 rect	rect	rect	w	2	24		16	13																						
1237	E					subadult	1.52	hex	hex	C				CS13	21	D	1.1					1.1															
1238	P	L	620	10	1905	adult F	23.40 rect	rect	rect	CW	16			27	27	D	50					36															
1239	P	L	618	10	1905	subadult	0.37	hex	hex	w	18.2			3	62																						
1240	P?	L	619	10	1905	subadult	0.07	hex	hex	w				3	62																						
1241	E					subadult	1.90 vault	hex	hex	C				is	106																						
1242	M					adult I	99.00 ?	?	?	C				is																							
1243	E					subadult	0.00 vault	hex	hex	C				CS11	CS12																						
1244	P	L	626	10	1905	adult M?	33.90 rect	rect	rect	CW	15			79	90	A	190	19				e24															
1245	P	L	627	10	1905	adult M?	18.00 hex	hex	hex	w	24			27	21	A	27	156				e64															
1246	P	L	629	10	1905	adult F?	31.30 rect	rect	rect	w	3			16	13	A	50																				
1247	E					adult M (& 1377)	36.20	hex	hex	C				is?																							
1248	P	L	623	10	1905	subadult	1.30 ?	?	?	w	18.2			56	64	A	51																				
1249	P	L	630	10	1905	subadult	0.08 rect	rect	rect	w	159			56	16	A																					
1250						iso Bone-human above #1218																															
1251	E					adult F	33.60	hex	hex	C				CS10																							
1252	M					adult F?	29.20 rect	rect	rect	C	75			60	76	A	157	21				e75	15														
1253	M					subadult	0.93 rect	rect	rect	C	157			57	68	N	52					e75															
1254	M					subadult (female)	11.40 rect	rect	rect	C	160			is	88.1	100						e75															
1255	P					subadult	0.03	hex	hex	C				is																							
1256	P					subadult (female)	5.35 vault	rect?	rect?	C				CS5	foil							e62															
1257	E					subadult	0.26	rect?	rect?	C				CS5																							
1258	P	L	749	12	1907	adult M	43.80 rect	rect	rect	w	3			2	6	D	194																				
1259	P					subadult	0.10 ?	?	?	C				is																							
1260	P					subadult	0.41	hex	hex	C				is																							
1261						iso Bone-nonhuman above #1178																															
1262	P	L	635	10	1905	adult F?	48.30 rect	rect	rect	CW	19			16	13	C	4					3															
1263	E					subadult	0.86	?	?	C				CS7																							
1264	P	L	360	6	1903	adult IM	20.00 rect	hex	hex	CW	2			53	52	J																					
1265	E					subadult	0.00 vault	rect	rect	C				CS5																							
1266	E					subadult	80.00	hex?	hex?	C				is																							
1267	E					adult M	44.10 vault	hex	hex	C				CS5																							
1268	M					adult M	31.60 rect	rect?	rect?	C	53			57	73	D	157					e29															
1269	P	L	637	10	1905	adult F?	36.00 rect	rect	rect	w/C?	156			27	21																						
1270	P					subadult	80.00	?	?	C				27	21	A	50	18																			
1271	P	L	632	10	1905	subadult (female)	11.87 rect	rect	rect	CW	156			27	27																						
1272	E					adult M?	34.80	hex	hex	C	94			CS5																							
1273	P	L	633	10	1905	adult I	98.00 rect	rect	rect	w	24			27	21																						
1274	E					subadult	0.53 vault	hex	hex	C				is																							

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lat Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3				
1275	P					subadult (female)	0.23	rect	hex	c																												
1276	M					subadult	2.13	rect	hex	cw	44.1			60		98	DN	162				e56			X													
1277	P					adult F?	50.40	?	hex	c				15																								
1278	E					subadult	0.98	vault	hex	c				CS5																								
1279	E					adult F	23.40	vault	hex	c				15																								
1280	P					adult M?	43.50		hex	c																												
1281	E					subadult	0.62	vault	hex	c																												
1282	P					subadult	0.00	rect	hex	c				CS12																								
1283	P					adult F	31.90	hex	hex	cw	7			17		55	M	115				e38			A													
1284	P?					subadult	0.50	rect	hex	cw	122			15		5	G	5				5			3													
1285	P					adult M?	40.20	hex	hex	cw	7			2		10	M	136				e15			82													
1286	M					subadult	3.43	rect	hex	c	162			36		15																						
1287	M					adult M	23.80	rect	hex	c	164	165		67		67																						
1288	P					adult M	0.08	rect	hex	cw	54			91		88																						
1289	P					nursen subadult frags in #1165																																
1290	E					subadult (female)	0.00		hex	c																												
1291	E					adult F?	25.40	vault	hex	c				CS7																								
1292	M					adult F	30.90	vault	hex	c	154			57		73	G	53				7			38													
1293	P?					adult F	31.80	hex	hex	cw	28			60		7	M	11				e36			5													
1294	P?					subadult	0.32	rect	hex	cw	44.1			1		40.1	M	119				e56																
1295	M					subadult	0.10	rect	hex	c	26			19		32																						
1296	P					subadult	0.25		hex	c				15																								
1297	P					adult I	19.15		hex	c				15																								
1298	P					adult F?	22.60		hex	c				15																								
1299	P					adult I	98.00	rect	hex	cw	18			27		21	A	4	188			3	e4		0?													
1300	E					adult I	98.00	?	hex?	c	94			104		107									A													
1301	P					adult M	33.70	rect	rect	cw	21			88		4									28													
1302	P					subadult	0.80	rect	rect	w	18.1	18.2																										
1303	M					adult F?	33.90		rect	c																												
1304	P					adult F?	36.00		hex	c																												
1305	M					adult M?	36.60		rect	c																												
1306	P					empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	cw	21			104		107									1													
1307	M					adult F?	33.10		hex	c				15																								
1308	P					adult M?	33.40		hex	c				15																								
1309	P					adult M	28.70		hex	c				15																								
1310	E					adult F	16.00	vault	hex	c				CS4																								
1311	P					subadult	0.00		hex	c				15																								
1312	P					subadult	0.10	vault	hex	c																												
1313	P					subadult	1.32	rect?	rect?	c	2.1																											
1314	P					subadult	3.86	rect	rect	c	2.1			17		55	B	19							81													
1315	E					subadult	0.35	vault	rect	c				CS4																								
1316	P					adult M	47.40	hex	hex	cw	7			16		30	G					37			B													
1317	P					adult M?	0.49	rect?	hex?	c				63		15																						
1318	M					adult I	50.20	hex	hex	c	75			57																								
1319	M					adult I	15.00	vlt?	rect	cw				103		101																						
1320	M					subadult	0.68	vault	rect	c				49																								
1321	M					adult F?	31.80	rect	rect	c	75			7																								
1322	P					adult M	47.00	rect	rect	w	6			7																								
1323	P					empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	w	6			2		3	A	194				e4			1													

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Capfiter	Capfiter 2	Capfiter 3	Capfiter Base	Capfiter Base 2	Capfiter Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
1324	M					adult M?	37.30	rect?	rect?	c	75			63		15																					
1325	M					adult F?	27.20	rect	rect	c	75			36		102																					
1326	M					subadult (female)	0.00	rect	rect	c	75																										
1327	P	L	529	8	1904	subadult	0.20	rect	rect	w	32			25		27																					
1328	M					adult M	40.10	rect	rect	c/w?	53			97		foil																					
1329	P	L	392	6	1903	subadult (female)	7.70	rect	hex	w	2.1			53		52																					
1330	E					adult M	39.80	vaull	hex	c				is																							
1331	P	L	747	12	1907	adult F?	55.00	rect	rect	w	8			104		107																					
1332	M					subadult	0.12	rect	rect	c				62		1027																					
1333	M					subadult	0.00	vaull	rect	c				62		foil																					
1334	M					subadult	1.13	rect	?	c				97																							
1335	E					subadult	0.64	vaull	hex	c				is																							
1336	M					subadult	0.10	rect	rect	c	167			102		97																					
1337	P	L	181	4	1901	subadult	0.53	rect	hex	c	130			17		55																					
1338	M					subadult	0.94	rect	hex	c	26			36		108																					
1339	M					subadult	1.20	rect	?	c	26			80		1027																					
1340	P					subadult	1.46	vaull	hex	c																											
1341	P	L	625	10	1905	adult M?	99.00	rect	rect	w/c?	2			27		46																					
1342	M					adult M?	33.90	rect	rect	c	75			60		foil																					
1343						mismarked stain																															
1344	P					subadult	0.82	rect	hex?	c				is																							
1345	P	L	642	10	1906	adult M	29.50	rect?	rect?	?	18			27		21																					
1346	M					subadult	1.38	rect	hex	c/w?	26			14		15																					
1347	M					subadult	11.08	vaull	rect	c	170			60		foil																					
1348	M					subadult	0.15	rect	rect	c	169			60		98																					
1349	M					adult I	29.50	rect	rect	c	75			60		foil																					
1350	M					adult AF	98.00	rect	rect	c				is																							
1351	P	L	537	8	1905	subadult	2.15	rect	rect	c/w	35			25		27																					
1352	M					adult IM	98.00	rect	rect	c	170			60		foil																					
1353	M					subadult	0.22	hex	hex	c				63		102																					
1354	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c				60		foil																					
1355	M					adult I	98.00	rect	rect	c				is																							
1356	M					subadult	0.45	rect	rect	c	169			60		98																					
1357	M					subadult	0.34	rect	rect	c																											
1358	M					subadult	1.80	rect	rect	c																											
1359	M					subadult	0.23	vaull	hex	c				36																							
1360	E					subadult (female)	11.56	hex	hex	c				64																							
1361	M					adult M	41.25	rect	rect	c	74			36																							
1362	E					iso handle (no assoc)																															
1363	E					subadult	1.40	vaull	hex	c	75			is																							
1364	M					adult M	43.30	vaull	rect	c	75			63		60																					
1365	P	L	752	12	1907	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	w	3			2		3																					
1366	P	L	753	12	1907	adult M	29.70	rect	rect	w				2		6																					
1367	M					adult M?	29.50	rect	rect	c	75			36		foil																					
1368	M					iso bone-human (French 23)																															
1369	M					subadult	0.12	vaull	rect	c				60		97																					
1370	M					subadult	0.77	hex	hex	c	26			36		15																					
1371	M					subadult	0.20	rect	rect	c	26			36		15																					
1372	M					subadult	0.45	hex	hex	c																											

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Label Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2			
1373	M					subadult	0.30	rect	rect	c				106		47																					
1374	P					subadult	0.12	rect	rect	c				16		3		A	13				e16			2											
1375	P	L	712	11	1906	adult M?	40.00	rect	rect	w	18			67		57	67	71																			
1376	M					adult M?	39.30	rect	rect	c																											
1377	M					mismarked (part of 1247)				cw																											
1378	M					adult F?	25.60	vault	hex	c				97		foil																					
1379	M					mismarked stain-oid letter SP																															
1380	P					adult M	98.00	hex	hex	c				19		60																					
1381	M					subadult	3.80	rect	rect	c	44.1					60																					
1382	M					subadult	1.40	rect	rect	c				105																							
1383						iso bone-human																															
1384	P	L	287	5	1902	human bone-2 legs (betw 303 & ARW)	2.80	rect	hex	cw	23			91		88		M	191			e98			A												
1385	P	L	450	7	1904	subadult	0.20	rect	hex	w				22		18										4											
1386	P?	L	450	7	1904	subadult																															
1387						iso corrus (in base of pit of 877)																															
1388						iso plaque (no assoc)																															
1389						iso coffin screw (no assoc)																															
1390						iso coffin screw (no assoc)																															
1391	E					subadult (female)	0.64	hex	hex	c				cs7																							
1392	P	L	748	12	1907	empty casket (adult)	96.00	rect	rect	c?	21			104		107										87											
1393	M					adult M?	32.80	hex	hex	c																											
1394	P					subadult	0.00	?	?	c																											
1395	E					subadult	1.42	hex	hex	c				cs4																							
1396						iso bone-human (no assoc)																															
1397	M					adult F?	18.50	vault	rect?	c	5.1			73		52																					
1398	P	L	391	6	1903	adult I	15.10	?	?	cw	2.1			53		3		A	18	4		e64	3		40												
1399	P	L	709	10	1906	adult M?	28.00	rect	rect	w	16			16		3																					
1400	M					subadult (female)	0.80	rect	rect	c	168			60																							
1401	M					adult F	31.30	hex	hex	c	82			49		47		N	30	162		20	e38		B												
1402						mismarked stain, part of Trench 18																															
1403	M					subadult	0.53	rect	rect	c	136.1			60		59																					
1404	E					subadult (male)	11.50	rect	rect	c				cs7																							
1405	M					adult M?	30.35	hex	hex	c	75			63		32																					
1406	M					empty casket (adult)	96.00	hex	hex	c				cs4		38																					
1407	P	L	399	6	1903	adult M?	98.00	rect	hex?	cw	16			51		6																					
1408	M					adult I	99.00	?	?	c	75																										
1409	P	L	538	8	1905	subadult	0.34	rect	rect	cw	32			25		27																					
1410	M					adult I	97.00	vault	rect	c	74			63		60																					
1411	M					subadult	0.18	rect	rect	c				15																							
1412	P	L	754	12	1907	adult M?	32.30	rect	rect	w	8			7		3		A	132			e22			2												
1413						mismarked stain																															
1414	P	L	243	4	1902	subadult	2.60	rect	rect	c	2.1			6		5		D	19																		
1415	P?	L	193	4	1901	subadult	0.43	rect	?	c	126			14		foil																					
1416	M					subadult	0.25	rect	hex	c																											
1417	P?	L	034	1	1900	subadult	0.46	rect	hex	cw	172			40.1		40.1		M	55			e38															
1418	P?	L	028	1	1900	subadult	2.60	rect	rect?	cw	23			19		32		D	56	119		38	e38														
1419	M					subadult	0.10	rect	rect	c																											
1420	M					adult F	40.20	hex?	hex?	c	75			63		32		D	5	54		e38	e38														
1421	M					subadult	0.49	vault	rect	c																											

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lab Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure	Iron Closure 2	57			
1422	P	L	744	12	1907	adult M	43.10	hex	hex	c/w	19			2																								
1423						fence post (poss northern boundary)																																
1424						amputated leg (adult I)																																
1425	P?	L	067	2	1900	subadult	1.40	rect	hex	c/w				14		foil																						
1426	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c				14		foil																						
1427	M					subadult	0.30	rect	rect	c				20		foil																						
1428	P?	L	229	4	1902	subadult	0.35	rect	rect	c	119			14		foil																						
1429	P?	L	757	12	1907	subadult	0.11	hex	hex	w	p42			94		16																						
1430	P	L	756	12	1907	subadult	1.20	rect	hex	w	19			8		16																						
1431	P	L	758	12	1907	subadult	2.15	rect	hex	w	p42			28		16																						
1432	P	L	759	12	1907	adult M	39.50	rect	rect	w	3			2		6																						
1433	M					adult F?	37.10	valet	hex	c	107			107		60																						
1434	P?	L	091	3	1900	adult F	35.20	rect	hex	c/w	107			15		10																						
1435	M					subadult	0.10	vr?	hex	c																												
1436	M					subadult (female)	0.65	rect	hex	c																												
1437	M					mismarked stain																																
1438	M					subadult	0.15	rect	rect	c																												
1439	M					adult IM	99.00	hex	hex	c	149																											
1440	M					subadult	0.19	hex?	hex?	c																												
1441	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c																												
1442	M					posthole (poss north boundary)																																
1443	L					subadult	2.60	rect	hex	c/w																												
1444						wood/iron hasp & nonhuman bone																																
1445	M					subadult	0.00		?	c																												
1446	A	L	066	2	1900	adult M?	41.40	rect	rect	c				27		21																						
1447	P	L	883	10	1906	adult F?	35.40	rect	rect	w	24																											
1448	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c																												
1449	P?	L	760	12	1907	adult M?	44.60	rect	rect	w	173			ic2																								
1450	L					subadult	0.00	rect	rect	w/c?																												
1451	P	L	059	2	1900	adult M	34.70	hex	hex	c/w	47			49		110																						
1452	M					adult F	49.50	hex	hex	c	82			36		15																						
1453	P?	L	060	2	1900	subadult	0.58	rect	hex	c/w	26			49		54																						
1454	P?	L	146	3	1901	adult F?	42.00	hex	hex	c/w	171			15		109																						
1455	M					subadult	0.45	rect	rect?	c				36		foil																						
1456	P	L	110	3	1900	subadult	0.50	rect	hex?	c/w	23			15		15																						
1457	P?	L	143	3	1901	subadult	0.20	rect	hex	c/w				15		109																						
1458	P	L	140	3	1901	adult F	40.70	hex	hex	c/w	10			15		47																						
1459	P?	L	262	5	1902	subadult	0.10	rect	rect?	c				38		38																						
1460	P	L	136	3	1901	adult F	36.00	hex	hex	c/w	4			14		47																						
1461	L					adult M	19.00	rect	rect	c/w						47																						
1462	P	L	135	3	1901	adult M	39.60	hex	hex	c/w	18			47		47																						
1463	P	L	065	2	1900	adult F	19.50	hex	hex	c/w	18			14		foil																						
1464	M					adult I	99.00	rect?	?	c	75			19		80																						
1465	P?	L	141	3	1901	adult M?	29.80	hex	hex	c/w	10			15		47																						
1466	P?	L	062	2	1900	subadult	0.80	rect	rect?	c				14		foil																						
1467	M					subadult	0.00	rect	rect?	c				63		80																						
1468	P	L	628	10	1905	adult I	36.80	rect	rect	w	24			27		21																						
1469	M					subadult	0.10	rect	rect	c				36		15																						
1470	P	L	701	10	1905	adult M?	44.90	rect	hex?	c/w	41			108		111																						

Feature/Burial #	Burial Type	Time Period	Lat Sequence #	Row	Year	Description	Age	Outer Box	Inner Box	Nail Type	Handle	Handle 2	Handle 3	Thumbcrew	Thumbcrew 2	Escutcheon	Escutcheon 2	Viewing Window	Caplifer	Caplifer 2	Caplifer 3	Caplifer Base	Caplifer Base 2	Caplifer Base 3	Plaque	Plaque 2	Plaque 3	Plaque 4	Plaque 5	Ornamental Tack	Ornamental Tack 2	Ornamental Tack 3	Iron Closure 2	Iron Closure 3			
1471	M					adult F?	38.80	hex	hex	c	75			36		15																					
1472	P	L	252	4	1902	adult F?	98.00	hex	hex	cw	7			14		5																					
1473	P	L	142	3	1901	adult IM	34.70	hex	hex	c	10			15		109																					
1474	P	L	755	12	1907	subadult	0.65	rect	rect	w	pd2			94	8	4	A	18																			
1475	P	L	082	3	1900	adult M?	41.40	hex	hex	cw	47			15		32	G	18																			
1476	P	L	016	1	1900	subadult	0.80	rect	rect	cw	47			14		foil																					
1477	P?	L	061	12	1907	adult F?	28.70	rect	rect	w	8			7		3	GN	132																			
1478	P	L	061	2	1900	adult M?	44.20	hex	hex	cw	48			49		foil																					
1479	P	L	014	1	1900	subadult (female)	2.00	rect	rect?	c	72			14		foil																					
1480	P?	L	100	3	1900	subadult	0.24	rect	rect	cw	51			14		109																					
1481	P?	L	144	3	1901	adult F?	44.40	hex	hex	cw	174			5		47																					
1482	P?	L	150	3	1901	adult M	35.20	hex	hex	cw	18			15		47																					
1483	P	L	123	3	1901	subadult	0.42	rect	hex?	c	176			15		10																					
1484	P?	L	039	1	1900	subadult	0.00	rect	hex?	c	23			14		47																					
1485	P?	L	278	5	1902	subadult	0.46	rect	rect	cw	23			7		10																					
1486	P	L	151	3	1901	adult M?	34.90	hex	hex	c	10			15		5																					
1487	P	L	315	5	1902	adult F?	26.50	hex	hex	cw	7			20		9																					
1488	P	L	762	12	1907	subadult	1.20	rect	rect	w	22			89		88																					
1489	P	L	763	12	1907	subadult	0.10	rect	rect	w	23			69		foil																					
1490	P	L	108	3	1900	subadult (female)	1.13	rect	hex	cw	130			15		15																					
1491	P	L	109	3	1900	subadult	2.60	rect	rect	cw	23	130		15		15																					
1492	P	L	367	6	1903	subadult	0.90	rect	rect?	w	pc			53		52																					
1493	P	L	162	3	1901	adult M?	32.70	hex?	hex	c				36		102																					
1494	M					adult F	40.70	hex?	hex	cw	23			19		47																					
1495	P	L	248	4	1902	subadult (female)	0.25	rect	hex?	cw	23			20		17																					
1496	P	L	765	12	1907	adult IM	29.20	rect	rect	w	8			12		6																					
1497	P	L	158	3	1901	adult F?	38.40	hex	hex	cw	10			15		38																					
1498	P	L	027	1	1900	adult M	38.50	rect?	hex	c	10			19		14																					
1499	P	L	250	4	1902	adult M	33.70	hex	hex	cw?	47			48		45																					
1500	P	L	251	4	1902	adult IF	99.00	hex	hex	cw	7			14		5																					
1501	P	L	254	4	1902	subadult	0.00	rect	rect	c	7			14		5																					
1502	P?	L	424	6	1903	adult I	99.00	rect	?	cw	21																										
1503	P	L	249	4	1902	adult F?	99.00	hex	hex	cw	7			20		17																					
1504	P?	L	239	4	1902	adult IF	29.80	rect?	rect?	cw	175			c19.1		17																					
1505	P	L	239	4	1902	adult IF	54.50	hex	hex	cw	7			15		5																					
1506	P	L	246	4	1902	adult F?	23.20	hex	hex	c	7			6		5																					
1507	P	L	240	4	1902	subadult	0.90	rect	rect?	c	50			6		5																					
1508	P?	L	240	4	1902	subadult	20.40	rect	hex	c	50			6		5																					
1509	P	L	240	4	1902	subadult	20.40	rect	hex	c	50			6		5																					
1510	P	L	240	4	1902	subadult	20.40	rect	hex	c	50			6		5																					
1511	P	L	240	4	1902	subadult	20.40	rect	hex	c	50			6		5																					
1512	E					adult I	20.40	rect	hex	c	50			6		5																					
1513	M					adult IM	14.50	rect	rect?	c	177			57		59																					