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**“IN MEMORY OF” CHELSEA’S HISTORIC CEMETERIES:
COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS FROM PIONEER TIMES TO THE PRESENT**

by

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Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
M. A. degree in History.

Université d’Ottawa/University of Ottawa

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ABSTRACT

In Chelsea Quebec, four cemeteries date from the early decades of its settlement in the 1820s. Three are burial sites for Protestants and one is a Roman Catholic cemetery. These exemplify different kinds of burial sites which developed in frontier settlements: the family plot, a private burial area, a communal burial area and a church-organized site.

As institutions, the cemeteries in Chelsea appear to be models or types common to stages of pioneer settlement. Most studies of nineteenth-century cemeteries and social values associated with death, dying and burial during that time have emphasized church-run sites and urban areas, where city cemetery reforms were prompted by overcrowding and public health concerns. Yet most Canadians—and North Americans—lived in rural areas during this period.

In this rural municipality located within a twenty-minute drive from the cities of Ottawa and Hull, the slower rate of community growth and actions to preserve two of its cemeteries as historic sites have presented an opportunity to assess their present status and to research their history. Starting with the cemeteries and their monuments as a primary source, and referring to land grants, church and municipal records, census, newspaper and local people, a rich resource of information has helped to flesh out the story of these grave sites and those buried there.

As one of the early unplanned needs in a new community, the first graves were soon followed by others, and cemetery sites were developed by families and community groups. This study traces the organization of cemeteries in Chelsea during its pioneer period, how they continued and changed over time, and their late-twentieth-century roles. It also looks at the relationship between Chelsea's communities of the dead and the living, and the information communicated about the dead as individuals within this community.

While the dead were mourned as individuals, their monuments interpreted their lives in terms of the people, and sometimes the places, with which they had been associated. Age and death date were important in nineteenth-century Chelsea, while cause of death was rarely mentioned on its monuments, and only in the late twentieth century does the occasional

gravestone here convey information about occupation, interests, or life experiences. During the nineteenth century, Chelsea's cemeteries were informally-organized and family-led. In the twentieth century, those that remained established links with other formally-organized community institutions and continued as either active "living" cemeteries or historic sites.

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The efforts of Arthur Davison, Bob Phillips, Patrick M. O. Evans and the Historical Society of the Gatineau as a group generated interest in Chelsea's historic cemeteries and helped preserve two of them, along with the support of Chelsea's mayor Judith Grant, former mayors Doug Minnes and Jean Chapman, municipal councillors and employees.

In every aspect of this project I have been helped and guided by the expertise of others, including André Desrochers, Professor of Earth Sciences at the University of Ottawa, who identified the material of Thomas Wright's monument; Professors Michel Theriault and John Gibaut of Saint Paul University's Faculty of Canon Law who provided information about cemetery consecration; and Bruce Elliott, Professor of History at Carleton University, who offered genealogical information from his files along with helpful suggestions. Numerous archivists and librarians helped me to find documents, and the Rev. Gordon Roberts, Executive Secretary of the Montreal and Ottawa Conference, United Church of Canada supported my request to access the twentieth-century burial records of Chelsea United Church.

I am particularly grateful to the Chelsea residents—and those from elsewhere—who provided me with details and stories about Chelsea's cemeteries and the persons buried in them. My husband Bob helped me to measure Chelsea's Protestant cemetery over several scorching summer days, my son Brent's computer expertise overcame several technical hurdles, and my daughter Lorna provided constant moral support. My parents, both dead, have been an inspiration: my mother Dorothy Reid had a long-standing interest in local history, and my father Jim Craig's searching and scientific mind constantly reached out to probe questions about the past.

On Chelsea's grave monuments, almost all individuals are identified in the context of other persons important to their lives. Their space limitations lead to selectively short lists, but the implication is clear: we are all influenced by others. Without the help of many others, not specifically named here, this study would not have been possible.

Thanks to all of you
Jean Carol Craig Martin
Winter 1999.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In a small community cemetery in Chelsea, Quebec stands a fine grey sandstone grave monument whose beautifully chiselled inscription "in memory of" Thomas Wright informs the reader of his death on September 18, 1801. The son of Thomas and Elizabeth Wright, he was born on June 13, 1759. Beyond this brief biography on his monument, tantalizingly little is known about Wright himself and the circumstances of his life and death. While the Wright name is recalled for founding Hull Township, it is Philemon, two years junior to Thomas, who took the lead in this activity, and Philemon's grave monument in St. James' Cemetery in Hull proclaims him as "The Pioneer Settler of the Ottawa Valley." Thomas Wright's stone is silent about his role in founding that earliest settlement, where he survived only eighteen months after arriving in March of 1800.

For thousands of years humans have made monuments and memorials intended to commemorate or recall to mind an event or person. The urge to leave enduring, visible reminders for all to view has stimulated the creation of objects as diverse as heroic statues and elaborate tombs, simple civic plaques and grave markers. In keeping with Christian tradition, the Europeans who colonized North America buried their dead, and when possible, marked the individual graves. As the first death and burial in a new place was followed by others, the new community began to organize a collection of graves and their markers. In small towns and rural centres across Canada, burial places often provide the earliest monuments to the people and period of early settlement. Organized in plots and cemeteries, graves and their markers were among the earliest unplanned necessities of North American pioneer communities, and remain as a kind of historic community of their own.

Within Chelsea, Thomas Wright's grave monument and its preservation in an early cemetery suggest that these are historic resources of information dating to the beginning of this community's settlement. While a few buildings from the latter part of the nineteenth century survive in the nearby village, Wright's gravestone stands with dozens of others whose chronology ranges from its early decades into the twentieth century. The other cemeteries in the community also have nineteenth century origins. A short distance down the road is a churchyard whose history goes back to the 1840s, and within walking distance is another cemetery established in Victorian times. A few miles further away stands a small private burial

area, the only one of its kind remaining within the present-day municipal limits, also dating to the previous century. These four sites differ from each other in terms of organization, size and connection with the community. Chelsea's cemeteries appear to be types or models of specific kinds of organization, and their diversity provokes questions about how and why different types of cemeteries were established in Chelsea's pioneer period, and how they functioned within the community.

If burial sites are among the first needs in newly-settled areas, those writing about pioneer society might be expected to describe and comment on this aspect of social organization. A century has passed since Frederick Jackson Turner noted the importance of the frontier in understanding North American society.¹ If his theories of the frontier's effect in shaping established American society and culture were not sustained by later factual analysis, his vision of the pioneer spirit remains to some extent as mythical fact, a kind of folk legend explaining American individualism and nationalism. And countless twentieth-century settlement and migration studies since Turner have viewed the settlement experience not only in terms of cultural adaptation and characteristics of the former or "old" societies from which settlers had come, but in terms of the influence and human interaction and activities of new communities. As a theme in North American history, studies of the social structure of new settlements have concerned themselves with institutional developments in such spheres such as education, religion or medicine—in short, with organization of the living rather than the dead. To the extent that organization of cemeteries became a concern of such formally-established bodies as town councils or churches, their development often appears as part of the history of such institutions, rather than as types of institution themselves.

It has been seventy years since Harriette Merrifield Forbes' interest in New England gravestones and their images led to her 1927 book, Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800.² Subsequently, interest in cemetery organization and grave markers has engaged professionals as diverse as genealogists, anthropologists, archaeologists,

¹Frederick Jackson Turner, "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," publ. in State Historical Society of Wisconsin Proceedings, (Madison, Wis., 1893).

²Harriette Merrifield Forbes, Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them, 1653-1800, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1967: unabridged reprint of 1927 edition).

architects, geographers and sociologists and well as historians. The literature on cemeteries ranges from specific works about grave monuments, motifs and epitaphs to more general works linking death custom and social values. Studies of cemetery custom in Britain and Europe from early Christian times into the nineteenth century have emphasized their linkage with churches and accordingly focused on towns and larger population centres where the churches were located. North American studies have emphasized one region, the New England seaboard, and urban rather than rural sites. Chronologically, New England studies have been concerned with the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century colonial period, while most urban studies have addressed the nineteenth century after the 1830s, or developments in the twentieth century. Sometimes earlier cemetery organization is described in more or less detail in studies of social change, such as Gerald Pocius' article on the religious takeover of Newfoundland's community cemeteries, or Roger Hall and Bruce Bowden's look at Ontario cemetery organization from the 1870s into the first half of the twentieth century.³ Although David Charles Sloane's Last Great Necessity focuses on nineteenth- and twentieth-century developments in urban American cemeteries, he begins with a review of earlier American burial customs including frontier graves and domestic homestead graveyards found in the countryside, as well as churchyards located next to a church (in non-urban or urban areas).⁴ But the nineteenth century witnessed a kind of social revolution in urban cemeteries, and interest in these new-style burial grounds, known as "rural" or "garden" cemeteries, has dominated recent writing about burial sites and practices. The "rural cemetery" movement was common to North America, Britain and France, and numerous authors provide insight about growing social concerns and urban problems in various cities and different countries. Canadian cemetery studies, of sites as diverse as Cataraqui near Kingston and Hope Bay in Victoria, have traced the rise of specific "rural cemeteries" and the later "memorial gardens" responding to developing cities. The nineteenth-century burial customs in the countryside and rural North America seem to have been examined more as a backdrop or transition point for later urban and élite cemetery developments, rather than as important in their own time and way.

³Gerald L. Pocius, "The Transformation of the Traditional Newfoundland Cemetery: Institutionalizing the Secular Dead," Material History Bulletin, 23 (1986), 25-34; Roger Hall and Bruce Bowden, "Beautifying the Boneyard: The Changing Image of the Cemetery in Nineteenth-Century Ontario," Material History Bulletin, 23 (1986), 13-24.

⁴David Sloane, The Last Great Necessity, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 4; 13-25.

Local interest in Chelsea's cemeteries has emphasized genealogical recording or focused narrowly on one cemetery and a single theoretical model. Since the 1970s, Chelsea-based Patrick M. O. Evans has alone or with others recorded names, dates, family data and some other descriptive information about the tombstones and their organization in Chelsea's cemeteries and provided some of their history in a book, A Tale of Two Chelseas.⁵ In the 1980s Michael Newton, a historian employed by the National Capital Commission, prepared an article about two Gatineau-area landmarks, Wakefield's Maclaren and Old Chelsea's Protestant cemeteries.⁶ Rather than comparing these burial places with other cemeteries serving rural populations in the countryside, Newton referred to writings about urban "garden" cemeteries and "ancient New England burial grounds," with the perhaps inevitable result that he emphasized what he perceived to be these origins. Neither Evans nor Newton set out to study all of Chelsea's cemeteries, or tried to address their institutional roles within the community.

The development and activity of Chelsea's cemeteries throughout the nineteenth century, and their presence in the twentieth century indicate that they have continued to have community roles throughout this time. While their foundation and history have been interpreted in different ways, their preservation has also met a variety of challenges. By 1961, the cemetery containing Wright's monument was in such "a state of very bad repair" that a prominent Ottawan with a summer cottage in Chelsea wrote to the National Capital Commission suggesting the creation of "a kind of imaginative memorial" by setting its tombstones into brick walls enclosing a small garden.⁷ The NCC discussed this proposal on January 5, 1962 and noted that "a tomb stone dating to 1801, marking the grave of Thomas Wright, brother of Philémon Wright, in this cemetery should be preserved, as Mr. Wright was the first death which occurred in the UEL

⁵ Patrick M. O. Evans, A Tale of Two Chelseas (Ottawa: Les Éditions J. Oscar Lemieux, 1988). Evans' numerous cemetery listings have been published by the Ottawa Branch of the Ontario Genealogical Society.

⁶Michael Newton, The Maclaren Cemetery, Wakefield, and the Old Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground, Quebec, (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, [1980s]).

⁷National Capital Commission (NCC) files. Letter dated December 12, 1961 to Lt-General S. F. Clark, Chairman, NCC, from John Starnes (who was then Acting Assistant Under Secretary of State for External Affairs, although the letter was sent as a private citizen). Starnes at that time had a home in Chelsea.

colony.”⁸ No further written records explain the NCC’s actions in relation to this site until a 1973 memorandum, which showed that by then the Commission had acquired property on three sides of the cemetery, and in the interest of preserving what it recognized as a historic cemetery it had begun cutting the grass in it “at least three times during the season.”⁹ According to this same document, the NCC also believed that this cemetery was the oldest in the Wright colony.¹⁰ It seems that the concern over Wright’s monument came at the “right” time to elicit sympathetic civic interest in preservation of this Chelsea cemetery without extensive renovation and change.

Chelsea’s cemeteries provide both an opportunity and a challenge to explore their role within the community from pioneer times to the present. Its different types of preserved cemeteries are a historic resource, offering a microcosm in which to study the relation between cemetery custom and the developing settlement. The particulars of Thomas Wright which piqued investigation about cemetery formation and incidentally helped ensure the preservation of the Old Chelsea site lead to more general topics of inquiry: How were cemeteries organized in this pioneer community? How did they continue and change over time, and what roles do they have today? What can be learned now about the relationships between Chelsea’s communities of the dead and the living? What do Chelsea’s cemeteries communicate about the dead as individuals within this community?

This paper proposes that Chelsea’s pioneer cemeteries, as well as meeting a practical need for the living community by providing burial space for the dead, were important in meeting the social needs of family and community. As institutions they offered continuity between the communities of the living and the dead. While individuals were mourned, their lives were interpreted in terms of the people and places with which they had been associated, providing

⁸NCC files, Memorandum Re: Cemetery at Old Chelsea dated January 16, 1962, addressed to Peter Aykroyd, Director, Information & Historical Division, NCC, from R. E. Edey, Superintendent, Gatineau Park. (“UEL” refers to United Empire Loyalists. Although the Wright colony was founded by Americans who swore oaths of allegiance to the British Crown in order to take up land in Canada, both Thomas and Philemon Wright and possibly others, had served with the American forces during the War of Independence.)

⁹Ibid., Memorandum Re: Historical Sites in Gatineau Park dated August 8, 1973, to A. R. Ede, Director Parks and Grounds, from R. E. Edey, Superintendent of Parks.

¹⁰Ibid.

a sense of continuity for new settlers and also for later descendants. In the latter twentieth century, more personal qualities of the dead were also occasionally commemorated on monuments in Chelsea's cemeteries. Informal organization which had successfully established and maintained Chelsea's nineteenth-century cemeteries was unable to meet their twentieth-century needs for additional space, plot management and care. In the twentieth century, the cemeteries that remained established links with other formally-organized community institutions and continued as either active "living" cemeteries or historic sites.

1.1 Approach and sources

Society functions through its institutions, through people working together for common causes. From the initial burial to creation of sites where groups of community dead could be buried, Chelsea's people began establishing burial places within the first decades of the settlement. This study looks at the roles of Chelsea's cemeteries, from their pioneer period to the present, in terms of their social organization as practical institutions for disposal of the dead, and as informal and formal institutions expressing notions about individuals and their place in the community. Beginning in 1800, it places particular emphasis on the pioneer period and the nineteenth century, but includes developments and changes in the twentieth century. The approach is chronological, starting with a chapter on Chelsea's settlement and burial custom at the outset of the nineteenth century. Next, the development of Chelsea's cemeteries during that century is traced by examining its four types of cemeteries, reviewing in detail all those which remain within the municipal boundaries of today's Chelsea, and referring to others which at one time were included within its geographic limits. A chapter on the twentieth century addresses their contemporary roles as active burial sites and historical institutions within the community, and is followed by a concluding summary. The discussion follows two main themes: the origin and development of cemeteries, including their site characteristics, number of burials and period of use; and the information they provide about the community of the dead and their link with the living, based on data on tombstones and from other sources pertaining to those buried in these cemeteries.

In addition to the secondary sources already mentioned, numerous references dealing with settlement history and death, burial and cemetery custom provided valuable information and have been listed in the attached section dealing with sources consulted. Throughout the

following pages, many of them are discussed in the context of observations about Chelsea's cemeteries. The cemetery sites themselves were important primary sources. Visits to the locations of Chelsea's current and past cemeteries offered the opportunity to observe and describe their locations in relation to current landmarks, measure and draw site plans, and transcribe monument information. There are surprisingly few official records, for a variety of reasons. There are no plans going back to their beginnings, or even to the nineteenth century, for any of Chelsea's cemeteries, and only one has an official twentieth-century site plan. Land transaction records prior to 1900 held in the Hull Court House were destroyed in the Hull fire of 1900. The same conflagration also destroyed most notarial copies, although some abbreviated records, called Memorials, were recreated after that date to support later land dealings. For early land transactions during the settlement period, the Lower Canada land papers held by the National Archives of Canada contain records of land petitions and grants. The amount of detail in them varies, from names of petitioners and the lots they sought or received, to census-type information including ethnic origin, crops, and buildings. Also in Canada's National Archives are the Wright Papers, an eclectic collection of materials kept by Philemon Wright and his relatives. These cover a period of some fifty years and include business record books maintained by Philemon and others, census and production information about the Hull settlement, together with personal correspondence, legal papers and family records. They give a good overall sense of the early days of the Hull settlement, including some information about Chelsea. Other original sources have included the Farmer Papers, burial records and registers of the various religious denominations and census records for Hull/Chelsea. Unfortunately, some of the earliest Protestant and Roman Catholic registers have been lost, and others are only partly legible on microfilm. The personal census material is available for 1825, 1842, 1851, and decennially after this until 1901, although parts of the 1881 microfilm for this region are very faint and indistinct. Canadian, provincial, municipal, school, historical society, religious and cemetery archives all contributed some information about Chelsea's people and past. Ottawa newspapers, microfilmed and available at the National Archives of Canada, provided obituary and some death and accident reports. Importantly, numerous descendants of Chelsea's settlers and later inhabitants offered first-person information, as did professional monument makers who had provided some of Chelsea's tombstones, a conservation architect who had been consulted about their repair and preservation, and a geologist who identified the material of Thomas Wright's and other monuments.

1.2 Terminology

While cemetery terminology uses current language, some words are more commonly used than others, and certain terms have been used in specific ways by others writing on this topic. For ease of reference, a series of brief definitions therefore follows.

Burial refers to the act of burying, especially of a dead body, while a **grave** is an excavation to receive a corpse, or the mound or monument over it. Another means of disposal of a dead body is by **cremation**, in which the corpse is consumed by fire and reduced to a package of ashes. The term **churchyard** refers to the enclosed ground in which a church stands, especially used for burials.¹¹ In the Anglican and Roman Catholic rituals for **consecration** of a cemetery, its marked boundaries are blessed; they may also be symbolically sprinkled with holy water, after which it is considered to be part of the sacred ground of the church.¹² Similarly, other Protestant denominations may define their buildings, grounds and cemeteries as sacred spaces.

Several terms refer to aspects of marking a burial place. While a **monument** refers generally to anything enduring that serves to commemorate or make celebrated, such as a structure or building, it is also used specifically to refer to a stone or other structure placed on a grave or in church in memory of the dead. The term **grave marker** is used as a generic term to refer to a memorial stone or other item to mark the place. This may also be made of wood, metal or other materials, and placed flat on the ground or upright. More specifically, the term **grave monument** refers to an upright marker in a cemetery.

While the terms grave yard, burial ground and cemetery are used interchangeably by some authors, others make distinctions among them. The terms **burial ground**, meaning a place for burials, and **grave yard**, a place for graves, are less commonly used today than the word **cemetery**, which is generally used in exactly the same sense. However, many of those writing

¹¹These and subsequent definitions, unless otherwise mentioned, are taken from The Concise Oxford Dictionary, Sixth edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

¹²Information provided by Michel Theriault, Professor of Canon Law, (interview, October 15, 1998) and John Gibaut, Director, Anglican Studies Program (interview November 12, 1998), both at Saint Paul University, Ottawa.

about burial places limit the term cemetery to mean “a place for burials other than a churchyard.”¹³ Chris Brooks, for example, used the term cemetery to mean a planned permanent resting place for the dead which was unattached to any parish.¹⁴ Others have emphasized its derivation from the Greek *koimeterion*, meaning “sleeping place,” and its connotation of permanence in contrast to the temporary resting places offered in some churchyards. On the other hand, Philippe Ariès’ discussion of the French terms *cimetière* and *âtre* made it clear that both referred to church precincts in that country.¹⁵ This work on Chelsea’s cemeteries uses the term generically to mean any burial place, whether secular or churchyard, permanent or temporary.

¹³This is also the definition provided by the Oxford Dictionary.

¹⁴Chris Books, Mortal Remains, (The Victorian Society, London: Wheaton Publishers Ltd., 1989), 8.

¹⁵Philippe Ariès, Western Attitudes Towards Death, translated by Patricia M. Ranum, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1974), 18,19.

2. CONTEXT

At the turn of the nineteenth century, North American frontier areas attracted a young and vigorous segment of the population. Americans expanded settlement to the west and north; Canadians developed western and southern lands which had not previously been settled. When Thomas Wright planned his move to Canada, he may even have thought that his final resting place would be in the land he was about to pioneer, but it is unlikely that he or any of his companions anticipated early deaths there. New settlers in Chelsea shared a sense of what was needed to get on with life, and some general ideas about treatment of the dead. In that period, children were vulnerable to ailments for which there were then no cures. Babies and their mothers died during childbirth; diseases and accidents cut off the lives of adults in the prime of life. Even if medical practitioners had been available, pioneer life had to deal with death. New settlements soon established burial places.

2.1 Chelsea's Settlement

The latter part of the eighteenth century was a time of upheaval in North America. New France became British territory after 1759, and British North America was soon divided again after 1776 when the Continental Congress signed the Declaration of Independence and the ensuing Revolutionary War confirmed the separation of the American colonies from British rule. Along with political reorganization came population changes. Along the American eastern seaboard, population growth in settlements begun a century earlier prompted expansion to the west and north into Vermont, New Hampshire and the northern part of New York State during the last quarter of the century.¹⁶ American land in these areas was offered to “leaders and associates” who developed settlement plans and often returned a quick profit to ambitious land assemblers who never themselves resided in the new areas. Canadian settlement, contained under the French régime to lands along the St. Lawrence plus a few tributary rivers such as the Richelieu and St. Maurice and anchored by Quebec City and Montreal as developed urban centres, was also opened up under the British who matched the American land offer with a similar one. On February 7, 1792, a Canadian proclamation circulated throughout the New

¹⁶ Vermont declared itself an independent republic as “New Connecticut” in 1777, and became the fourteenth state within the American Union in 1791.

England States and Canada invited leaders and associates to apply for land in Upper and Lower Canada. The Canadian offer required an exact survey at the expense of the government and grantee as well as an oath of loyalty for those entering from the United States. Settlers were to be in a position to cultivate and improve their land, with individual grants limited to 200 acres, and two sevenths of the land reserved for clergy and the Crown.¹⁷ Most of these grants were townships, typically ten miles square.

Two Wright brothers living near Woburn, a Massachusetts agricultural town north-east of Boston, were among those attracted by the land offered in Canada. Philemon, the younger of the two, travelled to Canada in 1796 and began the application process as a leader requesting a grant. The arrangements were finally made and a core group of five families, including Philemon's wife and six children and Thomas' wife and seven children arrived in Hull Township, Lower Canada, in 1800.¹⁸ This was the first developed area in what is now the Ottawa-Hull region, and its surveyed plan shows ruler-straight divisions into 200-acre lots, without regard for the Gatineau River which bisects it diagonally from south-east to north-west. Its 16 ranges run from the Ottawa River on the south to Wakefield Township on the north, with 28 lots numbered from east to west between Templeton and Eardley. Land in the first several ranges is level and the soil loamy, but then its elevation and contours change, and some of the later settlers found that their farmland was located on Precambrian bedrock, in places exposed or scarcely earth-covered, in others with soil pockets providing agricultural potential. Myriad lakes and streams watered the region.

As with most leader and associate settlements, Philemon received back the lion's share of the 1,200- acre grants awarded to his each of his associates, whose lots extended around the

¹⁷Norman Macdonald, Canada 1763-1841 Immigration and Settlement: the Administration of the Imperial Land Regulations, (London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co., 1939), 75-78.

¹⁸ Bruce S. Elliott, " 'The Famous Township of Hull': Image and Aspirations of a Pioneer Quebec Community," Histoire sociale/Social History 12 no.24 (Nov 1979), 342. According to Philemon's report of 11 March 1800 (NAC: RG1 L3L, Vol 7, 97168) the original group consisted of 27 settlers; Elliott notes that the first settlement included thirty-three labouring men from different parts of Massachusetts, some of whom would have followed the original party. Information about family composition is from Patrick M. O. Evans, The Wrights, (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, revised edition, 1978), tables 16 and 33.

site of the first village near the confluence of the Gatineau River with the Ottawa. But he did not sell out and move on, and remained as a motivating force in Hull Township, successfully promoting settlement, with the aim of building an agricultural community.¹⁹ Philemon Wright's certificate as "agent" empowered him to grant two hundred-acre lots to "any respectable person under restrictions to clear and cultivate 20 acres (or such other quantity as may be directed) within the period of 3 years, to keep on the same lands 50£ worth of neat cattle ... build a good house and barn ... (and) reside on the same during the three years."²⁰ In 1814 the rules for obtaining land changed, so less stringent settlement duties were required and prospective settlers were located by agents who provided a "location ticket" for each 200-acre lot; after 1826 the rules changed once more, and land was now to be purchased.²¹ During four decades the Township gradually filled up, and activity centres in the area that later became Chelsea Municipality developed around stopping points at roads leading northward.

Joseph Bouchette, provincial land surveyor, reported on May 20, 1824 that 32,000 acres in the Township of Hull, from the 6th to the 13th ranges were vacant and grantable.²² Bouchette's notes show that he took a road westward between Ranges 7 and 8, and suggested that "it might be expedient to appropriate Lot no. 14 for a village, as being at the forks of two roads, having a saw-mill hard by, and a tolerable cultivated farm in its vicinity." Philemon Wright had recently reported to Bouchette on the progress of twenty settlers and their families located on 2,100 acres from this lower limit up to the 11th Range.²³ The mill noted by

¹⁹ Elliott, "The Famous Township of Hull," 348. The eventual number of associates was nine at the time his application was granted. The associates typically retained 200 acres each, with the leader gaining 1000.

²⁰NAC, Lower Canada land papers RG1 L3L reel C-2570, Vol 208, folio 97356.

²¹ Sir C. P. Lucas, ed., Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America, (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1912), 44. Macdonald (Canada Immigration and Settlement), 347 notes that free land grants continued to be made to satisfy previous pledges in Upper and Lower Canada down to 1837, when a new Act was promulgated.

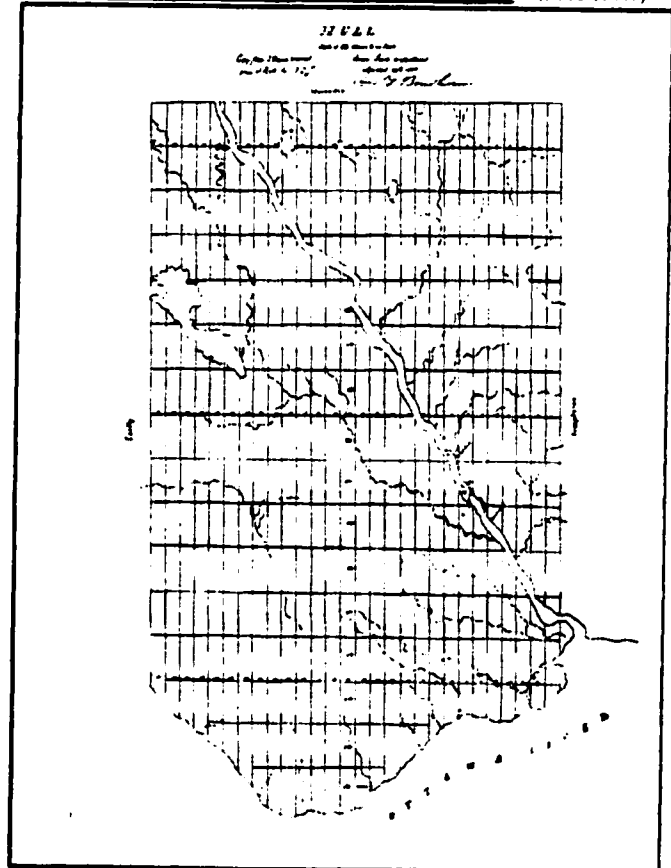
²²Bouchette, Joseph, General report of an official tour through the new settlements of the province of Lower Canada, (Quebec: T. Cary, 1825), Appendix C.

²³NAC. Lower Canada land, RG1 L3L, Reel C-2515, Vol 57 (Nov. 7, 1822) folios 2902-5. All but one had received an initial 100 acres; Wright recommended that each be awarded "a full lot" of 200 acres.

Bouchette was an enterprise of Thomas Brigham, an American from Chelsea, Vermont, nephew to Thomas Wright and son-in-law of Philemon, who reported that Brigham also planned "setting his flour mill agoing as quick as possible."²⁴ Bouchette's assessment of the natural advantages and infrastructure to support a village site was translated into action by Brigham and others who followed his impetus. Soon the anticipated grist mill, along with a blacksmith, various shops, hotels and taverns formed the nucleus of a relatively self-sufficient community centred around an area where several roads crossed, at the junction of the 8th and 9th Ranges and Lots 14 and 15. The village established there was first named Chelsea, but it later became Upper Chelsea and then Old Chelsea when another site about a mile further east along the same range line developed as (New) Chelsea. Between 1820 and 1826 a further 5,600 acres in ranges 6 through 11 were allocated, and Philemon's report on this group of settlers also lists the countries from which they had emigrated. Of the 40 families, 15 came from Ireland, 11 from England and 1 from Germany along with 1 from Lower Canada and 12 from the United States.²⁵

Settlement of the Chelsea sector of Hull Township continued northward and encompassed most of the accessible land by the end of the 1820s. Emigrants from the British Isles seeking opportunities in the New World joined Americans who left its populated areas and depleted lands to start businesses or farm new land, some of them kin and

Figure 1
Hull Township, 1848 copy from J. Davis original. (NMC-16449)



²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵Ibid., Vol 88, 43756. Again, Wright recommended doubling the 100 acres allotted to each settler.

friends of that first small group of settlers. Tiberius Wright, son of Philemon and nephew of Thomas, made a trip to England in 1816 and arranged for a number of men to come and work in the settlement.²⁶ In 1834 the Farmers, a well-off English family who had brought with them stock, supplies, and servants, were persuaded by Tiberius to purchase a site in Hull Township from him. The Rideau Canal project, in addition to its military employees, attracted stonemasons and labourers from the British Isles, and some of these then settled in the Chelsea area. The initially-Protestant Hull settlement gained Roman Catholics, mainly from Ireland, following the canal project and when Irish emigration increased before and during the famine years in that country. Francophones from Lower Canada were soon attracted to work as harvesters and in the timber industry, and then in the mills and enterprises which followed. Hamlets developed at road stopping points or industrial locations en route north: Ironside, Kirk's Ferry, Cascades and Farm Point on the west side of the river and Cantley on the east.

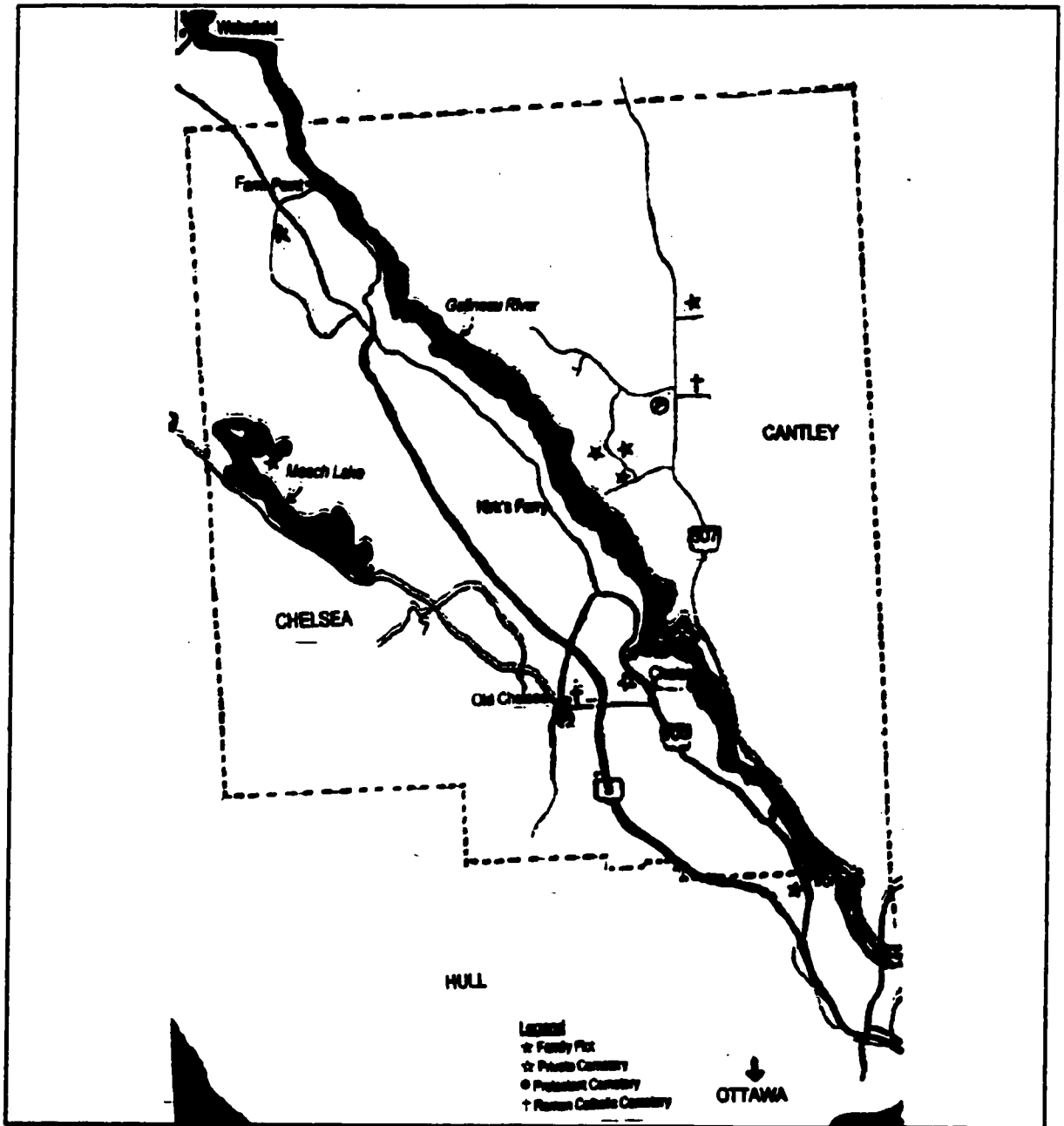
By the mid-nineteenth century, Chelsea had developed industries based on its timber, waterpower and mineral resources. These supplied British and American markets, and a few merchants supplied and supported a small local economy. As its mills and mines declined towards the end of that century, tourism began to provide another opportunity for the centres of local business and an additional source of cash income to Chelsea's farmers. A railroad in the 1880s helped push settlement through to points north and brought cottagers and recreational visitors along with further development. However, Chelsea remained a farm-centred rural community until the latter half of the twentieth century, when its proximity to Ottawa-Hull led to an increasing role as a dormitory community for those working in these cities.

Municipal boundaries and names changed over time. Sections of Hull Township became municipalities as the town of Hull received city status. In 1875 "The West Part of the Township of Hull," a sector comprising all of today's Chelsea (as well as Cantley) received municipal status, as did "The South Part" of the Township. West Hull's territory at that time had a southern boundary at the fourth Range of Hull, and included lands on both sides of the Gatineau River. In 1889 East Hull, now the Municipality of Cantley, carved off the territory east of the river, and over the years the boundaries of Hull nudged northwards, overtaking chunks of Chelsea's southern territory through a succession of incremental acquisitions. Chelsea Municipality's 1997 map shows a triangular territory whose long side runs from Ranges 6 and 7 bordering Hull to the end of Range 16 in the north. At its northern tip it is only

²⁶ He paid their passage, in return for which they were indentured for two years.

five lots (24 to 28) in breadth, while the southern end runs from lot 7 to 28. Extending less than 10 miles from north to south, it averages about half that distance from east to west. Meech Lake is within its limits, and a portion of its undeveloped land is reserved as part of Gatineau Park. The municipal name Chelsea, adopted on April 28, 1990, reflects the dominance of the two villages, Old Chelsea and Chelsea.

Figure 2
Chelsea, 1998 map showing cemeteries



2.2 Burial custom at the outset of the nineteenth century

Some pioneer settlements had townsite plans which even provided for graveyards. Cooperstown, established in upper New York state in the late eighteenth century, included a cemetery in its plan.²⁷ Nineteenth-century maps of Hull Township simply show lot plans, or the developing Wright's Town (also known as Columbia Village, later Hull) with its roads, bridges and building landmarks. Village diagrams of streets and features of Old Chelsea and (New) Chelsea have been constructed after the fact in the twentieth century, to show some of their features at earlier dates, but no pre-1881 town plans have been located.²⁸ In 1827 Thomas Brigham was writing to Philemon Wright in Quebec City to "send us the plan of the vilage we are often requested to show it but cannot."²⁹ Although both Wright's Town and Chelsea had general village sites identified by this date, it is likely that Brigham's concern was with Chelsea, the newest town area, in which he had a large personal stake. But even without formal plans for town layouts or for burial places in them, the settlers who came had ideas about death custom and burial sites.

A long Christian tradition had fostered concern for both the dead body and its burial place. While burial is not solely a Christian practice, at the turn of the nineteenth century it was certainly the accepted way of dealing with the dead throughout Europe and among the Europeans who had colonized North America. As a practical step, it disposed of the body, and marking the site prevented accidentally disinterring the remains. Cremation as an alternative to burial only began to appeal to the British toward the end of the nineteenth century, and to

²⁷ Alan Taylor, William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic, (New York: Vantage Books, 1996), 201.

²⁸ For recreated plans showing some early landmarks, see Evans, Tale of Two Chelseas, "Reference pages 74, 75, 76." The National Archives of Canada holds an 1881 map of Hull Township (NMC 118930-3) with insets of parts of Chelsea and Old Chelsea. However, the Old Chelsea plan simply shows streets and lot subdivisions of lot 14 in Ranges 8 and 9, without identifying the cemetery on the lot, and also omits the other cemeteries in Old Chelsea and Chelsea.

²⁹NAC, Wright Papers, MG24 D8 Vol 16, letter 8 March 1827, 5567-8.

Americans and Canadians later in the twentieth.³⁰ But beyond the practicalities of disposal, people express social values in the way they deal with the dead, and Christian tradition had selected, incorporated and modified many pre-Christian Greek and Roman practices, which placed the bodies of the dead in certain sites, and marked the resting places with memorials to them as persons.

While the Greeks and Romans had chosen burial sites located away from habitations, and the Roman Law of the Twelve Tables forbade burial within the city, the early Christians began to associate more closely with their dead, venerating sites where Christian martyrs were buried, building basilicas on their burial sites, and placing the dead within church precincts.³¹ Proximity to the bones of a martyr was thought to attract their influence and intercessions for those buried nearby, and the most influential and wealthiest sought to be buried nearest to the holiest places within the church. The altar, then the apse and walls of the church building were important sites for tombs, followed by the exterior grounds around the church. From the fifth century onward, burial places came to be associated with church sites. Archaeological evidence shows that in British and French towns during the 9th, 10th and 11th centuries Christian churches and graveyards were normally laid out together.³² Churches were now centrally-located, in the midst of towns, and burial grounds for European Christians had become church-owned and administered. Walls and other barriers surrounded the churches and churchyards which became consecrated spaces after a bishop solemnly processed around the boundaries, expelling by special prayers all evil influences which might disturb the living or the dead.³³ Like other pagan

³⁰ Data on cremation in Britain from James Stevens Curl, The Victorian Celebration of Death (Detroit: The Partridge Press, 1972), 162-7; in the United States less than 1% of the dead were cremated in 1900 but by 1950 the figure had risen to about 3.8%, according to Robert W. Habenstein and William M. Lamers, Funeral Customs the World Over (Milwaukee: Bulfin Printers, Inc., 1963), 753. A crematorium in Montreal received the blessing of the Roman Catholic Church in 1902, according to Réal Brisson, La Mort au Québec (Quebec: CÉLAT, Université Laval, 1988), 47.

³¹ Ariès, Western Attitudes toward Death, 15.

³² Julia Barrow, "Urban cemetery location in the high Middle Ages," ch.in Steven Bassett, ed., Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992). Barrow notes that Jewish burial sites of the time were generally extramural but close to the outskirts of towns.

³³ Curl, 28-9.

customs which became Christianized, memorializing the life of the dead person continued, with prayers added to biographical and genealogical information.

After the Reformation, when Roman Catholic and Protestant dogma about aspects of death and the afterlife diverged, many general death customs remained common to both groups. If Protestants did not expect a purgatory after death, and therefore did not need masses and intercessions for their dead, the different Christian denominations continued to share beliefs about the need for funeral services and proper burial. However, after the sixteenth century there were rival religious groups with unequal status when it came to burial rights. In France, it was the Roman Catholic church which held sway until the end of the eighteenth century, when the Revolution removed cemeteries from church control and the state took over other church property. In England, the Anglicans, as the established church, had a monopoly over parish churchyard burials which also included an obligation to provide a full Anglican burial service for any Dissenters to be buried there.³⁴ As numbers of Dissenters increased in Britain, their complaints led to various accommodations, such as permitting their ministers to conduct funeral services standing just outside the parish churchyard.³⁵ The idea of consecrating burial ground was also repugnant to some Dissenters, and even if consecration was acceptable to others, the unbaptised were excluded, so that Baptists who believed in adult baptism found their children barred from the Anglican churchyards.³⁶ Anglicans and Roman Catholics also recognized only their own consecrated grounds as appropriate for burial of their parishioners. As the eighteenth century drew to a close in Europe and Britain, most burials were in religiously-controlled churchyard.

Across the Atlantic in British North America and the United States during this period, churchyards also offered burial but they were not nearly as universal as in the old world. Different living conditions prompted the Europeans who settled in North America to organize

³⁴ Brooks, 3.

³⁵ Julie Rugg, ch "The Origins and Progress of Cemeteries Established in Britain, in Peter C. Jupp and Glennys Howarth, eds., The Changing Face of Death (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire and London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1997), 112.

³⁶ Clare Gittings, Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England, (London and Sydney: Croom Helm, 1984), 82-84. Midwives in England were empowered to baptise newborns, thus allowing them a "Christian burial."

other burial places apart from churches. These sites were oriented either to family or community activity, and centrally-located near a homestead or neighbourhood building or crossroads. David Sloane reviewed different types of North American burial sites in the context of a study of “rural” cemeteries and memorial gardens in the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He described a progressive process from the earliest burials “by pioneers in unorganized, isolated places,” to a “more formal honoring of the dead” as settlement grew when a burial ground set on a family farm might also be used by neighbouring families, and then, as churches were built, churchyards were established.³⁷ The lack of clergy and churches which had led settlers to make the funeral a community affair, symbolic of the settlement’s continuation despite individual deaths, translated into the establishment of communal burial grounds that were not associated with churches.³⁸ Larry Price, a geographer, was interested in the reasons for the establishment of different types of burial site, their average time-span or duration of use, and reasons why their use was discontinued.³⁹ He observed burial places in Illinois which had been used from “pioneer times to the present” and found that the earliest graves were undifferentiated plots situated along early trading routes or near the spot where death occurred, often marked with uncarved stones. Next came small family plots located on individual farms, and concurrently or slightly later, cemeteries located at focal points of rural activity, such as at a road junction or near a church or school.⁴⁰ While Sloane was commenting on general American burial custom up to about 1820, Price’s study of Illinois burials dealt with a time span from 1860 to 1950.

In New England, family plots were less popular than in other parts of the United States, as Puritans followed English custom and buried their dead around their meeting houses or organized neighbourhood burial places.⁴¹ This practice went back to early colonial times and the type of settlement along the New England seaboard, where it suited the establishment of

³⁷Sloane, 13.

³⁸Ibid., 17.

³⁹Larry W. Price, “Some Results and Implications of a Cemetery Study,” The Professional Geographer 28, no. 4 (July, 1966), 201-207. Price studied 214 sites in two counties.

⁴⁰ Price also noted cemeteries founded still later on at the margins of population centres, which grew rapidly during the twentieth century.

⁴¹ Sloane, 15.

village churchyards or municipal graveyards as early as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.⁴² It was also a custom suited to relatively homogeneous settlements where one religious denomination prevailed. While Dissenters in Britain had met with difficulty in avoiding Anglican Church control over their burials, in parts of New England they were the majority group, and accordingly established the burial sites. Even so, there were incidents such as Sir Edmund Andros' 1688 action to erect the King's Chapel on part of Boston's first burial ground, and his conversion of this originally secular ground to a churchyard.⁴³ But the United States had no single established church, although the early towns in parts of New England were predominantly Puritan, and various states attracted settlements by one or another Christian denomination such as Roman Catholics in Maryland and Quakers in Pennsylvania. Settlement characteristics and population density clearly played an important role in the development of American cemetery types. Perhaps most relevant to understanding the Chelsea settlement is the observation by cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky that the American custom became "the family plot and bucolic community graveyard" when settlement expanded inland.⁴⁴

Like the United States, British North America at the end of the eighteenth century was also religiously diverse and overwhelmingly rural. Although the Anglican Church was for a period the established church in Canada and Newfoundland, here it had neither the ubiquity nor the control that it exercised in England.⁴⁵ The Roman Catholic Church in Quebec province remained powerful under British colonial rule, and Methodists, Presbyterians and Baptists had important followings among the Protestants in English-speaking Quebec and the other provinces.

Several observers described aspects of the nineteenth-century rural scene in Newfoundland and various Canadian provinces. Beginning in the mid-eighteenth century and

⁴² Wilbur Zelinsky, The Cultural Geography of the United States, rev. ed. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1992), 49.

⁴³ Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery, (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 24, 25.

⁴⁴ Zelinsky, 49.

⁴⁵ Half a century later, the presence of significant numbers of Presbyterians eventually forced the nineteenth-century colonial government to divide funds from the sale of clergy reserves in Canada rather than allocate them only to the Anglican Church.

continuing for a hundred years, Newfoundlanders tended to establish community cemeteries, according to Gerald Pocius.⁴⁶ Most often, these took the form of a single cemetery where people of different denominations were buried in the midst of their neighbourhood. There they were in full view of daily community activity and “situated in a prominent place that visually spoke of the ongoing presence of the dead in normal life.” Like early Canadian pioneer cemeteries, those in Newfoundland were moulded by an important factor: the absence of clergymen.⁴⁷ David B. Knight, a Canadian geographer, drew on examples from a Westport, Ontario cemetery and Michigan, and found that the cemetery types described by Larry Price were generally applicable to these situations. Like Pocius, he concluded that the absence of clergy during the early pioneer years in Eastern Ontario had allowed or stimulated the foundation of non-denominational community burial places.⁴⁸ Although Roger Hall and Bruce Bowden were interested in the new “rural” or “garden” cemeteries whose emergence coincided with the rise of cities during the latter part of the nineteenth century, their observations about early Ontario burying-grounds describe some of the characteristics of the non-sectarian cemeteries located in its small towns.⁴⁹ While these early Ontario cemeteries left few records, Hall and Bowden found two, Borgoyne and Norwich, that documented such activities as work bees for their upkeep and community fund-raisers to pay expenses. The Ontario Board of Health records of reports from eleven eastern Ontario counties early in the twentieth century classified 116 cemeteries as secular and non-private, 41 as family and private and 582 attached to a church, providing an important indication of the presence in the previous century of these types of non-religious cemeteries.⁵⁰ Hall and Bowden concluded that “originally the burying-ground was organically part of the social and geographic landscape in early Ontario communities, rural and urban.”⁵¹ Colin Coates found examples of burials by the wayside or in the family garden in isolated areas or by specific groups in British Columbia’s early years,

⁴⁶Pocius, 25-34.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸David B. Knight, Cemeteries as Living Landscapes (publ 73-8, Ottawa Branch: Ontario Genealogical Society, 1973; reprinted Sept. 1989).

⁴⁹Hall and Bowden, 13-24.

⁵⁰Ibid., 16.

⁵¹Ibid., 14.

although given that province's settlement later in the nineteenth century, there seem to have been few centrally-located town cemeteries before a rapid transition to "garden" cemeteries outside the city limits began in 1860.⁵² These and others noted aspects of family, community and church-linked burial places, as well as a few sites away from these settled areas which had been used for voyageurs and other travellers. Réal Brisson, in *La Mort au Québec*, documented death and burial practice in French-speaking Roman Catholic Quebec before and during the nineteenth century, with some limited reference to Protestant custom and sites during this period.⁵³

While there is no pre-nineteenth century (or even later) inventory of North American cemeteries or burial practices, it is clear that private and community burial places were frequent in North America and co-existed or overlapped with church burial sites during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and into the twentieth. On the other hand, private burial plots were a rarity in Britain, France and other parts of Europe, where wealthy families occasionally had family tombs on their estates. Sloane remarked on the contrast: "in burying their dead away from the church and close to home, [American] settlers acted in marked contrast to their European contemporaries. Europeans had no tradition of family burial places, although there were examples of estate burial places unattached to churches."⁵⁴ At the outset of the nineteenth century, the state controlled French burial sites and the church controlled most English ones, while families, communities and churches controlled North American burial places. Organized burial places continued to be a feature of Christian culture, but the types of site and their control varied.

For centuries, all levels of society were concerned about treatment of the body after death. Christian belief up to the Middle Ages emphasized a vision of bodily resurrection of the dead at the second coming of Christ.⁵⁵ From this, the layout of many cemeteries placed graves on an east-west axis, so that the head would face the east, towards Jerusalem, at that moment.

⁵²Colin M. Coates, "Monuments and Memories: The Evolution of B.C. Cemeteries 1850-1950," *Material History Bulletin*, 25 (Spring 1987), 11-19.

⁵³Brisson.

⁵⁴Sloane, 15.

⁵⁵Gittings, 20.

If later religious tradition placed less importance on readiness for Christ's second coming, people continued to be concerned with respectful treatment of the dead body. In later folk tradition, some North American communities selected their grave orientation towards a vista or community sight, based on what the living thought that the dead would like to view. As Pocius remarked about Newfoundland's early cemeteries, they were situated "attentive to a belief that the dead ultimately retain some personal concerns that they had while living," which meant that there most cemeteries overlooked the sea.⁵⁶

The idea of a "decent burial" included even the disadvantaged and those at odds with the law, who, like the rest of society wanted their bodies to be wrapped and buried, and a funeral held to mark their passing.⁵⁷ In England, parish funds provided for funerals and interment of paupers and the poor, while the bodies of persons committing dire crimes might be mistreated after death as a kind of ultimate further earthly punishment. The body parts of traitors and some kinds of criminals were sometimes displayed for a period of time on the city gates, and afterwards denied Christian burial rites or placement in consecrated ground. This extreme punishment of the dead body was reserved for the most severe crimes, and the vast majority of executed criminals were buried in churchyards, often in the parish where the jail was located.⁵⁸ In pre-industrial England, some suicides were not only buried outside the churchyards at a cross-roads but a stake was driven through their dead bodies. These practices were based on beliefs about the body's potential influence: the cross-roads were thought to diffuse its evil influence in several directions, and the stake was to prevent the body "from walking." This was not universal practice, since church records also provide instances of suicides buried near the church, often on its north side, if not within its sanctified burial space.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Pocius, 26, 32.

⁵⁷ Gittings, 60. She cites the example of an eighteenth-century thief about to be hanged, who requested his former master to provide money for a shroud and coffin.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 67. According to Gittings, only those committing high treason, and after 1751, murderers, were denied rites of Christian burial in England. John Gibaut, Director, Anglican Studies at Ottawa's Saint Paul University notes that in the nineteenth century the preface to the Anglican Office for the burial of the dead indicated that it was not to be used for unbaptised or excommunicated persons, or those who committed suicide.

⁵⁹ Gittings, 72-73.

In addition to concern over provision of burial places and proper handling of the dead body, Europeans, including those who settled North America, cared about specific space allocation within the burial sites. Christian tradition viewed the world of the dead very much in terms of the society of the living. While the Church might emphasize the importance of the spirit and the insignificance of the dead body, individuals and their families were concerned over locations for themselves or their beloved dead as well as proper rituals to facilitate and commemorate their passing. The society of the dead was organized within specific spaces, and individuals and their kin wanted to determine where the dead would be placed. Status and wealth continued to be important in death, as in life, by permitting influential families to purchase places near the holiest parts of the church. But other reasons influenced the choice of site. Although a "good" location within the church building or its property was highly desirable, people wanted to be buried near family members. Records of medieval Londoners showed that the majority indicated where in the church grounds they wished to be buried, and many specified that they wanted to be in or near to the grave of another individual, often a spouse.⁶⁰ Persons choosing to be buried outside their parish of residence were doing so in order to be buried near an existing grave or tomb.⁶¹ Family tombs for powerful and wealthy families could still be obtained within many British churches during the seventeenth century, although in the eighteenth century space in town churches and cemeteries was increasingly taken up and it was becoming more difficult to group family members together. In eighteenth and early nineteenth-century North America, sufficient burial space was often left for a spouse and sometimes for others in the family when a grave was sited. Later, when burial plots could be purchased in advance, some families ensured that there would be space for their kin by buying plots to accommodate specific numbers of persons.

Although the interests of individuals and family members in appropriate burial and death rites were part of the fabric of the wider community, they were not always synchronous with church and government rules or practice. Throughout the eighteenth century, there was growing pressure in England by those dissenting from the officially-established Anglican Church to establish sites other than the parish churchyard, and apart from Bunhill Fields, the

⁶⁰ Vanessa Harding, "Burial choice and burial location in later medieval London," ch. in Bassett, Death in Towns. Harding analyzed a sample of London wills from 1380 to 1541.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

London public ground open to all, Non-conformists in a few towns established several small burial grounds near their meeting houses.⁶² Another problem was soon to reach crisis proportions as burgeoning cities ran out of burial space. As English churchyards in the growing towns became increasingly crowded during the eighteenth century, it was apparently left to individual parishes and their rectors to devise their own solutions for the overfilled grounds. Anglican clerical incomes depended to an important extent on burial fees, with additional charges for vestries, parish clerks, and sextons.⁶³ Some inner-city London churches resorted to ad hoc solutions to move churchyard contents to make way for further burials. According to Blanche Linden-Ward, “the use of small plots of urban land was extended in London by an efficient system for recycling space and disposing of exhumed bones. As late as June 1819 ... many tons of exhumed bones every year ... [were] sent from London to the north.” There they were crushed and used as fertilizer.⁶⁴ In France, the burial grounds in Paris had become so overfilled and neglected that municipal authority closed the Cimetière des Innocents, its central burial site, in 1784.⁶⁵ Between 1786 and 1788 bones from this site and several others were cleared away, and plans were made for new cemeteries on the city outskirts.⁶⁶ In England and France the dead bodies consigned to spaces in churches and their yards were no longer resting in many of them, something that was soon to happen in such American cities as Boston and New York, and later in Canadian cities such as Montreal. This would provide a stimulus for urban cemetery changes in Britain, Europe and North America later in the nineteenth century.

In 1801, then, various types of burial places existed as models for Thomas Wright’s kin and the neighbours who came as immigrants to the Hull settlement and Chelsea, but when he died burial was the only option for disposal of his body. At the outset of the nineteenth century, a prevailing Christian culture gave a religious interpretation to death throughout Europe and in North America’s settlements. The dead were buried, their bodies treated as a continuing part

⁶²Brooks, 3. Linden-Ward, in Silent City, 23, noted that burial in Bunhill involved purchasing a “a place for a price.”

⁶³Brooks, 3.

⁶⁴Linden-Ward, Silent City, 27-8.

⁶⁵ Brooks, 7

⁶⁶ Ibid. The bones were placed in underground quarries outside the city, where they were stacked and “artistically displayed.”

of the person with burial places selected in terms of status, wealth and significant others, and tombs marked by monuments when possible. While Wright's family was deciding where to bury him and their neighbours would at some point make similar painful decisions about loved ones in the new conditions in Hull Township in Lower Canada, North Americans had already established a series of burial choices. In North America there was a clear gulf between urban practice and problems and rural life in the sparsely-settled countryside, with burial in the towns generally church-centred or town-administered, neighbourhood and private burial plots common in the countryside, and wayside graves providing a last resting place for some unfortunate travelling pioneers. And the Hull settlement and Chelsea would continue to require burial spaces, as their pioneers aged and died, met with disease or accident, as births were at some stage followed by deaths.

3. CHELSEA'S NINETEENTH-CENTURY BURIAL SITES

Families and the neighbourhood were the basic institutions in the social structure of new settlements. Frontier populations which at first lacked formal institutions such as churches and schools relied on informal, individual resources to carry out religious and educational activities. Organization of burial places, too, depended initially on family and neighbours; church-sponsored sites and private cemeteries followed. The informality of early burial arrangements is reflected in Canadian laws, which only in the 1850s began to spell out provisions regarding burial places. In many cases, these informally-adapted cemetery institutions gradually took on more formal attributes as they persisted, or declined in the face of the formal organizations which replaced them.

In nineteenth-century Lower Canada, as in neighbouring Upper Canada, religious institutions did not immediately press to provide spiritual leadership. Homes or a school house provided space for religious services held occasionally by itinerant or missionary preachers. There was certainly no "established church" in charge of religious activity for the diverse group of pioneers who settled the Hull and Chelsea area. Methodist preachers visited a "circuit" in the early 1800s and Anglicans came from St. Andrews East (near Lachute) to periodically serve the growing community in Hull Township. Some of the Americans who arrived first were Congregationalists, and Asa Meech, a Congregationalist preacher, took up land in the Chelsea area. Several members of the Wright family were baptised Anglicans in 1833, following the family's participation in funding and building St. James Anglican Church in Hull in the early 1820s.⁶⁷ An 1831 census of Hull Township reported 872 members of the Church of England, 174 of the Church of Scotland, and 728 Roman Catholics.⁶⁸ Other religious groups came and went during the early years: by the late 1830s or early 1840s the Baptists had a church in Old Chelsea, an Anglican minister named Burwell became an adherent of a sect called the Irvingites with his converts calling themselves "Catholic Apostolics," and Mormon missionaries even

⁶⁷John Irwin Cooper, The Blessed Communion (Montreal: The Archives' Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), 28.

⁶⁸NAC, Wright papers, MG 24 D8, Vol 124, 66328.

attracted a few local families who moved away to reach Salt Lake City.⁶⁹ Chelsea's Protestant Irish were a significant group who, according to census returns, were officially affiliated with the Church of Ireland or the Presbyterians.⁷⁰ Chelsea residents erected a Presbyterian church building in 1858 and found a minister for it in the 1860s. It was followed later by a Wesleyan Methodist church and the Anglican church of St. Mary Magdalene in 1875.⁷¹ Roman Catholics in the area were first served from Aylmer, and the mission of St. Stephen's began in Chelsea in 1840 serving a mainly Irish, English-speaking population.⁷² By the 1870s, Protestant denominations had located three church buildings in the newer Chelsea, while the Roman Catholic church was in Old Chelsea. On the east side of the Gatineau, Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in Cantley were St. Andrew's Presbyterian, dating to 1877, and St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic, erected in 1858. Hull Township's church buildings, when they were established, were located in Wright's Town, Old and New Chelsea, and Cantley. In the 1890s, Protestant subscribers erected all-purpose buildings for schooling and worship at Kirk's Ferry and Cascades. St. Clément was erected as a mission to serve Farm Point Roman Catholics in 1916.⁷³

While there was clearly a considerable hiatus before Hull Township and Chelsea had religious establishments, the need for burial places did not wait. Nathaniel Chamberlin, another American who had come to Hull Township with the Wrights, died before 1802. His burial site is apparently unmarked and unknown, but given the considerable distance to any other population centre, it is very likely that both he and Thomas Wright were first laid to rest in graves on their family homesteads. A census of 1820 reported 23 deaths in relation to a population of 703 for all of Hull Township. Of these, 10 were children under the age of 10, 3 were cases of death by accidents, and 10 were "grown persons," presumably at least 11 years

⁶⁹Elliott, "The Famous Township of Hull," 361.

⁷⁰The Anglican Church would provide the Canadian equivalent of the Church of Ireland.

⁷¹Jean Vivian, A History of St. Mary Magdalene Church, Chelsea, (N.p.1965).

⁷²Founded as the mission and church of St. Étienne de Chelsea, its English-language translation is St. Stephen's.

⁷³Originally called Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, it was renamed in 1937 because there was already another parish with that name.

old. It also noted 1 death in 25 births.⁷⁴ Other than Thomas Wright's, no trace of a monument remains for any of these individuals or for others who must have died during the earliest years of the settlement. They may have used wooden markers for their graves, although there was at least one mason who constructed the stone buildings erected within the first few years of Wright's Town, and in the 1820s an influx of masons arrived to work on the Rideau Canal. A grave somewhere on the homestead was the probable site for those persons who died during the early years before communal and church-sponsored sites provided alternatives to the family plot.

Chelsea's European settlers shared English as a common language and almost universally professed Christian belief, but socially they identified themselves as Protestants or Roman Catholics. The communal organization of burial places reflected this separation for the dead as well as their living families. Governments of the period perceived an extensive role for the church in guiding other institutions including schools and hospitals, and laws accordingly reflected their denominational tie with a specific religious group or congregation. By the 1860s, Chelsea's schools were affiliated with one or the other group. When Quebec laws respecting burial and cemetery organization began to be drafted in the latter part of the century, these too were written in terms of cemeteries belonging to religious congregations, and to "Catholic" and "non-Catholic" cemeteries.

Within ten years of Chelsea's settlement, by the 1830s, at least one identified family plot and the Protestant community cemetery were established. By the 1840s the community had a Roman Catholic cemetery and two more family plots, and not later than the 1850s the burial site which developed to become a private Protestant cemetery was in use. When Chelsea's Protestants finally erected church buildings, none of them developed churchyards for burial purposes. Hull Township was apparently not much in advance. The earliest monuments in its Protestant cemeteries date to the second decade of the nineteenth century: in Aylmer's Bellevue rests Ann Taylor, who died on May 25, 1812, aged 3 years, and in Hull's St. James Cemetery, Mary Wright, "consort to Ephraim Chamberlin" who was born December 5, 1791 and died on March 11, 1821. An 1834 note in the Wright Papers refers to 3 acres of land for a burial ground in Lot 5 Range 3.⁷⁵ This is the site now known as St. James Cemetery, or the

⁷⁴NAC, Wright Papers MG 24 D8 Vol 124, folio 66324.

⁷⁵Ibid., 66137.

“lower graveyard” mentioned in early Anglican records, which was used as a community burial area by Protestants.⁷⁶

In the Roman Catholic Notre Dame Cemetery, founded in 1872, a stone for George Smyth (“of Elizebeth Town de of Jonstown Upr Provence”) notes his drowning in the Rideau River on May 6, 1809 or 1828.⁷⁷ Perhaps this stone marks a wayside site where the unfortunate Smyth’s body was recovered and buried at the time, or simply a place, once the cemetery was established, where the crudely-carved stone and probably the body of Smyth, could be placed in consecrated ground. The cemetery developed from 4 acres donated by the Leamy family of Hull, but if others were buried here between 1809 and 1872, they remain undocumented. Sadly, there are no known first-person accounts in journals, letters, coroners’ reports or documents of the period that document any burials in wayside or “undifferentiated” plots in Chelsea or within Hull Township.⁷⁸

Chelsea’s early burial places, then, included family plots, a private cemetery, a Protestant community cemetery and a Roman Catholic churchyard. These four types of cemetery which responded to the community’s early needs are described in the following sections which examine their geographical, physical and social connection with the community, and the information they provide about death custom of the time.

⁷⁶See, for example, Anglican Records (Anglican Diocesan Archives, Volume M-3689), for the period 1854-1880s.

⁷⁷Cemetery information from Paul Germain, Directeur, Les Jardins du Souvenir (Interviews, November 9, 12, 1998). Apart from Smyth’s stone, the other burial markers in this cemetery are consistent with its 1872 establishment date. The Evening Citizen (Ottawa: Saturday August 31, 1929) contains an article on Smyth. According to this source, Andrew Leamy happened to be on the Ottawa river opposite the Rideau Falls when Smyth’s body was found, and decided to give it a decent burial in a quiet spot on his property. The Leamy family tradition places the date of the burial as 1828, a year after the start of work on the Rideau Canal. Bruce S. Elliott reads the Smyth date as 1809 in his article, “The Oldest Tombstone in the Ottawa Valley?,” Ottawa Branch News, Ontario Genealogical Society, 8, no. 6, (1976), 4-5.

⁷⁸The Wright Papers contain several reports of cases involving Coroners’ juries, but they give no indication about disposal of the bodies.

3.1 Chelsea's family plots

On August 29, 1832, Catharine Parr Strickland Traill vividly set down her impressions of burial sites in south-eastern Ontario:

Among other objects my attention was attracted by the appearance of open burying-grounds by the roadside. Pretty green mounds, surrounded by groups of walnut and other handsome timber trees, contained the graves of a family, or may be, some favoured friends slept quietly below the turf beside them. If the ground was not consecrated, it was hallowed by the tears and prayers of parents and children.⁷⁹

Catharine Traill and her husband Thomas were British emigrants travelling from Prescott to Peterborough, where they intended to settle, and she recorded this observation in her diary as they stopped in Cobourg. Her description would ring true for most settlements in Canada and the United States during the nineteenth century, where the family plot was a common feature of the homestead. Twentieth-century researchers have made similar observations about family plots such as the ones Traill described. As Larry Price noted in Illinois and David Knight in Ontario, most of them are marked with a few trees; Knight noticed that these trees give an indication of species indigenous to the region. According to Price and Knight, family plots were usually found on some sort of hill, elevation or sloping ground, and generally accommodated 20 or fewer burials.

Larry Price suggested both constraints and choices as reasons why families created their own burial sites. Transportation and costs were constraining factors in pioneer rural areas, where wagons drawn by horses or oxen were the chief means of transportation, restricting travel and making it expensive to reach the towns some distance away. Along with these limitations went a sense of self-sufficiency and attachment to the land that the family had developed, or was developing. David Knight added another reason why family plots were so frequent in Ontario: the absence of churches during its pioneer settlement period. Apart from the few churches located in towns, even after a minister or priest arrived in the settled area along the St. Lawrence, it took a further twenty or thirty years after the arrival of clergy before the erection of rural church buildings. Once built, the churches provided a focal point for the community, but in the interim, Knight found it likely that the lack of community focus was

⁷⁹ Catharine Parr Traill, The Backwoods of Canada, (Facsimile edition originally published London: Charles Knight, 1836, reprinted Montreal: Coles Publishing Co., 1971), 48.

another factor, in combination with the reasons advanced by Price, which encouraged burials on farms.⁸⁰

Within the greater Chelsea area, various records have provided evidence of six family plots and family memories recall at least four others. Only one of them, the Baldwin Family Cemetery, still stands within Chelsea's current boundaries, and another, the Blackburn Family Burial Ground, is preserved, but now located within the Municipality of Cantley. Four other documented sites, one in Chelsea, another within Hull's current limits and two further Cantley plots, now exist only as memories, and oral tradition places one more in Chelsea and three in Cantley. The earliest recorded date is 1836, significantly after the time of Chelsea's first settlement; the latest burial in any of them appears to have been in 1920.

What do their histories communicate about Chelsea's early family plots? First, only one plot was established by a Canadian-born family and none by Americans, so that the Scottish, English and Irish Protestants who established these particular burial sites presumably observed their neighbours or heard what others in their circumstances had done. These family plot locations were all at some distance from the Chelsea hub, but their known beginning dates overlap the establishment of the Old Chelsea Protestant community cemetery, and their use continued well after it and other community burial places became available.

The story of the Smith Family Plot is contained in a petition to the Governor by John Smith and his wife Jean McClelland.⁸¹ Originally from Armagh, Ireland, the Smiths settled on Lot 8 in Range 14 in 1830 or 1831. Their words describe the circumstances and establishment of a burial place on their farm:

Whereas whilst we were clearing and burning of the brush, our eldest son was in the field and a breeze springing up the brush took fire, enveloped him and he fell a victim to the flames and deprived us of his aid, darkening the hopes of our declining years. And his remains were interr'd upon the said Lot numbered eight in the fourteenth Concession of the Township of Hull Lower Canada on the second day of June 1836.

The petition, dated 8 February 1837, asks relief regarding arrears of quit rent, as the Smiths

⁸⁰Knight, 9,10.

⁸¹ANQ (Ste. Foy), Lower Canada land petition No. 1497/1500

have a family to provide for “and would not wish to leave the spot where the remains of our child is interr’d.”⁸²

The 1851 census suggests that the Smiths’ request found a favourable reply or that the family found the necessary funds. Fourteen years after his petition, the senior John Smith, by now a 60-year-old widower, was living with his son John who farmed the north 100 acres of Lot 8, Range 14, while Charles Smith had the south 100. Generations later, a descendant of the Smith family recalls mention of two burial sites on their property.⁸³ One is a little rise to the north-east of a brick house which replaced the earlier homestead, and the other a knoll where the remains of two farm workers who met accidental deaths were said to be buried.⁸⁴ No trace remains of these burial grounds, and the senior Smiths may lie in a now-forgotten site on the family property, or unmarked in the Cantley cemetery. The younger John Smith and later generations of the Smith family are buried in the Cantley United Cemetery. A recent stone in that cemetery commemorates John Smith and Jean McClelland, “natives of Ireland, arrived Cantley 1831, buried on farm.” John junior’s death date on the monument there is May 20, 1874, so the Smith family had apparently stopped using their family plot within thirty years.

Not far from the Smith property lived the James Brown family, also Irish Protestants, who had arrived in 1830 from County Fermanagh and located in Cantley. Presbyterian burial records refer to a private burial ground on the Brown family property during the early 1900s, where Thomas Brown’s wife, Margaret Pollock Blackburn, was interred on February 15, 1904; Thomas joined her there on March 12, 1910.⁸⁵ James Taylor, the Presbyterian minister, dutifully recorded their burial in a private cemetery, on Lot 11, Range 12.

Although there was a nearby Protestant cemetery at the time of Margaret and Thomas Brown’s burials, the Brown family had established a family plot at a much earlier date. Thomas

⁸²The annual amount in this case was £1/5s to be paid each year for 20 years.

⁸³Doug Smith, (interview, July 1997).

⁸⁴The house is now number 1130, *montée des Sources*; the knoll is located about 200 yards to the east off the same main road, just north of its junction with *chemin Claude-Lauzon*. Some McClelland descendants identify the knoll as a burial place for family members.

⁸⁵ANQ, Hull, Reel 299, Presbyterian records, Folios 88 and 108.

Howard Brown, son of Thomas and grandson of James, recalled that two children had been buried on the homestead, on the south side of the orchard. They were Judith, who died at the age of three on August 23, 1844, and Joseph, a year old at the time of his death on August 20, 1850, two of James and Ann's eleven children.⁸⁶ The senior Browns were then living on Lot 12, Range 12, but no grave markers remain on this former Brown property, and the brief lives of these young children remain memorialized only in the family Bible. When James Brown died in 1885 the Presbyterian records of the time simply mentioned his burial, but for his widow Ann in 1890 they noted her interment in "the Brown family burying ground." Some time after 1910, the bodies of James, Ann, Thomas and Margaret were moved to the nearby Cantley Protestant Cemetery, where one monument commemorates the four of them. The present owner of the Thomas Brown property, Denis Prud'Homme, whose father purchased it in 1951, recalls mention of a Brown burial plot, and could point out its general location on a rocky, tree-crowned knoll.⁸⁷ Although the family copy of the deed was destroyed in a house fire in the 1960s, Denis understood that the document mentioned a burial plot and specified that the Brown family retained the right to remove any bodies from it. Interestingly, the judicial copy of this document, on file in the Registry Office in Maniwaki, reserves only the property's mining rights for the Brown family.⁸⁸ Given the date of this sale, in all probability the bodies and family monument were moved to the Cantley cemetery well before the family decided to sell the property, but the location of that early burial site evidently remained part of the local memory. The known dates for use of Brown family burial grounds span 60 years, but probably refer to two plots, since the James Brown homestead antedated his son Thomas' farmstead, and the Brown children should have been buried at James' home on the adjoining farm. In either case, the Brown plot or plots offered a resting place to at least six people from three generations of the family.

⁸⁶Thomas Howard Brown, interview by C. Martin at his home in North Gower, Ont., on May 4, 1969. Thomas Howard Brown was born Jan 2, 1892. Death dates are from Mr. Brown's family Bible. The 1851 census, Reel C-1131 locates the James Browns on Lot 12, Range 12, living in a log house. By 1861 (Reel C-1303) they had built a frame house on Lot 11, Range 12, where they were enumerated in 1881 (C-13225) and 1891 (T-6412) with their son Thomas.

⁸⁷Visit, November 13, 1998, to Denis Prud'Homme property, 118 Prud'Homme Road, Cantley.

⁸⁸Gouvernement du Québec, Ministère de la Justice, Fonds des registres, (Maniwaki), Document 26935 enregistré le 21 juin 1951.

John Johnston, Missionary Priest of Hull's St. James Anglican Church, recorded a Blackburn family burial place in 1842. His entry reads:

Andrew, son of Robert Blackburn of Hull late of Scotland and Robina his wife was buried by me in the burial ground near the Gatineau River this eleventh day of August 1842 aged 19 years.

The Blackburn Family Private Cemetery Plot, on the north half of Lot 11, Range 11, stands within a grove of maple trees about 200 feet to the north of the River Road in Cantley. Its small area is rectangular in shape, only 28½ by 16½ feet in size, and neatly marked by a white picket fence. The two Victorian obelisk-style monuments in this space record 15 deaths between 1842 and 1899. Old-fashioned perennials, orange day lilies and sedum, carpet the tiny plot. Blackburns still own the cemetery property and the family homestead, located to the west of the plot, as well as land to the south, across the road.

The first members of this family to settle in Canada arrived from Renfrewshire, Scotland in 1829.⁸⁹ Andrew senior and his wife Isabella Lennox arrived with sons Andrew, David and John within a few years of each other, and by mid-century there were four Blackburn households in Chelsea with properties on both sides of the Gatineau River. In 1851 Andrew had 150 acres in Lot 13, Range 11; David 100 acres in Lot 11, Range 11, and John had 100 acres in Lot 11, Range 12. The senior Andrew lived with John, while another son or cousin, Robert, was a merchant living on Lot 9, Range 9, the property of Gilmour and Company.⁹⁰

The Anglican record's mention of a burial site near the river corresponds with the location of the Blackburn plot, and a reason for its establishment is suggested by two earlier burials in the same year. In this cemetery the deaths of Isabella and James, children of Andrew and Margaret and cousins to the Andrew mentioned in the Anglican records, are recorded on March 27, 1842. Later Presbyterian records refer to "a private Cemetery of Cantley" where another Andrew Blackburn was interred on June 30, 1899, and the "private burial ground of the family of the deceased" when John Knox Blackburn, son of Andrew and Elizabeth Blackburn was buried on September 14, 1907. Andrew Clifford Brown, son of Gordon Brown and Elizabeth Blackburn, painter of Ottawa, aged 3 mos., was interred on December 27, 1915 in the

⁸⁹Date of arrival from 1842 census (number of years in the Province); additional information from J. L. Gourlay, *History of the Ottawa Valley*, (N.p. 1896), 188.

⁹⁰NAC, 1851 Census for Township of Hull, District 3, Reel C-1131.

“private burial ground of Mr. Andrew Blackburn on Lot 11 in the 11th Range.” Elizabeth, wife of the then senior Andrew Blackburn, was buried in 1919 in the “Blackburn

Figure 3
Blackburn Monument Transcripts

Monument on west side of plot:

<p>ISABELLA Died Mar. 27, 1842 AE. 5 Yrs. JAMES DIED Mar. 27 1842 AE. 4 Yrs.</p> <p>LENNOX DIED July 24, 1847, AE. 5 Yrs. ROBINA BUCHAN Died Aug. 27, 1851 AE. 1 Yr.</p> <p>WILLIAM Died Sept. 10, 1851, AE. 3 Yrs.</p> <p>Children of Andrew & Margaret Blackburn</p>	<p>ANDREW BLACKBURN BORN Jan. 18, 1811, DIED July 31, 1890.</p> <p>MARGARET POLLOCK his wife Born July 23, 1812, Died March 8, 1886.</p> <p>CHRISTINA BLACKBURN Wife of D. CAMERON DIED Sept. 12, 1895, Aged 47 Yrs.</p> <p>BLACKBURN</p>
(South face)	(East face)

Monument on east side of plot:

<p>ANDREW BLACKBURN BORN Dec. 9, 1770, DIED APRIL 29, 1855 his wife ISABELLA LENNOX born Aug. 13, 1775, died Jan. 14, 1860.</p> <p>Their Son John born Dec. 18, 1817, Died 1866. BLACKBURN</p>	<p>DAVID BLACKBURN BORN July 19, 1815, DIED JUNE 28 1899.</p> <p>his Wife CATHERINE DAVIS Born July 22, 1822, Died May 9, 1851.</p> <p>Their son's WILLIAM Born Nov. 30, 1845, Died July 10, 1847.</p> <p>ANDREW Born Aug. 29, 1844, Died March 17, 1875. BLACKBURN</p>
(South face)	(East face)

Family Private Cemetery Plot of Cantley,” and Andrew, who died in Ottawa a few months later, was buried there in 1920.⁹¹ (See Figure 3, above, Blackburn Monument Transcripts, and Figure 4, Blackburn Family, page 37, which illustrates a family tree for Blackburn family members identified in the cemetery and these records).

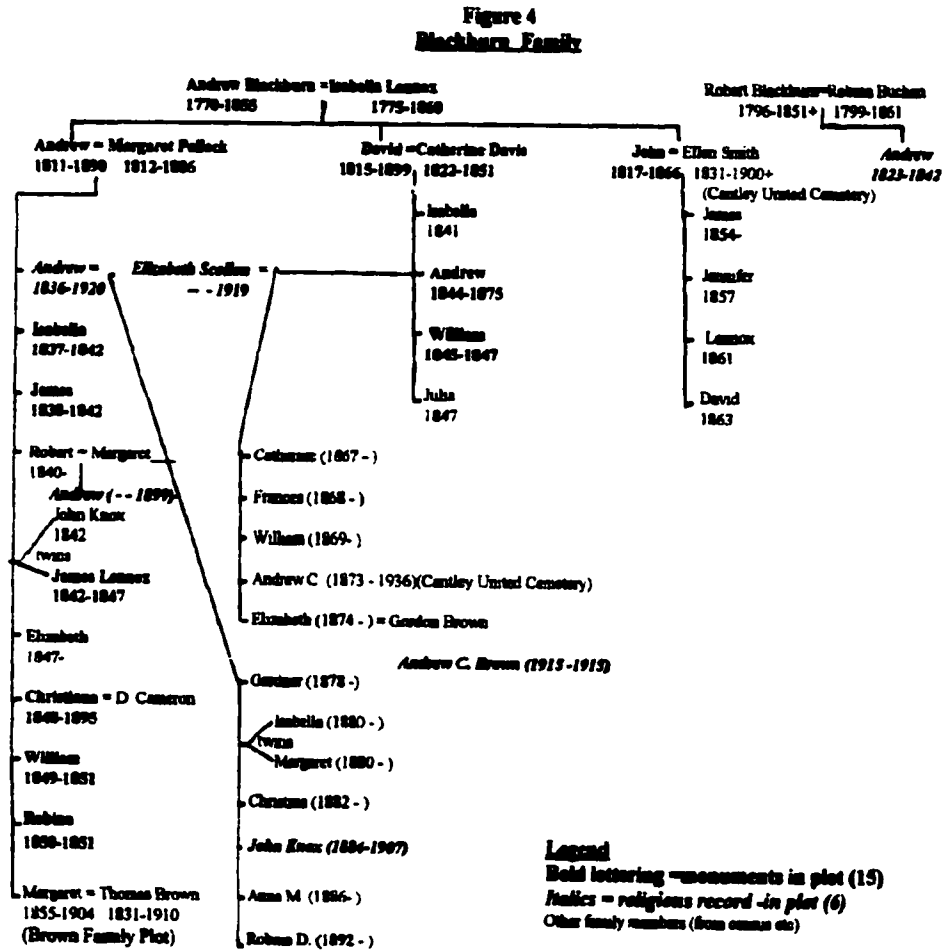
In 1896, J. L. Gourlay wrote in his History of the Ottawa Valley that twenty-seven of the Blackburn relatives were buried in “the cemetery at Cantley.”⁹² If he was referring to their family plot, subsequent burials recorded after this date on this cemetery’s monuments and in church records would bring the total to at least 33.⁹³ The continued residence of family members living on the homestead property undoubtedly facilitated its use for relatives who had moved to nearby Ottawa. Members of at least five generations of the Blackburn family are buried in this family plot, whose use spans 78 years.

⁹¹ANQ, Hull, Reel 299, records of St. Andrew’s Presbyterian Church, 1881-1925.

⁹²Gourlay, 187. The Protestant cemetery at Cantley has only two Blackburn monuments, both twentieth century (1936 and 1945).

⁹³Of the 15 persons recorded on the cemetery monuments, 14 died before 1896. If 27 were then buried in the cemetery, this would mean 13 unrecorded burials. A review of religious records found 6 additional names of persons buried in the family plot after 1896 for whom there are no markers. 14+13+6=33 burials.

Figure 4
Blackburn Family



The Hammond family plot was the latest-established and probably the shortest-lived of Chelsea's known family burial sites. James Hammond, born at Milles-Isles in Argenteuil County, Quebec, had operated a temperance hotel in Wakefield Township before purchasing this 160-acre farm, most of Lot 4 in Range 6, in the mid-1880s. The property included an imposing stone residence built by the Donnellys, New Englanders who had arrived in the 1820s. Although the Donnellys are interred in the Old Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground, the Hammonds chose a site on their farm. Jim Hammond (III), grandson of the original James, recalls that the plot was to the north of the house, in clay soil on a little hill, with an ornamental metal fence enclosing two very nice headstones, and a woven wire fence outside to keep out

the cattle.⁹⁴ It was situated between the family home and the building used as the Ironside Methodist Church and school, about 1000 feet to the north of the house, with a further 400 feet separating the little cemetery from the church-and-school building.

The plot was used for only two family members. In 1903, James' wife Mary Jane Beattie was buried there, followed in 1921 by his brother David. It remained a burial site for 26 years until he petitioned the Quebec Superior Court in Hull in 1929 for permission to disinter their bodies and move them to Beechwood Cemetery. The permission was quickly granted and the bodies relocated. Jim III recalls that his grandfather was getting old then, perhaps looking ahead to his own burial, and had seen what happened to a lot of old cemeteries. For a number of years after the move to Beechwood, one of the original gravestones from the Hammond plot remained in storage on the family homestead. The reason for this was that the two family members now in Beechwood occupied one plot, and Beechwood's rules allowed only one marker. The second stone was eventually reinscribed and found its way to Beechwood, used for James II and his wife. Members of the Hammond family remained on this property, which became part of Hull in 1967, but finally left when it was expropriated as part of an industrial park on December 30, 1971.⁹⁵

The Tilley property in Chelsea, on the northeastern shore of Meech Lake, once sheltered the remains of William James Tilley. Born in Bath, England in 1839, Tilley was working in Ottawa as a clerk in the Civil Service by 1874.⁹⁶ According to a great grand-daughter, Betty Davison, Tilley enjoyed weekend walks in the countryside, and in this way discovered the Meech Lake Area.⁹⁷ According to Chelsea municipal records, between 1885 and 1896 he

⁹⁴ Jim Hammond, interview at residence, Chelsea, Quebec, October 1997.

⁹⁵Part of Range 6 was annexed to Hull in 1967 when the Protestant English-language Philemon Wright High School was being constructed, in order to provide water and sewage hookup to Hull's facilities.

⁹⁶Birthplace information from records of Beechwood Cemetery; Ottawa employment information from Ottawa City Directories, 1874-1895.

⁹⁷ Betty Davison's grandmother was William James Tilley's daughter, Gertrude May Tilley Young. See Pat Evans' Echoes From the Past, (Chelsea, Que.: Historical Society of the Gatineau, 1998, compiled by Jan Atherton), 47.

acquired about 140 acres in parts of Lot 26 in Ranges 11, 12 and 13.⁹⁸ Davison recalls that he enjoyed the lake so much that in time he bought two farms, which were then to be had very cheaply, and built the first cottage at Meech Lake, thereby setting a fashion. It is clear that at the same time as Tilley was acquiring and developing his Chelsea-area property holdings, he moved from place to place in the city. During a twenty-year period, he lived in New Edinburgh and on Nelson, Metcalfe, Dalhousie, Lyon and Rideau Streets in Ottawa.⁹⁹ The Meech Lake property must indeed have had a very personal significance for him, as he chose it for his burial site.

After his death on February 6, 1896, the Ottawa Daily Citizen noted the “Funeral on Saturday next starting from his late residence, Cummings Bridge at 1:30 p.m. and 2 o’clock from St. Alban’s Church for Beechwood.” The Beechwood resting place was temporary, for the winter time use of their vault, and on April 11, 1896, his remains were transferred to the Meech Lake property. For the next thirty years, his body remained at Meech Lake, where a white picket fence enclosed his grave marker, but when his widow Mary Ann died in 1926, her will directed that his body be relocated to Beechwood where she had arranged for her own burial.¹⁰⁰ The four Tilley daughters, Gertrude May Young, Ethel Katherine Mason, Elsie Tilley and Agnes B. Smith accordingly petitioned the Quebec Superior Court in Hull, and the late Mr. Tilley was moved from Meech Lake in 1928.¹⁰¹

The Baldwin Family Cemetery, in the south half of Lot 25, Range 15, is the only known family plot remaining within the 1998 boundaries of Chelsea Municipality. Located on a knoll with a few trees and perennial plantings, the almost-square plot 31 feet by 30 feet, 5 inches, contains one stone and the base for another. The stone, a white marble obelisk, records William Baldwin’s death and those of Charlotte Wright and Robert Earle. The missing stone, a tablet also in white marble, was removed by a family member for repair and has not at this

⁹⁸Municipality of Chelsea, Valuation Rolls.

⁹⁹Ottawa City Directories, 1874-1895.

¹⁰⁰Appearance of grave from Evans’ Echoes from the Past; information about Mrs. Tilley’s burial and will from Beechwood Cemetery records and ANQ Records of disinterments TPS26.SS33, document 64.

¹⁰¹ANQ, Records of disinterments, *ibid*.

time been replaced in the cemetery.¹⁰² A motif of clasped hands and the message “farewell” decorate this removed stone which repeats William Baldwin’s death date along with the deaths of two sons. (See Figure 5.)

A white rail fence topped by a looped heavy chain surrounds the plot, and a gate at its north end bears a wooden sign:

In memory of our
late ancestors
by Harold D. Thompson¹⁰³

The site is near the former Baldwin homestead, but that early building has long since been torn down and no trace of it remains. William Baldwin received the property in 1840 as a military grant, perhaps the only one awarded in Chelsea. He had been a sergeant with the British 80th Regiment of Foot, and

paid only a transaction fee of £2/8/10 for 200 acres, Lot 25 in Range 15.¹⁰⁴ His son, also a William Baldwin, married Charlotte Wright, Thomas Wright’s grand-daughter, and the burial site’s graves are for members of the junior William Baldwin family. The dates recorded on its

Figure 5
Baldwin Monument Transcripts

A white marble obelisk, mounted on a dark stone base, is sited in the south-west corner, and carries names on 3 sides, as follows:

ROBERT EARLE died Nov. 10 1879 aged 73 years	WILLIAM BALDWIN died June 11, 1869. Aged 35 years 	CHARLOTTE WRIGHT wife of WILLIAM BALDWIN died Nov. 19, 1909 in her 80 th year. Asleep in Jesus
---	---	--

A second stone from this cemetery, under repair with a family member (1998) reads:

FAREWELL WILLIAM BALDWIN died June 1869 ac 35 yrs. FREDERICK BALDWIN died Feb. 2, 1869 ac 3 yrs. WILLIAM BALDWIN died Jan. 29, 1892 ac 29 yrs. R. BROWN OTTAWA

¹⁰²As of September 1998, the stone was still with Jim Hammond (III).

¹⁰³All inscriptions which are cited in this text have been transcribed using the original spelling and punctuation.

¹⁰⁴NAC, Lower Canada Land RG1 L3L Vol 37, Reel C-2507, folio 18593-6. Baldwin applied for land in August 1836, it was allocated in 1838, and engrossed (patented) in February 1840.

monuments span forty years, from 1869 to 1909, and recall only 5 persons from two generations of the family.

Census records and genealogical information help to fill in the family profile. The original William Baldwin and his wife Mary were both aged 53 and the household consisted of daughter Elizabeth and sons George, William and Joseph in 1851. By 1861 the senior Baldwins, now listed as 72 and 68 years old, lived with George, Joseph and an 18-year-old female, perhaps a grand-daughter.¹⁰⁵ Charlotte, the seventh of nine children born to Thomas Wright and Elizabeth Walker, grew up near Old Chelsea village, where her father owned 400 acres, Lots 18 and 19 in the 8th and 9th Ranges.¹⁰⁶ In 1851, Charlotte was probably the 18-year-old by that name listed as a servant in the house of Andrew Leamy.¹⁰⁷ By 1861 she was the 28-year-old wife of William Baldwin who was now 30 years old, a farmer and a Wesleyan Methodist. Their three children Thomas, George and William Baldwin were then aged 8, 6 and 1 and born in Lower Canada, probably at the homestead.¹⁰⁸ The little family cemetery records William Baldwin's death, at the age of 35, in June of 1869, and the 1871 census finds Charlotte as a 45-year-old widow, employed as a weaver. Thomas, George and William Baldwin were then 18, 17 and 8 years of age, and still part of that household. Next door lived Joseph Baldwin with his wife Jane with their young children Calvina and Benjamin, along with the senior William Baldwin, now aged 81 and a widower. Charlotte must have remarried soon after this census enumeration and her second husband, Robert Earle, died in 1879 and was buried in the family plot before the next count. Hers is the last recorded burial in the plot, thirty years after Earle's, in 1909. The family grave monuments offer no comment on the early deaths of William and their son, also William, who died at the age of 29. A one-line epitaph below Charlotte's name announces: Asleep in Jesus. (See Figure 6, page 42, Baldwin Family, which illustrates a family tree for Baldwin family members identified in the cemetery and census records).

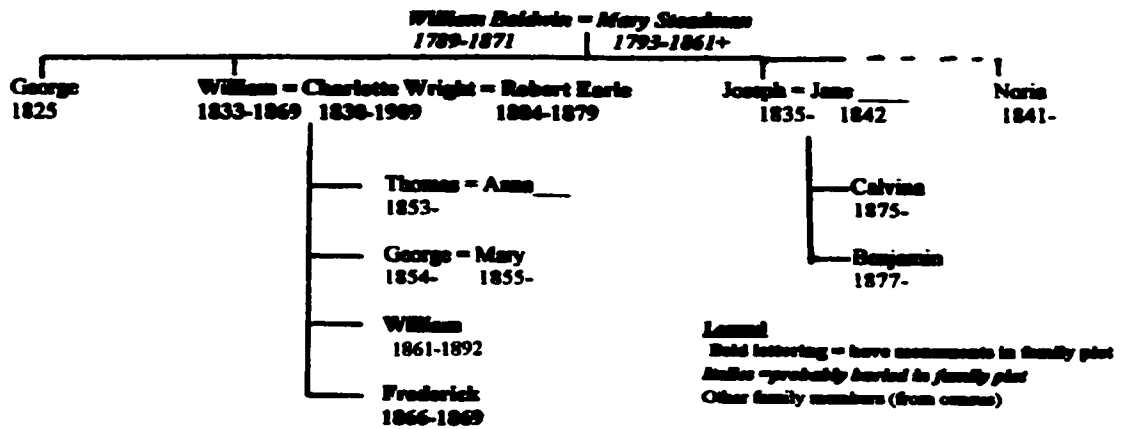
¹⁰⁵NAC, 1851 census Reel C-1131, Hull, Div. 3, p.105; 1861 census C-1303, Hull, District 4, p. 602. William Baldwin, Senior's wife's maiden name was Mary Steadman, according to this census. She was also born in England.

¹⁰⁶Genealogical data from Evans, The Wrights; land information NAC, Lower Canada land, RG1 L3L, Vol 7, Reel C-2494, folio 2195 (1824).

¹⁰⁷NAC, 1851 census, *ibid.* This census asked "age next birthday."

¹⁰⁸NAC 1861 census Reel C-1303, Hull District 4, p. 593, lines 33-37. This census also asked "age next birthday."

**Figure 6
Baldwin Family**



The Baldwin Family Plot seems almost to have been left in Chelsea to illustrate some of the typical features of such sites, with its treed location on a knoll, old perennial plants and gleaming marble monument enclosed by a white fence. Still, a Protestant graveyard existed in Old Chelsea before the Baldwin cemetery's first recorded burial in 1869. Even if the Baldwin plot was established before 1869, perhaps used for William, senior's wife at some earlier and unrecorded date, the Old Chelsea burial ground was being used by 1840 when the Baldwin family settled in Chelsea.¹⁰⁹ Their farm's situation and the family's own preferences may explain their choice. Their location near the Township's northern limits placed them at a greater distance than most of its residents from the Chelsea hub, and likely limited their association with its activities. Although Charlotte herself grew up near the Old Chelsea village and was descended from a founding family, the Baldwins seem to have been the only British ex-military settlers in the community, and may have felt a greater attachment to their own farm site and sector of the community.

The Smith, Brown and Blackburn plots were established early in the 1830s and 1840s, soon after these families had arrived in Canada, a reason why they may then have felt little link with Old Chelsea. They also lived on the east side of the Gatineau River and Old Chelsea was in the western sector of the community, although another Cantley family used the Old Chelsea

¹⁰⁹William Baldwin, senior and his wife Mary Steadman were enumerated in the 1861 census, but in 1871 he was a widower.

cemetery in 1844.¹¹⁰ The Hammonds and Tilley are examples of people who arrived in Chelsea towards the end of the nineteenth century, well after its first settlement, and established burial plots as their own alternative to the more popular community sites which were then readily available. Did the Quebec-born Hammonds and the British-born Tilley identify more strongly with their own particular properties than with the shared community or city sites when they selected personal plots on their own land?¹¹¹ In particular, Tilley, the city resident and government bureaucrat, foreshadowed twentieth-century cottagers who were later attracted to Old Chelsea's Protestant cemetery.

If only the visible local sites and their monuments had been selected, four of Chelsea's early family plots would have been overlooked. Church burial records provided the site for one, Quebec's judicial records of requests for reinterment led to two others, and other petitions in Quebec archives identified the fourth. The combined information from several records sources also suggests that even in family plots where monuments remain and record some family deaths, the visible evidence is only part of the site's story, and these small sites accommodated more burials than any one record would indicate. Some early burials took place without the presence of clergy, church records for parts of the nineteenth century are lost or missing, and family members made different decisions about whether or not to erect a grave monument at a given time.

The family plots which have been traced in Chelsea were used by as few as one family member or one generation, typified by the Tilley and Hammond families, or in the case of the Blackburn family, provided places for over 30 burials extending for five generations. By 1870, Chelsea's family plots had received half of their identified burials. The Illinois plots observed by Price were active for a relatively short span of twenty years, with greatest use between 1860 and 1880, but ranged in size from 5 to 20 burials. In contrast, most of these Chelsea plots were used sporadically for a longer period of time but provided space for only a few burials. The idea of having a family plot remained attractive to a few Chelsea residents into the early part of the twentieth century, and burial records show their use in the community for nearly a

¹¹⁰George Brown, whose wife Margaret was buried there in 1844. (See also section on the Protestant community cemetery: "Chelsea Cemetery.")

¹¹¹1901 census: James Hammond born June 13 1848 in Quebec, of Irish origin, Methodist.

hundred years. (See Table 1, Family Plot Activity and page 46, Table 3, Family Plot Burials, by date.

Table 1
Family Plot Activity
Family origin, location, number of burials, generations, period and span of use

Plot holder	Family origin	Plot location	Site type	Number of burials	Generations	Period of use	Span of use
Smith	Ireland	Cantley (2 plots)	Knoll; Knoll near house	1-3	1 or 2	1836-1870s	30 yrs.
Brown	Ireland	Cantley (2 plots?)	Knoll; Foot of orchard	6	3	1844-1910	66 yrs.
Blackburn	Scotland	Cantley	Flat plot, near road	33+	5	1842-1920	78 yrs.
Hammond	Canada	Ironside	Knoll	2	1	1903-1929	26 yrs.
Tilley	England	Chelsea	Hillside	1	1	1896-1928	32 yrs.
Baldwin	England	Chelsea	Knoll	5-7	2-3	1869-1909	40 yrs.
Cross	England	Chelsea	-	No Info	No Info	-	-
McClelland	Ireland	Cantley (2 plots)	Near house; Knoll (see Smith*)	No Info	No Info	-	-
Totals				48-52+	1-5	1836-1929	26-78 yrs.

*The related Smith and McClelland families both identify the same knoll as a burial place.

All but one of the six families with plots were farmers by occupation. At least thirty-five persons (accounted for by name from family record, church and monument information), and likely more than 52 (suggested by the lack of other burial sites for 2 members each of the Smith and Baldwin families, and by an additional 13 nineteenth-century burials for the Blackburns), were buried in these plots. The age distribution of the 39 burials shows a preponderance of young children and, at the other end of the life cycle, persons aged 70 or over. (Page 46, Table 2- Family Plot Burials, by age at death.) There are also many more males than females buried in the plots or named on the gravestones. In this small sample, in the Blackburn family more boys than girls died young, while another family, the Baldwins, simply had more males in the household. The only remaining local monuments are for these two families, and they communicate a limited amount of relationship information. All of the adult women buried in the Blackburn plot are identified by their position as someone's wife, and the children in relation to their parents. For the 5 Baldwins named on their tombstones, only Charlotte's relationship as wife of William Baldwin was noted. Although Robert Earle's name and dates are included, there is no mention that he was Charlotte's second husband. The Baldwin stones offer death dates and ages but no birth dates, and the Blackburns followed the same pattern for several children, although they provided birth information as well for all adults except

Christina, and John's lacks the day and month. None of the monuments contains information on birthplace or cause of death. Church records gave cause of death for John Knox Blackburn "by a railway accident at Plantagenet, Ontario aged twenty-three years, one month and twenty six days."¹¹² The 1851 census noted that a Blackburn female infant had died of consumption, information that would match the death of Robina, noted on the family stone, and would suggest that this may have been the cause of death of baby William who died later that year.

Three of the stones are simple Victorian obelisks, and the fourth an arched tablet, whose motif of clasped hands symbolizes fellowship or eternal union, and message bids "Farewell."¹¹³ One Hammond stone, moved to Beechwood Cemetery, is topped with a draped urn, a pre-Christian symbol of death adopted by Christians to signify that while the physical remains of the deceased are here, the soul has gone to the next life; the second stone is a large square granite block with a plain roll or scroll at its head.¹¹⁴

None of Chelsea's families who had family plots seems to have kept records or lists of persons buried in their plots, or mentioned burial place along with the death entries in a family Bible. Where the monuments remain, they also communicate little personal information beyond names, dates and relationships. Perhaps within the family there was no need to mention birthplace, site or cause of death, or even provide an epitaph. Two other families recall former plots on their land: the McClellands in Cantley and the William Crosses in Chelsea, without having specific details of persons buried there or dates of use.¹¹⁵ Certainly, these and other family plots were once part of Chelsea's landscape. When the later generations of these families age, forget or move away, the memories of family graves also fade and disappear. As Chelsea's former farms are transformed into housing lots, it would not be surprising to find a prospective builder discover other unmarked, and now forgotten, burial sites.

¹¹²ANQ, Reel 299, Records of the Presbyterian Church, Cantley, 1907, folio 95.

¹¹³Loren N. Horton, "Victorian Gravestone Symbolism on the Great Plains," Journal of the West, 33 no 1 (January 1994), 70.

¹¹⁴The Tilley monument in Beechwood Cemetery is of a more modern design, suggesting that it likely dates from the 1920s when his remains were moved to this plot.

¹¹⁵Mrs. Cindy McClelland (interview, August 1997) and Stan Cross (interview October 1998).

Table 2
Family Plot Burials, by age at death, for men and women

Age at death	Smith		Brown		Blackburn		Hammond		Tilley	Baldwin		Total	Per cent
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	m	f	m & f	m & f
80-89				1	2	1				(1)		5	41%
70-79	(1)		2		2	2	1			1	1 (1)	11	
60-69													5%
50-59		(1)							1			2	
40-49				1	1	1		1				4	21%
30-39					1					1		2	
20-29					1					1		2	
10-19	1				1							2	33%
0-9			1	1	5	3				1		11	
No Info					13							(13)	(omitted)
Totals	2	1	3	3	13	7	1	1	5	2	1	52	100%

(-) Entries in parentheses are presumed burials of senior family members.

Table 3
Family Plot Burials, by date

Death date	Smith	Brown	Blackburn	Hammond	Tilley	Baldwin	Total
1830-1839	1						1
1840-1849	(1)	1	5				7
1850-1859		1	4				5
1860-1869	(1)		2			2 (+1)	6
1870-1879			1			1 (+1)	3
1880-1889		1	1				2
1890-1899		1	4		1	1	7
1900-1909		1	1	1		1	4
1910-1919		1	2				3
1920-1921			1	1			2
No Info.			(12)				(12)
Totals	1-3	6	33+*	2	1	5-7	48-52

(-) Entries in parentheses are presumed burials of senior family members.

*This total is based on 15 recorded deaths up to 1896, plus another 12 unrecorded but included based on family information published by J. A. Gourlay in 1896, who noted that there had been 27 burials in the Blackburn plot at this time. An additional 6 burials after 1897 bring the total to at least 33.

Catharine Parr Traill found that “these household graves became more interesting to me on learning that when a farm is disposed of to a stranger, the right of burying their dead is generally stipulated for by the former possessor.”¹¹⁶ In the Chelsea cases, it was not the sale of family land that stopped these families from continuing to use their family plots. Family members continued to own the land for many years after burials at these homestead sites had ceased, but later generations selected other burial sites. Members of the Smith and Brown families were buried in Cantley later in the nineteenth century or early in the twentieth, and subsequent members of the Baldwin family were buried in a cemetery in Wakefield Township, just a few miles to the north of their farm.

Many former inhabitants of these family plots have literally migrated, like their descendants, to the larger population centres. Clearly, some were moved by family members in anticipation of selling the property and because these later generations had decided that a community or city cemetery offered space for themselves and later kin. The Hammonds moved their dead to a city cemetery as Hull, another city, began to reach out toward their property. Tilley, the city man, was brought back to an urban cemetery after his wife’s death, based on her last wishes expressed in her will. The two plots that have persisted seem to have remained for different reasons. The Blackburn plot, used for five generations, continues to be family property and is maintained by family members. The Baldwin plot, now owned by a government agency, simply went with the property when the family sold the land, and has now been recognized by the National Capital Commission as a heritage site.

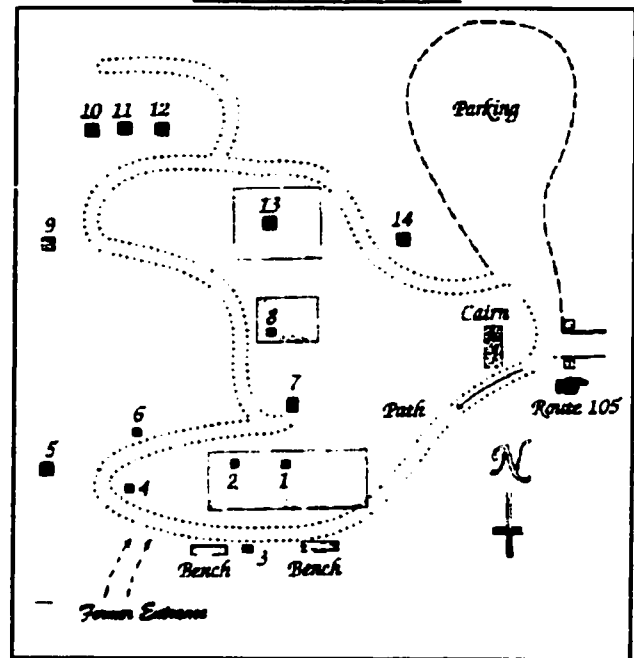
3.2 From family plot to private cemetery: Churches’ Cemetery

Well-situated family burial sites sometimes expanded to accommodate friends and neighbours, and in this way prolonged their own use. Located a short distance from the newer Chelsea town centre, Chelsea’s Church family burial ground illustrates the kind of transformation that occasionally took place when sites near a well-travelled road or road junction continued to grow.

¹¹⁶Traill, 48.

The property on which this burial area is situated, Lot 11 in the 9th Range, was first awarded to John Maxwell. According to Philemon Wright's Report as Agent for the Township of Hull, Maxwell arrived in 1820 and settled on the land in 1825; he received title to it on September 21, 1827.¹¹⁸ Gardner and Jared Church, Americans from Compton, New Hampshire, obtained lots to its east and west, and the lot to the north went to John Chamberlin, originally from Lowell, Massachusetts.¹¹⁸ At some point before 1872 the cemetery lot became the property of Gardner Church, as a 1902 Memorial recapitulating some land transactions of the Church family shows, but that document does not mention the date when he acquired it.¹¹⁹ Set back from the road on a hillside, the original burial area in this cemetery measures about 100 by 150 feet. The impression this cemetery presents in the twentieth century is considerably changed from its nineteenth-century appearance. Today's visitor approaches from the highway, Route 105 and passes down a lane bordered with a cedar hedge, entering the cemetery itself at its eastern side, through two gateposts. A large stone cairn is positioned in front of the burial site, a heavily treed area which shelters fourteen grave monuments. In the nineteenth century visitors coming from the main road used a right of way some 775 feet to the south of the current highway entrance, then turned at a right-angle to proceed northward and enter the cemetery at its southern boundary. The orientation of its gravestones, most of which face south

Figure 7
Site Plan, Churches' Cemetery



¹¹⁸NAC Lower Canada Land papers, RG1 L3L, Vol 7, reel C-2494, page 2207; 1851 Census for Township of Hull, Reel C-1131.

¹¹⁸Evans, *Tale of Two Chelseas*, 139, 140.

¹¹⁹Ministère de la Justice, Fonds des registres (Hull). Certificat de recherches contre le lot onze d (11D) du neuvième rang, canton de Hull., du 1 mai 1900 jusqu'au 1 septembre 1933: 29-08-1966. Hall's Cemetery, in Wakefield Township, has a grave monument to a John Maxwell who died November 5 1877 aged 83 years, and his wife May Ann Quinn who died July 1852 aged 54.

or north-south, is explained by its plan and approach.¹²⁰ The second Church home, a well-kept frame structure dating to the nineteenth century, is located on a flat plain area more than 1000 yards to the south of the cemetery. The burial site is now shaded with numerous trees, mainly maples and pines, but this is also a twentieth-century growth, from the period after 1920 when the Church family had stopped using the plot.

Not only has the site changed in the twentieth century, but the name, Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery, is a recent one. Records of the time referred to it as “the family ground” (for a member of the Church family), “the Churches’ burying ground” and “Churches’ Cemetery.” Another means of locating those buried there was the notation of its site as “New Chelsea,” and a newspaper account reported a burial “in the church cemetery,” its confusion of the family name with a churchyard site suggesting a type of cemetery which Chelsea’s Protestants never had. (Table 4 on page 50 provides a list of names used for this burial place.) Although John Chamberlin’s 1837 death is the earliest on a monument in this cemetery, he was probably interred at first in a plot on his own farm, and moved here at a later date. The Chamberlin family became relatives of the Churches when Sophia Chamberlin, who was only five years old at the time of her father’s death, married Gardner Church, junior; the stone for her parents accordingly announces their status as “beloved parents of Mrs. Gardner Church.” An alternative but unlikely scenario would have the Church family begin their family plot with this neighbour’s burial, but continue to view it as their family burial place for several decades. Between 1884 and 1886 three members of the Trowsse family, near neighbours of the Churches, were buried here, and it is probably at this point that it became a private cemetery. Duncan Cameron, who died in 1857, may have been moved here from a family plot when his grandson was interred in 1890, or his name added to that monument. Like Chelsea’s other family plots, the Church family did not seem to keep records to enumerate or account for burials here, and left it to the local churches or to relatives of the deceased to record their own members and kin. The monuments themselves, along with burial records kept by Chelsea’s churches and transfer records of removals to other cemeteries, have provided information useful in building up a picture of the use of this site. (Figure 7 on page 48 provides a site plan for this cemetery and Appendix B gives complete transcripts of monument information.)

¹²⁰Eleven of the 14 face south. Two monuments have inscriptions on their north and east sides and one faces north.

Table 4
Churches' Cemetery Names, by Source

Title used in burial record	Burials 1874-1876	Burials 1882-1899	Burials 1900-1919	Burials 1920-1921	All years
Not mentioned	3	1	1	-	5
In/at Chelsea	-	3	2	-	5
Cemetery of Chelsea/ Chelsea cemetery	-	5	4	2	11
Protestant cemetery at Chelsea	-	-	1	-	1
Burying/burial ground at Chelsea	-	-	1	-	1
The family ground in Chelsea	-	1	-	-	1
Cemetery known as Church's, Chelsea, Churches' cemetery	-	1	3	-	4
Protestant graveyard (Church's) at Chelsea	-	-	2	-	2
Protestant cemetery (known as) (Church's) Chelsea (New)	-	-	11	-	11
Churches' burying/burial ground (in/at Chelsea/Village)	-	4	-	-	4
Protestant burial/burying ground in/at New Chelsea or Chelsea (New)	-	2	-	-	2
Totals	3	17	25	2	47

Its fourteen monuments list the deaths of 31 persons. The little cemetery's span of use, read from these monuments, is 125 years. The dates begin in 1837 and continue up to 1912, with one further monument dated 1962. Following the 1837 death of John Chamberlin is a gap of 14 years before the 1851 record for William Church. But the names listed on the monuments record fewer than half of the number who still rest here or once lay somewhere in this small space. At least 67 persons were buried at some time in this cemetery, and its period of prime use was at the turn of the century, a twenty-year period from 1890 to 1909 which accounted for over half of its known burials. When this peak time is extended to include the preceding and following decades, nearly 80% of burials took place within a period of less than forty years. Its effective span for burial activity was about 90 years.

The cemetery's atmosphere is Victorian, with two enclosed plots surrounded by iron fence work or iron rods set in low marble posts along with remnants of two more, and the obelisk shape predominates among its monuments. It has seven examples of this form, in white, grey and red granite, some of them adorned with plant motifs: a wheat sheaf, ivy, fern, oak leaf, lily-of-the-valley, lily, rose, and another blossom. For Victorians, monument shapes and motifs were selected with symbolic meaning. The obelisk as a type of monument was used by

Table 5
Churches' Cemetery Burials, by date and source of information

Death dates	Source of information about death date and burial					
	Monument only	Monument and burial record	Burial record only	Burial record but body since removed	Removal record only	Total by year
1837	1	-	-	-	-	1
(1840-1849)	-	-	-	-	-	-
1850-1859	4	-	-	-	-	4
1860-1869	1	-	-	-	-	1
1870-1879	1	1	-	2	-	4
1880-1889	2	2	4	-	-	8
1890-1899	3	4	6	-	3	16
1900-1909	3	6	10	1	-	20
1910-1919	-	2	4	2	-	8
1920-1921	-	-	-	2	-	2
1962	1	-	-	-	-	1
No Info.	-	-	-	-	2	2
Totals, all years	16	15	24	7	5	67
	31 names on monuments		31 additional burials noted in religious records		12 removals (7+5)*	

* Total removals include 7 for which there are both burial and removal records (see previous column), along with 5 for which there are removal records only.

Egyptians as far back as 2500 BC, and in the Victorian cemetery its form suggested continuity with the historic past; the wheat sheaf was a motif generally reserved for a mature or elderly man and represented the soul ripe and ready for harvest by God after a life the Biblical length of three score and ten years.¹²¹ While the use of flowers on gravestones was likely a natural extension of the traditional use of flowers to commemorate the dead, according to Carole Hanks the rose and lily had more specific meanings as symbols of purity.¹²² Another observer of gravestone symbolism, Loren Horton, suggests that the rose denoted love and beauty and any

¹²¹Horton, 73.

¹²²Carole Hanks, Early Ontario Gravestones, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson Ltd., 1974), 34.

form of lily represented purity; these motifs were usually reserved for women.¹²³ The ivy, fern and oak leaves decorating other monuments here could also be interpreted as Christian symbols as well as decorative elements. If the family itself was not conversant with the various possible images, the monument makers of the period had catalogues which showed samples of the symbols and suggested their meaning.¹²⁴ Two unornamented simple tablets and a red granite tablet-form stone carved to resemble bricks, its polished shield bearing dates and other information about the deceased, bring the total of Victorian monuments to ten. Embellished lettering on one of the obelisks and the red “brick” tablet are examples of other decorative effects popular during this period. Four later monuments complete the total. Two are large early twentieth-century granite blocks commemorating members of the Wright and Meredith families, while a military stone and a black granite monument for members of the Alexander family date from the 1960s. None of the stones has any visible information about the monument maker, although one of them, for members of the Stothers family (8) has evidently been incised by a carver who had some difficulty with spacing of the letters, and this finished product seems less professional than the other stones in the cemetery, although the two small tablets are also extremely simple and without any design.

Beyond dates and age at death, the biographical information on the markers in this cemetery is also scanty. The military stone follows a conventional format and lists the regiment and awards of the deceased, one marker gives places of birth and death, while another gives cause of death. Beyond this, several carry simple religious messages: At rest; Asleep in Jesus (twice); What I do thou knowest not now but thou shalt know hereafter; Gone but not forgotten; There is no parting in heaven.

The first generations of the Canadian branch of the Church family rest here, and family members can count four generations in this spot. This family or their relatives also account for five of the markers.¹²⁵ The other markers are generally for later generations of Chelsea’s early settlers or for later arrivals in the community. The Wrights here are the third and fifth

¹²³ Horton, 71, 72.

¹²⁴ Lynn Russell and Patricia Stone, “Gravestone Carvers of Early Ontario,” Material History Bulletin, 18 (1983), 38.

¹²⁵Hudson, Meech, Church, Chamberlin, Meredith.

generations of that family, and like the Hudsons and Meeches, have earlier generations resting in the Old Chelsea Protestant cemetery. The Alexanders, Davies, Dunns, Evans, Stothers and Thompson arrived in the latter part of the nineteenth century. In a sign of the changing times, some of the families or their kin buried here were mill-workers or tradespeople with small businesses in the newer Chelsea area. Many had also been members of the nearby Presbyterian church.¹²⁶

As in Chelsea's other family plots, many kin share a single monument here, or have other kin in this place. The marker for the Church family lists 7 members over three generations, while others commemorate four, three, and two people. Eight stones account for 25 persons among them, while the remaining six stones are for individuals. The ages and dates on the stones are another study in contrasts: Mary Bloss Chamberlin, who lived to the age of 99 years and 7 months, was predeceased by her husband John, who died at the age of 42. A

Table 6
Churches' Cemetery Burials, by age at death, for men and women by record type

Age at death	Information from monument or monument & burial record		Information from burial record only		Information from removal records		Totals		Grand total	Percent, by age group
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m & f	m & f
90+	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	31%
80-99	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	2	4	
70-79	4	2	2	2	2	3	8	7	15	
60-69	-	2	3	-	1	-	4	2	6	15%
50-59	2	1	1	-	-	-	3	1	4	
40-49	1	-	1	1	-	-	2	1	3	27%
30-39	2	2	-	-	-	-	2	2	4	
20-29	4	1	2	4	-	-	6	5	11	
10-19	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	2	3	27%
0-9	3	2	3	2	2	2	8	6	15	
Totals*	18	13	13	11	5*	6*	36*	30*	67*	100%

* Note: Death information for a baby, subsequently removed from this cemetery, did not give sex. It has been included in the grand total and in percentages.

¹²⁶Of 17 large family groups (members of related families), 11 were members of the Presbyterian Church, 4 Wesleyan Methodists and 2 Anglicans.

look at some of the other dates reminds of mortality during childhood, and the accidents of life—or life-giving, for women—among those in the prime of life. Almost half of those interred here died before the age of forty, yet nearly a third were seventy or older, including two in their nineties.¹²⁷

Like a microcosmic time capsule, the stories of some of these folk illustrate the times. Six babies buried at age 1 or under; five more children by age 10. One of the monuments, to brothers Steven and Silas Meech, aged 26 and 24, informs the reader that they drowned, and the reader of local history may suddenly recall that several of their father's siblings (or half-siblings) had died by drowning decades earlier.¹²⁸ The Ottawa Daily Citizen reported that “two young men named Meach, both sons of Mr. Meach, of Chelsea, were drowned while canoeing on Meach's Lake. It seems that by some means the canoe became upset and as both the victims were expert swimmers, it is supposed that their feet were caught by the bars of the canoe.”¹²⁹ How fitting—or ironic that Meech Lake should bear their name! William J. Breadner, buried here without a marker, was 22 when he drowned in the Gatineau River near Bouchette in 1896.¹³⁰ An article in the Daily Citizen explained that he was working on the drive, and “went out in the river to assist in breaking up a jam when the logs started unexpectedly and dumped him into the water.”¹³¹ To continue the story of dangers on the river, the John Chamberlin buried here is said to have drowned in the Gatineau when his canoe overturned as he was going to Bytown for supplies.¹³² A memorial to James Hudson shows that he was 21 when he died in May, 1891; newspaper accounts of the time describe how he and his little sister Maud were burned to death in a house fire which the rest of the family escaped, and the Anglican records

¹²⁷See Table 6, previous page.

¹²⁸ Page 70, story of Asa Meech stone (12) in the Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground.

¹²⁹Daily Citizen, (Ottawa) Tuesday September 18, 1883.

¹³⁰ ANQ, Wesleyan Methodist Records, Reel 299.

¹³¹ Daily Citizen, (Ottawa) August 24, 1896.

¹³²Evans, Tale of Two Chelseas, 115 says that John and his son John Charles were drowned. This account conflicts with Evans' genealogy of this family in The Wrights, 282, which has son John Charles surviving until 1886.

of the time note the burial of both children.¹³³ Private Richard Rowland Thompson, who survived the Boer war despite risking his life under enemy fire, died of appendicitis in an American hospital at the age of 33. The most unusual accidental death must have been that of John Cameron, and a newspaper of the day recounts the details:

To the west and northwest of the city Tuesday afternoon's storm was felt with greatest severity. But the most serious disaster recorded is the death of Mr. John A. Cameron, of Chelsea, who was killed by a shaft of lightning while driving home a load of stone between 6 and 7 o'clock Tuesday evening. Seated beside him on the waggon was a man named Maginnis, who was stunned by the lightning, while both horses were instantly killed. Mr. Cameron leaves a wife and three small children.¹³⁴

The Wrights buried here are the imposingly-named Christopher Columbus Wright, a great-nephew of Thomas Wright, along with his wife and grand-daughter. This Wright's father was also a Christopher Columbus, and seventh of Philemon's nine children. Members of the Brooks, Campbell, McAdam and Reid families interred here have no monuments in this cemetery, although other generations of their families are buried in the Old Chelsea Protestant cemetery and some have markers there. The Alexander family has a monument here and also one for other family members who are buried in the Chelsea Protestant cemetery. On the other hand, when Jessica MacAuley, the young wife of Noble Chamberlin died in 1906, she was buried here rather than in the Old Chelsea Protestant cemetery with which Noble and his family were so closely associated. The choice of this cemetery rather than one in the Old Chelsea clearly depended on more than what previous generations of their family had done.

Early in the twentieth century members of the Church family appear to have lost interest in being buried here and in providing a cemetery site for others. Some moved to Ottawa and elsewhere, and with neither family nor a board to manage its affairs, the cemetery fell into disuse. Two interments in 1913 appeared to mark its final function as an active burial ground until Bertha Alexander, Private Thompson's widow, was laid to rest beside his grave in the Alexander family plot in 1962. The twentieth-century developments that accommodated Bertha Alexander's remains and led to the preservation of this cemetery in the latter part of that century are discussed in the next chapter, Section 4.2.

¹³³ Daily Citizen, (Ottawa) Friday, May 15, 1891; Anglican Archives, Vol. 433. There is no monument in the cemetery now for Maud; perhaps there was at one time.

¹³⁴ Daily Citizen, (Ottawa) Thursday, June 26, 1890.

3.3 The Protestant community cemetery: “Chelsea Cemetery”

“Of all the values and concerns revealed by the study of older cemeteries one stands out: burial was believed to most appropriately take place in the midst of the living.”¹³⁵ The author of these lines, Gerald Pocius, was writing about Newfoundland’s eighteenth-and nineteenth-century community cemeteries, located in full view of daily neighbourhood activity. He could as well have been describing the Protestant cemetery in Old Chelsea or any other small centre in rural Canada or the United States at this time.

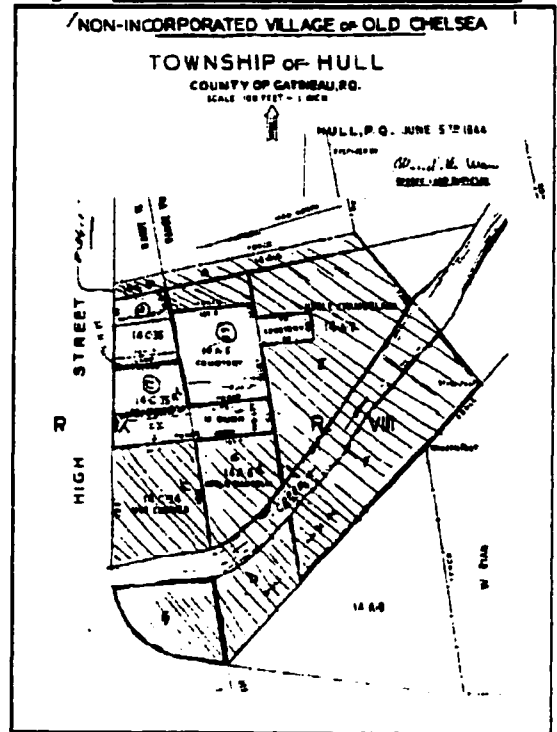
Like the churchyards of England, the non-sectarian communal burial grounds of nineteenth-century Canada were centrally-located at the focal points of neighbourhoods and villages. Chelsea’s Protestant community cemetery occupies less than half an acre in the heart of Old Chelsea’s original village townsite, just off the current main street. A strong argument that it was laid out as a community burial site is its mainstreet location, with its northern boundary at the edge of the range or concession line, where the usual township development plan would place a road. The older cemetery monuments also border this line, suggesting that they were arranged in accordance with a street plan. However, by 1881 The High Street followed the approximate current path of the Old Chelsea Road, taking a slightly angled route across several lots to the north of the Range line, then crossing Chelsea Brook to connect with the Meech Lake Road which continues in a north-westerly direction. This alignment improved its junction with that road and two others which followed early trails, one leading south-west to Kingsmere and the other north-south from the Hull settlement toward Wakefield. (Figure 8 on page 57 shows the cemetery site in relation to Range and Lot lines and some twentieth-century landmarks).

Although some community cemeteries develop from family plots, a nearby homestead or its remains along with a group of early graves from one family usually provide clues to such an origin. In this case, there never seems to have been a homestead anywhere on the 100-acre lot which contains the cemetery. The lot was viewed as a planned civic site for many years before its purchase, and Thomas Brigham, its first owner, already owned other acreage in Chelsea and a house in the southern part of the Township, in Lot 4, Range 4. There is also no suggestion of any previous farm or unofficial occupancy of the land before his purchase. The

¹³⁵Pocius, 27.

full 200-acre lot where the cemetery is located, along with at least another 100 adjoining acres, had been reserved for village development as early as 1822, but both properties were eventually released for purchase in the 1830s.¹³⁶ The rapid progress of a village may have overtaken the need for holding any further land for this purpose, since Thomas Brigham, a Wright relative and owner of the mills which were part of the impetus for developing a town, had received title to 600 acres which adjoined the planned village lots in 1824.¹³⁷ Brigham appears to have actively promoted businesses and public uses of his land, lots 13, 14 and 15 in Range 9. A long negotiation to settle a problem in siting Thomas Link's 100-acre grant on one of the reserved "town" lots (13, Range 8), may have contributed to a provincial decision to discontinue any further hold on them.¹³⁸ In any event, Thomas Brigham was the first registered owner of the land where the cemetery is situated, paying £37/10s for 100 acres, the north half of Lot 14, Range 8. He received letters patent for it dated September 3, 1835.¹³⁹

Figure 8 Old Chelsea area showing Protestant Cemetery



There remain no documents specific to the cemetery to indicate exactly when it was founded, nor who officially established it. However, its presence is documented in church burial records, a few of which remain for Anglicans in the 1830s and 1840s, and for

¹³⁶ Joseph Bouchette had identified this site in 1822. See page 12, note 22.

¹³⁷ NAC, RG1, L3L, Vol. 7, Lower Canada land papers, Reel C-2494, 2195.

¹³⁸ Between 1825 and 1831, Francis Link endeavoured to clarify title to Lot 13 in Range 8. He was variously awarded the North, East, and West halves, but he had built a house and barn on the west portion of the lot. He eventually received the full 200 acres as a grant. (NAC: RG1, L3L, Lower Canada land, (1825-1831) Reels C-2494, C-2495, C-2570. Wright Papers, MG 24 D8 Vol 13, correspondence for 1825).

¹³⁹ NAC, RG1 L3L, Vol 48, Lower Canada land papers, Reel C-2511, 24299-24300.

Presbyterian and Methodist congregations dating from the 1860s and later. Land ownership records and municipal valuation rolls and records also provide some information about its history. A stone for William Chamberlain, dated December 12, 1835, suggests that the cemetery's founding followed swiftly after Brigham's purchase. It is also possible that the cemetery was sited some time before the land ownership was formalized, based on its designation as a planned civic property, although it is unlikely to have been used before 1820, given the time frame of Chelsea's land development. Anglican burial records dating from the 1830s mention two Chelsea burials: Sarah Childs, the 45 year-old wife of Thomas Childs who died November 27, 1838, and Edward Vicars, the infant son of the Farmer family tutor who died August 29, 1839.

A small sign on the south side of Old Chelsea Road now points to this "historic site / site historique." Between two houses, a grassy lane leads 150 feet to cast iron gates with a deceptive message: CHELSEA 1891 CEMETARY. The gates, added well after the cemetery's establishment, may perhaps have been an effort to make the entrance more imposing once it was flanked by buildings. The cemetery consists of two roughly rectangular areas, a main section whose northern border extends about 165 feet with sides 132 and 138 feet in length, and a smaller adjoining lot to the south measuring 46 by 88 feet. The terrain of the main area is level, while the ground of the adjoining plot slopes downward toward a stream. This smaller section is marked off from the main part of the cemetery by a recently-planted cedar hedge, and a white rail fence on the north boundary of the main area is a late twentieth-century addition. The Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground name is also recent, dating to 1989 when it was declared a historic site.¹⁴⁰

Like many other community cemeteries of the period, for much of the nineteenth century this one probably had no specific name, and it was only when some of the community's Protestant dead began to find their resting places in the Churches' cemetery in Chelsea that more attention began to be paid in religious burial records to naming one site or the other.¹⁴¹ Records of the various Protestant denominations overwhelmingly used the term "cemetery," as its gates announced, and their earliest burial records often simply indicate "interred in

¹⁴⁰In French, Cimetière Protestant de Chelsea.

¹⁴¹For example, Gerald Pocius pointed out (30) that earlier cemeteries in Newfoundland communities had no names.

Chelsea” or in “said village.” The terms “graveyard,” “burying or burial ground” and “cemetery” in religious records also seem more likely to reflect the clergyman’s rather than local usage. Only seven of 64 church records from the nineteenth century used terms based on the word burial for this site, and the earliest of these was in 1864.¹⁴² There is some evidence that in the 1820s and 1830s the term burial ground was used for other places in English-speaking Quebec, however. For example, Philemon Wright’s 1834 correspondence contains a memorandum about setting aside a site for a “burial ground” within Wright’s Town, and a group of residents in Laprairie in 1829 were trying to obtain land for a “public burial ground.”¹⁴³ Since pre-1900 judicial records of land transactions were destroyed in the Hull fire of that year, the summarized versions or “memorials” made after this date do not necessarily reflect the word usage of the earlier period. The 1904 Memorial of some early land transactions of the Chamberlin family mentions “the corner of the protestant grave yard,” makes two further references to “said graveyard,” one to the “protestant burrying ground” and also confirms its boundaries as early as 1856.¹⁴⁴ By the 1870s the term cemetery was commonly used for this site, and its most frequently used name was simply locational: the Protestant cemetery in or at Old Chelsea. (Table 7, on page 60, provides a tabulation of all names used in church burial records to designate this site.)

The same Memorial document indicates the connection between two families who held this property, as well as clarifies ownership of some parts of the lot over time. Thomas Brigham had married Philemon Wright’s daughter Abigail in 1816, and after Brigham’s death in 1842, his son Charles Lennox received this land. In 1856 Charles Watters Chamberlin, a neighbour, bought portions of it and the Memorial records the cemetery boundaries in relation to that purchase. Following Charles Brigham’s early death in 1861, Chamberlin married his

¹⁴²A review of 116 references to burials in Old Chelsea in Anglican, Wesleyan Methodist and Presbyterian records found a total of 10 which used burying or burial ground. Seven were between 1864 and 1899 and three between 1900 and 1914).

¹⁴³NAC: MG24 D8, Vol 124, Wright Papers, 1834, 66137 mention a burial ground in Wright’s Village; RG1L3, Vol 208, Lower Canada Land Papers, Reel C-2570, 97121-9 discuss a petition for establishing a burial ground in Laprairie, south-east of Montreal.

¹⁴⁴Ministère de la Justice, Fonds des registres (Hull), August 1904, no. 8595. This deed was part of a re-registration process after the Hull fire of 1900, when previous land transactions were summarized according to Article 2136.

widow, and the remaining Charles Brigham property passed into his hands.¹⁴⁵ Municipal assessment rolls show that by 1875 all but 4 acres of the lot belonged to others, although this portion apparently remained in the family and was subsequently passed to Charles Watters' son Noble, forming part of his estate when he died in the 1950s.¹⁴⁶

Table 7
Protestant Cemetery Names, by source

Title used in burial record	Burials 1801-1879	Burials 1880-1899	Burials 1900-1919	Burials 1920-1993	All years
Not mentioned/other	20	4	7	1	32
In/at Chelsea	2	1	-	-	3
Graveyard in/at Chelsea	1	1	-	-	2
Cemetery in/at Chelsea	-	7	-	2	9
Protestant cemetery in/at Chelsea	-	1	1	-	2
In/at Old Chelsea	-	5	3	3	11
Cemetery in/at Old Chelsea	-	7	2	8	17
Protestant cemetery in/at Old Chelsea	1	7	10	10	28
Burial ground in/at Old Chelsea	2	1	-	-	3
Protestant burial/burying ground. Old Ch/ Chelsea	1	1	3	-	5
Protestant free burial ground (in/at Old Chelsea)	-	2	-	-	2
Protestant cemetery in West Hull	-	-	-	1	1
Chamberlin cemetery in/at Old Chelsea	-	-	-	1	1
Totals	27	37	26	26	116*

*No burial records could be located for 58 of those with monuments in this cemetery, nor for an additional 6 who were later moved from it.

The Brighams had a large property stake in Old Chelsea and both father and son Charles evidently took an interest in its development and administration, but they exhibited no personal identification with its community cemetery. Thomas and Brigham and his wife Abigail are buried in Hull's St. James Cemetery, as are Charles Lennox as well as his widow Louisa, later

¹⁴⁵ Genealogical information from Evans, The Wrights.

¹⁴⁶ Collection Roll of the Municipality of the West Part of the Township of Hull, Sept. 13, 1875. James Grogan, farmer, held 75 acres and Selden Church, farmer had 21 acres in the north portion of lot 14, Range 8. C. W. Chamberlin held 90.7 acres in the south half of lot 14, Range 9 and a part of the 8th Range, according to this document. In the 1980s the legal firm of Bélec, Letellier, who researched the ownership of the cemetery on behalf of the Municipality, concluded that it was part of the estate of Noble Chamberlin.

married to Charles Watters Chamberlin. From whom, or how, the Chelsea Protestant community cemetery received its plan is unknown. In location, plan and administration it is quite unlike the “Old Cemetery” in Chelsea, Vermont, the town where Brigham was born and grew up. The Vermont town, established in 1784, had no cemetery as part of its town plan, despite having two commons—one facing its court house and the other its Congregational church.¹⁴⁷ Instead, in 1795, it purchased “for the sum of ten pounds the burying ground on the Moore land,” about a quarter acre, and “improved it” for the town.¹⁴⁸ On the outskirts of that village, it developed from a family plot to a town-administered public facility, supplemented later by other expanded family plots and the Highland Cemetery, opened in 1864.¹⁴⁹

The arrangement of graves and family plots in the Chelsea, Quebec community cemetery suggests that it was begun with a plan and an overall scheme of organization, or that one was developed soon after the first few individual burials. Measurements of seven fenced plots appear to be based on modules of 8 by 10 feet, and two on a twelve-foot basis. (Figure 9 on page 64 is a site plan, and Appendix B-2 provides monument transcripts.) Other groupings of monuments, such as those for members of the Blair and Wilson families, support the idea that these families acquired plots and buried members in them over time. Another difference from its Vermont counterpart was that the Canadian Chelsea cemetery was not linked to a village or municipal administration.¹⁵⁰ If it was administered by a cemetery committee, this was not attached to the Anglican, Presbyterian or Wesleyan Methodist churches, as no transactions or decisions relevant to its activities appear in their archives.¹⁵¹ The early burials

¹⁴⁷The Chelsea Historical Society, Inc., Chelsea, Vermont 1784-1984, (Barre, Vt.: Northlight Studio Press, 1984), 18.

¹⁴⁸*Ibid.*, 61. The Old Cemetery is also on the town outskirts, rather than within its village area.

¹⁴⁹*Ibid.*, 61, 62, 288.

¹⁵⁰A detailed search of Hull’s municipal records prior to 1875, and Chelsea’s post-1875 records confirms that neither council carried out any business connected with cemeteries until the latter part of the twentieth century.

¹⁵¹The United Church of Canada has placed its Chelsea archives (relating to Wesleyan Methodist and Presbyterian churches as well as their later union) as a special unit within the Archives Nationales du Québec in Montreal; the relevant Anglican records are with the Anglican Archives in Ottawa. Although there are some Trustees’ minute books for the early United Church affiliates, and other records for the Anglicans, none relate to cemetery decisions or activities.

also show a range of religious affiliation: Margaret Strachan Brown was Presbyterian, Josephus Hudson Baptist, Asa Meech Methodist, the Links Anglican, and later burials continued to reflect the religious diversity of Chelsea's Protestants.¹⁵² Although one denomination, the Baptists, did establish premises in Old Chelsea, their presence was relatively short-lived. Louis Rossignol confirmed that the Reverend Jamieson was teaching school in their church building in 1840, but some time before 1875 they lost both their congregation and building, as the site was repossessed by Charles Lennox Brigham when it was no longer being used for religious purposes.¹⁵³

There is little general information available about cemetery plans before the advent of the landscaped "garden" or "rural" cemeteries, the first of which were created after 1830 in the United States on the outskirts of urban centres. Several decades before their advent, in 1796, the New Haven, Connecticut "New Burying Ground" was organized by a group of thirty shareholders, used a grid pattern, and sold its plots on a freehold basis.¹⁵⁴ Its example is often mentioned as step in the evolution of American cemeteries, since it was neither church- nor town-administered, and its planners wanted to ensure orderly development and a permanent burial site for those placed there. Unfortunately, no information seems to be available about the number of cemeteries which emulated its features. While Chelsea's community cemetery does evince a general plan with its grid and family organization, the individuality of its plots suggests that there were few, if any, regulations. The arrangement of monuments within the plots and their maintenance was evidently left to the families concerned rather than decided by one administrator or administrative body. For example, while many graves and their monuments face east as in the traditional Christian orientation, others, and particularly those in the eastern section of the cemetery, often face west towards the entrance path as though ready to greet visitors. Other local cemeteries, such as Churches' and St. Stephen's in Chelsea and Hall's in Wakefield Township seem to have used similar logic in deciding the axis for their graves and orientation of gravestones. Another personalized feature of Chelsea community cemetery plots is the various perennial plantings which remain as signs of early nineteenth-century custom,

¹⁵² These persons were interred in the 1840s and 1850s.

¹⁵³ Louis Rossignol, Histoire Documentaire de Hull 1792-1900, (PhD Thesis: University of Ottawa, June 1944); Andrew Wilson, A History of Old Bytown and Vicinity, Now the City of Ottawa, (Ottawa: N.p., 1876), 16.

¹⁵⁴ David E. Stannard, "Calm Dwellings," American Heritage, 30 no. 5 (Aug/Sept 1979), 44.

when people brought pieces of flowers and shrubs from their home gardens to adorn their particular loved ones' spaces there. Two families have claimed that, at least in the first half of the twentieth century, plots in it were sold to them.¹⁵⁵ There is also evidence from religious burial records that a free burial area was maintained in it, a tradition in keeping with church- and community-run cemeteries. We can conclude, then, that this cemetery shows evidence of planning and plot ownership, without being able to identify any key person or persons involved in that planning.

This Chelsea community cemetery has been continuously used for a span of 170 or more years, from at least the 1830s through the 1990s. The cemetery's main section holds 54 grave monuments. Together with 13 twentieth-century stones in the smaller adjoining area, the 67 markers in all commemorate 102 people.¹⁵⁶ In addition to these, some small stone markers inset in the ground define plot boundaries, and about a dozen other stones inscribed "mother, father, sister, brother," two with initials and another with a first name, "Katie," were used to mark specific areas in a family plot or the foot of a grave. An empty base stands as a reminder of a monument that has been removed, as have several others of which no trace is left here. The "Mather 1870" plaque on the gate of a fenced plot remains behind, adding another name to the list of people once connected with this cemetery. Enclosures define family plots, and groupings of monuments in parts of this peaceful place suggest their owners gathered together for a summer picnic amid the orange lilies and sedum, or laid out as a miniature pioneer settlement in winter, with their groupings surrounded by low-railed boundaries reminiscent of fenced homestead properties. The grave markers and names listed on them, though, are only partial indicators of this cemetery's population of the dead. Burial, transfer, and personal records provided a further 78 names, and the remains of another 100 probably rest here, for a population estimate of 275 to 300. This projected total is based on estimates of the cemetery population whose families did not erect monuments.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵Alexander and Falt descendants mention that they have seen receipts, signed by Noble Chamberlin, for their plots.

¹⁵⁶There are also 6 names repeated (entered on two markers), and 2 names have been incised with birth dates, in anticipation of being buried in the Alexander plot.

¹⁵⁷ The added 100 cases are derived as follows: 65 of the 73 unassigned Protestant burials "in Chelsea" and 35 other cases for which there are no Chelsea burial records. The latter estimate of 35 is based on burials 1830-1860 (for which only Anglican and Wakefield Presbyterian records have survived), and burials in Chelsea of persons who died elsewhere during the full period, for which records are with churches outside Chelsea.

The majority of both burials and monuments date from the nineteenth century. At least 60% of interments here would have taken place before 1900, and forty-four of its markers, or over 80% in the “old” section mark burials before that date. Half of the families with monuments here were in Chelsea in the 1820s, and another half dozen arrived in the 1830s.. Many of this early group were Americans: the Allens, Chamberlains, Chamberlins, Donnellys, Hudsons, Meeches, Sheffields and Wrights. The Blairs, Headleys and Reids who arrived in this period were Irish, however, and the Childs, Evans and Links were English. The English, Irish, and Scottish surnames accurately denote the backgrounds of those buried in this cemetery, and the one French surname, Maranger, is actually for Elizabeth Parton, an Englishwoman whose Roman Catholic husband apparently does not rest here. When they were living, these early residents were scattered throughout the community, from Range 6 at its southern edge to 13 in the north, and from Lot 3 on the east to 23 on the West. (Figure 1, page 13, shows Lot and Range divisions for Hull Township.)

Within the cemetery, their early grave markers provide insight about relationships of the persons they commemorate, by their grouping with others there, by specific biographical data carved in their stone, and by epitaphs and motifs selected for their monuments. In some cases the monument makers also incised their names, another glimpse of the persons of this period. Perhaps the most striking feature of the nineteenth-century part of this cemetery is its emphasis on relationships. Almost every individual is contextualized in some way as part of a family group. Beginning with the cemetery organization itself, there are sixteen easily-identified family groups in the main part of the cemetery, consisting of nine fenced family plots and another seven in family rows or groups.¹⁵⁸ The 47 nineteenth-century grave markers consist of 29 for individuals and 18 for two or more persons. Over half of the individual monuments identify the person buried as the husband, wife, son or daughter of someone, and all but two of the remainder are placed with other members of the family.¹⁵⁹ Most of the remaining

¹⁵⁸The seven families in unfenced plots are Blair, Chamberlin, Hudson, Rankin, Sheffield, Snoddie and Wilson. The two Milne stones now grouped together are from unrelated families, and their location beside each other dates from a 1980s renovation of the cemetery.

¹⁵⁹See table 9 on page 67. Of the 6 single stones, 4 are identified in terms of relationships; only William Chamberlain (2) and Elizabeth Maranger (54) are not, nor evidently buried with family members, although Maranger is the mother of James Childs, buried nearby.

Table 8
Protestant Cemetery Burials, by date and source of information

Death dates	Source of information about death date and burial					Total
	Monument only	Monument and burial record	Burial record only	Personal burial information only	Removal record only	
1801	1	-	-	-	-	1
1830-1839	1	-	2	-	-	3
1840-1849	7	-	-	-	1	8
1850-1859	12	1	-	-	-	13
1860-1869	5	2	5	-	-	12
1870-1879	6	8	4	-	-	18
1880-1889	6	5	19	-	1	31
1890-1899	1	5	7	-	-	13
1900-1909	1	7	8	-	-	16
1910-1919	1	4	7	-	-	12
1920-1921	1	3	4	-	-	8
1930-1939	1	6	9	-	-	16
1940-1949	-	-	-	1	-	1
1950-1959	1	1	1	-	-	3
1960-1969	1	-	-	-	-	1
1970-1979	6	1	-	-	-	7
1980-1989	5	-	1	2	-	8
1990-1999	1	-	-	1	-	2
No Info.	2	-	-	-	-	2
Totals	59	43	67	4	2	175
	102 persons named on monuments*				9 removals (1+6+2)*	

*Of 110 inscriptions on monuments in Old Chelsea, 6 are repeats of the same person and 2 are names inscribed in anticipation of burials there. (Note also that 1 monument is for a person since removed to Beechwood although his stone remains (Francis Link), and another (Alonzo Campbell) is listed as buried in Churches' cemetery)

*The removals are: F. Link (listed in Monument & burial record column), 6 from burial records only, and 2 which have only removal records (John Link & Wm. Ash).

monuments are for two persons, but one accounts for six family members including a husband and wife, two sons, a daughter and daughter-in-law.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰Sully (47).

These combinations include husbands and wives, a parent and child or parents and children, children from the same family, and a child and his aunt. Two of the stones linked the dead to someone who “erected” their monument: Eliza Stanly’s reads “Erected by William Rankin in memory of his beloved wife,” and David Milne and Jane Headley’s monument names the four daughters and grand-daughter responsible for it. Married women were usually identified by their maiden names and the husband’s name.

Several of this cemetery’s monuments commemorate the same person on two monuments. Here, “Aleck” has his own stone and his name and dates are repeated on the one for his grandparents and aunt, Private Schwalm has two markers, and four members of the Sully family have individual stones and are recalled on another family monument.¹⁶¹ Two

Table 9
Protestant Cemetery Monument Groupings

Plot type	Quantity	No. of monuments	No. of persons
<u>Old cemetery</u> fenced plot	9	19	33
family groups	7	22	28
single monuments	13	2 listing 3 persons 5 listing 2 persons 6 listing 1 person	6 10 6
<u>Newer cemetery</u> single monuments	13	1 listing 5 persons (2 still living) 1 listing 3 persons 2 listing 2 persons 9 listing 1 person	3 3 4 9
Totals	/	67 monuments	102

of the Sully inscriptions also provide different age information when repeating personal data: Margaret Sully Cameron’s age is 36 years and 5 months on one stone, and rounded to 37 on another, while Robert Sully was either 67 or 69. Although researchers found that New England’s eighteenth- and nineteenth-century gravestones were usually erected within a year of an individual’s death, and therefore provided “their own elegant chronological control,” this clearly was not always the case in Chelsea, where both individual and family monuments for some persons seem to have been erected long enough after the date to obscure family recall.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹Aleck Donnelly’s is stone 41; his name is repeated on 40 with family members. Schwalm is noted on stones 38 and 39. The names of these four persons are inscribed on monument number 47, and each also has an individual marker: Margaret J. Sully Cameron (48); James Sully (52); Mary Cross Sully (49); Robert Sully I (50).

¹⁶²See Edwin Dethlefsen and James Deetz, “Death’s Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees,” ch. in James J. Farrell, Inventing the American Way of Death 1830-1920, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980), 49.

As the few cases of repeated tombstone information showed variation in data on the same person, evidently recalled by different family members and probably inscribed at different times, some other monument data in this Chelsea cemetery differs from that found in religious burial records so that little Alfred Childs' death in Presbyterian records is dated December 20, 1865 but reads March 20, 1866 on the family monument, while James Edward Gordon died on June 17, 1897 according to Anglican records or a year later, 1898, by his tombstone. In some instances, monument information may be more "correct" than the church burial records, where entries by the presiding cleric wrote the surname "Duncan" as "Dunken" and the first name "Freeman" was misunderstood as "Truman."¹⁶³ Ages provided at the time of death and burial may also be approximate, while those inscribed later could be based on family members' research and verification of birth information; in Chelsea the infant John Walter Hudson's age was entered as "7 months" by the local Wesleyan minister, but specified as "6 mos. 21 ds." on his tombstone.

Apart from commemorating relationships with other people, some of these pioneer stones recall a connection with other communities or countries. We find that some of those buried here came from Aberdeen, Glasgow and Renfrewshire in Scotland; Hollywood, County Down in Ireland; Herefordshire and "Somersetshire" in England; Connecticut and Vermont in the United States. They died in Chelsea and Ironside and Hull, Quebec, and had moved on to New Edinburgh and Ottawa in Ontario. To this extent, Chelsea and its cemetery meant a new home for some and a home of the past for others, although most of the families represented in the cemetery's old section have first generation family buried here. Seventeen of the monuments commemorate these earliest settlers for the 27 family groups here. Two others, the Thomas E. Childs and Reid families, also interred their first generations in this cemetery although they have markers only for later descendants. Other early residents may have been buried in family plots, or rest here without either monuments or burial entries in parish records. For example, although second and third generations of the Sheffield and Headley families are interred here, there is no mention of the first Elisha Sheffield who died before 1851, nor of his widow Mary who was living with one of their children at that time. Similarly unaccounted for

¹⁶³Armstrong record, October 24, 1886, Anglican records (Anglican Diocesan Archives, Volume V-433); Reid record, January 28, 1875, Presbyterian records (ANQ reel 299).

are David Headley, who died before 1842, and his wife Margaret.¹⁶⁴ First-generation Chamberlins such as Josiah, senior and his wife Sophia may also lie here or elsewhere. Many families continued to use this cemetery for three generations, and the Link family originally had four generations resting here. (Page 76, Table 10, Protestant Cemetery Activity, gives general information about families who have monuments in the old section of this cemetery.)

More than half of the nineteenth-century monuments have inscriptions. These are either Biblical verses, religious one-line messages, or two- or four-line verses. The 24 messages most often mentioned God, or the Saviour, the Son of Man, or divine agency (11 mentions); 4 concerned heaven. The others conveyed secular images, with sleep or rest predominant (6 mentions), 3 used flower images and 3 referred to weather, seasons, or time. The religious messages ranged from the consoling, such as "They died in faith and full assurance of a glorious resurrection," "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints," and "Of such is the kingdom of heaven," to the more judgmental: "A sinner saved by grace through faith And that not of Himself, It is the gift of God," "In the midst of life we are in death," and "And be ye allso ready for ye know Not the hour the son of man cometh." The deaths of children inspired messages describing them or their short lives, or written as though addressing the dead child or the child was addressing the surviving parents.

No evil word she ever spoke
Nor ever told a lie
And now she reigns in heaven above
With angels in the sky;

Nipt in the bud this lovely flower
From Earth forever fled
Has answered to his Maker's call
And is numbered with the dead.

O weep not for the loved one,
So rudely from thee driven,
Twas but a flower to good for earth
Transplanted up to heaven.

Sleep on, sweet babe,
and take thy rest,
God called thee home,
He thought it best.

¹⁶⁴Approximate death dates for these members of the Sheffield and Headley families are based on early census information.

Weep not dear parents,
 Disturb not my rest
 My Saviour has called me
 He loved me best.

James Reid and Cynthia Chamberlin, a young married couple who died within months of each other of “consumption” or another wasting disease, are remembered with these telling lines:

(For James, who died in February)
 Our wasting lives grow shorter still
 As months and days increase;
 And ev’ry beating pulse we tell
 Leaves but the number less.

(For Cynthia who died in October of the same year)
 As daughter sister mother wife
 But few have equalled none surpassed
 Her faithfull constancy through life
 Her strong affection to the last.

Cynthia’s twenty-two year-old sister-in-law, Mary Wrigley, is recalled with a rose motif on her monument and these lines:

While o’re these dear remains affection
 A voice proclaims she is not dead but sleeps.

Asa Meech, whose name evokes current recognition for the failed Meech Lake Accord, a political event which happened over a century after his death, was an important and influential figure in the Hull-Chelsea settlement in his lifetime. A new Englander, he assisted and ministered to Congregational churches in Brockton, Massachusetts and Canterbury, Connecticut before settling in Chelsea on Lots 21 and 22, Range 10, near the lake that now bears his name. Here, Meech both farmed and continued to preach, developing a connection with local Methodists, and is reported to have taught school and been skilled at ministering to the sick. In this Chelsea cemetery he is buried with his third wife, Margaret Dockstader. Progenitor of twenty-one children, only twelve apparently survived to adulthood. In a tragic accident, his second wife and three young children were drowned as spring floods washed away the bridge on which they were trying to cross Hull’s Brewery Creek in 1822. The weeping willow motif and the message on his grave stone reflect some of these personal griefs:

I would not live always, I ask not to stay
 Where storm after storm rises dark o’er the way.

Motifs abound on the nineteenth-century monuments. Twenty-five of them carry some kind of pictorial representation, although some of the other nineteen early stones from this period also have decorative elements such as simple geometric figures or elaborate script such as the Gothic “[N]” on Thomas Wright’s and Thomas Link’s otherwise plain stones. The lack of overtly Christian symbols is striking: only one monument (for Isaac and Sarah Cross) displays something that twentieth-century observers would readily identify with Christianity: two labelled “holy Bibles.” However, Victorian society linked a variety of plants and animals with Christian events. The flowers, fruits, leaves, branches, dove and clasped hands seen in Chelsea also suggest the Protestant aversion of that century to any symbol considered “Papist,” rather than a sudden community spirit of animism or celebration of rural vegetation. The most frequent motif here is the weeping willow, used on one third of the nineteenth-century monuments, and found 8 times on stones dated 1848-1870. In American cemeteries, this symbol was used between 1780 and 1850; evidently its selection period in Chelsea extended somewhat longer.¹⁶⁵ Only one nineteenth-century stone seems have a symbolic link with an individual’s ethnic origin, the Scottish thistle relief inset on William H. Rankin’s stone. The material and styles of these markers also testify to their time periods, the rectangular pale marble markers with their weeping willows and plain shouldered grey shaly stones for the earliest members of this miniature community, polished granite plinths in shades of rose and black for the later Victorian period, and a few twentieth century stones including a Scandinavian-style boulder monument and one with a nautical theme.

Some of the stonecutters included their names when carving the monuments, leaving a short list of Ottawa monument makers who provided and inscribed these Chelsea stones: R. Brown, J. Laurin, A. K. Mills, J. Rowat, Taylor, McFarlan(e), W. Somerville, and their combination, McFarlane & Somerville. The sometimes idiosyncratic spelling on the stones may have been their own or have originated with those who ordered the monuments, but in general the Chelsea cemetery monuments display a high level of skill exercised by these artisans who used hand tools to incise the names, data and motifs on sandstone, limestone, marble or granite.

Although none of these Chelsea monuments notes the cause of death, some of the

¹⁶⁵James A. Hijiya, “American Gravestones and Attitudes Toward Death: A Brief History,” Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 127 (1983), 341.

church records and newspapers document accidents or diseases that befell some of those buried here. The drowning of twenty-one year-old Lydia Kirk, (31) commemorated here with her nephew John Brooks Kirk, was reported in the Bytown Gazette of Thursday, August 17, 1848: "On Saturday last, the body of a young woman, the daughter of a farmer named Thomas Kirk, residing on the Gatineau, was found in the river at Gilmour's boom."¹⁶⁶ In 1873 eight year-old John Nathaniel Bradley also drowned, as did 13 year-old William Allan Reade in 1897, who may both lie in this cemetery without markers. The young Reade boy, with two other young neighbour lads, had built a raft and crossed the river to pick wild strawberries, but their return trip swept them over the Chelsea falls and all three, including a son of mill owner John Gilmour, drowned.¹⁶⁷ Reade's father, William James, died tragically two years later of hemorrhage from a bullet wound in the face following a quarrel, his burial simply noted in Anglican records of the time but reported in the Ottawa newspapers for several days in 1899.¹⁶⁸ Marshall Henry McAllister, 11 year-old adopted son of George and Elizabeth McAllister who kept a temperance hotel at Kirk's Ferry, was electrocuted in 1909 when he grasped a telegraph wire which had blown to the ground. According to news reports, "the boy, who was passing along the Gatineau road from his father's hotel to the post office, by chance picked up one of the wires, which the residents say have been down for some little time," a sad commentary on the technology and safety standards of the period.¹⁶⁹ Accidents killed people in the prime of their lives, as they felled trees or worked with timber in the sawmills or on the river as log drivers, or worked on farms or at other jobs. The building of the railway, extending northward from Ottawa through Hull to Maniwaki, resulted in a landslide at a cutting near Ironsides in 1889, killing two young Finnish workers as vividly described in the Ottawa Daily Citizen:

The accident occurred about 6 o'clock. The cutting at this place is quite a deep one. It seems that stakes were being driven in the sides near the top, on which to hang the lanterns to give light to the men at work, and Timekeeper John Sandson, who was above

¹⁶⁶William D. Reid, Death Notices of Ontario, (Lambertville, N.J.: Hunterdon House, 1980), 250.

¹⁶⁷The Citizen, (Ottawa) June 26, 1897. Burial records of Chelsea's Protestant churches note only Reade; burial arrangements for the other two boys were presumably made elsewhere.

¹⁶⁸The Citizen, (Ottawa) November 13, 16, 17, 1899. Reade's Chelsea burial is noted in Vol 433 of the Chelsea Anglican records, while Bradley's was located in reel C-299 of the Presbyterian records for Chelsea and Cantley, found in the ANQ, Hull.

¹⁶⁹The Citizen, (Ottawa) June 1, 1909.

watching the operation, noticed the bank about to give way. He called to the men, about ten of whom were working below, and all escaped except the two... who were buried under the clay. Their companions made all haste in rescuing them, but when uncovered they were dead. Rosendahl was about 36 years of age. He had been only three months in Canada.¹⁷⁰

Rosendahl's compatriot and fellow-worker was only twenty years old. W.A. Fyles, the Anglican rector, arranged their burial in Chelsea and recorded his version of their names, ages and Finnish origins without mentioning any cause of death. J. A. Lackey, a later rector of the same church, briefly noted "accidentally killed" in the entry for William Joseph Fleury, farmer, aged 44, whose death in 1907 and interment in Old Chelsea he recorded.¹⁷¹ Fleury's accident was a news item on The Evening Citizen's front page, which reported that he had been "engaged in blasting a mica mine near Kingsmere," and was struck on his right temple by a flying rock which pierced the brain and caused death within a short time.¹⁷²

While it is clear from church records and tombstone dates that childbirth in the nineteenth century was sometimes an occasion for death of mother, baby, or both, neither headstones nor records for Chelsea show any specific comments to this effect. Several headstones here provide this information indirectly: Janet Chalmers Wilson's death at age 42 in 1848 was within days of the birth of her son Henry, as was Eliza Stanly Rankin's following the birth of son William in 1865.¹⁷³ Jane Link Hudson and her daughter Deidamia are buried together, as the baby survived her mother's death in 1866 by only a few months. An early burial here, although no cemetery marker remains to communicate the information, was that of 45-year-old Sarah Childs, whose 1838 death followed days after the birth of son John William. Laura Alexander Chamberlin, buried here in 1895, was only twenty when she died giving birth

¹⁷⁰ Anglican Archives, Records for the Mission of Chelsea and Portland, 1869-1898, Vol. 433; Daily Citizen, (Ottawa) September 28, 1899.

¹⁷¹Reade: Anglican Archives, Vol. 433; Fleury Anglican Archives, Vol. 506; Bradley Presbyterian records (ANQ), Reel 299.

¹⁷²The Evening Citizen, (Ottawa) January 10, 1907.

¹⁷³See Figures 10 and 11, Protestant cemetery site plan and monument transcripts: monuments 4 and 6 for Wilson, 44 and 45 for Rankin.

to a daughter.¹⁷⁴ Another young woman, Jane Link Merrifield, was 27 at the time of her death in 1882 and the mother of two small children.¹⁷⁵ Her monument lists only her maiden name and her relationship to her parents, leaving us to wonder if they blamed her husband for her early death, erasing her married life from official memory by recording only her relationship to them, or whether there was some other reason why his name or her married surname was not mentioned.¹⁷⁶

Canada's 1851 census report commented on the incidence of "consumption," as tuberculosis was commonly called, remarking that it was "by far the most fatal affection [probably a misprint for affliction] to which the population is subject."¹⁷⁷ Eight hundred and forty Quebeckers succumbed to consumption in that year, although 1041 died from four "epidemic diseases," measles, scarlet fever, whooping cough and smallpox. Twenty years later, Hull Township recorded 15 deaths from the same four infectious diseases, and 5 from consumption.¹⁷⁸ Any local epidemics are not indicated on either grave monuments or death records. Protestant clergy listing burials in the Chelsea cemetery seldom mentioned cause of death, recording diphtheria only once, although consumption appeared several times. Perhaps the officiating clergy found its effects particularly distressing as it was communicated within families: three Campbells "who died of consumption," Mariah in 1878, John in 1879, and Robert in 1880 stand out among the long lists which usually recorded only names, ages, death and burial dates and occasionally, occupations. Similar notations sadly show that four young children of John and Angela Chamberlin died within two years of each other, in 1880 and 1881, of this disease.¹⁷⁹ The verse on James Reid's monument here hints at his "wasting," but stops short of providing a cause of death, and his burial record could not be located.

¹⁷⁴ Anglican Archives, Chelsea & Portland, Vol. 433. She was the wife of Arthur Parker Chamberlin, a carpenter.

¹⁷⁵ Anglican Archives, St. James Church records 1854-1883, Vol.3689.

¹⁷⁶ Figure 9, page 64, and Appendix B-2, monument 11.

¹⁷⁷ Office of the Board of Registration Statistics, 1851-52 Census of the Canadas: Second Report (Quebec: Lovell & Lamoureux, 1855) 51,52.

¹⁷⁸ Schedule 2, Return of Deaths, for Hull Township's 1871 census lists 4 deaths from Measles, 3 from Whooping cough, 8 from Smallpox, and 5 due to Consumption or Inflammation of the Lungs.

¹⁷⁹ Wesleyan Methodist records, Reel 299, ANQ

Although Chelsea's early monuments provide few hints about the causes of death for those interred here, they do communicate a sense of the range in life-span of those who rest beneath them. Over half of Chelsea's Protestant community cemetery's nineteenth-century population died before the age of 40, while 15% lived to be seventy or older, according to compilations of information about the 60 persons with monuments during this period and an additional 44 discovered through the use of burial records and personal sources. (Table 11, on page 78, Protestant Cemetery Nineteenth Century Burials, gives a compilation of ages at death.) While the age distributions for men and women are quite similar, a high percentage of those without monuments were young children under the age of 10 (and most among these were under the age of one year), suggesting that the very young were less likely to have a memorial stone than were those who lived longer. If only the age distribution from its monuments were taken to represent the nineteenth-century infant death rate among Chelsea's Protestant community, we might also conclude it was lower than the combined cemetery and church records indicate. However, the smaller proportion of monuments marking infant deaths in Chelsea seems consistent with death and burial practice elsewhere at this time. Clare Gittings' study of pre-1800 Britain noted that deaths of stillborn babies and infants there received less importance, although arrangements for older children were similar to those for adults.¹⁸⁰ She also reported that in seventeenth-century Britain the midwife's oath was amended so that they were to ensure that stillborn babies were not "cast away," but decently buried, suggesting their lower status in a population which was otherwise very much interested in proper burial. At that time midwives were also empowered to baptise sickly newborns to provide for admissibility to burial in the consecrated grounds of England's Anglican churchyards.¹⁸¹ In the United States, Stephen Viccio observed a matter-of-fact attitude to the death of very young children in Baltimore in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, suggesting that their social loss was less important to the close-knit community than the loss of older individuals.¹⁸² Such an attitude during this same period in Britain and North America would explain the less frequent provision of grave monuments to commemorate the infants who died in nineteenth-century Chelsea.

¹⁸⁰Gittings, 82,83.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

¹⁸²Stephen J. Viccio, "Baltimore's Burial Practices, Mortuary Art and Notions of Grief and Bereavement, 1780-1900," Maryland Historical Magazine, Summer 1986, 137.

Table 10
Protestant Cemetery Activity
Families with monuments in the older cemetery section: their origin, location, generations, period and span of use

Plot holder	Family origin	Date of arrival	Location in community	Generations in cemetery	Period of use	Span of use
1. Allen CC	USA	1825	Lot 14 Range 10	I, II	1865-1882	27 yr
2 Blair	Ireland	1829	Lot 19 Range 7	I, II, III	1841-1874	33 yr
3 Brown George	Scotland	1836	Lot 9 Range 12	I	1884	1 yr
4 Childs Thos E	England	1834	Lot 17 Range 10	(I), II, III	1839-1938	99 yr
5 Childs Jas (Maranger/Parton)	England	1834	Lot 16 Range 11 Maranger: Lot 3 Range 9	I, II, III	1866-1939	73 yr
6 Chamberlin	USA	1818	Several related families	II	1835-1859	24 yr
7 Cross	England	1831	Lot 24 Range 13	I	1859-1881	32 yr
8 Donnelly	USA	1823	Lot 4 Range 6	I, II, III	1873-1881	8 yr
9 Evans	England	1818	Lot 12 Range 8	I, II	1849-1853	4 yr
10 Fraser	Ontario	1881	Lot 15 Range 7	I, II	1879-1857	76 yr
11 Gordon	Ireland	1830	Lot 21 Range 14	-, II, III	1878-1912	34 yr
12 Headley	Ireland	1825	Lot 15 Range 7	-, II, III	1910-1913	3 yr
13 Hudson	USA	1820s	Lot 10 Range 8	I, II, III	1846-1866	20 yr
14 Kirk, John	Ireland	1825+	Lot 13 Range 12	(II), III	1848-1869	21 yr
15 Link	England	1816	Lot 13 Range 8	I,* II, III, IV	1853-1887	34 yr
16 McPhail	Scotland	No Inf.	No Inf.	I, II?	1875	1 yr
17 Meech	USA	1822	Lot 22 Range 10	I	1849-1853	4 yr
18 Milne David		1843+	Lot 17 Range 14	I	1886-1889	3 yr
19 Milne Peter	USA	1862+	Lot 10 Range 7	III	1893	1 yr
20 Rankin	Scotland	1860s	No Inf.	I, II	1865-1872	7 yr
21 Reid	Ireland	1822	Lot 14 Range 11	(I), II, III	1857-1898	41 yr
22 Sheffield	USA	1800+	Lot 15 Range 8	-, II, III	1899-1930	31 yr
23 Snoddie/ Schwalm	Ireland	1862+	Lot 5 Range 6	I, II, III	1891-1956	55 yr
24 Sully	England	1833	Lot 14 Range 9	I, II, III	1857-1909	52 yr
25 Wilson	Scotland	1843+	No Inf.	I, II	1848-1884	36 yr
26 Wright	USA	1800	Son. Lot 18 Range 8: Other children in Chelsea	I, (II), III, IV	1801-1930*	130 yr

*Through Sheffield descendants.

Certain families, such as the John Chamberlains (Chamberlins), Fleurys, Leppards, McAdams and Stewarts used the cemetery over a period of time for several family members without placing gravestones for any of their kin buried here; in other instances one or two members of a family may have been interred without a monument before their relatives moved elsewhere. Many families have several persons recognized with monuments while others, even within the same generation, have none. Those without gravestones were frequently at either end of the community and life cycle, the recently-born and stillborn or the last one or two members of their family to be buried in this place. While the gender balance on this cemetery's nineteenth-century monuments is exact, with 30 males and 30 females, more males than females were actually buried here during this period (55 males to 49 females).

The time span and continuity of this cemetery provide an almost archaeological glimpse of the community in action, from the absent Brighams (buried in Hull's St. James cemetery) to the first local burials which suggest the different ethnic and settlement patterns of the community. Farmers were joined by small businessmen such as carpenters, shoemakers, storekeepers, masons and blacksmiths, a printer and newspaper publisher, schoolteacher, and various mill workers during the nineteenth century. Along with Thomas Wright, names on the nineteenth-century monuments in this Chelsea cemetery stand as a partial roll-call and reminders of the area's history, when settlers from the British Isles soon came to join the first handful of Americans in the early decades of settlement. Near Wright's monument are markers for members of the Sheffield and Reid families, Wright descendants through two daughters. Their profiles in this cemetery are similar in one respect, with monuments here for members of second and third generations. However, the senior Elisha Sheffield was an American from Rhode Island and may have had some early connection with the Wright family since he married Thomas' daughter Mary in 1806. Thomas Reid, the earliest of his family in Chelsea, was a Tipperary Irishman who arrived on his own in 1823 and shortly thereafter married Lucy, Thomas' young widowed daughter.

Two families who had indirect connections with members of the Wright family include the Sullys and Crosses, who came from Devonshire, England in 1831. Isaac Cross married Sarah Earle, a young English widow whose first husband, a distant Wright relative, had apparently died en route to the Hull settlement. The Crosses, along with Isaac's sister Mary and

Table 11
Protestant Cemetery - Nineteenth Century Burials: by age at death for men and women, by record type

Age at death	Information from monument or monument & burial record		Information from burial record only		Information from personal or removal record only		Totals		Grand total	Percent
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m & f	m& f
90+	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	2	15%
80-89	1	3	1	1	-	-	2	4	6	
70-79	4	1	2	1	-	-	6	2	8	
60-69	4	3	5	3	1	-	10	6	16	21%
50-59	3	1	1	1	-	-	4	2	6	
40-49	4	3	2	3	-	-	6	6	12	32%
30-39	3	2	1	-	-	-	4	2	6	
20-29	5	8	-	2	-	-	5	10	15	
10-19	-	1	-	2	1	-	1	3	4	32%
0-9	6	8	10	5	-	-	16	13	29	
Totals	30	30	23	19	2		55	49	104	100%

*Table 14, page 118, provides age information for 74 twentieth century burials. 2 undated burials are not included in either table.

her husband Robert Sully settled in Chelsea in 1831.¹⁸³ All four original arrivals and several subsequent Sully generations are buried here, recalled by seven nineteenth-century monuments (46-52).

The Links were another family whose connection with Chelsea began with a Wright encounter. In this case it was with Tiberius, nephew to Thomas and son of Philemon, who travelled to England in 1816 and recruited Francis Link along with several others, paying their passage in exchange for their agreement as indentured workers for two years. According to Ruggles Wright, one of Philemon's sons, young Link remained in the Township for 6 months,

¹⁸³Lillian Walton recounts the story of this encounter in an article, "Isaac Cross and his family," published in Up the Gatineau! Vol. 4, 1978, 2-6. The dates of arrival for the Cross and Sully families are from the 1842 census of Hull, reel C-729 (NAC).

and then “deserted and was taken 8 days afterwards, being badly frost bitten in the feet.”¹⁸⁴ He then finished his term with the Wrights, and after 1818 went to the “military settlement” (in nearby Richmond, Ontario), where he married about 1822 and returned to Chelsea “with a small family and wished to have lands there and elected the north half of Lot No. 13 in Range 8.” Following a lengthy effort, Francis Link finally obtained title for all of the desired lot, immediately to the east of the cemetery. His monument in it reminds the visitor of his Hereford heritage, and the two Link family enclosures here commemorate four generations of the family who lived in Chelsea. In a sign of changing times, Eleanor Link was interred in Beechwood Cemetery when she died in 1907, and family members arranged the transfer to Beechwood of the remains of Francis and his wife Jane, along with their son John who had also been buried in the Chelsea cemetery, in 1842. Evidently Francis’ old monument in Chelsea was left behind when the family ordered a new one erected in Beechwood. That new stone repeats Francis’ origin and death date, but a miscommunication between stone-carver and family resulted in a dating error of fifty years concerning his wife, Jane Shouldice. While Anglican church records confirm her death on September 16, 1875, her death on the new stone is recorded as “Sept. 17, 1825, AE 78 years.”¹⁸⁵

Two separate Childs families from England were also attracted to the Chelsea area through a Wright family member. Once more it was Tiberius, who this time persuaded William Farmer, a wealthy Englishman whom he met in Quebec City, to purchase a 200-acre property which he owned at Chelsea. Farmer, from Shropshire in England, had brought his family and a group of support staff numbering fifty-five persons in all, with a plan of establishing his own agricultural estate. When they arrived in Quebec City in 1834 they had no specific destination, and evaluated several settlement possibilities before meeting Tiberius Wright and settling on his Chelsea property. Thomas Childs, a “general purpose man,” was a member of Farmer’s entourage. He came with his wife Sarah and eight children, four through Sarah’s previous marriage to Richard Parton, and four from their own union.¹⁸⁶ Anglican records confirm

¹⁸⁴NAC, Wright Papers, MG 24 D8 Vol 13, correspondence for 1825, item 4227.

¹⁸⁵Anglican Archives, Ottawa, Ontario, Vol. 433. In Beechwood Cemetery, see Section 25, Lot 37 1/2.

¹⁸⁶Bruce S. Elliott, Professor of History at Carleton University, Ottawa, kindly provided information from his personal correspondence and research files tracing Childs family members in England and Canada.

Sarah's death on November 27 1838 at the age of 45, a few days after the birth of a son John William, and her (unmarked) burial here at Chelsea. Thomas Ezra Childs (monument 42), the Canadian-born son of Thomas and his second wife, Eunice Bradley, established a more personal connection between the Childs and Wright families, by marrying Eva Wright, a granddaughter of Tiberius. Although his father, also a Thomas Ezra Childs, was interred in this cemetery along with first wife Sarah and her successor Eunice, that generation of the family has no monument here.¹⁸⁷

The other Childs family line in Chelsea traces through the children of Sarah Childs' first marriage, to Richard Parton. James, son of Sarah's daughter Elizabeth, apparently took the surname Childs when the family came to Canada, and married Canadian-born Sarah A. Barber, who had been adopted by the Rinaldo McConnell family of this township. Their monument includes three children, Alfred, Elizabeth and James.

Elizabeth (Parton) Maranger (monument 54), James' mother, is buried near both Childs families. She met her Quebec-born husband André when he came to work in the summer for the Farmer family in Chelsea. A 1902 letter written by William Farmer provides vivid picture of him:

He was 21 years old when he came to work for us at the harvest of 1835, and as he died in 1900, he was 86 years old when he died. He was a very light active man and when weighed two or three years after he came to work for us, he weighed just 142 lbs. He married one of the girls that we brought from Beckbury, Shropshire, England in 1834, of the name of Elizabeth Parton, a daughter of Thomas Childs' wife by a former husband.¹⁸⁸

The Marangers farmed Lot 3, Range 9 on the east side of the Gatineau River. Census records confirm that André remained a Roman Catholic and Elizabeth a Protestant for their lifetimes. In death, they appear to have been separately interred, as he predeceased her and her monument records only her name. Her burial appears in Presbyterian records, aged 97 years, 3 months, 6 days.¹⁸⁹ The two Childs memorials in Chelsea, then, represent family members

¹⁸⁷ ANQ, Reel 299, Wesleyan Methodist Records record their burials in Old Chelsea in 1888 and 1891. Eva was the daughter of Tiberius' son, also named Tiberius.

¹⁸⁸ NAC, Farmer Papers, MG24, I120, 14, letter signed William Farmer, October 13, 1902.

¹⁸⁹ ANQ, Presbyterian burials, 1908, Reel 299.

from different branches of their extended family. Although they were related only through marriage, the junior Thomas Childs and James Childs later acquired adjacent farm lots in Chelsea (Lot 17, Range 10 and Lot 17, Range 11) as well as cemetery plots beside each other.

Family names in both Protestant and Roman Catholic community cemeteries in Chelsea tell of another kind of population movement during this time, as individuals of these different faiths married and raised children in one or the other religion. The Chamberlins, Blairs, Burnetts, Gordons and Snoddys in St. Stephen's Cemetery derive from Protestant families whose founders rest in the Chelsea Protestant cemetery across the road. Surnames such as O'Flaherty and Mulligan in the Protestant Cemetery in Cantley, territory which was once part of Chelsea, suggest some movement of Roman Catholics into its Protestant community, and one record shows an after-death move there. In 1934, a T. J. Tobin who had been buried a year earlier in St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic cemetery was removed "by his own wishes," according to his wife's petition, to the Protestant cemetery across the road in Cantley.¹⁹⁰ In Chelsea's Protestant cemetery, only one member of a Roman Catholic family seems to have found a resting place: Catherine, daughter of Gabriel Dunlop, who married Elisha Sheffield (II) is interred here. Her sister Sarah, who married into the Protestant Brooks family, was originally interred in Churches' cemetery and later removed to Beechwood Cemetery. Although Protestants and Roman Catholics were good neighbours and sometimes married, Chelsea death custom tended to separate the partners who professed different faiths. Elizabeth Parton Maranger apparently lies apart from her husband, who presumably wanted to be buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery when he died, and John A. Gordon's remains in Chelsea's Protestant cemetery are joined by two of his children who were raised in that faith, while his wife Mary Ann Dean lies with a daughter across the road in St. Stephen's Cemetery.

Observers of North American cemeteries have found that many community cemeteries developed an affiliation with a church, either informally or through a formal process. Although Larry Price did not comment on any particular linkages for the nineteenth-century cemeteries he identified in Illinois, he noted that by the twentieth century, the original focus for their location, such as a crossroads, country school or church, had often disappeared. Roads were re-located and early wooden buildings burned or simply deteriorated and fell into disuse.¹⁹¹ In

¹⁹⁰ANQ, petition no 84, 12 September 1934 to the Superior Court, District of Hull.

¹⁹¹See Pocius, 205

studying cemeteries in eastern Ontario's Upper St. Lawrence region, David Knight found that by 1850 "every sizeable religious denomination ... (there) seemed to possess a cemetery of its own when and where possible," a change from the first half of the century in that area.¹⁹² Knight also cited the case of a Kingston cemetery, originally used by all Protestant denominations, which later restricted burial to members of the "English Church" congregation or those with families already interred there, making it necessary at this point for the Presbyterians to purchase a burial ground.¹⁹³ Roger Hall and Bruce Bowden also observed that the eastern Ontario community cemeteries they looked at tended to have a denominational connection, often as an informal tie with a particular Protestant community.¹⁹⁴ Although their study area had an above-average proportion of Roman Catholics who avoided non-denominational burying grounds, they still found over 25% of the cemeteries in that region early in the twentieth century which were neither private nor attached to a particular religious group. In Newfoundland, Gerald Pocius found that when the churches arrived on the scene, they took over the existing non-sectarian burial places, consecrating their grounds and regulating the burials there. He described how, during the summer of 1848, the Anglican Bishop of Newfoundland, Edward Field, sailed along its south and west coasts as well as coastal Labrador, consecrating their community cemeteries as well as preaching, confirming and celebrating communion in these places.¹⁹⁵ Chelsea's Protestant community may have escaped these nineteenth-century cemetery trends for several reasons. Although Presbyterian, Wesleyan Methodist and Anglican denominations had established congregations and built buildings in Chelsea by the last quarter of the nineteenth century, none of them made any effort to begin their own churchyard. In the case of the Anglicans, their selection of a site on a rocky outcrop suggests the impracticability of a burial place in the yard surrounding its building. However, the sites chosen by Presbyterians and Wesleyans could have been expanded to accommodate burial places, but this was not done. By this time, they may have recognized their community's tradition and attachment to the existing cemetery in Old Chelsea. The location of all three Protestant churches in the "New" Chelsea village left the "Old" Chelsea with one church, the Roman Catholic St. Stephen's as the nineteenth century drew to a close. Although the Protestant

¹⁹²Knight, 13.

¹⁹³Ibid.

¹⁹⁴Hall and Bowden, 15,16.

¹⁹⁵Pocius, 25

community clearly continued to use the Old Chelsea community burial place, this polarization of the churches may have prompted some villagers from New Chelsea to select Churches' cemetery because it was located so near to the places where they worshipped.

Originally a cemetery serving all sectors of Chelsea and all its Protestant population, this Old Chelsea cemetery provided a final resting place for the bodies of some of the earliest generations of its residents. There were always alternative sites: family plots at first and St. James cemetery in Wright's Town by the 1830s. The Chelsea cemetery's use became more circumscribed and less general as Cantley United cemetery attracted those on the east side of the Gatineau River in the 1870s, and some New Chelsea villagers selected Churches' cemetery towards the end of the century. Bellevue Cemetery, on Aylmer's outskirts and Beechwood Cemetery, one of the "rural" or "garden" cemeteries, to the east of Ottawa, Ontario, provided alternatives attractive to Chelsea residents and their descendants who had moved to these urban centres. The Chelsea Protestant cemetery has persisted throughout the twentieth century, however, preserved by carrying on traditional functions and newer roles.

3.4 Chelsea's Roman Catholic churchyard: St. Stephen's Cemetery

The village of Old Chelsea is dominated by the impressive Roman Catholic church and its spire, lit at night, seems a kind of beacon to those travelling north along the nearby highway into the Gatineau hills. Beside the church, its cemetery provides a final resting place for many of Chelsea's early settlers. The beginnings of both church and churchyard burial ground date to the 1840s.

Founded as Saint Étienne de Chelsea, its official English translation, St. Stephen's was used from earliest days by parishioners and local clergy for the church and its cemetery. Their site within Lot 13 in Range 9 was part of Thomas Brigham's original 600-acre grant, for which he had received letters patent in 1824.¹⁹⁶ In June 1841, "three arpents" was the subject of a donation, or agreement of transfer, between Brigham and the Roman Catholic trustees: the Reverend Joseph Desautels, John Currigan (Corrigan), Richard Daly and Daniel Mullin (Mullan or Mullen). The text of that record reads that the transaction involved "good considerations"

¹⁹⁶NAC, Lower Canada land papers, RG1 L3L, Reel C-2494, Vol 7, 2195.

received by Brigham, but Bishop Guigues' notes of 1848 indicate that Brigham simply gave the land.¹⁹⁵ The land documents suggest that Brigham and the parish organization regularized an informal arrangement for a church site which was already in use at least a year earlier, since the church building was consecrated on August 4, 1840.¹⁹⁶ Later on, one of Brigham's sons, Christopher Columbus, sold the balance of the 200-acre lot to "the Inhabitants of the Mission of St. Stephen's of Chelsea" in 1850 for £100.¹⁹⁷ The first wooden church was replaced by the present grey stone Baroque revival-style building, which was begun in 1879 and completed 1883; its crowning steeple was added in 1895.¹⁹⁸

On June 16, 1857 Bishop Joseph-Eugène Guigues of Bytown paid a pastoral visit to Chelsea, and at this time authorized Father Hughes to establish a cemetery.¹⁹⁹ Perhaps this belated ecclesiastical suggestion was prompted by the visible evidence of burials in the church yard, since half a dozen of its monuments pre-date the visit and parish registers, kept in the vestry, had recorded over 80 burials by then. If formal officialdom was catching up with informal practice, the result seems to have been satisfying for all concerned as a year later, on June 17, 1858, the Bishop and a great many local residents attended when Father Hughes performed the solemn benediction of St. Stephen's cemetery.

In spite its link with one specific and on-going church organization, St. Stephen's, like Chelsea's other cemeteries, has no early plans or records to show how its burial plots were organized. Now two acres in extent, the cemetery developed in three stages as it added property

¹⁹⁵St. Stephen's Church records, Extract of the Certificate of Searches for Lot 13B, Range 9, Township of Hull, Ref. Lib B, Vol 4, No. 3923. Alexis de Barbezieux, Histoire de la Province Ecclesiastique d'Ottawa, (Ottawa: Cie. d'imprimerie d'Ottawa, 1897), 424. Guigues mentioned also that Brigham had retained ownership of a building used for a presbytery, evidently the building originally built for and used by the Baptist minister which had been repossessed by the Brighams.

¹⁹⁶Alexandre Vachon, Le Diocèse d'Ottawa, (Ottawa: Le Droit, 1949), 173.

¹⁹⁷St. Stephen's Church records, Extract, No. 3924.

¹⁹⁸Karen J. Watson, "The Stone Church of St. Stephen," Up the Gatineau! Vol 7 (1981), 2.

¹⁹⁹W. Gerry McDonald and Larry Dufour, St. Stephen's Parish, Old Chelsea, Quebec, 150th Anniversary 1845-1995 Highlights, (extract for year 1857.)

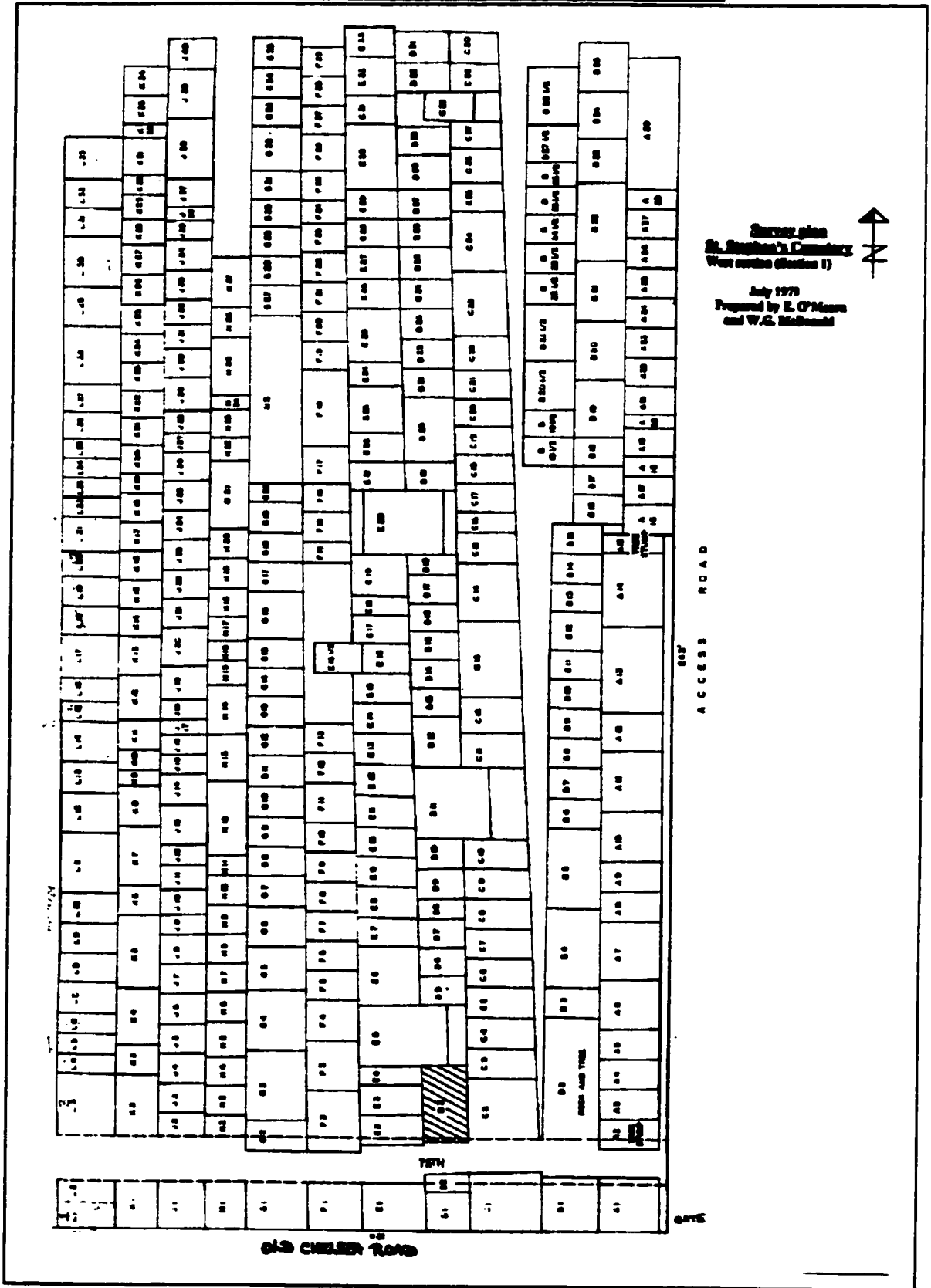
to an original 7/10 acre site located to the east of the present church. The earliest monuments are concentrated near the east wall of the church, in the third, fourth and fifth rows of plots, suggesting that the first burials started in this south-west sector and extended to the north and east over time. A dozen rows or parts of rows arranged in a rough grid design fill this earliest section of the cemetery, and a second section further east replicates the same general layout. Aerial photographs of this cemetery and the Chelsea Protestant cemetery across the road suggest that the persons who planned these cemeteries had similar grids in mind and faced the same problems in trying to line up plots and mark rows using only rough surveying techniques. Large obstacles such as rock outcrops and some trees were simply avoided, and the cemetery followed the natural slope of the land, at a time when landscaping of cemetery grounds was just beginning in North America's most advanced urban centres. (Figure 10, page 86, provides a [reconstructed] site plan of the earliest section of this cemetery and Figure 11, page 88, plots the positions of the earliest graves.)

The Church of St. Stephen's contains the only crypt burial in Chelsea, where Father Hughes, its pastor from 1845 to 1859, is buried in the earth under the chancel. Quebec Roman Catholic burial tradition in the first half of the nineteenth century still favoured burying members of the religious and community élite within the church itself, following earlier practice for over a century in Quebec and in Europe for centuries before that.²⁰⁰ Proper burial within the sacred space defined by the church was important to parishioners of the period, and apart from the influential few who might be buried within the church itself, other parishioners who could afford them favoured individual cemetery plots in the churchyard, identified with personalized stone monuments. In various Quebec parishes, after-death access to their consecrated space—or banishment from it—was used to encourage church attendance, financial contribution or even desirable politics. In 1782, parishioners in Montreal's St. Henri district who refused to contribute toward the church building fund were threatened with exclusion from their cemetery's "terre sainte."²⁰¹ Nearly a century later, in 1875, ecclesiastical authorities deconsecrated another Montreal plot, the site where Joseph Guibord was buried, a kind of

²⁰⁰Brisson, 56, 57.

²⁰¹Ibid., 58.

Figure 10 Site Plan, west (first) section St. Stephen's Churchyard



ultimate retaliation for his political activism in life.²⁰² If St. Stephen's parishioners received similar warnings, they are unrecorded.

The original design of the St. Stephen's cemetery was based on family plots, but would also have included a common area for persons without their own plots, as Roman Catholic cemeteries during the nineteenth century included both kinds of burial places. Cemetery soundings and measurements taken in 1979 by W. G. McDonald and Ed O'Meara found plot lengths of 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12 feet, although widths seemed to be based on 3 feet.²⁰³ Relatives and the local gravedigger knew the burial locations of those interred there, but if any nineteenth-century plan or sketch was ever made, it has since been lost. Church records also give no indication whether burial was in an individual or common plot, although moving a body, once interred, from one space to another even within the same cemetery required a judicial process and provincial court approval. An unconsecrated place for burial of unbaptised babies, suicides or others not welcome within the cemetery's consecrated grounds was located to the north of the earliest cemetery, but no longer appears as a marked-off spot, and no parish documents mention its placement or dimensions.²⁰⁴ While its burial records note the interment of a suicide in the 1840s, St. Stephen's also has retained no lists of those placed in its unconsecrated space.

²⁰² The Canadian Encyclopedia, 2nd edition (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988) provides information about the Guibord case. Joseph Guibord had been a supporter of the Institut Canadien, which was placed under interdict in July 1869 by Bishop Ignace Bourget of Montreal. When Guibord died in November of that year, Bourget denied him burial in consecrated ground. After 5 years of legal battles by Guibord's widow, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ordered that Bourget's decision be reversed and Guibord's remains were moved from a Protestant to a Roman Catholic cemetery. Immediately after the burial, Bourget deconsecrated the plot containing Bourget's body.

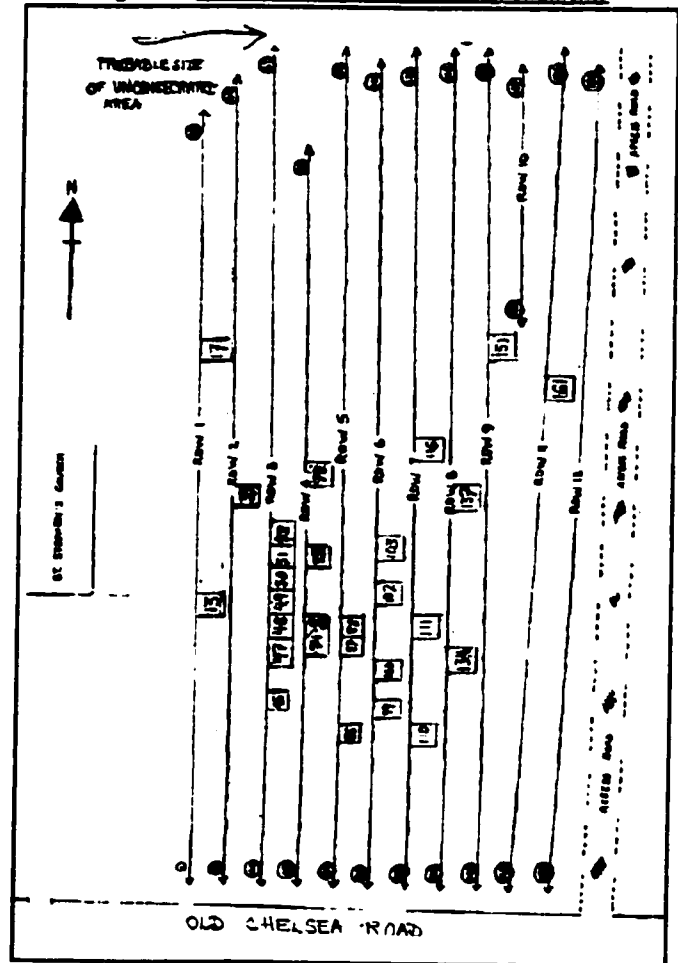
²⁰³ Ed O'Meara, St. Stephen's Cemetery Plan, July 1979.

²⁰⁴ The Parish Priest, Father Croteau (interview, February 1997) understood that the unconsecrated area was located to the northern edge of the original cemetery. The Centre Diocésain de Gatineau-Hull has equally been unable to locate any nineteenth-century records pertaining to St. Stephen's Cemetery (interviews with Chancellor Lucie Gorman-McCoy, October-November 1998). According to Professor Michel Theriault, of (Ottawa) Saint Paul University's Faculty of Canon Law, since 1983 unbaptised babies have been allowed burial with their families and non-Catholic spouses can be located with their Roman Catholic partners in the consecrated space of the cemetery.

Some ecclesiastical concern over cemetery facilities is shown in notes taken for action following the Bishop's visit in 1857 when he left instructions to provide a chapel for it. In 1864, when it appears that the cemetery cross had fallen down, the Bishop also noted the need to re-erect it. The second cemetery area must have been added in the 1890s, since parish records show that in 1892 Archbishop Duhamel left instructions concerning these additional grounds. The new section was to be divided into lots and sold to any of the parishioners willing to purchase them, at a price of \$1.50 per foot "counting only the width," a cost which would work out to \$15 a plot. Another part of the site was to be left for burying those without lots, "each one being buried near the last one buried."²⁰⁵ These few notes which remain on record show minimal need for action in

managing the cemetery, yet it was certainly a site of continuous activity in the community. In the 150 years between 1845 and 1995, it accommodated some 1600 interments.²⁰⁶ The nineteenth century accounted for over 650 of them, represented now by 191 names on 144 monuments, including Father James Hughes' tomb in the church basement.²⁰⁷

Figure 11 Sites of St. Stephen's earliest monuments



²⁰⁵McDonald and Dufour, year 1892.

²⁰⁶Information from compilation of church records, by year, provided by Wayne Young, together with 1851-1859 (omitted in Young's data) compiled by the author.

²⁰⁷Nineteenth-century burial totals are derived from compilations by Church Wardens, except for (missing) 1840-1844 and 1851-1859. These periods were compiled by the author from burial records. The 144 nineteenth-century monuments referred to in the present document were inventoried in September 1998 by the author and checked against Evans' 1979 list. They include one with a date and an illegible name, but omit 3 old stones that contain no readable information.

Like its Protestant community counterpart, St. Stephen's churchyard's monuments of this period commemorate family relationships. Fifty-nine of its 144 nineteenth-century stones commemorate couples and larger groups: 30 name 2 persons, 12 have 3 names and 8 have 4, while the remaining 9 name 55 persons by listing groups of 5, 6 and 8. Although the majority (85) of these monuments are for one person, over half mention that individual as someone's husband, wife, son or daughter. The stone for 19 year-old Alice Delaney specifically identified her as her parents' "third daughter." Although only two instances in the Protestant cemetery linked the living and the dead by naming an erector for a given monument, in St. Stephen's cemetery over 20% of nineteenth-century monuments were "erected by" someone, usually a close relative such as a parent, spouse, child, brother or sister. Even the monuments which give no relationship information are evidently often placed in plots next to other family members, as the same surnames often appear on adjacent stones. (Appendix B-3 lists all persons with nineteenth century monuments in St. Stephen's Cemetery, providing a set of information taken from their monument inscriptions.)

Only one nineteenth century burial is represented on two monuments. Bridget Scott is commemorated as the wife of Michael Dunn, "born 1829 Tipperary, died 18 November 1891" on one stone, and as a native of Callan, Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, the wife of Thomas Padden, died on 16 November 1891, on another.²⁰⁸ The information about Irish origins on these two monuments, although conflicting in this instance, is a striking feature of some nineteenth-century burials in this cemetery. Of sixteen inscriptions which mention birthplace, only one is not an Irish place name: John Dunn's 1847 birthplace was Old Chelsea. Perhaps the Catholic community in Chelsea at this time bore a considerable resemblance to a transplanted bit of Ireland! Several monuments also feature the shamrock or harp along with other symbols or use the Celtic form of the cross. The Irish counties on their stones read as a selective list: Cork, Fermanagh, Kilkenny, Limerick, Mayo, Sligo, Tipperary, Wexford, (Waxfort). It is easy to picture priests such as the Reverends Hughes, Foley, and McGoey, themselves of Irish background, taking an interest in the parishioners' places of origin. The early burial records

²⁰⁸ See P.M.O. Evans et al, St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Cemetery October, 1979 (Ottawa Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society publication 80-5). In the Evans list of monuments in this cemetery, see number 25 and a replacement monument for number 200. In this cemetery a stone for another Scott, Michael, places his origin as Callen, Co. Kilkenny.

repeat these same Irish origins, adding only Queen's County to the above list in entries made up to 1862. Two decades later, an 1880 record suggests that by then the sense of Irish connection had become less specific, as it simply recorded the burial of Michael Lyons, "Laborer, late from Ireland, died in Ottawa City," mentioning the country but giving no county.

Chelsea's Catholic Irish population was well-established before Ireland's most disastrous famine years. The Bradley, Crilly and Dunlop families received Chelsea land grants in the 1820s, and an 1831 petition regarding quit rent charges for Chelsea land contains a list of locally-familiar names including Michael Dunn; Robert, Patrick and Thomas Daly; Thomas Welsh; Patt, James, Thomas, Michael and Ulick Lynott; Anthony, Thomas and Patrick Barrett; Patrick Flaherty; David and Pat Burk; and Ernest Foley. That document also provides an indication of another group of Chelsea's founding settlers, Rideau Canal workers who stayed to settle on the land. Its preamble describes them and their circumstances:

We are all His Majesty's loyal subjects from the United Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland which was obliged to leave our homes for want of employment or means to maintain ourselves at home, [and] the most part of us came up to this place on hearing of the Redow Canall, and as the work was getting slack about Bytown we took up land to try to make a lively hood for famelys.²⁰⁹

Monuments were far less common than burials in St. Stephen's cemetery during the nineteenth century. While the cemetery's monuments account for 191 names, these amount to only 29% of the 652 persons noted in the parish burial records over this time, a ratio of grave markers to burials that is similar to that estimated for Chelsea's Protestant community cemetery. However, these nineteenth-century monuments are a rich resource of cemetery custom among Chelsea's Roman Catholic community, and the presence of parish burial records provides some complementary insight. Although St. Stephen's originally provided one burial place used by one religious group, in March 1862 the church burial records show an entry for St. Elizabeth's cemetery in Cantley, so burials after this date dealt with two cemeteries until the Cantley mission began its own records in 1868. The period 1840-1862, before the Cantley site was in use, was therefore selected for a detailed review of St. Stephen's records and

²⁰⁹ NAC, Lower Canada land papers, Vol. 88, Township of Hull Report, 43756-7 locates Charles Crilly, John Crilly, William Dunlop, Gabriel Dunlop, Francis Bradley, John Bradley. The November 1831 petition is a 2-page document filed with others from Hull Township residents, held by ANQ in Quebec City, numbered as "1480," where it would appropriately be filed with land petitions.

monuments and the insights they could offer about the cemetery and its users during that time. This sample period provided 128 burial records and 39 persons named on monuments, with an overlap of 28 persons identified in both sources.²¹⁰

The earliest records of burials in this cemetery date from 1841, while it was served as a mission from Aylmer; St. Stephen's began keeping its own records on October 15, 1845.²¹¹

The earliest monument with a matching church burial entry is for Catherine Slatery Welch, although the gravestone and register information disagree on her year of death, with family recalling the event as April 1840 and church transcripts dating it as March 27, 1844.²¹² According to its inscription, the present stone was provided by the Reverend J. Joseph Welch, Parish Priest, replacing the original stone erected by William Welch.²¹³ A second inscription on the same monument continues the family story, as it mentions the death of 17 year-old Michael Welch in 1854. Although the monument identifies Michael as Catherine's son, his burial record and age clarify the relationship as grandson, and place Michael as the son of William Welch (or Walsh) and Margaret Crilly (Creely).

The Aylmer registers record 6 Chelsea burials, three of them preceding Catherine Welch's. These were for Julia Corrigan Cassady (Cassidy) and her newborn son Bernard in April, 1842, and Moses Duly (Daly), who had drowned accidentally in the Gatineau a month before his June burial in the same year. The remaining entries were for Charles McGinnis, a 26-year old and Jane Crolley (Crilly) McCloskey, aged 40, who were buried in 1844 and 1845,

²¹⁰ The time and scope allowed for this study could not deal with all of St. Stephen's nineteenth-century burial records in any event, but the selection of earliest period was based on this rationale.

²¹¹ Although there was earlier missionary activity in the region, offered through the Diocese of Pembroke, Ontario, those registers seems to have been lost. According to Marthe Beauregard, who compiled the 1841-1851 Mission of Aylmer records, a 1947 article by Emile Falardeau in the *Mémoires de la Société Généalogique Canadienne-Française* mentions two registers dating from 1836-1842.

²¹² NAC, Reel C-2978, Records of the Missions of Wright County. See also the compilation of these records by Marthe F. Beauregard, *Baptêmes, Mariages et Sepultures de la Mission d'Aylmer, 1841-1851*, (Montréal: ed. Bergeron et Fils enr'g., 1977).

²¹³ Catherine Welch's original gravestone was supplied by her son William, while J. Joseph Welch was descended from this family.

respectively. St. Stephen's own records begin by repeating Jane McCloskey's burial on December 15, 1845 and continue with the interment of her 4 year-old son John the next day. Two other stones in the cemetery date to the 1840s, but one which carries an 1844 date is not otherwise legible; the other is for John Corrigan, who died on December 31, 1847. His contribution in promoting the interests of Chelsea's Roman Catholics and helping to organize their congregation had earned him the informal title of "le curé de Chelsea" from Bishop Bourget.²¹⁴

Other Chelsea burials may also have been entered elsewhere, or actually overlooked in the early official record of the parish. One of these, for Bridget Mullan, a 2 month-old child, is recorded on the same stone as her father Barnet, whose death and burial preceded hers by only a few days in 1853. Although her name does not appear in the burial records, it would seem unlikely that she was buried from any other parish. Other stones for which there are no burial records during the 1845-1862 period are James Flynn and David Daily in 1854, Matthew Walsh and his daughter Mary in 1857, Cecilia Corrigan and Thomas Dean in 1859, Mary Ward in 1860 and Michael Stapleton in 1861. A possible explanation for some missing entries is a suspicion that the Reverend Hughes made his burial entries in the church ledgers some time after the fact, perhaps saving his notes and sitting down periodically to update the records. This is suggested by the sequence of burial entries early in 1848, when the first one for the year in order and number is dated April 12, and the second entry follows with a date of January 1, 1848.

In these early days, families, priests and monument makers used their own spellings for many words. Some of the same-sounding surnames had many spellings: Burk, Burke, Bourke; Caples, Caplis, Capliss; Creely, Crilley, Crilly; Daily, Daley, Daly, Dayley; Dunlap and Dunlop; Dunn and Dunne; Gilaspy and Gillespie; Lynot, Lynott, Lynotte; McGarr, McGirr, McGurn; Murtagh and Murtaugh; Mullan, Mullen, Mullin; Sheehee and Sheehy; Walsh, Welch, Welch. French names were rare and sometimes rendered phonetically, so that Lacharité could be Lasharita, Lasharity or Lecheritie, and Poirier became Poirie. Baptism and marriage records and a few of the burials show some French-Canadian names among St. Stephen's parishioners in the nineteenth century, but only three or four monuments during this entire period are for persons with evidently francophone backgrounds, and all of them used English to communicate the burial information on their monuments. The 1858 monument for Harriet Marandor, wife

²¹⁴de Barbezieux, 424.

of “Alx” Poirier gives her information in English, while Father Patrick McGoey struggled to render her name as “Eyret Maraha” in the burial record; Francis Lasharity (1874) is buried beside his wife Miriam McNealy (1859) and her stone shows his name as Lasharita; Joseph Laviolette’s 1893 monument, erected to his memory by his loving wife and children, also gives his information in English.²¹⁵

The comparison of monument information with burial data shows differences in death dates and ages as well as variation in surname spelling. Many monuments show a particular date and month, but give a death date which differs by a year or more from the burial date. For 28 cases in which both of these sources provide information, half have discrepancies in date, and 12 have age differences. While Francis Bradley gained or lost 23 years according to his monument (age 75) or burial record (52), if the information provided by this family to the 1851 census-taker were correct, he would have been 60 at the time of his death, leaving us no closer to guessing a “correct” age. Hannah Lynott, who died in 1850, gained 30 years on her tombstone over her burial record, probably as a result of the family miscalculating when they finally erected a joint marker for her with her husband, who died over forty years later. The high incidence of date discrepancies between burial and tombstone entries for the same individual suggests that the monuments in this cemetery, like many in Chelsea’s Protestant cemetery, were not ordered immediately after death. When family members did order them some time later, they evidently had difficulty in recalling the exact day, month and year of death. (Table 12, page 94, compares burial and monument data for this sample.)

St. Stephen’s cemetery monuments recall 46 persons who reached the age of 70 or more in the nineteenth century, accounting for one-quarter of the entries on these tombstones, while at the other end of the age continuum, fewer than half that number of children under age 10 are memorialized. (Table 13, page 95, gives burials by age at death.) The information from early burial records sheds light on these death patterns, listing 27 child deaths within less than two decades of that period, so that it is clear that the deaths of children are under-represented on these early tombstones. While the monuments announce that, indeed, some members of the population reached ripe old age, they downplay the early deaths of children at this time, another social similarity between this cemetery and its Protestant community counterpart. In the

²¹⁵The unusual surname Duscet (Appendix B-3, monuments 122, 123) may also be a phonetic rendering of Doucet or Doucette. The other information on these stones is also in English.

Table 12
St. Stephen's Churchyard: Comparison of 1840-1862 sample

Monument number, Person	Monument Date	Register Date	Monument Age	Register Age	Other Differences
No date/age differences -10 persons					Name spellings
50 WELCH, Catherine Slattery	April 1840	27 Mar 1844	60	-	Register: Walsh, Catherine Slattery
72 CORRIGAN, John	30 Dec 1847	31 Dec 1847	32	30	
88 LYNOTT, Hannah McMannus	7 Mar 1850	7 Mar 1850	60	30	Monument: wife of Ulick; Register: wife of Mickle
116 DUNLAP, Bridget Daley	14 July 1853	14 July 1852	49	54	
45 DAILEY Catharine	3 May 1854	7 May 1854	72	71	
50 WELCH, Michael	7 June 1854	7 June 1854	17	17	Monument: son but he was <u>grandson</u> .
81 FARRELL, Mary	24 Jan 1854	24 Jan 1856	20	20	
75 YOUNG Thomas	13 Mar 1855	11 Mar 1855	52	60	
33 BOURKE Bridget Smith	10 Oct 1855	10 Oct 1855	46	42	
71 CORRIGAN John	12 Sep 1856	11 Sep 1856	75	72	
137 CAPLISS Sarah Hogan	17 Nov 1857	17 Nov 1856	57	61	
52 DAVY, Bridget Welsh	2 May 1857	2 June 1857	36	36	
151 POIRIER Harriet Marandor	1 May 1858	1 May 1859	52	52	Register: Eyret Maraha
49 CRILLEY, James	1 Dec 1858	30 Nov 1858	32	33	
17 BRADLEY Francis	27 Feb 1860	27 Feb 1862	75	52	
34 GILLESPIE Patrick	17 June 1860	23 June 1860	37	37	
13 MURTAUGH Mary McGreah	15 Sept 1861	- Sept 1861	41	37	
48 CRILLY Margaret Bemingham	Jan 13 1861	Jan 13 1862	76	72	

1845-1862 period, males and females were equally represented on St. Stephen's monuments and in the burial records, although over the whole century, the balance of monuments favours males—which may or may not reflect the actual population incidence.²¹⁶

Only two nineteenth-century monuments mention cause of death, and both were caused by drowning. Thomas Sheahan, aged 50 years and “a native of the Co. Limerick, Ireland,” drowned in the Gatineau River in 1865, and Michael Carroll was 27 when he drowned in the

²¹⁶Burial records were not reviewed or analyzed for the period 1863-1899.

Table 13
St. Stephen's Churchyard: Nineteenth Century Burials, by age at death, for men and women by record type

Age at death	Information from monuments 1840-1899		Percent, by age group		Information from burial records 1841-1862		Percent, by age group		Information from monuments 1840-1862		Percent, by age group	
	m	f	m&f		m	f	m&f		m	f	m&f	
90+	-	1	25%		-	-	10%		-	-	16%	
80-99	10	7			1	2			1	-		
70-79	17	11			3	3			3	2		
60-69	7	10	22%		4	3	15%		1	4	30%	
50-59	16	9			4	3			3	3		
40-49	14	5	33%		3	4	33%		-	3	32%	
30-39	11	9			4	2			4	1		
20-29	10	14			8	8			1	3		
10-19	10	5	8%	20%	3	7	11%	42%	4	-	11%	22%
0-9	13	9	12%		16	12	31%		2	2	11%	
No info.	3	-	(3) Based on 188 cases		6	3	(9) Based on 90 cases		1		(1) Based on 37 cases	
Totals, m & f	111	80	100%		52	47	100%		20	18	100%	
Totals	191				100* (INCL 1 No Inf re: sex)				38* (EXCL 1 No Inf re: sex / age)			

Madawaska in 1877. Carroll's stone, erected by his wife Catherine, reminds us more than a century later just what his death meant to her family:

A cruel water that did not spare
 A father kind, a husband dear
 Took him away, left us behind
 A world to try and friends to find.

Parish records show that several other nineteenth-century burials in this cemetery were also for persons who had drowned. Two 1846 burials were of "unknown persons" drowned in the River Gatineau, Moses Duly (Daly), aged 24, and Felix McGurn, aged 33 were also drowned in the Gatineau (in 1842 and 1849), while Michael Walsh was 17 in 1854 when he "accidentally drowned." Of these, only young Walsh has a monument, and in his case it does not mention cause of death—even the horror of drowning did not have every family proclaim

the event. The records also mention a death due to freezing and others where coroner's juries established causes, but up to 1862 mention no deaths associated with other accidents, diseases, or events such as childbirth. Without specifying a reason for his "sudden exit," the inscription on Daniel Crilly's monument refers to it as a kind of warning to all:

Let my sudden exit from earth cause
thee for heaven to prepare.

We know that Patrick McGarr "who died in New York" in 1865 was 25, and that in 1853 his family consigned Barnet Mullan's remains to this cemetery and selected this inscription:

In Chelsea graveyard lies my
body, my soul to rest for ever
amen.

If St. Stephen's monuments did not often mention cause or place of death, most of them included a prayer. Most frequently, this prayer asked that the dead person's soul should rest in peace, or its Latin equivalent, *Requiescat in pace*. On a few monuments this was shortened simply to RIP.²¹⁷ A few chose short messages such as: We have loved him and will not forget him until he is admitted into the house of the Lord; Gone but not forgotten, (sometimes with the added invitation to pray for the deceased); In life beloved in death lamented; A saint she went to rest for ever; and Father thou art gone to rest, We will not weep for thee, or a similar expression, Dearest father thou has left us, and thy loss we deeply feel.²¹⁸

If an epitaph was used, short rhyming verses of four to six lines were the most frequent choice. These often mention the "peace" or "rest" offered by death, which brings relief from cares, sorrows, the weary battles of life, as in lines such as the following:

Weep not for me my friends so dear,
I am not dead but sleeping here
Short was my stay, long is my rest,
To take me home God thought it best.

Then rest thou dear departed one,
Life's weary battles all are o'er
And speeding comes the blissful day
When we shall meet to part no more.²¹⁹

²¹⁷87 of 144 monuments (60%) contained some version of this prayer, with 74% in English and 26% in Latin including 5 which used simply RIP.

²¹⁸28 of 144 (19%) used verses and 13 (9%) chose short lines.

²¹⁹ Verses on monuments for McGarr (89) and Farrell (82).

The verses used in Chelsea's Protestant and Roman Catholic cemeteries seem to have come from the same general stock, and here as in the Protestant cemetery some families personalized the verses they selected for monument inscriptions. They did this by using the deceased's name or selecting appropriate personal pronouns to fit their own circumstances, or expressed a message as if coming from the dead individual to the survivors, in the following examples:

Mary Jane my darling
That rests on our heavenly father's
arms I come from the far off west
To say with you I mean to rest.²²⁰

Then sleep Alice dear where in sorrow we laid thee
And rest till the note of thy triumph shall ring
Yes—sleep in the grave that in sorrow we made thee
Unstained as the Flakes from the wintry wing.

Will pray for and think of Alice for ever,
Forget thee? Our child, forget thee no never,
But wait for the hour when ne'ar more to sever,
When will join thee with saints and angels to sing.²²¹

Farewell my husband & children dear,
Since God has called me I must part with you
and when you kneel upon my lonely grave
Breath for me that well remembered prayer
which in Childhood I taught you kneeling by my side.²²²

Good bye, Good bye, Dear Husband,
Entrusted to your care,
Is left our infant child until
In Heaven I meet you there.²²³

²²⁰Monument for Crilly, 59 (Appendix B-3, St. Stephen's Cemetery Monument Listings).

²²¹ Delaney, (92, App. B-3) .

²²²Welch, (56, B-3).

²²³Corrigan, (79, B-3).

Parents good night
 my work is done, I go to
 Rest with the setting sun.
 But not to wake with the
 morning light, So dearest
 Parents a long good night.²²⁴

Our parents here
 lie underground,
 The dearest friends we ever found,
 But through the Lord's
 unbounded love,
 We hope to meet in
 realm above.²²⁵

In death's cold arms
 lies sleeping here
 A loving wife with
 children dear:
 Great is the loss I sustain
 but hope in heaven to meet again.²²⁶

Sleep brother dear and take your rest,
 God called you home, he thought it best.
 Twas hard indeed to part with thee,
 But Christ's strong arm supported me.²²⁷

No lordly fane conceals thy dust,
 No storied page will sing thy praise
 Much better thy dear husbands' lips
 Will breathe for thee undying prayers.²²⁸

A verse used several times in this cemetery expresses in matter-of-fact terms the fate that lies ahead for the living:

²²⁴Crilly, (199, B-3).

²²⁵McDonnell, (85, B-3).

²²⁶Bradley, (91, B-3).

²²⁷Mulvihill, (40, B-3).

²²⁸Barret, (54, B-3).

Good Christians all as you
 pass by. As you are now so once
 was I. As I am now so will you be,
 Prepare for death and pray for me.

It appears on six monuments, with variation in some of the words so that the audience may be identified as “passengers” or “good people,” and there are also some differences in dividing up the text when inscribing it on the stones.²²⁹ In a similar vein, we are asked:

When you kneel to the Lord on High
 I request your prayers for me
 Now in the cold cold grave I lie
 Though once in life like thee,
 Be wise repent and serve the Lord
 Through his Most Precious Son,
 And you will reap a just reward
 When the sands of life are run.²³⁰

Still other lines convey loss and remembrance, as in these examples:

She was to Good to gentle and fair
 To dwell in this cold world of pain
 And yet we never dared to think
 Her own might beckon her again.²³¹

So fare you well baby
 We must put you from our sight
 But your form will be written
 In the darkness and the light.²³²

There's not an hour
 Of day or dreaming night but I am with thee.
 There's not a wind but whispers of they name,
 But in its hues, as fragrance, tell a tale
 Of thee.²³³

²²⁹The following nineteenth-century monuments use variations of this text: Padden (25), Scott (97), Flynn (113), Flynn (114), Lasharita (120), Gilaspy (133).

²³⁰Welsh, (55, B-3).

²³¹Hitchcock, (68, B-3).

²³²Murphy, (108, B-3).

²³³Duscet, (122, B-3).

If the verse lines here contain occasional misspellings, they are similar in this respect to those in Chelsea's other cemeteries, and the work of various stone-carvers is represented in well-chiselled letters and a variety of motifs here. The monument makers include R. Brown, J. Laurin, A.K. Mills, and W. McFarlane who also provided stones in Old Chelsea's Protestant cemetery, and J. L. Bateson, the Canadian Granite Company (located in Canal Basin, Ottawa), McDonald (Ottawa), Waterston Shields (Ottawa), and F. Wright (on Wellington Street, Ottawa).

Most of the motifs in St. Stephen's cemetery are quite different from those found on nineteenth-century stones in local Protestant cemeteries, however. Most frequent (on 101 monuments) is the cross, sometimes carved as a Celtic cross, often accompanied by the motif "IHS," although the occasional stone has only the "IHS" representation. Several show a hand grasping or holding the cross, while three show Christ's head and two depict angels. None of these religious symbols was used in Chelsea's Protestant cemeteries, and the Irish shamrock and harp found on some of these stones are another point of difference from the symbols selected by Chelsea's Protestants. A few of the St. Stephen's monuments depict plants including ivy, roses and a pomegranate, while two have clasped hands and one uses a "brick" background similar to a stone described in Churches' cemetery. Chelsea's only examples of certain Romantic or Victorian symbols are found on this cemetery's monuments: a lamb, a setting sun and a draped urn, although there is not a single weeping willow among any of its nineteenth-century stones.

Monuments for Chelsea's women most often used their maiden surnames, and provided their husband's name by using the convention "wife of." St. Stephen's burial records correspond with this format, listing women by their birth surnames and sometimes even adding parents' names. Very few birth dates appear on St. Stephen's nineteenth-century monuments, (11 out of 191 entries), and almost all give age instead. Several burial records suggest that families did not always know an exact age, and they and the Priest duly found an approximation, so that in 1856 Mary O'Meara (wife of James Grimes) was "about 80 years old," Mary Quigley (wife of the late John Luder) "about 65," and James Grehan "about 40," while in 1862 a Mrs. McCauley was "I suppose 70 years old" in the burial records. Perhaps the lack of precise birth date information helps to explain the data for Catherine Cassidy, wife of Charles Crilly, whose monument gives her age at death as 111 years in 1892. The previous

year, the family had given her age as 106 to the census-taker, while the next grave to hers is for her son, Daniel, whose death in 1880 at the age of 35 makes his birth year about 1845, so that she would have been over 60 years old when he was born if her gravestone information were accurate.²³⁴

The earliest burial records were usually witnessed by people “who can’t sign,” at least during the ministries of Anthony O’Malley and James Hughes. Among the few exceptions were Patt and John Hughes on April 12, 1848, “who have signed with me,” although by July 27 of the same year Patt was again among those “who can’t sign.” When Patrick McGoev followed Father Hughes as priest, many of the individuals who had been non-signing presences over the previous years suddenly became those “who with us have signed.” The nineteenth century monuments, with names often accompanied by a prayer, epitaph or verse, suggest that they were designed for an audience that could at least read them.

If some of St. Stephen’s early parishioners did not often write—or perhaps get the chance to do so—their imprint and presence remain as their names and past dates are commemorated in their cemetery. In its first sixty years, up to 1899, St. Stephen’s Cemetery had received at least 652 burials. The last two decades, 1880-1899, were its peak times for burial activity, after which numbers dropped off during the next century as other changes in the parish were reflected in this active and continuing cemetery.

3.5 End of a century

From its pioneer beginnings within Hull Township, during the nineteenth century Chelsea became more formally organized and developed as a community in its own right. The village site at Upper or Old Chelsea’s crossroads soon attracted small businesses, and local schools, churches and cemeteries were in evidence by the 1840s. The newly-formed institutions for providing education and worship for Chelsea’s population struggled at first to maintain a viable and continued presence. Burial places, needed within the first year or two of settlement, were simple family affairs, and their communal versions followed later:

²³⁴NAC, Reel T-6412, 1891 census for County of Ottawa, District 175, South Hull, (enumerated April 27, 1891), p 44 line 16. Catherine Crilly is living with her son’s widow Margaret, then 42 years old, and her age is given as 106, her status as mother-in-law.

Chelsea's Protestant community cemetery was established in the first decade after its settlement, and the Roman Catholic churchyard cemetery came within another decade. Municipal government, enacted in Quebec in 1841 under provisions of the Special Council, was thrust upon an unwilling population who feared that it would mean taxes (and it did). While the main municipal responsibilities at first were roads and bridge work or such occasional local regulation such as catching and keeping stray animals, local administration became more complex in the population centre of Wright's Town. By the last quarter of this century, Wright's Town had become the city of Hull, and Chelsea had gained its own municipal status as "West Hull."

As Chelsea itself became more organized and socially complex, its community-centred burial places reflected its settlers' social identification as Protestant or Roman Catholic. Although Marlene Simmons found that Roman Catholics in parts of Quebec's Eastern Townships used community grounds before their churches were established, there is no evidence or suggestion that this happened in Chelsea.²³⁵ Chelsea's community cemetery either did not attract Roman Catholic burials before this group had established their own church and cemetery, or they used it without leaving any lasting monuments or other hint of their presence.

If Chelsea's central burial places each had their own religious ethos, its earliest homestead plots were developed by members of both denominations and various ethnic backgrounds and accordingly responded to what these families considered appropriate. While some of these plots were used by several generations of the same family during the century, the Churches' family plot near the village of (New) Chelsea expanded and developed into a private ground which accommodated neighbours. The use of wooden markers, arrangements of stones and fences or other informal markers for early grave sites meant that evidence of their presence was often not obvious to later generations. Old plot information was recalled in oral tradition, but usually without written records, so that some were already forgotten by the century's end. While the homestead plots in Chelsea for which contemporary documentation could be located were all for families of Protestant background, Roman Catholics such as the Youngs and

²³⁵Marlene Simmons, Cemeteries as a Research Tool, (www:/virtuel.qc.ca/simmons). Simmons found Roman Catholics buried in Brock Memorial Park in Glen Sutton (now considered a Protestant Cemetery) and in the Troy St. Cemetery in Richford, Vt.

Hendricks recalled hearing of their families' homestead burials.²³⁶ Rita Hogan Hendrick remembered her husband's family searching unsuccessfully to locate a former plot on the homestead, where several children had been buried in the nineteenth century.²³⁷ Throughout the century, family plots continued to be used by some families in Chelsea; at its end four of the six or seven detailed in this chapter were in still use, and one was not yet created—its inception dates to 1903. In some cases, family members or neighbours can still point out areas where they recalled seeing or hearing about a burial site. In other instances, informal signs of their presence are still visible where perennials remain on a knoll or a rise is crowned with a few original trees.

The Protestant community cemetery and Roman Catholic churchyard began and continued in the same roles throughout the period, although in the latter part of the century a counterpart for each opened in the Cantley district which later became a separate municipality. The Cantley United Cemetery, a Protestant community burial ground, occupies part of Lot 7 in Range 13 on the west side of the main road (Route 307, called Montée des Sources within Cantley), while St. Elizabeth's Roman Catholic churchyard's site is part of Lot 9, across the road and in the same range. Centrally-located near cross-roads, with simple grid designs based on family plots and informal, kin-centred administration, both of these Cantley cemeteries resemble Old Chelsea's earlier-established Protestant community and churchyard sites.²³⁵ These four separate and prominent Protestant and Roman Catholic cemeteries also suggest the cohesiveness of each group and their social division, while a review of the surnames on Chelsea's cemetery monuments confirms how rarely anyone in the community changed religious affiliation from one to the other group.

Chelsea's Protestant burial places were denominational in the sense that they were not

²³⁶Wayne Young (interview, February 1997); Rita Hogan Hendrick (interview, December 14, 1998).

²³⁷Rita Hogan Hendrick (ibid.) recalled that her husband and other family members searched unsuccessfully to locate this plot, which was located at their original Hendrick homestead on Lot 26, Range 14. The graves of several children had apparently been marked with wooden crosses, but no trace could be found.

²³⁵The Protestant cemetery in Cantley appears to have been affiliated with the nearby church, which was at first Presbyterian and later United Church.

used by Roman Catholics, but their organization was informal and family-led rather than linked to any church membership or board. Informal organization was characteristic even of many aspects of burial in the Roman Catholic churchyard, which began receiving burials long before the church took formal steps to authorise it or consecrate its space. While the various religious denominations maintained burial registers, the Protestant rectors who often served several parishes frequently recorded the burial as an event without indicating the cemetery where it took place. No local cemetery seems to have thought of preparing a plan to record plot ownership or sites of individual burials, and when the few local persons who had regularly dug the graves became infirm or died, their informal knowledge was unrecorded and difficult to pass on to replacements. Families recalled—or forgot—where their members lay, or died out or moved away, so that by the twentieth century the identities of many persons occupying unmarked spaces between the marked plots were forgotten. The family both played a leading role in identifying burial places of other kin and caring for their plots. Often, they marked plot boundaries with cornerstones, low railings and fences, brought pieces of perennials from their home gardens to embellish them, and also supplied occasional grass-cutting and weeding.

Provincial legislation enacted in the second half of the century suggests some of the cemetery management questions and issues of the period. The earliest legal requirements in Quebec were addressed to Roman Catholic parishes and specific Protestant churches or congregations, requiring them to keep burial registers. The idea of knowing an individual's burial site was important: as early as 1852 all disinterments required court approval, and if Roman Catholics were involved, they also needed ecclesiastical permission. In 1875, a statute reinforced the formal authority of Roman Catholic church authorities to decide where in a cemetery (in particular, whether within its consecrated space or in a civil ground) a person could be buried, a legal response to the challenge of the Guibord case.²³⁶ After 1869, the notion of cemeteries managed by a "society of Christians not being a parish" was recognized in Quebec law, although throughout the century Quebec had no regulations similar to Ontario's mid-century provision for the formation and regulation of cemetery companies.²³⁷ It was nearly the end of the century, in 1888, before town-centred burial sites were discouraged, a result of

²³⁶Statutes of Quebec, 39 Victoria, Cap 19, section 1. The Guibord case is mentioned on page 87.

²³⁷Statutes of Canada, 13-14 Victoria, cap. 76, 10, August 1850. (The first Quebec Act respecting cemetery companies dates to 1925.)

public health concerns.²³⁸ As of then, new parishes were, “as much as possible” to select sites beyond the probable limits of the town or village, on elevated land sloping away from any dwellings, so as to avoid contaminating drinking water.²³⁹ The same act contained various sanitary provisions for handling bodies and apparel of the dead, and was particularly concerned with transmission of infectious diseases. In 1895 burial site regulation was strengthened to require Board of Health approval for any new cemetery site.²⁴⁰ This increasing regulation of burials and cemeteries, although a signal of further control to come, had little effect on Chelsea, some of whose population still favoured family plots, and many of whom now used its centrally-located cemeteries. Chelsea by this time had established four types of cemetery, which were to persist well into the next century.

The grave monuments for Chelsea’s people came from Ottawa suppliers, who followed North American style trends and regional preferences for shapes, motifs and messages. Living family members constructed both the person and the role of the dead by selecting the monument and the words carved into its stone. These monuments very rarely gave any glimpse of the activities or person of the dead, but placed them within a general religious framework and family context. Many of the same makers created monuments for both Protestant and Roman Catholic burial sites, and similar poetic inscriptions appear on Chelsea’s monuments, regardless of denomination. Any “visitor” reading these nineteenth-century messages might be warned of the inevitability of death or receive religious affirmations about life after death. Roman Catholic and Protestant monuments diverged, though, in some expressions of faith and selection of Christian symbols. Roman Catholic monuments often offered or requested a prayer for the dead, while their Protestant counterparts asked no intercessions but presented affirmations of faith in a Christian afterlife or lines from the Bible. Motifs also differed, with representations of Christ and the cross very prominent on monuments in the Roman Catholic cemeteries, and not used at all in Protestant sites. A combination of social awareness and the guidance of monument suppliers probably ensured that these denominational differences were respected.

²³⁸Statutes of Quebec, 51-52 Victoria, Cap 48.

²³⁹Ibid., section 14.

²⁴⁰Statutes of Quebec, 59 Victoria, Cap. 28, Sect. 5

Most of Chelsea's dead were buried with other family members, and inscriptions almost universally made explicit their relationship with selected living or dead members of the family. Sometimes they expressed wider community links, reaching back to a place or country of origin, or recording where death occurred. Epitaphs or verses suggested the link between the dead person and close family members or their living kin with themes of mourning, sadness and loss. Personal information usually included the individual's name, age and date of death, while among Protestants of the period birth date was often included. Drowning was the only cause of death mentioned on Chelsea's monuments of this century; along with burning it was the most frequent cause of accidental death at the time. If cause of death was rarely communicated, duration of life was clearly significant. The importance of age, and especially extended old age, is suggested by attention to days, months and years for Mary Bloss Chamberlin (99 years and 7 months) in Churches' Cemetery and Catherine Cassidy Crilly's elevation to 111 years of age in St. Stephen's. Nineteenth-century Chelsea monuments also ignored occupation, club affiliation or achievement; a lone stone recognizing an individual as a founder of St. Stephen's parish is actually a recent twentieth-century stone.

Apart from the insight they offer about general and local nineteenth-century cemetery custom, Chelsea's cemeteries are repositories of information about linguistic and community characteristics such as names, relationships and provenance of early settlers, the continuity of some families in the area, and give the later observer information about lifespan during this period. Those without monuments are also part of this history, another side of the Chelsea settlement. While infants and many others were placed in family plots without markers, still others were apparently placed in a common or "free burial" area designated for this purpose. Religious documents indicate that both the Roman Catholic churchyard and the Protestant community cemetery had designated such sites in addition to family plots. The Roman Catholic cemeteries also had an extra-mural burial space for persons not eligible for inclusion within the sacred precincts of their churchyard. No fences or records remain in the twentieth century to confirm the boundaries of these spaces in St. Stephen's cemetery, although the general location of the unconsecrated site seems to be agreed on. Church wardens later in the twentieth century simply allocated individual or family plots, covering their cost through church funds.²⁴¹ One explanation for the current lack of recall is that the importance of extramural and

²⁴¹ Information from W. Gerry McDonald, former Church Warden. (interview, November, 1998).

common burial areas declined in the twentieth century, while another suggestion is that, even in the nineteenth century, most members of the wider community did not need such sites, and they were therefore known only to a few select persons such as clergy and gravediggers. In any case the result has been that, by the latter part of the twentieth century, the sites of these once-specific areas are no longer identified by clergy or public.

4. CHELSEA'S TWENTIETH-CENTURY CEMETERIES

The only new burial place created in Chelsea during the twentieth century was, ironically, a family plot. Chelsea's other cemeteries, already established near village activity centres, continued to offer burial space, but these were now rivalled by larger cemeteries which offered grave and plot maintenance in landscaped sites on the outskirts of the urban areas of Hull, Aylmer and Ottawa. These "rural" cemeteries included Notre Dame in Hull for Roman Catholics, Bellevue on the outskirts of Aylmer for Protestants, and Notre Dame (Roman Catholic) and Beechwood (non-denominational) on the eastern fringe of Ottawa. At first very occasionally, and by the 1930s much more frequently, Chelsea's Protestants began to opt for plots in these new cemeteries, and some Roman Catholics also selected burial places outside the immediate community. The growing urban centres became magnets which attracted people from the countryside, and former Chelsea residents moved to Ottawa-Hull or further afield. While some even took their kin from Chelsea's cemeteries when they moved to the new place, others who had moved away from Chelsea returned after death for interment in the community where they had spent most of their lives. Finally, some of Chelsea's burial sites were no longer actively used and were either abandoned and forgotten or took on new roles as historic sites.

4.1 Chelsea's family plots become history

A few Chelsea families continued to use family plots at the outset of this century, and one family, the Hammonds, established theirs then. Monuments in the two remaining plots record only one twentieth-century death, that of Charlotte Wright in 1909. However, several moved stones, along with religious and judicial records, provide information about continuing use of family plots in Chelsea into the second decade of the century. The two Hammond monuments first used by this family during the twentieth century in their homestead plot were re-erected in Beechwood Cemetery. One was moved in 1929 and the other reinscribed for other family members and placed there later. The twentieth-century design of the Beechwood monument for William James Tilley and his wife suggests it was a new one erected when she died, rather than the original marker used for his Meech Lake grave. Four members of the Brown family are recalled on their stone in Cantley United Cemetery, a Victorian-style obelisk which may have stood in their family plot, although there seems to have been no formal

application to transfer the remains of the senior Browns to that cemetery. The Brown family's concern over unmarked graves for an earlier generation of their family who may continue to lie on the homestead plot must have been expressed to the purchasers of their property, although it was not part of the deed of sale document.²⁴² A recent monument in the Cantley cemetery recalls John Smith and his wife Jean McClelland, "natives of Ireland, arrived Cantley 1831, buried on farm." Descendants of the Smiths and McClellands still recognize three burial sites on former or present family property, but any early markers to identify specific graves or persons have long since disappeared, leaving only a general memory of these locations as burial sites. Religious records show burials in the Blackburn plot after the turn of the century and into the 1920s, but the family erected no monuments during this period to commemorate their presence. Several gravestones in the nearby Cantley United Cemetery carry the Blackburn name and dates in the 1930s and 1940s, visible evidence of a decision by some family members to opt for burial in the larger and still-maintained Protestant community cemetery.

The decline of family plots in the twentieth century stimulated various efforts by the living to maintain links with their relatives buried in these plots. These responses differed, from recreating a record of persons buried on the homestead to the moves and re-interments selected by other families to regroup kin. The Baldwin and Blackburn plots which were preserved remained for different reasons. The Baldwin property passed through a period of private ownership by others before coming into the hands of a government agency which has now recognized their plot as a heritage site. However, some care has been continued informally by family members who repaired one stone, recently erected a plaque on its gate, and have continued to offer occasional maintenance. The Blackburn plot, although not officially a heritage site, is still on family property and is actively and carefully maintained by this family.

4.2 The transformation of Churches' Cemetery to Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery

The twentieth century's first decade was actually the peak period of use for this small burial ground, when 20 persons were interred there, an average of two a year. This was followed by an abrupt change and apparent closure, until half a decade later public interest was

²⁴²Ministère de la Justice, Fonds des registres (Maniwaki), deed no. 26935 registered June 21, 1951.

revived by the discovery of a forgotten hero's grave in it, leading to local efforts to mark that grave and preserve the cemetery. These events to note a long-forgotten burial in an informally-organized cemetery were to stimulate the more formal organization of a local interest group, the Historical Society of the Gatineau. The causes of this site's sudden transition from active burial ground, however, remain less clear than the information about its later changes and eventual transformation into the Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery.

Early in the new century, in 1904, Gardner Church, Jr. died, and several other family members soon joined him in the family ground. As members of an older generation of Churches died out, some of the family moved to Ottawa and other urban centres, although later descendants of this family can trace no particular date or incident which precipitated the cemetery's closing. Religious records show three burials there in 1913, one of whom was Amelia Brooks, later moved to Beechwood. After this, two burials in the 1920s turned out to be temporary measures, soon followed by reinterment in Beechwood, and much later, in 1962, there was one more burial. This almost-final chapter for Churches' Cemetery as a burial place played out as several families, including members of the Church family, transferred the remains of their kin from it. The last will of Evelina R. Brooks provided for the transfer to Beechwood of the remains of her brother and sister, John Austin and Amelia Brooks along with those of her mother, and a petition to disinter them followed accordingly in 1914. Shortly after Gladys Hudson's death and burial in 1920, her family similarly asked for her removal to Beechwood. The Churches themselves signalled the closing of the chapter as later family members began to be buried elsewhere, and some of those originally buried in the family ground were moved. By 1917 when Mary Church Meech died at the Syracuse home of her daughter, her burial was in Baldwinsville, New York, in effect a vote to place her with subsequent generations of the family rather than in Chelsea where her parents, three sons and husband had been interred.²⁴³ In 1924 members of the Church family who had moved to Ottawa purchased a lot in Beechwood Cemetery, and requested the disinterment of Horace Austin (1909), his widow Susan Helen Bennie (1921) and Selden (1911); the family monument in Beechwood adds the names of two children, Horace G. and Helen Martha, who had been buried in their Chelsea plot in 1874 and 1875. The population of the dead remaining in Churches' burial ground declined again in 1937, when Sidney Benedict, interred in 1898, Audrey (1910) and an unnamed

²⁴³The Citizen, (Ottawa) March 16, 1917 reported her death on March 11 at the home of a daughter, Mrs. Fulmer.

Benedict child stillborn in 1891 were also moved to Beechwood from the “Gardner Church Cemetery at New Chelsea” at the behest of Mabel Benedict. Several monument bases, left behind, are reminders of these changes.

Even while Churches’ Cemetery was still receiving burials early in the twentieth century, some of those placed in its ground after death had in their lifetimes moved away from Chelsea. John D. Meech, a Church in-law, died in Ottawa in 1901, although he returned to be buried with three of his sons in this cemetery.²⁴⁴ Sarah Moore Davies had also moved to the city, and had lived in New Edinburgh for several years before her death in 1903.²⁴⁵ A clue to her connection with Chelsea is probably the Thomas Moore family, Irish Presbyterians who at one time had a hotel on the west side of Route 105, to the north of its junction with the Old Chelsea Road.²⁴⁶ The Moores had arrived in Canada in 1856, while Sarah’s husband, Thomas J. Davies, was a carpenter who had come out from Wales in 1859.²⁴⁷ Richard Rowland Thompson was living in Buffalo, New York, when he died there in 1908, and his widow Bertha Alexander made arrangements for his burial in her parents’ plot, where they had recently (1903 and 1906) been interred.

Aside from the moves to urban centres by living members of the Church and other families, and the removal of dead family members to suburban cemeteries, the decline of Chelsea’s Presbyterian church may have helped precipitate this cemetery’s discontinuance and the subsequent exodus of some of those who once rested there. In the autumn of 1913, the Church family sold all of the timber on the lot which included their cemetery, with the proviso

²⁴⁴The Meech family had moved to Ottawa in the 1890s, where John D. is listed at 178 LeBreton Street in Ottawa city directories. His obituary in *The (Ottawa) Morning Citizen* of December 27, 1901, notes his death at the home of a daughter, Mrs. Wagner, and funeral on the December 29^h “to Chelsea.”

²⁴⁵*The Morning Citizen*, (Ottawa) July 1, 1903, confirms her date of death. She and her husband were living at the same address in New Edinburgh at the time of the 1901 census.

²⁴⁶Evans’ *Tale of Two Chelseas*, 82, mentions a Tom Moore’s Hotel and Tavern in this location.

²⁴⁷Information about the Davies family, living at 111 Crichton Street, New Edinburgh, from the 1901 census.

that it was to be cut within five years.²⁴⁸ This action was almost coincident with another local change, the 1914 decision by Chelsea's Presbyterian elders for their church to join forces with the local Methodists, and the sale of their manse in that year. According to Gladys Bearman's history of Chelsea United Church, this was due to the declining size of the Presbyterian congregation.²⁴⁹ Although Churches' Cemetery had served members of the community with various Protestant affiliations (the founding Churches were Baptists, the Trowsses Methodists and the Wrights Anglicans), a high proportion of those buried in it were Presbyterians, so that the demise of a separate Presbyterian church may have led the Church family and the Presbyterian congregation to consider the future of the nearby burial ground. Two 1913 burials were its last permanent interments until the 1962 death of Bertha Alexander, by which time descendants of Church family were in the process of relinquishing ownership of the site to the Historical Society of the Gatineau.²⁵⁰

That the situation of the Churches' Cemetery represented a more general problem is clear from the legislation used to transfer it to the care of the Historical Society: a provision under the Cemetery Companies Act to allow incorporation of a company to assume control of existing cemeteries which have "fallen into dilapidated and discreditable condition."²⁵¹ This law applied expressly to cemeteries "not belonging to a religious congregation or society, or to the Church of England, or to Roman Catholics, and not ... incorporated."²⁵²

The specific incident which saved the Churches' site from continued decline was revived interest in one of its graves, the then-unmarked site of Richard Rowland Thompson's burial, and its coincidence in timing and concerns with the newly-organized Historical Society of the Gatineau. According to Canadian War Museum historian Cameron Pulsifer, Thompson's rediscovery began with the 1956 ceremonies held in London to mark the centenary of the

²⁴⁸ Ministère de la Justice, Fonds des registres (Hull), Lib B, Vol 22, No 22081, Sale, 5 Sept 1913.

²⁴⁹ Gladys Bearman, Chelsea United Church: An historical sketch, (N.p.1962).

²⁵⁰ These were Alonzo Campbell (memorialized on the family stone in the Protestant community cemetery) and his cousin Mary Margaret Campbell.

²⁵¹ See Revised Statutes of Quebec, 1964, Cap. 307, Cemetery Companies Act.

²⁵² Ibid.

inauguration of the Victoria Cross.²⁵³ At this time, the Illustrated London News published an article on “The World’s Rarest Award for Valour,” which it claimed was a scarf made by Queen Victoria as special recognition of bravery in the field for soldiers during the Boer War. That article named Private R. R. Thompson of the Royal Canadian Regiment as a recipient of one of four scarves made by the Queen, and revived interest in the award and in Thompson himself. Early in the 1960s, Bombardier Kenneth Richardson, who was serving with the army’s information department at National Defence, was assigned to try and find both the scarf and Thompson’s grave. This he did, locating the scarf with a Thompson descendant in Ireland and the grave in Churches’ Cemetery in Chelsea.

In the summer of 1962, interest in preserving historic buildings drew together a core of local residents who founded the Historical Society of the Gatineau, and this group was soon seeking advice on other activities to promote discovery and preservation of the area’s history.²⁵⁴ The Society’s archives show that by 1964 they were working with Kenneth Richardson on ways to restore the cemetery and mark Thompson’s grave. The cemetery site by then belonged to Cecil Meredith, a Church descendant, who was willing to provide land comprising the burial site along with a new right of way as access and some additional space for parking, all for \$1000. While ownership and control or maintenance of a cemetery were separate issues, the Society would have to become legally incorporated if it were to manage the cemetery, and it decided that it would prefer to take on its ownership as well. Accordingly, the Historical Society of the Gatineau received its letters patent on July 8, 1965, and purchased the cemetery site on December 19, 1966.

Although Thompson himself must have spent very little time in Chelsea, his Boer War enlistment with an Ottawa regiment and his heroism in that war made him a historically-memorable figure, and his wife’s connection with the area meant that he was buried here. Many of the details of Richard Rowland Thompson’s life and death seem sadly contradictory: awarded a scarf crocheted by Queen Victoria as a unique award for gallantry for action during the Boer War, he was invalided to England within three weeks of his selection for this honour and probably never wore it as a soldier. He risked his life under close enemy fire and survived

²⁵³Cameron Pulsifer, “Richard Rowland Thompson and his Queen’s Scarf: An Historical Investigation,” Canadian Military History, 6, no.1 (Spring 1997), 69.

²⁵⁴Its first meeting was held July 16, 1862. See Up the Gatineau! 13, 2-5

that action, only to die a few years later of appendicitis in an American hospital. His military funeral at the Drill Hall in Ottawa, reported in The Citizen of the day, was attended by “about 50 South African War veterans” and his flag-draped coffin was taken to Union Station to be transported by train to Chelsea.²⁵⁵ There, he was interred with his wife’s sister and brother-in-law as witnesses, and his grave remained unmarked for more than fifty years. The sad near-oblivion of Thompson’s life and history seemed so undeserved that they stimulated efforts to recognize his grave and tell that story.

Thompson, born in Cork, Ireland in 1877, came to the Ottawa area between 1897 and 1899. He was involved in the local militia, the 43rd Ottawa and Carleton Rifles, and on October 8, 1899 enlisted for South Africa with the 2nd Special Service Battalion, Royal Canadian Regiment. On at least two occasions he risked his life under enemy fire to try and save fellow-soldiers. At Paardeberg he stayed on the battlefield with a man who had been shot in the throat, pressing bandages to the wound to prevent bleeding. A few days later he tried to rescue a wounded soldier on the battlefield, although this time his efforts came too late to save the man. In April, 1900, four scarves made by Queen Victoria were received in South Africa by Lord Roberts, Commander of the combined British forces there. Roberts in turn announced that they were to be distributed to the most distinguished soldiers of the Australian, New Zealand, Canadian and South African Forces under his command, and in the Canadian case, asked Colonel Otter to “nominate the private soldier whom you consider has performed the most distinguished service.”²⁵⁶ By July 10 Thompson had been selected “in recognition of his conspicuous gallantry during this campaign.”²⁵⁷ In all, Queen Victoria crocheted eight scarves, and the remaining four were awarded to non-commissioned officers in British regiments. Later, both the Australian recipient, Alfred du Frayer and the Canadian Thompson, as well as members of their families concerned themselves with questions about the award’s status in relation to other awards such as the Victoria Cross. Thompson’s family corresponded with various government officials about whether he should in fact have received the VC, and Pulsifer

²⁵⁵The Citizen, (Ottawa) April 7, 1908.

²⁵⁶Pulsifer, 70, 71, citing correspondence from Lord Roberts (to the Queen, dated August 8, 1900), in G.E. Buckle, Letters of Queen Victoria and from Col. A. Neville Chamberlain, Roberts’ secretary, to Colonel Otter in the National Archives of Canada, RG 38A-1 Vol 104, (April 21 and July 10, 1900).

²⁵⁷Ibid.

concluded that if their commanding officers had taken pains to begin the approval process immediately after (his and others') acts of bravery were performed, they might well have received it or some other medal. However, the responses they and their families finally received showed that the British military high command considered the scarves as "somewhat eccentric and informal presentations, bearing little or no relationship to the established and legitimate military honours and awards system."²⁵⁸

And so Thompson, recipient of a unique but informal award, came to rest in this small and informally-managed cemetery. In quick succession after the Historical Society of the Gatineau became involved with the cemetery, Veterans' Affairs was contacted to provide a grave monument for him and the Government of Canada erected a stone cairn with an appropriate bronze plaque to recall his memory. The Thompson family gave stone gateposts, also with plaques, to flank the entrance. The Alexander family provided a monument to mark Bertha Alexander's grave along with those of her parents, James and Mary. For a further twenty years the Historical Society continued to maintain the cemetery site through work of volunteers who periodically trimmed brush and helped care for it, before embarking on several initiatives to create more public awareness for Thompson and the site itself.

In the 1980s, the Historical Society started a campaign for cemetery maintenance funds and also began to press for its formal recognition as a historic site. Evidently, they had already restored some of the monuments and were caring for the grounds on a regular basis, but even their formal recognition as owners and managers of the cemetery did not offer the protection and financial assistance that a historic designation could provide. The National Capital Commission gave a "one-time grant" of \$8500, and the Society raised \$2000 from members and the public. A new name, the Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery, was selected "in recognition of all those buried there" by a "Cultural Property Committee" of the Municipality, whose membership came largely from a subset of the Historical Society. This new formal version of the cemetery as a historic site, complete with a name that suggested historical status, unfortunately obliterated the early, less formal stage of its own history.

The funds raised were put towards repair of monuments and purchasing cedar shrubs for a hedge to line the entrance, and a rededication ceremony held on May 24, 1986 involved

²⁵⁸Pulsifer, 82.

participation of troops from the Royal Canadian Regiment. Following this, the Historical Society organized a Remembrance Day ceremony at the cemetery in that year, and afterward continued with an annual recognition of Private Thompson and participation of the same troops. In April 1989 the Municipality of Chelsea passed a bylaw which declared the cemetery a historical monument under the bilingual name of Chelsea Pioneers' Cemetery, Cimetière des Pionniers de Chelsea.²⁵⁹ The new formal names were officially modified in 1991 to read "Pioneer" and "du Pionnier," and informally changed again in its signage which found a better version for the French as "Cimetière Pionnier de Chelsea." In 1997 and 1998, the Historical Society further publicized the idea of the cemetery by mounting a display at the local library and inviting classes of school children to hear about specific war events and Private Thompson, and to see a Queen's Scarf replica which it had commissioned.

In the last decades of the twentieth century, then, Churches' Cemetery gained a different lease on life through its formal recognition as a historic site. Its changed access, name, and emphasis on Private Thompson created a new formal identity for the old burial place and reinterpreted part of its past, although these innovations also preserved the entire cemetery and encouraged visits to it. In 1998 a more complete version of its formal identity was added when a plaque providing historic information about the cemetery's development was erected and a latter-day Gardner Church, descended from the original founders, unveiled it on November 11 of that year.

4.3 From Protestant community cemetery to Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground

Burials in Chelsea's Protestant community cemetery continued throughout the twentieth century. Although it added some burial space, its maintenance deteriorated to the point that private individuals and public groups became concerned over its ownership and care. For a period, like Churches' Cemetery, it appeared to have been abandoned. However, its central site and proximity to federal parkland promoted interest from the National Capital Commission, a government agency, while concern by local citizens, some of whom wanted to be buried in this site, spurred sporadic attention from Chelsea's municipal administration. During the last

²⁵⁹ Chelsea Municipal Bylaws 341 and 365-91, declaring the cemetery a historical monument under the Cultural Property Act (Revised Statutes of Quebec, c. B-4).

half of the twentieth century, these two official bodies along with the Historical Society of the Gatineau informally managed various aspects of the cemetery while it gradually attained formal status as a historic site. Official interest also prompted a new interpretation of its identity and historical significance, and this became a rationale to promote its preservation and importance as the Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground.

By the second or third decade of the new century, demand for additional space prompted the addition of a supplementary plot to the south of the original one. This small rectangle, only 46 by 88 feet in size, appears oddly attached to the original site until we realize that this was simply the size of a fairly level strip of the land easily accessible from the main area. On three sides the ground dropped away quite sharply, two of them toward a stream, and there was apparently no notion of potential land fill to the east. The family plot configuration continued in this section as well, and the oldest monuments in this new area commemorate three members of the Campbell family and five Alexanders, two of whose names and birth dates have been inscribed in anticipation of their eventual burial here. Both of these families had also buried other kin in Churches' Cemetery, although at they had erected no grave markers there.²⁶⁰ The Campbell monument, erected in the 1930s, commemorates Robert and Mary Campbell's son Alonzo's 1914 death along with theirs. The Presbyterian church record for Alonzo is unusually specific, and shows his death on October 3, 1913 and burial on the 6th of that month in the Chelsea Protestant cemetery known as Church's; his age was given as 25 years, 2 months, 7 days, and he was the son of Robert Campbell and Mary A. Thompson. Andrew Alexander's parents, James and Mary, had been interred in Churches' Cemetery in the first decade of the century.

This cemetery's limited expansion in the twentieth century partly explains its declining role as a burial site, as it simply ran out of space. It had actually received half of its identified burials by 1889, and in the first decade of the twentieth century, Churches' Cemetery received more interments—20 to its 16. Still, it continued to be used regularly during the 1920s and 1930s, although after 1939 there were only occasional burials until the 1970s, when a few more appeared to fill the remaining space, making a total of 74 persons known to have been interred here during this century. (Table 8, page 66, gives burials by date and source of information.)

²⁶⁰The Alexander monument in Churches' Cemetery dates to the 1960s.

Table 14, below, shows that over half of those buried here in the twentieth century were aged 70 or over. Unlike this cemetery's nineteenth-century burials, those interred here in the twentieth century were much less representative of the community's age structure, although their longevity suggests that many were indeed the last members of their generation to use the cemetery. Eighteen, or almost a quarter, do not appear in local burial records, although during this time the church record-keeping had settled into a routine and there were apparently no missing registers. Some Chelsea residents of this time used funeral homes in Ottawa-Hull which made burial arrangements without involving local churches, while others buried here had died elsewhere, either in Ottawa or further afield, and were returned to Old Chelsea for burial. A few were summer residents who had cottages in the area, and apparently were attracted to the idea of the cemetery's rural and unspoiled setting as a burial place, just as they had enjoyed the local countryside in life. The stones for Anderson, Richards, Spry and Wainman-Wood in the newer south section stand in memory of city residents who spent summers at cottages in Chelsea, and William Naida, also city-dweller, was not a summer resident but had ties with friends in the Chelsea area and loved its natural setting.

Table 14
Protestant Cemetery - Twentieth Century Burials: by age at death for men and women, by record type

Age at death	Information from monument or monument & burial record		Information from burial record only		Information from personal or removal record only		Totals		Grand total	Percent, by age group
	m	f	m	f	m	f	m	f	m & f	m & f
90+	1	1	1	1	-	-	2	2	4	53%
80-89	7	5	2	3	-	1	9	9	18	
70-79	6	3	5	1	1	1	12	5	17	
60-69	4	1	1	1	-	-	5	2	7	17%
50-59	5	1	-	-	-	-	5	1	6	
40-49	-	2	3	2	-	1	3	5	8	19%
30-39	1	-	1	-	-	-	2	-	2	
20-29	2	1	-	1	-	-	2	2	4	
10-19	-	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	2	11%
0-9	-	-	5	1	-	-	5	1	6	
Totals	26	14	19	11	1	3	46	28	74	100%

*Table 11, page 78, provides age information for 104 nineteenth century burials. 2 undated burials are not included in either table.

Of 74 recorded burials during this time, 40 names on this cemetery's monuments commemorate twentieth-century deaths. These are divided almost equally between old and newer sections, with 21 in the older burial area and 19 in the newer southern section. Almost all of the twentieth century burials in the original cemetery were members of families who already had someone buried there. However, three families had their first monuments during this time: the Thomas E. Childs family and Elizabeth Maranger, both of whom could trace their settlement in Chelsea back to the 1830s, and the Frasers, who had arrived from Ontario in the 1880s. In the southern section, the Campbells, Alexanders and Burnetts had been Chelsea residents during the nineteenth century, while others were more recent arrivals or had summer residences. The locations of plots for the other families who used the cemetery during this century, as well as the site of its common burial area, have passed from present memory.

Another sign of change and decline came when several who had originally been interred here were transferred to other burial places. A few relics remain: a monument base left behind, and the fine fence and gate around the plot which once belonged to the Mather family. Mather had come from Scotland in 1857 as forest and mill manager for Gilmour and Company, and he and his family were based at the Chelsea mill site until 1876.²⁶¹ An obituary for his daughter, Annie Weir, appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* on Wednesday morning, April 13, 1870, announcing her death on the 11th of that month and funeral from her father's residence to the place of interment, Chelsea. After moving to Ottawa, Mather worked as lumber agent and financier, and the home he built at 453 Theodore Street, then known as "Munross," is now the Cercle Universitaire on the renamed avenue, Laurier East. John Mather and his wife Jean died within a year of each other in 1907 and 1906, and their remains were interred in Beechwood Cemetery along with those of their daughter who was moved from Chelsea. The small flat marker recalling Anne Weir Mather now let into the ground of their family plot at Beechwood may have come from her Chelsea grave. Another removal from Chelsea's Protestant cemetery in 1906 transferred the remains of William Ash, who had rested for 25 years in Old Chelsea, to a plot in Hall's Cemetery, Wakefield, where his widow Martha Matthews had recently been interred. During this period, other family members had moved further north, and his son Robert, who had signed the petition for removal, then lived in Minneapolis.

²⁶¹ John W. Hughson and Courtney C. J. Bond, Hurling Down the Pine, (Old Chelsea: Historical Society of the Gatineau, 1964, 2nd edition, (revised) 1965), 43.

These first removals, of Anne Mather and William Ash, were also the first and only members of their families to be buried in Old Chelsea. The following year, however, in another sign of changing times, Eleanor Link was interred in Beechwood Cemetery. Although the Link family had buried four generations in Old Chelsea, family members at this time arranged the transfer to Beechwood of Francis, his wife Jane, and their son John, who had been interred, respectively, in 1853, 1875, and 1842. Evidently Francis' old monument in Chelsea was left behind when the family ordered a new one, although there is no remaining trace in Chelsea of Jane or John. The fine new stone erected in Beechwood repeats Francis' origin and death date, but an evident miscommunication between stone-carver and family resulted in a dating error of fifty years in information about Jane Shouldice, Francis' wife. While Anglican church records confirm her death on September 16, 1875, the date on the new stone is inscribed as "Sept. 17, 1825, AE 78 years."²⁶²

Charles Watters Chamberlin was buried in Old Chelsea in 1932, and when his wife Emma died a few years later in Ancaster, Ontario, her remains were returned to Old Chelsea for burial. In 1951, a petition filed by their son Noble to have them removed to St. James Cemetery in Hull tells of the decline of the Old Chelsea cemetery. In his words, "the said cemetery has no care-taker and ... the tombs are sadly neglected for that reason; ... your petitioner has been sadly perturbed by the existing conditions and ... desires to remove the remains of his parents to a cemetery which can provide perpetual care ..."²⁶³ The 1948 petition to move Joseph Burnett to St. James repeated the same story, of a cemetery "falling into disrepair," while at about the same time another of its monuments was moved for the same reason, although before any interment had taken place.²⁶⁴ The latter case involved a stone ordered by Rufus Childs, in the same style and design as one erected for his brother Thomas. Rufus at first had his erected near his brother's in anticipation of his own burial in Old Chelsea, but shortly before his death in 1947, he began to worry that the Chelsea cemetery was no longer being well-maintained and had his monument moved to Rupert Union Cemetery, Wakefield

²⁶²Anglican Archives, Ottawa, Ontario, Vol. 433. In Beechwood Cemetery, see Section 25, Lot 37 1/2.

²⁶³Disinterment Petition 202

²⁶⁴Burnett removal, Disinterment Petition 169.

Township, where it stands today, marking his eventual resting place.²⁶⁵ In 1974, Alberta Hamilton, wife of Duncan Burnett, buried in 1933, was moved to St. James in Hull in what seems to have been the last of the recorded removals from this cemetery.

Despite the cemetery's long connection with the Chamberlin family, in 1951 Noble Chamberlin moved his parents remains because he could not himself or with others arrange for regular grounds maintenance. By the 1960s, after Chamberlin's own death, whatever information he or his heirs held about the cemetery's status had been lost, and both local government and a federal agency were being asked to address its apparently ownerless state. As early as 1962, John Starnes had approached the National Capital Commission about deterioration of its monuments, and in 1971 Arthur Davison, then President of the Historical Society of the Gatineau, wrote to Chelsea's Mayor Jean Chapman about its maintenance.²⁶⁶ Davison's letter linked renewed interest in restoration and care of the cemetery with a recent burial in the newer southern section, and he suggested that the municipality either support its ownership and maintenance by the NCC or take on both activities itself.²⁶⁷ More than fifteen years later, in 1986, another mayor, Douglas R. Minnes, noted that the cemetery's status had then been outstanding for over 20 years.²⁶⁸ Finally, in the late 1980s, the Municipality sponsored an extensive legal investigation which confirmed that the cemetery property appeared to be part of the estate of Noble Chamberlin, and that his heirs could not be found. No Cemetery Board information, no plot plans, or other documentation could be located. Quebec had enacted statutes during the twentieth century to deal with existing unincorporated non-sectarian cemeteries which had fallen into a "dilapidated and discreditable condition," signalling that the Chelsea cemetery and its administrative problems were far from unique.²⁶⁹ The law provided a solution, since it empowered an incorporated entity to take over its control, and the solicitors acting for the Municipality suggested that it consider taking steps to officially

²⁶⁵Margaret McCorkell Reid, a niece, provided this information in an interview, August 1997.

²⁶⁶Historical Society of the Gatineau files 7/45.

²⁶⁷Ibid. The letter referred to the 1971 burial of Fritze Heisel Richards.

²⁶⁸Municipality of Chelsea, files pertaining to Bylaw 335.

²⁶⁹See, for example, Revised Statutes for the Province of Quebec, 1941, Ch 314, An Act respecting Cemetery Companies.

acquire the cemetery under Quebec's Cultural Property Act, which would make it eligible for provincial funds. They supported this suggestion by noting that the property had not been used as a burial ground for some time, while the municipality had provided some form of maintenance and upkeep for many years.²⁷⁰ The legal basis for the Chelsea Protestant cemetery's takeover by the Municipality would thus combine taking ownership to control and maintain the small site but absolve it from administering further burials. Chelsea Council proceeded to enact bylaws dealing with its two Protestant cemeteries on the same day, April 10, 1989, declaring them both to be historical monuments under Quebec's Cultural Property Act.²⁷¹

The legal advisors may have been unaware of the occasional burials, and they were partly correct about the maintenance carried out by the municipality. The National Capital Commission had also been involved, cutting the grass several times a year since the 1950s, while its local manager had occasionally acted informally as an arbiter of applications for burials there for some time.²⁷² At least 23 persons had been buried in it after 1939, and several of the families who buried kin after that date claimed to have received informal permission from either the NCC or municipal officials. Two of those buried clearly had connections with the municipal administration: Genevieve Barrett Quipp was the wife of a former Chelsea mayor, while Barbara Joan Lonergan had been a Chelsea councillor. The ashes of Judy and Budge Crawley, prominent film-makers who had long had a local connection with the area, were also interred with NCC and municipal permission in the southern section in 1986 and 1987. One of their children described their burials, "in a seventeenth-century French copper vase and a 35-mm film can with the sticker marked "Rush-Urgent" at a Historical Society meeting in 1996.²⁷³ The ashes of the Wilkies, relatives by marriage of the Wright family, were buried with apparent concurrence of the National Capital Commission, as was Private Schwalm, who unlike these other recent burials was interred in the old cemetery area beside several relatives by marriage,

²⁷⁰Municipality of Chelsea, letter dated October 30, 1987 from Bélec, Letellier, Solicitors.

²⁷¹ Bylaw 335 did not provide an official French-language name for this cemetery.

²⁷²NCC files. A letter dated December 27, 1961 from R. E. Edey, Park Superintendent, to S. F. Clark, NCC Chairman indicates that Gatineau Park maintenance had been extended to include the cemetery at Old Chelsea since 1952.

²⁷³Historical Society of the Gatineau archives.

the Snoddys or Snoddies.

Despite the Old Chelsea cemetery's new formal status, three burials took place after 1989. As cremation became an increasingly popular method of dealing with the dead body, it also became much simpler for relatives to place or scatter the ashes of their dead in any given site. When Laurence Edgar Falt died in 1983, his son described his burial afterwards in "an improvised grave" in the Old Chelsea cemetery because the graveyard was "not operational;" however the United Church Minister of the time officially recorded the interment of his ashes on September 24 in the burial records of that church.²⁷⁴ Later, when Laurence's widow Pearl died, several family members got together in June, 1993 to bury her ashes in the same site as her husband's.²⁷⁵ In 1993 Dorothy Hicks Anderson's name was added to her husband's monument, and her remains presumably joined his in the same site, an action that would have been grandfathered by municipal officials. Finally, the ashes of Sidney Chaffers, who had died in 1979, were buried and a monument erected in 1997 without any previous municipal approval, although the family replied to the Municipality's query about how and why this was done by sending a letter of thanks. In 1998, the Municipality sanctioned another monument for a person already commemorated in the old section, Private Schwalm. This was done based on the request of Schwalm's widow that a headstone she proposed would correct his name which had been incorrectly inscribed on the military marker for his burial. The military stone was left as a footstone, while a new monument provided a link with his past, giving his usual name and identifying him as a "Home Boy." Born in England, Robert K. Schwalm had been placed as a child in the Bert Home in England, later merged with the Bernardo organization which sent many poor and orphaned children to Canada and Australia to work on farms. Schwalm was an Anglican, and his Roman Catholic wife, Louisa Snoddy, arranged his burial in Old Chelsea near her grandfather and great-grand-parents, although she herself planned to be buried in a Roman Catholic cemetery.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁴Letter August 21, 1998, from Jack Falt to the author provides information about several Falt burials in the Old Chelsea Protestant Cemetery. United Church records in the Archives Nationales du Québec (Montreal) provide other details of Laurence Falt's burial in the "Chamberlain Cemetery," Old Chelsea.

²⁷⁵Letter, Falt to Martin.

²⁷⁶Interview August 12, 1998. Louisa Snoddy Schwalm Gregoire died on December 1, 1998, and was interred in St. Joseph's Cemetery, Orleans.

Colin Coates found that British Columbia gravestones between 1870 and 1950 provided less precise information about attributes of the dead person than the earlier monuments he observed there.²⁷⁷ Epitaphs became shorter, and vital information such as dates of death and birth and age received less emphasis. In the Old Chelsea Protestant cemetery, only 40 inscriptions on 27 monuments are for twentieth-century deaths. Fourteen of the monuments recording these more recent deaths are in the original cemetery, where the majority were cases of persons included on existing stones, while all 13 monuments in the newer section date from this century.²⁷⁸ Some of these more recent monuments, like those in British Columbia, provide less information about the deceased, but such changes seem to have come decades later in Old Chelsea, and were by no means universal. Only one inscription before 1900 is presented in years only, without months and days, and this is for an 1879 death recorded on a twentieth-century monument.²⁷⁹ In this cemetery's old section, two-thirds of the twentieth-century deaths continued to be entered with full date information, although all but 4 of the 19 deaths recorded in the newer section were presented in terms of years only. Sometimes the same stone contained examples of both styles, as the Sheffield monument (19) gave Melvina's full date of death but only years for her father and brother. Occasional inaccuracies in death dates on these later monuments suggest that the practice of erecting the stones some time after the event continued in this century and could dim recollection: Elisha Sheffield died on September 7, 1904, according to local Presbyterian records, although his monument reads 1905; William Snoddie in 1929 according to United Church files instead of 1928; Elizabeth Childs in 1911 by Wesleyan Methodist accounts and not 1912; and Alonzo Campbell in 1913 rather than 1914.

Many of the twentieth-century inscriptions are brief. "In memory" or "loving memory of" still appear, but less frequently, although 8 of the 13 newer monuments mention love or beloved in their texts. Only four give place of birth or death.²⁸⁰ Old Chelsea's monuments for those who died during this century also have fewer epitaphs than the earlier markers erected here. Only five include them, and three of these are short: Joseph Headley's (1910) "Although

²⁷⁷Coates, 16.

²⁷⁸Seven stones have only twentieth-century dates; the other seven have both nineteenth- and twentieth-century dates.

²⁷⁹See Fraser, monument 20.

²⁸⁰Richards, Naida, Richard and Graham Spry.

he sleeps his memory doth live and cheering comfort to his mourners give,” the Sheffields’ “At rest,” and Barbara Lonergan’s (1980) “I loved her more than I knew.” Two recent (1979 and 1983) ones, for Sidney Chaffers and Graham Spry, however, provide considerable information about their lives. Sidney Chaffers’ monument describes him as “Master mariner, gentleman, friend of the Bahai’s [and] survivor of two world wars,” and lists his wife and children and the places where he was born and died, although it uses years for his birth, death and marriage. The most dramatic epitaph in this cemetery is surely that of Graham Spry. His full dates, birth and death places and educational and professional degrees are followed by the names of his wife and children and a statement describing him as “Social activist, Public Servant and unremitting advocate of a national broadcasting service for Canada,” followed by “The world is a better place because he lived in it.”

One unchanging value was the continued importance of connecting the dead with specific family members. The majority of these more recent dead were buried beside family members, with all but one in the older section, and 12 of 19 in the new beside a relative.²⁸¹ Inscriptions also placed them in terms of other kin, identifying them as husbands, wives, sons or daughters, or naming immediate living family members and their relationships. While the small number of twentieth-century monuments in this cemetery is not sufficient to support quantitative analysis of shapes and motifs, it is worth noting that one has a cross and another contains the abbreviated prayer, RIP, suggesting that in the twentieth century here the Protestant aversion to these symbols and words had softened and changed.²⁸²

In 1985, Patrick M. O Evans prepared an inventory and site plan of the “1891 Cemetery,” Old Chelsea Quebec.²⁸³ Positions of several stones in 1997-8 are different from those indicated at that time, and some of his comments illuminate other changes in the cemetery over this period. When Evans reviewed the cemetery in May, 1985, he compared it

²⁸¹Elizabeth Maranger (54) in the old section actually has a plot her son, James Childs, while in the newer section, some of the burials may be the first members of their family in this cemetery.

²⁸²Monuments for Genevieve Barrett Quipp, S-4, and Alexander family, S-2.

²⁸³Published by the Ottawa Branch, Ontario Genealogical Society as No. 85-3. Unfortunately, neither Evans nor the OGS retained copies of the 1974 inventory after the 1985 version was produced.

with an earlier inventory he had made in 1974, providing a further baseline on several changes during that period. Two stones “found” in 1985 had not been seen in 1974 but were placed in new locations ten years later. These were a small stone “found in the trees, carried back and placed with [next to David Milne and Jane Headley’s monument]” and another for John Brooks Kirk, “missing in 1974, since located and re-erected.” Although the placement of two Milne stones next to each other was based on a natural supposition that they were likely relatives, they were actually not related, as further checks of local and census information indicates. Evans also shows stones for Reid, Chamberlin, and Wrigley in a row from north to south in 1985, while their 1997 position is reversed. Perhaps they were reset in a new order when repairs were made some time after 1990. In 1985, he listed a broken stone for Matthew Blair, located in a line with three other Blair monuments, but this stone was gone by 1997. Another observer, conservationist Martin Weaver, noted a stone for “Robert Arden, d 1882” in his May, 1990 report on preservation of this cemetery’s monuments.²⁸⁴ This may have been a nineteenth-century monument for Robert Ardes, who was enumerated in Chelsea’s 1881 census. Evans does not mention this stone, however, and it was no longer present in 1997.

For the Old Chelsea Protestant community cemetery, the twentieth century brought a slowing down of activity which deepened into decline in use and care. Informal maintenance by kin was clearly less possible as younger generations of these families moved away and their ageing relatives who remained were unable to deal with upkeep and repairs. When family members and civic-minded residents decided to appeal for assistance to the formal institutions now established in the locality, they could call on an incorporated interest group, the Historical Society of the Gatineau, and two levels of government, the Municipality and the National Capital Commission. Interestingly, much of the support provided by these public groups was quite informal in nature, characterized by periodic maintenance and unwritten decisions, but one formal change came about with the support of all three organizations: an official name, based on a recent interpretation of the cemetery’s identity, as the “Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground.”

Ironically, this official name and formal preservation may have gained impetus from an odd misreading of its history by Michael Newton, a National Capital Commission historian, who believed that he had discovered similarities with ancient Puritan burial grounds, a notion

²⁸⁴Martin Weaver, A Preliminary Conservation Study on the Old Chelsea Cemetery, (Nepean, Ont, 14 May 1990), 9.

that became part of the rationale to promote its importance and maintenance. In a 1980s article on this cemetery and one in Wakefield, Newton's urban framework was evident, beginning with his opening argument that most burial places were churchyards, and that the Protestant cemetery's central location and layout along with its lack of religious affiliation were signs of a unique historical tie with Hull Township's American founders. Either downplaying or unaware of the prevalence and importance of community cemeteries in the North American pioneer period, Newton emphasized literature on much earlier Puritan cemeteries in New England and the later nineteenth-century "rural cemetery" movement in the British Isles and the United States. He decided that the Chelsea Protestant community cemetery bore a resemblance to the "concept of the New England burial ground—that place of dread and horror—in the middle of the village common," and reflected the "ancient New England burial ground," a "place to get rid of a corpse and forget about them ...[with] corpses ... buried at random with some facing east and others facing west" had been a model for this cemetery.²⁸⁵ Strangely, Newton also misread the property transactions, placing its land title ten years earlier than the actual date, and used "Old Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground," a name infrequently noted in its nineteenth-century records, to bolster his argument for New England ties.²⁸⁶

Within a community pioneered by people from the British Isles and a few Americans, its central site and layout almost identical to the Roman Catholic churchyard across the road and two somewhat later cemeteries in Cantley, the reality of this cemetery is its similarity with other community cemeteries. Its emphasis on family groupings and relationships and the many sentimental messages expressed on its monuments express its role as a kin-centred space used by Chelsea's pioneers who came from different parts of the world, lived in all parts of the community and shared in its use and upkeep for more than a century. Still, Newton's perception of this cemetery as a rare and unique example of old New England probably influenced the NCC to assist in its maintenance and to support the subsequent municipal initiative to have it declared a historical monument. This contributed to the preservation of its space and monuments which still reflect its peaceful and romantic past. Even on a mid-December afternoon in 1998, several visitors to Chelsea had stopped to read a sign about this "historic site" and the inscriptions on some of this cemetery's monuments.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵Newton.

²⁸⁶Ibid, 29. Table 7, Page 60, notes burial record references to this site, by name.

²⁸⁷December 16, 1998.

4.4 St. Stephen's Cemetery: continuity and change in an active burial ground

One of the first twentieth-century activities of the Chelsea Municipal Council was a resolution expressing sympathy to the family of “Gustie Dunlop, eldest son of Councillor Gabriel Dunlop” in their great bereavement over his death” on January 3 1900.²⁸⁸ Gabriel Augustine Dunlop was laid to rest beside his brother and sister, their monument “erected by their father.”²⁸⁹ His was the first burial of the new century in St. Stephen's Cemetery, and in many ways it represented continuity with this place's past. The Dunlop monument was located in the cemetery's oldest section, near another plot for this family, and it resembled the earlier nineteenth-century stones in the cemetery with its inscription “in memory of” the three Dunlops and its cross motif. Still, one sign of change was already apparent: a large second burial section had opened in the 1890s, and later in this new century further burial space would be needed. Unlike Chelsea's Protestant cemeteries, St. Stephen's had a continuing formal administrative structure responsible for its cemetery, and land to accommodate twentieth century expansion. It continued as an active cemetery throughout this time.

The present appearance of St. Stephen's Cemetery provides visual evidence of continued use and change. A third cemetery section including a space for burial of cremated remains opened in the latter decades of the twentieth century, signalling a change in attitude toward cremation by the Roman Catholic Church and some parishioners. Still, during this time many unmarked plots in the older section were also made available for new burials, as the memory of their original users had faded and pressure grew to identify more space. Informal local knowledge about plot locations was no longer sufficient as the population of those buried here continued to grow. Parish wardens sponsored a survey and developed a site plan in the 1970s with the aim of rationalizing and managing future use of burial space, and plot maintenance fees were introduced. Although some early grave monuments are concentrated in part of the older burial section, new burials and monuments continue to be erected, updating and changing its landscape. In the 1920s, plot railings and fences had been removed to simplify maintenance, and in later decades some landfill was added to make the eastern and northern burial areas more uniform and level.

²⁸⁸West Hull Council Minutes, 1900, Resolution 103, page 212.

²⁸⁹Monument 30 on site plan.

Twentieth century monument inscriptions suggest an even pace for this cemetery's continued use, with 521 additional deaths recorded over a hundred-year period from 1880 to 1979, an average of approximately 5 a year. (See Table 15, below.) The number of burials actually varied considerably over the decades, so the 52 monumental inscriptions in the 1880s represented fewer than a quarter of burials in that decade, while the same number of inscriptions in the 1970s was 66% of burials for its decade. As the section on St. Stephen's nineteenth-century cemetery noted, its peak period for burials was in the latter decades of that era. Father Poulin noted in his 1900 parish census that 16 families had left since 1895, perhaps due to Chelsea's depressed economy during the period, as Gilmour's Mills had closed and there

Table 15
St Stephen's Churchyard Burials: by date and source of information

Death dates	Source of information about death date and burial		
	Monuments	Burial records	Monuments as per cent of burials
1840-1849	4	44	9%
1850-1859*	25	59	42%
1860-1869	24	69	35%
1870-1879	31	82	38%
1880-1889	52	224	23%
1890-1899	55	174	32%
1900-1909	59	138	43%
1910-1919	56	129	43%
1920-1929	54	122	44%
1930-1939	45	78	58%
1940-1949	40	86	47%
1950-1959	48	71	68%
1960-1969	57	79	72%
1970-1979**	52	79	66%
1980-1989	No inf.	(113)	not applicable
1990-1995★	No inf.	(74★)	not applicable
No Inf.	(3)	-	-
Total	602	1434 (+113+74)	100%

*Includes Fr. James Hughes, Parish Priest, whose monument is under the church itself.

**Enumeration of monuments covered period to October 14, 1979.

★Compilation of burials covered period to end of 1995.

were few local job opportunities for those without farms.²⁹⁰ Poorer economic circumstances would easily explain why fewer families erected monuments during this time. In 1900, St. Stephen's parish had 112 families, described by their priest as 82 English-speaking and 30 French-speaking, but it was not until the second decade of the century that this population change in Chelsea was signalled by the first French-language inscriptions in its cemetery.²⁹¹ From two in 1913 and another in 1919, by the end of the 1970s there were 14 or 15 in French, or about 10% of all inscriptions on monuments in this cemetery during this 70-year period.²⁹² The nineteenth-century cemetery had indicated the presence of a few French Canadians and their intermarriage with the Irish Roman Catholics of the community, and their use of English as a common language. One of the few single monuments erected here in the twentieth century, evidently for a francophone, may have been inscribed in English for the benefit of his other family members, or for the wider public: it is for Philippe Roy, who died in 1948 after serving as First Canadian Minister to France. By the 1970s, several surnames that were clearly neither Irish nor French included the German Balfé and the Polish Lesniowska and Wernikowski; by the 1990s Chelsea's increasingly cosmopolitan character is further reflected in a considerably greater variety of surnames.

Very few twentieth-century monuments are for individual deaths — 40 out of 414 — and most enumerate several family members.²⁹³ Many record three or more generations, and although the first names listed are often defined in terms of their relationship as husband and wife, additional inscriptions on the same stone may include children, their spouses and grandchildren, whose links with each other are less specifically indicated. "In memory of," prayers, and epitaphs were less frequently used in the twentieth century, and the popularity of verses declined abruptly. While some post-1970s stones again have verses, there was a more than a half century hiatus following the nineteenth-century monuments and one early twentieth-

²⁹⁰Vachon, 177.

²⁹¹Ibid. Given the evidence of intermarriage with the original Irish population and the general use of the English language in the community, this number of "French-speaking" families may refer to those headed by a francophone, rather than those who spoke French in the home.

²⁹²There were 3 in the 1920s, 4 in the 1940s, 1 in the 1950s, 2 in the 1960s, and 2 in the 1970s. One 1940s inscription carried simply a name and the years, but appeared to be for a French-Canadian.

²⁹³This total covers the period 1900-1979.

century stone, commemorating the 1915 death of Violet McCloskey, the 22 year-old wife of George Stevens:

All that's bright must fade,
The brightest still the fleetest.
All that's sweet was made,
But to be last when sweetest.
Ulianee.

Age at death continued to be almost universally inscribed on St. Stephen's twentieth century monuments, but by the second decade of this century the death date was less often recorded in full, replaced by year only.²⁹⁴ (See Tables 15 and 16, on pages 131 and 132 for twentieth century age information.) Place of birth or death, cause of death or other personal information were also very rarely offered during this period. Early in the century, birthplaces in Wexford, Ireland, and Bath, England, were reported, while in the 1830s two were "born in Ireland," and Elizabeth Dunn's 1977 stone recorded her origin in Manchester, England. Only two recorded place of death: 73-year old Francis Bradley died in Ashland, Wisconsin in 1913, while 35-year old Richard Gardner was killed in France in 1915. No drownings are mentioned in twentieth-century inscriptions here, although two families evidently felt that some explanation for the death of their loved ones should be recorded. The 1979 enumeration of this cemetery described a wooden cross with a fibre plate which reported the death on September 16, 1964 of Gisele Chagnon, who "died of after-birth;" by 1998 an iron

Table 16
St. Stephen's Churchyard Twentieth Century Burials, by age at death

Age at death	Information from monument			Percent	Percent
	males	females	total		
90 +	7	9	16	4%	46%
80-99	35	43	78	20%	
70-79	47	44	91	22%	
60-69	41	36	77	19%	26%
50-59	20	8	28	7%	
40-49	22	14	36	9%	20%
30-39	10	6	16	4%	
20-29	12	17	29	7%	
10-19	11	7	(+1*)18	5%	8%
0-9	4	7	11	3%	
(no info)*	(5)	(9)	(14)	/	/
Totals	214	199	(+1*) 414	100%	100%

*Accounts for all 20th century burials, but percent by age group excludes 14 cases for whom ages were not known. Monument #300 "Peter 1937-1955" was treated as a surname for this table, with sex not known.

²⁹⁴ Only three did not provide age.

cross had evidently replaced the earlier marker, and a metal plate mounted on it provides only a partial text, this time in French. It reads, “décédée ce même jour, enfant de André Chagnon et Gisèle Bédard,” indicating that a female infant died on the same day (as her mother?), but a space above the plate and the text

itself suggest that part of this marker

is missing. The 1984 monument for Eyre reads less specifically, “died accidentally.” A very few monuments during this time hint at some of the occupational changes during this century, which saw much more diversity in employment among St. Stephen’s parishioners than the previous era when almost everyone in the community farmed for a living. Father Welch, another priest (along with James Hughes) buried in this cemetery, is credited with founding St. Mark’s parish, Philippe Roy’s stone recognized his service as Canadian Minister to France, Martin Welch was a JP, two military stones indicate service rank, and three Hendricks women were Registered Nurses.

Table 17

St. Stephen’s Churchyard Burials: death date information, by decade

Decade of death	Information from monument		
	year only	full date (year, month, day)	total
1840-1849		4	4
1850-1859		25	25
1860-1869		24	24
1870-1879	1	30	31
1880-1889	4	48	52
1890-1899	5	50	55
1900-1909	11	48	59
1910-1919	22	34	56
1920-1929	31	23	54
1930-1939	29	16	45
1940-1949	25	15	40
1950-1959	40	8	48
1960-1969	44	13	57
1970-1979	42	10	52
(no info)*	-	-	(3)
Totals, all ages	254	348	602

*Accounts for all burials legibly recorded on monuments, to October 14, 1979.

The cross continued to be important as a motif in St. Stephen’s Cemetery in this century, and the Christ figure was also selected by several families, while the rosary was a new design with Roman Catholic religious significance. Some latter twentieth-century stones have more general motifs, such as several examples of hands with a dove and the O’Neils’ “footprints,” from a modern non-denominational Christian parable. A family crest for the Broadheads, linked hearts, the Murphys’ flying ducks, a McSweeney personal portrait and a

golfer motif for Eyre personify individuals or represent personal status or interests.²⁹⁵ Some post-1970s monuments contain biographical information, like the 1980s Chaffers and Spry stones in the Protestant cemetery across the road.

Although St. Stephen's cemetery offered continuity throughout this century, several persons interred here were moved from their original sites during this time. In 1923 James Thomas Purcell moved his father's and uncle's remains from St. Stephen's Cemetery to Notre Dame in Eastview (now Vanier), and his petition explained that this was to place them with other family members buried there.²⁹⁶ The Reverend John Joseph Welch seems to have taken considerable interest in family members buried in this cemetery, as he replaced two nineteenth-century family monuments and relocated two cousins to place them in the Welch plot. The move, in 1947, involved the disinterment of his aunt Mary Fleming, "formerly a Welch," who had died in 1920 and her daughter Kathleen, who had died earlier in the same year, and their reinterment in the Welch plot.²⁹⁷ According to the details given by Father Welch, this would place Mary and her child with her brother and parents. In another 1947 removal, Margaret Daley had her husband David Dean's remains moved to Notre Dame, "for the convenience of herself and family regarding prayers and worship at his grave."²⁹⁸

St. Stephen's cemetery is clearly a "living cemetery," where burial activity goes on and changes take place. Burial regulations relating to religious observance have become more relaxed since the 1983 Vatican II pronouncements, which permit unbaptised babies and non-Roman Catholic spouses to be buried with their families in the cemetery's sacred space. Still, this is a parish cemetery, and members of the Chelsea community who lack religious or familial ties to the Roman Catholic church are referred to other burial places. Those who arranged the burial of Sidney Chaffers in the Protestant cemetery, for example, had first requested a plot in St. Stephen's.²⁹⁹ On a December 1998 visit, one plot had a bird feeder and a decorated

²⁹⁵These monuments date from the 1980s and 1990s.

²⁹⁶Disinterment Petition 45, 1923.

²⁹⁷Disinterment Petition 162, 1947.

²⁹⁸Disinterment Petition 164, 1947.

²⁹⁹W. Gerry McDonald.

Christmas tree, while another had a collection of memorabilia, so that these sites resembled small shrines to the memory of these beloved dead, and spoke of their connection with the living persons who changed the seasonal items or added to the mementos.

4.5 Chelsea's cemeteries at the end of another century

Chelsea ushered in the twentieth century with little evident change for its dead, as four types of cemetery continued to offer burial places within its limits and several "rural cemeteries" were established just beyond its borders. Many of its living population farmed the sites pioneered by earlier generations of their family. The community's basis remained farming by an English-speaking populace whose forebears had emigrated from the United States and the British Isles, although some francophone Quebeckers were now establishing themselves in what was still a very modest and informally-managed countrified municipality. In 1900, James Hammond was re-elected mayor, and councillors during that year included Charles A. Dewar, Gabriel Dunlop, Henry Ellard, Michael McCloskey and Philip Mulvihill. Chelsea's municipal budget was \$538.75, covering \$200 in salaries, a county tax of \$129.60, \$197.16 for roads and bridges, and \$12 as a jury fund. Road inspection and pound-keeping involved 33 people, and early in that year Council sent back the French-language edition of municipal guidelines they had received from the Province and politely requested their English version, since it operated in English.³⁰⁰ Would they have been amazed to look ahead and see a 1998 budget in the five million dollar range and a highly bilingual population almost equally balanced between anglophones and francophones operating in an officially French-speaking province?³⁰¹

By the 1950s, the informal organization of Chelsea's Protestant cemeteries no longer supported their operation, so that Churches' Cemetery had closed and burials and maintenance of the Protestant Cemetery had declined. The homestead plots still active early in the century received no further burials after the 1920s, and some families had removed their dead from these sites to community- or corporately-managed cemeteries. Chelsea's larger cemeteries also lost some of their population of the dead, along with their monuments, as relatives moved to

³⁰⁰West Hull Council Minutes, 1899-1901.

³⁰¹Charles Cardinal, Community Relations Officer, Municipality of Chelsea (interview December 17, 1998)

Ottawa and bought plots in the new “rural” cemeteries which offered perpetual care in landscaped grounds. Cremation offered different possibilities for disposal of the dead, eliminating the necessity for burial. Still, many families wanted the remains of these loved ones placed socially near the bodies of other kin, and continued to erect memorials to mark the spaces where ashes were now buried. St. Stephen’s Cemetery also opened a specific area for cremated remains later in this period.

For most, burial continued to have a Protestant or Roman Catholic religious connotation, to the point that it overrode family togetherness after death. Still, some of the nineteenth-century’s religious rigidity relaxed in the twentieth, as a “RIP” appeared on a monument in the Protestant Cemetery’s newer south section, along with one or two crosses, and in the last decades of this century some unbaptised persons and non-Catholics could be buried within St. Stephen’s Cemetery’s consecrated area.

Its status as part of a formally organized church helped St. Stephen’s Roman Catholic Cemetery to weather the problems of no-longer identified and unmaintained plots, and its large property allowed expansion of burial space, two factors which had pushed the informally-run and space-restricted Protestant cemeteries into decline. St. Stephen’s created a post-facto site plan when the need for more modern planning became urgent, and instituted plans for using unidentified plot space and recovering maintenance costs from families with plots in the cemetery. Balancing this more formal management of its space and finances, it also thrived through informally acceding to the preferences of its parishioners, permitting a wide range of design and decoration of its monuments and plots.

In 1998 Chelsea has an Anglican Church and a United Church, but neither of them established cemeteries for their parishioners nor became officially associated with Chelsea’s cemeteries. Early in the century, however, the Canadian Anglican organization confirmed the importance of a sacred burial space for many members of this faith by publishing forms of consecration of a “cemetery separately” and for the “hallowing of a grave in unconsecrated ground.”³⁰² The introduction accompanying the form for hallowing a grave explains that it is “the shortest in the Prayer Book, but not the least important in a country like Canada, especially in its pioneer settlements, where the new made grave may mark a sacred spot, near where the

³⁰²W.J. Armitage, DD, PhD., The Story of the Canadian Revision of the Prayer Book, (Cambridge at the University Press Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Ltd., 1922), 395-7.

settler wields his axe, or turns with ploughshare the virgin soil.”³⁰³ While this approach sheds light on how the people and the church could be equally satisfied by sanctifying any pioneer burial space, the Protestant churches’ lack of formal involvement in managing any other aspect of Chelsea’s Protestant burial places left a kind of social vacuum which was not filled in time to revive them as active cemeteries. Instead, Chelsea’s private and community Protestant cemeteries survived by linking with other community organizations, so that in the 1980s they became historical monuments, operated by the Historical Society of the Gatineau in one case and the Municipality of Chelsea in the other. This change both redefined their function and obscured some of their history. With new names, linkage with their historic past in the community needed a bridge to earlier records and reminiscences.

Local publicity for the cemeteries which became historic monuments emphasized a heroic past for one and an ancient past for the other. In the Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery, commemoration and recognition of the burial place of Private Thompson led to erection of monuments for him and his wife’s family, and prompted the addition of gateposts, a memorial cairn with a plaque providing information about Thompson and his Queen’s Scarf award, parking space and a new access road. These changes also made the cemetery more attractive to visitors and revived interest in the site and its other monuments. In 1998 an additional plaque was added to provide a link with documents such as burial records by explaining the Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery’s historic role as Churches’ Cemetery. Without being a “living cemetery,” since no further burials are permitted in it, it has become a lively cemetery, as visitors can easily walk in its maintained space and view its monuments and plaques. An annual Remembrance Day service held in it attracts a roster of persons representing the community’s formal institutions, along with local school children and other residents of the area and present-day troops from the regiment with which Thompson served, the Royal Canadian Regiment.

The Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground’s well-maintained space and family plots belie publicity promoting it as a rare piece of early Americana, a wild, dark place where the dead were abandoned according to ancient Puritan custom. Its central community location is ideal for a present-day monument, as visitors to Old Chelsea’s shopping and tourist area notice its presence. In appearance, its main area has remained quite true to its nineteenth-century beginnings, although many of the plot railings are now missing and two early monuments, for

³⁰³Ibid., 397.

Thomas Wright and Asa Meech, have been covered and set horizontally in concrete. The history of Chelsea's cemetery development also suggests that Thomas Wright's period monument indeed marks the site of his burial in these grounds which still shelter the remains of some of Chelsea's first settlers, and where new ashes are sometimes added by those attracted to the site or its history.

5. CONCLUSION - EPITAPH

The questions which stimulated this study of Chelsea's cemeteries started with Thomas Wright, asking about the significance of his monument and its location in a Chelsea cemetery. From this particular individual and site followed more general queries: How were cemeteries organized in this pioneer community? How did they continue and change over time, and what roles do they have today? What can be learned now about the relationship between Chelsea's communities of the dead and the living? What do Chelsea's cemeteries communicate about the dead as individuals within this community?

This study of Chelsea's cemeteries has affirmed the social importance of burial sites. While some Wright descendants and local historians have debated the significance of Thomas Wright's stone in the Old Chelsea graveyard, research on Chelsea's cemeteries has provided numerous examples of efforts made by Chelsea's families to relocate the bodies of their beloved dead to be with other family members when their circumstances changed. Clearly, during his time in the Hull settlement, Thomas is unlikely to have lived in Chelsea, which was then only part of the outlying territory beyond the small cluster of allocated lots. Even the 1200-acre grants initially awarded to the settlement's "associates" did not extend farther north than the Township's first few ranges. Despite the records maintained by his brother Philemon and other family members, there is no note of what caused his death or how his family was cared for afterwards. Like Philemon, Thomas had served in the Revolutionary War on the side of the Americans, and after his marriage to Mary Sprague of nearby Cambridge he seems to have remained in Woburn, Massachusetts, with his growing family until they left the United States for the Hull Settlement.³⁰⁴ Here Thomas died in 1801, in the prime of life at age 42, leaving seven children ranging in age from 17 down to 4. His widow Mary had remarried by 1805, and in the 1820s, when the Chelsea area was being settled, five of their children took up land in that area while Mary was once again a widow.³⁰⁵

³⁰⁴Margaret Gardiner, Archivist, Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass., (correspondence, August 1998), provided information compiled from local sources and listed in library files, including a compilation of his service record between 1775 and 1781 and his marriage details.

³⁰⁵See Archives of the Historical Society of the Gatineau, Catalogue 29, documents 158-161, held by David F. Wright.

Just to the west of the Protestant community cemetery, on Lots 15 through 19 in Range 8 and 16 in Range 9, land records of the 1820s show the families of son Thomas and daughters Mary (Sheffield), Elizabeth (Booth) and Abigail (Edey), while Lucy (Reid) was also in Chelsea, on Lot 14 in Range 11.³⁰⁶ Descendants of the Sheffield and Reid families are also buried in the Chelsea cemetery, in plots adjoining Thomas Wright's. His stone's inscription, with its epitaph mentioning his parents and layout allowing space to enter his wife's particulars suggest a monument made shortly after his death. Its design, with triple curves finishing the upper border, is also similar to New England stones of the turn of that century, suggesting that it could have been ordered and sent from New England then, at a time when the Hull settlement was still regularly relying on its American contacts to meet some of its needs.³⁰⁷ If the stone was first placed to mark a homestead grave site, it would be logical as well as current with practice of the period, if that property were being sold to move both body and monument to another site near family members.

Without documentation that Wright's remains rest in Chelsea and that his stone dates to the time of his death, alternative scenarios are possible but simply much less plausible. For example, it could be the case that the Chelsea cemetery holds only his early marker without his remains, although transfer of a monument poses at least as much difficulty as moving both body and stone, and the usual reason for a grave monument is to mark the burial place. Another suggestion is that Wright's monument was created in the 1820s or later, when his children were settling in Chelsea and that cemetery came into use. Although its information content and design are then more difficult to explain, this theory still offers a rationale for locating Thomas Wright's stone in Chelsea, provided that his remains are also there. The least likely option would have it a post-1820s monument intended only to commemorate his life, but not mark his burial place. These other alternative scenarios are simply much less probable than the

³⁰⁶ Benjamin Hooper Wright and his family lived to the south of Chelsea's territory, close to the early Wright settlement; John Wright and his family did not live in the Chelsea area at this time.

³⁰⁷ See, for example, gravestones in Crossways Cemetery in Tisbury, Massachusetts, dated 1801-1807 (website: <http://www.berkshire.net/ags>), also Viccio, "Baltimore's Burial Practices," page 135, figure 1. Viccio noted that all of the markers in Westminster Cemetery in that city dating from the period 1787 to 1810 were of the same arch-shouldered shape. Blanche Linden-Ward, in *Silent City*, 26, provides an illustration identified simply as the eighteenth-century stone of Hannah Tuckerman.

likelihood that Thomas Wright was first interred in a family plot and later removed to this site, along with his early original monument.

How Chelsea's cemeteries were organized, their continuity and changes, have been addressed in chapters which described the cemeteries according to their geography and social characteristics. We have seen that the first informally-organized sites were provided on family property or in a central community site, how a family plot became a private cemetery and a churchyard burial place became established a little later. Although these cemetery types have been recognized as predominant models in the nineteenth-century countryside across North America they have, with a few exceptions, seldom been studied in a community context or followed over time to assess changes. While other such early burial places remain in Canada and North America, many have been significantly altered over time. Baltimore's historic Westminster Cemetery had a church built over part of it in the mid-nineteenth century, and Hartford's Ancient Burying Ground lost a portion of its cemetery to construction of an eighteenth-century meeting house and street development.³⁰⁸ In Ottawa and Hull early cemeteries in New Edinburgh, Sandy Hill and near the first St. James Church (Hull) have been obliterated by stages of these cities' urban development. Chelsea's cemeteries have provided an important opportunity to observe and trace burial places from its pioneer period, partly because of the community's slower rate of growth, and also due to preservation activity which made two of them historic sites and created local awareness of their significance. Still, Chelsea's cemeteries have seen considerable change. St. Stephen's Roman Catholic churchyard is a "living cemetery" which continues in use and accordingly constantly changes and adapts to new conditions, while the two historic sites have undergone alterations which have enhanced their appearance and interpretation, but these have also obscured part of their past. We have also seen in Chelsea that the names, dates and generations which were "written in stone" have not always been exact, although this in itself conveys information about their history.

This study of the development and persistence of Chelsea's different types of cemeteries has illustrated how they met social needs of family and community as well as serving a practical need of the living community, to dispose of its dead bodies. Plot placement and monuments in the cemeteries emphasize the importance of the family, and individual information about the dead is expressed in terms of their family ties. The family played a most

³⁰⁸Information from Westminster Preservation Trust, Inc., Baltimore, Md., and Ancient Burying Ground Association, Inc., Hartford., Ct.

significant role in the selection of burial space for the dead, interpreted their lives on monuments in the burial sites, and sometimes transferred them to new burial places as they themselves moved on. Still, for nearly two centuries, the religious ethos of the burial ground reflected the social fabric of the community and even overrode the importance of family ties for Chelsea's dead, as some of those who had spent most of their lives together were placed separately after death in Protestant and Roman Catholic burial places.

In Chelsea we have seen that the selection of a particular burial place meant proximity to others of the same general religious orientation and to family members, and also confirmed a link to a place in the community. Chelsea's monument information about origin or place of death also emphasized social continuity with other communities, important to pioneering settlers in a new place, to some who had died away from "home," and to others for whom the information simply confirmed that they were indeed, part of this community. The monuments here, however, have offered limited details of individuals, expressing lives more in terms of family and community. Donald Akenson introduced a volume of an Ulster-Scots Association project on Gravestone Inscriptions of Country Antrim by remarking on the usefulness of cemeteries for information about the social fabric of the community and their role as providers of information such as age and kinship which may not be available from official registers.³⁰⁹ Akenson's observations ring true for Chelsea, where the cemetery monuments stand as indicators of who died at a given time, their lifespan and links with other kin, providing data in themselves and offering information which can be linked to other local data sources.

A discovery of this study has been the extent to which cemetery history is hidden, despite the visible presence of sites and monuments. Chelsea's cemeteries shelter an enormous number of burials without monuments: almost four burials for every monument in its old Protestant community cemetery, since many of these represent more than one person, and still about three burials for every person commemorated by an inscription, while the St. Stephen's Roman Catholic churchyard tells a similar story, with some four hundred monuments for over 1600 burials. Without grave monuments to tell their stories, other data sources are important in filling in the story of those buried in any cemetery. Other local sources have offered a wealth of additional information about early community life and death in Chelsea, and could be used in similar studies elsewhere. In particular church records, census and newspapers have yielded

³⁰⁹Donald H. Akenson, intro. to R. S. J. Clarke, ed., Gravestone Inscriptions of Country Antrim: Vol I. Islandmagee, (Belfast: The Ulster Historical Foundation, [1970s]).

details and provided lively accounts of life and death in the community's earlier days. Additional searching of some of these same sources could also yield further information about Chelsea death custom for families which I did not have time to trace for this study. The importance of previous place and ethnic background in Chelsea's cemetery population suggests a topic for further investigation in other cemetery studies, as does the concern among many Chelsea families to remove their dead and take them to a new place when they moved on.

Richard E. Meyer wrote that we should study cemeteries and grave-markers in order "to help us to achieve a better understanding of ourselves —what we are, what we have been, and, perhaps what we are in the process of becoming."³¹⁰ Community studies could benefit by including a chapter on cemeteries to tell the story of one of the earliest features of the community and round out an area often overlooked by otherwise quite comprehensive works. A listing of Quebec and Canadian cemeteries to document sites, numbers of monuments, and dates of use would be invaluable in identifying other locations for study. Even monuments deteriorate and are moved over time, so written and photographic records of cemeteries and monument features would help to conserve this important segment of history and interest the public in their preservation.

Although no Wright descendants are apparently buried in St. Stephen's Roman Catholic churchyard, its own litany of names, places and language on grave monuments speaks to the social fabric of community and change. The other three of Chelsea's four cemeteries contain Wright grave monuments, like strategically-placed representatives in the community—one in a homestead plot, one in a private cemetery, one in the Protestant community cemetery. Thomas Wright's grand-daughter Charlotte's remains are marked in the Baldwin family plot, his great-nephew Christopher Columbus along with his wife and one of their grandchildren lie in Churches' cemetery, while Childs, Reid and Sheffield descendants are buried near Thomas' own monument in the Chelsea Protestant cemetery.

Thomas Wright's grave marker in Chelsea, with its few brief lines, offers only the barest detail of his life. Still, it represents the physical remains of his person, almost like the post-war monuments raised in various countries to "unknown soldiers." In this sense, Wright suggests the other "unknown settlers" buried in Chelsea, and symbolizes the community's efforts to memorialize and preserve the "memory of" its members, from pioneer times to the present.

³¹⁰Richard E. Meyer, ed. Cemeteries and Gravemarkers (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1989), 5.

SOURCES CONSULTED

Primary Record and Archival Sources

Inventory of information from the monuments of 4 graveyards in Chelsea

- Inventoried by author, 1996:
 - Baldwin family plot
 - Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery
 - Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground
- Inventoried by Ontario Genealogical Society, Ottawa Branch members (particularly Patrick M. O. Evans)
 - 1891 Cemetery, Old Chelsea (1985) (OGS 85-3); (also April 1974, Jan 1996) (Note: this is the "Chelsea Protestant Burial Ground.")
 - Private Cemetery, Chelsea (Aug. 1982) (OGS 82-13) (Note: this is the "Chelsea Pioneer Cemetery.")
 - St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Cemetery (Oct. 1979) (OGS 80-5)

Government of Canada

National Archives of Canada, 395 Wellington St., Ottawa, Ont.

- Burial records and registers, various religious denominations and dates, Hull Township region
- Census of Canada (Hull/Chelsea) 1825: C-718; 1842: C-729; 1851: C-1131; 1861: C-1303; 1871: C-10026; 1881: C-13225; 1891: T-6412; 1901: T-6549
- Farmer Papers MG 24 I120
- Lower Canada land papers RG1 L3L
- Map Collection
- Wright Papers MG 24 D8

National Library of Canada, 395 Wellington St., Ottawa, Ont.

- Bouchette, Joseph. (Various) Topographical Descriptions of Lower Canada/Canada (1815; 1825; 1831; 1832.)
- City directories, Ottawa-Hull, 1868 and subsequent
- Newspaper collection

Gouvernement du Québec

Archives nationales du Québec, 170 Hôtel-de-Ville, Hull; also Montreal and Ste. Foy, Que.

- Burial records and registers, various religious denominations and dates: Wesleyan Methodist Church, Township of Hull: Reel 299 (1873-1911), Presbyterian Church, Hull Township: Reel 299 (1862-88; 1881-1925), Wakefield: Reel 309 (1847-59; 1862-1925). St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church: Reel 277 (1845-1902).
- Records of disinterments (1900 and subsequent) TP11 S26.SS33

Ministère de Justice

- Fonds des registres (Hull) (1901-1930)
- Fonds des registres (Maniwaki) (1930-present)

Other records sources

Anglican Diocesan Archives, Lauder Hall, nr.439 Queen St., Ottawa, Ont.

- Burial records and registers, Anglican Church, Hull Township region
- Database of Anglican burials in the Diocese of Ottawa

Beechwood Cemetery and Crematorium, 280 Beechwood Ave., Ottawa, Ont.
Records of interments

City of Ottawa Archives, 145 Stanley St., Ottawa, Ont.
Ontario Genealogical Society holdings on cemeteries

Historical Society of the Gatineau, Box 485, Chelsea, Que.
Archives, 100 Old Chelsea Rd., Chelsea, Que.
Publication Up the Gatineau!, 24 volumes, 1974-1998
Historic Map of West Hull (Chelsea) showing land ownership as indicated by 1875 valuation roll.

Municipality of Chelsea Archives, 100 Old Chelsea Rd., Chelsea, Que.
Valuation rolls, 1875 and subsequent years
Minutes of Municipal Council meetings

St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Church
Various records held in the Rectory, Old Chelsea, Que.

University of Ottawa, Law Library, Ottawa, Ont.
Canadian Legislation dealing with Death, Burials, Cemeteries
-Statutes of Lower Canada
-Revised Statutes; Statutes of Quebec

Western Quebec School Board, 170 Principale, Aylmer, Que.
Protestant ratepayers (Chelsea)

First-person sources

Brown, Robert, Monument Maker, interview by author, 21 February, 1997, Ottawa, Ont.
Ottawa firm in business in late 19th century; responsible for carving some monuments in Chelsea cemeteries

Brown, Thomas Howard, interview by author, May 4, 1969.

Cardinal, Charles, Community Relations Officer, Municipality of Chelsea, interview by author, December 17, 1998.

Cross, Stan, interview by author, October 1998. Descendant of Cross family (concerning family burial plots).

Falt, Jack, conversation and correspondence with author, June 4 - Sept 13, 1998.

Gardiner, Margaret, Archivist, Woburn Public Library, Woburn, Mass. Correspondence with author, August, 1998.

Germain, Paul, Directeur, Les Jardins du Souvenir, interviews by author November 9, 12, 1998, regarding George Smyth monument.

Hammond, Jim and Mabel, interview by author, 25 February, 1997, Cascades, Que.
Descendants of Baldwin and Hammond family (concerning family burial plots).

Hendrick, Rita Hogan, interviews by author, October, December 1998, Cantley, Que.
Information about family burials, St. Stephen's cemetery and family plot.

McClelland, Cindy, interview by author, July 1997. Descendant of McClelland family
(concerning family burial plots).

Schwalm, Louisa Snoddy (Gregoire), interview by author August 12, 1998 (concerning
husband's monument(s) in Chelsea Protestant Cemetery.

Smith, Doug, interview by author, July 1997, Gatineau, Que. Descendant of Smith family
(concerning family burial plots).

St. Stephen's Church officers

Fabrique of St. Stephen's Church (various periods): Dufour, Larry, Kingsmere, Que.;
Young, Wayne, Eardley, Que.; W. Gerry McDonald, Aylmer, Que.
Croteau, Fr. Gérard: Priest, St. Stephen's Church, Old Chelsea, Que.

Weaver, Martin, Conservation Architect, interview by author, 28 February, 1997, Ottawa,
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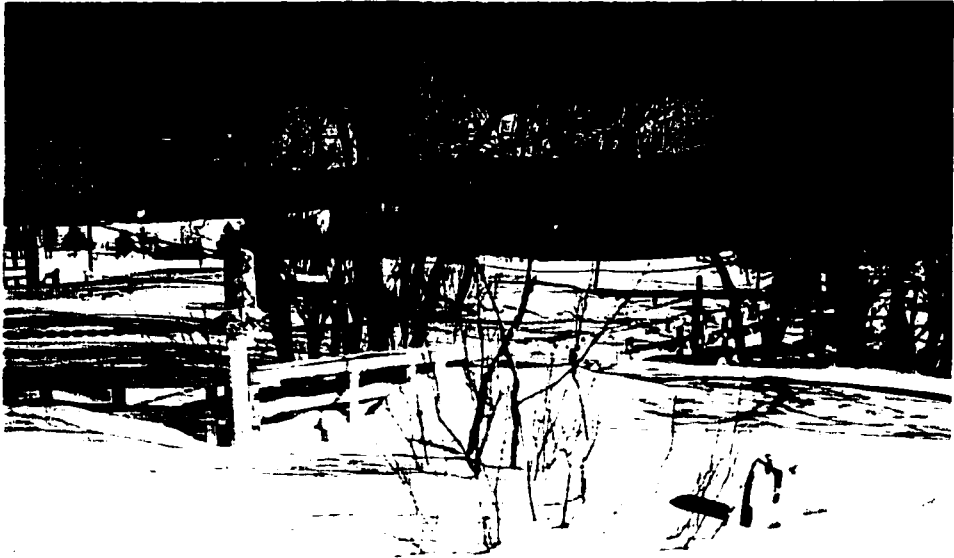
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APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS

Blackburn Cemetery	1
Baldwin Cemetery	1
Churches' Cemetery	2
St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Churchyard	2
Chelsea Protestant Cemetery	3
Wright Grave monuments in Chelsea	4



Blackburn Cemetery
-Carol Martin

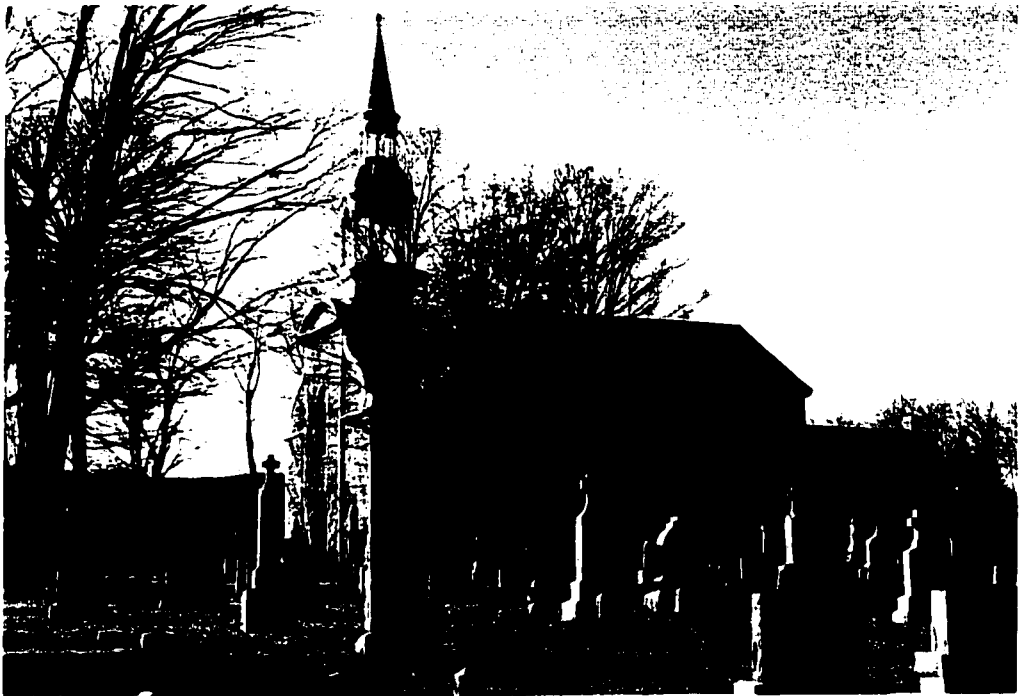


Baldwin Cemetery
-Carol Martin

Churches' Cemetery
-Carol Martin



St. Stephen's Roman Catholic Churchyard
-Huguette Poulin

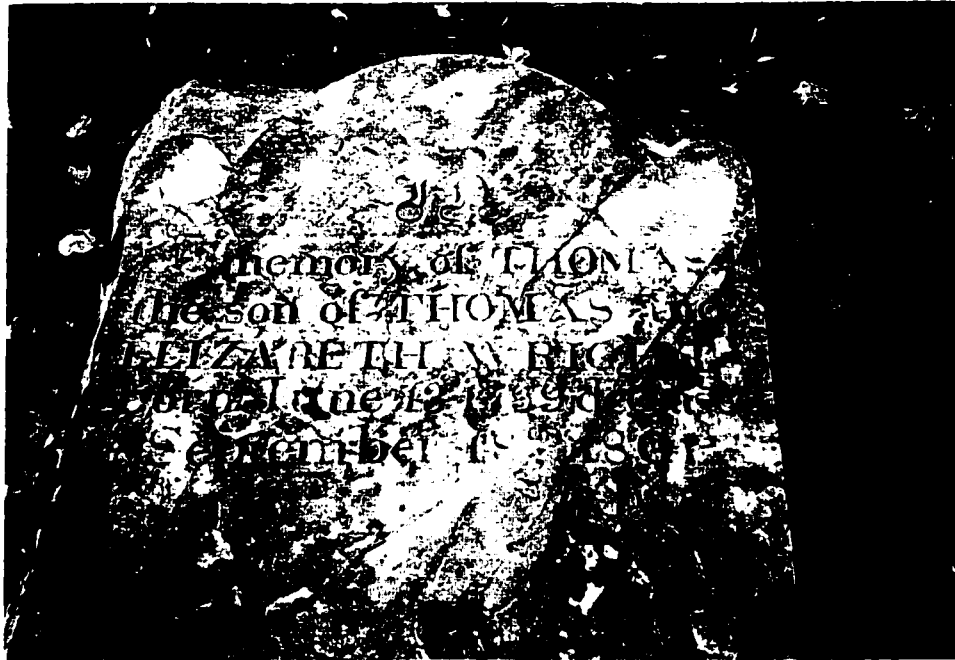


Chelsea Protestant Cemetery
-Carol Martin



Wright Grave Monuments

Chelsea Protestant Cemetery - Martin Weaver



Baldwin Cemetery - Carol Martin



Churches' Cemetery - Carol Martin



APPENDIX B-1

Churches' Cemetery Monument Transcripts & List of Additional Burials

Note: Orientation of this cemetery is North/South. All inscriptions face south unless otherwise indicated
3 bases without monuments testify to the removal of several to Beechwood.

<p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p>RICHARD R. THOMPSON QUEEN'S SCARF PRIVATE R.C.R. (S. AFRICA) 6 APR 1908 AGE 31</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p>ALEXANDER</p> <p>JAMES 1845-1903 HIS WIFE MARY GRAHAM 1850-1906 BERTHA ALEXANDER WIFE OF R. R. THOMPSON AND R. KRAMER 1876-1962</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">3</p> <p>In Loving Memory of SARAH MOORE Wife of THOMAS J. DAVIES Died 29. June 1903 Aged 60 Yrs.</p> <p>— At rest</p> <p>DAVIES</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">4</p> <p>JAMES HUDSON DIED MAY 14. 1891, AGED 21 YRS.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">5</p> <p>CHRISTOPHER C. WRIGHT DIED 17TH JUNE 1906 AGED 73 YEARS. BELOVED HUSBAND OF HANNAH LATIMER 1844-1911 BESSIE LILLIAN 1911-1912 DAUGHTER OF ALONZO & BESSIE WRIGHT</p> <p>WRIGHT</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">6</p> <p>THOMAS EVANS BORN EAST HAWKESBURY 18 APR. 1850. DIED AT CHELSEA 16 MAY 1908 AGED 58 YRS.</p> <p>—</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">7</p> <p>MARGARET WILLIAMS, WIFE OF WILLIAM MONTGOMERY Died AUG. 14, 1893 AGED 70 YRS.</p> <p>Gone but not forgotten (Inscription on south face)</p> <p>DUNN (On base on west face)</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">8</p> <p>HATTIE STOTHERS BELOVED WIFE OF A.A. McLATCHIE DIED DEC. 16, 1894 AGED 31 YRS.</p> <p>(Inscription on north face)</p> <p>JAMES LESLIE SON OF JAMES & HARRIET STOTHERS DIED SEP. 28, 1892 AGED 21 Y'RS</p> <p>Asleep in Jesus</p> <p>STOTHERS</p> <p>(Inscription on east face)</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">9</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF JOHN D. MEECH DIED DEC. 26. 1901. AGED 76 YRS. 1 MO.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SONS STEVEN H. AE. 26 YS. SILAS A. AE. 24 YS. DROWNED SEPT. 16. 1883.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WILFORD A. DIED MAR. 4. 1875. AE. 2 YS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MEECH</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">10</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JARED CHURCH DIED 17. JULY. 1852. AE. 89 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HANNAH BARTLETT WIFE OF JARED CHURCH DIED 17. NOV. 1864. AE. 94 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GARDNER CHURCH Sr. DIED 14. NOV. 1882. AE. 83 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARTHA CONE WIFE OF GARDNER CHURCH DIED 25. APRIL 1876 AE. 74 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHURCH (Inscription on south face)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WM. H. H. SON OF G. & M. CHURCH DIED 14. DEC. 1851. AE. 9 YRS. & 4 MS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HANNAH B. DAUGHTER OF G. & M. CHURCH DIED 1ST SEPT. 1854. AE. 27 YRS. & 9 MS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">GARDNER CHURCH Jr. DIED 19TH APR. 1904. AE. 71 YRS. & 8 MS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Inscription on north face)</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">11</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN CHAMBERLIN DIED JUNE 6. 1837 AGED 42 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AND HIS WIFE MARY BLOSS DIED MAR. 3. 1889. AGED 99 YRS & 7 MOS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Asleep in Jesus Beloved parents of Mrs. Gardner Church</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHAMBERLIN</p> <hr/> <p style="text-align: right;">14</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LEIGH SON OF ARTHUR & JANET TROSSSE DIED FEB. 18, 1905, AE. 5 MOS.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">12</p> <p style="text-align: center;">M</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN LOVING MEMORY OF MINNIE DAUGHTER OF GARDNER CHURCH AND BELOVED WIFE OF JOHN K. MEREDITH BORN MAY 14. 1865. - DIED JAN. 24. 1899. ALSO THEIR DAUGHTER LITTLE MAY BORN MAY 26. 1893 - DIED JUNE 2, 1895.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">WHAT I DO THOU KNOWEST NOT NOW BUT THOU SHALT KNOW HEREAFTER.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MEREDITH</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Inscription on north face)</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">13</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN A. CAMERON DIED JUNE 24. 1890. AE. 33 YRS. & 2 MS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THERE IS NO PARTING IN HEAVEN.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CAMERON (Inscription on north face)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DUNCAN CAMERON DIED MAY 22, 1857. AE 76 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Inscription on east face)</p>	

Additional Burials in Churches' Cemetery (24)

Relig rec. Name and date

WM Breadner, William J. (1896 Aug 22)
 PRES (Brown), Lucy Ann Reid (1908 Feb 5) (Wife of James Brown)
 PRES (Cameron), Catherine Brooks (1908 Mar 3) (Widow of John Cameron)
 PRES Cameron, John (1904 Dec 9)
 PRES Campbell, Lonzo Edward (1913 Oct 3) (NB see his monument in Chelsea Protestant cemetery)
 PRES Campbell, Mary Margaret (1913 Feb 8)
 PRES (Chamberlin), Jessica MacAuley (1906 Jun 15) (Wife of Noble Chamberlin)
 PRES Fairbairn, Archibald (1889 Jun 4)
 PRES Fairbairn, Emma Jane (1902 Mar 6)
 PRES (Fairbairn), Margaret Graham (1912 Dec 29) (widow of Archibald Fairbairn)
 WM Hewitt, Bertha May (1899 Feb 7)
 ANG Hewitt, John Edgar (1901 Jun 29)
 ANG Hudson, Maude (1891 May 14)
 PRES Hudson, John (1902 May 4)
 PRES McAdam, Arthur David (1908 Dec 27)
 PRES McKibbin, Robert V. (1909 Jun 7)
 PRES (Reid), Margaret Elder (1908 Nov 20) (Widow of William Reid)
 PRES Scott, William Thomas (1910 Apr 30)
 WM Stothers, James (1898 Feb 15)
 WM Trowse, Philip (1892 Aug 5)
 WM Trowse, George (1886 Nov 7)
 WM Trowsse, Jane Bly (1884 Dec 18)
 WM Trowsse, Diedema (1884 Oct 12)
 WM Wilson, William Harvey (1896 Jun 30)

Formerly in Churches' Cemetery (12)

Benedict, Audrey b. Aug 7, 1897, buried 1910 Sept 8 (petn to Beechwood 16 Oct 1937)
 Benedict (f) b. Nov 29 1891 d. same day (petn to Beechwood 16 Oct 1937)
 Benedict, Sidney b. Aug 7, 1897, d 1898 July 12, (petn to Beechwood 16 Oct 1937)
 Brooks, Amelia (1913 Dec 27) (To Beechwood petn 1914 Nov 13)
 Brooks, Catherine Duncan (To Beechwood 13 Nov 1914 at petition of Evelina R. Brooks)
 Brooks, John Austin (To Beechwood 13 Nov 1914 at petition of Evelina R. Brooks)
 Church, Helen Martha (1876 May 29) (apparently moved to Beechwood along with parents)
 Church, Horace Austin (1909, Mar 3) (To Beechwood 3 Nov 1924)
 Church, Horace Gardner (1874 Dec 31) (apparently moved to Beechwood along with parents)
 Church, Selden (1911 Aug 16) (To Beechwood petn 3 Nov 1924)
 Church, Susan Helen Bennie (1921 Jan 12) (Wdw of Horace A Church) (To Beechwood petn 3 Nov 1924)
 Hudson, Gladys W. (1920 Mar 23) (To Beechwood petn May 5 1920)

APPENDIX B-2

Protestant Cemetery Monument Transcripts & List of Additional Burials

<p style="text-align: right;">1</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of MARGARET STRA(CHAN) wife of GEORGE BR(OWN) HULL, who died, 30th (September) 1844, aged 39 years</p> <p style="text-align: center;">J Rowat, S. C.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">2</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of WM. CHAMBERLAIN Died Dec. 12, 1835, AE. 8 yrs & 4 mos.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">3</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of JANET CHALMERS Wife of ANDREW WILSON Died at Chelsea July 6, 1848 AE. 42 Yrs.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SACRED To The Memory Of HENRY CHALMERS WILSON Who departed this life at New Edinburgh August 8, 1870 Aged 22 Yrs & 3 Mos. And CATHERINE MCGREGOR WILSON Who departed this life at Ottawa City September 18, 1859, Aged 1 Yr & 3 Mos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">W. M. Somerville. Ottawa.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">5</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ANDREW WILSON BORN RENFREWSHIRE- SCOTLAND MARCH 11TH 1811, DIED IN OTTAWA. JULY 16TH 1884.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">6</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ANDREW CHALMERS WILSON SON OF ANDREW WILSON AND JANET CHALMERS BORN IN GLASGOW, SCOTLAND 1837. DIED IN OTTAWA APRIL 5, 1872.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">7</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN EVANS Died 6th Dec. 1853, AE. 49 yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARGARET EVANS Died 1st May 1849. AE. 5 yrs. 9 mos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">EVANS</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">8</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FAREWELL IN MEMORY OF JAMES BLAIR. SR. DIED JULY 23RD 1841, AE 38 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">—</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A.K. Mills, Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">9</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FAREWELL. IN MEMORY OF JAMES BLAIR. JR. DIED AUG 14TH 1874. AE 28 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A.K. Mills, Ottawa</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">10</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FAREWELL In memory of EMMA BLAIR Died Mar. 9th, 1875, AE. 7 Mos. & 9 Dys.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">A</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(stone missing by 1996)</i> <i>(According to 1985 recording by P. M.O. Evans. a stone in this general area was inscribed "Farewell In Memory of MATTHEW BLAIR died" (bottom of stone missing)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">11</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of CRAWFORD LINK DIED 18th. Nov., 1881 AGED 60 YEARS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ELIZABETH WELLINGTON Wife of CRAWFORD LINK died 8th April 1878 AGED 62 YEARS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ALSO JANE THEIR DAUGHTER died 24 May 1882. AGED 27 YRS. 3 MOS. & 22 DAYS.</p> <p>R. BROWN OTTAWA</p> <p style="text-align: right;">B</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(Blank tablet)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: right;">12</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of ASA MEECH, Died Feb. 22, 1849. AE. 74 Yrs & 10 ms ALSO MARGARET DOCKSTEADER, his beloved Wife Died Jan. 12, 1853. AE. 55 Yrs. I would not live always I ask not to stay. Where storm after storm rises dark o'er the way.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">13</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of MARY A. WRIGLEY, Wife of JOSIAH CHAMBERLIN JR. died July 22, 1859 AE. 22 yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">While o're these dear remains affection A voice proclaims she is not dead but sleeps.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">14</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of CYNTHIA F. CHAMBERLIN, Wife of JAMES REID. DIED Oct. 30 1857. AE 26 Yrs. As daughter sister mother wife But few have equalled none surpassed Her faithfull constancy through life Her strong affection to the last.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FATHER</p> <p style="text-align: right;">C</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">15</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of Memory of JAMES REID, Son of THOMAS REID, Born Nov. 3, 1828, Died Feb. 13, 1857.</p> <p>Our wasting lives grow shorter still As months and days increase: And ev'ry beating pulse we tell Leaves but the number less.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">16</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of THOMAS, the son of THOMAS and ELIZABETH WRIGHT, born June 13 1759, deceased September 18th 1801.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FATHER <i>(Located between Sheffield and Wright monuments)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">MOTHER <i>(Located near Sheffield)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">17</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF NORMAN REID DIED NOV. 19, 1889, AGED 51 YRS. 3 MOS. & 19 DS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HIS WIFE MARY C. AYLWIN DIED JAN. 16, 1923 AGED 83 YRS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">REID <i>(On East face)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">NORMAN EDWARD SON OF N. & M. REID, DIED JAN. 23, 1898, AGED 23 YRS. 6 MOS. & 23 DS. <i>(South face)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: right;">18</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF JEFFERSON SHEFFIELD DIED APRIL 6, 1900, IN HIS 51 YEAR.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CATHARINE WIFE OF ELISHA SHEFFIELD DIED MARCH 20, 1899 AGED 89 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">R. BROWN, OTTAWA</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SHEFFIELD</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">19</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF MELVINA SHEFFIELD DIED MAY 1, 1930. AGED 82 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ELISHA SHEFFIELD 1846-1905 ELISHA SHEFFIELD 1817-1907</p> <p style="text-align: center;">AT REST</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SHEFFIELD</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">20</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FRASER</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ALEXANDER FRASER 1837-1907 HIS WIFE MARGARET MCGREGOR 1839-1879 SON ROBERT J. 1876-1957</p>

<p>21</p> <p>In memory of Darling MINNIE GLADYS DAUGHTER OF ALEX & LILIA MILNE DIED July 12, 1893, AE. 4 MS. & 12 DS.</p> <hr/> <p>Our short lived flower Returned agan to God</p>	<p>22</p> <p>DAVID MILNE Died Jan.29th 1886 Aged 85 Yrs.</p> <hr/> <p>Native of Aberdeen Scotland.</p> <hr/> <p>Erected by their Daughters Agnes, Mary Jane, Margaret, Isabella & Grand Dau. Mary.</p>	<p>22(cont'd)</p> <p>JANE HEADLEY Beloved wife of David Milne Died. Sept. 11th 1889 Aged 86 Yrs.</p> <hr/> <p>Native of Hollywood Co. Down, Ireland.</p> <hr/>
<p>23</p> <p>In Memory Of LYDIA A. KIRK Daughter of JOHN & MARY KIRK Died 10. Sept, 1869, Aged 16 Years & 3 Months</p> <p>Weep not dear parents, Disturb not my rest My Saviour has called me He loved me best.</p> <p>TAYLOR & OTTAWA F</p> <p><i>L. A. P.</i></p>	<p>24</p> <p>In Memory of JANE LINK, who died June 28, 1857. Aged 3 yrs. & 8 mos.</p> <p>No evil word she ever spoke Nor never told a lie And now she reigns in heaven above With angels in the sky.</p>	<p>25</p> <p>TO THE MEMORY OF FRANCIS LINK native of Herefordshire, ENGLAND. who departed this life April 4th 1853, Aged 62 years.</p>
<p>26</p> <p>IN MEMORY OF WILHELMINA JANE Beloved daughter OF T. G. & J. A. NANKIN DIED July 12, 1887, AE. 4 mos.</p> <p>Sleep on, sweet babe, and take thy rest. God called thee home, He thought it best.</p>	<p>27</p> <p>In Memory of JOSEPHUS HUDSON who died June 20th 1846. Aged 46 years.</p> <hr/> <p>So fly our months and years. Thus roll the seasons on. Till death the curtain drops. And lifes gay scene is done.</p>	<p>28</p> <p>In Memory of JOSEPHUS Died March 7, 1853 AE. 26 Yrs. Also LYDIA C. SHEFFIELD Died Feb. 18, 1857, AE 22 yrs. Children of J. & Deidamia Hudson</p> <p>McFarlane & Somerville Ottawa</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">29</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of JANE LINK Wife of JOHN HUDSON Died Feb. 13, 1866, AE. 28 Yrs. Also their daughter DEIDAMIA Died July 25, 1866, AE. 6 Mos.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In the midst of life we are in death</p> <hr style="width: 10%; margin: auto;"/> <p style="text-align: center;">McFarlan Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">30</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JOHN WALTER SON OF JOHN & AMELIA HUDSON DIED DEC. 17, 1876 AE. 6 MOS. 21 DS.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">31</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In memory of JOHN BROOKS, Son of John & Mary A. KIRK died July 11, 1856, AE. 2 yrs. & 1 mo</p> <p style="text-align: center;">— Also LYDIA KIRK, died July 28, 1848, AE. 21 yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Nipt in the bud this lovely flower From Earth forever fled Has answered to his Maker's call And is numbered with the dead.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">32</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF JOSEPH HEADLEY DIED SEPT. 5, 1910. AE 78 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ALTHOUGH HE SLEEPS HIS MEMORY DOTH LIVE AND CHEERING COMFORT TO HIS MOURNERS GIVE</p> <p style="text-align: center;">DAVID HEADLEY DIED DEC. 27, 1913, AGED 52 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">HEADLEY</p> <p style="text-align: right;">G</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FATHER</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">33</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of CHRISTOPHER C. ALLEN Died Aug 15, 1865, AE. 67 Yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">W. McFarlane Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">34</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of ROBERT ALLEN DIED 17. OCT. 1882, Aged 59 Yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">faith</p> <p style="text-align: center;">A sinner saved by grace through And that not of himself; It is the gift of God;</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">35</p> <p>IN MEMORY OF ANNIE E. GORDON BORN MAY 2, 1875 DIED AUG 3, 1878.</p> <hr/> <p>JAMES GORDON BORN JAN. 2, 1868 DIED JUNE 17, 1898</p> <hr/> <p>JOHN A. GORDON BORN JAN. 14, 1831 DIED SEPT 22, 1912</p> <p>THY WILL BE DONE GORDON</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">36</p> <p>IN LOVING MEMORY OF MATHEW SNODDIE DIED JUNE 22, 1891, AGED 70 YRS.</p> <p>GONE BUT NOT FORGOTTEN</p> <p>ALSO JANE DUNCAN WIFE OF MATHEW SNODDIE DIED DEC. 15, 1903, AGED 78 YRS.</p> <p>ASLEEP IN JESUS</p> <p style="text-align: right;">H</p> <p>FATHER M.S.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">I</p> <p>MOTHER</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">37</p> <p>WILLIAM DIED JULY 20, 1928 AGED 80 YRS.</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">38</p> <p>SASKATCHEWAN REGT. PTE WILLIAM R. SCHWALM 1895-1956</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">39</p> <p>HOME BOY SCHWALM ROBERT K. SCHWALM AKA WILLIAM R. SCHWALM SEPT. 9, 1895- JULY 20, 1956 BELOVED HUSBAND OF MARY LOUISA SNODDY</p> <p><i>(Erected October, 1998)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">J</p> <p><i>Monument base only.</i></p> <p><i>(May be the base for ROBERT ARDEN /ARDES monument reported by Martin Weaver in 1990)</i></p>

<p style="text-align: right;">40</p> <p>SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF JOHN DONNELLY BORN IN CONNECTICUT. U.S.A. IN 1795. DIED IRONSIDE APRIL 15, 1873. AND HIS WIFE LAURA BEACH BORN IN BURLINGTON VERMONT IN 1805. DIED IRONSIDE JULY 1, 1878.</p> <p>-----</p> <p>GEORGIANA DAUGHTER OF JOHN & LAURA DONNELLY BORN 1838. DIED IRONSIDE JUNE 12, 1879.</p> <p>-----</p> <p><i>(East face)</i></p> <p>ALEXANDER GRANDSON OF JOHN DONNELLY BORN MAR. 21, 1878. DIED NOV 21, 1881. <i>(North face)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">41</p> <p>ALECK DIED Nov. 21, 1881, Aged 3 yrs. & 8 months.</p> <p>Of such is the kingdom of Heaven.</p> <p>R. BROWN, S.C.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">42</p> <p>THOMAS E. CHILDS 1849-1937 HIS WIFE EVA L. WRIGHT 1862-1938</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHILDS</p>
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<p style="text-align: right;">43</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF</p> <p>JAMES CHILDS SARAH A. BARBER DIED WIFE OF OCT. 1st 1907 JAMES CHILDS AGED 77 YRS. DIED SEPT. 19, 1921 AGED 82 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">CHILDS <i>(East face)</i></p> <p>ALFRED E. CHILDS DIED MAR. 20, 1866 AGED 2 YRS</p> <p>ELIZABETH M. CHILDS DIED OCT. 31 1912 AGED 28 YRS. <i>(North face)</i></p> <p>JAMES R. CHILDS DIED SEPT. 26, 1939 AGED 72 YRS. <i>(South face)</i></p> <p style="text-align: right;">J. Laurin Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">K, L, M</p> <p style="text-align: center;">SISTER <i>(Small marker in CHILDS plot, to north of main monument)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">BROTHER <i>(Small marker in CHILDS plot, to south of main monument)</i></p> <p><u>Mather 1870</u> <i>(Name and date on gate of CHILDS enclosure.)</i></p>	<p style="text-align: right;">44</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ERECTED BY WILLIAM RANKIN IN MEMORY OF HIS Beloved wife ELIZA STANLY DIED MAR, H 30TH 1865 AE 23 YEARS</p> <p>And be ye allso ready for ye know Not the hour the son of man cometh</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Mills, Ottawa</p>
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<p style="text-align: right;">45</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of WILLIAM. H. RANKIN, DIED March 13th 1872. AE 6 yrs., 11 mos, & 21 Days.</p> <p>O weep not for the loved one, So rudely from thee driven, Twas but a flower to good for earth Transplanted up to heaven.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mills, Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">46</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF CALEB & MARY BROOKS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">N</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(Blank in Sully enclosure)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">O</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MOTHER</p> <p style="text-align: center;">P</p> <p style="text-align: center;">R. S.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">47</p> <p style="text-align: center;">In Memory of ROBERT SULLY DIED APRIL 9. 1857. AGED 69 YRS</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARY CROSS WIFE OF R. SULLY DIED DEC. 23. 1873, AGED 85 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">JAMES SON OF R. & M. SULLY DIED JULY 3. 1862. AGED 44 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ROBERT SULLY DIED DEC. 5. 1909 AGED 89 YRS.</p> <p>THEY DIED IN FAITH AND FULL ASSURANCE OF A GLORIOUS RESURRECTION R. Brown, Ottawa. <i>(North side)</i></p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARY C. HAMILTON WIFE OF R. SULLY. DIED DEC. 27. 1891. AGED 67 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MARGARET J. SULLY WIFE OF A. D. CAMERON DIED FEB. 10. 1881. AGED 37 YRS.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">THEY HAVE GONE TO THE MANSION OF REST <i>(West side)</i></p>
<p style="text-align: right;">48</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF MARGARET JANE SULLY Beloved wife of ARCHIBALD CAMERON DIED Feb. 10, 1881 AE. 36 Yrs. 5 mos.</p> <p>She left the world without a tear Save for the friends she held so dear To heal their sorrows may God descend R. BROWN OTTAWA</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">49</p> <p style="text-align: center;">IN MEMORY OF MARY SULLY gone to rest Dec. 20th 1873 AE. 85 Yrs.</p> <p>The memory of the just is Blessed Pray to.....</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">50</p> <p style="text-align: center;">ROBERT SULLY DIED Apr. 9. 1857. AE. 67 Yrs. A native of Somersetshire England</p> <p>Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">51</p> <p>IN MEMORY OF OUR FATHER & MOTHER SARAH EARLE Wife of ISAAC CROSS Died Mar. 22nd 1881, AE. 66 yrs.</p> <p>ISAAC CROSS Died Feb. 19th. 1859. AE. 59 yrs.</p> <p><small>Alas they have left us, their spirits have fled Their bodies now slumber along with the dead: Their saviour has called them, to Him they must go Be ye also ready to follow them soon.</small></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Mills, Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">52</p> <p>Sacred TO THE MEMORY OF JAMES SULLY SON OF ROBERT & MARY SULLY Born June 7^h, 1818 Went to a better world JULY 3RD 1862 We shall all meet again in Heaven</p> <p style="text-align: center;">He giveth his beloved sleep</p> <p style="text-align: center;">MILLS Ottawa</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">53</p> <p>ALMA FOSTER WIFE OF D.G. McPHAIL Died May 23, 1875, AE. 28 Yrs.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">KATIE</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Q</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">54</p> <p>IN MEMORY OF ELIZABETH MARANGER DIED MARCH 16, 1908, AGED 98 YRS.</p>	<p><u>OCCASIONAL STONES</u> <u>West side:</u> A-<u>Blair</u> (described by Evans, but missing in 1998)- B-<u>blank</u> in Link enclosure C-<u>Father</u> at base of Chamberlin D-<u>Father</u> between Wright & Sheffield E-<u>Mother</u> near Sheffield</p>	<p><u>East side:</u> F - <u>L.A.K.</u> near Kirk G - <u>Father</u> at foot of Headley H - <u>Father</u> near Snoddie I - <u>Mother</u> near Snoddie J - <u>Base only</u> (Possibly for Arden/Ardes monument described by Weaver) K - <u>Sister</u> in Childs enclosure L - <u>Brother</u> in Childs enclosure M - <u>Mather 1870</u>- Name & date on Childs enclosure fence N - <u>blank</u> in Sully enclosure O - <u>Mother</u> in Sully enclosure P - <u>R. S.</u> in Sully enclosure Q - <u>Katie</u> in McPhail enclosure</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">S-1</p> <p>CAMPBELL</p> <p>IN LOVING MEMORY OF ROBERT CAMPBELL 1853-1934 HIS WIFE MARY THOMPSON 1854-1936 ALONZO, 1888-1914</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-2</p> <p>IN MEMORY OF ANDREW A. ALEXANDER 1880-1932 HIS WIFE EMMA FINDLAY 1880-1963 MELBOURNE JAMES ALEXANDER 1912-1987 DAUGHTERS EVELYN 1914 MARION 1915</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-3</p> <p>AGNES CRICHTON FERGUSON 1908-1974 BELOVED WIFE OF HENRY WILKIE 1906-1984</p>

<p style="text-align: right;">S-4</p> <p style="text-align: center;">QUIPP</p> <p>IN LOVING MEMORY OF GENEVIEVE EDITH BARRETT 1924-1972 WIFE OF EDGAR KENNETH</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-5</p> <p>CAPTAIN SIDNEY CHAFFERS MASTER MARINER GENTLEMAN FRIEND OF THE BAHAI'S BORN 1898, LIVERPOOL, ENGLAND MARRIED LILLIAN MCKAY, 1935 FATHER OF CARLYSLE AND ROBERT SURVIVOR OF TWO WORLD WARS PASSED FROM WAKEFIELD, 1979</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-6</p> <p>ANDERSON CHARLES RUSSELL 1919-1977 BELOVED HUSBAND OF DOROTHY LORNA HICKS 1920-1993</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">S-7</p> <p>FRITZE HEISEL BORN 17, JUNE 1921</p> <p>CORSELTITZE FALSTER DENMARK BELOVED WIFE OF</p> <p>JOHN DILWYN RICHARDS DIED 22, JUNE 1971</p> <p style="text-align: right;">R</p> <p style="text-align: center;">FRITZE</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-8</p> <p>IN LOVING MEMORY OF DAVID JOHN BURNETT JAN. 4, 1869 - NOV. 24, 1929</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BURNETT</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-9</p> <p style="text-align: center;">LONERGAN</p> <p style="text-align: center;">BARBARA JOAN 1933-1980</p> <p>I loved her more than I knew</p>
<p style="text-align: right;">S-10</p> <p>RICHARD DANIEL EVAN SPRY M. A. OXON BORN OTTAWA 1944-1973</p> <p>BELOVED HUSBAND OF DEIRDRE MARGARET HEGGTVEIT 1948-</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-11</p> <p>GRAHAM SPRY M.A. OXON, C.C., LL.D., FRGS Born Feb. 20, 1900, St Thomas, Ontario Died Nov. 24, 1983, Ottawa, Ontario BELOVED HUSBAND OF IRENE MARY BISS</p> <p>FATHER OF ROBIN, RICHARD AND LIB</p> <p>SOCIAL ACTIVIST, PUBLIC SERVANT AND UNREMITTING ADVOCATE OF A NATIONAL BROADCASTING SERVICE FOR CANADA</p> <p>THE WORLD IS A BETTER PLACE BECAUSE HE LIVED IN IT</p>	
<p style="text-align: right;">S-12</p> <p style="text-align: center;">NAIDA</p> <p>IN LOVING MEMORY OF WILLIAM G. NAIDA JUNE 3, 1951-JUNE 30 1984 BORN BOSTON MASS.</p>	<p style="text-align: right;">S-13</p> <p>WAINMAN-WOOD THOMAS BLAKE BURRILL 1922-1974</p> <p>Created by Robert Brown -Ottawa's Memorial People</p>	

NOTE: Capitalization, punctuation and spelling of epitaphs have been rendered exactly as presented.

Additional Burials in Protestant Cemetery (78)

<u>Relig. rec.</u>	<u>Name and date</u>		
PRES	Allen, Charles (1888 June 16)	(widower of Elizabeth)	aged 50
PRES	Allen, Elizabeth (1887 Jan 7)	(wife of Charles)	[aged 41]
ANGL	Allen, John (1893 Sept 2)	(farmer)	aged 69
ANGL	Allen, Maria Wyatt (1900 Sept 28)	(widow of William, Old Chelsea)	aged 85
PRES	Allen, Margaret (1881 Aug 18)	(widow of Christopher of Kirk's Ferry)	90 th yr.
ANGL	Allen, William (1900 Feb 14)	(carpenter, husband of Maria Wyatt)	aged 84
WM	Armstrong, Allan (1885 Apr 13)	(son of Reuben & Eliza)	infant
ANGL	Armstrong, Allan (1886 Oct 24)	(son of Robert, blacksmith & Eliza Jane Duncan)	3 mo.
PRES	Blair, Alice Maud (1904 Dec 29)	(dau. of Hugh [deceased] & Lizzie)	aged 24
PRES	Blair, Robert J. (1883 Feb 12)	(son of James & Sara Jane Kennedy, Kingsmere)	aged 36
PRES	Blair, Sarah Jane (1877 Dec 19)	(wife of James Blair, Hull Township)	aged 64
PRES	Brooks, Eliza Matilda Simpson (1871 Jan 30)	(wife of C. Lennox Brooks, farmer)	aged 22
ANGL	Brown, James (1912 Apr 12)	(son of John Henry Brown and Annie Boyce)	aged 5 mo.
United	Burton--- (male) (1931 Jan 7 [Int])	(son of Oliver Burton of Kirk's Ferry)	infant
PRES	Cameron, Edith (1889 Mar 16)	(dau. of Walter John, Ironsides)	aged 9 mo.
United	Campbell, Alonzo (1939 Mar 23)	[widower of Elsie Johnston]	[aged 70]
WM	Campbell, Colin (1921 Nov 8)	[son of Alonzo & Elsie]	[aged 19]
PRES	Campbell, Elsie Ann Johnston (1917 June 23)	(wife of Alonzo)	[aged 47]
United	Campbell, Mary (1930 Oct 14)	(dau. of David & Catherine McDonald)	[aged 7]
ANGL	Chamberlain (lin), Angela Wyatt Allen (1908 Aug 4)	(widow of John)	aged 68
WM	Chamberlain (lin), George (1881 June 8)	(son of John & Angela Allen)	aged 9
WM	Chamberlain (lin), Henry (1880 Jan 23)	(son of John & Angela Allen)	[aged 6]
PRES	Chamberlain (lin), Hilda (1916 May 13)	(dau. of C. W. & Emma Blair)	aged 43
WM	Chamberlain (lin), John (1880 Dec 9 [Int])	(son of John & Angela Allen)	aged 3
PRES	Chamberlain (lin), John (1897 Sept 21)	(husband of Angela Allen)	aged 64
ANGL	Chamberlain, Laura Alexander (1895 May 7)	(wife of Arthur P, carpenter)	aged 20
PRES	Chamberlain (lin), Mary (1871 June 15)	(daughter of Josiah & Annie Mulvihill)	[aged 6]
PRES	Chamberlain, Rufus (1862 Dec 7)	--	aged 3½ mo.
WM	Chamberlain (lin), Sophia (1880 Mar 3)	(dau. of John & Angela Allen)	aged 10
WM	Childs, Eunice (1891 Mar 1)	(widow [2 nd wife] of Thomas)	aged 84
United	Childs, Henry Wright (1951 Aug 1)	(son of Thomas & Eva Wright)	aged 46
ANGL	Childs, Sarah (1838 Nov 27)	(wife [1 st] of Thomas)	aged 45
WM	Childs, Thomas (1888 June 8)	(husband of Eunice Hutchins)	aged 92
ANGL	Collingwood, Cuthbert (1914 Jul 21)	(son of Florence)	aged 5 mo.
PRES	Elder, Andrew (1883, Aug 30)	(of Kirk's Ferry)	aged 49
United	Falt, Laurence Edgar (1983, Sep 15)	(husband of Pearl Brander)	71 st yr.
ANGL	Farrar, Emily Walker (1898 July 2)	(wife of George, Kingsmere)	[aged 51]
ANGL	Fitzpatrick, (James) (1888 Mar 16)	(sawyer residing in Chelsea)	[aged 60]
PRES	Fleury, Anna (1901 May 18)	(dau. of Henry & Abigail Blair)	3 mo.
WM	Fleury, Joseph (1909 Feb 7)	(of Kingsmere)	[aged 74]
WM	Fleury, Mrs. Joseph (1915 Jan 17)	(widow of Joseph, of Kingsmere)	[aged 82]
ANGL	Fleury, William Joseph (1907 Jan 9)	(farmer, accidentally killed)	aged 44
United	Fox, George (1928 Apr 14)	(of Chelsea, born in Sherbrooke QC)	aged 70

PRES	Gordon, James (1883 July 25)	(farmer, unmarried, Township of Hull)	aged 41
WM	Hill, William (1893 July 18)	(farmer, of Hull)	[aged 70]
PRES	Hudson, Diademina (1862 Oct 2)	--	In her 60 th yr.
ANGL	Kirk, Mary Anne Brooks (1879 July 3)	(wife of John , of Kirk's Ferry)	[aged 46]
PRES	Leppard, George Ernest (1869 Mar 7)	--	aged 2
WM	Leppard, Hartley Howard (1921 Dec 25)	(son of Hartley H.)	aged 4 mo.
WM	Leppard, Hartley Howard (1925 June 6)	(son of Philip & Mary Ann Bradley)	aged 42
WM	Leppard, Mary Ann Bradley (1915 Feb 20)	(widow of Philip)	[aged 73]
WM	Leppard, Philip (1909 Apr 11)	(of Old Chelsea)	In his 76 th yr.
WM	Marshall, Robert M. (1918 Jan 15)	(farmer, of West Hull)	[aged 63]
United	McAdam, Agnes Fairbairn (1934 Nov 30)	(widow of Thomas H. McAdam)	[aged 83]
WM	McAdam, Joseph Fernandis (1884 Oct 7)	(son of Thomas & Margaret of Chelsea)	3 mo.
PRES	Rankin, William (1895 Sept 19)	(widower of Eliza Stanley)	aged 73
WM	Reid, Thomas (1874 Jan 12)	(farmer, husband of Lucy)	aged 68
United	Sims, Reginald (1938 Nov 6)	(son of James & Ethel Windmill of Chelsea)	aged 6 mo.
ANGL	Stable, Ethel May (1886 Sept 10)	(dau of David & Mary Ellen)	1 yr 8 mo.
PRES	Stevenson, Catharine Kirk (1864 Nov 10)	(wife of John, of Hull Township)	[50, appr.]
PRES	Stewart, Emily (1868 Aug 6)	--	[child, under age 9]
WM	Stewart, John (1888 Feb 22)	(lumberman, husband of Emily)	aged 61
PRES	Stewart, William John (1871 July 21)	(son of John & Emily)	aged 2 mo.
PRES	Turner, Edward (1894 Sept 13)	(labourer, of Chelsea)	aged 85
ANGL	Vicars, Edward (1839 Aug 29)	(son of Arthur & Caroline of the Gatineau Falls)	aged 3 mo
WM	Wilson, Grace (1884 Aug 18)	(dau. of John & Jane, Templeton)	aged 6 mo.

Formerly in Chelsea Protestant Cemetery

- Ash, William (1881 May 5) Removed to Hall's cemetery 1906
- ANGL Burnett, Alberta Adelaide Mary Gussie Hamilton (1933 Dec 19) (Wife of Duncan) Removed to St. James cemetery 1974
- United Burnett, Joseph (1939 Aug 27) Removed to St. James cemetery 1948
- United Chamberlain (lin) Charles Watters (1932, Nov 24) Removed to St. James cemetery 1951
- United Chamberlain, Emma (1938 Dec 30) Removed to St. James cemetery 1951
- ANGL Link, Jane (1875 Sept 16). Removed to Beechwood 1907
- Link, John (1842), aged 15. Removal record to Beechwood 1907
- ANGL Link, Francis (1853 Apr 4). *Removal record to Beechwood 1907 [Monument remains in Chelsea]*
- PRES Mather, Anne Weir (1870 Apr 11). Removed to Beechwood 1906

Family documentation, buried in Chelsea Protestant Cemetery

- Falt, Melody Lynn (1940 Oct 29) (dau. of Laurence & Pearl Brander)
- Falt, Pearl (1993 Jan 8) (widow of Laurence)
- Crawley, Budge (1987 May 13) (widower of Judith)
- Crawley, Judith (1986 Sept 15) (wife of Budge)

Monuments (67) listed 102 persons (including Francis Link, above)

Also observed formerly in Chelsea Protestant Cemetery (no data: not included in tables)

- Arden/Ardis (monument noted by M Weaver, 1990) not on site in 1998
- Blair, Matthew (Monument noted by P. M. O. Evans, 1985) not on site in 1998

Additional Protestant Burials, Chelsea (Possibly Old Chelsea or Churches' Cemetery)(73)

<u>Relig rec.</u>	<u>Name and date</u>	
ANGL	Allen, Isabella Mary Beatrice Richards (1904 Nov 17)	(wife of John C., farmer) aged 27
ANGL	Allen, Marion Alice Cottrell (1901 Aug 1)	(wife of Aaron Anthony, Anglican rector Chelsea) aged 67
PRES	Ardies, Margaret Ann (1872 Dec 26)	(dau of Robert & Isabella Latimer of Township of Hull) aged 3
PRES	Ardies, Susan (1873 Jan 11)	(dau of Robert & Isabella Latimer of Township of Hull) 1 yr 9 mo
PRES	Barnes, Margaret Jane (1864 Apr 23)	-- aged 46
PRES	Bishop, Winnifred (1908 Feb 24)	(dau of Arthur Wellesley & Mary W. Shaver of Chelsea) infant
PRES	Bones, Eliza (1864 May 29)	-- aged 32
PRES	Bradley, John Nathaniel (1873 July 28)	(son of Wm & Arozina Chamberlin of Gatineau Mills) aged 8
PRES	Bradley, John (1889 Apr 2)	(of Gatineau Mills) aged 63
WM	Burrows, Henrietta (1874 Apr 26)	(dau of Henry & Caroline of Chelsea) aged 3
ANGL	Cameron, Daniel (1873 Sept 8)	(son of Duncan & Ann) --
ANGL	Cameron, Mary (1868 Sept 17)	(dau of Duncan & Ann) aged 2
WM	Campbell, Gertrude (1919 Jan 3)	(dau of David & Catherine McDonald of Gloucester) infant
WM	Campbell, John ("Cambel") (1879 Apr 28 [Int])	(died of consumption, son of John & Margaret of Chelsea, farmers) aged 17
WM	Campbell, Mariah (1878 Aug 13)	(died of consumption, dau of Robert & Elizabeth) aged 19
WM	Campbell, Robert ("Cambel") (1880 Dec 12 [Int])	(who died of consumption) aged 65
PRES	Caufield, Eliza Jane (1862 July 16)	-- aged 1 yr 6 mo
PRES	Caufield, Thomas Henry (1876 June 22)	(son of Thomas & Frances Bradley, Gatineau Mills) aged 2
ANGL	Chamberlin, Jane Doxey (1909 Sept 5)	(wife of Albert of West Hull) aged 65
ANGL	Cooper, Elizabeth Ellen Scannell (1909 May 5)	(wife of John Alexander of West Hull) aged 48
PRES	Davis, Christopher (1862 Apr 2)	-- aged 25
PRES	Dunn, Hannah C. (1898 July -)	(dau of Samuel, hotelkeeper, & Hannah Carson) aged 1 yr 1 mo 19 d
PRES	Dunn, Hannah Carson (1899 Nov 17)	(widow of Samuel) aged 42
WM	Dunn, James (1880 Aug 18)	(son of Samuel, hotelkeeper) 27 days
PRES	Dunn, John (1899 Apr 20)	(son of Samuel, hotelkeeper) aged 21
PRES	Dunn, Samuel (1899 Apr 27)	(hotelkeeper, husband of Hannah) aged 46
PRES	Ellard, James (1876 May 21)	(son of Henry, labourer of Gatineau Mills & Isabella) --
PRES	Evans, George Percival (1875 Mar 19)	(son of David & wife of Gatineau Mills) 1 mo 1 d
PRES	Farrell, Mary (1862 Oct 27)	-- aged 27
PRES	Garvin, Eliza (1870 Feb 27)	(dau of Thomas, laborer of Gatineau Mills, & Helen) aged 9
ANGL	Garvin, Gordon Alexander (1891 Feb 19)	(son of Francis, general hand, & Anne Jane McDowell of this parish) 9 mo 17 d
ANGL	Garvin, Thomas J (1901 July 24)	(son of Thomas J, died at New Edinburgh) aged 2
PRES	Gilmour, John Ure (1877 Jan 14)	(son of John, esq of Gatineau Mills & Jessie) aged 3 mo 21 d
ANGL	Hunter, John (1831 Oct 13)	(of this township) --
ANGL	Hyde, Charles (1915 Oct 3)	(son of Charles & Christiana Campbell) infant
ANGL	Ince, Helen Maria Blair (1898 May 3)	(Relict of Co. George N Ince of Kirk's Ferry) aged 62
PRES	Jamieson, Elizabeth (1869 Apr 8)	-- 2 mo
PRES	Jamieson, Thomas (1883 Apr 23)	-- aged 59
ANGL	Loozoo, Yuha (1889 Sep 27)	(of Korterjaruri, Finland, labourer) aged 20
PRES	McAdam, infant (1889 May 17)	(son of T. H. of Chelsea) aged 1 mo
PRES	McAdam, Annie Maud (1876 May 10)	(dau of Thomas H & Margaret) aged 2
WM	McAdam, David Thomas Norman (1915 Sept 5)	(son of Cecil Beresford Humes & Martha Minnie Anderson, of Chelsea) infant
WM	McAdam, Margaret (1885 Mar 7)	(wife of Thomas) aged 40
ANGL	McAdam, Thomas Humes (1908 Mar 12)	(Shoemaker of Township of West Hull) aged 59
ANGL	McAllister, Marshall Henry (1909 May 31)	(Adopted son of George & Elizabeth Draper of W Hull) aged 11

PRES	Moor, - (1885--)	(Son of Thomas, hotelkeeper in Chelsea & Margaret)	infant
PRES	Moore, Abraham Basil	(1902 Apr 22) (son of Wm Moore, hotelkeeper & Eliza Jane Pritchard)	aged 3
PRES	Moore, James Rufus	(1902 Jan 6) (hotelkeeper)	aged 29
PRES	Moore, Thomas	(1899 Feb 25) (hotelkeeper, widower of Margaret Nesbitt)	aged 65
PRES	Moore, Thomas Nelson	(1900 May 8) (son of Wm Moore, hotelkeeper, Ottawa)	aged 14 mo
PRES	Nuble, Mrs. James	(census uses "Newble") (1881 Sept 23) (keeper of Gilmour Park gate, Chelsea, wife of James)	aged 80
PRES	O'Brien, John ("O'Brian")	(1876 Mar 22) (farmer)	aged 35
ANGL	Reade, Annie Amelia	(1894 Mar 29) (dau of Wm of Gatineau Mills)	aged 1
ANGL	Reade, Philip Allan	(1897 June 25) (drowned, son of William, millwright & Annie MacBean)	aged 13
ANGL	Reade Wm	(1899 Nov 14) (Millwright)	aged 40
PRES	Reid, Elizabeth	(1882 Feb 5) (wife of Henry of Gatineau Mills)	aged 25 yr 8 mo
PRES	Reid, Freeman ("Truman")	(1875 Jan 28) (of Gatineau Mills)	aged 44 yr 8 mo
(Obit)	Reid, Lucy	(1883 Oct 15) (widow of Thomas of Kirk's Ferry)	aged 88
PRES	Reid, William Henry	(1915 June 16) (d of heart failure, farmer of Kirks Ferry)	aged 62
PRES	Reid, William	(1882 May 5) (son of Freeman, deceased & Anne)	aged 19
WM	Rice, Ernest ("Earnest")	(1885 May 4) (son of Asa & Elizabeth)	aged 2
ANGL	Rice, James Frederick	(1895 Mar 5) (son of James Thomas, sawyer, of Chelsea)	aged 3 yr 6 mo
ANGL	Rosendale, John	(1889 Sept 27) (of Tsojoki, Finland)	aged 37
PRES	Russell, Alexander	(1896 Nov 25) (son of James, jr & Sarah Perkins)	9 mo
PRES	Sleeman, Elizabeth Duncan	(1873 Apr 30) (wife of Richard, saw dresser of Gatineau Mills)	aged 29
United	Steele, Catherine Callie Nimmo	(1872 Jan 4) (dau of James & Margaret of Kensington Township)	9 yr 8 mo
PRES	Steele, Thomas	(1862 Sept 23) (--)	aged 6
WM	Trowsse, Henry William	(1914 June 28) (son of Henry Wm & Sarah McBride)	--
PRES	Turner, Alexander	(1900 Mar 9) (son of James & Marion Boyd)	aged 27
WM	Turner, Henry Thomas	(1877 Nov 9) (died of diphtheria) --	aged 3
ANGL	Wilson, Eleanor	(1868 Feb 4) (dau of James of Chelsea & Mary Anne)	aged 2 yr 9 mo
PRES	Wilson, James Mark	(1871 Apr 23) (son of James, innkeeper of Chelsea)	aged 5 mo
PRES	Wilson, Mary Ann Caufield	(1873 Oct 30) (wife of James, innkeeper of Chelsea)	aged 30 & 11 d

APPENDIX B-3

St. Stephen's Churchyard - Nineteenth Century Monuments:
Numbered by plot location as per 1979 plot listing by P. M. O. Evans & Bruce Elliott

Monument 1

Patrick Reynolds
died Nov. 10, 1884
aged 70

his wife Mary
died August 24, 1888
aged 60

Monument 3

Ellen Jane Edmonds
wife of William Lynott
died Feb 26 1885
aged 24

Monument 4

(2 twentieth-century deaths)
Julia Wallar
wife of George Edmonda
died Nov 28, 1869
in her 49th year
Native of Limerick, Ireland

Monument 5

William Sheahan
died Dec 30, 1873
aged 31 years

Monument 7

Thomas Sheahan
Drowned in the Gattineau River
Aug 3, 1865
aged 50 years
A Native of the Co. Limerick, Ireland

Monument 8

Thomas Sheehan
died Jan 29, 1874
aged 36 years

Monument 9

(1 twentieth-century death)
Henry Crilly
died Aug 15, 1887
aged 58 years

Monument 10

Patrick McCloskey
died Mar 22, 1885
aged 78 years

Monument 13

Mary McGreah
wife of John Murtaugh
died Sept 15, 1861
aged 41 years

Monument 14

Catherine Grimes
died Aug 8, 1875
aged 19 years & 4 months
Erected by brother Richard

Monument 17

Francis Bradley
died Feb. 27, 1860
aged 75 years

his wife Margaret Shields
died Mar. 8, 1876
aged 72 years

Erected by daughters Margaret & Mary

Monument 18

Margret Shields
wife of Charles Morroh
died April 18, 1872
aged 35 years

Monument 19

Michael Carroll
drowned in the Madawaska
June 15, 1877
aged 27 years

Monument 20

Nicholas Welsh
died Sept 20, 1878
aged 73 years

Monument 21

Mrs. Michael Carrol
died May 4, 1880
aged 29 years

also her son
Michael Thomas Carrol
died April 28, 1880
aged 4 years

Monument 22

Sarah Corrigan
wife of Nicholas Welsh
died Aug 30, 1899
aged 78 years

Monument 24

Thomas Padden
died March 20, 1887
aged 66 years

Monument 25

Bridget Scott
wife of Thomas Padden
died Nov. 16, 1891
aged 62 years
A Native of Callan Co. Kilkenny Ireland

Monument 26

John Grimes
1833-1882
(His wife Ellen Mulvihill)

Their daughter Catherine Mary
1875-1882

Their son Patrick Joseph
1878-1888

Monument 27

Mary C. Hendrick
died Dec. 16, 1873
aged 4 years

Patrick Hendrick
died Oct. 25, 1884
aged 4 years & 10 mos.

Monument 30

Margaret E. Dunlop
died Oct. 23, 1891
aged 21 years

Richard P. Dunlop
died May 22, 1889
aged 17 years

(Gabriel Augustine Dunlop
died Jan. 3, 1900
aged 26 years)

Erected by their father

Monument 33

Erected by Richard Bourke
for wife Bridget Smith
died Oct. 10, 1855
aged 46 years

Monument 34

Catherine Cassidy
wife of John Crilley
died March 1, 1892
aged 111 years

Monument 35

Erected by Mrs. John Crilley
for son Daniel Crilley
died Nov. 17, 1880
aged 35 years

Monument 36

John Crilley
died Sept. 11, 1866
aged 67 years

Monument 37

Anastasia Welch
wife of Patrick Murphy
died April 27, 1884
aged 76 years
Native Co. Kilkenny, Ireland

Erected by her children

Monument 38

Thomas Burke
died Nov. 16, 1899
aged 58 years

Monument 39

Patrick Farrell
died Nov. 11, 1875
aged 80 years
Native of Co. Mayo, Ireland

Erected by his son Anthony Farrell

Monument 40

Martin T. Mulvihill
July 7, 1885
aged 23 years & 10 mos.

Monument 41

Catherine Kelly
wife of Richard Mulvihill
 died Jan. 6, 1892
 aged 38 years

infant son John J. Mulvihill
 died Dec. 9, 1891
 aged 1 mo.

Monument 42

Garret Fortune
 died Oct. 22, 1884
 aged 72

Elizabeth Fortune
 died Nov 10, 1885
 aged 3 years & 6 mos.

Monument 43

Patrick Hanratty
 died July 8, 1874
 aged 54 years

his wife Sarah Lynott
 died May 20, 1897
 aged 65 years

Monument 44

(Katie O'Rourke
 died June 24, 1907
 aged 17 years)

Erected by mother Mrs. John O'Rourke

Jane Daly
 died Aug. 15, 1884
 aged 26 years

Monument 45

Erected by Thomas Dailey
 for mother Catharine Dailey
 died May 7, 1854
 aged 72 years

also Richard Dailey
 died Aug. 27, 1860
 aged 80 years

Monument 46

Mary Daly
wife of Peter O'Byrne
 died April 23, 1887
 aged 64 years

Monument 47

David Daily
son of Michael & Mary Daily
 died Nov 27, 1854
 aged 17 years

Monument 48

Margaret Berningham
wife of Charles Crilly
 died Jan. 13, 1861
 aged 72 years
 A native of Cork, Ireland

Monument 49

James Crilley
 died Dec. 1, 1858
 aged 32 years

Monument 50

Erected by William Welch
 for Catherine Slatery Welch
 died April, 1840
 aged 60 years

also her son Michael Welch
 died June 7, 1854
 aged 17 years
 Replaced by Rev. J. Joseph Welch, PP

Monument 51

Erected by Martin Welch
 for father William Welch
 died Aug. 4, 1861
 aged 57 years

and mother Margaret Crilly
 died Sept. 17, 1864
 aged 66 years
 replaced by Rev. J. Joseph Welch, PP.

Monument 52

Bridget Welch
wife of John Davy
 died June 2, 1857
 aged 36 years

Monument 53

Erected by Patrick Welch
 for son William Welch
 died April 12, 1879
 aged 17 years

Monument 54

Catherine Welsh
wife of James Barret
 died Dec. 25, 1873
 aged 30 years

Monument 55

Patrick Welsh
 died Mar. 14, 1882
 aged 72 years

Erected by son Martin Welsh

Monument 56

Erected by Patrick Welch
 for wife Ann Flanery
 died May 5, 1880
 aged 55 years

Monument 57

John Scott
 died Aug 18, 1866
 aged 64 years

Monument 59

Mary Jane Crilley
 died Oct 2, 1874
 aged 15 years & 3 mos.

Monument 60

(Michael Leahy
 born Oct. 22, 1845, died June 16, 1905)

Wife Margaret Murphy
 born Sept 2, 1863, died Mar. 22, 1886

Monument 61

M. James Hogan
 died Aug 11, 1881
 aged 10 mos
son of John & Ellen Hogan

Monument 62

Patrick Finerty
 died Nov. 13, 188-
 aged 73 years
 Native of Co. Sligo, Ireland

Monument 63

Bridget Mullen
wife of Bernard Crilly
 died Nov. 9, 1890
 aged 85 years

Monument 64

Bernard Creely
 died Aug 6, 1876
 aged 72 years

Monument 66

Mary Ann Daly
wife of George Dunlop
 died Jan. 20, 1886
 aged 39 years & 6 mos

(George Dunlop
 died Aug 22, 1925
 in his 85th year)

Robert William Dunlop
 died Sept. 11, 1884
 aged 4 years & 11 mos

Rosalinda Dunlop
 died May 10, 1887
 aged 15 years & 9 mos.

Monument 68

Elizabeth Fortune
wife of George Hitchcock
 died May 26, 1872
 aged 27 years

also Thomas Hitchcock
son of E. & G. Hitchcock
 died Nov. 5, 1867
 aged 4 years & 6 mos.

Monument 69

Jane Lecharity
 wife of Owen Daly
 died Feb. 15, 1896
 aged 75 years
 Erected by daughter Mrs. John O'Rourke

Monument 70

Erected by Austin Corrigan
 for mother Sarah Moughan
 wife of John Corrigan
 died Dec. 17, 1871
 aged 88 years

Monument 71

John Corrigan
 died Sept 12, 1856
 aged 75 years

Monument 72

John Corri (gan)
died Dec. 30, 1847
aged 32 years

Monument 74

(John McGinnis
died Aug. 27, 1900
aged 78 years)

Ellen Cassiday
died March 18, 1888
aged 75 years

Monument 75

Thomas Young
died Mar. 13, 1855
aged 52 years

Monument 76

Mary Welsh
wife of Richard Daley
died Oct. 28, 1891
aged 56 years

Monument 77

Denis Kennedy
died July 23, 1874
aged 82 years

also wife Ann Ross
died May 9, 1883
aged 84 years

Erected by daughter Eliza Kennedy

Monument 78

Michael Hendrick
died April 13, 1853
aged 65 years

wife Margaret Balfe
died March 1, 1882
aged 87 years
Erected by son Patrick

Monument 79

Catharine Sheahan
wife of Aust. B. Corrigan
died Feb. 24, 1875
aged 25 years & 10 mos.

Monument 80

Erected by John Hogan
for wife Maggie Welch
died Jan 5, 1879
aged 30 years

Monument 81

Mary Farrell
died Jan 24, 1854
aged 20 years & 6 mos.
A native of Co. Wexford, Ireland
Erected by her brother Edward

Monument 82

Edward Farrell
died April 23, 1875
aged 53 years
Erected by wife Bridget

Monument 83

Thomas Kelly
died July 16, 1882
aged 62 years

also wife Catherine Dyer
died Feb. 8, 1886
aged 57 years

Edward Kelly
died June 5, 1881
aged 45 years

Monument 84

(5 other persons in twentieth century)
Rose Ann Greenan
wife of Martin Flynn
died Dec. 13, 1893
aged 58 years

their son Martin Flynn
died March 18, 1888
aged 27 years & 9 mos.

Monument 85

Edward McDonnell
died Dec. 2, 1865
aged 34 years

wife Margaret Farrell
died April 1, 1885
aged 50 years

Monument 86

(3 twentieth century Berrigan deaths)

John Berrigan
died April 28, 1862
aged 6 years

Patrick Berrigan
died May 3, 1862
aged 2 years

Monument 87

(2 twentieth century Corrigan deaths)

Mary Rice
wife of Austin Corrigan
died May 6, 1853
aged 29 years

Monument 88

Ulick Lynott
died April 21, 1893
aged 84 years

Hannah McMannus
wife of Ulick Lynott
died Mar. 7, 1850
aged 60 years

Monument 89

Patrick McGarr, Jr
who died in New York
March 23, 1865
aged 25 years
Erected by his brother Thomas

also Hugh McGarr
died March 12, 1885
aged 43 years

Monument 91

Mary Welsh
wife of John Bradley
died Oct. 9, 1881
aged 31 years

Monument 92

Alice Delaney
third daughter of James & Mary Delaney
died Sept 6, 1881
aged 19 years & 11 mos.

Monument 93

Bernard McMannus
died March 24, 1884
aged 69 years

Erected by his wife

Monument 95

George Styles
1853-1895
(Catherine Dunlop his wife 1841-1822)

Monument 96

(7 twentieth century Scott deaths)

Michael Scott
died April 2, 1895
aged 70 years & 11 mos.
Native of the Town of Callen,
Co. Kilkenny Ireland

Monument 97

John Scott
died Oct 15, 1890
aged 21 years & 1 mo.

Monument 98

Michael Killeen
died June 27, 1865
aged 22 years
Erected by father John Killeen

Monument 99

Catherine McCleary
died Sept. 3, 1848
aged 50 years

Monument 100

Barnet Mullan
son of Charles Mullan & Bridget MacLemond
husband to Mary Hedon
died Jan 22, 1853
aged 50 years

also Bridget Mullan
daughter of Barnet Mullan & Mary Hedon
died Jan 28, 1853
aged 2 mos.

Monument 102

Jere ____
for ____eph
died S__, 1844

Monument 103

Thomas Dean
died Jan 9, 1859
aged 73 years

Monument 104

(1 twentieth century death)
Margaret Ellen Dean
died May 1, 1885
aged 3 years & 10 mo.

Monument 105

Edward Dean
died Mary 14, 1898
aged 58 years

his wife Annie Blake
died Jan. 4, 1874
aged 28 years

son Thomas Dean
died April 12, 1874
aged 3 mo.

Monument 108

Patrick John Murphy
son of J & A Murphy
born Aug 7, 1869, died Sept 16, 1869

Monument 110

(3 twentieth century deaths)
John Stapleton
died Aug 14, 1892
aged 74 years

his wife Catherine Maher
died June 28, 1898
aged 79 years

Michael Stapleton
April 5, 1861
aged 17 years

Monument 111

Cecilia Corrigan
died June 29, 1859
aged 57 years

her daughter Mary Ward
died March 7, 1860
aged 26 years
Erected by Bridget Murphy

Monument 112

Erected by his children
James Corrigan
died May 18, 1873
aged 72 years

Monument 113

(2 twentieth century deaths)
Erected by Charles Flynn
for Margaret Sheehee
died July 13, 1865
aged 37 years

son Michael H. Flynn
died Oct. 10, 1894
aged 19 years

Monument 114

James Flynn
son of Charles Flynn
died Nov. 22, 1854
aged 18 years

Erected by his father

Monument 116

Bridget Daley
wife of William Dunlap
died July 14, 1853
aged 49 years

Monument 119

James O'Neil
died June 10, 1867
aged 49 years
A native of Co. Fermanagh, Ireland

Monument 120

Miriam McNealy
died Jan. 6, 1859
aged 67 years
Erected by husband F. Lasharita

Monument 121

Francis Lasharity
died Jan. 18, 1874
aged 84 years

Monument 122

(wife died twentieth century)
John P Duscet
died July 20, 1875
aged 44 years

Erected by his beloved wife & son

Monument 124

Mary Burke
wife of Thomas Dean
died Aug 19, 1883
aged 79 years
Erected by her daughter Mary Gordon

Monument 125

(Wife & daughter died twentieth century)
William Murphy
died Aug 10, 1891
aged 57 years

Monument 125 (cont')

John Murphy
died 1896
aged 19 years

Monument 126

William Murphy
died Nov. 8, 1876
aged 74 years

Johannah Murphy
died Aug. 15, 1876
aged 71 years

Native of Co. Wexford, Ireland
Erected by their children James & William
Murphy

Monument 129

(1 twentieth century death)
Patrick Beahan, 1837-1892
Mary Beahan, 1879-1879

Monument 133

John Gillaspay
died Oct. 12, 1868
aged 47 years
A native of Co. Mayo, Ireland

Erected by Charles Flynn

Monument 134

Patrick Gillespie
died June 17, 1860
aged 37 years

his wife Catherine Coleman
died April 1, 1895
aged 69 years

Edward Gillespie
died Jan. 1, 1868
aged 16 years

Monument 135

(5 twentieth century deaths)
John O'Meara
died Mar 15, 1892
aged 57 years

Monument 137

Sarah Hogan
wife of John Capliss
died Nov. 17, 1857
aged 61 years

Monument 138

Annie Mulvihill
wife of Josiah Chamberlin
died Oct 20, 1875
aged 41 years

Monument 140

Julia Ryan
wife of J. Mulvihill
died Nov. 11, 1885
aged 84 years

John Mulvihill
died June 9, 1886
aged 85 years

Monument 141

John Murphy
died March 4, 1873

Monument 145

Michael McCloskey
died Sept. 17, 1883
aged 73 years

Monument 149

(2 twentieth century deaths)
Julia Ann Burke
wife of Martin Doyle
died Nov. 21, 1897
aged 27 years

Margret Boyd
wife of John Burke
died Feb. 15, 1887
aged 82 years

Monument 151

Harriet Marandor
wife of Alx Poirier
died May 1, 1858
aged 52 years

Monument 152

Margaret Murphy
wife of Arthur O'Neil
died Jan 10, 1880
aged 29 years

Monument 157

(Wife died in twentieth century)
Lawrence Finnerty
1830-1886

Monument 160

Erected by Mary Welsh
for husband Thaddeus Welsh
died April 13, 1884
aged 36 years

Monument 161

Matthew Walsh
died Jan 3, 1857
aged 37 years
A native of Co. Wexford, Ireland

his daughter Mary Walsh
died Jan. 8, 1857
aged 6 years

Monument 163

(1 twentieth century death)
James Gillen
died Nov. 5, 1888
aged 88 years

Monument 179

Barney Bradley
died Dec. 12, 1882
aged 40 years

Monument 187

William P. Welsh
died July 8, 1897
aged 20 years & 8 mo.

Martin Welsh
died Mar. 4, 1896
aged 51 years

Monument 188

Margaret Hennan
wife of John T. Crilly
died March 20, 1896
aged 66 years

Monument 197

Hannah Ryan
1890-1895

Monument 198

(2 twentieth century deaths)
James McCloskey
1894-1896

Monument 199

(4 twentieth century deaths)
William Henry Crilly
died Oct. 27, 1895
aged 25 years

Monument 200

(3 twentieth century deaths)
Michael Dunn
born 1825 Callan, Kilkenny
died Aug 22, 1850

Bridget Scott
born 1829 Tipperary
died Nov 18, 1891

John Dunn
born Old Chelsea
died June 17, 1896
aged 49 years

Monument 202

John O'Hare
died May 28, 1897
in his 44th year

Monument 205

(2 twentieth century deaths)
Margaret G. Cafferty
died Aug. 12, 1876
aged 11 years

Monument 208

James McMullin
died Feb. 22, 1893
aged 72 years

Monument 209

(5 twentieth century deaths)
Thomas Furrie
died Sept 12, 1892
aged 85 years

Monument 210

(1 twentieth century death)
Philip P. Hendrick
died April 7, 1897
aged 23 years

Patrick Hendrick
died Nov. 7, 1890
aged 53 years

Monument 212

Patrick Stapleton
died April 8, 1883
aged 48 years

his wife Ellen Mulrooney (no dates)

Monument 217

(1 twentieth century death)
Joseph Welsh
died May 8, 1899
aged 40 years

Mary Lillian Welch
died April 3, 1898
aged 6 years

James Joseph Welsh
died June 30, 1898
aged 2 years

James Walter Welsh
died July 23, 1899
aged 8 mos.

Monument 219

(3 twentieth century deaths)
James Young
died Nov. 27, 1899
aged 35 years & 2 mo.

Monument 220

Annie Ryan
wife of Francis Mulvihill
died May 14, 1899
aged 22 years

Monument 222

(3 twentieth century deaths)
Charlotte O'Neill
wife of William Ryan
died June 2, 1899
aged 58 years

Monument 239

(1 twentieth century death)
John Barnes
died Dec. 16, 1899
aged 82 years

Monument 245

(3 twentieth century deaths)
Joseph Farrell
son of Johannah Lasharity & Patrick
Farrell
born Dec. 13, 1866, died Jan 21, 1899

Monument 256

Michael Ryan
died Dec. 27, 1890
aged 75 years

Monument 276

Catherine Mulvihill
wife of John Gillespie
died April 24, 1893
aged 34 years

Monument 287

James Murphy
died Dec. 25, 1892
aged 47 years

Monument 292

(1 twentieth century death)
Joseph Laviolette
died Jan. 27, 1893
aged 53 years

Erected by wife and children

Monument 293

John Murphy
died Oct. 8, 1892
aged 55 years

Monument 294

Mary Crilly
wife of John Murphy
died Dec. 23, 1897
aged 72 years

Monument 295

Richard Daly
died Sept 12, 1891
aged 88

his wife Mary Byrne
died Nov. 9, 1892
aged 86 years.

Crypt monument

Rev. James Hughes
1845-1859