'Sic Finis'

17th-Century Burial Places & Spaces in Northeast North America

by

Robyn S. Lacy

A dissertation submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Archaeology

Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador

[September 2024]

Abstract

Upon the arrival of European settlers to North America, plans had to be made to deal with the dead. This dissertation focuses on early organized burial grounds from the 17th century within settlements founded by the British, Dutch, and French, in order to examine how they were established within their respective communities. Religious, socio-political, and cultural backgrounds were assessed for potential influence over the placement of their respective burial spaces to compare burial landscape development in settlements founded by different colonizing nations. Resulting data revealed similarities between burial organization within competing settlements, primarily based on their religious backgrounds, and shed light on the variety of burial practices in British settlements based on the variety of religions allowed to practice in the colonies. Within those sites, the visibility of Black peoples and Indigenous peoples was examined, both contemporaneously and contemporarily, using primary source material and archaeological evidence. Colonial burial grounds are often thought of as 'white' spaces, but were often the final resting place of enslaved and free Black or Indigenous peoples residing in the settlements, alongside the settlers. This research discusses the visibility of their graves in the colonial burial landscape, and work being done today to bring their lives and contributions into our understanding of the colonial world.

In addition, a case-study to explore the development of a burial landscape spanning 400 years of continuous settler occupation was conducted in New Perlican, Newfoundland and Labrador, working closely with the local heritage society. The surveys conducted provided insight into the development of burial grounds within a single, rural community,

and the resulting maps were created for New Perlican’s future heritage protection and development.

Acknowledgements

I would like to offer my thanks to a number of people who have helped this project come to fruition. Firstly, I'd like to thank my wonderful supervisors, Dr. Barry Gaulton and Dr. Shannon Lewis-Simpson, for their endless support, guidance, and belief in me and my work! Secondly, I'd like to thank Caitlin Galante DeAngelis for taking time from her busy schedule to sit on my comps committee and supervisory committee. Your comments were so helpful in guiding my dissertation development. I'd also like to thank my examination committee, Dr. Meghan Burchell, Dr. Katherine Cook, and Dr. Lisa Rankin, for participating in the examination process of my dissertation.

I kindly acknowledge the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC), the J.R. Smallwood Foundation, the Society for Historical Archaeology, the Newfoundland and Labrador Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO), and the Department of Archaeology and School of Graduate Studies at Memorial University.

Additionally, I'd like to extend my heartfelt thanks to all the archaeologists, historians, archivists, and community members who have aided in my research: Ted Dolan and Paul Paquette from Parks Canada at Annapolis Royal, Heather LeBlanc of Mapannapolis, Heritage New Perlican's Eileen Matthews and Joan Butler, Dale Jarvis of Heritage NL, Emily Petermann of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Kathleen Monahan of the Boston Public Library Archives, Deborah Trask for her endless work on Nova Scotia's burial grounds, Vanessa Smith of the Nova Scotia Museums, Michael Lucas, Lisa Anderson, and Charles Gehring of the New York State Museum, and Travis

Parno of St. Mary's City. Thank you all for answering my questions, taking me on tours, and helping research when the trail went cold!

A huge thank you to Bryn Tapper, PhD Candidate, for assisting with my fieldwork and creating maps of the data we collected in New Perlican. You are the GIS master, and the department would be lost without your expertise with the total station! Thank you as well to Euan Patrick-Wallace for assisting with the maps of my northeast survey sites.

The biggest thank you to my husband Ian Petty, PhD Candidate, for your endless help in the field, and for supporting my never-ending research ambitions. I couldn't have done this without your support along the way!

Thank you to my family and friends who have listened to me talk about graves for years, even if they really didn't want to hear about it! That will never stop, but thankfully this dissertation will. I'd be remiss to end this acknowledgements section without thanking the goats of New Perlican, as without their voracious appetite, we'd never had been able to record all the field stones at St. Anglican's #1 Cemetery. Finally, thank you to our cats, Sass and Giles, for keeping me company and leaving hair all over my keyboard and in my coffee. It wasn't helpful, but it was entertaining!

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandmother,

Marilyn Long

Table of Contents

1 INTRODUCTION & TERMINOLOGY 1

1.1 INTRODUCTION 1

1.2 TERMINOLOGY 11

2 THEORY AND METHODS 14

2.1 THEORETICAL APPROACHES 14

2.1.1 Landscape Theory and Burial Landscapes 15

2.1.2 Decolonization in Archaeology 18

2.1.3 Public and Community Archaeology 26

2.2 METHODOLOGY 34

3 EUROPEAN BURIAL TRADITIONS IN THE 16TH AND 17TH CENTURY 38

3.1 BURIAL PRACTICES AND ADAPTATIONS 38

3.2 BURIAL PRACTICES IN ENGLAND 40

3.2.1 Pre-Reformation Burial and Commemoration 40

3.2.2 Post-Reformation British Burial and Commemoration 48

3.3 BURIAL PRACTICES IN THE NETHERLANDS 54

3.4 BURIAL PRACTICES IN FRANCE 61

3.5 COLONIZATION OF NORTH AMERICA 67

4 SURVEY SITES FOR BURIAL LANDSCAPE ANALYSIS 71

4.1 SURVEY INTRODUCTION AND SELECTION OF SITES 71

4.1.1 British North American Settlements 76

4.1.2 Dutch North American Settlements 94

4.1.3 French North American Settlements 117

5 BURIAL ORGANIZATION IN COLONIAL SETTLEMENTS 134

5.1 Variables Used for Survey 136

5.2 Results of Site Survey 137

5.2.1 British Burial Grounds 138

5.2.2 Dutch Burial Grounds 141

5.2.3 French Burial Grounds 144

5.3 European Burial Practices in Northeastern North America 146

5.4 Comparative Analysis of Sites Surveyed 153

5.4.1 Results of Comparative Analysis 156

5.5 Discussion 161

6 COMMUNITY ARCHAEOLOGY & BURIAL LANDSCAPES: NEW PERLICAN, NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR 169

6.1 Community Value in Heritage 171

7.2.1 Benefits of Collaborative Research 174

6.2 New Perlican 177

6.2.1 Public Archaeology in New Perlican 180

6.3 Fieldwork 182

6.4 The Sites 185

6.4.1 Hefford Plantation Burial Site 185

6.4.2 St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery 187

6.4.3 Bloody Point 2 Burial Ground 192

6.4.4 Pinsent's Garden Burial Site 196

6.4.5 Jane Condon's Grave Site 198

6.4.6 St. Matthew's United Church Southside Cemetery 200

6.4.7 St. Augustine's #1 Anglican Church Cemetery 200

6.5 Results 203

7 REPRESENTATION AND VISIBILITY IN THE BURIAL GROUND 212

7.1 Town Design & Separation of Space 219

7.2 Visibility in the 17th and 18th Centuries 223

7.2.1 Black Burials in Colonial Spaces 230

7.2.2 Indigenous Burials in Colonial Spaces 239

7.3 Puritan Diaries as Documents of Death and Burial 245

7.3.1 Samuel Sewall's Diary 247

7.3.2 Joshua Hempstead's Diary 250

7.3.3 Discussion 255

8 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS 259

8.1 Discussion 259

8.2 Conclusions 278

DISSERTATION REFERENCES 283

Primary Sources 283

Secondary Sources 287

APPENDIX A – DATABASE OF BRITISH, DUTCH, AND FRENCH SITES FOR COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS 322

APPENDIX B – MAPS OF STUDY AREA SITES 325

APPENDIX C – SELECTED GRAVESTONE PHOTOS FROM NEW PERLICAN SURVEYS 342

List of Tables

Table 1: Record of Black and Indigenous death and Burial, Sewall diaries (Sewall 1973). All spelling is original to the source material and terminology that are considered slurs today have been removed, except for the first letter which was required to identify the death records of Black individuals. 218

Table 2: Record of Black and Indigenous death and burial, Hempstead diaries (Hempstead 1901). All spelling is original to the source material and terminology that are considered slurs today have been removed, except for the first letter which was required to identify the death records of Black individuals. 254

List of Figures

Figure 4.1: Overview map of all study sites (map created by Euan Patrick Wallace 2024)................................76

Figure 4.2: 1695 Miller map of Albany, redrawn 1843, with Old Dutch Church (#2) and burial ground (#5) indicated (Rodd 1843, image provided by the New York Public Library Digital Collections)...................101

Figure 4.3: Photo looking northwest at the intersection of Broadway and State St., Albany, NY. The first Dutch Reformed Church in the city was located in this intersection. (photo by author 2023)..............102

Figure 4.4: The area delineated in red indicated the Church and burial ground on the John Hill map of New Jersey, showing Bergen (Hill 1781)...108

Figure 4.5: 1695 Map of New York City, with the First Dutch burial ground (oval) and the Second Dutch burial ground (square) indicated in red (Miller 1695, from the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division)..110

Figure 4.6: A portion of the 1704 Plan of Fort Trois-Rivieres, with a blue box indicating the location of the church and graveyard (de Néré 1704, restored in the 19th Century) (Trudel 1968:202).....................128

Figure 4.7: Map of Saint Croix Island with key (Champlain 1603)..133

Figure 5.1: Pie charts showing fortified British, Dutch, and French colonial towns, and burial locations within fortified towns. The righthand chart shows four burial grounds from three towns, which were fortified, as demonstrated by the lefthand chart...166

Figure 5.2: Table showing site association with churches for British, Dutch, and French settlements. 167

Figure 5.3: Breakdown of burial grounds associated with churches, organized by religion. 167
Figure 5.4: Number of British, Dutch, and French burial grounds in the centre of towns compared to outside of the town centre. 168
Figure 5.5: Fortifications at the study sites, divided by founding nation. 168
Figure 6.1: Map of New Perlican, showing the location of the eight identified burial grounds within the community (Tapper 2021). 179
Figure 6.2: Map of Hefford Plantation and St. Matthew's UC Cemetery (Tapper 2021). 187
Figure 6.3: St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery iron fencing, photographed between 1965-1970 (used with permission of Heritage New Perlican). 189
Figure 6.4: St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery map, overview (Tapper 2021). 190
Figure 6.5: Detailed map of all surveyed grave markers in St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery (Tapper 2021). 191
Figure 6.6: Overview map of Bloody Point burial ground and surrounding features (Tapper 2021). 194
Figure 6.7: Detail map of Bloody Point, showing numbered gravestones, nearby features, and 2019 GPR grid (Tapper 2021). 195
Figure 6.8: Map showing the location of Pinsent's Garden Burial Site (Tapper 2021). 197
Figure 6.9: Map showing the location of Jane Condon's grave site (Tapper 2021). 199
Figure 6.10: Map showing only the fieldstones at St. Augustine's Cemetery #1 (Tapper 2022). 202
Figure 6.11: Overview map showing all known burial sites in New Perlican, with town centre and site periods indicated by coloured circles (Tapper 2021). 205
Figure 7.1: Scan of Boston Town Papers showing laws for the funerals of people of colour (Boston Town Papers 1723:427) 226
Figure 7.2: Excerpt from St. Paul's Anglican Church burial records, 1788, recording the death of John August, a Beothuk man St. Paul's Church 1788:48). 243

1 Introduction & Terminology

1.1 Introduction

"For Enlargement of ye South Burying Place: Voted. That the Sel:men be derected to Enlarge thee South- Burying place, for the encouragement of Such as shall build a Row of Toombs, Provided such as shall build Toombs there be enjoyed to carry [up] their Walls so as to be a Sufficient Fence." (Boston Town Records 1719:384)

Death is the universal aspect of life. Without an end, there would be no life, only being; an end helps us treasure our time on this earth. Every culture around the world has its own rituals, traditions, and understandings of human mortality and how the dead should be treated, all of which allows us an insight into how they see and experience the world around them. In North America, the first burial traditions and burial landscapes predate the arrival of European settlers by thousands of years, connecting the Indigenous peoples to the lands of their ancestors. When Europeans arrived to establish permanent settlements on these native lands in the 17th century, they created their own burial landscapes, melding together traditions they carried with them from Europe with new practices developed in their new homes. When one pictures a 17th-century colonial burial space in northeast North America, a centrally located stone or brick church quickly comes to mind, surrounded by gravestones with grinning skulls, winged hourglasses, and tiny coffins carved into their surfaces. While some of this imagery is universal across European settler groups, the location of the church and burial space in the centre of a quaint town is not.

The way people bury their dead says a lot about how they live their lives. Through the study of burial grounds and their wider landscapes, looking beyond the burial ground we are able to gain a fuller understanding of a community and how the dead were given space within those communities. Today, we see cemeteries on the edges of, or outside of, towns completely, tucked up into the hills or off a path not well travelled, to remove the idea of human mortality from our day-to-day lives. However, 400 years ago this was not the case, and burial spaces could be found in the centre of towns, on its outskirts, or just outside the walls of fortified towns throughout many parts of northeastern North America. In societies that were often guided by their religious convictions just as much as their political leaders, North American settlers decided on the organization of their towns, including where to put their places of worship and burial. The location of burial grounds demonstrates how connected a community was to that aspect of the human life, how death care was interwoven with their daily tasks, and how remembrance played a role in their lives. This is true not only for European settlers, but for people of colour who lived in colonial communities as well. Race and discrimination played a major role in the visibility of Black graves and Indigenous graves, often resulting in graves pushed to the margins of established burial grounds or banned altogether, forcing minority communities to seek alternative burial space outside a community.

Through this research, I will speak to trends and traditions at play in colonial burial grounds founded by British, Dutch, and French settlers in northeast North America during the 17th century. These outcomes will provide better understanding of how colonial settlements saw and dealt with their dead through a blend of existing and new practices, as they established themselves in North American soil. The representation and

visibility of people of colour within these settlements is also discussed, to shed light on an understudied aspect of the 17th-century burial landscape and open a conversation on identity in burial spaces during the colonial period.

In the earliest years of the 17th century, when the British were sailing to Jamestown, Virginia, the French to Montreal, Quebec, and the Dutch establishing themselves in the Hudson River Valley, settlers were bringing new ideas about how to create community and thrive. Europe was still experiencing the aftermath of the Protestant Reformation and the disruption of power within the Catholic Church, and with that came differing ideas about how to treat the dead, many of which transferred into the North American colonies in the northeast. The newly formed Netherlands established the Dutch Reformed Church, removing all Catholic power within their country as they were "officially and legally disestablished" (Kooi 2009:300). The Dutch Reformed Church (de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk) was founded in 1571, primarily shaped by the beliefs of John Calvin and other reformers (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:10). With this change came radical alterations to church doctrine surrounding death, including the removal of the concept of purgatory, and thus removing Catholic preparations for the afterlife such as intersessions, or prayers for the dead. These changes were seen in Britain as well, as the Catholic Church was removed in favour of the new Church of England. Changes to the major state religion meant changes to how people lived their lives, prepared for death, and were buried. In France, the reformers did not gain the foothold they did in the Netherlands or Britain, and the Catholic Church remained in power.

Through this religious upheaval of the late 16th to early 17th century, colonizing nations transmitted both their entrenched ideals and new perspectives to North America

with their settlers. Dutch-founded settlements were required to practice the doctrine of the Dutch Reformed Church, apart from some groups of Jewish settlers, and French settlements were all French Catholic. On the other hand, religious freedom was allowed in British colonial settlements in the same region, although it was not the same story on their home soil, resulting in a variety of Christian religious groups, both main and dissenting, represented in British colonies along the northeastern seaboard. It should be noted that these religious freedoms were primarily for Christian groups.

With all these competing religious groups at play in the creation of the northeast North American burial landscape, it should be clear that there was more variety than simply a central churchyard surrounded by graves, repeated in every colonial settlement. Beyond religion, socio-economic, political and military factors contributed to how a settlement was organized, and how the burials of the settlers were laid out within the bounds of each new place. Burials from the early 17th century are often understudied in North America, due to little to no surface evidence to observe, and very few 17th-century burial grounds having been fully excavated by archaeologists. Much of what we can learn about burials during this period comes from primary source material, documentation of the sites from the 19th century, and ongoing research at the sites. For example, while writing this dissertation, information about the burial landscape at St. Mary's City, MD, was updated several times due to recent findings from their 2022 and 2023 field seasons. With every piece of data uncovered, we are able to learn more about how a community treated its dead, what traditions they held on to from Europe and what was created anew in North America, and even how they felt about mortality overall.

This project has three main goals: 1) conduct a spatial analysis of 17th-century colonial British, Dutch, and French settlements and burial landscapes in northeast North America through maps and archival data; 2) examine the development of a burial landscape in a British settlement in Newfoundland and Labrador over 400 years of settler occupation, using New Perlican as a case study; and 3) determine the visibility of Black and Indigenous peoples within said colonial burial landscapes;

1) The first goal was to examine the relationship between burial grounds and their associated settlements in terms of organization and placement within the settlement. Ten settlements established by the British, Dutch, and French during the 17th century (30 in total) were used for this study. Only organized community burial grounds were utilized, and family plots of errant burials were not considered. These sites were compared via statistical analysis to examine frequency of organizational choices with regards to where a burial ground was established in relation to community living spaces. The data were then compared across founding nations, to look at how British burial landscapes were established compared to the Dutch or French. The study expands upon research carried out during my Master of Arts degree, which examined only British settlements and burial grounds (2017; 2020).

2) The second goal of this project was to investigate the development of a burial landscape within a single community established by settlers in the 17th century with continuous occupation through present-day. The case study settlement of New Perlican, Newfoundland and Labrador, has seen permanent occupation by British

settlers since the late 17th century. Through studying their burial ground development within the community, we can see how the wider trends of death and burial are reflected within a rural Newfoundland context.

3) The third goal was to examine how Black and Indigenous people were represented in colonial burial grounds, that is, burial grounds established by settlers in northeast North America. People of colour made up a larger portion of the population than is typically known and therefore more of the burial grounds in the 17th and 18th centuries contained their graves than is often discussed. The purpose of this research was to initiate further discussions about the historical whitewashing of colonial burial spaces in the northeast and speak to how people of colour were present within these spaces, regardless of whether tangible markers are visible or not.

These three integrated studies stem from the same topic, that of burial landscape development in colonial settlements in northeastern North America. We move from a wide lens, examining sites between Virginia and Newfoundland, to a focused case study on one community, and finally to a more detailed look at specific groups of people, Black and Indigenous, and how they were able to access and use these same sites. Tied together by common themes of landscape and burial tradition in everyday life, this research expands our understanding of burial practices and settlement organization during the 17th and early 18th centuries.

This dissertation has been divided into eight chapters. Chapter one introduces the main themes of the research project and also discusses different nomenclature used within

the field of mortuary archaeology, in terms of technical accuracy and vernacular usage. These parameters are important to discuss, as there are many contradictory definitions for words used in burial spaces. The outlines of the chapters are also presented to provide a summary of the research.

Chapter two discusses the theoretical and methodological approaches used. Contemporary discussions on landscape theory, and, more specifically, burial landscape theory, are included. Burial landscapes are the primary theoretical focus, through which we discuss how people engage in specific tasks afforded by that space (Ingold 2000; Cook 2001:5). The important topic of settler colonialism is also included, reiterating that settler colonialism has used archaeology as both a product and tool, and that it is alive and well in Canada. Settler colonialism and decolonization in archaeology is something that archaeologists need to be aware of and work towards removing from their research through indigenization and is discussed in section 2.1.2. Chapter two also includes the theories of public and community archaeologies. Mortuary archaeology presents significant challenges when engaging with the public but is also a field which the public is immensely interested in, drawing between the living communities and their ancestors. Interpretation of these themes is explored throughout the chapter. Finally, the methodology of the project details data collection in archives to fieldwork and data processing. Archival documents from several archives in Boston, MA, and Halifax, NS were examined in person, as well as numerous digital records and maps, as part of the primary source research. Additionally, site visits took place in New England, New York, and Nova Scotia. Fieldwork was carried out in New Perlican using a total station theodolite, and data collected was compiled using ArcGIS for analysis.

Chapter three examines the European burial traditions of the 16th and 17th centuries, which contributed directly to the development of burial grounds in northeast North American colonies. Pre-Reformation burial practices are discussed in the three colonizing nations focused on throughout this research (Britain, the Netherlands, and France) as well as the impacts of the Reformation and religious upheaval to the funeral and burial traditions in those countries. This discussion sets the scene for North America, with changing ideas and philosophies travelling west across the Atlantic to the colonial northeast. This chapter acknowledges the ongoing impact of settler colonialism on Indigenous peoples in the northeast, and names the nations that have traditional territories where the study sites are located today.

Chapter four is an examination of the 30 settlements included within the comparative analysis. A summary of the colonization movement for each country is outlined before diving into the individual settlements and burial grounds. In total, there were 10 British settlements with 18 burial grounds, 10 Dutch settlements with 15 burial grounds, and 10 French settlements with 12 burial grounds. A history of the development of the burial space is described for each, as well as its location within the community as a whole, and how it related to religious buildings, living spaces, and defensive structures. These data are also provided in Appendix A. Religious affiliations or municipal ownership for each site are also discussed in this chapter.

In Chapter five, the burial grounds and their landscapes within communities are analysed. In depth assessment of religious affiliations' impact on burial grounds is discussed, with special attention paid to the plethora of religious factions represented in the British colonies during the 17th into the 18th centuries. Details of the graves including

coffin and shroud use is also included in this chapter, although there is an overall lack of data for the early 17th century in this regard due to the lack of known and/or excavated early 17th-century burial grounds in the northeast. Chapter 5 also introduces the statistical analysis of the data collected on the spatial organization of burial grounds, in order to compare sites to one another and British/Dutch/French traditions against one another for similar trends and to identify differences.

Chapter six outlines the case study of the burial landscape of New Perlican, located on the east shore of Trinity Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador. This case study examines seven historic burial grounds within the community, to illustrate the development of the burial landscape within a rural community which has had permanent European settlers since the late 17th century. An expansion on the site analysis discussed in Chapter five, this case study focuses on a single settlement, exploring how their burial grounds evolved and changed from the landscape of the 17th century to present. The study included fieldwork to record the sites using a total station theodolite and provide accurate maps to the local heritage society for their records, to protect the heritage of these places amidst future development. This aspect of the project included a community archaeology component, wherein community members were invited to join me during the surveying, to contribute to informal interviews about the history of the sites. The final results of the study were presented to the community in May 2023, with an excellent turnout and many questions from residents of New Perlican and surrounding towns.

Chapter seven opens a discussion of the presence and visibility of people of colour in colonial burial grounds. This chapter seeks to start a dialogue on how Black people and Indigenous peoples, often only discussed in the context of slavery in the 17th century,

were a large part of the population of these settlements, both free and enslaved, and as a result were also present in the burial grounds. The research examines sites included in the comparative analysis as well as other nearby settlements, to expand on the discussion of where these sites were, and who was able to use them. Town design and the segregation of Black graves within colonial burial spaces is discussed, using examples of burial laws put in place in the City of Boston in the early 18th century to speak to imposed and 'legal' removal of visibility of Black burials. Several sites are discussed in terms of visibility on the landscape, both in the 17th century and the 21st century, through primary source documents and archaeological reports. This chapter also delves into two diaries written in the late 17th-early 18th century in New England, to explore how people at the time were documenting funerals and burials in their communities, and whether they recorded the burials of their Black or Indigenous neighbours, and in what way. This analysis speaks to views during the period and from the perspective of the authors, and offers insight into how settlers saw people of colour who lived and worked alongside them.

Finally, Chapter eight provides an overall discussion of the project, how the themes of the project integrated together, and what it revealed about colonial burial practices in British, Dutch, and French settlements in the 17th and early 18th century. Future directions and questions that additional research could address are included, as well as a summary of the results collected.

1.2 Terminology

For the purposes of this research, I will be using *burial ground* as an overarching term to refer to multiple types of places of burial. Modern-day vernacular sees *burial/burying ground, cemetery* and *graveyard* used interchangeably but, to use consistent language throughout the dissertation, I will outline the meaning of those terms here.

Today, *cemetery* has become the catch-all term used to describe all types of burial sites from a variety of cultures. Historically, however, *cemetery* had a more specific meaning. A *cemetery* refers to an organized burial space that was typically not directly associated with a church, although they can be managed by the church. Cemeteries are non-denominational spaces, often municipally owned and operated, offering burial options for anyone in the community. It refers to the 'rural garden cemetery', a highly planned and designed burial space located on the outskirts of a town, with beautiful monuments, offering visitors a place to mourn but also to walk, enjoy nature, and even picnic. The term cemetery was not used during the 17th century and therefore it would be inaccurate to describe sites from this period as cemeteries. The first rural garden cemetery did not appear in North America until 1831, with the opening of the famous Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts, which began the rural cemetery movement on the continent (Curl 2001:69-72; Baugher and Veit 2014:125-133).

Burial ground or *burying ground* is an overarching term that can be used to describe multiple kinds of burial places, both denominational and non-denominational. These sites are organized within a community, rather than scattered family plots on

private property that are not open to other community members. In colonial North America, the term *burial/burying ground* was primarily utilized by dissenter groups such as Puritans and Quakers to denote their burial spaces which are not consecrated land and were not directly associated with the church, in order to denote the non-religious nature of these spaces (Hopkins 2014:15-17). While unable to create their own burial spaces in the British Isles, dissenter groups took full advantage of the religious freedom availed to them in the colonies and staged deliberate acts of protest against the Church of England through their use of meeting houses and unconsecrated burials. *Burial/Burying ground* has specific meaning for some sites in North America, but can also be used as a general catch-all term for organized burials.

The term *graveyard* denotes a burial site directly associated with a church. This often means that it is physically connected to the church structure itself, surrounding the building in a stereotypical image of leering gravestones tilting like loose teeth in an uneven lawn, often surrounded by a fence or low wall. The graveyard, or churchyard, does not have to be physically beside or surrounded the church, but is typically close to a religious structure and is consecrated ground. Burials in a graveyard are typically reserved for that church's congregation or surrounding parish community and are often bounded by the denomination of the church. The term means a sacred space and burial practices would be carefully governed by the church.

While grave markers are not the primary focus of this research, it would be remiss not to mention the associated terminology. *Grave marker* is a term used to refer to multiple types of markers, as it does not distinguish a material or specific style of monument. This could include large stone obelisks to wood crosses and anything in

between. *Gravestone* is used when referring to a stereotypical grave marker, made of thin stone and standing at the head of a grave, inscribed or not. I tend not to use *monument* or *memorial* when describing historic grave markers, as they imply a larger construction on the grave site, often something more complex than one piece of stone. Finally, *field stones* indicate a small, grave marker made of local stone often collected through field clearing, hence '*field stone'.* They are locally sourced and typically uninscribed and may or may not show evidence of tool marks to shape the marker into a more traditional gravestone shape. They are often at risk of loss due to volunteers at burial sites not knowing that these small stones, often only centimetres high, mark graves in the same way as a more detailed gravestone.

In order to remove the risk of grouping the experiences of people of colour together, who experienced colonialism in many different ways, I will be discussing Black people and their burials separately from Indigenous people and their burials. Without exhumation to study human remains, there is no way to be one hundred percent sure of the cultural or ethnic background of these individuals, but through primary source documentation and limited archaeological excavation records, we can better understand the burials without disturbing them. This project does not seek to disrupt the burials in the name of scientific research.

2 Theory and Methods

2.1 Theoretical Approaches

As the majority of the research dealt with the development of spatiality within a community and its surrounding geographical location when compared to other communities and colonial nations, a landscape approach lends itself well to the study of colonial settlements, burial landscapes and archaeological survey. The principles of taskscape theory are also represented throughout the analyses of burial landscapes, as the primary goal of the project was to assess the development of colonial burial grounds in the northeast. Taskscapes connect with the development of burial landscapes by allowing us to better understand how people were moving around and using the space, through the different activities that make up a burial ground as an active component in the community. Settler colonialism is also at play throughout the project, as well as everything we do in North America as settlers on Indigenous lands. With regards to this research, settler colonialism is considered a theoretical approach and lens through which to look at the research sites, as a system of power that affects the development of each site, and the people who were buried there. Additionally, public and community archaeological theory was applied to this project, as this approach is integral for any research project involving a community group and/or members of the public. It is best practice to collaborate with communities and members of the public and ensure research dissemination and transparency throughout.

2.1.1 Landscape Theory and Burial Landscapes

The concept of landscape is created by people and their interactions with the natural world and location they inhabit. This is opposed to environment, which is an aspect of nature and would be there regardless of human interaction Bain (2010:1). A landscape fulfills the human need for survival, entertainment, and enjoyment. In short, a landscape can be thought of as constructed through culture while an environment is not. Landscape theory lends itself well to the analysis of burial landscapes, as highly manufactured aspects of a community, built to display peoples' connection with their society, faith, politics, art, and economic standing, among other factors. "To know the landscape is to know and control the access to that knowledge or to those experiences" (Smith 2008:15). A burial landscape, specifically the kind examined in this research, is a designated space within or near a community, and which forms an essential element of that community's broader landscape. A burial landscape is also a landscape unto itself. It has meaning to those who used it, lived near it, and died near it, and continues to carry that meaning today, adding to peoples' sense of place and connection to their community (Smith 2008:16).

A burial ground delineates the dead from the living. While in some cases, such as rural Ontario, the dead were sometimes interred within the basement or cellar of one's home, communities typically established a delineated space to bury their deceased loved ones (Lacy 2019a). The burial ground, which can be thought of as a kind of liminal space, allowed the dead to remain nearby, often as a deliberate reminder to the living of their own mortality, while carefully showing settlers where the dead were allowed to rest compared to the living. This division of space within a community — the segmentation of

the landscape — is paramount in understanding the organization of burial grounds. Were the spaces for the dead chosen deliberately? Were there preconceived notions regarding suitable areas within a community, and what factors were at play that would affect its placement? Some of these questions may be impossible to answer regarding sites established nearly 400 years prior; however, through archaeological survey and the study of written records, we will gain a more holistic understanding of these choices and how they impacted the development of the burial landscape for centuries to come.

The concept of the burial landscape within landscape or mortuary archaeologies is not new and has been explored through many lenses (Rugg 2013; Baugher and Veit 2014; Lacy 2017; Lacy 2020; and others). While we see numerous academic publications relating to mechanics and traditions of death and dying (the journal *Mortality,* for example), it is often not a topic that the general public regularly experiences or discusses. In the 21st century in countries like Canada there is a disconnect between the dead and the process of burial, but such was not the case in the 17th century, as visitations were held within the home, with the body prepared for burial by members of the family rather than taken away and prepared at a funeral home. In the 17th century, burial grounds were a space to bury the dead, but they were also central part of the community, whether physically or through activities which took place there. By striving to better understand the development of burial landscapes, we can better understand the people who created them.

In his 1993 article, Tim Ingold proposes that a landscape is something that is only experienced by an individual in the instance that they are there (Ingold 1993:152). He further suggests that a landscape is not something one can recreate through archaeology

or history; we can make our best approximation of what a past landscape may have been like, but we will never truly experience how it *was* for an ancient people because it is gone from this world. This idea, when considering burial landscapes in historic settlements, suggests that even with restoration of a site and knowledge of the surrounding buildings and thoroughfares, we in the 21st century (at time of writing) will never experience that burial landscape as did the people who used it during the 17th century. By extension, we will never fully understand how people in the 19th century saw it, or even how our colleagues experience it today, because landscape from Ingold's perspective is an individual experience and something that cannot be replicated.

Ingold expresses the association between the temporality of a space and the landscape through the term 'taskscape' which is defined as "any practical operation, carried out by a skilled agent in an environment, as part of his or her normal business of life" (Ingold 1993:158; see also Gruppuso and Whitehouse 2020). Tasks, as activities that are not static or existing in a vacuum, contribute to the experience of a landscape for individuals and societies, which intermingle and co-exist across a community and the wider environment. When considering a burial ground, we must avoid thoughts of it being a sterile space, austere and silent as the grave, and consider the activities or 'tasks' that go into making that space an active participant in community. These tasks could be fleeting, only occurring once and witnessed by few, but they still make up an integral part of the landscape for those who experienced it.

One of the most noted impacts on how archaeologists interact with burial landscapes was presented by Ingold in 2000, where he suggested that "people engage in specific activities related to the experience that the space affords" (Ingold 2000:192;

Cook 2001:5). When in a burial ground, people are typically undertaking activities specifically prescribed to that space, walking and observing, attending a funeral, visiting a loved one's grave, etc. If one worked at the burial ground, these activities would expand to maintenance and preparation of the site. In older sites in some areas, nefarious individuals known as 'resurrection men' would visit at night to remove burials for the purpose of selling the corpses to medical schools, adding yet another experience to the burial landscape (Lennox 2016). These are the specific activities that the space affords.

While intwined with the community through a variety of activities and experiences, the burial ground can also be thought of as a liminal space, one between the living and the dead, which is used by both. In order to understand this socially complex space and its place in the community, one has to explore the social and political backgrounds of the people who created it, and the contexts under which the burial ground was developed (Anschuetz et al. 2001; Rugg 2013:216; Lacy 2017:40). For this research, I am examining sites from a British background (Anglican/Catholic/Quaker/Puritan), Dutch background (Dutch Reformed Church), and French background (French Catholic), to speak to the development of burial landscapes across these colonial nations in northeastern North America.

2.1.2 Decolonization in Archaeology

To begin this discussion, I would like to acknowledge my positionality as a white settler, a woman, and an archaeologist who has been trained in modern archaeology which benefits from settler colonialism. In addition, contemporary archaeology was built

on the work of European antiquarians, who frequently used their power and privilege to access sites and take what they found interesting, including human remains, regardless of the wishes of local populations (e.g. Redman 2016; Hicks 2020). It is important to consider where the field evolved from, when moving forward with decolonizing the practice. While the sites I study are considered ‘colonial’, they contain the remains of Black and Indigenous people, not just European, and will benefit from decolonized and Indigenized archaeological approaches. My research works towards centering the importance of understanding and amplifying the voices of Black people and Indigenous people in the 17th century or today.

Archaeology is a product and tool of settler colonialism (Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020; Schneider and Hayes 2020; Montgomery 2022). Montgomery describes settler colonialism as “a political and economic system that uses coordinated actions across state-level agencies to conquer, expropriate, and occupy Indigenous lands…the primary natural resource under contestation is land rather than labor” (Sturn 2017:342; Montgomery 2022:476). She writes that there are four main principles to settler colonialism: that it is defined as a structure rather than an event, it requires the possession of Indigenous lands, that it is defined by a “triadic relationship between settler, Indigenous, and chattel slave”, and finally that ongoing cultural productions remain complicit with continued settling of these lands (Row and Tuck 2017:6; Montgomery 2022:477). Confronting the impact and use of settler colonialism in modern archaeology is the first step in working towards an archaeology that can equally utilize Indigenous traditional knowledge and ‘western’ science.

Historical archaeology is notoriously focused on the white settler, although that practice is beginning to change, as work in being done to recentre our understanding of the past and the numerous peoples that helped shape it. With this research, I hope to open a conversation about the multi-cultural spaces that were the burial grounds of the colonial northeast, shifting our focus away from the Europeans to the other populations that made up their communities. While these sites were created directly through settler colonialism, they became important parts of a settlement for all who lived there, and in order to fully understand how burial practices grew and evolved in the 17th century, it is vital to understand all aspects of how the space was potentially used for its residents.

The system of settler colonialism is alive and well in Canada today, relying on heteropatriarchal models and "peacemaker myths" to control the social narrative and direction of the state, its institutions, and to claim steps towards reconciliation between settlers and Indigenous peoples, while simultaneously silencing the experiences of Black people and people of colour in the country (Regan 2010:84; Dhillon 2017; Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020:5). These myths recount that European settlers brought peace, good government, and 'Western' education, "hallmarks of the colonial project of civilizing 'savages'" and that without their arrival, the Indigenous peoples would never have progressed, and therefore should be grateful (Regan 2010:83-84). Many sub-fields of archaeology claim the scientific approach, recounting what we learn as fact (even when much of archaeology involves speculation) when it comes to understanding many groups such as Indigenous peoples. By stepping in as the knowledge holder, archaeology further separates Indigenous people from their cultural and ancestral history by interpreting their past for them, and often failing to share those results or work directly with the

communities (Kelvin and Hodgetts 2020:5). We can see archaeology changing today, decentring from the white, Euro-centric, heteronormative narratives that it has leaned on for decades, but there is still much to be done to decolonize the field, and work to integrate Indigenization into how we learn. We do not seek to turn 'decolonization' into a metaphor, "a problematic attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity", but rather to fundamentally change the way archaeology is approached (Tuck and Yang 2012:1).

In most modern archaeological work, there is only "one value system and standard used – one that views Western science, theories, and methods as the standard and goal with the aim of producing knowledge truths" (Atalay 2006:3-4). This system is one that values knowledge but only knowledge collected through its own rigorous processes and often does not consider the value of other kinds of knowledge, Indigenous knowledge included. However, through settler colonialism the "Indigenous view is consistently portrayed as one of obstruction and defiance" (Schneider and Hayes 2020:139). The idea of repatriation of objects and remains from museums around the world is typically framed in public discourse as a 'loss', but it was through systems of colonial oppression that these remains were obtained in the first place, and so they must be returned to their people. At the time of writing, an ongoing exposé by The Washington Post is reporting on the Smithsonian's collection of human remains, consisting of brains and other parts of the bodies of people of colour, collected without consent (Dungca et al 2023). These collections are now being exposed, but the repatriation is slow and difficult, with many institutions showing reluctance to relinquish 'their' collection.

Historic sites and their conservation are often the topic of discussion when choosing what to save and preserve, and what to make accessible to the public to tell the

history of a place. Settlers are very interested in marking sites that show the 'first' of something: the first house in a settlement, the first point of landing on a continent, the first city in a state or province. This obsession is a form of settler colonialism, focusing attention on the legitimacy of the settlers in a place. This view can be extended to cemeteries as well: I am examining the 'first' people to be buried in a settlement in this research, a fact that historical settler groups always focus on when examining these sites. Tracy Ireland writes about the process of urban history consciously curating heritage to create an aesthetic and often romantic memory of the past (2015:106). She explained that "archaeological conservation in situ is not a neutral act but a process that monumentalizes these materials, creating cultural and economic values and shaping practices of place by imprinting particular memories and narratives. In situ conservation is a form of historicity, a way of visibly representing the past, its potential for recovery, and its relationship to the present" (Ireland 2015:112). When a visitor to a historic site sees the memorialization of a settler building, but no information or interpretation available for the Indigenous people who were there already, or the people of colour who resided alongside the settlers, the narrative is being driven in a way that reflects settler colonialism only. "…visibility is not only an effect of power but also its condition of possibility" (Gordon 2002:132).

We see this visibility through the conservation of settler sites across North America. It is present in urban archaeology and architecture, such as the Boston Freedom Trail which highlights only colonial sites throughout the city (Freedom Trail Foundation 2023). Until very recently, the field of historical archaeology has all but glossed over the multi-ethnic nature of many of these sites, choosing only to focus on one interpretation,

allowing that narrative to become the dominant one we see today (Lightfoot 1995). Funding for historic burial preservation also proportionately increases visibility. The burial grounds of white settlers are often revered as sacred spaces, while Black burial grounds or Indigenous sites are pushed to the side and not afforded the same levels of protection or funding for their care. In many cases, we don't even know when people of colour are buried in a colonial burial site, and their graves aren't cared for by descendent populations in the same way. In British Columbia, for example, the grave sites of Chinese miners in the Kootenays and Fraser Valley are subjected not to protection, but to looting by people with metal detectors, not viewing their graves as important as those in settler burial grounds (Lacy 2019b). Visibility on the contemporary landscape for archaeological sites, is a privilege, one that is historically given to settlers.

Throughout the history of archaeology in North America, researchers have exploited the bodies of Black and Indigenous individuals in the name of research. Archaeology as a field has contributed greatly to the colonial harm inflicted on Indigenous groups and Black communities, especially with regards to mortuary archaeology and the study of human remains. Scholars historically paid very little attention to any descendent communities until the passing of NAGPRA (North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act) in 1990, and then with some reluctance (Baugher and Veit 2014:6). Although today we have a much stricter set of ethics about the exhumation and study of human remains — out of respect for the dead and their descendent communities, many of whom are living in the same spaces as their ancestors were — there are still ethical issues with the study of human remains. Unless necessary, most archaeologists no longer exhume human burials. Some scholars mourn the loss of

the ability to study remains (e.g., Arnold and Jeske 2014 among others), but regulations benefit Indigenous groups whose remains were taken through acts of colonialism. NAGPRA did not include a provision for the remains of enslaved persons, resulting in the loss of many burials and of communities' ties to their ancestors (Sayer 2010:71). While Canada does not have a NAGPRA equivalent, in 2019 the country enacted the 'Impact Assessment Act' to help "reinforce government commitments to Canada's First Nations by mandating project planners to consider Indigenous traditional knowledge alongside Western science" (Schneider and Hayes 2020:140). In 2021, the 'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act' (UNDRIPA) came into effect in Canada, requiring the Government of Canada to address and combat the systemic violence and discrimination against Indigenous peoples in Canada, and promote understanding through human rights education, which would include archaeology as a field through ongoing consultation before and during projects (Government of Canada n.d.). Parks Canada, the national organization that covers archaeology and heritage across the country, is working to advance reconciliation through direct actions, outlined in their document 'Mapping Change: Fostering a Culture of Reconciliation within Parks Canada' (Parks Canada 2022). Today, we strive to be transparent in archaeology, knowing community engagement goes hand in hand with any project that might deal with human remains, and involvement of the descendent communities is not only encouraged, but vital.

Settler burial grounds are, at their very core, an expression of settler permanence upon the landscape they inhabited when first arriving in North America. While a burial space may be thought of as liminal in that it is used by the living and dead, acting for both

and neither, it is also a physical placement of human remains into an environment. In some parts of Europe, as discussed in detail in Chapter 3, burials were not always thought of as permanent in the same way they are in much of North America today, with graves being dug up and emptied after a decade or two of decay to make room for more remains. In North America, however, the land seemed endless, and the necessity of having a measured time resting underground before cremation or placement in an ossuary was removed. As a result, we are left with graves of settlers dating back to the 16th century dotting the northeast, a very real mark of settler colonialism.

To place a body into the ground means to exercise ownership over that land, even if subconsciously, a grave showing that 'we were here', a place not to be disturbed again. They are the direct product of past societal norms from Europe and of colonialism on the North American landscape, and settler burial grounds are typically afforded more protections and allowances than Indigenous burials in the same states or provinces today. The Kanesatake Resistance, also known as the Oka Crisis, is a prime example of this, where the expansion of a golf course in Quebec was proposed for disputed land which included a Kanyen'kehà:ka burial ground (de Bruin 2013). Due to the band's land claims being previously rejected, they were not consulted on the expansion plan, and protests to protect the burials and Indigenous territory began. Had this been a settler burial ground, the expansion would not have been planned there in the first place. There are endless examples of this in cultural resource management archaeology (CRM), although things are slowly changing.

The sites examined in this research are all founded by settlers, imposing themselves and taking ownership of lands that were not theirs, marking it with buildings,

roads, and dead bodies. The burial grounds, while considered sacred spaces which should be observed as such, even today, are claimed by settler descendent communities to show their ancestors had been in a city for centuries, while not affording the same claims by Indigenous peoples over their own territories. It is vital to remember this, when considering the history and archaeology of these sites.

2.1.3 Public and Community Archaeology

As archaeologists we study past communities, religions, travel, and culture, influenced by the lens of the world we exist in today. Employing the tenets of public archaeology, we communicate with the public in a manner that facilitates learning and understanding by both parties. While public archaeology is a label often applied to any attempt at public engagement, the sub-discipline itself is both a "disciplinary practice and a theoretical position, which can be exercised through the democratization of archaeological communication" (Richardson and Almansa-Sánchez 2015:194). Public archaeology is not a new concept, although it emerged as a sub-discipline late in the development of archaeology as it presently exists, recognized by the 1970s though not a commonly used phrase or practice until the 1990s – 2000s (Gould 2016:5; Sayer and Sayer 2016:144).

There have been pushes to develop a specific approach to public or community archaeology, (i.e.: Atalay 2012; Gould 2016), but there is currently no singularly accepted framework within the discipline for working with communities and the public. As Rankin and Gaulton (2021:4) write, community and public archaeology should be based in

building relationships “of collaboration between archaeologists and stakeholder populations” to “democratize knowledge by sharing archaeological results with communities who have been disenfranchised from their own pasts” (Atalay 2012:3-4). This is an especially significant framework for contemporary archaeological practice in North America, where Indigenous populations and their burial places have long been exploited by archaeologists and historians for their cultural histories and human remains in the name of ‘science’.

Gemma Tully stated that “community archaeology seeks to diversify the voices involved in interpretation of the past”, a step towards decolonizing a field which is imbued with colonial practices (2007:155). She indicates that a vital piece of community archaeology is identifying the source community that the project would be working alongside, as well as ensuring collaboration at all stages of the project and training of local people in all aspects of the project, a process identified by Mickel as being extremely desirable to locals who were/are involved in projects (Tully 2007:162; Mickel 2021). Emma Waterton indicates that in community archaeology we need to conduct our research *for* a community, *about* them, and to research *with* a community (2015:59). By engaging with stakeholders, or *rightsholders*[1], for example a community group whose cultural history is tied to the archaeology being proposed, archaeologists can begin to build meaningful connections and understanding with a community towards what kind of

[1] A ‘stakeholder’ is an individual or group that benefits from a use of resources, and often holds legal rights to make choices, while a ‘rightsholder’ is an individual or group with particular entitlements “in relation to specific duty-bearers” (Plummer et al. 2022; Education Initiative 2022).

research *they* wish to see happening. There can be no public or community archaeology without planning, discussion, and engagement.

The Finnish 'Adopt-A-Monument' program has seen success in working with local communities to preserve their heritage sites (Soininen 2017). The project, run by the Pirkanmaa Provincial Museum in Tampere, Finland, aimed to change their mandate from teaching the public, to a "more facilitative approach" (Soininen 2017:2). By putting the 'soft' protection of various monuments, buildings, and archaeological sites in the hands of the public, the museum facilitated a growth in community pride and care for these sites. The museum's vision is to "preserve the cultural environment for the people, with the people", which perfectly encapsulates the goals and benefits of collaborative research; research carried out by those who care, not solely by academics who then present results (Soininen 2017:2).

As is indicated by Rankin and Gaulton (2021:5), many community archaeology projects are initiated by the community themselves, reaching out to researchers because they have questions about their past that need answering, "but their understanding of archaeological practice may be limited". These kinds of community-driven projects develop because the community wants it to, rather than an outside researcher stepping in with a pre-prepared agenda of what they want to see happen. Today, public archaeology has become recognized as an ethical 'best practice' (Gould 2016:7).

2.1.3.1 Public Archaeology of Death and Burial

The public archaeology of death and burial, or public mortuary archaeology, at first might elicit images of the public handling human remains or a person being terrified after coming across a burial ground excavation without warning. While there is not presently a global framework and/or methodology in place for the practice of public archaeology that deals in sensitive topics such as mortality, there have been extensive studies from the UK within the last decade (Williams and Williams 2007; Reynolds 2014; Williams and Atkin 2015; Williams and Giles 2016; Williams et al. 2019; Pillatt et al. 2021). These studies all discuss the presentation of human remains or sensitive burial artifacts to the public, whether that be in the field or behind glass in a museum setting. A particularly interesting study by Sian Mui (2018) focuses on how the display of human remains in museums inaccurately portrays body positions in burial reconstructions, reinforcing the idea that the supine oriented position traditionally associated with Christian burial was more common in antiquity (in the UK) than it truly was (2018).

Franz Boas once said, “it is most unpleasant work to steal bones from a grave, but what is the use, someone has to do it” (Redman 2016:47). Today, efforts are underway to repatriate human remains and artifacts to Indigenous communities that were obtained under violent acts of colonialism (Hicks 2020). This process involves the discussion of the display of human remains, a discussion which looks much different in the UK than it does in North America, as UK institutions tend to continue the display of remains overall. In North American archaeology, the profession has mostly moved from digging up human burials under the guise of ‘scientific knowledge’ to only undertaking human remains excavation if it is deemed absolutely necessary, and only then if the community

with ties to those burials consents to the excavation. For example, the recent excavation of human remains in Foxtrap, Newfoundland, which I was part of the excavation team for, was only carried out because the graves were at risk if they were not carefully removed and reburied elsewhere in the community (Grimes et al. 2018). These types of projects fall under the umbrella of 'rescue archaeology' and, while research may be carried out during the project, typically graves are no longer exhumed for research purposes.

My recent research into public archaeology in Newfoundland explored public engagement with burial landscapes, and the connections the landscape allowed people to make between historical burial practices and contemporary burial practices in northeastern North America (Lacy 2018a). "Themes of death and burial are explored in terms of the past, but extend to our present understanding of mortality, closely examined by archaeologists and the public at burial sites" (Lacy 2018a:58).

Death is a universal topic. Public archaeology is the tool we can utilize to help connect with the public, and through that outreach, build collaborative relationships that benefit both academics and the communities where we work. Through collaboration and outreach, the importance of protecting heritage sites is taught and strengthened within the public's mind. However, one must keep in mind that the sites put forward to heritage preservation are often curated to glorify the success of settler colonialism, which is why making sure that interpretation at heritage sites adapts to tell the whole story of everyone who lived in a space. While it may not be what some people want to hear, it is vital to avoid sanitizing the past, so that future generations can learn from it. If you are involved in heritage, even as an occasional volunteer or visitor, you begin to see the value of

protecting sites. That sentiment is just as strong for buildings as it is for local burial spaces, for it is within these spaces that we learn so much about what made a community who they are today.

2.1.3.2 Blogging Death and Burial

Discussions on the impact of public mortuary archaeology extend online, with publications such as 'Blogging Archaeology' (Rocks-Macqueen and Webster 2014) exploring the effects on the archaeological community and the public through such endeavours. In my research, connection with the community of New Perlican was greatly aided through their online heritage Facebook page, due to the location of the community and the Covid-19 pandemic. In addition, I was able to quickly share updates about my fieldwork with the community through work on my research blog in a form that is accessible to everyone (Lacy 2021a; 2022a; 2023a). These posts were reshared through Heritage New Perlican for the community to ensure maximum reach and provided an approachable way to engage in academic work for the general public.

Austin writes that "some authors even feel as though it is something of a public duty to effect a greater public engagement with the past and increase awareness of the work of archaeologists" (2014:13), a statement that resonates with me as an early career researcher. Blogging about mortuary archaeology allows a space for the archaeologist to discuss new research on a platform that they control, rather than handing data over to a reporter and hope they represent it correctly and open the floor for a two-way discussion with the reader. Instead of consisting of jargon-filled scientific language typically

reserved for academic publications, blogging and other social media outreach offer a way to disseminate knowledge and new research to the public, not just those with access to academic journals and libraries. Topics typically covered include burial grounds, gravestones, conservation, and funeral history. A blog, short for 'web log', is defined by Austin (2014:9) as a website that is regularly updated by one or more authors and is comprised of pages and posts that are available to the public.

Blogging and social media are formidable platforms for knowledge sharing amongst scholars and the public alike. Through blogging on my own website, *Spade & the Grave*, I receive more active engagement from individuals that are not professional archaeologists than are professionals. This indicates that the general population seeks information on mortuary archaeology out of interest and engages on a regular basis.

While there are many examples of public mortuary archaeology blogs (Bones Don't Lie, Archaeodeath, Spade & the Grave, among others), the discussion of ethics and the display of human remains extends from the field and museums to online images. Matt Armstrong wrote about his personal ethics with regards to blogging about CRM, and several points ring true to the mortuary archaeology community, namely 'Do not mis-represent the Indigenous Community' and 'Screw looters' (2014:29,32), vital points to remember when writing about any archaeological site online but especially when considering the impact of discussing an Indigenous site[2]. While many ethical debates in archaeology focus on whether human remains should be exhumed, collected, or displayed at all, in the digital world this extends to 'should images of the dead be displayed online'?

Those of us who do blog about mortuary archaeology have a duty to represent what is ethically right in our field for others to consider and learn from, and that does not include displaying the bones of the dead without their consent. Meyers and Williams point out that by increasing our engagement with the public through online forums like blogs we can "improve the overall perception and understanding of ancient death" (2014:161), and in this way educate the public and offer a platform for questions from anyone directly to an expert in the field. This is a great benefit to the public, as well as academics, though should be managed carefully within one's existing workload as it is often free labour.

The contention surrounding the display of human remains online invites exploration into other ways to discuss death and burial. In 2016-2017 following the excavation in Foxtrap, NL (Grimes et al. 2018), I was given permission to write about the experience on my blog. We decided that it would be appropriate to show images of the grave shafts after they had been fully excavated and were empty, as well as the 'shadows' created by the human body through changes to the chemical composition of the sediment through decomposition (Lacy 2018b). Reminiscent of the Sutton Hoo deviant burials, these images lack human remains but are still tied directly to the past and human death and burial (Carver 2005; Walsh and Williams 2019). The question of when does a grave stop being a grave is very difficult to answer, but the display of these images on my blog was deemed appropriate for educational purposes. They did not show, and therefore did not exploit, the remains of humans who could not consent to such a display of their remains. Blogging about the public archaeology of death and burial walks a fine line of disseminating research respectfully while providing knowledge to the public but walking that path beneficial to everyone.

2.2 Methodology

This project was broken down into three major sections: the analysis and comparison of the placement and spatial development of 17th-century colonial burial grounds in British, Dutch, and French settlements, a discussion of the visibility of Black and Indigenous bodies in colonial burial spaces through literature and archaeology, and a case-study of the development of the burial landscape of New Perlican, Newfoundland.

Data compiled for the comparison of colonial burial grounds were acquired from primary and secondary sources, as well as contemporaneous maps, and archaeological reports. In order to determine the original locations of burial grounds in 17th-century settlements and compare their placement against the rest of the original layouts, historic maps and documents from archival sources were examined for evidence of original settlement structure, and for evidence pertaining to burial ground development through documents such as town records. The archives used for this project were the American Library of Congress, Nova Scotia Provincial Archives, Boston Public Library Special Collections, the Massachusetts Historical Society Archives, and the Norman B. Leventhal Map Centre. These collections were examined in person in 2022 and 2023. Historical journals, injunction papers, and law documents were also examined for descriptions relating to the use of burial grounds in various communities.

Archival visits were preceded by online research through the archives' digitized collections records in order to request specific documents for my arrival. Due to the limited nature of the material I was looking for, the visibility of people of colour, I contacting the archives directly to gain insight from the archivist into the best documents

to start my investigation with. With the valuable knowledge of the archivists at each facility, documents including church records, town law drafts, taxation documents, and personal commonplace books were selected. Overall, the documents which I examined were, for the most part, not helpful to my research apart from the Boston Town Records from the early 18th century. My archival trips were several days long each, but demonstrate the need for devoting more time to the archives on future projects, to assess additional documents and chase leads through the stacks.

The majority of the sites selected for this project were studied virtually through 17th-century documentation and Google Earth to get a clear picture of how they were situated 400 years ago to present-day. Topographical data was not closely analysed as part of this research, but Google Earth provided vital data on topography for sites that I was unable to visit in person. Some of the sites, including Boston's Copp's Hill, Sleepy Hollow's Old Dutch Burial Ground, Annapolis Royal's Garrison Graveyard, Placentia's St. Luke's Anglican Churchyard, and the burial grounds of New Perlican were visited on research trips between October 2022 and February 2023, and December 2023. These in-person visits allowed me to gain a better understanding of the layout of the site from the ground, including orientation of the gravestones, physical proximity to the church, and how the modern community impacts the site. The data was compiled and analysed using SPSS (Statistical Package for the Social Sciences), to examine frequency as well as run chi-square tests to compare variables. Microsoft Excel was used to keep track of all the spatial data for each site prior to the statistical analysis and provided a concise way to organize each site.

Fieldwork in the outport community of New Perlican was undertaken, in collaboration with Heritage New Perlican. The fieldwork took place over two weeks: one week for the preliminary survey in 2021 and a second week in spring 2022 to finish the survey. The survey consisted of mapping using a total station theodolite (TST), with the aid of two graduate students from Memorial University, to record the extent of the burial grounds' perimeters, tie them to nearby landmarks for reference, and map the location of each individual grave marker and gravestone. No ground disturbance was undertaken as a part of this fieldwork. Photography, the total station, and manual notetaking was employed to ensure the creation of accurate, measured maps. Maps of the burial grounds were created using GIS ArcMaps to provide the community with accurate data on the parameters of their historic burial grounds and the locations of gravestones within (Figures 7.1 – 7.10).

I obtained ethics approval from the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) at MUNL to ask questions and record comments that community members wished to share with me about the oral history of the burial grounds through informal discussions in the field, to develop my overall understanding of the sites' development. This information contributed to my overall understanding of the burial landscape development. In the spirit of community archaeology and transparency, a presentation on the research and survey results was presented to the community in May 2023. It is difficult to gauge the success of a public archaeology project, as there is no set metric to measure such a thing, but public opinion may be gauged before and after. In terms of interactions in the field, we had very few visits from community members, but that may have been due to several factors including the Covid-19 pandemic, the weather,

the location of the burial grounds, and the aged population of the majority of the community. However, when looking at online interaction, my blog posts about the fieldwork received multiple likes, shares, and comments on each one (6 likes and 28 comments on my preliminary Facebook post in 2020, 34 likes and 13 comments on blog post 1, and 17 likes and 7 comments on blog post 2). When we held the in-person talk in 2023, we had 25-30 people in attendance from New Perlican and surrounding communities. In terms of outreach in an area with low year-round occupancy, I determined this to be relatively good engagement.

For the final portion of the project, archaeological reports from excavations of burial sites and archival documents which identified Black or Indigenous individuals among the dead were used to comment on the visibility of these burials in the past, and in the present. Surviving 17th-century diaries from two well-known figures in New England history were also examined to analyse how they described death and burial in their records, and if they noted the burials of any people of colour. These diaries, in conjunction with town records indicating strict burial laws for people of colour, were used to speak to this important topic. Many of these records have been digitized and were accessible from my home office, but others such as the Boston Town Papers held at the Boston Public Library Special Collections, were visited in-person as part of my research. For some documents, transcriptions were completed after archival visits based on notes and photographs taken of the documents in order to assess and record the texts.

3 European Burial Traditions in the 16th and 17th Century

3.1 Burial Practices and Adaptations

There is a wide array of burial practices and traditions in England, the Netherlands, and France that date back over thousands of years of human history, political upheavals, and religious doctrine changes that it cannot possibly all be covered here; therefore, I narrowed this background examination to the hundred or so years prior to major permanent European settlements starting in North America, as well as the burial practices that were still popular in 17th-century Europe during colonization. These practices and traditions will be examined to explore the influences on their colonial counterparts. Where did northeastern North American settler burial practices originate? Did settlers take traditions directly from their homelands to North America when it comes to burial landscape development, funeral practices, or even coffins and funeral clothing? Did they try to remove themselves entirely from their older practices and create new traditions in a new land, or was it a mixture of old and new traditions coming together within a landscape that required their adaptation?

The major factor affecting Europe in the 16th century in terms of religious ideology and, as a result, funerary and burial practices, was the Protestant Reformation. A wide-spread religious reform movement, the Reformation was a time when people began questioning the religious and political supremacy of the Roman Catholic Church. While the Reformation affected mainland Europe and the British Isles at slightly different time periods, it slowly began with multiple smaller movements across mainland Europe in the early 16th century, prior to the famous moment when Martin Luther nailed his 'Ninety-

five Theses' to the door of All Saints' Church in Wittenberg, Germany, in 1517, which spoke against the beliefs and the corrupt nature of the Catholic Church (Roper 2021:62). These ideas quickly spread throughout Europe, giving voice to peoples' discontentment with the Church and a way to act against it. In the British Isles, the reformation of the Church had been championed by several groups, but the Reformation itself was hallmarked by King Henry VIII's severance from the Catholic Church in an act of state, with great local support from the anti-Roman sentiment that had already been growing in the country (Powicke 1941; Hillerbrand 1968:vxii; Gaimster and Gilchrist 2003).

In late-medieval Christianity (*i.e.* medieval Catholicism), the dead retained agency after their burial through the idea of purgatory, the liminal space between life and death, before your soul was sent to Heaven or Hell. It has been argued by scholars as to whether purgatory was a physical place, or a plane of existence. Regardless of form, purgatory was where all souls went immediately after death when they still had earthly sins to atone for or suffer for, and thus time spent in purgatory to be purified and "await with certainty the glory to come" (De Voragine 1993:282; Marshall 2002:11). Because of this ever-present threat of lengthy suffering and stagnation in the afterlife, purgatory was always on the mind and became a central theme in the lives of the congregation. There also existed the idea of 'limbo', a place outside of Hell and Heaven that would hold the souls of the those who had not known Christ, or died unbaptized, or who were so-called heathens (Kennedy 2021). While earlier belief had unbaptized infants sent to Hell, from the 12th century onwards, it was thought they deserved "the mildest punishment" and so would go to limbo instead (Sullivan 2011:3). Limbo was "the eternal state of infants who die unbaptised" as they could not ask or desire a baptism themselves, but were still guilty of

not having had it (Sullivan 2011:4). and People who ended up in limbo were stained by the ‘original sin’ of Adam and Eve, and as they had not known Christ in some way, were doomed not to enter Heaven, or be buried in consecrated grounds, and yet the concept does not appear in the Old or New Testament (Kennedy 2021:236, 238). The idea of this middle ground would have impacted how settlers viewed the Indigenous peoples they encountered in North America. In the minds of the settlers, Indigenous people needed saving as they had never ‘known Christ’.

3.2 Burial Practices in England

3.2.1 Pre-Reformation Burial and Commemoration

Prior to the Reformation in England, funeral and burial traditions had been built on centuries of medieval practice, guided by the medieval Catholic Church in the British Isles. A central aspect of daily life, medieval death and commemoration would have been at the forefront of everyone’s minds, with high mortality rates across the islands.

In late-medieval Europe 3 in every 10 children, died during infancy, and if they had not been baptized yet would have been sent to limbo and not been able to be buried in the consecrated churchyards (Thorton and Phillips 2009:1; Kennedy 2021:236). Something we can see reflected in medieval Britain was the importance of having a ‘good death’, as demonstrated through their care for the dead, a funeral, and commemoration. Dying was, in this period, a stage of life rather than an event that happened in an instant. People in medieval Britain were concerned with obtaining a ‘good death’ before they went to purgatory (Binski 1996:33; Houlbrooke 1998:183; Curvers 2010:9). This meant that not

only was the death foreseen, but that it was prepared for by the individual and the family. After death, it was vital that friends, family, the community, and even strangers help to keep their memory alive through prayer, or 'intersessions', which would lessen their time in purgatory. There were a number of other ways that one could lessen their time in purgatory, beginning before death with the purchase of indulgences, or a payment of penalty that supposedly would absolve the purchaser of past sins, pilgrimages to holy sites, and the aid in construction of new churches (Marshall 2002:7). For many people, however, intercession was the most affordable option. Monuments would be constructed to those who could afford it, and masses would be spoken on the anniversary of the death so that people would speak of them again (Harding 2003:390; Fossier 2010:135).

A typical medieval English village would have a church and churchyard, either surrounding the structure or very close to it, close to the centre of the community, allowing interaction between the burial spaces and parishioners on a regular basis. This model is what we see in other nations of the British Isles as well, with Welsh, Irish, and Scottish villages all having community churches and churchyards near their homes. Very often churches or other religious sites in the British Isles were constructed on or near older sites of worship, such as early medieval chapels, or earlier earthworks. The parish church at Bampton, Oxfordshire, is one example, constructed first in the 12th century adjacent to two Bronze Age barrows with an early medieval enclosure ditch, with a nearby chapel inside another prehistoric barrow (Rodwell 2012:297). Rodwell writes that while reused churchyards sometimes saw redevelopment and replanning, newer churches were designed from scratch with a formalized layout, often with a "square-on entry…from the west" (2012:301).

Within the parish churchyard, the south and east sides of the church were typically the most popular for placing burials and is where burials are typically found to be densest (Rodwell 2012:305). Overcrowding in popular sections of the churchyard would eventually lead to burials occurring on other sides of the church, or in some cases the ground would be levelled with additional soil to add depth, and more graves would be dug on top of or through the older burials to continue making use of the space (Rodwell 2012:305). This is a practice we will see repeated in northeastern North American settlements with Dutch colonists. There is a long history of truncated graves, as grave diggers typically didn't take much notice of older burials, and archaeologically this leads to many overlapping grave shafts, coffins, and bodies. If individuals could afford it, there might be a marker to them in the form of an effigy stone or cross slab, but there is not much evidence for a large monumental tradition in churchyards prior to the Reformation (Bartram 1978:1; Mytum 2006; Thomson 2009).

Burials also took place within churches, if one could afford such a luxury. The need for salvation and absolution of sins was powerful to medieval Catholics, and directly affected where people were placed within the church. The further inside the church, and the closer to the chancel and nave, the closer you were to God, and these positions were reserved for the wealthy and powerful of the community. The placement of remains inside churches also show connections to an individual's family, connections to the clergy, and to the community (Harding 1992; Harding 2003). Most people, however, did not have access to these resting places and were buried in the churchyard with or without a marker. Regardless of where you were buried, the tolling of a single bell would signify to the rest of the community that someone was being laid to rest.

In order to mark graves in the pre-Reformation early modern period, people had several options to choose from. Within a church, we find stone cross slabs, alabaster effigies, wooden effigies, incised slabs, and monumental brasses. Many of these markers came with the same message, 'pray for the dead', in the form of text directly asking the viewer for prayers, or with images of the deceased themselves with their hands clasped in prayer. The prayers would aid them in purgatory, in a tradition called 'intersession', in order to shorten their time there, and so their burial monuments asked for as many prayers as people could offer. Monumental brasses, the most affordable of these markers, began being produced around the 1270s and workshops in London soon dominated the market, producing large amounts of brasses with standardized production techniques (Saul 2009:76-77). They gained popularity through the mid-15th century (Houlbrooke 1998:344; Duffy 2005:332).

Prior to the Reformation, brasses commonly showed the dead asking the viewer to intercede, or otherwise depicted shrouded individuals or decomposing bodies to invoke compassion and pity for the dead, and have the viewer pray for them and consider their own mortality at the same time (Litten 1991 revised 2002:60). The use of monuments to ask for prayers was specified in parishioner's wills, with such examples as that of Thomas Sharrington of Norfolk, whose will "asked for a brass on a raised tomb, so that the inscription with the appeal for prayers would be noticed 'by all Christian souls'" (Saul 2009:121). Given the affordability of these markers and the ability to produce them on a larger scale, more of these monuments survive today compared to other varieties. Outside of the church, there would have likely been less markers or markers made of a biodegradable material, amongst the cross slabs and stone effigies of those who could

afford them. There were few gravestones as we think of them today dating to pre-1600, and memorials at all were relatively rare prior to the 12th century (Bartram 1978:1; Houlbrooke 1998:360-361).

Regarding the graves themselves within churchyards, there was some regularity in the late-medieval period, with the majority of graves situated east-west following the Christian belief that Jesus will rise in the east, and so Christians are buried with their feet to the east, so as to be resurrected upright and facing him (Rodwell 2012:300). However, it should be noted that graves typically do not follow the true east-west alignment, but rather follow the alignment of a nearby topographical feature(s), whether that be an earlier earthwork or a structure. As a result, the graves closest to the church will follow the church's alignment rather than cardinal directions (Rodwell 2012:300). Of course, there are exceptions and not all graves followed this alignment, but the majority of late-medieval graves follow this formula of placement within churchyards. It should also be noted that magnetic declination has shifted between the 17th century and today, so east 400 years ago is not the same as it is today.

There was a variety of accoutrements that could have been placed into the grave with the dead, including burial clothing, a shroud, a coffin, and coffin furniture. It is possible to tell how an individual was buried based on their skeleton's position; if their arms and legs were not spread in a natural way, it can be surmised that they were tightly wrapped in a shroud as was common in the medieval period, which did not allow the limbs to rest in a natural way (Rodwell 2012:320). What typically surrounded the body in the grave was a shroud or a winding cloth. In the 16th century this came in the form of a large sheet of fabric, which was gathered tightly together at the top of the head and below

the feet and tied in knots or secured with a string to secure the body inside. Even bodies buried within coffins were often wrapped in a shroud, although this was not always the case. Monumental brasses dated to pre-Reformation often show shrouded individuals, sometimes with their faces peeking out from the folds of fabric, a practice that some individuals in the Church disagreed with. Litten recounts the words of Reverend Herbert Macklin stating "the custom of engraving shrouded figures and skeletons was introduced shortly before the middle of the fifteenth century and continued until the end of the sixteenth. It was a horrible practice" (Macklin 1905 in Litten 1992:60). Children depicted on monumental brasses prior to the Reformation were typically shown in their swaddling clothing if they died before the age of 1 month (Litten 1992:61), and while individuals were typically not buried in their day-to-day clothing or with items, there has been archaeological evidence of 14th-century individuals having been buried with personal indulgences, to protect their soul in the afterlife (Litten 1992:72).

It can be difficult to find much archaeological evidence of pre-Reformation coffins due to often unfavourable preservation conditions such as high acidity in the soil, but often a coffin outline can be found in the sediment around the individual / where they lay (Litten 1992; Mytum 2018). Litten writes that aside from an example of a rectangular oak coffin from the St. Peter Hungate Church Museum in Norwich that dates to the late 14th century, we must turn to illustrations and manuscripts from the period to understand what their coffins were made from and how they were constructed (1992:88). Coffins were typically rectangular or hexagonal, with a flat or gabled lid that was detached from the body of the coffin, although gabled coffin lids are only known in England through contemporaneous illustrations (Llewellyn 1991). This is not to be confused with modern

caskets, which are larger and rectangular, with a hinged lid and padded interior. These caskets are typically only available to those with enough socio-economic standing to afford them, and individuals are often interred in more simplistic wood boxes, shrouds, or other biodegradable containers, depending on their situation and preference.

Although lead coffins did not gain major popularity until the 18th century, there have been some examples of lead coffins uncovered that date to the medieval period, including that of the 'pickled knight' of Danbury (Rodwell 2012:321), indicating that they were in use, at least in a limited capacity. Anthropomorphic or 'anthropoid' lead coffins, coffins that have a slightly human shape, were also somewhat popular during this period, and were chosen by upper class families who could afford not only an expensive coffin, but often also have a brick or stone family vault (Litten 2009; Mytum 2018:9). More detailed anthropoid coffins included moulded facial features, shoulders, the ridges of arms at the person's side with hands resting on their lower abdomen, and in the case of women's coffins, breasts (Litten 2009). Hexagonal lead coffins often have moulded or pressed inscriptions across the widest point of the coffin's lid or around the edges in the style of late-medieval stone ledgers like those that can be found set into church floors or churchyards. Lead coffins were also used as shells around interior wooden coffins, for those who wanted that extra layer of protection to their final resting place. The use of this style of coffin continued into the 17th and 18th centuries.

Individuals buried in coffins in the late medieval period were primarily of the aristocratic class or other significant or important individuals. However, contemporaneous depictions of funerals from the 16th century also show the use of a coffin for the layperson, the 'parish coffin'. These coffins were available for temporary

hire from the parish to carry a body to their grave, but the individual would then be buried in their shroud. While parish coffins would have been common in the medieval period, only two survive to this day, both from the mid 17th century, made of wood and found in Yorkshire (Litten 1992:98). Archaeological evidence of parish coffins is resigned to the two surviving examples, and by the graves of the average person prior to the 17th century, wherein they were buried in simply a shroud or winding cloth rather than a coffin. In these cases, it can be surmised that the individual may have been carried to the grave site from the church in a parish coffin or on a bier, although there is no way to identify these graves from other means of transportation as they were not buried in the receptacle.

The body would be washed before dressing for burial, a practice that has been a constant part of death practices in many countries for centuries and was not affected by changes in religious doctrine or fashions of the period (Cherryson 2018:38). Before the Reformation, the funeral service would consist of four rites provided by the church: the commendation of souls, the office of the dead, the mass of requiem, and finally the burial of the dead in the churchyard (Houlbrook 1998:255). All these services included intersessions for the individual’s soul to lessen their suffering in purgatory, and for all the souls of the Christian dead who had gone before them (Houlbrook 1998:255). The corpse would be moved from the home to the church for the services, then on to the burial site, where a cross would be dug over the grave site and blessed with holy water before the grave shaft was dug, and once the digging was complete then the burial service and inhumation could begin (Houlbrook 1998:255). The funerals of the wealthy could include additional services and were sometimes spread over multiple days, with more lavish accoutrements, and the most extravagant funerals were held for the nobility and royalty of

England (Litten 1991:173). Their funerals and burials reflect the highest wealth and ceremony, but do not reflect the everyday burial practices of the common people.

3.2.2 Post-Reformation British Burial and Commemoration

While post-Reformation burials are often not studied in the British Isles with the same detail as earlier examples, they are typically better preserved due to their younger age. With the separation from the Catholic Church and the Pope in Rome, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries, introduced in 1536 CE by King Henry VIII, there came many alterations not to only religious practices, but many of the rites surrounding death and dying. Stephanie Perring writes that "although the new theology rejected the images and practices of the medieval religion, sacred space contracted and was reconceptualized" (2013:187). Henry VIII's act of 1538 required all churches in England to have a copy of the English Bible, and for it to be available to be read by the parishioners, something which was previously impossible as all religious texts had been written in Latin and therefore were not accessible to everyone in the community (Lacy 2020:38). Many other aspects of the medieval Catholic Church had also been kept out of sight of the common people, such as ceremonies hidden behind the rood screens, many of which were dismantled during the Reformation.

One of the most drastic changes was the removal of purgatory from church doctrine, so that the soul did not spend time in a spiritual suspension to repent for sins in life but went straight to heaven or hell (Sullivan 2011). The Anglican Church also removed the idea that the living could influence what happened to the souls of the

deceased, thus removing the practice of intersession and indulgences from regular use. These changes happened slowly in some places where people did not want to stop long-standing traditions, and quickly for others who fully stood behind the Protestant changes. In addition, the Book of Common Prayer never expressly forbid the practices, and a form of intersession could be seen in the last rites that a priest would speak over a grave, wishing the individual well for their eternal afterlife (Gitting 1984:42; Curvers 2010:17).

The Puritans, who followed many of the same beliefs as John Calvin and the Calvinists, believed in a 'purified' version of Protestantism, in that they wished to have all popish and ornate beliefs stripped from their religion. They did not believe that the Reformation did enough to purify the Church and took it many steps further. The Puritans believed that each person had been corrupted by the original sin, and therefore every person was a sinner and deserved eternal damnation (Stannard 1977:49). 'Puritans' were not so much a singular, cohesive group in the British Isles but people who believed that the Reformation had not done enough, and they themselves never formally adopted the term (Stannard 1977:32). They would go on to strip funeral services of many rites that had been simplified during the Protestant Reformation believing, because one was predestined to their fate in the afterlife, that burial in consecrated grounds was unnecessary and that prayers said by a priest over the grave was too much like the practice of intersession and thus banned. While the bodies of parishioners would previously have needed to be buried in grounds that were spiritually and geographically tied to the church, staunch reformers like the Puritans did not believe that this was needed for the disposal of earthly remains (Stannard 1977:101; Hopkins 2014:15). With the soul departing for the afterlife immediately upon death, and indulgences and intercessions no

longer having affect, the body was a “meaningless husk” (Stannard 1977:100; Gilchrist 2003:399). Stannard comments that an English Puritan recorded “thy body, when the soule is gone, will be an horrour to all that behold it: a most loathsome and abhorred spectacle” (Stannard 1977:100). Due to the removal of intercession, the placement of the body in the church or churchyard was irrelevant to the eventual destination of the individual in the afterlife (Lacy 2020:42). Puritans believed that, rather than just removing the *idea,* it would be better to do away with the consecrated burial grounds altogether and used terms such as *burying/ burial ground* to reiterate the secular nature of their burial spaces (Hopkins 2014:9-10, 15-17).

While some aspects of the beliefs around death had officially been altered, this did not mean that the beliefs themselves changed quickly for many people. Those who had been practicing a tradition such as a funeral or burial rite for certain reasons for generations would find it challenging to change the practice overnight. In many cases, especially in more rural areas that did not have the immediate presence of the state pressuring them to change, people held on to older practices for a longer period (Litten 1992:153) For some practices, such as placement in the churchyard or within the church, the reasoning behind the placement changed, but not the practice of where bodies were placed. For instance, when altars were stripped and replaced with ‘communion tables’, there was no longer an altar for the community’s elite to be buried nearby; however, people still wanted to be buried near that area. Vanessa Harding (2003:389) expressed surprise over how little the burial placement of individuals within the church changed throughout this period. Those who could afford to be buried inside the church wanted to be close to the communion table rather than the altar, and close to the outside of the

church when buried in the churchyard, even if the reasoning for being buried there was no longer the same (Harding 2003:389-390). We do not see a shift in burial placement in churchyards that have been converted from Catholic to Anglican after the Reformation, but simply a change in why people wanted to be buried in these places, with higher costs for church burials translating into status, burial near a family pew, and viewing themselves as still participating in the worship after death (Harding 2003:389). For Nonconformist groups such as Quaker, Puritan, Methodist, or Presbyterian, burials in England could not take place without conformist rites until the passing of the Burial Law Amendment Act in 1880 (UK Parliament 2023).

As mentioned above, the use of parish coffins continued through the Reformation by those who could not afford their own coffin but still wanted one for their funeral procession. For those who could afford it, lead coffins became available in the 17th century, appearing in rectangular, hexagonal, and anthropomorphic shapes with typically flat lids and some decoration (Litten 1992). Wood coffins have also been found, rectangular, hexagonal, or trapezoidal with the wider portion being for the shoulders, though the latter style went out of fashion in favour of the hexagonal coffins in the 1660s-1675, typically with flat lids (Litten 1992:99). Some of these coffins would have a name plate attached, but it was more common to see the name and date spelled out using small upholstery nails. It could also be decorated with memento mori imagery as part of the decoration such as skull and crossed bones on the coffin 'furniture', such as the nails, hinges, and handles (Litten 1992:99; Springate and Maclean 2018; Loe and Boston 2018).

Coffin and coffin furniture making advanced as a profession throughout the 17th century, beginning the mass-production of funeral objects that ultimately lowered their

cost, and the use of the parish coffin began to diminish as individual coffins became more and more affordable. It was eventually expected that each body would be laid to rest in its own coffin, regardless of the social status of the dead (Litten 1992:99). Numerous examples of post-medieval burial ground and vault excavations have been documented with different coffins being recorded, demonstrating the prevalence of personal coffins as they became more affordable (Boyle 2015).

In an effort to protect the English wool trade, an act was passed in 1678 for 'Burying in Woollen', which stated that:

> "*burying in Woollen onely was intended for the lessening the Importation of Linnen from beyond the Seas and the Encouragement of the Wollen and Paper Manufactures of this Kingdome… And it is hereby enacted by the Authority aforesaid That from and after the First day of August One thousand six hundred and seaventy eight noe Corps of any person or persons shall be buryed in any Shirt Shift Sheete or Shroud or any thing whatsoever made or mingled with Flax Hempe Silke Haire Gold or Silver or in any Stuffe or thing other then what is made of Sheeps Wooll onely or be putt into any Coffin lined or faced with any sort of Cloath or Stuffe or any other thing whatsoever that is made of any Materiall but Sheeps Wooll onely upon paine of the Forfeiture of Five pounds of lawfull Money of England to be recovered and divided as is hereafter in this Act expressed and directed*" (Raithby 1819).

Those who could afford to do so might have paid the £5 fee to bury their loved ones in a higher quality or higher status fabric such as linen but, for the average person, this law had to be followed, and wool was used for all burials (Gittings 1984:113; Cherryson 2018:40).

The commemoration of the dead may have seen the most impactful changes as a result of the Reformation. Catholic monuments often showed figures in prayer, asking for intersessions from the person viewing, which was no longer allowed after the Protestant Church took over due to the removal of the doctrine of purgatory. Iconoclasm, the destruction of Catholic imagery and monumentation, also took place in and around churches, affecting the survival of statues and grave markers alike. Iconoclasm was often unauthorized, and memorials and artwork were often the target of reformers who were looking to remove 'popely' images from their religious spaces, as it was the Word of God, and not images and idols, that were meant to be worshiped (Duffy 2005:453). Grave markers such as monumental brasses and inscribed images were often the target, their hands clasped in prayer, as well as images of saints, having their faces and heads scratched, torn, or broken off (Hutchinson 2003:451). These periods of vandalism occurred during the Reformation and the Dissolution of the Monasteries in 1536-40, as well as during the English Civil War following the Parliamentary Ordinances of 1641 and 1643 "that ordered the removal of all images and superstitious inscriptions" (Hutchinson 2003:450-451). Pamela Graves' research states that these actions can be seen as a ritual killing of the individuals, and during the reign of Queen Mary I, when Catholicism was briefly reinstated, evidence shows that there were focused iconoclastic attacks of Protestant imagery instead (Graves 2008:37).

An excellent example of the redefining of a burial landscape through the Reformation can be found in Stefania Perring's research on the York Minster landscape (2013). She demonstrated that prior to the Reformation, the churchyard which surrounded the cathedral was sacred, protected by tightly packed buildings and "privileges of immunity and exemption of the Dean and Chapter from spiritual and secular jurisdictions and by the ideas of purity prohibiting violence and pollution by human blood" (Perring 2013:189). The graveyard was an important space after the Reformation, but in a more secular way. The term 'close' was adopted to describe the churchyard around 1550, and shrines were removed which previously attracted pilgrims, dismantled and carefully buried on the grounds, changing the way in which people arrived at, and interacted with, the burial space (Perring 2013:190). Iconoclasm affected the brasses at the cathedral, destroying or reusing them for Protestant monuments, and by 1550 "it was a crime not to have such tombs [asking for intersession] removed" (Perry 2013:198). These examples demonstrate not only how the fabric of the church was being altered because of the Reformation, but also how people used the space was changing as well.

3.3 Burial Practices in the Netherlands

The Protestant Reformation in Europe lead to drastic changes in the state religion in the Netherlands. The late medieval period dates to around 1500 CE in the Netherlands. Due to the lack of research on burials from the 1500s into the early modern period, there is little knowledge on funeral practices and their social meaning for this period (Nater 2016:5). Religious views moved across the English Channel into the Netherlands, with

Britain and the Netherlands having a long history as allies against Spain, and sharing a "common Protestant Spirit" (Sprunger 1982:3).

Prior to the transition to traditional Christian burial practices, there were several older traditions in use in the Netherlands, including cremation burials similar to those in the German Rhineland and Belgium during the early medieval period (Lippok 2020). Cremated remains, or cremains, were then transferred to a clay vessel and buried in the ground, and many sites included both inhumations and buried cremains (Lippok 2020:147). Inhumations are typically interpreted as Christian burials in countries that were becoming Christianized through the early centuries. However, both inhumation and cremation were practiced before and after the introduction of Christianity to the Netherlands between the 6th-8th centuries CE (Lippok 2020:150). This suggests that cremated graves might have been a social and/or economic choice, as being buried with a coffin and grave goods would have cost significantly more. However, Lippok reminds us, that "the deposited form of cremated remains rarely reflects the material wealth of what was included on the pyre, and the considerable investment in time, labour and materials required to burn a human body", a process which takes hours and constant attention if being carried out in the open air rather than a contemporary cremation retort (Lippock 2020:150).

Throughout the medieval period in the Netherlands, Christianity became more institutional and mainstream (Arts et al. 2007:27; Janssens 2011:38; Nater 2016:6), which resulted in many of the burial practices in the country reflecting Christian traditions. As in many countries, the Catholic Church also found that it had to adopt aspects of early pre-Christian beliefs surrounding death into its rites, as it was difficult to get the laypeople to

give up their long-held beliefs immediately (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019). The Catholic Church facilitated burial rites and provided burial space within their churchyards in the Netherlands as with the majority of Europe at the time (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019). As with burial sites in England, criminals, unbaptised babies, and victims of suicide were not permitted to be buried within the churchyards (Gilchrist 2012; Nater 2016). In the middle medieval period, during the 10th century CE, burials were typically not undertaken inside the church, but the east and south sides of the churchyard were popular (Nater 2016:6). Many of these practices were similar across Europe, and the graves of children often had their own section in churchyards, sometimes below the eavesdrop of the church (Daniell 1997; Gilchrist 2012; Nater 2016:6).

It has been found that while mid-late medieval graves in England were becoming more likely not to contain a coffin, there have been several examples in the Netherlands identified through archaeological excavations where coffins were more common during the same period, such as the sites at Aalst and Eindhoven (Nater 2016:6). This could be due to the economic success of the region, or to funeral traditions in these regions, but it is significant to recognize what is perhaps the more frequent use of coffins in the Netherlands when compared to British churchyards of the same period. Catelijne Nater's research at the medieval cemetery in Reusel found four major types of coffins: the anthropomorphic coffin, the log coffin, the timber rectangular coffin, and the 'ladder grave' coffin (Nater 2016). The ladder coffin, which appears to be a unique style to the country, were not as popular as the other types, and were only located in the east portion of the churchyard and were used only for the burials of men. This suggests that the grave type was reserved for a specific type of person, potentially wealthy individuals, or clergy

members (Nater 2016:11). This type of coffin had an “open floor or coffin with a bier underneath” (Nater 2016:7), and is a unique style for Christian burials. Nater found that beyond the ladder graves, the style of coffin was not limited to one gender or section of the churchyard, but distributed around the site evenly, and men and women were not buried in separate sections for the most part. However, it appears that at the Reusel site only men were buried inside the church and only women could be buried near the entrance, suggesting that it was also an important site for understanding gendered organization of Dutch burial grounds (Meier and Graham-Campbell 2013:436-437; Nater 2016:11).

Changes in religious beliefs in the Netherlands were closely tied to the move for independence from Spain, who held the provinces in the Low Country, approximately where present-day Belgium and Luxembourg are located today, from 1568-1648 (van Der Lem 2019). As a result of the rise of Protestantism, the Eighty Years’ War was triggered in 1568, between the primarily Protestant (Calvanist) northern provinces and the Catholic southern provinces. This war is also known as the ‘Dutch Revolt’, and fighting did not officially reach an end until 1648 with the Peace of Munster, wherein Spain retained its rule of the southern provinces, and the Dutch Republic was formally recognized as a country (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:10). However, even after the country had been recognised and the Dutch Reformed Church established, it was never formally adopted as the official state religion of the Netherlands but rather held the status of “public or privileged church”, and until 1795 every public official had to be a member (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:10-11).

The Dutch Reformed Church (de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk) was founded in 1571 and was primarily shaped by the beliefs of John Calvin and other reformers (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:10). One year later, in 1572, the Netherlandish Reformed Protestants could form legitimate congregations within their own country (Kooi 2009:299). That same year the provinces of Holland and Zeeland defected from Habsburg control, and the seven northern provinces retained their independence to form the Dutch Republic (Kooi 2009:299). The Catholic Church was "officially and legally disestablished", and the Dutch Reformed Church took its place as the "only publicly sanctioned ecclesiastical body" in the Netherlands (Kooi 2009:300). The Dutch Reformed Church would go on to hold significant power in the Netherlands as well as their colonial enterprises, and as a result, this is the main church in Dutch colonies in North America.

There was a curious practice occurring in late-medieval to post-medieval Dutch burial spaces that is reflected in their 17th- to 18th-century practices in New Netherland as well: the practice of adding soil to a burial ground to bury more people on top of those already interred (personal communication Charles Gehring, February 2023). Records of this practice in Albany, New York, will be discussed in the following chapter. The practice differs from stacked burials, which were dug purposefully deep in order to accommodate multiple coffins at once, or to fit additional family members later on, as they were using up the space available in a burial ground and instead of removing those graves or finding a new site, they removed or laid gravestones flat and buried them to make additional space above for more burials. This was due to the limited space available in the provinces in the Netherlands, and an issue that plagues many smaller European countries, including England, Ireland, and Luxembourg. In Ireland, graves were re-dug

after bodies had been interred for a long period of time, resulting in human remains such as teeth and small bones on the surface and within decorative planters at late-medieval rural burial grounds, as observed by my own field experience in County Monaghan, Ireland. Today, the Dutch recycle their graves after a term of 10, 15, or 20 years, after which the grave is cleared out and reused with no option for renewal (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:126). This ensures that, with limited land space available, graves will still be available for full body interment for those who wish it.

As we have already seen with the Protestant and Puritan funeral practices in the British Isles, the Dutch Calvinists created simple and 'restrained' funeral practices. The 'Synod of Dort' executed in 1618-1619, prohibited sitting vigil at the deathbed of an individual, as well as eulogies at the gravesite and "the symbolic scoop of earth relatives cast in the grave" (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:11). The doctrine of purgatory was also removed, and replaced with the doctrine of Predestination, "according to which all events have already been ordained by God. Whom God will save and whom he will reject has been predetermined" (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019:11). As in England, bell tolls were also rejected, as were elaborate funerals, but these things still occurred for wealthy members of the community.

When Dutch settlers arrived in North America in the early 1600s, settlements, churches, and burial grounds were quickly established, but the oldest surviving Dutch gravestones on the continent date between 1690 and 1720 (Richards 2014:1). As already mentioned, what we think of as contemporary gravestones today did not become popular until the 16th and 17th centuries in Britain and in mainland Europe (Mytum 2000:3,7; Nijssen and Nyssen 2011:4; Richards 2014:1). However, there is historically a marked

absence of headstones in the majority of the Netherlands (Richards 2014), which suggests that the Dutch settlers in the northeast may have picked up the gravestone tradition from the British after or around 1664 (Welch 1987:1; Merwick 1990:193). The marked lack of early Dutch colonial gravestones could also stem, in some cases, from the practice of stacking burials within the same site. It is just as likely that the Dutch had grave markers through the 17th century, but that these markers simply did not survive. As with early British colonies, it is likely that the first grave markers were made of wood and/or have been lost or destroyed since, resulting in a lack of evidence in the archaeological record. Additionally, when gravestones are not maintained and allowed to fall and lay on the ground, they can become covered in accumulating sediment in a matter of a few years. It is extremely difficult to speak definitively on the early Dutch gravestones in New England without more documentary or archaeological evidence. Joel Munsell wrote of the second burial ground in Albany that “the bodies lie three tiers deep. When the church was built, the gravestones were laid down upon the graves, and covered over to a depth of three feet, and the records show that this was customary” (Munsell 1869:130 in Richards 2014:6).

Such as we see with English towns, churches and graveyards in the Netherlands were typically near community centres, and through the early modern period in the 18th and into the 19th centuries, people began to see the dead body as more and more of a health concern, and so new burial spaces were created outside of a community’s areas of dwelling (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019). We see this trend across Europe with the creation of the ‘rural garden cemetery’ model at the end of the 18th century, and across

North America through the 18th and 19th centuries, fundamentally changing the burial practices (Lacy 2020:125).

3.4 Burial Practices in France

Like much of the rest of Europe throughout the medieval period, France was a Catholic country, with the ultimate authority being the Vatican and the Pope in Rome. Due to close ties, whether in war or peace, between the British and the French, there was a significant exchange of ideas between the two countries throughout history, including in religion and burial trends. France also saw aspects of their religious landscape change as a result of the Protestant Reformation in the 16th and 17th centuries; however, while England and the Netherlands saw Protestant Reformers overtake the Catholic Church to a large degree, ultimately changing the state religion for the foreseeable future, Catholic power was largely retained in France. Harvard's Divinity School writes that roughly 3% of the current French population are Protestant, and their faith stems from the Huguenots emergence in the 1520s (2023). Huguenots, or French Protestants, followed the teachings of John Calvin, who was originally born in France and later fled the country due to his reformist beliefs.

The eventual tension between Protestants and Catholics in France as a result of the Protestant Reformation culminated in the Wars of Religion in 1562 to 1598, when King Henri IV established the *Edict of Nantes,* which recognized freedoms and equality for the Huguenots (Harvard Divinity School 2023). The Edict was revoked by King Louis XIV in 1685, resulting in further violence and forced conversion of French citizens to

Catholicism, and many Huguenots were forced to flee the country, many of them travelling to the French colonial settlements in northeast North America. It was not until 1789 that Protestants were recognized as equal citizens in France (Harvard Divinity School 2023).

Like other countries discussed in this chapter, the medieval Catholic Church in France controlled the consecrated burial grounds, and the burials interred within. Those who could not be buried inside the churchyard included unbaptised children and those who died by suicide, as well as others who were deemed unworthy of being included in the burial space, such as those who did not have a 'good death'. A 'good death' meant that the individual died at home with their family, with a priest at hand to absolve the individual of sin, and that their death was prepared for (Duffy 2005:314-316). As in Britain, the consecrated space around or associated with the church was required to help good Christians in the community to transition to the afterlife. Medieval French communities kept their churches and chapels near the centre of town, within the view of everyday life. Many larger medieval settlements in France were fortified, as can be seen on such maps as the Carte de Cassini, mapping of which began in the 17th century through the 18th century (Cassini 1750). In some large centres such as Provins, churches or monasteries can be seen marked within the city walls with a cross symbol, while other crosses outside of communities on larger structures may have been convents or monasteries. The City of Paris, for example, had multiple burial grounds within the heart of the community. Marked by the Fontaine des Innocents in Place Joachim-du-Bellay today, the former *Cimetière des Innocents (Holy Innocent's Cemetery)* was the largest and most well-known cemetery in the centre of the city, just north of the River Seinne and

Sainte-Chapelle. When first opened, this burial ground was outside the walls of the city in an area known as Les Champeaux, following Roman practices of always burying the dead outside the living quarters (Klein 2017:6). However, as the city expanded to the north, the sites was quickly surrounded and became a central feature. In use since the 12th century, this site is an excellent example of a typically medieval burial ground, which eventually became oversaturated with corpses. This led to unpleasant smells emanating to the surrounding homes and businesses from the exposed bodies, rats and other vermin overtaking the graves, and the fear of illness from the dead that was pervasive throughout the 18th century, resulting in the city having to close the burial ground (Hannaway and Hannaway 1977). The site was once filled with a variety of monuments and crosses which were eventually removed, along with those interred within the grounds.

The ossuary would have been a common site in medieval and early modern France. An ossuary, or charnel house, was designed to hold the bones of the dead who had spent enough time underground to have decomposed. "Through commingling, individual memory was reinvesting both physically and symbolically within a communal memory assemblage" (Marshall 2002:41; Lambert 2018:30; Farrow 2023:174). Charnel houses were more common in medieval Britain than previously expected, but many were dismantled during the Reformation in the 16th century, resulting in more continental examples (Craig-Atkins et al. 2019:29). These structures were used due to lack of space and to make room in the burial grounds for more people to pay for a grave (Klein 2017:8). At the Cimetière des Innocents, cloisters which doubled as a charnel house were constructed in the 14th century, with bones of the deceased and decayed stored in the vaulted loft above panels depicting the morbid La Dance Macabré (Landru 2012; Klein

2017). While bones from the Cimetière des Innocents were eventually reinterred in the Paris Catacombs after the closure of the burial site, the use of charnel houses throughout the country has existed since the medieval period. They were seen as part of the burial tradition, and as a way to retain order and cleanliness in the burial space itself (Craig-Atkinson et al. 2019:3). While ossuaries were a place where individual bodies became part of the collective community (Farrow 2023), the skulls of the wealthy were often singled out with paint on the cranium naming the individual, or in small boxes stored on shelves within the structure, with similar information on the exterior to that of a gravestone. They were not a disposal, but rather a continuation of the burial.

There are several documentary examples depicting the use of shrouds in medieval France, including the Rohan Hours, which was produced for Yolande of Aragon between the years 1418-1425 (Litten 1991:59). An image within shows a man in a loose winding sheet, with apparently no effort made to tightly wind the sheet to his body, which is directly in contrast to depictions from the Heures de Neville where two bodies are shown in shrouds which have been sewn up the centre (Litten 1991:59). Like the English, the body was washed prior to being wrapped in the shroud, and then placed in a coffin if one was being used, or on a bier (Harding 2000:178).

Coffins through the late medieval period appear to have been relatively similar to what was being used in Britain and in the Netherlands, with the majority of people buried without a coffin through the Middle Ages, and wood or lead coffins becoming more popular and more available through the late medieval and into the early modern period (Harding 2000). Lead coffins included anthropoid examples, with a distinct moulded head and shoulders with a flat lid. Vanessa Harding (2020:181) notes that while coffins were

becoming more popular in Paris and throughout France in the early modern period, it was unlikely that lead coffins would be carried for any distance on foot in a funeral procession (Lobell 2015). Both lead and wood coffins were in use by the late 17th century (Harding 2000:181).

After the Reformation in France, there were limited changes to burial practices. George Raeburn reminds us that "there was no single Reformation of death and burial" and that there was no one singular Protestant 'way of death' as a result (2020:156). In the 1560s, there were instances where Protestants who had been buried in Catholic burial grounds were dug up and thrown out of the site (Harding 2000: 174). Harding writes that "even after Protestant funeral rights and burial locations were in theory secured, they were subject both to official restriction and to popular attack" (2000:174). It was a time when both sides desecrated the graves and remains of the other, burning remains and leaving them in the streets or dumping them in rivers (Luria 2001:186; Raeburn 2020:156). The Edict of Nantes provided legal and political aid to the Huguenots, but also made them dependent on the state's authority (Luria 2001:187). Protestants were no longer allowed to bury their dead in the Catholic burial grounds, but instead were told that they would be given their own burial spaces at no expense, a feature which was argued heavily, as the Edict was not clear on how these burial spaces would be financed (Luria 2001:192). Like with the Anglican Church, the French Reformed Church did not believe in purgatory or the use of intersessions and stated that "no prayers or preaching will be offered nor public alms given at burials" (Luria 2001:194). Additionally, a royal decree in 1609 stated that Protestants could only bury their dead at night, without a funeral procession, and under armed guard in order to prevent any riots (INRAP 2005). In much

of Europe that took influence from John Calvin, the funeral and burial would have been a very quiet event, "actively avoiding anything that may have been deemed superstitious or intercessory" (Raeburn 2020:159).

In 2005, the first Protestant burial ground from the 17th century was excavated as part of a rescue operation at Saint Maurice (Val-de-Marne). An article published by the *Institut national de recherches archéologiques preventives* (INRAP) states that French Protestant burials would not have had grave markers in keeping with simple graves following the beliefs of John Calvin (2005). Based on the excavation, the burials were arranged in rows, and one example of burials stacked on top of one another, indicating the over-crowded nature of the site (Buquet-Marcon and Dufor 2016). The excavation identified 160 individuals in 159 grave shafts, and the Christian tradition of orienting the graves east-west was observed at the site, and they were all buried in shrouds (l'enveloppe souple), and were not buried with objects besides rings, likely their wedding rings (Buquet-Marcon and Dufor 2016). Evidence of coffins were found within 90% of the graves, and researchers note that in French burial grounds, coffin quality declined throughout the medieval period as they were made cheaper and available to more people, with the stereotypical hexagonal coffin appearing in the early medieval period (Buquet-Marcon and Dufor 2016). Coffin construction was noted to consist of the sides attached to the exterior edge of the bottom of the coffin and held together with nails (Buquet-Marcon and Dufor 2016). If individuals could not afford a coffin, they would have been carried to the burial site in a communal or parish coffin, then buried in their shroud in the ground. No lead coffins were uncovered at this site, nor did they identify any particularly 'rich' graves, and the archaeologists note that the most interesting feature of this site was the

standardization of the burials seen in the period immediately following the Edict of Nantes (Buquet-Marcon and Dufor 2016).

When French Protestant burial spaces and churches were allowed to be established such as the site discussed above, they were typically on the edges of towns. Martin Luther advocated for extramural burial grounds, not only away from consecrated grounds and church, but outside of the confines of the city walls (Raeburn 2020:162). Consecrated grounds were rejected for their affiliation with superstitious beliefs and Catholic rituals surrounding the dead. This separation of burials from living spaces was considered medical, as people began to fear the health implications of overcrowded burial grounds within their cities (Raeburn 2020:162). As already discussed, this trend for extramural burial spaces expanded through the 17th and 18th centuries, and in France saw the creation of the world's first recognized planned 'rural garden cemetery', *Cimetière du Père-Lachaise,* or Père Lachaise Cemetery, which opened in the east of Paris in 1804. Père Lachaise was also the first municipal cemetery in the city and opened the doors for garden cemetery development across Europe and into North America.

3.5 Colonization of North America

European colonization of northeastern North America began in earnest in the early 17th century, although there are multiple transitory archaeological sites that predate these pushes for occupation and exploitation of the land, such as the seasonal 16th-century Basque site at Red Bay, Labrador and the 16th-century English colony of Roanoke in North Carolina. These sites all demonstrate the economic and political interest in North

America by Europeans, and were used for fishing, trading, and resource collection. While none of these outposts became permanent, they were quickly followed by many European settlers with the same goals, which became the settler colonies that this research encompasses, and the towns and cities that we know today.

Given the research area of this project, with Hampton, Virginia, as the southernmost point in the study, I will not be looking at the impacts of Spanish settlement in North America, nor at the southern French settlements in the United States such as New Orleans. The sites included in this project are located in the northeast of North America, including the coast of Newfoundland. While the Basque fishers and whalers did establish temporary stations in Labrador and in Newfoundland, I will not be including Red Bay as a research site due to its earlier 16th-century date and the transient nature of its occupation. The Basque were present at the settlement of Placentia, NL, however, and therefore will be mentioned in that case study analysis. Virginia, while farther south than the majority of the other settlement areas, was included due to its strategic role for the British during the 17th century, with the establishment of Jamestown in 1607.

It is important to recognize that all the regions in this study are traditional territories and homelands to multiple Indigenous peoples, the majority of whom still reside there. It should also be recognized that the burial grounds in this study were established without consent of the Indigenous peoples on their land. Through acts of settler colonialism and by interring their dead in stolen land, the settlers were enacting another form of ownership over the space. The British settlements I am including in this research are on the lands of the following peoples: the Massachusett, Pawtucket, and Naumkeag (Boston), the western Nehantik and Mohegan (New London), the Piscataway (St. Mary's

City), Kiskiack (Jamestown), Wopanaak and Pokanoket (Newport), the N’dakina and Wabanaki (Popham Colony), Agawam, Pawticket, and Wabanaki (Old Newbury), Quinnipiac, Paugussett, and Wappinger (New Haven), Wabanaki, N’dakina, and Pennacook (York), Kecoughtan (Hampton).

The Dutch settlements I am including are situated on the lands of the Wappinger, Munsee Lenape, and Schaghticoke (Sleepy Hollow), Munsee Lenape (New Amsterdam, Port Richmond, and Port Richmond), Canarsie and Munsee Lenape (Flatbush, Flatlands, and New Utrect), Mohecan, Haudenosaunee, and Schaghticoke (Albany), and the Munsee Lenape and Schaghticoke (Kingston and Hackensack).

Finally, the French settlements this research focuses on include the lands of the Beothuk and Mi’kmaq (Placentia), Mi’kmaq and Wabanaki (Annapolis Royal, Pisiquid, and Grand Pre), Nitassinan/Innu and Wendake-Niowestsio (Quebec City), Passamaquoddy, Wabanaki, and N’dakina (St. Croix Island), N’dakina, Wabanaki, Nitassinan/Innu, and Wendake-Nionwentsio (Maison des Jesuits), Passamaquoddy, Wabanaki, N’dakina, and Penobscot (Pentagoet), Nitaskinan and N’dakina (Trois Riviere), and the Kanien’keha:ha and Haudenosaunee (Montreal). All these nation names were collected through Native-land.ca.

Part of this research will attempt to speak to the visibility of Indigenous peoples in colonial burial spaces. While this research examines colonial burial spaces established by European settlers, it is vital to recognise the peoples whose land they were created on. In many cases, settlers enslaved Indigenous peoples who were then subjected to burial practices in these new settlements rather than being buried in their communities, with

their own burial customs, as we will see at sites like the Maison des Jésuites de Sillery in Quebec.

This research must also acknowledge that since the establishment of permanent settlements in North America, there have been enslaved Black persons being brought to the continent against their will from countries in Africa and the Caribbean islands. British, French, and Dutch settlers exploited the bodies of enslaved Black people to build and maintain their colonies. “If there was a colony, enslaving people was part of a general practice of the time” said Ngozi Paul, a Black Canadia actor, writer, and producer (CBC News 2021), and this was certainly the case for the settlements included in this study. I will discuss this topic further in Chapter 7, as I aim to discuss the visibility of Black graves in colonial burial grounds and how they used these spaces in the 17th and early 18th centuries.

The sites selected for this project cover a wide range of burial ground variations within colonial towns, as well as what was happening with burial grounds during the 17th century. These sites, as well as background on the early colonization and settlement efforts by the British, French, and Dutch, will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

4 Survey Sites for Burial Landscape Analysis

4.1 Survey Introduction and Selection of Sites

The 17th century saw the age of colonization in North America, with European nations vying to stake their claim on what they believed were lands and resources free for the taking. In the previous chapter, I discussed the differences and similarities of funeral and burial practices in Britain, the Netherlands, and France through the late medieval period into the post-medieval and early modern periods, primarily focused on the 16th and 17th centuries. During this time, the Protestant Reformation was impacting the way much of Europe viewed and practiced their religion, which in turn, altered burial practices in different ways, the most significant of which was the removal of Purgatory from the church doctrine. While it was demonstrated that many burial practices, including coffin construction traditions were similar between the three study nations, there were some profound differences as well, which in turn affected the development of burial grounds in their North American colonies.

In this chapter, we look at northeastern colonial North America and examine key sites founded by these nations in the northeast of the continent, exploring how they each established their burial grounds within new communities, and adapted to changing beliefs in a new landscape, and the challenges it presented.

The key objective of this research involves the examination of burial landscapes in 17th-century colonial North America, centered around the northeast coastline and Hudson River Valley of the now United States, and the Atlantic Provinces and St. Lawrence River

Valley in what is now Canada. The research asks how these landscapes developed within their communities, and how those communities reflected the choices and beliefs of the people who resided there. By comparing the burial grounds created and used by settlers from different nationalities in the northeast, I was able to draw conclusions about regional burial traditions in North America, how this may have been affected by traditions from settler homelands, what secular practices are being demonstrated by burial ground placement in a community, and how religious and political loyalties played a major role in the burial practices that survive to this day.

The sites selected for this analysis consist of 10 settlements founded by 3 nationalities, the British (encompassing primarily sites founded by the English, with Scottish and Welsh settlers as well), the Dutch (made up of settlers from mainland Europe, mainly from the Netherlands), and the French, for a total of 30 settlements (see Appendix B). The distinction between sites is primarily based on the three founding linguistic cultures, and differences between their burial practices will be examined from there. The sites examined are in the Canadian provinces of Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, and the U.S. states of Maine, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia. I did not look at any sites in Labrador specifically as there were no permanent British, Dutch, or French settlements in the region. This includes the seasonal 16th-century Basque site at Red Bay, who established a burial ground on Saddle Island, and which is a unique example of an early European burial ground but outside the scope of this research (Grenier 2007:1:11; White 2015:33). Several of the settlements chosen have more than one burial ground established during the 17th century, in which case I examined each site within the community's burial

landscape as they relate to one another. It should also be noted that all these settlements took advantage of the Atlantic Slave Trade during the 17th century, a topic that will be examined in Chapter 7 with regards to enslaved peoples' place in the burial landscapes of colonial settlements.

In many cases, sites were founded by one country's settlers and overtaken by another, changing hands, and therefore changing ideas of settlement planning and beliefs, as was the case with New Amsterdam / New York, and Plaisance / Placentia. Therefore, I only examined the spatial layouts and development of burial grounds and settlements as they existed for the initial European inhabitants, reflecting the nation who originated the new mortuary landscape. The sites I discussed below research negatively impacted Indigenous peoples who lived in these areas as all settlements discussed were established on Indigenous territories without the permission of the continent's first inhabitants.

The 17th-century settler population of northeastern North America was diverse, coming from many countries with varied religious and social backgrounds. When reflecting on a country's colonies, it is important to note that not all the people living there were of one nationality, nor did they represent only that nation's interests. However, when a settlement was planned, it was directly influenced by those in power, typically the funding body or organization from a specific nation, such as the Virginia Company which held control over how things were run. As a result, it is impossible to generalize 'English', 'Dutch', or 'French' completely, but when referencing settlements founded by settlers primarily from these nations, I will refer to the group by the nation of origin, as that was typically the most influential group in the settlement with regards to religious power and influence over governance.

Dutch settlements investigated as part of this research were primarily dominated by the Dutch Reformed Church, while French settlements saw most of their settlers as followers of the Catholic Church, the national religion of France during most of the 17th century, although they were also influenced by the rise of Protestantism after the Reformations across Europe. These settler communities may have appeared homogenous from the outside, but within were teeming with smaller groups from a variety of religious and socio-economic backgrounds. For example, the first Jewish burial site in North America, the 'First Shearith Israel Graveyard', opened in New Amsterdam in 1656, and in 1682 included a second location to the north of the fortified settlement, operating until 1831 (Congregation Shearith Israel 2023). Their congregation, the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue, was established in 1654 and is the first Jewish congregation in North America, established before the British took over New Netherland in 1664 and is an excellent example of the multicultural foundations of the city (Congregation Shearith Israel 2023).

After the English Reformation of the 16th century, new burial spaces were formed in England as the Protestants took over the burial duties formerly overseen by the Catholic Church (Sayer 2010:26). In England, nonconformist groups such as the Quakers were not able to establish private burial spaces until the Glorious Revolution of 1688, and unconsecrated space for burial was not permitted until the 1855 Burial Grounds Act (Sayer 2010:26). In northeastern North America, however, these rules did not apply, resulting in the burial landscape we are familiar with today in those former British colonial settlements, such as the historic burial grounds in central Boston with their rows of death's head gravestones tucked between city blocks. The French and Dutch

settlements were also often not established in the same manner as communities that the settlers were familiar with back in Europe; they had to take their new landscape into account when planning suitable habitations for their settlers, and this included where to bury their dead. Living conditions in this unfamiliar landscape were, in some cases, much harsher than what they had known in Europe as well. However, within each country's colonial settlements there is evidence of settlement planning, and part of this research will explore how these places were influenced by traditions in Europe, particularly in relation to the burial spaces compared to living spaces.

Although Europeans had been present in North America prior to the 17th century, governments were hesitant to establish permanent colonies for some time due to early failures which included Saint Croix (French) and the Popham Colony (English), both located in Maine, as well as earlier 16th-century failed settlements such as Roanoke, North Carolina (English) or the settlement attempt by Huguenots in Florida (France). Many communities were established first as business ventures, such as those by the Massachusetts Bay Company, the London and Bristol Company (also known as the Newfoundland Company), the Virginia Company, and the Dutch West India Company (Geoctrooieerde Westindische Compagnie in Dutch or GWC), or funded by enterprising individuals, such as Sir George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore. While some settlers came to North America seeking a new way of life, many were connected to an existing economic enterprise, at least in the formative years.

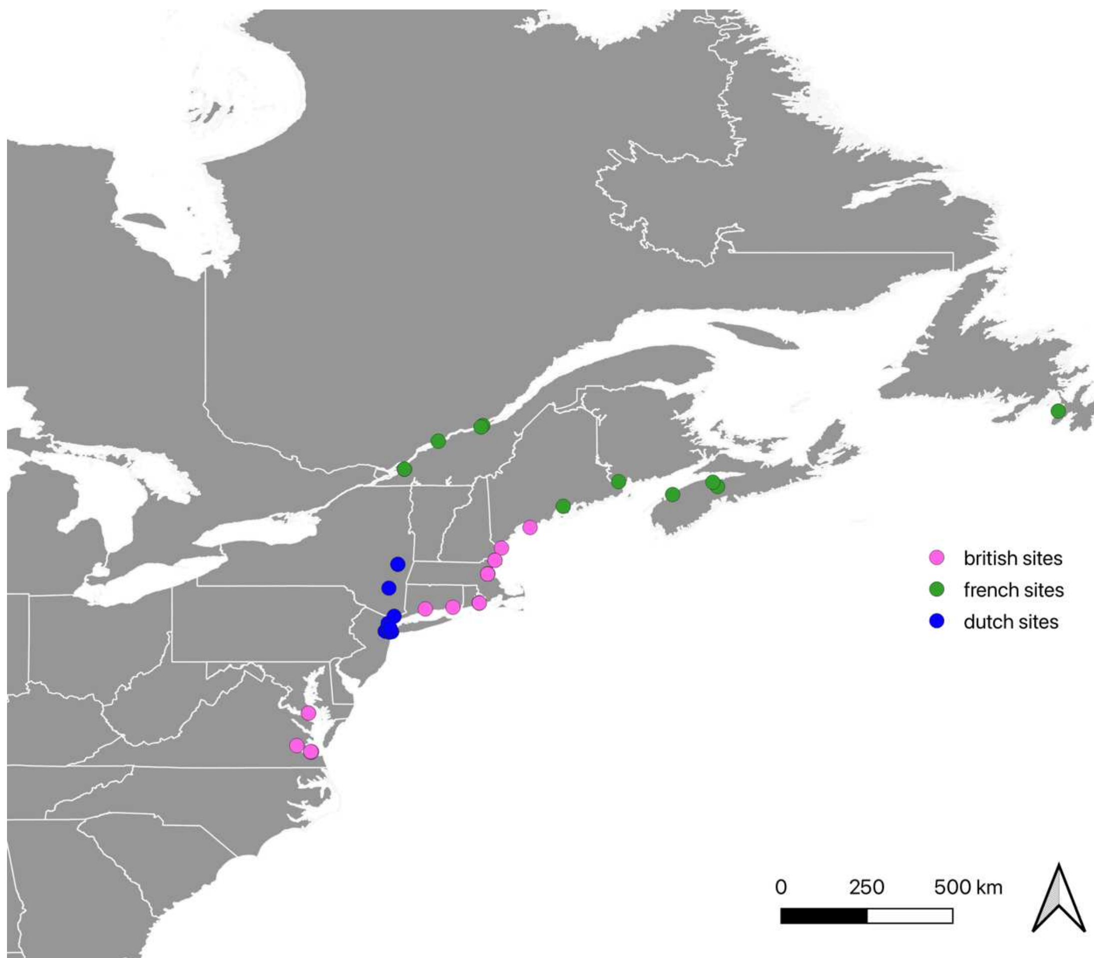


Figure 4.1: Overview map of all study sites (map created by Euan Patrick Wallace 2024).

4.1.1 British North American Settlements

British colonies in North America remain a major study area in historical archaeology today. These settlements occasionally followed specific construction guidelines, as indicated by those utilized in Jamestown, Virginia (Virginia Company 1606), but many groups used these new settlements as an opportunity to explore the organization of their dwelling and burial spaces beyond what was acceptable in England at that time (Lacy 2020:43-45). Determined to assert their claim over the east coast,

privately funded settlements were established by the British during the early 17th century at Jamestown, Virginia (1607), Cupids, Newfoundland (1610), and Plymouth, Massachusetts (1620). On the northeast coast of North America, British colonies were anchored between Virginia and Maine with the construction of Jamestown, VA and the Popham Colony, ME in 1607, neither of which were ultimately successful, but did follow a churchyard model with a graveyard surrounding a church, as was familiar to these English settlers (Brian 2003; 2016). Holt notes that the Anglican parish 'model' developed by the London Company wherein each community was a parish where landowners paid a tithe to the church was fundamental to the church-state development in the colonial 17th century (1985:32). While British settlements and burial grounds have been extensively studied in terms of gravestone iconography and artwork (Forbes 1927; Ludwig 1966; Blachowicz 2006), there have been fewer studies conducted on the development of the burial landscape in 17th-century North America, and how these may have formed a mortuary template for the nascent British colonies (Brooke 1988; Lacy 2017; Lacy 2020). Extensive competition between the Dutch, French and British lead to conflict for rule of these settlements, such as the British takeover of Dutch New Amsterdam in 1664 or the French attacks on Newfoundland in 1696, all of which affected burial landscape development. The French attacks on Newfoundland, for instance, changed the settlement patterns due to the destroyed structures and living areas, and as a result, the places of burial changes as well as dwelling areas shifted.

The British also established permanent settlements on the eastern shores of the island of Newfoundland beginning in the early 17th century with the establishment of Cupids and Ferryland. We know that the burial landscape at Ferryland was well

established by the 17th century and that gravestone carving was occurring on site (Lacy et al. 2018). Based on the tumultuous geography of Newfoundland, burial grounds were typically placed on hillslopes where the ground would not have been as easily used for farming, pasture, or construction, and can be identified by shaped field stones marking indented graves (Pocius 1986).

The residents of British settlements reflected a wide variety of religious backgrounds. British settlements were founded by primarily Anglican Protestants or Puritans, but we also see Catholic influence in some places as well, such as St. Mary's City, Jamestown, or Ferryland (not included in this study). Typically, these dominant faiths eventually gave way to others, or shared the ground with them, but when settlements were first established, we see the influence of the benefactor, company, or leading party's religion at the forefront. I will discuss the sites in order from north to south, including details on the burial ground locations and organization within each settlement, known archaeological work that has been carried out at each site, and the sites' relationships to religious structures.

4.1.1.1 The Sites

The British sites used as part of this research project were also included in my Master's research (Lacy 2017), though that project only examined British settlements and this dissertation aims to compare those burial landscapes to those of the contemporaneous Dutch and French. The sites selected for my PhD project were chosen to represent a wide spectrum of religious beliefs, site types and burial grounds during the 17th century.

4.1.1.2 York, Maine – The Old Anglican Graveyard (c1630s)

Associated with an Anglican chapel, this site was originally a graveyard and was later deconsecrated. The settlement of York, Maine, was established along the banks of the York River and was primarily occupied by people who followed the Church of England. The Anglican chapel and graveyard were constructed by the harbour in the 1630s, with the original York village location to the north. In 1652 the Massachusetts Bay Company purchased the claim to the Maine territory, and with that purchase came the influence of Puritans, with a Puritan-style burial ground being established to the north-west of York Harbor (Lacy 2017:67). The site was rediscovered in the 20th century, during excavations for the Emerson Hotel in 1925, although no archaeology was undertaken at this time (Emerson Baker, personal communication 2023). Further archaeological exploration in 1982 lead by Dr. Robert Bradley looked for evidence of the burial ground once again, however the construction of the hotel has destroyed most remaining subsurface traces of the burials (Emerson Baker, personal communication 2023).

4.1.1.3 Popham Colony, Maine – The Chapell (1607)

Also known as Fort St. George II, the Popham Colony was the first British settlement on the New England coast, established at the same time as Jamestown, Virginia, in an attempt by the English to hold the entire eastern coast of what would become the United States of America. Backed by the Plymouth Company, a fortified

settlement was constructed on a point of land, and ultimately failed after just one year of occupation (Brain 2003, 2016). Detailed plans of the fort and settlement were drawn by John Hunt in 1607 and showed planned spaces and structures within the fortified walls, including a church or "Chapell" with a churchyard surrounding it, in the northern portion of the fort (Hunt 1607 in Brain 2003:95).

Excavations at Fort St. George II between 2007 and 2013 confirmed the accuracy of the Hunt map, with individual post holes identified within inches of the plan's indication of structures, however human burials were not identified at that time (Brain 2016:40). While human remains have not been located to date, it is known that George Popham died at the fort and the church is the most likely location for his remains to have been interred. Brain states that a large rock feature nearby to the church location could possibly indicate an above-ground winter burial out of necessity (2016:17). The planned church and churchyard indicate that even though there have not been organized burials identified at the Popham Colony to date, the residents of the fort intended to follow an Anglican churchyard model similar to Jamestown, with a central church and surrounding graveyard. We can assume that, if the settlement had survived for more than a year, the planned churchyard would have been used for burials.

4.1.1.4 Boston, Massachusetts – King's Chapel Burying Ground (1630)

Boston, Massachusetts is one of the most well-known early British settlements from the 17th century, that still thrives as a metropolis to this day. Founded with the financial backing of the Massachusetts Bay Company in 1630 and beginning the 'Great

Migration' into North America, the city of Boston was established by Captain John Winthrop (Glaeser 2005:122). Winthrop led the aptly named Winthrop Fleet, made up of a large group of Puritan settlers who were looking for a place to practice their religion. The Puritans were intolerant of other religions, as they believed other offshoots of Protestantism did not do enough to reform the Catholic Church. Out of all the Puritan settlements that came afterword, Boston had some of the strictest Puritan laws surrounding the separation of Church and State including those relating to physical churches, burial practices, holidays, and burials.

Originally known as the Common Burying Ground, the first burial ground in Boston was opened in 1630 to serve the newly founded settlement. The space was municipally owned and referred to as a 'burial ground' rather than a graveyard or churchyard, which would imply a religious connection. It was devoid of religious iconography, large ceremonies, or association with religious structures, although the adage that the 'Puritan dead were buried in silence' would change dramatically throughout the 17th century (Hopkins 2014:15). The site is located centrally, approximately 230 m southwest of the location of the first meeting house in Boston, also constructed in 1630. Curiously, it was not indicated on early maps of the city, but rather outlined as a plot and not labeled as a burial ground on the 1645 Book of Possessions for Boston map (Lamb 1881). This reflects the early Puritan ideal of removal of ceremony from burial spaces, and in fact the Common Burying Ground was used to graze livestock as well as bury the dead (Hopkins 2014:17).

Towards the end of the 17th century, as more settlers of Anglican and other faiths began to trickle into the city, a church, named 'King's Chapel' was constructed on top of

a portion of the burial ground in 1686, destroying many early graves and monuments in the process (Hopkins 2014:40). This is where the site gets the name it is known by today, the King's Chapel Burying Ground. Hopkins suggests that in building the Anglican church on a portion of the burial ground rather than a "more neutral location, [they] were asserting their right to re-establish the Church of England's supremacy over the objections of the locals" in an effort to subdue Puritan New England (2014:9, 40).

4.1.1.5 Boston, Massachusetts – Copp's Hill Burying Ground (1659)

Boston's second burial ground was opened to the north of the downtown area when the Common Burying Ground / King's Chapel became too full. Copp's Hill Burying Ground, named for the farming family who previously owned the hill, was opened in 1659, with a commanding view over the north harbour from the hillslope. The burial ground has seen some restoration, including righting gravestones observed in the winter of 2023 during a site visit, and is overall in good shape. While later Boston residents did not build a church directly on this space like they did with King's Chapel, the Old North Church, also known as Christ Church in the historic records, was built approximately 124m to the east in 1723 (Hopkins 2014:40). This church is famous for its role in the American Revolutionary War, when two lanterns were held from the steeple to indicate that British forces were approaching over water.

Boston's surviving town records from the later 17th to early 18th centuries note several instances of the 'North Burying Place' being worked on and enlarged, carried out by the 'Committee about Enlarging the North Burying Place" starting in 1705 (Boston

Town Records 1650-1710:276-277). In 1723, these town records show the rules for ‘N_ funerals’, stating that Black, Indigenous, and mixed-race people “shal be Buryed halfe an hour before Sunset at the least and at the nearest burying place (where n_ are usually buryed)” (Boston Town Records 1650-1710:427). The extent of these rules and their impact on the Black community and Indigenous community in Boston will be discussed in Chapter 7.

4.1.1.6 Boston, Massachusetts – Granary Burying Ground (1660)

Only one year after Copp’s Hill Burying Ground was opened, the Granary Burying Ground was also opened (in 1660), on the same street where King’s Chapel was located. It was named such due to its proximity to a small granary that was moved to the adjacent lot. According to the City of Boston’s website, the Granary Burying Ground contains 2345 gravestones, and an estimated 5000 burials (City of Boston nd). Unfortunately, like many historic burial grounds in northeastern North America, the Granary has seen at least one period of reorganization of the gravestones in the 19th century to create a more curated, orderly look, and to accommodate a lawnmower for maintenance (City of Boston nd). While aesthetically pleasing for visitors, these practices remove the gravestones from the context of the grave, and thus we are no longer able to tell the locations of individuals as marked by their gravestones. Like the other two 17th-century burial spaces in the downtown core, the Granary was not originally associated with a church, until the Park Street Church was constructed in 1810 where the granary

itself once stood (Hopkins 2014:40). All three of these burial grounds were municipally owned and operated and were unconsecrated spaces.

4.1.1.7 Old Town, Newbury, Massachusetts – Burial Ground of the First Settlers (1638)

The historic Old Town Newbury is located approximately 6km south of the present community of Newburyport and was the original location of the settlement, which is now focused farther to the north. Established in 1635 by Puritan and Quaker settlers, the first meeting house in the area was built on the Lower Green before a burial space was established 450m north (Moody 1935). The 'Burial Ground of the First Settlers' was situated to the north of the town site, and was established in 1638, and barely visible from the current roadway. The name of this site bestows honour on the first Europeans to settle in the area, contributing to the mythmaking of early settlers that can often be seen at historic burial sites, such as well-preserved sites in Boston, MA.

4.1.1.8 Old Town, Newbury, Massachusetts – Old Town Cemetery (mid 1660s)

The second burial ground in Old Town Newbury was established in the mid 1600s and is closer to the centre of the community and the river. It is located to the east of the community's central green space, and neither burial space was associated with a church or meeting house.

4.1.1.9 Newport, Rhode Island – The Common Burial Ground (1665)

Newport, RI was founded by a group of English settlers in 1639 who were primarily Baptist, after separating their beliefs from the Puritan beliefs of those in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. This location was chosen for its deep-water port that made it an excellent economic hub for the region, and the city established its first municipal burial ground north of the original settlement location in 1665, when Dr. John Clarke deeded a 10.2-acre parcel of land to the city for burials (Newport Historical Society 2016). The city was also home to many Quakers and Jewish people, who arrived in the mid-17th century and flourished due to the religious freedom and separation of Church and State practiced there (Newport Historical Society 2023). At first, everyone was buried in the Common Burial Ground, before establishing their own burial spaces such as the Touro Synagogue Cemetery in 1677 for Jewish settlers (Gutstein 1905:34).

The original centre of town is located at the end of Broadway Street, and the first purpose-built meeting house was constructed in 1699 near the burial ground on Fairwell Street where it can still be seen today but, due to the late construction date, was not originally associated with the burial ground (Bayles 1888:486). Today, the burial ground contains approximately 7986 known burials with gravestones, and many other unmarked or unknown burials (Newport Historical Society 2016).

The north section of the site is known as 'God's Little Acre', and contains 499 burials of Black individuals, both free and enslaved, often showing the names of their enslavers on their gravestones. This section was segregated from the rest of the settler burials in the city's Common Burying Ground (Baugher and Veit 2014). More than 10% of the population of Newport, Rhode Island was enslaved during the colonial period, and

their presence reflected in the burial landscape to this scale is rare. A 1903 survey noted over 300 gravestones at the site, and in recent years the city has spent considerable resources conserving a number of surviving stones (Siber 2020).

4.1.1.10 Newport, Rhode Island – The Touro Synagogue Cemetery (1677)

Today, listed as a National Historic Site, the Touro Synagogue Cemetery was established in 1677 as the second Jewish cemetery in North America, after the Shearith Israel Cemetery in New York (Touro Synagogue Foundation 2022a). Prior to the establishment of this site, Jewish people would have been buried in the Common Burying Ground with the rest of the population. The Jewish settlers arrived from Barbados in the mid-17th century and were allowed to worship freely in Rhode Island but could not hold political offices or vote in local elections. While the land for their burial ground was purchased in 1677, a synagogue was not constructed until the mid-18th century, dedicated on the first night of Hanukkah, December 2, 1763 (Gutstein 1905:34; Touro Synagogue Foundation 2022b). The site was located centrally within the community at the intersection of what is now Touro and Kay Street.

4.1.1.11 Newport, Rhode Island – Quaker Meeting House Burials (pre-1675)

There has been little research on the first burial ground for the Quakers in Newport, which was located to the west of the Great Friends Meeting House, constructed in 1699 (Sarah Schofield-Mansur, personal communication 2023). The Fiske Center for Archaeological Research carried out a GPR survey of the site in 2011 on behalf of Sarah

Schofield-Mansur (nee Schofield) for her undergraduate honours thesis in Cultural and Historic Preservation at Salve Regina University. They note that Quaker graves are particularly difficult to detect using non-invasive techniques, due to their simplistic burials in plain wood coffins, lack of burial vaults, the traditional Quaker view of not condoning grave markers, and the multi-use nature of the burial spaces leading to disturbed graves (Bromberg and Shephard 2006:61-62; Steinberg et al. 2011:8). The study identified 42 potential graves within a confined area, with the graves running perpendicular to the existing meeting house, roughly east/west, as well as a potential buried surface and foundations to the northwest of the meeting house, which could be part of the original structure on the property (Steinberg et al. 2011). Additional details about these burials including when the site stopped being used is currently unknown.

4.1.1.12 Newport, Rhode Island – The Clifton Burying Ground (1675)

Quakers have a long history in Newport, with the Great Friends Meeting House, constructed in 1699, being the oldest surviving house of worship in the state of Rhode Island, predated by an earlier meeting house on the same property. The Quaker 'Society of Friends' was originally formed in the 1640s, and Friends would have been buried in the Common Burying Ground or adjacent to the meeting house, before they established the Clifton Burying Ground in 1675. The site was named for Thomas Clifton, who left the land in his will to the Friends for their burial site (Rhode Island Historical Cemeteries nd).

4.1.1.13 New Haven, Connecticut – New Haven Green (1638)

A classic design for a New England settlement, New Haven, CT was designed at once as a nine-cell town, centred around a large public green space. This town plan was copied by other New England settlements that came after, such as Guilford, CT. The settlement was established by Puritan settlers in 1638 on the land of the Quinnipiack people (Sletcher 2004:11), and the town green acted as a communal meeting space, used for markets, grazing animals, public events, and for burials. Other nearby settlements, such a Guilford, CT, were designed using New Haven's plan as their model, and we see the popularity and commonality of the central town green across New England. The first meeting house was constructed on the green around 1640, but space had been set aside already for burials so it is suspected that the meeting house was not meant to be directly associated with the burials in the way that a church would (Sexton 2001).

Today, the central burial ground in New Haven is hidden, with the gravestones having been removed. A portion of the original burial ground layout is protected in the basement of the Center Church on the green's crypt, which was constructed over a portion of the burial ground and protected it in situ. Outside in the green, the remains of early settlers are often uncovered during windstorms, as uprooted trees pull bones from the soil (Kaempffer and Beach 2012).

4.1.1.14 New London, Connecticut – Ye Antientist Burial Ground (1652)

The town of New London was founded officially in 1637 with the construction of the first house, but the settlement didn't develop much further until the arrival of John

Winthrop Jr. in 1646 (Slater 1987:220; Lacy 2017). This was another Puritan-founded community in Connecticut, and we see that influence in how their burial space and meeting house were established. A space for a community burial ground was set aside overlooking the harbour near the centre of the settlement in 1652, when a vote was cast by the town the next year stating that "it shall bee for the Common Buriall place, and never be impropriate by any" (Blake 1897:37).

The first purpose-built meeting house was constructed in 1655 near the burial ground, but as it was constructed after the burial ground was already established. It is likely that the proximity to the burials was not a defining factor in its location (Caulkins 1895:108-109). However, the proximity of burial space and meeting house to one another cannot be ignored. Prior to this, town meetings and services were held in a barn which was also nearby to the burial ground.

4.1.1.15 St. Mary's City, Maryland – St. Mary's Fort Burial Ground (~1634)

Sir George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore, founded the settlement at Ferryland, NL, his colony of 'Avalon' in 1621, and in 1629 wrote to the King of England asking for land farther south (Calvert 1629 in Cell 1982). While George Calvert never made it to his new colony, his son Cecil Calvert inherited land grants in what is today Maryland and established St. Mary's City in 1634, a settlement which he hoped would operate with religious freedom (Krugler 2004:118). This wish resulted in an interesting mixture of Protestant and Catholic religious practices at the fortified settlement.

In 1992, archaeologists at St. Mary's City accidently uncovered the lower legs and feet of an individual in the Mill Field while excavating what appeared to be a post-hole feature but turned out to be a grave shaft, and backfilled the grave to protect it. With the recent discovery of the St. Mary's Fort location by Travis Parno and his team, this grave has been fully excavated to reveal a teenaged boy with several injuries who was buried in suspected rigor mortis due to the unusual position of his body, with no burial shroud or coffin (Ruane 2023; Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023). It is likely he was buried hastily, resulting in the awkward angle of his arms and one of his hands remaining balled tightly into a fist. His grave, along with another suspected grave feature, were oriented with the south wall of the fort, north-northeast by south-southwest, while another cross-cutting grave shaft is oriented east-west, though these second and third burials have yet to be excavated at the time of writing (Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023). It is currently unknown if there was a place of worship within St. Mary's Fort, but the first timber chapel to the south was constructed sometime in the later 1630s, likely after this burial space had stopped being used (Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023). It is currently unknown how many burials might be associated with this site adjacent to the fort wall, but it was likely the first burial space for the community.

4.1.1.16 St. Mary's City, Maryland – St. Mary's City Burial Ground (late 1630s)

With the location of the original St. Mary's Fort having recently been located by Travis Parno and his team, it has been confirmed that the first burials organized around a

chapel were taking place outside the fortified living area, to the south of the south wall (Miller 1986; Riordan 1991; Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023). There is archaeological evidence of several periods of burials at St. Mary's City. The earliest Catholic burials from the 1630s were aligned east / west with the first priest's home before the first chapel was constructed in 1639, and the later Brick Chapel in 1667 (Riordan 2000:1-1,1-3). Afterward, we see orientation shift slightly to align with the east / west of that structure instead, and finally in relation to the Brick Chapel (Riordan 2000:3-4). The close proximity of the burials to these structures suggests the importance of being associated with a spiritually significant space after death, something that was important to both Protestants and Catholics, but for different reasons.

4.1.1.17 Jamestown, Virginia – Jamestown Burials (1607)

Jamestown is famously known as the first permanent British settlement in North America, founded in 1607, although that claim is tenuous based on their history of illness, death, and brief abandonment of the settlement. However, one cannot talk about early British enterprises in North America without mentioning Jamestown. The first purpose-built church in the settlement was constructed in 1607 but burned down shortly afterward, to be replaced in 1608 with a second church in the centre of the fort (Kelso 2006:24). While Jamestown was governed by rules laid out by its benefactor, the Virginia Company, and was officially Anglican, there has been some evidence of Catholic practices or at least resilient traditions such as a small silver box recovered from the grave of Captain Gabriel Archer, who died in 1609/10 (Jamestown Rediscovery 2021).

Burials at Jamestown took place haphazardly at first, based on necessity of burying the fast-falling dead, all within the walls of the settlement. Organized burials took place in and around the central church, following strict instructions from the Virginia Company to “not advertise the killing of any of your men, that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that the loss of many of theirs they diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you” (1606).

4.1.1.18 Hampton, Virginia – St. John’s Episcopal Second Church (1623/23)

The town of Hampton, Virginia is the southernmost site being investigated for this project. The settlement was preceded by Algernourne or Algemon Fort around 1610, when British settlers moved into the area and took land from the Kecoughtan people (Davis 1907:23; Tyler 1922;13). Known first as Elizabeth City, Hampton has three historic burial grounds that are all associated with the St. John’s Episcopal Church, the oldest English-speaking parish in the USA. Associated with mainline Protestantism, this church and community burial space reflect the Anglican Church of England during the 17th century.

While the location of the first church in Hampton is currently unknown, it has been speculated to have existed at the south end of the settlement near Church Creek on the coast, but others have argued that it was closer to the later settlement area (Mason 1946; Nicholas Luccketti, personal communication 2023). The second church was constructed east of the primary settlement area in 1623/24, and excavations undertaken at the churchyard showed that there were burials at that location (Holt 1985). Excavations

began in 1966 by the Archaeology Society of Virginia, and identified the foundation, burials within the church, and a deposit of 200 Middle Woodland period Indigenous pottery sherds (500-1000 BCE) (Holt 1985:1). The burials identified within the church were those of prominent citizens, as confirmed by records, and burials continued within the structure after the burial ground was 'abandoned' for the 3rd church site in 1667 (Holt 1985:84). Graves overlapped, and some were aligned north-south, in contrary to the typical Christian tradition and in some cases the coffin shapes were possible to determine based on surviving nails (Holt 1985:84). Additionally, gravestone fragments found at the site which date to the 17th century were made from an imported limestone, reflecting what we saw at Jamestown (Holt 1985:94). While the settlement was protected by the construction of forts in the nearby area, the town itself was not surrounded by a fortification such as blockhouses or a palisade, and therefore will not be counted as 'fortified' for the purposes of this research.

4.1.1.19 Hampton, Virginia – St. John's Episcopal Third Church (1667)

The third iteration of St. John's Episcopal in Hampton was constructed farther to the west of the original settlement in 1667. Burials were associated with this church, with some 17th- and 18th-century gravestones still present and which is marked on the urban landscape by an outline of bricks over the foundation. The original church would have been made from wood and was in use until the construction of the current St. John's Church in 1728, which is situated in the centre of the city (St. John's Episcopal Church 2023). This burial site is slightly to the west of the centre of the settlement.

4.1.2 Dutch North American Settlements

Seventeenth-century Dutch settlements in North America were established by the GWC and were found along the coast of New England and New York, with the major occupation areas in New York and the Hudson River Valley, although select settlements could be found as far south as New Jersey and Delaware, as well as coastal Connecticut to the north. While there were unique landscape adaptations in these sites specific to North America (Cantwell and Wall 2008:316), it appears that many 17th-century Dutch settlements followed patterns of settlement from the Netherlands, as well as a wider corporate image for settlements held by the VOC (Dutch East India Company) and the GWC (Van Oers 2000:10-11; Cantwell and Wall 2008:316). Van Oers demonstrates that the planning and organization of Dutch colonial settlements resulted from their drive for planning and spatial organization, and there were many commonalities between these settlements (2000). We can see that Dutch military tactics, civil-engineering, and urban structures are represented in a community, with urban structures represented by streets and blocks, which typically relied on a grid system which has survived at many sites in the study area to this day (Van Oers 2000:16-17). The term 'Dutch' in the 17th century sense meant a shared background of mostly Protestant and mostly northern European, but as the seven provinces of the Netherlands had only recently joined together, the national identity was not yet fully formed (Cantwell and Wall 2008:316).

The 16th-century Dutch scholar Simon Stevin created an 'Ideal Scheme for a City', a city-block based settlement inspired by Dutch elements with a Roman influence, resulting in a scheme known as "the Dutch urban model" (van Oers 2000:79). This city plan contained four elements of typical Dutch town design which are reflected in colonial

settlements including: surrounding the settlement with a ditch or moat; retaining central squares for the market and trading hubs; public elements in the centre of town such as the main church, town hall, and prison; and finally, the tolerance for other religious groups (van Oers 2000:81-84). While not all of these elements are present in every Dutch colonial settlement in the study area, we can see aspects of this 'ideal' design which reflects Dutch town planning and significance of space, in many communities.

Diversity in Dutch communities in Europe was minimal, and their settlements overseas were formed from a diverse group of settlers from across mainland Europe and the British Isles, and enslaved people from Africa and North America (Cantwell and Wall 2008:317). Initially, the GWC did not want to expand away from a trading post model, but they required more settlers and agricultural land to oppose the English presence in the area (Cantwell and Wall 2008:321). When more settlers arrived, they began to break an earlier pattern of clustering settlements around Fort Orange (Albany, NY), and expansive agricultural enterprises were established, as well as towns beyond the Hudson River Valley, including on Long Island and Manhattan Island (Cantwell and Wall 2008:322). "Unlike towns in the Republic (the Netherlands), but like most of the other Dutch colonies in the Americas, the Dutch towns in New Netherland began as 'open' settlements: although the larger ones had forts, the towns themselves were not fortified" (Cantwell and Wall 2008:322). While this lack of large fortifications could be seen as the settlers being on good terms with the Indigenous peoples of the area in the early years, the GWC also encouraged the construction of towns near the larger settlements as they acted as buffers in case of attack, whether that be by other Europeans or Indigenous peoples,

and eventually the Dutch did begin to fortify entire settlements due to the Algonquian and Anglo-Dutch Wars (Cantwell and Wall 2008:322).

Burial spaces in these early Dutch communities would have been spaces for people of diverse backgrounds. The first enslaved Africans were brought to New Amsterdam, now New York City, in 1625, and were later used to create a 'buffer zone' between the settlement and the Indigenous people through "granting 'half-freedoms' and farmland outside the city walls and the settlement area around 1643 (Perry 1997:1). Their own burial space, today known as the African Burial Ground, was in this buffer zone, but it is unknown when the space was first used for burials (Perry 1997:1). This space was marginal and physically separate from the 'Dutch' living and dying spaces, establishing a very clear separation between Black and Indigenous people, and the New Amsterdam community of white settlers. Before the African Burial Ground was open, it is likely that enslaved Africans were buried together with slave holders in churchyards.

While the Dutch settlements in North America had a diverse population, the primary religion we see reflected in the archaeology and documentation is that of the Dutch Reformed Church. This is an offshoot of Protestantism, which became dominant in the Netherlands after the Reformation in Europe and spread to their colonies during the 17th century and onwards. The church associated with nearly every Dutch site in this study is a Dutch Reformed Church, many of which still have active congregations to this day. Other religious groups were also present in Dutch settlements, such as the large Jewish population in New Amsterdam which has been continually present since what is now New York was first founded. Dutch burial grounds had gravestones, and the oldest surviving examples are from 1690 and 1720 (Richard 2014:1). The use of gravestones

leading up to and including this period is not common in the Netherlands, suggesting that they adopted the tradition while in North America (Welch 1987:1; Merwick 1990:193).

In 1664, the English took over the territory known as New Netherland, and the city of New Amsterdam was renamed New York, the name we know it by today. Historian Jaap Jacobs writes that "by 1664, New Netherland did not fit any more into the changing Dutch Atlantic economy… New Netherland was merely a convenient bargaining chip for the Dutch Republic. It was expendable" (2009:251). The Dutch culture and language persisted in the region for decades, though it would be in slow decline through the 18th century.

4.1.2.1 Albany, New York – Fort Orange Burial Ground (1624)

The modern city of Albany, capital city of the state of New York, has had a tumultuous past. The settlement was first established as Fort Orange by the GWC on the east bank of the Hudson River in 1624, making it the third isolated outpost fort in what would later become the first 13 original colonies of the United States, and one of the oldest continuously occupied European settlements in North America (Huey 1986:327). It is predated by Jamestown in 1607, Cupids in 1610, Plymouth in 1620, and Ferryland in 1621, and was the first permanent Dutch settlement in New Netherland. Today, the site of the fort is located under a highway overpass and was excavated prior to road construction over a six-month period in 1970-71 by an archaeological team from the State Historic Trust (today the Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation) lead by Paul Huey and comprised primarily of volunteers (New York State Museum 2018).

While there is not much information available on the burial practices held by the soldiers and others who resided in Fort Orange before it fell into ruin in the 18th century, several references have been made to burials in the garden of the nearby patroon[3]'s house, on personal property, or near a temporary church in a warehouse by the fort. The 'Friends of Albany History' website references the fort's burial ground, which would have been located today on Pruyn Street, approximately 70m northeast of the fort's location. Maria van Rensselaer, administrator and treasurer of the Manor of Rensselaerswych and widow of the patroon Jeremias van Rensselaer, wrote to her brother-in-law in 1682:

> "I cannot bear to see him (Robert Livingston) any longer in possession of the patroon's garden, where my husband, my child, and brother deceased, lie buried, [and to know] that he is master of it" (van Rensselaer 1684/1935).

She references the garden of the patroon's home, which stood near the fort as indicated on the Romer map of 1698 (Bradley 2006:96). Bradley labels the patroon's garden as a burial ground, indicating that burials were taking place there prior to the establishment of the formal church in Beverwijck, which is logical considering that church services were taking place in the/near the patroon's house at that time. While located on the property of a powerful family, this burial ground was not within the bounds of the fort at the time it was being used.

---

[3] A 'patroon' was a Dutch landholder of large tracts of land in New Netherland. Their lands were called 'patroonships', and were granted by the GWC.

4.1.2.2 Albany, New York – First Dutch Reformed Church (1655)

The nearby settlement of Beverwijck was laid out by the GWC north of the fort in 1652, and like the fort was separate from the Colonie of Rensselaerswijck which surrounded them completely (Huey 1986:327). It grew north of the enclosed fort due to lack of space and was eventually controlled by the GWC and became the focus of British expansion into the city of Albany as we know it today. While the first church services in Beverwijck were held in the warehouse at the back of the patroon's own home just north of the fort, services were only held there until 1655 when a purpose-built church was constructed (Venema 2003:83). The first Dutch Reformed Church in Beverwijck also served as a blockhouse, standing in the centre of the intersection of Broadway and State Street, street names and layouts which are still present to this day (Figure 4.2 and 4.3). This wood structure was built to house members of the congregation for services, but also to provide a safe place to go if there was an attack on the community. Venema writes that the "structure, which was built of heavy wooden timbers in a square configuration, was erected squarely in the middle of the intersection of the two roads, so that the large weathervane in the form of a rooster could be seen from all directions" (2003:84). The church was then enlarged by constructing a stone structure around the exterior in 1715 to create a stronger, larger building, and eventually was demolished by 1806 (Huey 1986:329).

In the 1870s, Joel Munsell wrote about an ongoing construction work that was uncovering sections of the town's palisade and first church:

> "Bodies were allowed to be buried under the church in consideration of the payment of a sum for the privilege. There was at first a grave-yard in the street,

> adjoining the church on the west, and when the lot on which the Middle Dutch church now stands was appropriated for a cemetery, the bodies under the church were not all removed, it may be inferred, for in the digging of a trench on the north side of State street in 1875, it perforated the old foundation still remaining there, and human bones were thrown out… Although a trite subject to many of you, I will venture to mention that in the process of time this ground on Beaver street was completely buried over, when a foot of sand was added to the surface, and a new tier of coffins placed upon the first, each coffin required to be square and to be placed against the previous one" (Munsell 1876:25).

This church was centrally located for the community, offering protection and a place of worship for the Reformed community, as well as a central burial location within the fortified walls of the *bijeenwoninge* (community, literally 'living together'). For a short period of time not only could individuals be buried within the church, but in the grounds adjacent. The church and grounds were not only fortified themselves but located within the fortifications of Beverwijck.

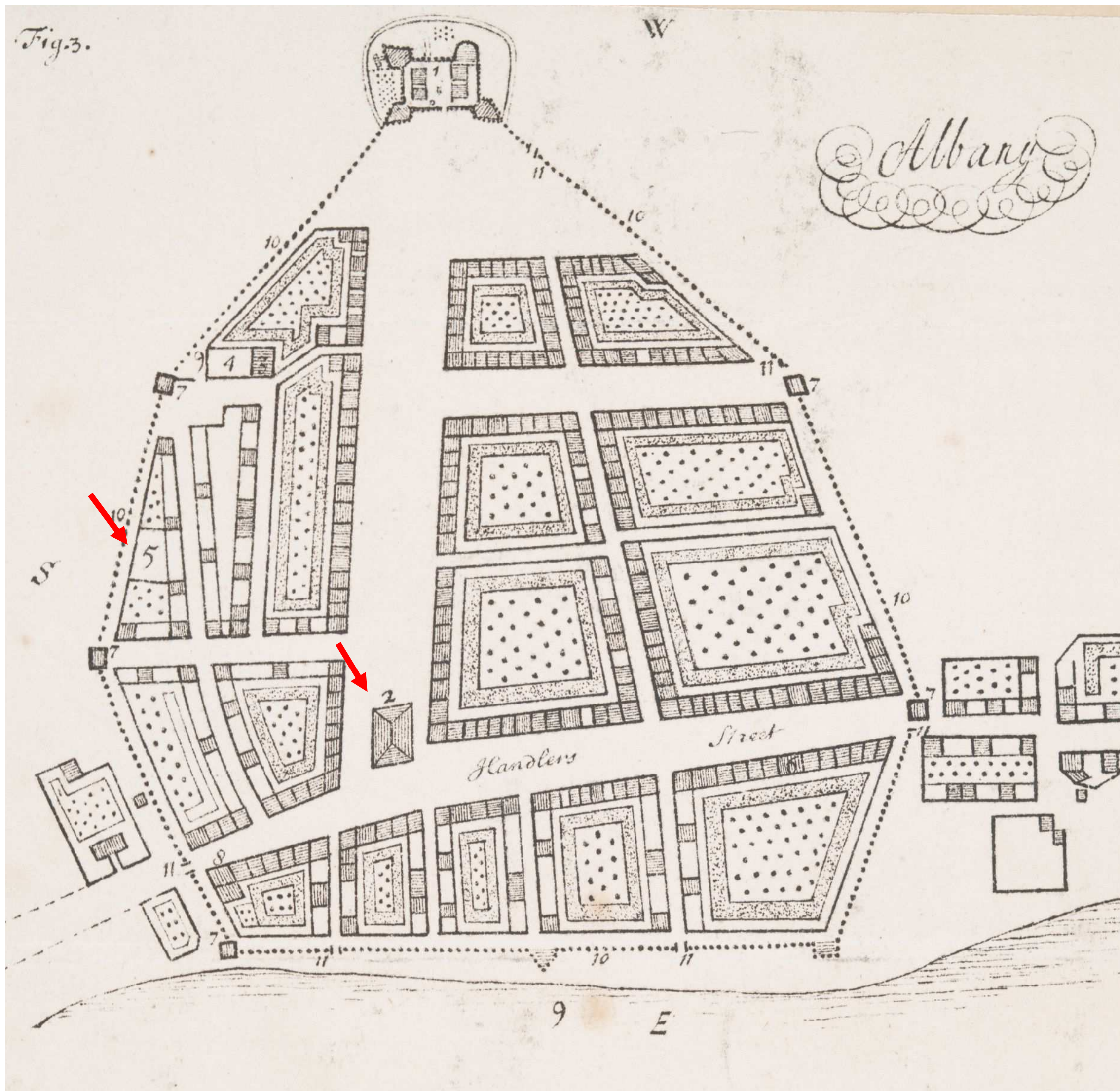


Figure 4.2: 1695 Miller map of Albany, redrawn 1843, with Old Dutch Church (#2) and burial ground (#5) indicated (Rodd 1843, image provided by the New York Public Library Digital Collections).

Figure 4.3: Photo looking northwest at the intersection of Broadway and State St., Albany, NY. The first Dutch Reformed Church in the city was located in this intersection. (photo by author 2023).

4.1.2.3 Albany, New York – First Dutch Reformed Church Burial Ground (1658)

Shortly after the construction of the blockhouse / church in 1656, the Dutch Reformed Church burial ground was established on Beaver Street, which opened two years later in 1658. Referred to on the Miller plan of 1695 as the 'Dutch church burial place', the site was located approximately 185 m southwest of the church, still within the fortified walls of the settlement. As referenced above in the quote by Munsell, when the burial ground became crowded, the gravestones were laid flat and a foot of dirt was used to cover the old graves, making room for new ones on top. He stated that the coffins had

to be “square” against one another, suggesting that coffins with gabled lids would have been discouraged in order to improve the stacking in the graves. The Middle or Second Dutch Church was later built on top of part of this burial ground in 1806, serving as the church until 1881, and is visible on the 1876 Plan of Albany (Hopkins 1876). The site is now beneath a car park and post office.

It should be noted that near this site also stood the first Lutheran church and graveyard in Albany. The congregation dates to 1649, but the church and burial space were not established until at least 1670, after the British took over New Netherland, and therefore are not included in this analysis. They likely held worship in another space, possibly a private residence, until the construction of their church.

4.1.2.4 Kingston / Wiltwijch, New York – Old Dutch Church and Graveyard (1650s-1660s)

The settlement of Kingston, originally known as ‘Esopus’, and then Wiltwijck or Wiltwyck by the Dutch, is the third oldest Dutch settlement in New Netherland after Albany and New York and was the first capital of the region. According to historic records, in 1652 a deal was struck between the Dutch and the Indigenous people of the area, the Munsee Lenape, for land “situated in the Esopus” (Van Buren 1912:128). The nature of this deal is unknown, but soon there was significant conflict between the Indigenous peoples and the Dutch, resulting in the fortification of Kingston. Previously an expansive farming community, homes were relocated within or near the newly erected palisade, after an agreement was reached with Peter Stuyvesant, 7th Director of New

Netherland. The order stated that the settlers were "to immediately demolish in the best possible manner [their] separate dwellings and to congregate on the spot designated by the Lord General, to surround the said spot with each other's and with the assistance sent by the Ld. Dir. Gen. with palisades of a sufficient height" (Stuyvesant 1658). The area selected for the fortified settlement is known today as the Kingstone Stockade National Historic District. The original stockade area enclosed only two blocks of present-day Kingston, and was expanded three times, in 1661, 1669/1670, and finally in 1676/1677 (Diamond 2006). In Stuyvesant's journal recording the decision, he stated that "the spot marked out for the settlement [had] a circumference of about 210 rods" (Fernow 1881:85), with one Dutch rod equalling approximately 12 feet, indicating that the original palisade area was approximately 2520 feet in circumference, or 768 metres.

The Old Dutch Church and graveyard was located at the south extent of the final expansion of the fortified settlement. With the first church having been constructed at the site in 1661 in the southwest corner of the present lot which has seen five churches to date, the site would have been south of that original fortified area when the first palisade was constructed in 1658. The 1695 Miller plan of the fortified settlement does show the church and adjacent churchyard within an inner fortified area, the date of which is unknown, although it appears that this area was likely fortified during the last expansion of stockade as an interior defensive area for the settlers[4]. The present church on the site is located closer to the centre of the lot, and there are many Dutch-language gravestones surrounding it, as well as locally made gravestones that were clearly not carved by

[4] I could only find reference to this interior fortification beyond the map label on one genealogical website: http://www.jwwerner.com/ODC/OldDutchChurch.html

professionals, indicating that people in the area who could not afford a more formal gravestone were making do with what was available to them.

4.1.2.5 Sleepy Hollow, New York – Old Dutch Reformed Church Graveyard (mid-17th century)

Made famous by Washington Irving's short story, '*The Legend of Sleepy Hollow'*, published in 1820, the town of Sleepy Hollow is located on the Hudson River north of New York City. Originally North Tarrytown, as part of the wider Tarrytown area as can be seen on the 1891 area plan (Beers 1891), it did not adopt the name Sleepy Hollow until the 20th century. It was a small community, started in the mid-17th century by Dutch settlers to New Netherlands. The National Register of Historic Places Inventory form states that "a community burial ground was soon established on the north bank of the Pocantico River", a tributary of the Hudson River (Greenwood 1976). There were already at least 50 burials in the burial ground when Frederick Philipse, First Lord of Philipsburg Manor, had a church built at the south end of the site (Greenwood 1976). The present church was constructed between 1697 and 1702, with periods of remodelling throughout the 19th century.

While the church was not constructed until after the British took hold of New Netherland, the settlement had been well established prior to 1664. The burial ground was located to the north of the community, which was not fortified as it was primarily an agricultural town. The church and burial ground were in the 'Neutral Ground' during the

Revolutionary War during the 18th century, when an earthwork was erected to the north of the burial ground, in the present Sleepy Hollow Cemetery (Greenwood 1976).

4.1.2.6 Hackensack, New Jersey – First Reformed Dutch Church of Hackensack (1696)

The city of Hackensack, New Jersey was originally founded by the Dutch as a small trading post in the 1640s, on the west banks of the Hackensack River, a tributary of the Hudson River. Originally called 'New Barbadoes', the name of the city honours Lenni-Lenape (or Munsee Lenape, according to Native-lands.ca) Chief Oratam, the Sagamore or leader of Hacquinsacq, when the name was changed by referendum vote in 1921 (City of Hackensack 2022). While the Dutch settlers occupied the area prior to the British takeover of New Netherland in 1664, the major development of the city took place after British rule was established and may have had some influence in the town design. The land for Hackensack was granted to Nathaniel Kingsland in 1668, but the church and congregation were not officially formed until 1686, and no church was constructed until 1696 adjacent to the already existent town green (Westervelt 1922:3). While the British had already taken over New Netherland, now New York by 1664, their influence in rural areas was minimal, under the rule of a British governor that would have just been inserted to govern an entire region. As a result, this site is being included as a Dutch site, as the British influence over the area would have been negligible at this time.

The town green, Dutch Reformed Church, and burial ground are all on the USA National Register of Historic Places. It is unclear whether the burial ground was present prior to the construction of the church, although records indicate that the church land was

deeded to the town in 1696 by a man named John Berry who lived in the area during its construction (Westervelt 1922:3). This suggests that at least this burial space was established around the same time that the church land was given to the city, and earlier settlers may have had family plots on their own land or another, currently unknown, burial site location. As this settlement was primarily developed in the later 17th century, it was not fortified beyond the natural protection offered by the river on the east side of the original town site.

4.1.2.7 Jersey City / Bergen, New Jersey – Old Bergen Church and Churchyard (1668)

Originally named Bergen by Dutch settlers, Jersey City, NJ, is on the traditional territory of Munsee Lenape people. The Dutch settlement was established in 1660, as the first permanent European settlement in the modern state of New Jersey, and a fortified area was established as four evenly sized street blocks around a central stockaded fort (New Jersey City University 2023a; Tedesco et al. nd:2). The Old Bergen Church houses the longest continuously running congregation in New Jersey, having been started the same year that the settlement was founded. The first services were held in private homes, the fortified blockhouse at the northwest corner of Tuers and Vroom Avenues, which was either replaced by, or also acted as, a schoolhouse, and in 1661 land was set aside for the community's first burial ground and church (Van Winkle 1902; Karnoutsos 2023). Services were held in the schoolhouse until 1680/81, when an octagonal church made of sandstone was constructed by architect William Day. A second church was built in 1773 in the same location, and the current church was built in 1841, all to the southwest of the

fortified area. The location of the 2nd church can be seen on the John Hills 1781 map of New Jersey, with the burial ground location indicated by a red box (Figure 4.4).

The first recorded burial at this site took place in 1668, and the site that is visible today on Bergen Ave is an extension of the larger burial ground which covered more of the area and has since been sold off. The churches and burial spaces were located just outside of the fortified settlement, on the southwest of the community. Van Winkle also states that there was a second burial ground developed at a later date where the octagonal church once stood in the southwest corner of Bergen and Vroom Aves (Van Winkle 1902; New Jersey City University 2023b).

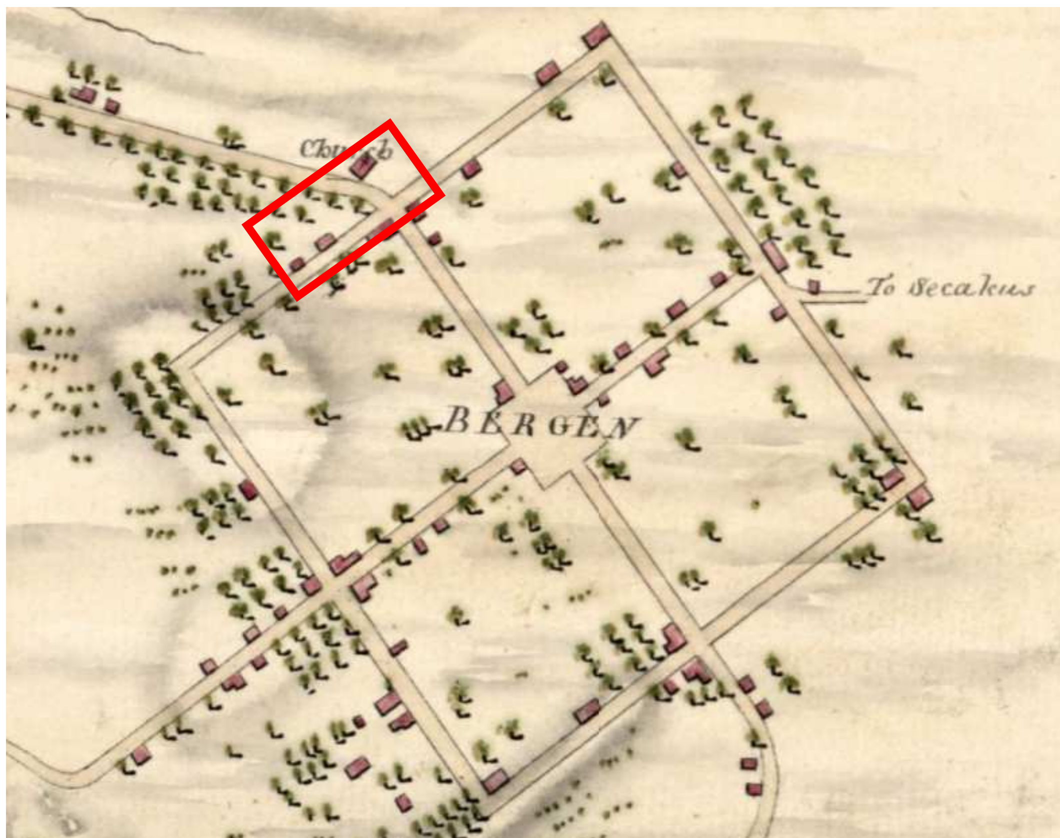


Figure 4.4: The area delineated in red indicated the Church and burial ground on the John Hill map of New Jersey, showing Bergen (Hill 1781)

4.1.2.8 New Amsterdam, New York – First Community Burial Ground (pre-1656)

New Amsterdam is the most famous of all the early Dutch settlements in northeastern North America, as it became New York City as we know it today. Founded in 1625 with the construction of Fort Amsterdam (Cantwell and Wall 2008:319), the first Dutch Reformed Church was constructed a few years later in 1628 on de Heere Straat, now Broadway (Miller 1695). The primary settlement area was north of Wall Street, the north end of the original fortifications, with farmland and sparce settlement to the north, and the majority of the planned streets around the Fort and within the walls are reflected in the layout of lower Manhattan today.

The first known municipal burial ground in New Amsterdam was established many years prior to 1656, as records that year state “it is highly necessary to divide the Old Graveyard, which is wholly in ruins, into lots to be built upon, and to make another Grave-yard, south of the Fort, and to remove the houses standing there” (Fernow 1897:24-25). The Old Graveyard was located within the fortified walls of the city on the west side of what is now Broadway. Despite the record cited above, the second Dutch Reformed burial ground was not located south of the fort at the south point of the island of Manhattan, but to the north (Miller 1695, see figure 4.5). The Fort’s church is noted in poor condition in city records from 1656, and may have been the closest religious structure when the burial ground was opened, prior to the construction of the first Dutch Reformed church mentioned above. Mary French’s research states that burial ground was closed around 1676, when the city ordered that it be broken into smaller lots and sold off at auction (French 2010a). Today there is no trace of the burial ground on the surface.

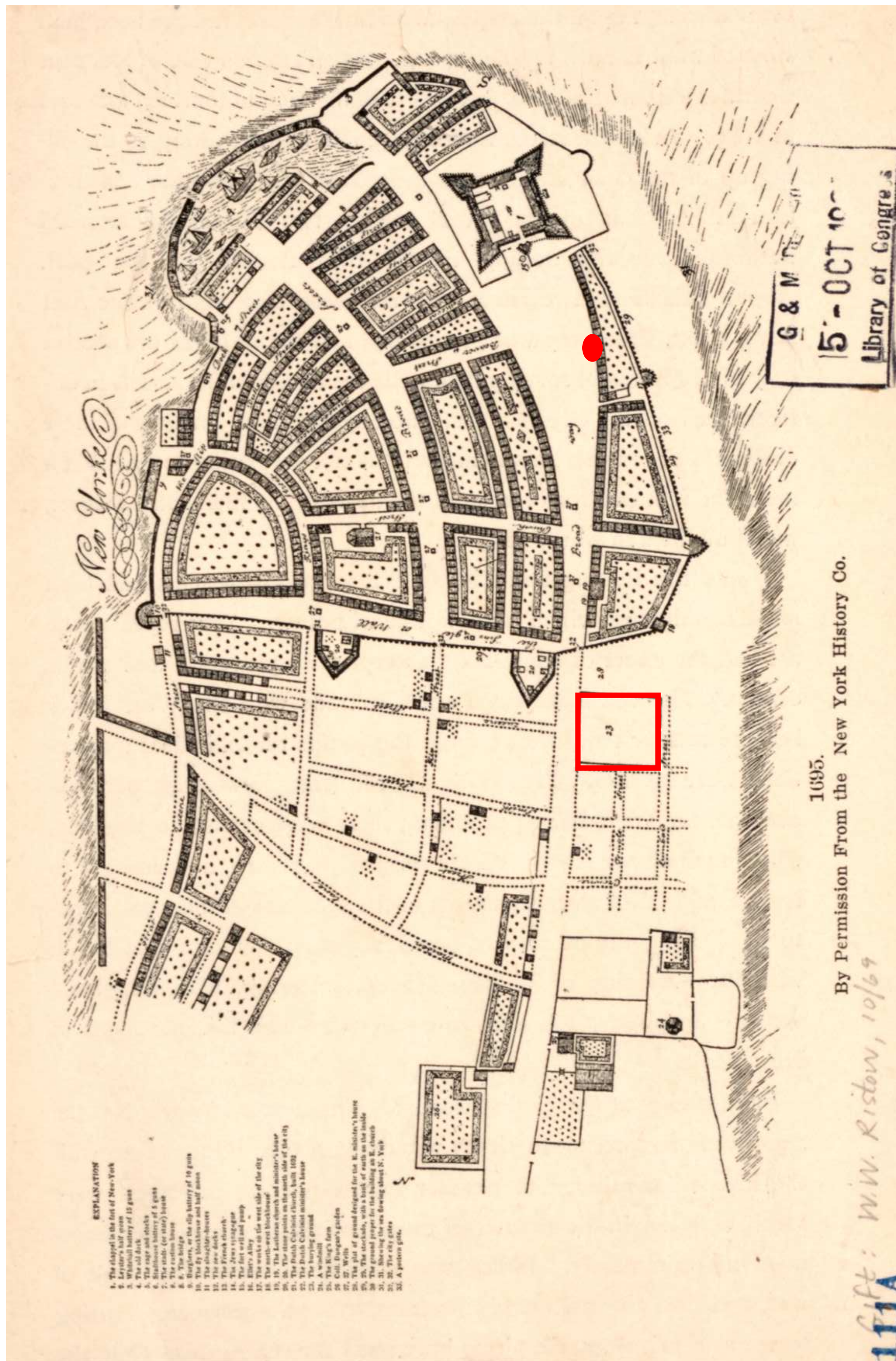


Figure 4.5: 1695 Map of New York City, with the First Dutch burial ground (oval) and the Second Dutch burial ground (square) indicated in red (Miller 1695, from the Library of Congress, Geography and Map Division).

4.1.2.9 New Amsterdam, New York – Second Dutch Reformed Burial Ground (1690s)

After the closure of the 'old graveyard', the second community burial ground was opened just outside the walls of the city, also along Broadway (Figure 4.5). It is not clear if the site was opened before the construction of the walls, but the decision to place the site further from the centre of the city as the community grew, was a conscious one. The wall was not constructed until 1653 upon the orders of Dutch governor Peter Stuyvestant, indicating that the decision to exclude the burial ground that was previously on the outskirts of the community with a physical wall was deliberate. The 1686 'Charter of the City of New York' stated that "the new burial place without the gate of the city", which confirms the choice to place the burial space outside of the new fortified area (Wilson 1892:437; French 2010b).

In 1696, Trinity Church purchased the adjacent parcel of land to construct their church, the third iteration of which is still standing on the property today, and in 1703 the church acquired ownership of the burial ground (Hastings 1901:1134; City of New York 1903:221; French 2010b). The church was located to the south of the main burial ground, and the site is located near the original shoreline of the island.

4.1.2.10 New Amsterdam, New York – First Shearith Israel Graveyard/Chatham Square Cemetery (1682)

This relatively small burial ground contains only 107 visible graves today, a fragment of its original size, and is located in New York City's Chinatown at Chatham Square. The site was established in the mid 17th century and is the oldest Jewish burial

ground in North America, established by Spanish and Portuguese Jewish settlers who emigrated to the colonies. Records show that the city authorized the use of a plot of land outside the city for use by the Jewish Congregation for their burials, and this 'first' burial ground location is currently unknown (French 2010c; Pool 2019). A report from July 1655 stated that this first site was established "as they did not wish to bury their dead (of which as yet there was no need) in the common burying ground" (Oppenheim 1909:75). The land acquired would have been relatively small, as the Jewish community in the city at this time was also small (Pool 2019:10). The Chatham Square Cemetery was opened 1682 and served the community until the last burial in 1833 (French 2010c). In the Jewish tradition, burials were all simple and alike, with a plain shroud and pine box for their coffins, and 'preferred' areas of the site could not be reserved for the rich to ensure equality (Pool 2019:43). In 1855, a section of the burial ground was taken by the city for construction, and approximately 256 burials were moved to another Jewish cemetery (French 2010c).

The first synagogue was not constructed until the early 18th century, and while 17th-century Jewish settlers were not permitted by the government to pray in public, they utilized a property on Beaver Street within the fortified city as a space for their congregation (Green 2014). The first synagogue was constructed around 1728 in land adjacent to the Chatham Square Cemetery. While the first Jewish burial ground location is not known, it was established prior to the British takeover of the region outside of the city, meaning north of the wall. The Jewish congregation was already established before the British arrived, as was the south end of Manhattan Island, and so this site has been

included with the Dutch sites. It is difficult to tell the British influence over a congregation that was already established for a decade.

4.1.2.11 New Amsterdam, New York – St. Mark's In-The-Bowery Churchyard (1660)

The original chapel on this site was constructed in 1660 by Governor Peter Stuyvesant on his private *bouwerie*, or farm. Stuyvesant and his family were interred in their family vault within this chapel, which was collapsing by the 18th century, and all that remains today of the structure is a foundation and the vault itself. Mary French writes that "one of the stipulations in Stuyvesant's grant of the plot was that any of his present or former slaves and their children have the right to be interred in the burial ground free of charge", and burials continued at this site until 1851, having become a community burial ground (French 2011). The contemporary church, St. Mark's in-the-Bowery, was constructed in 1799 and was the first Episcopal parish separate from the famous Trinity Church in downtown Manhattan (St. Mark's Church in-the-Bowery nd).

4.1.2.12 Flatlands, New York – Flatlands Dutch Reformed Church (1654)

Now incorporated into Brooklyn, New York, the settlement at Flatlands, previously known as New Amersfort, was established by the Dutch in 1636, when settlers acquired land from the Carnarsie people, who shared the territory with the Munsee Lenape (French 2021a). A church was not constructed until 1654, the same year that Peter Stuyvesant ordered a church built in nearby Flatbush, another of the original towns in the Brooklyn area. The first church was not completed until 1663, and since that date, the site

has seen three churches built on the same property (French 2021a). The burial ground which surrounds the west and southwest sites of the church contains an estimated 2000+ burials dating from the later 17th century to the mid-20th century. French writes that there are recorded Black burials at the burial ground as well, from the 19th century and possibly earlier (French 2021a).

By the 19th century, the burial ground was made up of several distinct plots, including the 'Indian Burial Plot' at the north end of the property, where precontact remains identified during the 1904 excavation were reinterred. It was rumoured that the burial ground was a former Indigenous burial site, and the reinterring of their remains on the same site is unusual for the period (Meade 2020:115). The site also contained the Reformed Church's burial space, the DeBaun family private plot, and the 'Public Burial Plot' owned by the municipality of Flatlands.

4.1.2.13 Flatbush, New York – Flatbush Dutch Reformed Church (1654)

General Peter Stuyvesant ordered the construction of multiple churches in the original towns of Brooklyn, with Flatbush being one of them (French 2021b). Much like Flatlands, discussed above, the church and burial ground site selected is still occupied by the church today, with the current church being the third one on the site, constructed in 1798. The graveyard, dating to the 17th century, surrounds the south and west sides of the church, and originally served as the public burial ground for the community regardless of religious background (French 2021b). The church and burial ground were located in the heart of the community.

There is also evidence that Black residents were interred at this site in the 19th century, if not earlier (French 2021b). Flatbush also had an 'African American Cemetery' located one block to the east of the Dutch Reformed Church and burial ground, which may have been established as early as the 17th century when enslaved Black people were first brought to Flatbush and used until the mid-19th century (French 2021b). The earliest documentation of this cemetery is on a map from 1855, which recorded the 'N_ Burying Ground', where human remains have been uncovered multiple times. This particular site is not included as a separate case study, as a 17th-century date cannot be confirmed.

4.1.2.14 New Utrecht, New York – New Utrecht Reformed Dutch Church Graveyard (1653-54)

Unlike the above two communities that are now part of Brooklyn, the community of New Utrecht established their cemetery between 1653-54, prior to the organization and construction of a church, which was not built until 1700 (Landmarks Preservation Commission 1998). The burial space was centrally located, and was owned by the Dutch Reformed Church, but not originally associated with the church; rather, the church's location was associated with that of the burial ground. Like most other early Dutch Reformed Church burial spaces, this site was open to burials of anyone in the community, regardless of their religious affiliation.

The New Utrecht Reformed Dutch Church graveyard had a segregated section in the northwest corner where free and enslaved Black residents of the community were buried through the early 20th century. There are no grave markers in this area, and most of

the burial records from the 17th century through the 19th were lost or destroyed so we may never know exactly how long burials were taking place in this section (Landmarks Preservation Commission 1998; French 2021c). This site will be discussed further in Chapter 7, where I address the visibility of Black burials in colonial burial spaces.

4.1.2.15 Port Richmond, New York – New Richmond Dutch Reformed Church (1670s)

Located on the north shore of Staten Island, Port Richmond was slowly established in the 1660s by the Dutch and French on Munsee-Lenape territory. After the British takeover of New Netherland, the Dutch population in the community grew significantly into the late 17th century (Landmarks Preservation Commission 2010). The burial ground predates the church by several decades, likely having started as a family burial ground and then a municipal burial space for the community before 1700 (Landmarks Preservation Commission 2010). A heritage plaque at the site reads "Burial Place of the Dutch Settlers on the north shore until 1696 around which Port Richmond was built" indicating that the burial ground and eventual site of the church was central to the community.

The first Dutch Reformed Church was built adjacent to the burial ground site in the early 1700s, between 1700 and 1715, under license from Governor Hunter (Landmarks Preservation Commission 2010). This early church was hexagonal in shape and served a Dutch Reformed community of both Dutch and French residents, but reflects the Dutch style of church construction and burial organization that we see in much of the

rest of New Netherland at the time. The current church on the property was constructed in the Greek Revival style in 1844 (Landmarks Preservation Commission 2010).

4.1.3 French North American Settlements

Many French settlements were established amidst the British and Dutch colonies on the northeast coast of North America during the 17th century. Like the British, French colonists were preceded by migratory fishers in many areas. Starting in first decade of the 17th century, attempts to establish permanent settlements in North America began. While Britain focused on the east coast of Newfoundland and east coast of the mainland, the French turned to what is present-day Quebec, the Maritimes, other areas of Newfoundland that were not yet occupied by the British, and sections of northern states such as Maine.

The French presence was well established in Newfoundland by the 17th century, with migratory fisheries in Plaisance (Placentia) seeing the arrival of French ships from the mid-16th century, and a permanent settlement established in 1662 (Crompton 2013:245). Before permanent settlement in Newfoundland, the French established colonies in Maine, Nova Scotia, and Quebec in the early 17th century. Records by settlers such as Samuel de Champlain, who drew detailed maps of sites including Quebec City and Saint Croix Island, afford researchers more clarity about how these settlements were planned and organized (Champlain 1613). It is clear from these, and other records from the period, that fortifications at early French settlements were important features, which could have influenced the positioning of burial grounds within the settlements. Through

the end of the 17th century, as the British attempted to take over French-claimed territory, these fortifications would prove vital.

The French sites included in this research were selected based on the presence of identified 17th-century burial grounds in the community. Sites selected were found in the modern regions of Quebec, Newfoundland and Labrador, Nova Scotia, and Maine, with a strong French presence in Acadia (now Nova Scotia) and Quebec along the St. Laurence River. While the Protestant Reformation in mainland Europe had gained some strength in France, French Protestants or Huguenots, had their rights revoked in 1685 when King Louis XIV revoked the Edict of Nantes (Jaenen 1985:7). Due to the prominence of the Catholic Church in France during this period, we see primarily Catholic influence in French settlements during the 17th century, both through churches and missions. While some French Protestants did settle in the colonies, officially they were forbidden to do so, and in 1659 "Protestant worship was specifically prohibited in Acadia" (Jaenen 1985:7).

4.1.3.1 Placentia, Newfoundland and Labrador – St. Luke's Anglican Churchyard (~1600)

The town of Placentia or *Plaisance* as it was known by the French, has a long history. A French colony from 1662-1713, its establishment as a settler community began in at least the mid-16th century with migratory French fishers and Basque whalers and fishers from the Basque region of France and Spain (Crompton 2013:245). Plaisance was the only state-sponsored French colony on the island of Newfoundland and was meant to hold the 'French shore' against the British, as well as protect French interests in the cod

fishery. In 1713, the settlement was ceded to the British with the Treaty of Utrecht and the following year saw most of the French settlers evacuated (Crompton 2013:245). The settlement was initially protected by a large fort overlooking the settlement area on the beaches. A 1662 map shows this fort with the *chapelle* (church) near the beaches below (Crompton 2013:246). Based on the 1677 Hacke map of Placentia harbour, the church was located centrally in the ‘Fishermens Town’, and the churchyard would have been located directly around the structure, (Hacke 1677).

St. Luke’s Anglican Church is the third church on the current site, built in 1906 in the Gothic Revival style (Parks Canada 2005). It is surrounded by a burial ground which has served the Basque, French, and eventual British settlers in the area. The Canada’s Historic Places designation states that it is the second of two Anglican churches at the site, with both preceded by a Catholic church (Parks Canada 2005). Most significantly at the site are several Basque gravestones dating to the 17th century, with three being kept at the O’Reilly House Museum, half of a fourth at the nearby Castle Hill National Historic Site, and a suspected stone still on the property (Goya 2018). These gravestones demonstrate that the burial ground was a significant space to those early fishers, and were carved in relief with great care and detail, with several examples including iconography such as crosses and whorls. Assuming that the location of these burials, dating to the mid-17th century, is the same place where Basque fishers were interred since the early 16th century, these burials likely influenced the location of the French chapel and burial ground. Goya writes that “the town of Placentia…was the principal Basque fishing port in this region for at least 200 years, from before 1530 to at least 1760” (2018:173).

The 1687 census list for Placentia shows three Indigenous peoples listed as residents (shown as 'sauvages' and 'garcons des sauvages') (Archives de colonies 1687:82). Their names are not listed, and it is not known if they were free or enslaved, or if they were later interred in the churchyard. Records of a Thomas Picq (Pick, Pique, Pic, Pief) in 1677 Placentia included in the Henri Brunet papers state that Picq owed money for a rifle and several other products, including the sale of cotton "for his Black woman" ("pour sa negresse pour Carisse") (Brunet 1677:299; MacLeod-Leslie 2014:144). Once again, it is unknown whether this woman was buried in the churchyard or even died in Placentia but based on the period and the practices of other French settlements in the northeast, if she did die in Placentia she would have been buried in the churchyard with the rest of the settlers. No other information appears to be available about her, but this record does show that at least one enslaved Black person was residing in Placentia during the 17th century, and she was likely not the only one. Another record from the early 18th century states that the Governor of Placentia brought his recently acquired enslaved boy, named Georges, with him to Cape Breton as the French the settlement following the Treaty of Utrecht, indicating that he resided in the area for some time (MacLeod-Leslie 2014:114). Records from this period are spotty at best, especially for minority groups.

4.1.3.2 Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia – Garrison Graveyard (~1630)

The settlement of Annapolis Royal has a had a tumultuous past, with the land changing hands multiple times from the 17th century onwards. Prior to the arrival of Europeans, the land was occupied by the Mi'kmaq people. An early map of the area by

Samuel de Champlain in 1613, then known as Port Royal, shows the occupation area of Pierre Du Gua de Monts' (also Pierre Degua, Sieur de Mons) 'L'habitation' (the Habitation) on the north side of the inlet, as well as the location of the fort, which would become present-day Annapolis Royal. The exact location of the Habitation is no longer known. De Monts (also spelled Du Monts or Du/de Mons) was also responsible for the establishment of the French settlement on St. Croix Island, Maine, which will be discussed below (Dunn 2004:4).

The first construction of the fort at Annapolis Royal was undertaken by the Scottish, as the British Empire took control over Acadia, now Nova Scotia (New Scotland). Construction began on Charles Fort in 1629, and while the original dimensions are unknown, Parks Canada suggests that it would have been similar to other contemporaneous British forts at the time such as Jamestown or Plymouth (Duggan 2003). Not long after, French rule was re-established in Acadia and in 1636 the majority of settlers from La Hève, the old Acadian capital, relocated to Port Royal. Port Royal was the name for the area surrounding Annapolis Royal and not the contemporary town, which is a separate town from Annapolis Royal today. The French and British fought to retain control of the region, with a large French fort being established where Charles Fort had been, making it the only fortified European settlement in 17th-century Nova Scotia (Kerr 2011). The British captured the fort for the final time in 1710, establishing their foothold in the area.

Directly adjacent to the fort, to the northeast of the substantial earthworks, are two overlapping burial grounds, the French-Acadian burial ground dating to the 17th century, which Kerr refers to as the "cimetière de la paroisse de Saint-Jean-Baptist de Port-Royal-

Annapolis Royal", and the later British burial ground (2011:18). This research will be focusing on the 17th-century burial space. There were also deaths at Charles Fort, but at the time of this research, the burial location of the individuals is unknown and potentially damaged during the construction of the larger Fort Anne which began in 1702 (Kerr 2011:19). Early maps of the settlement show a chapel to the northeast of the earthwork, between the fort and burial ground, which was confirmed by Parks Canada and Mapannapolis, a not-for-profit heritage organization in the Annapolis Valley, with the fort's original chapel having been located within the fortifications on the southwest side (personal communication Heather LeBlanc and Paul Paquette, 2022; Mapannapolis 2021).

Like many 17th-century settler burial grounds in Canada, no contemporaneous markers remain on the surface from that period, suggesting that they had no markers, had organic markers, or had stone markers that have since been lost. In 2018, Parks Canada and Mapannapolis, partnering with Boreas Heritage, launched a project using GPR (ground penetrating radar) to investigate the potential location of this Acadian burial ground. The results of the GPR survey revealed 19 subsurface anomalies that appear to represent burials. Boreas Heritage undertook a small excavation to identify the original ground surface where the church was built and identified artifacts which dated to the Acadian occupation of the area (Mapannapolis 2021). These anomalies have not been ground-truthed at the time of writing. The burial ground was impacted in the 18th century by the construction of a blockhouse and defensive ditch which cuts diagonally across the burial ground. Recent GPR survey of the site has investigated the suspected grave location of Black residents based on oral histories within the burial ground, and

potentially identified the foundation of the blockhouse, which is discussed further in Chapter 7.

4.1.3.3 Falmouth / Pisiquid, Nova Scotia – Sainte-Famille Cemetery (1696)

Known as Pisiquid by the Acadians, the town of Falmouth, Nova Scotia, was founded in the 1680s, with Acadian settlers listed in the area on the 1686 census. The census recorded 57 people in the Baye des Mines at this time, along with 20 guns, 83 arpents (acres) of cultivated land, 90 cattle, 21 sheep, and 67 hogs (De Meulles 1686). This region was primarily farmland with smaller settlements. Settlers in this region migrated from Port Royal / Annapolis Royal and established dykes for their field systems.

The Sainte-Famille parish served the settlers in the area and was established in 1698. A later map from 1749 by Morris shows the church near the river, and the burial site would have been adjacent or close to the church. In 1996, human remains were uncovered during a construction project, and an archaeological excavation was undertaken by the Nova Scotia Museum (Hiseler 1996). The burials were interpreted through this excavation as pre-expulsion Acadian burials, and oral histories indicated an Acandian Church on the property (Hiseler 1996:4). The distance from the original church location is unknown. The burial ground was designated as a Provincial Heritage Property in 2017, and it is estimated that at least 300 individuals are buried there. Today the site is identified by landscaping, a plaque, and interpretive panels, set up by the 'Committee for the Preservation of the Sainte-Famille Cemetery'.

4.1.3.4 Grand Pré, Nova Scotia – St. Charles des Mines Burial Site (1680s)

A National Historic Site of Canada and UNESCO World Heritage Site, Grand Pré was the Acadian centre of settlement within the Mines Basin in Nova Scotia from 1682 until their deportation by the British in 1755. Grand Pré was settled in the 1680s by French-Acadian settlers who moved outwards from the Port Royal area (Landscape of Grand Pré nd). Within the bounds of the National Historic Site is the former parish of St. Charles des Mines, including a chapel and burial ground that date to the late 17th century.

Located along the north shore of the community, multiple instances of burials being unearthed by accident have been recorded. As well, additional burials were identified during Parks Canada excavations in 1982, and by Jonathan Fowler and students from Saint Mary's University (SMU) beginning in 2000 (Ross and Surette-Draper 2009). The SMU excavations centred around the John Herbin's stone cross which was built on the site in 1909 to commemorate the cemetery identified by a coffin stain during the 1982 Parks Canada excavation (Fowler 2020). Fowler's own investigation at the site set to locate the original church as well as the boundaries of the burial ground, first using non-invasive techniques followed by excavation (Fowler 2020). In 1755, the parish church and graveyard, along with two houses, were enclosed within a fortification, which was also visible through the GPR surveys. The memorial church, named as such to commemorate the site, was constructed in the approximate location of the original Acadian Pre-Deportation church, and reflects the historic relationship between the burials and the religious structure, which can be seen on a map of the settlement dating to 1748, drawn by Charles Morris (Landscape of Grand Pré nd). The church is located

approximately 135m west of the stone cross that marks the middle of the burial area, with the burials running east-west in the Christian tradition (Fowler 2020).

4.1.3.5 Quebec City, Quebec - Côte de la Montagne Cemetery (1608)

The most famous early 17th-century French settlement in the study area is Quebec City. Located on the north side of the St. Lawrence River, this historic fortified city was founded in 1608 by Samuel de Champlain, overlooking the St. Lawrence River. The city was captured by the British in 1629 by David Kirke and company during the Anglo-French War, and then returned to the French shortly after along with Acadian territory (Kirke 1908:88).

Opened the same year the city was founded, in 1608, the Côte de la Montagne Cemetery in Old Quebec City is known as the oldest French settler burial ground in 'New France' and was in use until approximately 1670 (Caron 2007; Find A Grave 2013; Kujawski 2023). Located at the south end of the settlement within the fortifications, it can be argued that this site was still within the heart of the domestic area. This site was one of many that were established around Quebec City, as French settlers believed that Catholics, Jewish, and Protestant people could not be buried in the same spaces (Oliver-Lloyd 2008:13).

4.1.3.6 Quebec City, Quebec - Maison des Jesuites de Sillery (1637)

South of the walled city, the Maison des Jésuites de Sillery (House of the Jesuits of Sillery) was established near the north bank of the river in 1637. While this site is

within Quebec City today, historically it was not within the confines of the city and so is being treated as a separate site for the purposes of this research. The mission, tasked with converting Indigenous people, possibly Haudenosaunee or Kanien'kehá:ka, to Christianity, had its own burial ground which dates to around the time the mission was established. The burial ground was later joined by an adjacent chapel, eventually enclosed by a palisade in the 1640s (Ville de Québec 2021). This site was established as a burial place for the Indigenous people who had been converted to Christianity, not as a burial place for the Jesuits themselves, and further separated Indigenous people from their cultural traditions. Today, it is a historic site, and the outline of the church is visible on the surface, along with a number of crosses to indicate the burial ground.

4.1.3.7 Trois-Rivieres, Quebec – Fort Trois-Rivieres (1634)

The city of Trois-Rivieres was founded by French settlers in 1634 at the mouth of the Saint Maurice River where it flows into the Saint Lawrence River due to its strategic location during the fur trade with Indigenous peoples in the region, the Innu of Nitassinan, the Nitaskinan, and N'dakina, as well as closely adjacent to the Huron-Wendat (Native Land 2023). The name references the three channels of the Saint Maurice River as it flows into the Saint Lawrence, forming several small islands. The settlement started as a timber fort and while there are no visible remains of this fort on the surface today, the approximate location is marked with a plaque (Parks Canada nd). The original fort burned down only one year after construction, in 1635, and was reconstructed on a larger scale, but was found to be in ruins by 1653 and burnt down (Parks Canada nd). The

impact of the original layout of the settlement is still visible in the urban landscape today, primarily bounded by Rue St Pierre to the northwest, Rue des Casernes to the southwest, Rue du Fleuve to the southeast, and extending half a block beyond Rue St Francois Xavier to the northeast, as can be seen through comparison of contemporaneous maps and Google Earth (anonymous 1685; de Néré 1704). The original fort and settlement location can be seen on the 1685 and 1704 maps of the area, where it is clear that the street layout for the town centre has not changed when compared to contemporary maps (anonymous 1685; de Néré 1704). In the location of the first Catholic church, the city has laid out ornamental bricks in the sidewalk to mark the church's location, but there is no evidence of the burials on the surface.

A surviving map from 1685 shows the fortification and structures within, with a church in the western corner. Another plan from 1704 shows the original layout of the fort with proposed expansions to the fortifications that were never carried out (Figure 4.6). On this plan, the church has a clear graveyard to the east, indicated by a series of small crosses. While located within the fortified settlement, it was not in a central location but rather placed close to the edge of the town.

Figure 4.6: A portion of the 1704 Plan of Fort Trois-Rivieres, with a blue box indicating the location of the church and graveyard (de Néré 1704, restored in the 19th Century) (Trudel 1968:202).

4.1.3.8 Montreal, Quebec – Fort Ville-Marie Cemetery (1642)

Located on the Island of Montreal in the Saint Lawrence River, in Haudenosaunee and Mohawk territory, Fort Ville-Marie grew into the city of Montreal as we know it today. Originally established as a Catholic missionary community and founded by the Société Notre Dame de Montréal, French settlers wanted to baptise Indigenous people in the area as well as colonize the island for France. These settlers buried their dead outside the fortified settlement to the north, near the creek that flowed north of the fort, on the

Pointe-à-Callière where Montreal's archaeology museum stands today (MacLeod 2018:375). The small burial ground can be seen outside the fort in a plan of the settlement by Pierre-Louis Morin created in the 19th century. This site was in use from 1642 until 1654 and was demolished by 1675. The burial ground is still marked on a 'Plan de Villemarie' dated 1684 as 'Ancien Cimetière' (Trudel 1968:206). Montreal subsequently had dozens of burial grounds, with more than 21,000 Montrealers buried within the city between 1642-1800 (Pothier 1998:9).

The location of this burial ground was confirmed during an archaeological excavation in 1989 (Pothier 1998:9). Archaeologists investigated seven grave shafts out of the 38 that were identified at the site, and found that they were relatively shallow, between 30 and 50 cm below the surface (Pothier 1998:9). The first church or chapel would have been nearby, within the fortified settlement.

4.1.3.9 Montreal, Quebec – Hôtel-Dieu Cemetery (1654)

By 1654, Montrealers were tired of transporting their dead outside the city to the north to bury them in what had become a flooded lowland cemetery by the river. They established an official place of burial nearby Hôtel-Dieu ('Hotel of God', an archaic French term for a hospital) at the corner of what is now St. Sulpice St. and Saint-Paul St. W, possibly justified by the hospital's chapel being in proximity, however this location was only used for six years as the primary burial ground for the city (Pothier 1998:10). Unlike the settlement's first burial site, this one was located centrally within the community, both within the later fortifications and within the heart of community.

Fortifications, however, were not constructed until the wood palisade or stockade between 1687-89, and stone fortifications were not approved by Louis XIV until 1712, with construction beginning in 1716, and thus did not influence the location of the burial grounds (Old Montréal 2003).

4.1.3.10 Montreal, Quebec – The Third Cemetery (1660)

Six year later, a third burial ground or cemetery opened in Montreal, still called Ville-Marie in some sources. Pothier writes that researchers at the museum have determined that the site was located towards the south end of the city between Rues Saint-Paul, Saint-Sacrement, Saint-Pierre, and Saint-François-Xavier (1998:10). Records show that approximately 400 people were buried there between 1660 and 1682 (Pothier 1998:10). In 1683, the church sold off this land due to problems with flooding and to raise funds for the new Notre Dame church. *The city opened a* Cimetière des pauvres close to their powder magazine in 1749 which was closed in 1799 and is the final resting place of many of the city's poor as well as enslaved persons, both Black and Indigenous (Pothier 1998:10; Kujawaski 2022).

4.1.3.11 Pentagoet, Maine – Fort Pentagoet Cemetery (post-1629)

Originally an Indigenous campsite, Fort Pentagoet was constructed on the territory of the Passamaquoddy, N'dakina, Wabanaki, and Penobscot people in what is today known as the state of Maine (Native Land 2023). The primary period of the fort was from 1635-1654, when it was established by Charles d'Aulnay, whose headquarters were in

Port Royal / Annapolis Royal after gaining control of Acadia (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:3). From 1654-1670 the fort was taken by the British, but eventually returned to the French until 1674, when the fort was razed by a Dutch raiding party (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:3). Today, the fort site is located in the community of Castine, and has seen several periods of archaeology, after coastal erosion exposed portions of the fort's slate rubble and dry-stone walls in the 1980s (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:4).

A surviving plan of the fort from 1670, by M. de Talon held at the Archives Nationales in Paris, shows the four-point star fort with exterior earthworks and several interior buildings that are labeled. Faulkner and Faulkner describe these structures, which included a timber-frame and mud-wall chapel located between the guardhouse and a dwelling structure that extended over one of the curtain wall's entrances (1987:24). In 1863, several burials were found to the west of the fort, supposedly of Dutch soldiers, and several more of 'French soldiers', but "it is more likely that the five skeletons found under the kitchen ell were from the fort's cemetery. Unfortunately, no further information survives concerning any of these burials" (Faulkner and Faulkner 1987:43). If this was in fact the fort's burial ground, it was located not far to the west of the chapel, outside the western fortifications.

4.1.3.12 Saint Croix Island, Maine – St. Croix Island Graveyard (1604)

Much like the Popham Colony farther south, the settlement at Saint Croix Island (Île Sainte-Croix) in Maine was short-lived. Founded in 1604 with the arrival of French settlers led by Pierre Dugua, Sieur De Mons, (also spelled Pierre Du Gua de Monts) a

settlement was established on the small island at the mouth of the Saint Croix River as a trading post (Thierry 2012). Much of the documentation has survived thanks to the records kept by Samuel de Champlain in his 'Les Voyages' from 1613, including maps of the island and settlement. After a difficult winter in 1604/1605, when the French settlers were starving, "35 or 36 of the 79 colonists succumbed to the lack of vitamin C" (Thierry 2012:23). Not long after, in May 1605, De Monts evacuated the settlers from the island, eventually ending up at Port Royal / Annapolis Royal, discussed above. While there were some defenses on the island including canons, the settlers put most of their trust in the cliffs, establishing a settlement on the north side of the island (Thierry 2012:21).

Champlain's map of the island (Figure 4.4) details the occupation area with a chapel (F) and burial site (E) clearly indicated north of the sandbar at the south of the island. While the settlement was short-lived, the French settlers had to establish a burial site in the wake of the disastrous winter they had experienced, quickly organizing a place of burial. Archaeological excavations at the north end of the island revealed a number of building foundations in the habitation area indicated on Champlain's map (Thierry 2012:21). Excavations at the burial ground in 1969 and 2003 identified the graves of 25 individuals, some, like that of Burial 10, with both evidence of the scurvy that killed him and the autopsy that was undertaken after his death (Crist et al. 2012:185). These individuals were autopsied in 1604/1605 in an effort by the physicians of the settlement to identify how scurvy affected the body and how to protect themselves from it, an illness that was not fully understood until James Lind discovered vitamin C in 1747 (Crist et al. 2012:185; Thierry 2012:23). The burial site was located to the north of the church, within approximately 50m, making it fairly close together, while still maintaining beach access

for visitors to attend church services. Pendery writes that it was located near a sandy beach where canoes could easily come ashore, suggesting that they may have hoped to have Indigenous peoples join their church services (2012:21).

Figure 4.7: Map of Saint Croix Island with key (Champlain 1603)

5 Burial Organization in Colonial Settlements

The North American settlements selected for this research were all founded in the 17th century, and burial grounds from each site have been examined in order to gain a better understanding of the evolution of burial practices by colonists during these early settlement years. The sites are all located in northeastern USA and eastern Canada. It is important to note that history has whitewashed these settlements and their burial spaces, when in fact, they were multicultural spaces that held the bodies of Europeans as well as Africans, Caribbean peoples, and Indigenous peoples, both free and enslaved. The topic of identity and representation in burial spaces will be examined more closely in the subsequent chapter.

In this chapter, I analysed 30 European settlements discussed previously and what the organization of burial spaces in these colonial settlements can tell us about how settlers dealt with death and burial while adapting to a new environment and challenges they may not have faced in Europe. This discussion will include a statistical analysis of the variables of site organization collected throughout the survey (Appendix A), to take a closer look at any significant differences between the sites and their organizational elements. The British sites selected were chosen based on the variability of religious practices present in their colonies, which was not possible in early Dutch and French settlements, with stricter state religion laws preventing the same variability for some time. This variability in the British sites is well known, and thus negates any significance when look at religious variability within them.

One challenge in any study of 17th-century burial spaces is the lack of previously exhumed human remains. There have been relatively few excavations of 17th-century burial grounds in the northeast, due to the low survival rate of burial spaces, poor preservation of human remains, and due to an ethical shift away from the exhumation of remains unless absolutely necessary. Apart from some settlements which are the subject of ongoing research and may be visited as public historic sites, such as Jamestown or St. Mary's City, the excavation of burial grounds does not occur often. As a result, there are a low percentage of known 17th-century burial grounds with exhumed remains to examine archaeologically, making it more difficult to discuss who, specifically, was buried there. The examination of human remains can reveal details about individual lives, such as health, diet, and geographic origins through processes such as isotopic analysis, that would otherwise likely not be documented (example Bruwelheide et al. 2021). These details can greatly assist in determining the cultural origins of an individual, as well as details of their burial as a whole, including grave goods and the dress and position of the body. For example, excavations at the African Burial Ground in New York revealed that an otherwise Christian-looking grave on the surface held a person of African descent based on objects of significance placed on top of the burial itself (Perry 1997; Satchel 1997; National Parks Service 2021). These details would not have been possible to dissern on the surface, as their graves are unmarked. A lack of excavation results in a lack of detailed information on individual inhumations.

However, as noted in Chapter 2, this is not to say that archaeologists *should* be exhuming burial grounds for the sake of data. This is ultimately an ethical shift in the discipline in recent years, and individuals that have been calling for the excavation of

graves for the sake of science have been doing so without sensitivity to the descendent communities. While we do not have much data on 17th-century burial grounds, those data should only be collected from rescue excavations in order to preserve the site from construction or natural disaster, and only with the express consent and wishes of the descendent community. The dead should be left in relative peace.

5.1 Variables Used for Survey

There are some variables which have been applied to the statistical analysis of burial ground organization for this study. It is not an exhaustive list but covers the major components of settlement organization in the 17th-century colonial landscape. The project examined the following:

1. Founding nation (British / French / Dutch);
2. Religious affiliation of settlement (majority or state religion) (Catholic, Anglican, Dutch Reformed, Quaker, Puritan, or Jewish);
3. Whether the town was surrounded by fortifications or not (y/n);
4. If the town was fortified, was the burial ground established inside the fortification (y/n);
5. Was the burial ground associated with a church (Originally established on church grounds or adjacent to a church, or planned church. Sites founded by the British are expected to show differences in church placement, due to sites being selected to demonstrate variability) (y/n);

6. What was the burial ground's distance from the church (metres); and,
7. Was the burial ground centrally located in a community (Centrally located is determined by a site being in the heart of the lived area. If it is within the walls of a fortified town, but near the walls in a less populated or built up section, it is not considered central. If it is outside the walls, it is not considered central.)?

It should be noted that these variables were applied to my previous research (Lacy 2017; 2020), with the exception of the founding nation as all sites in my previous study were of British origins. Aspects of the questions applied to each site were streamlined, removing previous cardinal directions of burial sites from the centre of town, instead asking simply if they were centrally located or not. Additionally, previous study explored where sites were located on a major shipping river or the Atlantic Ocean. This was not necessary for further study, as the vast majority of early colonial settlements were near a major body of water or watercourse for ease of access, travel, and shipping.

These data, along with site names and dates of establishment, were recorded for each of the 45 burial grounds across 30 settlements for the purpose of this study. Notes on each site were also collected which aided in the qualitative analysis of the data.

5.2 Results of Site Survey

The survey of sites was primarily carried out to explore the similarities and differences between the burial grounds established by British, Dutch, and French settler communities in northeastern North America. Research on each site was completed using

archaeological excavation reports, historic maps and primary source documents, as well as prior research conducted on the sites. Many of the settlements had more than one burial ground established during the 17th century, and that is reflected in Appendix A, where the table of all sites and organizational variables for their burial grounds were recorded. These data were used to analyse the frequency of variables used for burial ground organization within the communities and will be discussed later in this chapter.

5.2.1 British Burial Grounds

A wide variety of burial practices were expected from the sites surveyed for this project (18 burial grounds across 10 settlements), as the sites were chosen expressly to show the variability of burial practices under British rule. This variety is due to the wide range of religious expression practiced by British settlers during the 17th century. Britain afforded freedom of religion to its colonies, even though during the 17th century, the official religion of England was the Anglican Church, a branch of Protestantism. Elizabeth Holt writes, of Hampton, Virginia, that “no guidelines for the development of the colonial church were issued in England, the Church…gradually adopted separate characteristics suitable to its own needs” (1985:13). As a result, we see multiple religious practices in early sites such as St. Mary’s City, Maryland. This settlement was established by Cecil Calvert, son of Sir George Calvert, who converted back to Catholicism in the 17th century. Therefore, the settlement founded by Calvert had a strong Catholic influence from its inception, and we see the first burials recorded at the site aligned with the Catholic priest’s home (Riordan 2000). In terms of organization, the priest’s home and

the chapel were close together, but neither were within the fortifications of the settlement, meaning they were not centrally located, one of the variables recorded.

At sites established by primarily Anglican or Anglican-governed settlements, several burial grounds were in the centre of the community while others were on the outskirts or away from the communal living areas; yet, all were associated with churches, the quantified analysis of which I will discuss below. It is clear that while the reformed Protestant church made strides away from Papal tradition, on the surface, and from the outside, a church and surrounding or adjacent graveyard still reflected many of the same ideals. From the perspective of the location and organization only, Anglican and Catholic sites appear relatively similar. However, when one examines the interior of a Catholic Church compared to a Protestant/Anglican Church, one will find stark differences in the types and amount of decoration and gilding, with the Protestants taking a much more minimalist approach to the design of their worship. This is apparent both in the British Isles and northeastern North America. Gravestones as well, will reflect a difference in religious views, although there are relatively few early 17th-century gravestones present in the study area aside from scattered examples in Jamestown and Ferryland. Gravestones with an IHS, the first three letters of the Greek name for Jesus, ΙΗΣΟΥΣ, or ΙΗΣ, are more commonly found in Catholic graveyards, while less decorated stones without religious symbology are more typically found in Protestant burial grounds as part of the Protestant tradition of rejecting unnecessary religious art such as images of the saints (Duffy 1992:155, 160), although these practices differ from place to place. In the study area, the most striking difference in burial markers is found between Puritans and Quakers, and Anglicans and Catholics.

Puritans and Quakers in the 17th century shared a dislike of religious iconography of any kind and went so far as to not mark their graves at many sites. The earliest known Puritan gravestones from the mid-17th century, in sites like King's Chapel and Copp's Hill Burying Grounds in Boston are only inscribed with text and no iconography, and earlier graves were likely unmarked. Quakers in Newport, Rhode Island, initially buried their dead directly behind their 'meeting house' likely in unmarked graves, before another Quaker burial ground was opened several blocks away in 1675, with very few gravestones present. Both Puritans and Quakers are dissenter groups of the Protestant church and call their spaces of worship a 'meeting house' to further distance the role of 'church' in everyday life, using these buildings as multi-purpose spaces when not holding a service. While there are some examples demonstrated in Chapter 4 where Puritan and Quaker burial grounds were identified in association with their house of worship (ie: New Haven Green, Ye Antientist Burial Ground, and the Quaker Meeting House burials), the majority of these sites were physically and spiritually separate from buildings with religious connotations.

What this study demonstrates for British settlements is that their burial practices represent traditions from a variety of different religious and socio-cultural groups within the British Empire. Some settlements were funded by individuals or a family, such as St. Mary's City, while others saw the support of an economic enterprise like the Virginia Company at Jamestown. Through the many avenues for economic support, coupled with the religious freedom afforded to the British colonists in North America, we are left with settlements with varying degrees of pre-planned organization, religious influence, fortifications, and burial grounds. As demonstrated in Section 5.4, the variety of sites

found in 17th-century British colonial settlements were far greater than those founded by the Dutch or the French during the same period, due to the number of dissenter groups allowed to establish settlements in the British territories.

5.2.2 Dutch Burial Grounds

Dutch settlers have been present in northeast North America since the early 17th century, with the establishment of Fort Nassau, later Fort Orange, which became the present-day city of Albany. The earliest burial grounds recorded for this project date to around the 1620s with the permanent habitation at Fort Orange, and well-established sites date to 1653-54. The majority of these burial grounds were founded by members of the Dutch Reformed Church, a Protestant Church formed in the new Dutch Republic after the Protestant Reformation in the 16th century. While the Dutch colonies were multicultural places with settlers from across Europe, as well as enslaved Black African and Caribbean people, the Dutch Reformed Church controlled most of the religious and burial landscapes in these settlements, resulting in all Dutch-founded burial grounds recorded for this research being directly related to a church.

The burial grounds in these settlements were primarily adjacent to, or within proximity of, the church itself. The outlying sites pre-dated the establishment of a formal church structure in the settlement, as was the case with the Fort Orange Burial Ground and the New Utrecht Reformed Dutch Church Graveyard, which opened in 1653/54 with the first church not being built until 1700 (French 2021c). In this last example, the

eventual church was still constructed adjacent to the burial ground, signifying the importance of having those spaces together in the community.

Dutch burial practices in the Netherlands were dramatically affected by the Protestant Reformation, which impacted the way that funerals and rites over the grave were carried out. Dutch Protestants practiced simple funerals and burials in line with their beliefs, and no longer sat vigil or spoke eulogies over the graves (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019). These practices were similar to what English Protestants were doing around the same time (burials without bells or elaborate funerals), although there were exceptions to the rule for those who could afford it. With Calvinist beliefs being the state religion of the Netherlands, it is no surprise that we see these same practices reflected in the simple burials of the colonists in North America, based on eye-witness accounts such as those of Samuel Sewall and Joshua Hempstead.

While we cannot see through the archaeology what prayers or rites were said over a grave, we can see how the burials themselves were conducted. Both in the Netherlands and in northeastern North America, we see the practice of building a burial ground upwards through layers of added soil in order to add additional burials, when there is limited space for burials. While this was not a requirement for settlements in North America, especially for settlers who believed the land to be available for the taking, the Dutch still undertook this practice in at least one site in 1658 onwards. In the previous chapter, we saw Joel Munsell's record from 1876 stating that when the burial ground on Beaver St, Albany, was filled it was completely 'buried over, with a foot of sand' and a new layer of burials could be placed, with each coffin fitting together against the other

ones (1876:25). This record indicates that coffins would have had to be ‘square’ with even sides, suggesting that they were not using six-sided coffins in Albany.

An adaptation of the church structure that we see in colonial settlements like Albany and possibly Kingston, NY, are the fortification of the churches themselves. This was not the case for every site in the study area, but in particular the first Dutch Reformed Church constructed in Albany was purpose-built as both a church and blockhouse and was placed strategically in the centre of an intersection where the entrance to the fortified settlement could be seen. The fortification of a church provided a safe place for the settlers to congregate if their settlement was under attack, so building the blockhouse and church together was a logical choice.

The earliest Jewish burial ground in North America was founded in New York, formerly New Amsterdam, in 1682, after the British takeover of New Netherland in 1664. However, the Jewish population in the city first arrived in 1654, pre-dating the British occupation of the territory, and so the site has been included under the category of Dutch burial grounds. It is possible for the British to have had some influence over the location of the burial ground, the Dutch had already established the main centre of the city by the time of the British takeover so there would have primarily been Dutch influence over the layout of the city. Jewish settlers had fled from Recife, Brazil, after the colony changed hands from Dutch to Portuguese and their safety as practicing Jews was at risk (Feldberg nd). Their burial ground was established to the northeast of the walled New Amsterdam settlement, approximately 1.3 km away. While not a Dutch Reformed Church, it is significant to note that the later-constructed Jewish Synagogue was constructed adjacent to the Dutch burial ground. The site is also only 0.6 km east of the African Burial Ground,

which was also established outside of the fortified settlement, though the date of origin is unknown. This mortuary landscape will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

5.2.3 French Burial Grounds

The French have had an enduring presence in the history of European settlement in northeastern of North America. The French and British were in effect racing to establish settlements on the eastern seaboard, with the French primarily focused on the St. Laurence River Valley in modern-day Quebec, and Acadia in modern-day Maine, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, as well as settlements in Newfoundland and the islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon off the southwest coast of Newfoundland (Champlain 1613; Prowse 1895; Wallace 1999).

For this research, 12 burial grounds across 10 settlements were examined, and all of them were found to have been established by Catholics, which was to be expected from a predominantly Catholic nation. Even the site of St. Luke's Anglican Churchyard, today an Anglican church, was first used by the Basque and later the French, practicing Catholic groups. The present church was built on the site on the oldest Catholic church in Newfoundland (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage 2016). The site would have been taken over by Anglicans when Placentia was ceded to the British in 1713. All but one of the sites surveyed were directly adjacent to, or surrounding, a Catholic church or chapel, with the exception of the Côte de la Montagne Cemetery which is an 'unknown' as the earliest established community burial ground in Quebec City, opened in 1608, and it is undetermined if a church or chapel was established nearby (Notre-Dame de Quebec

Parish 2023). It is clear from the results of this survey that the intertwined nature of church and burial ground in the French Catholic belief system was significant, and was maintained through the 17th century, even in their North American settlements.

As will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter, the majority of the French and Dutch settlements surveyed were fortified, in contrast with the British sites which were primarily not fortified. If we only look at British Anglican sites, fortification rates rise slightly, indicating that fortifications may have been part of a more dominant religious group's ethos regarding early settlement development. The term 'fortified', in the case of this research, is used to signify settlements that were surrounded by walls and/or other fortifications such as ditches and bastions for protection. It also includes sites with heavy fortifications around the perimeter of the settlement that are not necessarily solid walls. The settlements without fortifications, St. Croix Island, Falmouth (formerly Pisiquid), and Grand Pré, were outliers and perhaps settlers felt that their location and landform would afford them protection as was the case with St. Croix, or that the settlements were established later in the 17th century when substantial fortifications were not considered a requirement for settlements. Falmouth and Grand Pré were both settled by Acadians in the latter decades of the 17th century and had a focus on agricultural enterprises which did not require or could not reasonably enclose such a large, fortified area around the settlement. This is similar to that seen when looking at unfortified Dutch sites, which were primarily rural sites with a basis in agriculture, or were located near a larger, fortified settlement that could afford them protect, as was the case with sites near New Amsterdam such as Flatlands or Flatbush.

5.3 European Burial Practices in Northeastern North America

While some aspects of European burial traditions were carried to North America and are present at the survey sites, the settlers also had to adapt to their new environments as well as negotiate new religious ideals. As a result, the burial landscape developed differently from the home countries. One of the major differences in North American burial spaces is the idea of permanence. Charnel houses and ossuaries were a common sight across Europe during the medieval period, as structures holding the bones of the deceased once their bodies had decomposed. They do not appear to have been popular in the Netherlands. This practice made room for additional burials in spaces that did not have an expanse of land to give over to permanent burials. "The curation of human skeletal remains was an important facet of medieval funerary practice, and the proliferation of charnel houses during the Middle Ages is a European-wide phenomenon (Walker Bynum 1995:203 in Craig-Atkins et al. 2019:1). Charnel houses stored human remains no longer interred in original graves respectfully but as part of an anonymous collective within their community (Craig-Atkins et al. 2019:5; Farrow 2023). While the wealthy could afford to retain their individual identities after death through burials within the church, or ossuary boxes in charnel houses, it was much more difficult for anyone of lower socio-economic status. In terms of collective remembrance, the wealthy are able to hold on to their identity after death, while the poor could not, and become part of the collective, for community mourning without knowledge of individual's burial locations or the location of their remains beyond the mass ossuary.

With the push for colonization into North America, we see a sudden retention of that individuality after death, with graves of single people left in the ground, as they did not have to conserve land in the same way that they had in Europe. There were exceptions to this practice, with burial grounds being moved, or at least partially moved, due to construction in later years or a congregation looking to move their space to another part of a growing community; however, for the most part, the idea of the 'permanent resting place' grew in North America, regardless of the founding nation behind the settlement. In Dutch Albany, for example, the first burial ground within the fortified city surrounded the First Dutch Reformed Church, constructed as a joint church and blockhouse in the centre of an intersection in 1655 (Venema 2003:83). However, burying people in an intersection was not particularly practical, and shortly after in 1658, a burial ground was opened on Beaver Street and many of the graves were relocated there. As with most cases of burial relocation, settlers did not manage to move everyone, or some individuals could not afford to have their loved ones moved. It is very common to find that with a burial ground which was supposedly relocated, that only the grave markers that were moved, and only some of the bodies reburied. This is what happened in Guilford, CT, with the gravestones being removed to a newer burial ground by 1817, and the ground levelled to disguise the grave depressions by 1824, but most of the bodies being left in their original location (Smith 1877:37-38; Dee 1998). The practice of a grave for eternal sleep had been established by the 18th century, and it would be difficult to get settlers in America or Canada to change this mindset, even today. Even today in parts of Europe, graves for full-body inhumation are only temporary places, with a lease on the grave paid by the family

for a 10-20~ year period, after which the bodies are removed and cremated, such as what happens with graves in the small country of Luxembourg (Streb 2019:48-49).

European burials from the 16th century, for the common person, did not typically include a coffin. They were expensive to manufacture and decorate and were typically reserved for people who could afford such a luxury. In Britain, the layperson would be buried in a tightly wrapped shroud or winding cloth, tied at the head and feet, or secured with pins around the face, and possibly carried to their grave in a parish coffin. Coffins were not found in the majority of burials until the mid-17th century, and in 1678 the Burying in Woollen Act meant that all British burials had to have a wool shroud. In the British colonies in America and Canada, however, the burying in wool shroud rule does not appear to have been enforced, and I have seen no evidence of surviving textiles in burials being recorded as primarily wool, though this may be an interesting avenue for further study. There are very few examples of burial shrouds or clothing from the 17th century surviving in the archaeological record to date, with silk ribbons around the neck and wrists of an adult individual, and a fragment of linen in the burial of a child recovered at St. Mary's City (Bruwelheide et al. 2021). Wool production was not a major industry in early colonial North America, so there was no push to promote use of the material, instead opting for what was available. Burials were not carried out naked, or without a shroud or coffin, unless hurriedly done (Riordan 2000:2-15).

There have not been many 17th-century burial grounds fully excavated in northeastern North America, but, through sites like St. Mary's City, we are afforded a glimpse of what British settler burial practices were like for a community of mixed religious background. Timothy Riordan indicates that the increased use of coffins through

the 17th century can be seen in the colonial Chesapeake through the archaeology, where the use of a coffin becomes almost universal by the end of the century (Riordan 2000:5-1). Shrouded burials without a coffin only appeared in the early period at the site, roughly 1634-1667. This demonstrates that the use of coffins was reflecting roughly the same timeline as in Britain. The most recent burial, first located in 1992 but not excavated until 2023 was adjacent to the 1634 fort walls, and was likely buried in a hurry, with no nails or soil stains to indicate a coffin, and the positioning of his limbs suggest that he was not buried in a shroud (Ruane 2023; Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023).

At the Second Church site in Hampton, VA, burials were found within the church oriented both east-west and north-south, though no interpretation was offered by the excavation report for this deviation to Christian burial norms (Holt 1985:84). Based on the results in the report, some of the burials had coffins based on the nails found in the soil, while others may have been shrouded burials and only the grave shaft was noted. In the case of these burials, several fragments of gravestones were identified dating to the 17th century, and were identified as an imported fossiliferous limestone, indicating that they were not carved in North America (Holt 1985:95). It is also noted that while there was little decorative hardware from coffins found at the church, some examples made from iron were recovered (Holt 1985:95). This church, which dates to 1623/24, reflects Protestant burial traditions that would have come to Virginia with the settlers. These examples demonstrate that individuals who were buried in the church, who had the funds to pay for that privilege, were continuing to reflect the funeral traditions present in Britain during this period. These burials were more extravagant than those we see in Puritan settlements during the same time, which are documented as simplistic and plain with very

few decorations, as noted by primary sources (Sewall 1973). For example, Sewall recorded on September 23, 1690, of the death of his child Judith, "On the Coffin is the year 1690, made with little nails" (Sewall 1973:267).

Coffins were common in the early 17th century in the Netherlands and, while there has been minimal excavation on Dutch burial grounds from this period in North America, it appears from 19th-century accounts from Albany that coffins were used frequently enough to be noted in historical accounts of excavations. Coffins did appear to be more frequently used in the Netherlands in the medieval and late-medieval periods in a variety of styles. As we saw in Chapter 3, minimal archaeological research has been undertaken in Dutch burial sites, but four types of coffins were recorded at the medieval cemetery in Reusel, including rectangular coffins, as well as anthropoid, log, and a ladder coffin which would have had rungs instead of a bottom (Nater 2016). These styles have not yet been recorded in colonial Dutch burial grounds in the study area from the 17th century but could indicate styles that were in use.

Looking at the burials of French settlers, we must first note that there have not been many studies of funeral customs of early settlers in Quebec (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:33). It appears that at the Pointe-À-Callière site, the first burial ground established in the early days of Montreal, there was poor preservation in the seven excavated graves uncovered but coffins had been used based on the presence of nails and decaying boards (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:34). Coffins found in French burial grounds in Europe were primarily lead or wood, gaining popularity throughout the late medieval and early modern periods. I have not seen any evidence of 17th-century lead coffins being used in French or Dutch colonial settlements within the study area, and only in one British site,

that of St. Mary's City, as they were extremely heavy and would have had to be imported overseas or had the material shipped over, making them costly and inefficient when wood was readily available. The lead sheets for these coffins originated in southwest England based on metallurgical analysis, but was likely brought to St. Mary's City for other purposes and later made into the coffins (Travis Parno, personal communication May 11, 2023). The coffins recorded at Ville-Marie were trapezoidal, with the wider portion at the head, narrowing towards the feet. This style was also reflected at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons, where one six-sided coffin was identified (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:35).

It was also noted through historic documents that when the first burial at Pointe-À-Callière took place, the burial ground was already surrounded by a fence (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:32). This is an important feature, as bounding a burial space with a wall or fence was common practice in Europe and indicates that this was a planned burial space rather than a plot on someone's property that became the burial ground informally. It was purposefully laid out in this way. The report on this excavation compares it to the short-lived French Jesuit Mission, Sainte-Marie among the Hurons (Sainte-Marie-au-pays-des-Hurons), located on Huron-Wendat land near Midland, Ontario (Jury and Jury 1954). This site was contemporaneous with the Ville-Marie burial ground, dating from 1639-49, and excavations at this site, which primarily contained the burials of primarily Indigenous people, revealed that the majority of these individuals were buried in a coffin (Jury and Jury 1954:90-92; Desjardins and Duguay 1992:35). Sainte-Marie will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

Many of the excavated graves at Ville-Marie were oriented east-west, which is to be expected in a standard Christian burial ground. The excavation report notes that at

least one burial was oriented with the head to the north rather than west, which they speculate could indicate an Indigenous person was buried there (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:34). They note that many burials of Indigenous people at Sainte-Marie among the Hurons were also oriented with the head to the north, while others were buried with the head to the south and only one to the east (Hunter 1983 in Desjardins and Duguay 1992:34). Huron-Wendat tradition shows their burials facing the east, so they could reach their Village of the Dead when they arrived in the afterlife, although some souls would be reborn rather than settle in the afterlife (Thwaites 1896-1901:207; Jackson 2012:4). This demonstrates discrepancy between tradition at the Sainte-Marie among the Hurons site, or at least variability.

Within Ville-Marie, the archaeology suggests that the Indigenous people were buried in one section of the site, while the Europeans were buried in another, suggesting the reasoning for the change in grave orientation from E/W to N/S. The contemporaneous records of burials at Ville Marie identifies 38 individuals, with at least 12 individuals recorded as 'Native' (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:32). They were recorded with their original name, their baptismal name, and mostly noted as 'sauvage' in the margin (Desjardins and Duguay 1992:33). Their recorded names were Charles Matasagouis, Simon Piskault, Mathurin Parisien, Elias Kiouebu, Delphina Quabigaro, Francois Touskigich, infant Ouechikinagaunich, Jean Anacaoui, Pierre Makinganattik, Augustin Ahoodach, Genevieve Orlircha Otienega, Michel Tonnere (Desjardin and Duguay 1992:42). Those with information recorded about them in the burial records were from the Anishnabeg and Huron-Wendat nations, and all were buried with an officiating Catholic priest listed in the records, Catholic burials of Indigenous persons.

Regarding the placement of burial grounds in British, Dutch, and French colonial settlements, there are a number of contributing factors to examine. While the fortifications of a site were seen to only somewhat affect placement of a burial site in British settlements (66.7% of fortified sites had burial grounds inside the walls, Lacy 2020:100), the fortification of a town is still a variable to be explored with regard to French and Dutch sites, as will be discussed below. If Puritan settlements are removed from the sample, the majority of which were located in Massachusetts and Connecticut, 80% of fortified settlements had their burials within the fortifications, but the percentage of fortified settlements only rose to 36% from 22.5% (Lacy 2020:100). A random sample of 10 sites from the data collected for my previous research showed 50% fortified, 50% not fortified, with 80% of burials from fortified settlements inside the walls of the settlement, showing more influence on burial positioning from fortifications (Lacy 2020). British and Dutch towns in Europe typically had burial grounds near or central to the dwelling areas, but in North American sites were just as likely to be in the centre of a community as they were outside of it. French sites, however, tended to be more central rather than located away from the main living spaces, which could be reflecting the Catholic ties that they still held.

5.4 Comparative Analysis of Sites Surveyed

The purpose of this statistical analysis is to examine the frequency of sites with certain attributes, in order to gain a better understanding of what different groups of settlers were doing when establishing their burial landscapes: were Catholics only

choosing central locations beside churches, and how did that compare with other groups, such as the Dutch Reformed? Were there significant variations within one group, or within sites founded by one European country? In order to achieve this goal, the same data was collected from each site to ensure standardization of the analysis. Along with the site name, location, date founded, and location, I also recorded the religious affiliation, whether the settlement was fortified by a palisade / enclosure, if enclosed were the burial grounds inside or outside of the walls, whether the site was associated with a church and whether the church and burial space were on the same land/property, the distance from the potential church, whether the site was centrally located in the community, and the GPS coordinates for future reference. This information was collected with regards to the burial ground specifically, and the orientation of the grave(s) was not included in the statistical analysis, as it is not known for many of the sites. Grave orientation was included in site backgrounds as available. These questions were answered with 'yes' or 'no' and were entered into an Excel spreadsheet to better visualize the data (Appendix A), as well as into the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) to run descriptive frequency and cross-tabulation analysis. If the data was unknown, it was entered into both programs as a missing value.

It is not possible to predict all human behaviour through statistical analysis. When working with a small dataset such as a handful of sites, statistical analysis on the subset of data would be invalid, and descriptive analysis is better suited to these examples. With a smaller data set, one cannot make sweeping conclusions. The statistical frequency analysis presented in this chapter is meant to give a sense of the trends present in burial organization in the 17th century, but in many cases the results are not considered

statistically significant. However, a p-value of <0.05 is not the only indicator that a result is scientifically significant with the American Statistical Association (ASA) stating that "the p-value was never intended to be a substitute for scientific reasoning" (MacDonald 2016). Additionally, the 10 British settlements selected for this research were chosen to represent the variety of religious groups present on the northeastern North American landscape by the British settlers. Due to their allowance of religious tolerance, we see far more dissenter groups such as Quakers and Puritans moving to North America to found settlements, than we do with the Dutch or French, where very little dominant religious variability is seen. This results in data regarding the variability in British burial space organization being unsurprising. These data will be included to demonstrate differences in organization of burial grounds between religious groups and across the British burial landscape. However, in terms of identifying variability between British, Dutch, and French sites, their variability is already recognized because they were selected to show just that.

I have chosen not to include private family burial grounds / family plots in this analysis (Lacy 2017). This research focuses on organized community burial grounds, established by a municipality or church for the use of their community, and was not restricted to one family. The study of family plots would be a project in itself, and one that warrants future research.

5.4.1 Results of Comparative Analysis

Descriptive analyses were conducted on several different groupings of sites, based on association with their founding nations and association with churches, central location, and the existence of fortifications. In total, 45 sites were studied between 30 settlements, 10 each founded by the British, Dutch, and French. There were 18 burial grounds recorded in the British settlements, 15 in the Dutch settlements, and 12 in the French settlements.

The results showed the largest disparity between fortified towns and unfortified towns came from the British settlements surveyed, with only 30% (3) of the settlements fortified, and 70% (7) of the towns without fortifications. The sites that were fortified, Jamestown, the Popham Colony, both founded 1607, and St. Mary's City, founded in the 1630s, were early settlements in their regions, suggesting why they were relying on heavy fortifications. Out of those three settlements, two had their burials inside the fortifications, with only one site, St. Mary's City, locating their two 17th-century burial grounds outside the fortified centre. It is interesting to note that while Popham and Jamestown were both founded with backing by the Virginia Company who were Anglican, St. Mary's City was established by the Calvert's a re-converted Catholic family and that the first burials at the settlement were associated with a Catholic priest's residence and the later chapel (Riordan 2000).

When one considers that the settlements founded by dissenter groups, particularity the Puritans in New England, tended not to fortify their settlements in the traditional sense of surrounding a town in a wall or palisade, the majority of the surveyed settlements being without fortifications even in the early 17th century makes sense. When we look at

settlements in the dataset founded by Anglican and Catholic groups, or in the case of Newport, RI, had a non-denominational burial space at its beginning, we an increase to 50% fortified and 50% not fortified. Within those sites, 67% of the fortified towns had burials inside the walls.

Looking at the same variable for a different population, the Dutch settlements, we see that 60% (6) of the settlements were not fortified and 40% (4) were surrounded by fortifications. This is the reversed ratio of fortified to non-fortified that we see in the French settlements. While some of the settlements were established decades after the initial push from Europe to begin colonizing North America and, while places like New Amsterdam and Albany certainly had fortifications due to their strategic locations, other settlements that were established for farming may not have felt the need to be surrounded by a wall, nor would it have been practical or defensible.

Fortified French towns account for 60% (6) of the settlements surveyed, with 40% (4) unfortified. This survey counts the settlement of Montreal as 'unfortified', as the fortifications were not constructed until the 1680s, after the burial grounds included in this research were opened and closed again (Mappin 1995:21). It is important to also note that every one of the French settlements included in this survey were Catholic and/or Jesuit, and so the Catholic influence on burial practices is noted. Regarding the placement of burials inside or outside of fortifications, the results were not statistically significant, with 50% (3) of burial grounds at a fortified settlement placed outside the walls, 33% (2) placed inside, and one (1) site unknown for 17%. While the majority of British and Dutch sites in this research were not fortified (70% and 60% not fortified), with the French we see the inverse, with 60% of French sites fortified, reflecting their tenuous position poised

against the British in northeastern North America and the need to provide protection for their settlers.

What these data demonstrate is that, while a smaller sample size, the British settlements surveyed reflect the same results as those collected during my previous research, also a mixture of primarily Puritan and Anglican sites, where 77.5% (31/43) of sites surveyed were not fortified (Lacy 2020:100). In that research, more burial grounds associated with fortified sites were found inside the fortifications rather than outside (33.3% (3) outside, 66.7% (6) inside). In Figure 5.1, 50% (2) of the fortified sites had their burials outside the fortifications and 50% inside. Regardless of the relatively small sample size, these results show that fortifications were not a major influence on where the British were placing their burials. When we compare against data collected in my previous research founded by dominant religious groups only, that value increases to 80% of burials in fortified towns found inside the walls, and 20% outside (Lacy 2020).

This is directly contrasted with the French settlement results, which were overwhelmingly fortified, based on the sites surveyed. While the Dutch were more likely to establish their burial grounds outside of the walls of the settlement, the French sites were close to evenly split (Figure 5.1). This may indicate the fortifications did not play into where the burials went, and the space for burials was simply the best one available. Prior to the 1650s, there are more fortified sites than not, with the only non-fortified British settlements being founded by Puritans, besides the settlement of York, Maine, which was predominantly Anglican and founded in the 1630s. No Dutch settlements founded prior to 1650 were recorded for this study, and all but one pre-1650 French

settlement was fortified[5]. In terms of settlements founded in the latter half of the 1600s, both French sites founded in the 1680s-90s were non-fortified farming communities in Nova Scotia. All Dutch settlements recorded were founded after 1650, with 60% fortified, as already mentioned.

Out of the three nations' settlements examined for this research, the French burial grounds were all associated with churches directly, with 11 out of 12 sites recorded as having a direct association with a church (1 unknown), 91.7% (Figure 5.2). This result was not a surprise, as the French colonizing enterprises in northeast North America were overwhelmingly Catholic, and the strong association between the sacred nature of a Catholic burial/burial ground and the church was clearly being upheld within their settlements. The close association between church and burial space is also reflected in the Dutch settlements, where 13 out of 15 (86.7%) burial grounds were directly associated with churches. The two outlying burial grounds not associated directly with a church, by which I mean geographically adjacent or purposefully nearby the governing church, were the pre-1656 burial ground at Fort Orange, now Albany, and the New Utrecht Dutch Reformed Church Graveyard, which was established between 1653-64, but the church was not constructed until 1700. It is likely that both these burial grounds can be deemed Dutch Reformed but were established before their communities had the resources to construct a purpose-built church. All the Dutch sites included in this research were primarily Dutch Reformed Church, with the exception of one Jewish Cemetery in New Amsterdam which was associated with its nearby synagogue and was founded in 1682.

---

[5] Although one could argue that the island location of St. Croix was fortification enough.

These data are in direct contrast with the British results, which show that 50% (9) of sites were associated with churches, while 44.4% (8) were not, with one unknown (5.6%). The British-founded burial grounds present an interesting cross-section of religion in the 17th century, as British colonies had a freedom of religion that was not permitted to those still living in England at the time. Therefore, we see burial grounds in northeast North America established by Anglicans (Protestant), Catholics, Puritans, Quakers, and Jewish settlers, which presents much more variety in burial practices than we see in either Dutch or French settlements from the same period. In my original study, 61.5% (24) of sites were not associated with a church, while 38.5% (15) were, demonstrating a slightly higher number of sites that were not associated with churches, but overall, still not statistically significant results (Lacy 2020:100).

When broken down based on religious affiliation, it is even more clear the religious variation found in the British colonies when compared to the majority Protestant Dutch and Catholic French (Figure 5.3). British Protestant and Catholic burial grounds surveyed were directly associated with a church 100% of the time, while Puritan sites were more likely not to have that connection (71.4% or 5 sites were not associated with a church). These results were reflected in my initial research as well, with sites in Massachusetts and Connecticut, both settled primarily by Puritans in the early 17th century showing 85.7% and 72.7% not having associations with churches, respectively (Lacy 2020:100). Meanwhile, Anglican sites in Virginia were 100% associated with churches, a result duplicated by this project.

When looking at whether burial grounds were located in the centre or the edge of a community (Figure 5.4), we can see that while British and Dutch sites are slightly more

common outside of the centre of town with 55.6% for the British and 53.3% for the Dutch, these results are reversed when considering the French. For French burial grounds, 66.7% (8) burial sites were located in the centre of towns, suggesting that even if the town was not fortified, it was more common to see a central church and burial space in a French community, even in 17th-century colonial North America, and the maintenance of the connection between those two spaces.

5.5 Discussion

These data have demonstrated that burial grounds in northeastern North American colonies were influenced both by traditions brought over from the settlers' European home countries, as well as shaped by new traditions established upon arrival. The latter would facilitate their separation from Europe through their death and burial practices, and in many cases help them build a new identity. This was especially true of the British dissenter communities in North America, where we see a greater variety of religious groups represented in the early days of colonization in the northeast, including Catholics, Anglicans, Puritans, Jews, and Quakers, all with their own ideas about how to treat their places of worship and their dead.

Dutch settlements established by the VOC in northeast North America showed influence over their town design as well as previous settlement patterns from the company in addition to Dutch tradition approaching town development with rules established by the company (Van Oers 2000:10-11). The burial grounds opened in Dutch settlements were primarily, but not all, associated with the Dutch Reformed Church, with

the burials directly beside church buildings or within close proximity. This is similar to the British Protestant (Anglican) sites surveyed, which retained that close spatial relationship between burial and house of worship that dissenter groups often tried to separate from. Anglican, Catholic, and Dutch Reformed are very similar in terms of spatial organization of burial grounds and churches, as ‘well established’ religious practices in Europe. Regarding the Catholic French, of which every French site surveyed represented, all burial spaces were associated with a church or chapel, and the majority of these were located in the centre of their community, whereas the Dutch and British sites were more likely to be away from the centre of town, regardless of religious affiliation. This is shown through 8/12 French burial grounds being in the centre of town, while the British and Dutch burial grounds lean towards being away from the centre of town, with 10/18 and 8/15 respectively, being away from the centre of their communities.

But what do these nations’ approaches to mortuary spaces tell us about their settlement development in North America? We know that European countries which were establishing settlements in the northeast were concerned with their security, against one another and the local Indigenous peoples whose land they were on. The French produced more fortified settlements than the Dutch or British, due to the early dates of the settlements, but as identified in my previous research with only British settlements, the fortification of a town was not as influential to the placement of burial grounds as initially hypothesised (Lacy 2020). For this research, more French sites were fortified than not (70%), with 44% of burial grounds in these fortified sites were outside, 45% inside, and 11% unknown. These data suggests that for the British burial grounds surveyed (50/50 inside or outside), fortifications do not play a role in the placement of burials, and that

they do not play much of a role with the French burial placement either. The lack of connection between fortifications and internal or external burial grounds is particularly interesting, especially when considering the Catholic influence on all aspects of life in France in the 17th century, where parish churches and burial sites were "la plupart encastrés dans le tissu urbain" (mostly embedded in the urban fabric) (Bertrand 2017:108). The removal of these spaces from the centre of colonial settlements may reflect the lack of an older, established church or consecrated space that was traditionally being used, or because fortifying a town meant that there would be less living space available and so space had to be prioritized for those who were, in fact, still alive. Despite being part of the community in a unique way, the dead do not need the same physical protection as the living.

When we look at Dutch settlements, however, a slight majority of sites were not fortified (60%), and of the fortified sites, most burials were placed outside of those fortifications (67%). When we look at the burial grounds of unfortified Dutch sites (6 sites), 83% (5 sites) are located centrally in the community, which suggests that the fortifications did play a role in burial ground placement for Dutch colonies. This also speaks to the development of Dutch settlements in North America, as they were moving away from the need to establish a fort around their settlement to expanding the settlement itself. The burial spaces no longer took up valuable land inside the walls, and so could be established closer to home.

A comparison of British, Dutch, and French settlement fortifications between the study sites can be seen in Figure 5.5, which is similar to the rates of burial grounds being in the centre of communities, as shown in Figure 5.4. This is an interesting trend to

observe, as even though walls surrounding a settlement did not have any sway over the burial ground being located within or outside of the walls itself, it does appear to have some influence on whether a burial ground is in the centre of the community or not.

When broken down by religious affiliation, the groups that had the most sustained relationships between church and burials were the Dutch Reformed Church, the French Catholic Church, and the British Protestant Church. While Protestant groups were dissenters in the eyes of the Catholic Church through the 16th-century Reformation, they were well-established by the 17th century as official churches of state. It was the other dissenter groups like the Puritans and Quakers that were more likely to change burial practices further from what was practiced in Europe. This is where we see meeting houses and Friends houses, with groups who followed Calvinist views or similar, who were resisting the practices of the Catholic and Protestant Churches in Europe. These relationships between places of worship and places of burial within communities established by more ‘traditional’ (although at the time Protestantism was still young) compared to more zealous religious reformers was expected to be reflected in the data.

It is clear through this examination of burial landscape patterns in colonial settlements, that there were many factors that went into choosing the placement of the burial spaces. Association with a church and the centre of town varied between religious groups and nationalities, but overall, the results show that settlements with stronger ties to traditional European religious practices such as the French Catholics would overall retain more traits of their church and burial grounds as seen in Europe, than groups that were separating from these older establishments such as the British Puritans or Quaker communities. Colonial northeastern North America was also home to many Jewish

congregations starting in the mid-late 17th century, although they were not afforded as many rights as the majority groups in their communities, and therefore had less influence over whether their temples would be adjacent to space available to them for burials.

Where we have ongoing connection between the community, the church, and the burial grounds in some communities, in others these spaces are further disconnected and have remained that way to this day. In the following chapter, we will discuss how colonial burial spaces, which are typically portrayed as white spaces, were the final resting place of many people of colour as well, both free and enslaved. Their burial practices often reflected the colonial traditions, in what was deemed acceptable in that community, although as was seen during excavations at the African Burying Ground in New York City, that was not always the case below the surface.

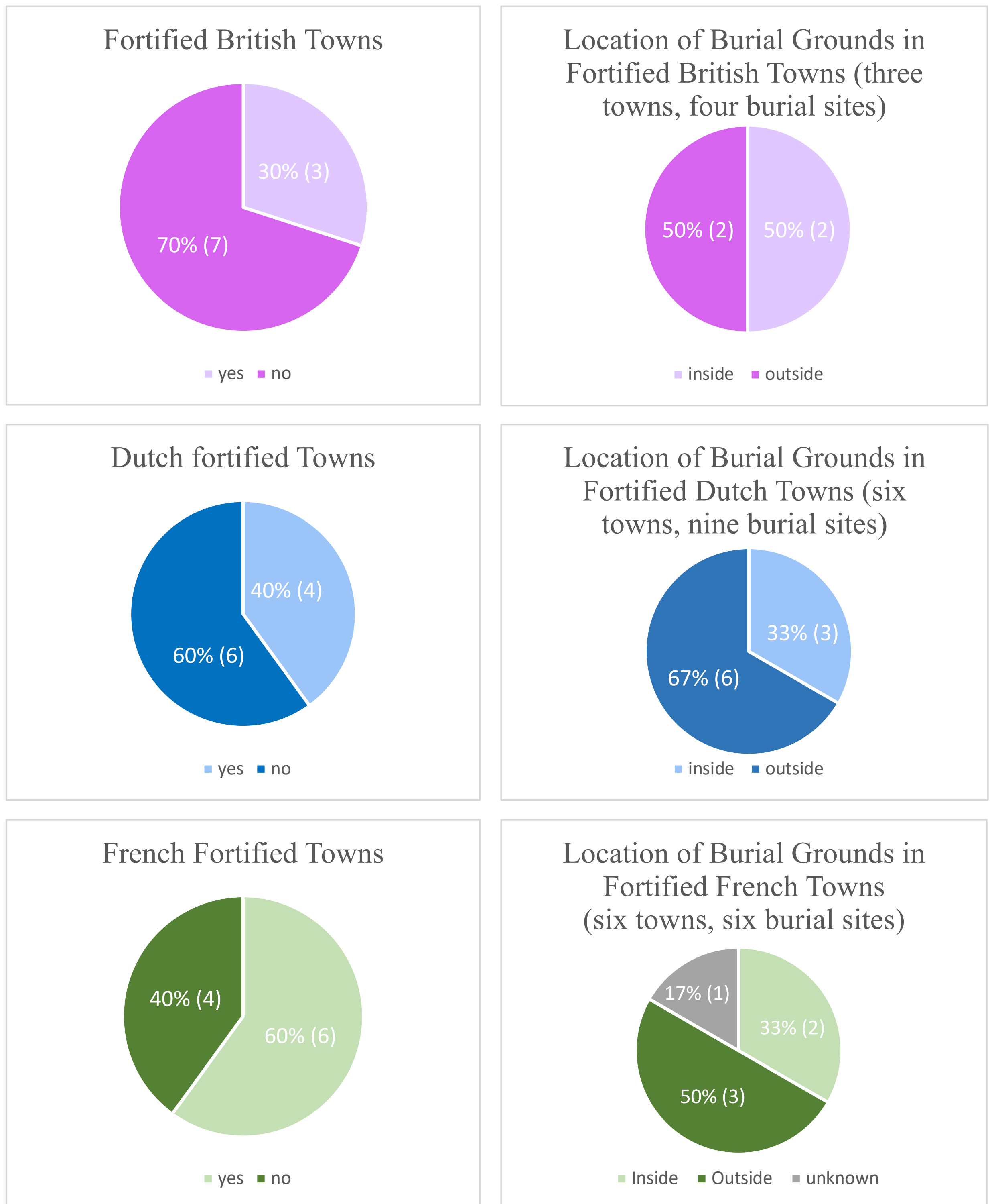


Figure 5.1: Pie charts showing fortified British, Dutch, and French colonial towns, and burial locations within fortified towns. The righthand chart shows four burial grounds from three towns, which were fortified, as demonstrated by the lefthand chart.

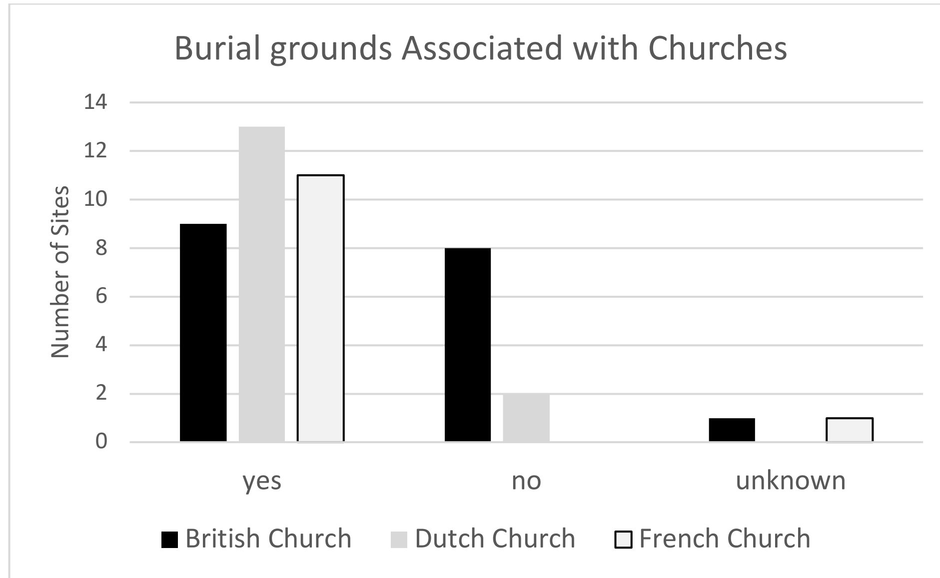


Figure 5.2: Table showing site association with churches for British, Dutch, and French settlements.

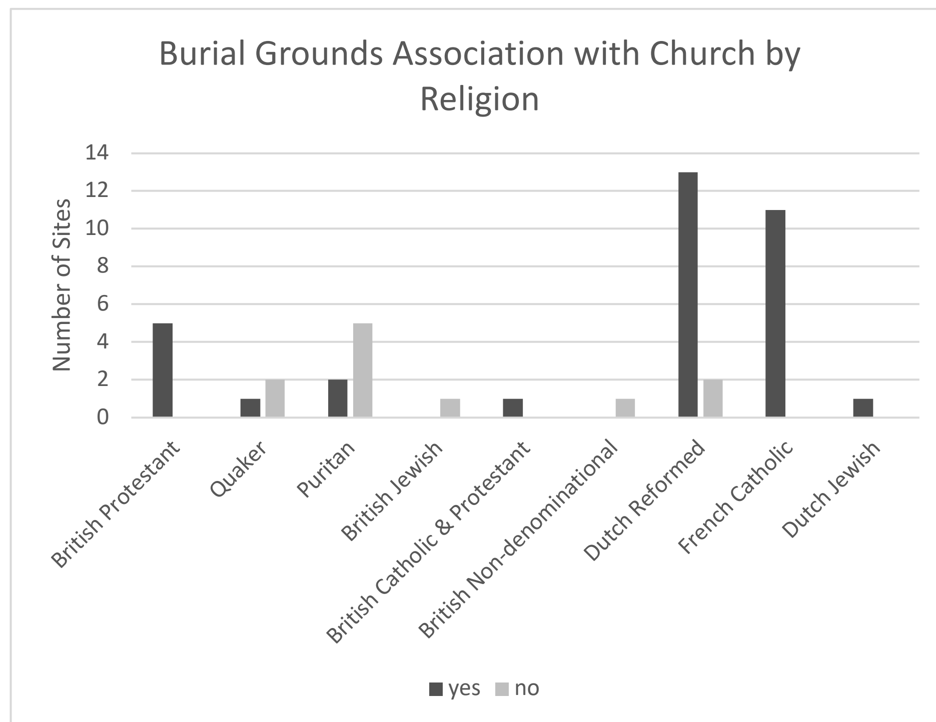


Figure 5.3: Breakdown of burial grounds associated with churches, organized by religion.

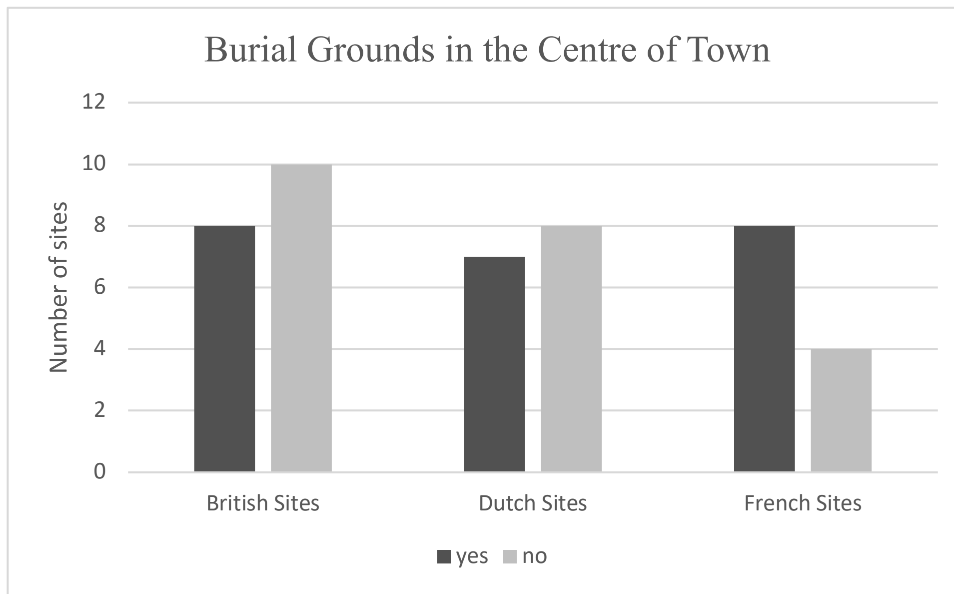


Figure 5.4: Number of British, Dutch, and French burial grounds in the centre of towns compared to outside of the town centre.

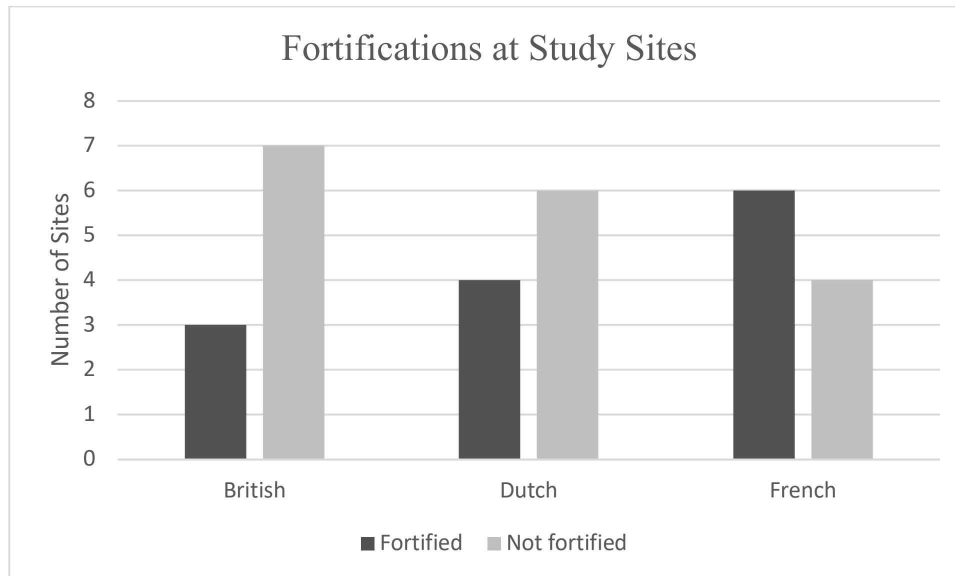


Figure 5.5: Fortifications at the study sites, divided by founding nation.

6 Community Archaeology & Burial Landscapes: New Perlican, Newfoundland and Labrador

This case study arose from a community initiative. Residents of New Perlican wished to better understand their historical burial grounds and associated landscapes, and how these might be managed as historic resources. I first began my engagement with residents of New Perlican in 2017, prior to my PhD research, when I participated in a heritage workshop co-organized by Heritage NL and Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, with Dale Jarvis, the now-Director of Heritage NL and Dr. Shannon Lewis-Simpson, adjunct professor in MUNL's Archaeology Department. The goal of the workshop was to clear brush and small trees from the overgrown St. Mark's burial ground located on the west side of the harbour. The site, which contains the remains of hundreds of former residents, overlooks a harbour punctuated with colourful fishing stages, many of which have been rebuilt as an effort by New Perlican to restore their historic harbourfront. The workshop was attended by over 40 MUNL undergraduate and graduate students and community members including the local group Heritage New Perlican, who I subsequently worked closely with to organize field surveys as part of my PhD research.

The workshop taught the attendees about how to carefully remove brush from a historic burial ground without causing damage to the site. My role was to aid in the mapping of the gravestones as well as to give a talk about my previous research on

historic burial grounds in Newfoundland, and what we can do for their conservation moving forward.

Subsequent fieldwork at New Perlican was undertaken over two field seasons in the spring of 2021 and 2022[6] (Lacy 2022b; 2023). Fieldwork primarily consisted of mapping known historic-period burial grounds dating from the 18th century (possibly earlier) to the early 20th century, in order to create georeferenced maps of the spaces and gravestones. This information was compiled in GIS and the finished maps were given to Heritage New Perlican as a community resource. My goal with this aspect of the fieldwork was to map the sites to examine the development of the burial landscape, but also to record the gravestones and site boundaries as they are today, for future heritage work in the community. New Perlican is an outport community with many historical resources, and understanding the breadth of these resources in order to promote them to visitors and locals, as well as protect them from ongoing and future developments, was a key motivation in my work.

New Perlican was chosen as a case study site in Newfoundland and Labrador within the wider goals of exploring the development of historic burial landscapes in northeastern North American colonial settlements which have seen long or continuous periods of occupation since their founding by Europeans. New Perlican was not used in my comparative study in Chapter 5 since a 17th-century burial space has yet to be confirmed in the community, although one of the burial grounds discussed in this chapter

[6] The fieldwork and concurrent research for this community-based project was made possible by research grants from The J.R. Smallwood Foundation, the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO), the Society for Historical Archaeology (SHA), and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC).

is quite plausibly of that date. The mortuary landscape of the community, however, warrants closer examination. Many settlements in the analysis above were selected based on their founding nation and for having known burial grounds from the 17th century. Not all the sites discussed have been continuously occupied to the present day, with some like Saint Croix Island or the Popham Colony only lasting a handful of years before being abandoned due to hardship or conflict with rival nations. New Perlican, however, has been continuously occupied by European settlers since the arrival of the Hefford family in the mid-17th century, and was noted by settlers at the Cupids Plantation since the winter of 1619/1620 (Heritage NL 2018), although it is unclear whether settlers from Cupids ever lived in New Perlican.

6.1 Community Value in Heritage

There are many ways to define a 'community'. A community can refer to a group of people who live in the same geographical area, or those tied together by a shared interest, cultural background, or belief system, or communities can be "characterized by a sense of identification and emotional connection to other members" (Israel et al. 1998:178; Atalay 2012:90). Members of a community might be interested in their local heritage projects, as a source of pride, of income, or a draw for tourism, but generally there is shared interest in preserving and protecting local heritage sites, burial grounds included. Through archaeology, professionals can engage with their communities, create reciprocal sharing of knowledge, and communicate why the protection and preservation of tangible heritage is of great value to everyone involved.

For example, the Florida Public Archaeology Network (FPAN) created a program called the Cemetery Resource Protection Training (CRPT) program in 2004 in partnership with cemetery management, archaeologists, and municipal governments to "facilitate the appreciation, value, and stewardship" of historic cemeteries across the state (Miller 2015:276). By framing cemeteries as outdoor museums that need to be managed and cared for in a similar way to a curated collection, participants learned the importance of best practices in gravestone care, cleaning, and conservation. Miller puts it best when she states that "the power to preserve is realized by the cemetery stewards, and the results are creative and varying. In this way, cemeteries move beyond their designation as outdoor museums and could also be rightly called participatory museums" (2015:278). This example is greatly encouraging for communities that are already interested in preserving their historic burial grounds and an excellent way to educate those who are curious about how to get involved, by providing a platform for community engagement and creating a dialogue (Simon 2010:187). Through the creation of a standardized program for engagement with historic cemeteries, FPAN has been able to run meetings and gravestone cleaning days with a similar mission to Florida archaeologist Margo Stringfield's research "promoting local historic cemetery preservation through an interdisciplinary approach in education and training, and by fostering an informed stewardship base" (Miller 2015:281; Stringfield et al. 2015).

In Newfoundland, under the banner of Black Cat Cemetery Preservation, I have worked with my partner and Heritage NL to create gravestone conservation workshops aimed at community members and heritage professionals alike to teach about the value of local historic cemeteries and burial grounds, and how best to care for them (Lacy 2021b).

Like the CRPT program, but on a much smaller scale, our workshops garnered interest from community members who wanted to learn more about these sites, and we received very positive feedback on the events. Working directly with communities has helped us find the balance between conservation as a field and the needs and wants of the community. Our project with the Trinity Historical Society at St. Paul's Anglican Churchyard in Trinity is one such example where we collectively decided to retain some of the leaning headstones rather than fulling straightening them all, in order to keep some of the heritage character of the churchyard. Through best practices in burial ground conservation, including how to safely clean, record, and repair simple upright grave markers in historic burial grounds with permission from the site's managing body, communities can easily play a role in the preservation of their heritage.

Allison Mickel's recent publication, "Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent", discusses interviews with community members who were involved with high-profile excavations at Petra, Jordan and Çatalhöyük, Turkey, and why the distribution of knowledge between archaeologists and locals is unbalanced and often exploitative of local labour (2021). What Mickel identified through her interviews is that, while often pretending not to have knowledge of the archaeological process, locals who work(ed) on these projects were deeply invested in the sites and had their own theories and ideas on the use of certain spaces and objects based on their understanding of living in a similar environment. This demonstrates that communities already understood the importance of protecting and learning about these archaeological sites. While her project only briefly touches on the topic of human remains, the overarching message that a local community knows as much or more about a historic site and should not be overlooked or excluded

from the archaeology, holds true for work in cemeteries and other burial spaces. These sites are *their* heritage, deeply significant to the community and their shared past (Meskell 2018). When engaged in community archaeology that is forward facing, archaeologists don't need to convince a group to protect their own heritage, as this is something communities are already aware of.

7.2.1 Benefits of Collaborative Research

Collaborative research, or research that takes place *with* a group or community, and not *of* or *about* them, is a significant part of creating a decolonized and more holistic archaeology in the 21st century. While excavations are an important part of the field, it is important that we as archaeologists consider accessible alternatives beyond public presentation, such as outreach programs to "help instil a sense of belonging and community to the people living in and around [an archaeological project]" (Reynolds 2014:186). By working directly with community members and leadership, it encourages them to be invested in their own heritage, archaeological sites, and understanding of their home. These all help to enrich ones' sense of place, and benefit both the archaeologists and the community.

Burial spaces are significant heritage resources for both heritage professionals and their communities. As spaces of interest to a variety of stakeholders, burial grounds are of "high symbolic, emotional and cultural value to local communities, as repositories of and windows to local and family histories" (Pillatt et al. 2021:2). Through collaborative projects between archaeologists and communities, the significance and value of such

spaces is brought to the forefront of the conversation. For example, Pillatt et al. (2021) describe the 'Discovering England's Burial Spaces' project, also known as DEBS, which seeks to educate the British public on the significance of burial spaces and give them the tools to record these spaces for future research. This effectively inserts anyone into the role of mortuary researcher, participating in fieldwork while developing an understanding of the value of such spaces. The DEBS project addresses the lack of standardization in community graveyard surveys in the past and has updated Mytum's (2000) classification system for more streamlined usage. The revised system was developed through consultation with several community groups undertaking the work, ensuring that the system was intuitive to groups who would be less familiar with technical research methods of recording (Pillatt et al. 2021:3). The benefit of such programs can be seen immediately, as the DEBS recording project allows anyone who is interested to quickly learn the system and record burial grounds in their local UK community.

Another example relevant to this research is the rescue archaeology of a burial ground at S.. Helena Island which was originally created for African individuals who had been kidnapped from their homes in the transatlantic slave trade (Pearson and Jeffs 2016:99). Ships carrying enslaved Africans were liberated by the British Royal Navy during the mid-19th century and brought to St. Helena, a stopover on their way home, but some 5000 individuals ended up dying there and were buried on the island (Pearson and Jeffs 2016:99). As part of the collaborative goals of this CRM project, a series of interviews with residents of the island were conducted in order to gain feedback and understand local attitudes about the excavation of human remains. The authors note that the local responses were "either great curiosity or significant antipathy" (Pearson and

Jeffs 2016:99). This project began as part of the construction of an airport on the island, which would impact a large area of the Rupert valley, and archaeologists were required to mitigate that impact to the African burial ground as part of the excavation.

If it had not been for the airport construction on St. Helena, it is likely that these burials would have been left undisturbed. The islanders felt that the graves were part of their shared heritage, although Pearson and Jeffs report that, through community consultations at the beginning of the project, there was "only patchy knowledge of the graveyards and little appreciation of who they contained, or of their international rarity and significance" (2016:101). This project is an interesting case study for many reasons; understanding attitudes towards the dead by the community, measuring perceptions of history, and demonstrating the importance of rescue excavations, to name a few. "There was a prevailing sense that the dead should be 'left in peace'; had the excavation been purely a research exercise it might have been strongly opposed" (Pearson and Jeffs 2016:106). As Pearson and Jeffs stated, "exhumation was carried out to enable respectful reburial; the information gleaned from the assemblage was a secondary benefit" (2016:106). This seems to be a common reaction amongst the public to rescue operations, and it is the archaeologist's job to ensure the public that remains are typically no longer exhumed just for the sake of scientific research. The community benefits from a project like this by having a say in how their heritage is handled, while also seeing their community grow and develop, with "a growing pride in the role that St Helena played in the abolition of the slave trade" (Pearson and Jeffs 2016:111). Community input on the handling and storage of the exhumed remains has put pressure on the local government to

see the remains reinterred rather than stored long-term or displayed, and at the time of the paper's publication, ongoing consultations were being held.

It is clear through consultative projects like the St. Helena excavations, using community engagement to understand people's perceptions of the cemetery excavations, and the DEBS project which created a streamlined burial ground recording system employing direct input and collaboration from various community groups, that communities are ready to be, or already are, invested in their local heritage. By implementing public archaeology methods into projects and working with the local communities, and not just studying them, the results of research projects will have meaning and impact beyond just the academic sphere, but to the preservation of local heritage and learning for the people involved.

6.2 New Perlican

The Town of New Perlican is located on the west side of Trinity Bay, on the northwest arm of the Avalon Peninsula, on the island of Newfoundland. It is located within the traditional territory of the Beothuk people. Tucked in a picturesque harbour between Heart's Content and Winterton, the British-founded community of New Perlican has been home to settlers and their descendants since at least 1675. The harbour is dotted with colourful fishing stages and active fishing boats. The community has around 200 residents according to the 2021 Census of Population (Statistics Canada 2021).

According to the 1675 Sir. John Berry Census of Newfoundland, only two families resided in New Perlican that year: Edward Howard with four individuals who

worked for him, and William Hefford (also spelled Hellford or Halfyard in the census) and wife (unnamed) along with 18 men[7] (Berry 1675). The Hefford's property included four boats and one fishing stage. The community of Old Perlican, farther north on the peninsula, was substantially larger in 1675 with 11 households, two of which included children, and housed 124 male fishing servants.

While New Perlican was small in the 17th century, it grew into a bustling place with several hundred residents. One of the first references to the name 'Perlican' can be found in a letter by Captain Charles Leigh, dated 1597, where he records that a Basque ship was anchored in 'Parlican' (Gilbert 2020:1). In his 2001 report of the archaeology in New Perlican, Gilbert writes of a recently recovered will from 1631 which indicates that migratory fishers were established in the area, and that by the time of the French attack on the English Shore in 1697, there were a reported "nine houses and stores" in the small town (Prowse 1895:232; Gilbert 2020:1). The French military campaign in Newfoundland resulted in the destruction of around 36 English settlements including Ferryland.

The number of known historical burial grounds that remain is quite high, with nine burial grounds within the vicinity of the community, and only two still in use today (Figure 6.1).

---

[7] Census records provide counts of 'men' separate from family members and who were likely fishermen or otherwise employed by the family in their enterprises.

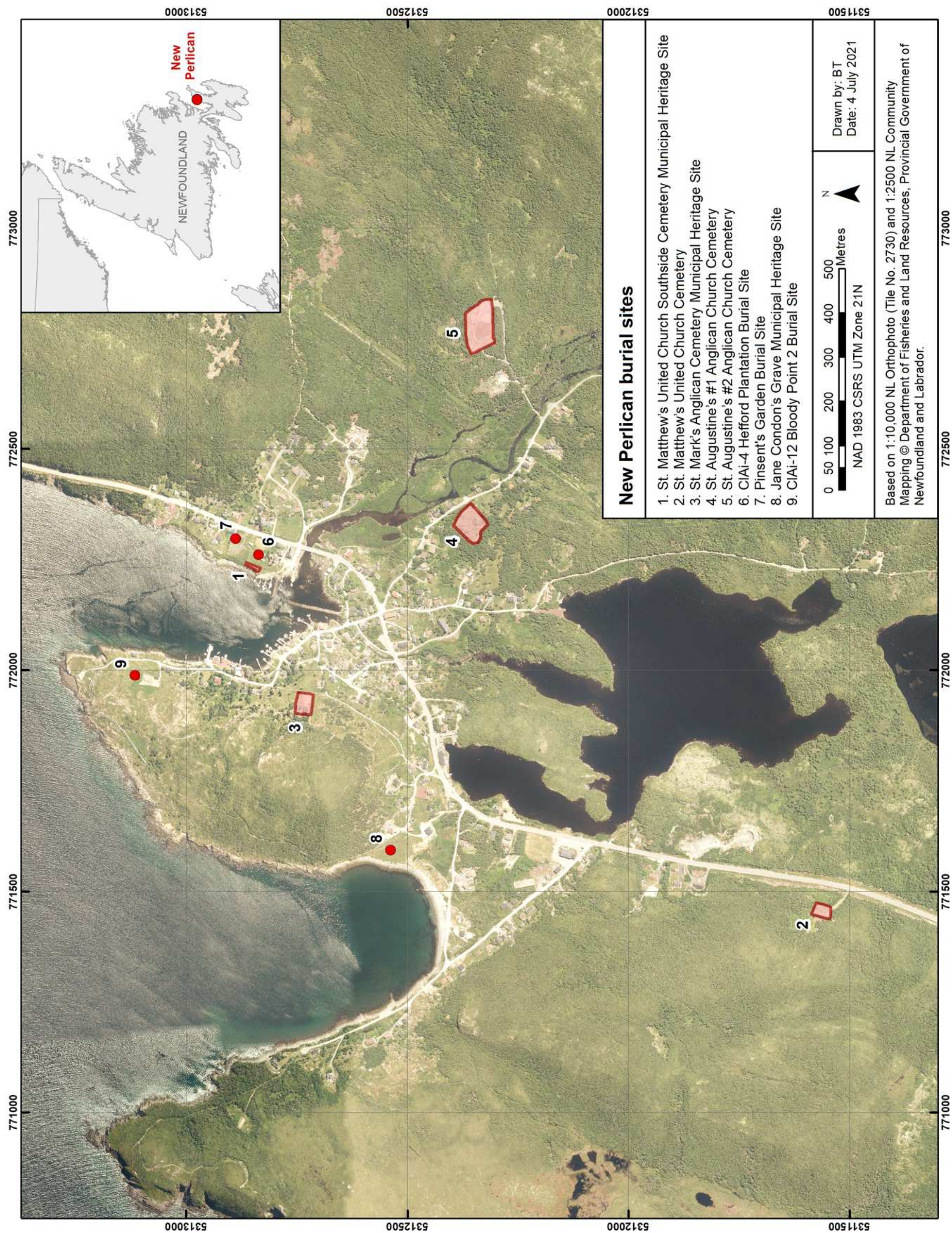


Figure 6.1: Map of New Perlican, showing the location of the eight identified burial grounds within the community (Tapper 2021).

6.2.1 Public Archaeology in New Perlican

I began this part of my PhD project by reconnecting with Heritage New Perlican and discussing how I was interested in doing research on their burial grounds. Specifically, I wished to explore the development of the burial landscape in their community, which had been occupied by European settlers since the 17th century, and simultaneously engage with community members to answer any questions residents may have. The response I received was overwhelmingly positive. Heritage New Perlican was interested in my research proposal and indicated that they were excited to learn more about the Bloody Point burial ground site specifically (ClAi-12), and in having copies of my research for their community archives. Their interest and dedication in preserving and learning more about their historic burial grounds drove my project's development. As demonstrated in this chapter, one of the goals of community archaeology and collaborative research is to engage and share information. All data gathered during my research will, therefore, be shared with Heritage New Perlican and, by extension, the community.

'Public' or 'community archaeology' refers to the sub-discipline of archaeology that focuses on community engagement, collaboration, and participation. These terms are relatively common amongst archaeologists today though are often utilized as 'buzz words' to indicate the dissemination of research, without additional meaningful connections with a community; effectively tokenizing the 'community' aspect. Public archaeology can specifically mean the presentation of archaeology to the public through engagement in the field or museums, while community archaeology instead leans towards collaborative and participatory research methods (Atalay 2012; Gould 2016:9).

Additionally, this project falls under the 'public archaeology of death and burial'. This sub-discipline is a field of public archaeology which focuses on the community connection and engagement with spaces of death and burial, within burial grounds and the wider burial landscape. I have chosen to refer to the work as public archaeology rather than community archaeology, because although I was in consultation with Heritage New Perlican regarding the project and discussed my research with members of the community, it is not as collaborative as community archaeology projects are. I presented the research to the community and invited anyone interested to attend and asked for their feedback on the project.

The 2021 field season presented some challenges regarding public engagement, as I was working with a small team of colleagues (PhD Candidates Ian Petty and Bryn Tapper), and Covid-19 protocol established by the university required strict social-distancing in the field. I made a flyer which was distributed on the Heritage New Perlican Facebook page and within the community to let residents know when and where I would be conducting fieldwork. During the 2021 field season, only two individuals approached me to discuss the history of the sites in a capacity that I could take notes on for the project. This low turnout was likely due to the poor weather during a portion of the fieldwork, or fears of contracting Covid-19. Through discussion with members of Heritage New Perlican I was informed that people are interested in knowing more about Bloody Point, and that several individuals are also very interested in learning and/or identifying the 'New Road' burials, which appear to be associated with local lore. Based on a site visit, the New Road burials appear to be ground disturbance due to field clearing, potential relict house features, and small mounds of earth, but locals have continued to

believe there are gravestones in the area. They are also keen to know the location of the original St. Mark's Church, which used to be adjacent to the cemetery. Part of the community consultation for this project has been reiterating the importance of rescue vs. research excavation of burial grounds, and how archaeologists would not normally excavate those buried at Bloody Point unless they are impacted by development.

In May 2023, I hosted a community event in conjunction with Heritage New Perlican, with an excellent turnout from not only New Perlican but surrounding communities of Heart's Content, Winterton, and Hant's Harbour. I presented my research at the town hall and community centre to an audience of around 25-30 individuals, discussed the goals of my own project as well as the importance of protecting and preserving local heritage for the future, and went over the maps created from the field survey. There were numerous questions from those who attended, primarily about how they could record and preserve gravestones in other communities and in New Perlican. I was pleased with the level of interest and engagement that the project received.

6.3 Fieldwork

The first season of fieldwork took place between June 28th and July 2nd, 2021, and overall, six burial grounds were surveyed. The sites surveyed were:

- ClAi-4, Hefford Plantation Burial Site;
- ClAi-11, St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery Municipal Heritage Site;
- ClAi-12, Bloody Point 2 Burial Site;

- ClAi-14, Pinsent's Garden Burial Site;
- ClAi-15, Jane Condon's Grave Municipal Heritage Site; and,
- ClAi-16, St. Matthew's United Church Southside Cemetery Municipal Heritage Site.

The goal of my fieldwork was to use a total station theodolite (TST) to map the boundaries and gravestones of most of the historic burial grounds in New Perlican, so that their organization and spatiality could be examined in relation to each other and to the community. The use of a TST is a common approach to non-invasive surveying. While it does not have the ability to look below the surface like other non-invasive survey techniques such as a ground penetrating radar (GPR) — which transmits high-frequency radio waves from an antenna and collects measurement of the waves as they bounce back to the antenna (Conyers 2004:1) — a total station allows for the accurate mapping and recording of the surface of a site, as well as the location of artifacts (such as grave markers) in relation to one another.

All were surveyed using the TST, and photographs were taken of each gravestone in all sites except for St. Mark's, due to the large number of fieldstones used to indicate burial places (see Appendix C). The results would provide the community with a geo-referenced record of the exact location of known grave markers at these sites, many of which had never been fully documented or had been documented through crowd-sourced databases such as BillionGraves.com (2021) with poor accuracy in terms of geographic data. In 2022, we returned to New Perlican to finish up the field survey, which took place at ClAi-17, St. Augustine's Cemetery #1.

The survey of these sites was important to the community as it created a record of the location and number of grave markers at known heritage sites, which is vital for any future development in the area. The recording also provided information to the community and anyone visiting who wished to learn more about a particular stone or about the sites in general. The numbered maps, created for my project by Bryn Tapper, have been sent to Heritage New Perlican for the community archives. I plan to provide catalogued photos of the grave markers as well, with photos having been taken of all inscribed grave markers. For the larger sites, I did not catalogue each uninscribed fieldstone with a photograph, as it would provide little to no additional information and given their nature it would be extremely difficult for volunteers or visitors to identify individual stones during a visit to these sites. However, by recording their location using the TST and taking photos of select fieldstones as representative examples, this project will ensure a wider understanding of their presence and visibility on the burial landscape of New Perlican specifically and Newfoundland in general.

It should be noted that the two contemporary burial grounds, St. Matthew's United Church Cemetery (#2, Figure 6.1) and St. Augustine's #2 Anglican Church Cemetery (#5, Figure 6.1), are still in use today and both sites contain field stones which is often an indicator of an earlier site. However, the use of field stones in outport communities, as I will discuss in this chapter, should be considered more an indicator of the economic status and the lack of access or connection to a professional stone carver than to the age of the site. These sites were visited, and photographs of notable stones were taken, but due to their modernity, they were not surveyed using the TST.

My interest in using a total station for this project was to create an accurate and measured plan of each of the burial spaces at New Perlican. Prior to the start of my research, Heritage New Perlican had communicated to me that, while there has been great interest in the gravestones at the older sites in the community, they did not have a catalogue of how many gravestones were present at any of the sites. Unlike the use of GPR on uneven terrain that I experienced while conducting my Master's research at Ferryland and Tors Cove, NL, the total station works well on any terrain, as long as you are able to level the tripod that the machine sits on (Lacy 2017:107).

6.4 The Sites

The sites selected for this case study made up the oldest known burial spaces within the community of New Perlican (Figure 6.1). In the following sections I will outline the background of each of the sites, the surveys carried out, as well as significant finds that were recorded.

6.4.1 Hefford Plantation Burial Site

The most well-known archaeological site in New Perlican, the Hefford Plantation is currently located on private property. The plantation site dates to the 17th century, based on artifacts recovered by Gilbert and team during excavations from 2001-2009 (Gilbert 2020). As already stated in this chapter, the Hefford family was one of the first documented European settlers in the area, and excavations carried out at the site clearly demonstrated the 17th-century occupation through the recovery of over 1100 ceramic sherds, a William III halfpenny dating between 1695 and 1698, and multiple clay pipe

fragments, as well as architectural features (Gilbert 2020). Gilbert's excavations concluded that the site was the location of William Hefford's 1670s plantation, and had been occupied through to the 21st century.

The burial ground, which would have been located on the plantation itself as a family burial ground, included five gravestones (Figure 6.2). The stone dedicated to William and Honor Hefford, who died in 1788 and 1813 respectively, is made from imported limestone and is the only inscribed stone surviving at the site. The others are fieldstones, and it is unknown if there were once more gravestones on the site which have since been removed. The current homeowner kindly allowed us into the property and maintains the lawn meticulously so that the fieldstones were easily identified and surveyed with the TST. Due to the spacing between stones 2 and 3, and 4 and 5, it is possible that there was another row of graves in between the two, but that should only be investigated through GPR or another non-invasive surveying technique. Unfortunately, because this site is located in a manicured lawn on a property which has seen human occupation since at least the late 17th century, very few above-ground features survive to

this day. The gravestones and limits of the yard were recorded, but no other features were included.

6.4.2 St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery

St. Mark's Cemetery is a unique and historically significant site in New Perlican, and one the community is particularly interested in clearing and preserving, as well as having the gravestones recorded and mapped. The site is located on Scott's Hill, on the east side of the harbour, situated on a gently sloping roughly rectangular plot of land. The

Figure 6.2: Map of Hefford Plantation and St. Matthew's UC Cemetery (Tapper 2021).

majority of the gravestones are uninscribed fieldstones, but there are a number of inscribed stones recorded as well, made from imported marble.

Like many communities in Newfoundland, New Perlican did not have an established clergy until the 19th century, and the St. Mark's Anglican Church was not constructed at the site until 1832, or at least was constructed enough to be consecrated as a religious site (Jarvis and Matthews 2018:4). According to an 1827 newspaper, Bishop John Inglis of Halifax, Nova Scotia, traveled to the area by ship, and visited New Perlican (Jarvis and Matthews 2018:3). This newspaper article stated that there were no churches in the community at the time, and does not mention the burial ground, although this does not mean there were not any, as settlers had been living in the area for nearly 200 years. As of 2024, the location of this first church in New Perlican is unknown, though it is expected to be near the burial ground based on local oral histories and was destroyed by fire in 1886 (Jarvis and Matthews 2018:4-5). The burial ground fell out of use in the 1890s, when St. Augustine's Cemetery #1 opened to the south of the new church.

Over the course of the TST survey, we recorded a total of 306 potential grave markers, doubling the number of markers estimated by Heritage New Perlican. We also recorded the location of iron railing fragments which had once surrounded one of the plots, and the rough location of vegetation on the site. The rails likely came from one plot, which can be seen in a photo taken by Eileen Matthews (Figure 6.3). Based on the map (Figures 6.4 and 6.5) one can see that there are rough rows in the east half of the site running north/south, and all inscribed headstones faced east, subscribing to Christian burial traditions.

Between the volunteer day which I participated in, in 2017, and this survey in 2021, the municipality of New Perlican negatively impacted the site through the digging of a drainage ditch along its eastern extent. As part of the 2021 survey, I recorded the impact and reported it to the Provincial Archaeology Office. At least three previously recorded fieldstones had been removed from the east extent of the site, with a possible fourth missing as well (#'s 1, 2, 4, and potentially 11).

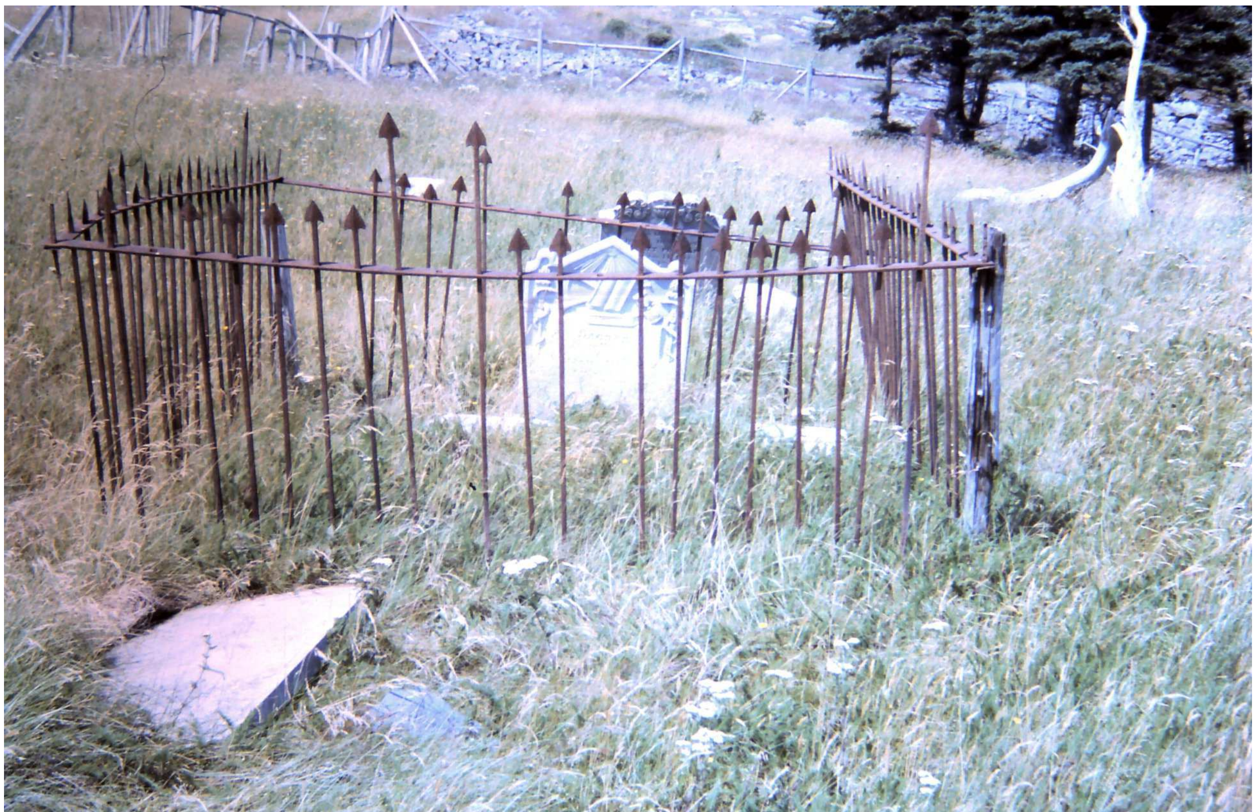


Figure 6.3: St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery iron fencing, photographed between 1965-1970 (used with permission of Heritage New Perlican).

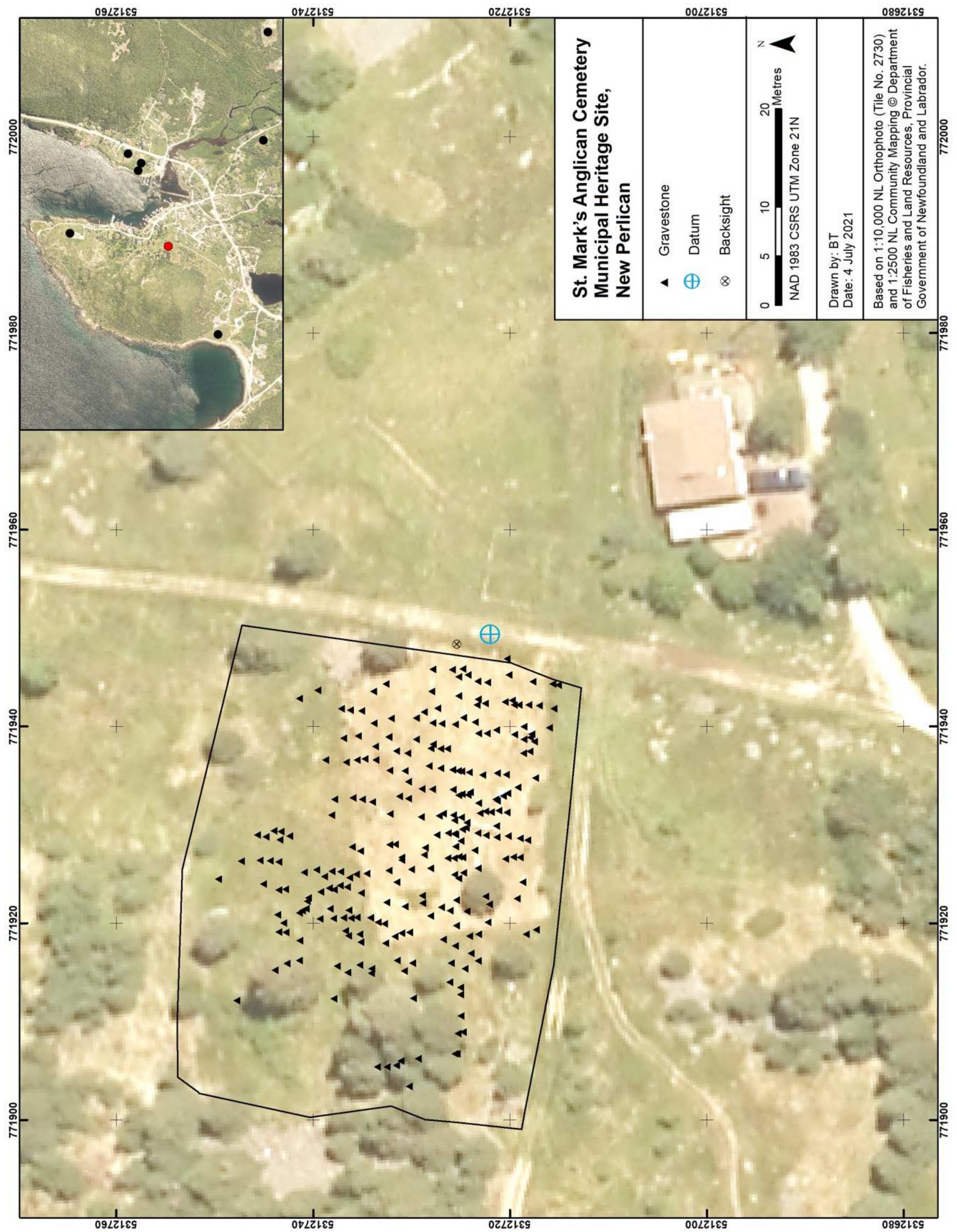


Figure 6.4: St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery map, overview (Tapper 2021).

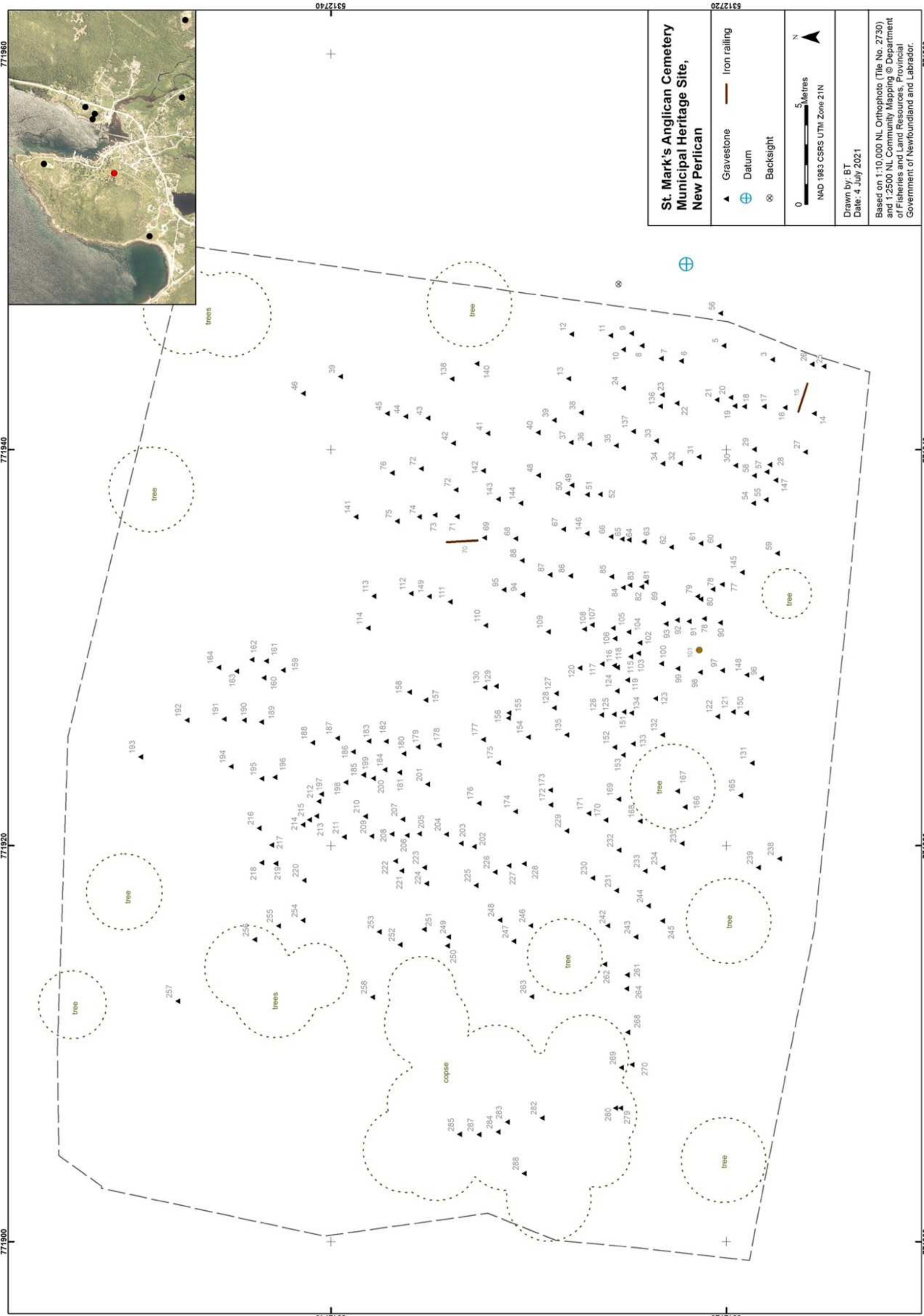


Figure 6.5: Detailed map of all surveyed grave markers in St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery (Tapper 2021).

6.4.3 Bloody Point 2 Burial Ground

The burial ground at Bloody Point 2 was first surveyed by Shannon Lewis-Simpson and Maria Lear, with help of graduate students Rita Ujunwa Onah and Elsa Simms, on October 31st, 2019. Their survey was "part of a broader, interdisciplinary research project between the New Perlican Heritage Committee, Heritage NL, Student Life, Folklore, Archaeology, and the Centre for Social Enterprise, School of Business" (Lewis-Simpson et al. 2021). The site is situated on a peninsula which extends out of the New Perlican harbour area and is to the north of St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery, described above. Some excavations were carried out at Bloody Point 1 (ClAi-07) by William Gilbert in 2001, which is located north of the burial ground, but the burial ground had not been surveyed until 2019 (Gilbert 2003; Lewis-Simpson et al. 2021). The burial ground was identified through local knowledge, and was confirmed through the survey, which recorded above-ground features in the form of 19 uninscribed fieldstones and one inscribed limestone headstone which was largely illegible. A GPR survey also recorded several below-surface anomalies which aligned with the rows of headstones (Lewis-Simpson et al. 2021). The 2019 survey and report concluded that the burial ground likely predates the construction of the St. Mark's Church in 1832 and demonstrates key characteristics of early Newfoundland burial grounds with graves aligned roughly in rows running NE-SE, facing the ocean. Graves facing the ocean is a major component of such sites in the province (Pocius 1986:27; Lacy 2020).

During the 2021 survey at Bloody Point 2, we identified an additional five potential grave markers within the known site area. This greatly contributes to our understanding of the use and size of the site. Newly recorded grave markers (20-24) were

all fieldstones (Appendix C) and are noted here as ‘potential’ fieldstones not to discount them, but to reflect the fact that this research will not be ground-truthing any burials to investigate the presence of a grave shaft, human remains, or other funerary fixtures such as a coffin. Archaeology is moving away from the unnecessary disturbance of human burials out of respect for the people buried there, and for the descendent communities.

The recorded fieldstones are roughly shaped to be rounded or squared at the top and set vertically into the ground so that the visible layers of the stone, the laminations, are vertical. This would be an unusual way for a stone to sit naturally on its own, and so even if tooling marks are not visible, a stone in line with other fieldstones is likely a grave marker. The newly identified fieldstones are close to the others in the rough rows already identified in 2019.

As part of the field survey, we also recorded surface features which characterise settler occupation in the immediate area (Figure 6.6 and 6.7). Within meters of the identified burial ground area, we recorded a potential garden enclosure to the west, a house terrace to the northwest, several field clearance cairns, and two remnant root cellars to the north and east.

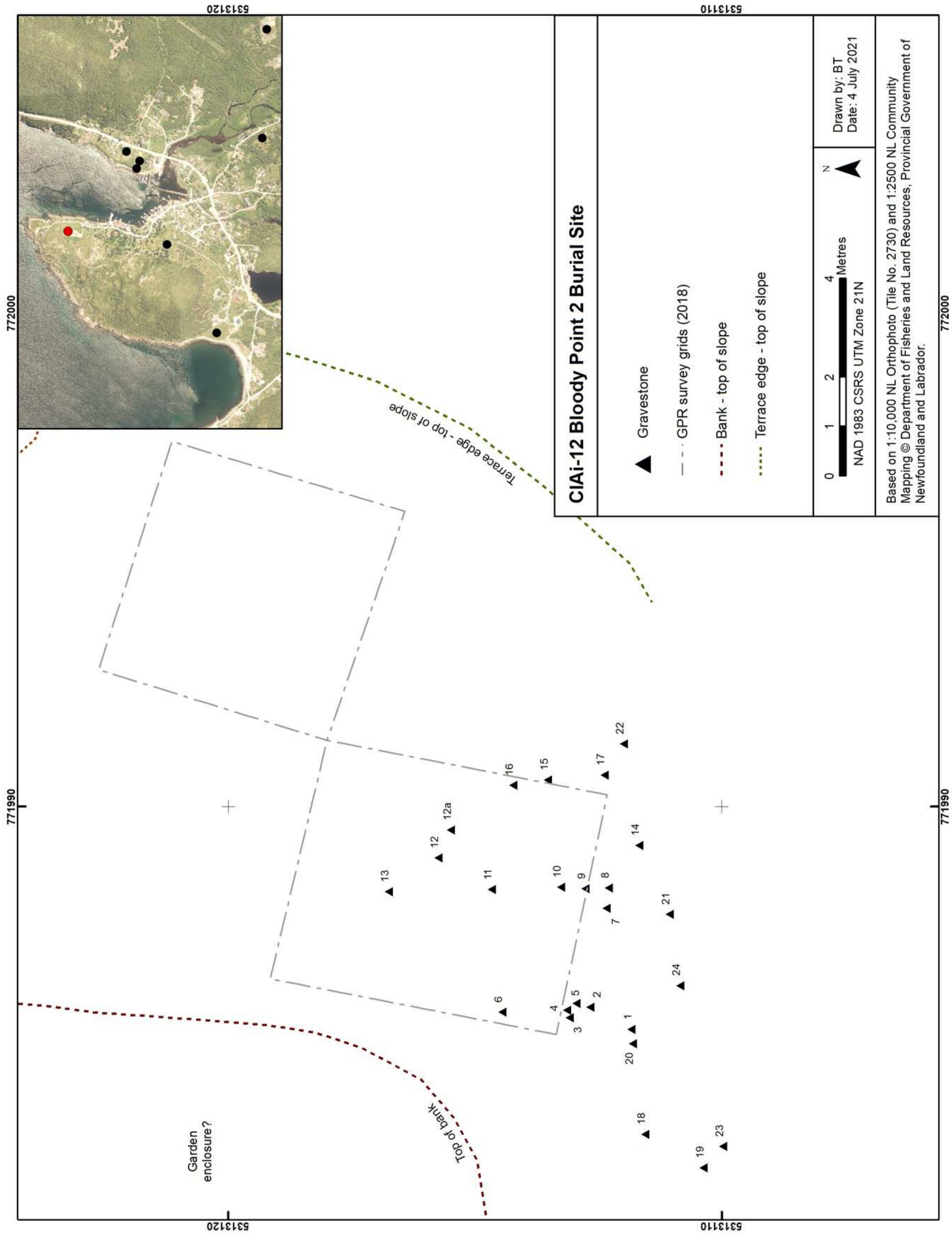


Figure 6.6: Overview map of Bloody Point burial ground and surrounding features (Tapper 2021).

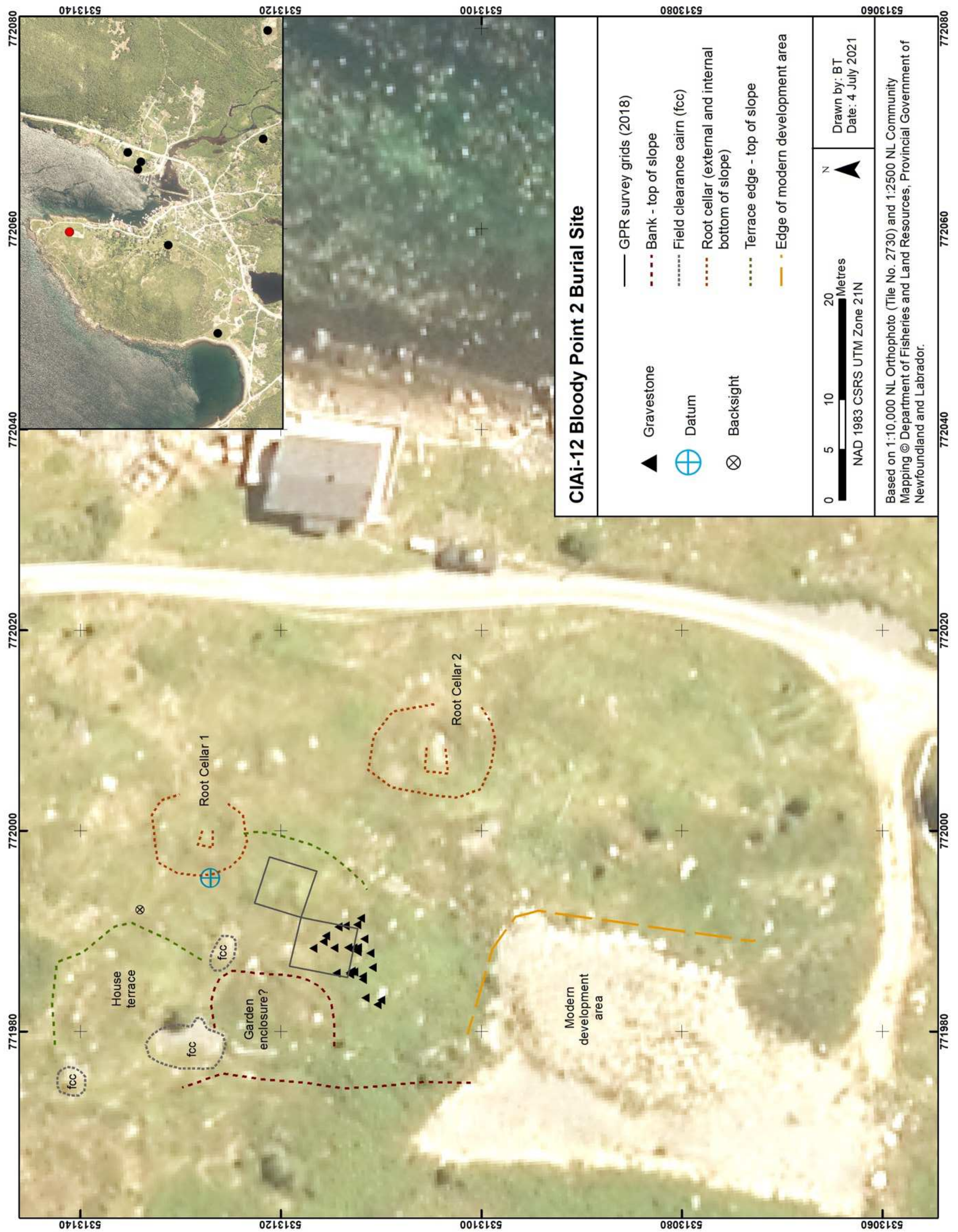


Figure 6.7: Detail map of Bloody Point, showing numbered gravestones, nearby features, and 2019 GPR grid (Tapper 2021).

6.4.4 Pinsent's Garden Burial Site

The site of Pinsent's Garden is located at the Pinsent's Lane Municipal Heritage Site on the east side of the harbour, off Route 80. The heritage site includes a small laneway which lead to the premises, which was owned by Captain Jacob Pinsent who purchased the property in the 1920s, for whom the site is named (Heritage NL 2018). The burials located at this site are indicated by two surviving gravestones, made from imported limestone, and dedicated to William and Elizabeth Snook, who died in the early 19th century. Unfortunately, these gravestones are no longer in situ, and have been moved behind a shed that is presently on the property, angled towards one another, and had a protective wood fence built around them. Due to the solid nature of the fence and the confined space we were unable to survey these stones using the TST, and instead took a general GPS point for the site and documented the stones with photographs (Figure 6.8).

Figure 6.8: Map showing the location of Pinsent's Garden Burial Site (Tapper 2021).

6.4.5 Jane Condon's Grave Site

Jane Condon's grave site is a municipal heritage site in New Perlican and has one of the earliest dated gravestones in the community, made from imported limestone. This site is located to the west of the main area of New Perlican, on the east side of Vitter's Cove at the end of Gut Road. It consists of one limestone gravestone and two fieldstones. It is likely that this site was a family burial ground, based on its location away from the established burial spaces in the community that were available at the time of Jane's death in 1816.

Her grave overlooks the harbour and has seen an unfortunate period of restoration. The top portion of the gravestone, which had broken into eight pieces at some point in the past, were removed from the site and adhered together using an unknown adhesive and painted. The top section was then reattached to the base, which remains its natural colour. This site was surveyed using the TST and photo documentation (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Map showing the location of Jane Condon's grave site (Tapper 2021).

6.4.6 St. Matthew's United Church Southside Cemetery

This site is one of the more recent burial grounds, having been opened in the early 1900s according to its listing in the Canada's Historic Places database (2009). As seen in Figure 6.2, it is within proximity to the Hefford Plantation burial site. It is the oldest United Church (UC) cemetery in the community, and is situated on the east side of the harbour on the edge of an eroding cliff. Documenting this cemetery was vital for the residents of New Perlican, as it is being negatively impacted by the effects of coastal erosion.

Due to the proximity to the Hefford Plantation burial site, we did not have to use a second datum point to survey the UC cemetery. Grave markers in the cemetery were primarily white wooden crosses in various states of decay, some having fallen down some time ago and partially buried in the grass. We recorded only 10 stone grave markers, which are indicated in Figure 6.2 by triangles. The site is narrow, and only two rows of graves are present due to the natural topography and property boundaries which surround the site. This cemetery is now closed to further interments, and the St. Matthew's UC Cemetery on Birchan Hill is used instead.

6.4.7 St. Augustine's #1 Anglican Church Cemetery

Finally, the survey of St. Augustine's Cemetery #1 took place in the spring of 2022 (Figure 7.10). The associated church nearby was constructed in 1886 after St. Mark's burned down and was consecrated later that same year (Jarvis and Matthews 2018:5-6). Clearing began for the new cemetery in 1892, with the Diocesan Magazine

from April 1892 stating that “it is hoped that the word so well begun may be brought to a successful termination, and that ere long a neat cemetery may be solemnly set apart by the act of Consecration” (Jarvis and Matthews 2018:6). The cemetery opened between 1892 and 1895 and was used primarily as the Anglican cemetery until 1940 when St. Augustine’s Cemetery #2 was opened approximately 600 m southeast from Cemetery #1 on Beaver Pond Road. It is not known whether burials were still taking place at St. Mark’s Cemetery after St. Augustine’s #1 was opened; however, after St. Augustine’s #2 was opened, individuals were often still buried in #1 for some time.

Low vegetation was not an issue for recorded fieldstones at this site, due to its ongoing maintenance by the neighbouring goats, who are let into the cemetery to graze regularly and clear the ground of all low grass and shrubs, as well as kill alders which would do substantial damage to the site (personal communication, Eileen Matthews 2021). As this site was used in recent memory for burials, it was not deemed vital to record the location of all gravestones, as the community was more familiar with the site than ones like St. Mark’s. Instead, I focused on recording the fieldstones after discussing the site with members of Heritage New Perlican and coming to understand that they did not know the number or extent that fieldstones had been used in their cemeteries (Lacy 2023b). The survey took two days and resulted in the recording of 381 fieldstones. These stones were used with regularity throughout the site, and it is clear in figure 6.10 that like the more traditional gravestones, fieldstones were also set out in rows.

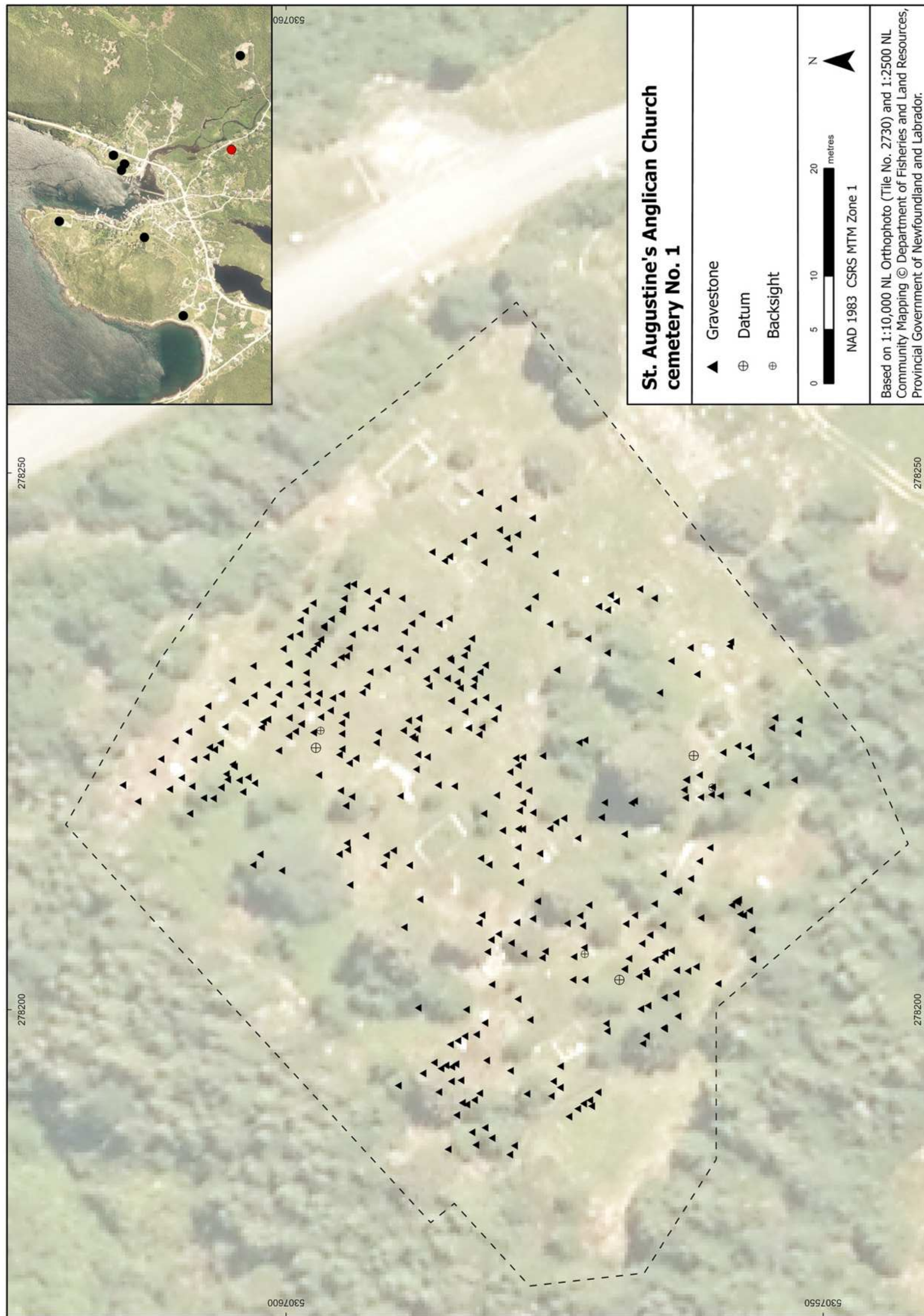


Figure 6.10: Map showing only the fieldstones at St. Augustine's Cemetery #1 (Tapper 2022).

6.5 Results

The purpose of this survey was two-fold: first, to record the location of gravestones in the historic burial grounds in New Perlican using a total station theodolite; and second, to gain a better understanding of the development of the overall burial landscape within the community. The maps resulting from the TST survey have been sent to Heritage New Perlican for their community archives and as reference material for those interested in the gravestones present in their many historic burial grounds. I did not conduct formal interviews as part of this project, as it was beyond the scope of the research, choosing instead to have organic conversations with residents if they chose to approach me. Due to Covid-19 restrictions this did not result in many conversations during the 2021 season, but in 2023 I visited the community again to present on the previous fieldwork, and engage with community members about the burial grounds. There was an excellent turnout for the public talk, and a good level of interest and engagement from the community members who attended.

During the field survey we learned that several of the sites had more potential grave markers than previously identified. I say 'potential' not in a passive sense, but to indicate that without subsurface ground-truthing, we can only make informed interpretations based on their context. The majority of the additional potential grave markers that were recorded were field stones, demonstrating that the practice of marking ones' graves in outport communities was a necessity, although the access to professionally carved gravestones were not economically or geographically available to everyone.

The results of the surveys themselves revealed how the various burial grounds were arranged within the community of New Perlican but also gave us a better understanding of the distinct layout within each space. As seen in Figure 6.11, the burial grounds in New Perlican follow a similar pattern to many other communities in Newfoundland and beyond, with the earliest burial grounds located close to the centre of the community, in this case around the harbour, and the more contemporary sites placed further away. This patterning/placement can be partially attributed to changing attitudes towards death in the British Isles and North America, leaning away from the memento mori towards a softening of death imagery and language through the 18th and into the 19th centuries, as well as community growth, and the rise of the rural cemetery movement (Pocius 1986:27; Baugher and Veit 2014:12). Such patterned movements in burial spaces were not as strict for family burial plots, as their location is dependent on where the family chose to live, as discussed below.

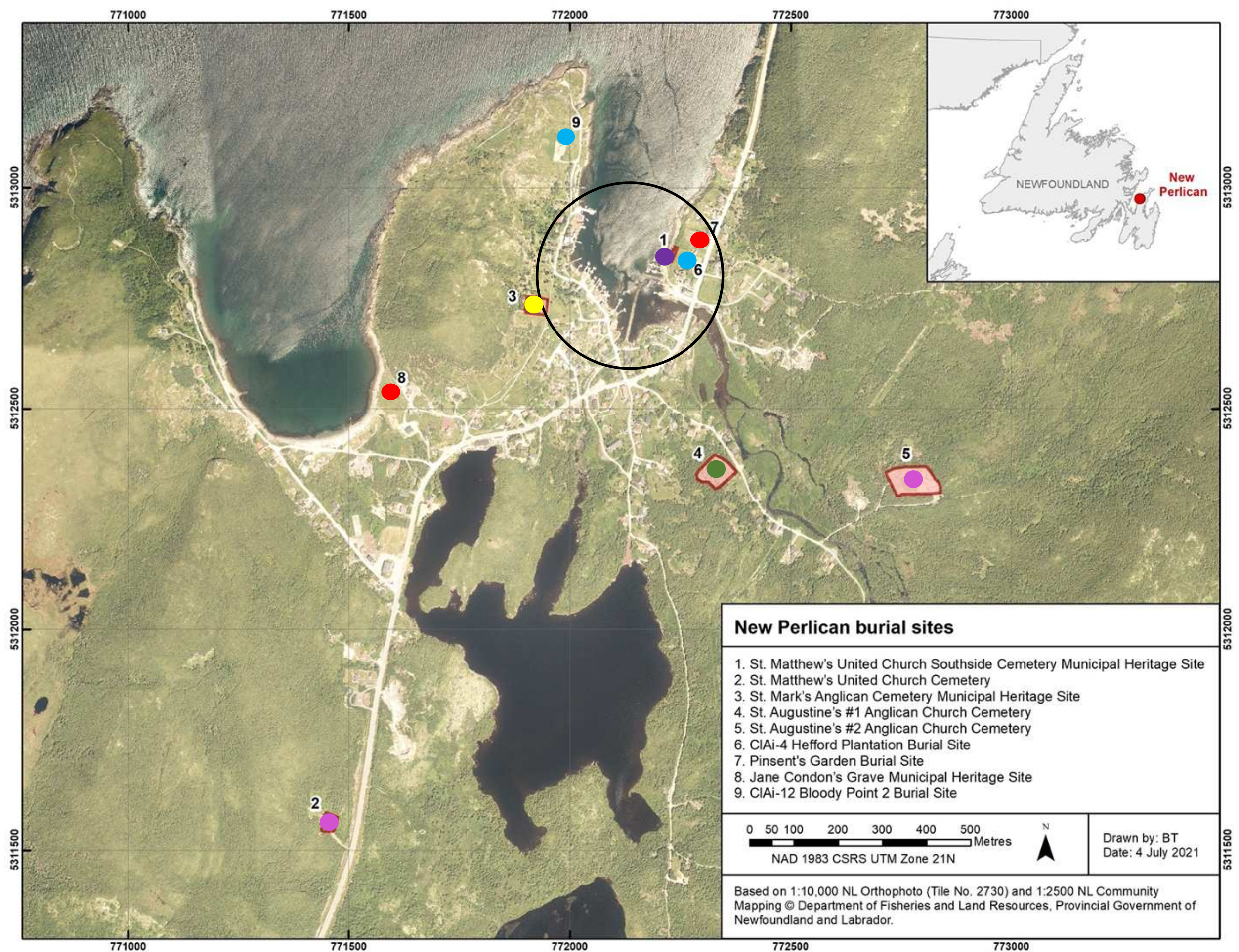


Figure 6.11: Overview map showing all known burial sites in New Perlican, with town centre and site periods indicated by coloured circles (Tapper 2021).

Marked with blue circles, sites 6 and 9, the Hefford Plantation burial site and Bloody Point burial ground are the oldest known burial places in the community. It is possible that the Hefford plantation site was established as a family burial plot on private land, but there is no way to know whether the individuals interred there were restricted to immediate members of the Hefford family without exhumation and testing. The Hefford Plantation has been occupied since the late 17th century by English settlers, some of whom are in the Hefford Family, and it is likely that the burial site on the property includes burials from that period. The existing inscribed gravestone present dates to the

late 18th or early 19th century based on the dates of death, and the uninscribed fieldstones are difficult to date. However, with the Hefford Plantation being the oldest known settler homestead in the harbour, the burial site being situated on their property meant it was also close to the heart of the community at that point in time. Such a placement would have been for ease of transportation and to keep the dead close to home, as was more common in the 17th century for established burial grounds in larger communities, such as Boston, MA, or even London, England, where early modern burial grounds can be found in the heart of the cities.

Site 9 on the map, the Bloody Point Burial ground (Bloody Point 2) is slightly removed from the heart of the modern community. While we do not have exact dates for Bloody Point 2, we know based on the imported limestone used for one inscribed headstone that the latest dates would be the early 19th century, likely earlier, as limestone began to phase out as a popular gravestone material in Newfoundland in favour of marble at this point (Pocius 1981). While the site today appears separated from the community, based on our survey of the landforms around the burial ground (it was once in the heart of a well-exploited and occupied area of New Perlican). Surrounding the graves are a potential garden enclosure, house terrace, field cairns, and two remnant root cellars as mentioned above. Like many outport communities in the province, New Perlican has seen a major population decrease as a result of urbanization and resettlement, with the community having 699 residents in 1921, but only 200 in 2021 (Statistics Canada 2021; Newfoundland's Grand Banks 2023). Therefore, the distribution of houses and gardens which used to cover the promontory have since been abandoned, along with the burial ground. As previously stated, the survey conducted in 2019 by Lewis-Simpson et al. 2021

concluded that it is likely that Bloody Point 2 was established prior to the opening of St. Mark's, making it the second-oldest burial ground in the community.

St. Mark's Church (indicated by the yellow dot in Figure 6.11, site 3) was not constructed until the 1830s, but that does not necessarily date the associated burial ground. Like many communities in Newfoundland, it is likely that the burial site was well established prior to the construction of the church itself, only being consecrated when the church had been built and clergy were established in the immediate area. Most communities in rural Newfoundland did not have permanent clergymen until the 19th century, and New Perlican was no different (Pocius 1986:26). As a result, the population had to make do with unconsecrated burial spaces for their deceased loved ones.

St. Mark's Cemetery, which later became a churchyard, is situated on the side of Scott's Hill overlooking both the community and the harbour and can be seen from several points around the area. It is west of the centre of town and on elevated land, as is most common of rural Newfoundland burial sites, and saw a long period of use until the opening of St. Augustine's #1 in 1895 (Lacy 2020:101). The location of St. Mark's Cemetery keeps with the idea that earlier burial grounds, namely ones from the 17th and 18th centuries, were often closer to the community than late 18th- and 19th- century sites. This shift in location was due to an increased need for land, as well as fears of exposure to disease and the moral issues of being near and looking upon the dead (Baugher and Veit 2015:127).

Indicated by red dots in Figure 6.11, are two small family burial plots, that of Jane Condon, and the Pinsent's Garden Burial site. Both sites have limestone gravestones that date to the early 19th century, three in total, and Jane Condon's burial site also includes

two uninscribed fieldstones. Pinsent's Garden site is within close proximity to the Hefford Plantation site, only a few metres to the north, and both gravestones are dedicated to members of the Snook family. Jane Condon's grave is farther away from the centre of town, both historically and presently, located west overlooking Vitter's Cove. Family burial sites were directly associated with the family's land rather than the communities desire to keep the dead close; the location of Jane's burial site is not unexpected and speaks to how the community had grown by the early 19th century. While not reflecting the movement of community burial spaces, they were included in the survey to accurately represent the evolution of New Perlican's burial landscape.

All New Perlican burial ground sites noted have, until now, been either of unknown religious background or Anglican. The St. Mark's Church was Anglican and was followed by the Anglican St. Augustine's church and cemetery. However, in the early 20th century, the St. Matthew's Southside Cemetery was opened for the United Church congregation, indicated by the dark purple dot on Figure 6.11. This site is adjacent to the Hefford Plantation on a small wedge of land overlooking the east side of the harbour, and as Jarvis and Matthews noted (2018:6), the 1925 book *History of Methodism* indicated that: "The first church in New Perlican was opened in the year 1893, and now is used as a day school. The present church was opened in 1914. Before Methodism had any church or graveyard in this place, a corpse was carried on horseback to Carbonear, fifteen miles distant, for burial". The cemetery is in the centre of the community but is also located on a parcel of land that is not ideal for access and is currently being impacted by coastal erosion. This may have been the only burial space available at the time, but much less is known about the history of this site.

Around the same time, the Anglican cemetery known as St. Augustine's Cemetery (#1) was opened on Beaver Pond Road in 1895. This site follows the ideals for funerals and burials of the period, in that it is located out of town a short distance and partially or fully obscured from view. The cemetery is a large rectangular plot with clear boundaries and is bounded on all sides by fencing. While the current fencing is recent, it likely replaced earlier fences or walls as that was a common feature of 19th-century cemeteries. This site replaced St. Mark's as the primary Anglican burial site in New Perlican and was in operation until 1940.

Finally, the two pink circles in Figure 6.11 indicate the contemporary burial sites within New Perlican. As to be expected, they are the furthest from the centre of the community, with St. Augustine's Cemetery #2 located further southeast than St. Augustine's #1, and St. Matthew's United Cemetery #2 is approximately 1.4 km to the south southwest of the centre of the community. Neither of these sites are immediately obvious from the roadway and can be easily missed. These contemporary cemeteries are still in use and while they do reflect some older traditions of rural cemeteries such as the use of fieldstones which are present in small numbers at both sites, they are far removed from the living community spaces.

The shift from burial grounds in the heart of a community, easy to access and often in clear view of homes and working areas, to the outskirts of the living spaces and often obscured from easy view or access, is reflected in the burial landscape of New Perlican. North American European-descendant settlers were changing their relationship with death and mortality throughout the 19th and 20th centuries, and these changes were reflected in rural communities such as New Perlican. Commemoration at the earlier sites

is not reflected as clearly on the surface as later ones with elaborate, surviving grave markers, and indeed 17th and early 18th-century burial grounds may have had organic markers or no markers at all, but the location of these sites in the community is a testament to how commemoration was enacted. The dead were still, in a sense, part of the community, close to the central hubs of activity and the dwelling areas, if not fully in the centre of town. They were in view of everyday life and often visited by loved ones. We see this not only in New Perlican, but in burial landscapes along the northeast seaboard from the same periods. Even without extant grave markers, the placement of these burial spaces in their community *is* an aspect of their commemoration.

At the Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeological Society 2021 Annual General Meeting, Dr. Barry Gaulton spoke about the last 30 years of excavation at the Colony of Avalon archaeological site at Ferryland, Newfoundland (Gaulton 2021). Among other topics, he spoke about the positive community impact of a long-term archaeological investigation, through providing jobs and training at the site for numerous residents and students, to increasing tourism in the region, to instilling a sense of pride in local heritage and in the research being undertaken. Ferryland is a wonderful example of a partnership between academics and a community to enrich each other's work, and to learn and grow together through archaeology. My research project in the outport community of New Perlican aims to fulfill similar needs, needs that the local heritage society made me aware of, including the lack of mapping and documentation of the grave markers in their historic burial grounds, and community interest in the location of the old church and identifying the potential 'New Road' burials, so that they can be recorded. If archaeology doesn't work in collective collaboration with the communities being investigated, then they risk

treating the modern community as research subjects rather than a group of invested people.

Public archaeology of death, while helping the public to understand historic burial practices and connect with themes of mortality, can also help people understand the difference between rescue and research archaeology. Debates and discussions over the collection and repatriation of human remains in museum collections have been ongoing for decades, and through contemporary archaeology, we demonstrate that excavation of burials for the sake of research only, is no longer considered an ethical practice in North America (Hicks 2020). What this chapter has shown, is that death is a universal topic. The public is always ready to discuss death, whether that be in a historical context or contemporary death through a historical lens. Public archaeology is the tool we can utilize to help connect this subdiscipline with the public, and through that outreach, build collaborative relationships that benefit both academics and the communities they work with. Through collaboration and outreach, the importance of protecting heritage sites is taught and strengthened within the public's mind. If you are involved in heritage, even as an occasional volunteer or visitor, you begin to see the value of protecting these sites. That sentiment is just as strong for protecting local burial spaces as it is for protecting buildings, for it is within these mortuary spaces that we learn so much about who made a community what it is today.

7 Representation and Visibility in the Burial Ground

This chapter shifts the focus of colonial burial grounds away from the European, white settler, and discusses the diverse populations who were buried in the very same sites already discussed. An extension on the burial landscape analysis, this portion of the research sought to speak to visibility within colonial burial spaces. People of colour buried in colonial burial grounds in the 17th and 18th centuries were not as visible as their European neighbours, in the written records, the archaeology, or on the surface today. By focusing on the graves of Black and Indigenous people in colonial settlements, I hope to decentre the settler voice within these sites and help bring awareness to the diversity of 17th-century communities that is often whitewashed by history. For example, the site of Copp's Hill Burying Ground, and estimated 1000 out of 10,000 burials at the site are of Black individuals, but little is known about them and their section of the burial ground has only five grave markers remaining (City of Boston n.d.b). This demonstrates the lack of visibility of the burials of people of colour to the modern visitor, as well as speaks to the lack of preservation and knowledge retention about their burials. Many people simply are unaware of the presence of Black burials at this and other sites, while often recorded, this knowledge is not readily presented to the public.

What does 'visibility' mean, in the context of colonial burial grounds? It is the privilege afforded to your final resting place, the placement of the grave within the larger burial ground, the ability to visit and to hold the funeral in the way which honours your cultural beliefs, to have a gravestone or mark the grave, and to have those grave markers

cared for and stand the test of time. The following chapter is an interpretation of visibility from two perspectives: firstly, the visibility of Black or Indigenous peoples in these burial grounds when the sites served as active burial spaces, and secondly, the visibility of those people today, whether that be through the archaeological record or the gravestones on the surface. These two avenues through which to examine burial spaces are essential to better understand how Black people and Indigenous people were represented within them.

Throughout the 17th century, enslaved African and Caribbean people were being brought to European settlements in North America against their will to provide labour to colonists. The enslavement of Indigenous peoples was a different type of enslavement with a different history (Neeganagwedgin 2012; Blackbird 2023). These burial spaces also held individuals who were part of these ethnic groups who, although free, had their graves treated in the same way. While I will be mentioning burial spaces in this chapter that have Indigenous and Black individuals interred within, I do not wish to minimize the distinctiveness of these groups.

It should be noted, before moving further into the chapter, that the concept of race and identity has drastically changed from the 17th century to today. Through the 17th century, Europeans primarily saw racial divides as 'Christian vs. non-Christian', and so Black and Indigenous peoples as two separate groups would have been combined in their minds as simply 'non-Christian' (Gerbner 2018). We see the use of Christianity to separate themselves from people of colour in numerous British colonies such as Barbados and Jamaica. "As Barbados became a society with a major slave population, Christianity became increasingly used as an ethnic indicator, juxtaposed with the word N_" (Gerbner 2018:42). This led to fears about baptizing enslaved people, as people assumed that with

baptism, and conversion to Christianity, that they could no longer then be held as slaves. An act passed in 1706 in New York attempted to assuage some of these settler fears titled an "Act to Incourage the Baptizing of N_, Indian, and M_ Slaves", assuring settlers that they did not need to free their enslaved staff if they joined the Church (Lepore 2006:184).

Within the language at the time, 'servant' distinguished a hired Christian household staff member from 'slave', and Christian as a term also separated the settlers from the enslaved as a whole (Gerbner 2018:45). Gerbner writes that they "sought to distinguish "N_," *who were assumed to be slaves,* from 'Christians'" (2018:46, emphasis added). The use of 'white' to describe European settlers was first used in the context of slavery, to establish the racial divide and bring the discussion away from whether one was a Christian or not, to the colour of one's skin (Gerbner 2018:74). This change can be seen across many European colonies in the later 17th to early 18th centuries. The *Code Noir*, established in 1685 in France, "established parameters of the interactions between Black and white people within their colonies", and in these cases Black referred to anyone from the African continent, and anyone with Black skin was referred to as African, regardless of their actual place of birth (Otele 2023:82-83). The development of 'whiteness' as opposed to Christians, developed as a result of the slave trade (Gerbner 2018:75).

By 40% of New Amsterdam's (New York's) residents were Black by 1664, and by 1750 one in 20 New Englanders were enslaved, making up a sizable portion of the population on the northeast coast (Perry 1997:2; Sweet 2003:61). Although a significant percentage of the 17th-century population on the northeast coast of North America was comprised of people of colour, they are unequally represented in community burial grounds. White settlers established the burial ground traditions that we are familiar with

today and the inclusion of Black and Indigenous individuals was not permitted or segregated and quieted by not being permitted to carry out funerals according to their traditions. In the early 17th-century settlements, where evidence above the surface of settler burials is often scarce, Black grave and Indigenous graves are next to invisible in many sites.

By the late 17th and early 18th centuries, the act of Christian burial of an enslaved person was seen as a symbol of status for settlers to 'honour' their slaves who served them 'faithfully', demonstrating they were worthy of having a proper burial in the eyes of that society. Public monuments in the form of gravestones did not accord status to the enslaved but to the slavers themselves. Such inscriptions as "Pompey (beloved servant of Josias Lyndan)" forever marking the Black body as property, even after death (Sweet 2003:151). Purchasing monuments for enslaved people was the sign of a 'good' slave owner. In many sites in New England specifically, the burial ground section segregated for Black people were populated on the surface by grave markers which were less visible or completely missing today, including field stones (uncarved, irregular stones), wood markers, and other objects such as gifts or bottles (Hopkins 2014). Due to the impermanence and marginality of these markers, what appears invisible on the landscape today may have been more prominent 400 years earlier. Black bodies account for nearly one in six burials in Boston's historic burial grounds prior to the American Revolution (Hopkins 2014), and yet by simply looking at the gravestones on the surface today it would *appear* that the community was made up primarily of white settlers of European origin. We know through history and archaeology that this simply was not the case, not just in the United States but in Canada as well.

Alongside the Black residents of colonial settlements were a number of Indigenous peoples as well, both free and enslaved. Already present in North America when European settlers arrived, Indigenous peoples were forced from their land to make way for these new settlements, and many were enslaved against their will or pressured to convert to Christianity by missionaries. Their presence in colonial burial spaces should not be overlooked. As already discussed, the Maison des Jésuites de Sillery near Quebec City had a burial ground within the boundaries of the site, converted by the mission specifically for the burial of Indigenous people (Ville de Québec 2021). Indigenous people who were buried in conditions like these were not only separated from their own traditions but also segregated from the predominately white burial spaces otherwise established in the settlements by European settlers. In 1688 Boston, Samuel Sewall recorded the death of an Indigenous man who died by suicide, and his burial was ordered beside the highway with a stake driven through his grave (Sewall 1973:179; Table 1). While it was often deemed that deaths by suicide precluded burial in consecrated ground, the addition of a stake through the grave was an added measure in Massachusetts in the 17th century (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2009).

> Thus, in 1660 in Massachusetts, the Colonial legislature considered a suicide to be 'wicked and unnatural' and thus enacted a law that every suicide victim "Shall be denied the privilege of being buried in the common burying place of Christians, but shall be buried in some common highway…and a cartload of stones laid upon the grave, as a brand of infamy, and as a warning to others to beware of the like damnable practices (Historical Society of Pennsylvania 2009).

However, this rule was not upheld for everyone. Sewall also recorded a death by suicide on April 4, 1688, writing that "Samuel Marion's wife hangs herself in the Chamber,

fastening a Cord to the Rafter-Joice. Two or three swore she was distracted, and has been for some time, and so she was buried in the burying place" (Sewall 1973:163). It is evident that preferential treatment was given to the settler woman who was 'distracted' or suffering from a mental health affliction, regarding the manner and location of her burial, when compared to a similar death of an unnamed Indigenous man (Lacy 2021c). The fact that the settler who died in this manner was also a woman could also have played into the leniency afforded her after death, if they thought she was not in her right mind and therefore was not to blame for self-murder. There was no consecrated ground for Puritans in 17th-century Boston, but it was likely a comfort of the family for Mrs. Marion's body to be buried in the burying place rather than beside the highway.

Several decades later, in 1709, Sewall noted the burial of two Indigenous men, writing "Mr. Bridgham buried a Carolina Indian Man last Monday; and another the Monday before; One about 30. the other 40 years of Age, which he bought not a year ago." (Sewall 1973:614; Table 1). The diary does not mention where these individuals were buried or what circumstances caused their deaths, but a settler burying them may suggest that the two Indigenous men were enslaved individuals and may have been buried in one of Boston's municipal burial grounds. We cannot make assumptions about how these individuals wanted to be buried, with Indigenous traditions or European ones, and learning anything about their burials which were not often well documented, is one step closer to understanding how they were represented within these spaces. These are two of dozens of deaths and burials recorded by Sewall but are only two of a handful of examples of Black or Indigenous burials recorded by the diarist.

Table 1: Record of Black and Indigenous death and Burial, Sewall diaries (Sewall 1973). All spelling is original to the source material and terminology that are considered slurs today have been removed, except for the first letter which was required to identify the death records of Black individuals.

Date	Name	Details	Pg #
Nov 7, 1680	none	A N--- man and woman murdered themselves.	47
Nov 26, 1685	Mary an Indian	Mary an Indian, James's S---, was Frozen to death upon the neck near Roxbury Gate on Thorsday night Nov 38, 85, being fudled	86
Dec 12, 1685	none	buried a N---	87
Dec 30, 1685	none	An Indian Man is found dead on the Neck with a bottle of Rumm between his Legs.	90
April 18, 1688	Jack, alias Jacob N---	dies at my Uncle Quinsey's by the oversetting of the Cart, he (probably) sitting in it, the Rave [note: the upper side-piece of timber on the body of the cart] fell on's neck and kill'd him	165
Oct 5-6, 1688	Mis. Anger, Thomas, an Indian	Mis. Anger of Cambridge is buried… About 9. night, Thomas, an Indian and very usefull Servant to Mr. Oliver, hang'd himself in the Brewhouse. (6) The Coroner sat on hin, having a Jury, and ordered his burial by the highway with a stake through his grave.	179
Feb 9, 1700	Will	Will, formerly Capt. Prentices N---, now living with Maylem, a Horse run away with him, threw him upon the hard frozen Ground, or Timber, near Houchin's corner, and kill'd him; died in a little while.	425
Dec 25, 1705	None	capt. Belchar buried a N--- this day; his Coachman, a very good Servant. He was a Bearer to Cousin Savages Hagar.	538
Jan 8, 1709	None	Mr. Bridgham buried a Carolina Indian Man last Monday; and another the Monday before; One about 30. the other 40 years of Age, which he bought not a year ago.	614
July 30, 1712	None	This day Mr. Wm Pain's N--- Woman cast her self from the Top of the house above, 40. feet high.	695
Oct 20th, 1721	None	We met a N--- Funeral	984

7.1 Town Design & Separation of Space

A community burial space would not normally be established before the creation of a settlement of some kind. The location of burial grounds was therefore part of the town design. In North American settlements in the northeast, that placement represented the community's relationship with their religion, their dead, and with each other. This research has so far demonstrated that burial grounds in British, Dutch, and French colonies were likely physically associated with their church, with 50% of British sites associated with churches and 44.4% not (one unknown, 5.6%). We know where British settlers were typically establishing burials in early communities in the northeast, and how that organization compares to other colonizing nations, as discussed in Chapter 5, but what these data reflect is the influence of the majority. The town design by those in power, and the religious views and influence of the majority, is what dictated the organization of much of the early landscape of burials and communities in 17th-century colonial settlements. How do people of colour fit into these designs, from the perspective of death and burial?

If the burial ground was separated from the living spaces in the majority of cases, excluding the Puritans who used theirs as walkways and grazing fields as well, then the space for burials of people of colour was further removed. On plantation properties in the American south since at least the early 18th century, the burials of enslaved persons were kept to the plantations on which they laboured, often in the cover of trees or bushes on the edges of the property (Fletcher 2020:131). Burial grounds created in colonial communities were established by white settlers and through their right to burial in such

spaces, burial site autonomy became constrained for people of colour (Fletcher 2020:132). The borders between these burial spaces indicated who was worthy of being remembered, and who was forgotten (Fletcher 2020:132), as white settlers prioritized their burial practices and barely made space for the graves of the enslaved Black and Indigenous peoples, as the Europeans did not consider people of colour to be citizens. Burials on plantation properties did occur in the north as well, such as at the Schuyler Estate in Schuylerville, NY, where some burials were identified north of the main house and reinterred in a cemetery during the 19th century (Chris Valosin, personal communication, January 5, 2024). Unfortunately, the identities of these individuals are unknown. Additional burials took place near the Schuyler family house in Albany at the unmarked 'Schuyler Flatts Burial Ground' which contained burials from the 18th and 19th centuries (New York State Museum 2023). Unmarked burial grounds on the edge of properties for enslaved individuals is another project entirely that deserves full attention, and it is likely that many such burials have been uncovered by development and not investigated further.

It should be noted that the use of 'unmarked' to describe many of these graves, describes their appearance in the present-day, not always how they would have looked when first dug and filled. Many graves that appear unmarked today were likely marked with biodegradable materials such as a wood post or cross, which has long since degraded and perished. Many unmarked graves are the result of time and/or the loss of family upkeep or connection to the site, as well as racial implications of lack of funding through grants historically not being offered to preserve Black burial grounds, or access to some sites such as those on plantations. Kami Fletcher writes that "memory was in the location

of the graveyard as well as the location of the individual graves. Slave burials were to be remembered in relation to the white family's cemetery; African Americans were to be remembered in relation to whites, i.e., eternally as slaves" (2020:132). This speaks to the proximity of some enslaved Black graves near their former enslavers, marked with only wood posts without names, and the community memory required to retain access to the location of a loved one, were they buried like this. In burial grounds with segregation like many settler burial sites were, white graves marked with stone, Black graves with wood, "the border signaled who to remember and who to forget" (Fletcher 2020:132).

Ross writes that "older Black burial sites [in the north] are often unmarked in the region; others are literally buried – covered over by buildings or roads that conceal the site – while others still are now parks or playgrounds that hide their former stories", commenting on the erasure of these Black-only spaces as they were established in the early colonial years (2018:210). He quotes historian of slavery Ira Berlin, stating that burial grounds became the first "truly African-American institution in the Northern colonies, and perhaps in mainland North America" (Berlin in Ross 2018:209). Whether Black people were being buried in the community burial ground, or establishing their own space on the landscape, they were being physically segregated from the white settlers. For example, more than 10% of the population of Newport, Rhode Island was enslaved during the colonial period, and today there is an African American section segregated from the rest of the settler burials in the city's Common Burying Ground, which was established in 1640 (Baugher and Veit 2014:116).

For many enslaved persons in New England, communities maintained their municipal burial ground with segregated areas for people of colour, within a burial site

that held European and Black people (Hopkins 2014). Enslaved Black communities in North America utilized the last stage of life, death and subsequent funeral, to create "African American cultural overlays that transformed the gravesites…into autonomous places where the soul was free, leaving the memory unshackled from slavery" (Diane Jones in Fletcher 2020:132). While Black people had agency over the burial itself in most cases, doing the physical act of burying, where they were allowed to carry out the burial, and how they were allowed to gather for the funeral, was often dictated by the colonial governments. Black funerals, both of those enslaved and emancipated, would have been a common sight in communities like New Amsterdam and Boston, with Samuel Sewall recording on 20 October 1712 that he "met a N--- Funeral" on the streets of Boston (Sewall 1973:984). In more rural areas, Black people were often buried in potter's fields or on the land of their enslavers, and funerals would have been less visible than in the urban centres (Ross 2018:211). Funerals were used as a social occasion and a focal point of community life, which allowed Black people in an often predominantly white North American settlement to reclaim their identity and traditions, create community, and solidify ties to their ancestors and homeland, all of which we see represented in the ways Black people were buried in their own sacred spaces, by members of their own community (Howard University 2009:82). Their funerals probably involved dancing, drumming, and songs from their home countries and cultures, based on historical accounts as noted by the New York African Burial Ground Project, sharing funeral characteristics with their African homelands, and their dead were buried in shrouds, street clothes, or coffins of various levels of decoration (2009:82-86, 96-98; Medford 2004). As stated in the project's history report, burial customs across Africa and the Caribbean were

influenced by religious beliefs, including Catholic, Islamic, or traditional beliefs (Medford 2004:175). While 90% of the dead at the African Burial Ground in NYC were buried in coffins and laid out in the Christian east-west configuration, they contained elements of their traditional burial practices as well, including adorning the bodies with strings of beads and including shells in the grave fill, a metaphor for water (Medford 2004:184).

7.2 Visibility in the 17th and 18th Centuries

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the Boston Town Records dating to 1723 explicitly states rules for the funerals of people of colour. While the note in the margin of the records reads 'N_ Funerals', the actual text indicates the rules apply to Black, Indigenous, and mixed-race individuals, demonstrating that colonial governance considered them all 'others' in the society, separate from the (white) European settler. This imposition of funeral rules was enacted in order to constrain when Black residents could hold funerals as well as how they conducted their funerals, and reduce the visibility for people of colour within the city of Boston. This act interfered with the creation of community among the Black residents of Boston, and the opportunity to disrupt the colonial power balance through their traditional funeral practices. Burials were a way to reaffirm personhood in a society that deemed people of colour lesser than, and the colonial government sought to take that away. While Black individuals were to be buried in the 'nearest' burial grounds to where they died or were carried from, they were not given the same access to that space as the European settlers. The document entry reads as follows, with original

spellings used and derogatory language removed. An image of the original text can be found below (Figure 7.1).

> "Whereas great numbers of Indians, N_ & M_ have of late accustomed themselves to attend the Burial of Indians N_ & M_, which practise is of [I/J O/&] tendancy and may be of great inconveniency to the Town if not prevented.
>
> for Remedy Whereof
>
> Ordered that all Indians, N_, and M_ Shal be Buryed halfe an hour before Sunset at the least and at the nearest burying place (where n_ are usually buryed) from the place they shal be carried, through the most direct lands or streets that lead thereto.
>
> And no Indian N_ or M_ Shal be Buryed on the Lords Day, Except in Extraordinary Cases, leave being first had and obtained from two or more of the Selectmen, and that one Toll only and but once tolled for the Buryall of any Indian, N_ or M_, on pain of Twenty Shillings for every breach of this order. To be paid by the Master or owner of any Indian N_ or M_ in contempt of this Order.
>
> The like Sum of Twenty Shillings –
>
> And Every grave digger or Sexton that shal break ~ upon this Order Shall forfit and pay the Sum of four Shillings for every offence being those of Convict, before any one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for said Country." (Boston Town Papers 1723:427).

It should be noted that in this document the board, the 'Selectmen', which governed Boston from the 17th century until 1822 (Boston Public Library 2023), addressed the funerals and burials of all people of colour in Boston but states that violations of the new rules were to be paid by the 'Master or owner' of said person. The Selectmen also indicate that the grave digger or sexton would be fined as well. The rules seem to be addressing the burial of enslaved people with the mention of ownership, although we know that the population of free citizens in Boston was diverse and contained people from varying ethnicities. It is likely that these rules applied to the funerals and burials of all people of colour, free or enslaved, in an effort to reduce their visibility to the European residents of the city.

Anno 1723 . May the 4th 427

a Certificate as aforesaid Shal be by the Cow keeper Impounded
and the Owner pay before the said Cow be discharged three
Shillings, and the said cow not Suffered to goe on the Common
until the Owner have paid the five Shillings and Six pence
and gained a Certificate.
And if any person has already paid any part of this Sum
it Shal be allowed him ~

3700 £ granted

Voted a Grant of Three Thousand & Seven hundred pounds
to be Raised on the Inhabitants and Estates within this
Town for Releif of the Poor, Defraying the Charg of the
Watch, and other necessary Charges arising within & for
the said Town for the year Ensuing ~

Whereas great numbers of Indians Negros & Molattoes
have of late accustomed them Selves to attend the Burial
of Indians Negros & Molattoes, which practise is of Ill
tendancy and may be of great Inconveniency to the Town
if not prevented

For Remedy whereof

Negros funerals

Ordered that all Indians Negros and molattoes shal
be Buryed halfe an hour before Sun Set at the Least, and at
the neast burying place (where Negros are usualy buryed)
from the place they shal be carryed, thro' the most
direct Lanes or Streets that lead thereto ~

And no Indian Negro or Molatto Shal be Buryed
on the Lords Day, Except in Extraordinary Cases, Leave
being first had and Obtained from two or more of the
Selectmen, And that One Bell only, and that but once
tolled for the Buryal of any Indian, Negro or Molatto,
on pain of Twenty Shillings for Every breach of this Order,
To be paid by the Master or Owner of any Indian Negro or
Molatto Buryed Contrary to this Order, And by the Person
ordering the Buryal of any free Indian Negro or Molatto
in Contempt of this Order ~

~~And~~ The like Sum of Twenty Shillings ~

And Every grave digger or Sexton that shal break in
upon this Order Shal forfeit and pay the Sum of ten
Shillings for every offence being thereof Convict, be
fore any one of His Majesties Justices of the Peace for
said County, ~

about persons from Ireland

Whereas great Numbers of Persons have very
lately bin Transported from Ireland in to this
Province, many of which by Reason of the Present
Indian War and other accidents befalling them ~

Figure 7.1: Scan of Boston Town Papers showing laws for the funerals of people of colour (Boston Town Papers 1723:427)

Sweet writes that an earlier order in Boston saw Black funeral processions ordered to “stope wending their way all over town and take the most direct route to the grave”, a tradition that reflects accounts from West African funerals that would wind through a village before the burial (Sweet 2003:334). This is echoed in the 1723 orders above, stating “they shal be carried, through the most direct lands or streets that lead thereto [the grave]” (Boston Town Papers 1723:427). The traditions of preparing the dead for the grave in a way that tied Black residents of Boston to their heritage in West Africa or the West Indies was being erased through law, seen as a disruption to the settlers with whom they shared as space, a deliberate attempt at reclamation of their identity, power, and community.

Upon the death of Samuel Sewall’s servant in 1729, a newspaper described his funeral procession as being made up of “about 150 Blacks, and about 50 Whites…”, a gathering which would have included most of the city’s Black population (Sweet 2003:333). The same laws that prohibited the winding of streets also helped to reduce the ability of Black people in the city of gather in one of the only ways allowed to them, to mourn and bury their dead. The laws prohibited large gatherings of people of colour for funerals, restricted the time of day they could hold funerals, and prescribed the straightest path to the burial grounds, reducing their time on the streets. These acts contributed to the reduced visibility of Black funerals within the burial landscape of Boston, as well as their visibility within the burial grounds themselves, both at the burial and afterwards, as Black burials were segregated to the back or the sides of the city’s burial sites. At Copp’s Hill, for example, the burial area for Black residents is located in the northwest corner of the

site, over the crest of the hill and away from the prominent roadway of Hull Street to the south (City of Boston n.d.b; The Historical Marker Database 2023).

Colonial laws constricting the movement of Black funerals and burials in the late 17th to early 18th centuries could also be interpreted as making the Black people *more* visible, in order to monitor them. The Common Council in New York City saw Black funeral practices as an opportunity for them to gather and plot uprisings against their enslavers, and passed "a law requiring that slaves be buried in the daylight" (Lepore 2006:227). With a large portion of the population made up of Black, enslaved people, the white settlers grew fearful of Black gatherings, and by 1731, the Common Council had banned funeral gatherings of more than 12 mourners (Lepore 2006:227). Settler fears over Black uprising fueled much of the funeral and burial reform laws that governed their movements. In Virginia in the late 17th century new rules were enacted to ban "self-organized 'ffuneralls for Dead N_' because enslavers worried that these ceremonies were occasions for enslaved people to gather from several plantations to plan resistance" (Sharples 2020:34). Through similar laws enacted throughout the colonial world, by constricting the movement of enslaved people, they were made more visible so as to be more closely monitored. Their ability to move freely and gather was reduced, impacting their day to day lives as well as their funeral practices, as seen in Boston, New York, and Virginia. However, this did not make their burials more visible, once the funeral was complete.

When comparing Black and Indigenous graves to those of settlers, it is obvious that those in sites with "so-called 'perpetual care" are the ones still present

on the landscape today, while the graves of Black and Indigenous people were often priced out of these sites, and/or left unmarked for their own protection by their community (Stimeling and Linscheid 2023:24-25). In the Appalachian region, Black and Indigenous burial grounds are often purposefully hidden from public view, demonstrating their desire to control who had access to these sacred spaces (Stimeling and Linscheid 2023). A burial is a way of showing perhaps not ownership, but presence within a wider landscape, a mark that your people have been there for a long period of time. “Black, white, and brown people engaged the dead to procure financial resources and make land claims” (Brown 2008:11). By destroying a burial ground, as the Israeli settlers are doing in Gaza in 2023/24 (and for decades before across Palestine), it is showing not only disrespect to the peoples who laid those burials, but as an act of colonial erasure.

It is clear that the burials of marginalized peoples are difficult to see on the 17th-century landscape, both contemporarily and archaeologically, due to segregation and mistreatment when they were alive, and settler laws that often dictated where people of colour were allowed to bury their dead in (or out of) the community. Even more difficult, it seems, is to identify their burials within settlements that are now part of Canada. While some of the sites in the primary analysis for this dissertation are located in Canada, the discussion of Black people in colonial Canadian burial grounds is a difficult one. Many Canadian settlements do not have records or have not seen the same level of research conducted on their early 17th-century occupations as those in the USA such as Boston or New York City. As a result, speaking to the location and visibility of people of colour within Canadian burial landscapes is that much more difficult. While we know that Black

people have been present and living in colonial Canada since the 17th century, both free and enslaved, finding evidence of them has been nearly impossible without extensive excavation (ex. The African Burial Ground, NYC).

7.2.1 Black Burials in Colonial Spaces

There is minimal information available on what happened to the bodies of Black people in 17th-century colonial settlements, and what information we have comes from a combination of archaeological data when available, and historical documents. When enslaved, individuals were often given new names like 'Nanny', erasing a tangible link through naming conventions to their African or Caribbean country or origin or heritage. While difficult to 'see' on the burial landscape, Black people were often buried in colonial burial grounds, or, as in the case of New Amsterdam, were able to establish a burial ground for their own community, once the city had decided they were not permitted in their burial sites any longer. In this section, I will discuss several sites where Black burials are present within the colonial burial landscape, and the visibility of those burials in the 17th century and 21st century.

7.2.1.1 The African Burial Ground, New York City (1690s or 1712 – 1794)

The African Burial Ground is well known in North America as an example of a Black burial space that was covered over and had its descendent community fight for its protection and commemoration. Unable to bury within the city's burial grounds, Black residents established their own space, which eventually covered at least five acres of land

north of New York's palisade, and still saw their funeral services and practices restricted, with enslaved individuals having to obtain a written pass to travel over a mile from their homes for a funeral (National Park Service 2022).

Before the establishment of the African Burial Ground, enslaved Black people were likely buried on the private land of New York Governor Peter Stuyvesant, who had his own chapel which he encouraged his enslaved staff to attend, making it likely for them to have been buried there as enslavers were responsible for the burial of their enslaved people (Pitts 2009:126). Black residents were likely also buried at the first communal burial ground, the Old Burying Ground, here the only charge was for "opening the ground", however as discussed in Chapter 4, there is no longer any evidence of this burial site on the surface (Jackson 1950:15; Pitts 2009:126). If there were Black burials at this site, unfortunately we have no way to know what the site looked like when their burials were taking place, if these individuals had markers, or if they were in a separate section of the site before it was closed.

Trinity Churchyard in New York City, today famous as the resting place of Alexander Hamilton and members of his family, banned the burial of Black people at the site in 1697, contributing to the creation of the African Burial Ground beyond the walls of the city (Lepore 2006: 226; Howard University 2009:40). It is the largest and oldest African burial space to have been excavated in North America (Perry 1997:2). In order to populate the land north of the settlement, free Black residents were permitted to settle in the area. Drawn to the prospect of freedom and their own land, multiple enslaved Black people requested their freedom to join those already settled in the area. This request was partially granted, giving them 'half-freedom', where they would have the same rights as

other free residents of New Amsterdam but that their children would be returned to enslavement to the GWC or Dutch West India Company (Pitts 2009:125). Half-free Black residents received grants of land and were used as a buffer between the Indigenous people and the European residents of New Amsterdam (Moore 1995:11; Pitts 2009:125).

In the early 18th century, the site appears to have been used as a pottery dump for nearby manufacturers, as well as a dump for animal bones and household refuse, helping to contribute to its obscurement from the public eye (Cheek 2009:125). The excavation report for the site states that, even in the 19th century, the area was inexpensive to live in due to its distance from the city centre, and so resulted in young Black and white families moving there from the early part of the century (Fitts and Cheek 2009:36). It was also determined that, in the first half of the 19th century, 12% - 22% of the inhabitants of the area were of African descent, while the Black population of New York City at this time was around 10% (Rosenwaike 1972:18-24; Fitts and Cheek 2009:37). It is clear that even though they were the minority, Black people including free families still inhabited the area where their ancestors buried their dead.

During the excavation of the site, which was in the marginal space between the city and the rest of New York, burials were found to contain elements which indicated African burial traditions, such as placing objects of significance on top of the graves, forms of ephemeral markers such as stones, glass bottles, or other personal tokens (Perry 1997; Satchel 1997; Hopkins 2014:111; National Parks Service 2021). Some of the excavated burials showed evidence of body modification that would have been common in their home countries, such as filed teeth, and were buried with shells beside their ears and strings of beads, objects you would not find in a Christian burial of the same period

(Sweet 2003:334). Dental modification was common among African countries in the 17th and 18th centuries but was rare or absent in the Americas during the same period, whether by Europeans or Indigenous peoples (Statistical Research, Inc. 2009:92). It has been calculated that around 7% of the excavated burials at the African Burial Ground had shells, coins, pipes, and other objects of significance buried with them, some of which may not have been preserved (Perry and Woodruff 2009:349; Statistical Research, Inc 2009:114). While elements such as burial goods or body modifications were present in many of the burials, Black bodies were also buried to reflect Christian traditions, facing east in wood coffins with ornamental hobnails (Sweet 2003:334).

Today, the site is commemorated by the African Burial Ground National Monument, a highly visible representation of the burials that used to be located at the site. Until the preliminary excavations of the site that revealed human remains in 1991, there was no surviving surface evidence that a burial ground was present. After the excavation was complete, the 419 bodies exhumed here were reinterred with all grave goods on the site, marked by the monument. This gave the Black burial ground visibility in the landscape once again, something it had not had for many years.

7.2.1.2 God's Little Acre, Newport, RI (late 1600s – 1990)

Like many other colonial burial grounds, Newport, RI's 'Common Burial Ground' had a segregated section in the north of the site for Black burials. This space was physically separate from the rest of the burials, demonstrating a physical representation of their othering within the burial landscape. While there are just under 8000 known settler

burials in the Common Burial Ground, there are an estimated 500 to 1000 Black bodies buried in the 'little acre' (Siber 2020). Unfortunately, this number comes from the 1903 survey and while it is the only surviving map of the site, it is incomplete (Kimball 2021:3). There were approximately 300 surviving gravestones dating back to the 18th century recorded in a 1903 survey, however at least 70 have been lost since that time, leaving just over 200 today (Siber 2020). It does not appear that any gravestones from the 17th century have survived to date but, as the burial ground itself was opened in 1665, it is logical to assume there are also 17th-century Black burials.

The 1696 Heritage Group, a consulting firm from Rhode Island, "dedicated to helping persons and institutions of color to increase their knowledge and access to the light of truth of their unique American heritage", writes of the importance of African customs in funeral and burial rituals for the community, with much of their Black population coming from Ghana, where large funerals were the custom (1696 Heritage Group 2020; 2023). It was a way to say goodbye, for their soul to join the ancestors, and involved a procession through the city with dancing and singing, organized by an African undertaker or funeral director (1696 Heritage Group 2020). A later record kept by Reverend Ezra Stiles in 1770 stated that "A N… Burying, the Chh. Bell toll'd (all our Bells sometimes toll for N…), a procession of Two Hundred Men, & one hund. & thirty Wom. N…" (Stiles 1901:52; 1696 Heritage Group 2020). This space, while separated from the European settler burials, was also within the heart of the community, and was visibly central to their lives. Unlike Boston, it does not appear that Newport limited or banned these elaborate burial practices, which allowed the Black residents to carry their traditional practices with them.

Marc Howard Ross writes, “a visible presence on the public landscape is a crucial way that collective memories are built, preserved, and transmitted” (Ross 2018:234). He goes on to demonstrate that presence itself is only one aspect of keeping collective memories alive, and that they must be sustained over time through ceremony and “ritual expression” (Ross 2018:234). The God’s Little Acre site allowed for all aspects of collective mortuary memory to thrive in Newport, with a site that, although segregated from the rest of the burial landscape, was still part of it, and played host to hundreds of funerals honouring traditions from a multitude of African ancestry of the Black residents. Unlike other sites in the region, it has remained relatively in the public eye, despite being left unkept in the 1980s, and since then being taken over for grass clearing and gravestone restoration (Siber 2018).

7.2.1.3 Copp’s Hill Burying Ground, Boston, MA (1659 – 1850s)

The burial ground at Copp’s Hill, a former farm site at the north end of the city of Boston, is home to an estimated 10,000 bodies. Although the site houses many gravestones, its northwest corner is relatively sparce. This is where many Black residents of Boston were buried, at least 1000, and yet there are only gravestones for five individuals (City of Boston n.d.b). These people, Prince Hall (1746-1807), Sarah Ritchie (?-1769), Mary Hammond Augustus (1724-1759), Robert Ball (1699-1774), and Martha Ball (nee King, 1683-1765), are the only names visible on the surface at Copp’s Hill, although burial records from at least the 18th century record at least 1000 other free and

enslaved Black people interred at the site (City of Boston n.d.b; The Historical Marker Database 2023).

Burial records for the Old North Church, adjacent to Copp's Hill dating from 1733 through the 19th century are held at the Massachusetts Historical Society, and document the names, death dates, and societal status as free or enslaved, for all Black people buried. Entries such as "February 22, Joyly, Joseph, 1740, a n… of John Gibbs' and "September 27, Humphries, Deborah, 1747/48, n… of a free n…" fill the records, are likely some of the only records of the Black people who lived in Boston during this period (Old North Church Records 1733-1774:1). The Old North Church does not have surviving records of Black burials prior to 1733, but they were likely being buried there since the site opened in 1659. The lack of gravestones could be due to individuals not being able to afford stone grave markers and/or having wooden markers which have since rotted away, or else there were no descendants left to tend to the graves as gentrification pushed many Black residents out of the city's north end, but both result in a lack of Black burials on the modern landscape and the historic one. Journalist and native Bostonian Dart Adams says it best when he wrote for Boston Magazine "It was the start of a pattern that in many ways has lasted until today, a pattern of the erasure of Blacks in Boston, from entire neighbourhoods and from history itself" (Adams 2022).

7.2.1.4 Garrison Graveyard, Annapolis Royal, NS (~1630 – 1940)

At the far northeast corner of the Garrison Graveyard at Fort Anne, opened around 1630 in the heart of Annapolis Royal, are two lone gravestones dedicated to Jane Godfrey

(nee Fortune) and Isaac Godfrey, who died in 1886 and 1880 respectively. These are the only two gravestones at the site known to be dedicated to Black individuals, and it has long been suspected that other Black people were interred near their graves. Jane's mother, Rose Fortune, was a colourful local character known for operating a baggage-handling service, among other enterprises. Her parents seem to have arrived in Annapolis Royal by 1783, having come from New York after the American Revolutionary War, evacuating the USA as free Black people and Loyalists (Armstrong 1924). Burial records for the adjacent St. Luke's Parish show her having been buried at the Garrison Graveyard after her death in 1864, but the location of her gravestone is unknown, like so many others in her community.

The non-profit group Mapannapolis and Boreas Heritage Consulting are currently working with a committee of Annapolis County residents who are hoping to identify the graves of Black Loyalists and their descendants buried at the site through ground penetrating radar (GPR). It must be noted that GPR alone cannot distinguish the graves of Black Loyalists from the graves of other settlers. Additional research and potential excavations would be required to confirm cultural identity, if possible. When visiting the site in Oct 2022, Parks Canada staff and local historians indicated that a tree on the edge of the site was once used to whip enslaved people, which would add insult to their segregated burial location (Brenda Thompson, personal communication via email, July 5, 2023). Whether this tree is still alive today or not is unclear, but the proximity to the burial area is significant in the story of the Black dead in Annapolis Royal.

In the fall of 2022, a preliminary GPR survey was conducted by Boreas Heritage in collaboration with the descendent community in Annapolis County, to identify the

Black Loyalist burials at the site based on the known gravestones to Black residents. Information on this currently unpublished preliminary survey data was provided to me by Heather LeBlanc of Mapannapolis. According to this survey, Boreas is confident that they are looking at representations of presently unmarked burials through the grave shafts in these locations, near the gravestones of Jane and Isaac (Boreas Heritage 2023).

Of significance, the 2022 GPR survey did not identify any anomalies or grave shafts in direct association with the gravestones of Janes and Isaac Godfrey. The grave shafts identified were nearby, but not in line with the stones. Were their gravestones relocated or reset at some point, and if so, where did they originally stand? Curiously, there were anomalies surrounding the gravestones in a square shape, suggesting to Boreas Heritage and Mapannapolis that the gravestones had been reset within the location of a former blockhouse, from the latter half of the 18th century. It appears that the gravestones were reset in the centre of these structural remains at 130cm below ground surface, with the stones angled to follow the orientation of the structure (Boreas Heritage 2023).

Oral tradition in the Black community of Annapolis County indicates that Black Loyalists were buried in this northeast portion of the Garrison Graveyard since their arrival in at least the 18th century. This site is an excellent example of community and archaeology working together to bring Black burials in a colonial site back into the public eye, and will eventually lead to interpretation at the site that will increase their visibility to the public.

7.2.2 Indigenous Burials in Colonial Spaces

Like the burials of Black individuals, there is little data on the burials of Indigenous peoples in 17th-century colonial burial grounds. In this section, I'll discuss several sites in Quebec where Indigenous people were known to have been buried outside of their ancestral cultural traditions, whether that be through force or through the adoption of European Christian ideals. As with the burials of Black people, the names on a gravestone are often not indicative of the cultural background of a person, as many enslaved people were given or forced to adopt new names. As we make ethical advances in archaeology, there are fewer excavations of Indigenous graves taking place in an effort towards reconciliation, and as a result, the data discussed in this section was gathered from past excavations and historical documentation.

7.2.2.1 Maison des Jesuites de Sillery, Quebec City, QC (1637 – 1687)

This Jesuit Missionary, as already discussed in Chapter 4, was established outside of Quebec City in 1637 with the purpose of converting Indigenous peoples to Christianity. The N'dakina, Wabanaki Dawland Confederacy, Innu of Nitassinan, and Wendake-Niowentsio have claims to this region according to NativeLand.ca (Native Land Digital 2023). Indigenous peoples were living in the area when the Jesuits began to build their mission, and one of the first parts of the site to be established was the burial ground for Indigenous people whom the Jesuits had converted. It is not clear under what circumstances these people converted, whether it was by their own free will or through pressure from the Jesuits, but in either case, colonial pressure and impression played a

role in the changes of faith in the region, and therefore in the alteration of burial traditions for those interred in the burial ground. It is likely that their graves were only marked with wooden crosses, which have since been replaced with contemporary wooden crosses, and according to the 3D reconstructed timeline of the site created by Ville de Quebec (City of Quebec 2023), the burial ground disappeared at the surface level after the partial destruction of the 3rd Maison at the site in the 1750s. The adjacent church was not demolished until 1824.

Several excavations have taken place in the 19th and 20th centuries, including a preliminary excavation in 1869 to locate the chapel's foundation and the burial of Father Enemond Masse who was buried there in 1646. His body was located within the chapel and reburied below a newly erected marble monument, which is present on the site today (Légaré and Labrecque 2007). The 3D reconstruction shows an additional burial ground on a ridgeline overlooking the site from the northwest, first identified after a rockslide in 1854 uncovered remains in the bank (Légaré and Labrecque 2007; City of Quebec 2023). Excavations were carried by a team from Quebec in 1959-60 with several burials uncovered, and it was suspected that this burial ground outside of the confined mission space would have been for unbaptized Indigenous peoples (Légaré and Labrecque 2007:9). It is not clear if excavations were undertaken on the burial ground adjacent to the church at some point, but geophysical surveys conducted using GPR in 2007 identified several anomalies in this area which suggest burials (Richer-LaFlèche et al 2007:67).

This site represents the direct and early impact of colonialism on the Indigenous populations of Quebec during the 17th century. Whether the Indigenous peoples converted of their own free will or not, the intent of the missionaries was to "convert and settle" the

local people (Destination Québec Cite 2023). By burying them in a Christian, European tradition, adjacent to a church in an east-west orientation, the missionaries were demonstrating that even in death, these people were Christian. Their graves appear on the landscape as Christian burials, not Indigenous, and this directly contributes to the erasure of Indigenous peoples and their claim to their native lands. Today, visitors can see the location of the burials, beside a monument which stands in the centre of the outlined church foundation. The Indigenous peoples' graves almost appear as an afterthought on the contemporary site, with a large monument to the Jesuit father buried in the church.

7.2.2.2 Fort Ville-Marie Cemetery, Montreal, QC (1634 – 1654)

Much like the Jesuit Mission at Sillery, the Fort Ville-Marie which became the modern city of Montreal was originally established as a Catholic missionary. Archaeological excavations at the site were carried out in 1989, informed by historic records kept by the church. Through these records, we know that of the 40 people buried at the site between 1643-1654, 12 were Indigenous people from the Anishnabeg and Huron-Wendat nations (Desjardin and Duguay 1992:32; Pointe-à-Callière nd; Pothier in press). Based on the placement of burials within the consecrated Catholic burial ground, it is highly likely that these Indigenous individuals had been baptized as Catholics before death. While the burial ground was not visible on the modern surface for many years, it was marked on historic maps and so the location had been suspected prior to the excavations. The excavated graves are now part of the permanent exhibit at the Pointe-à-Callière museum, to show visitors what the grave shafts and excavation looked like.

A portion of the graves at this site were oriented north-south rather than the traditional east-west of Christian burials. Louise Pothier, Curator and Chief Archaeologist at Pointe-à-Callière, wrote in a recent article that there were two factors that lead the excavation team to believe these were Indigenous and not French graves: the first being shovel-shaped incisors, while acknowledging that this biological feature is not exclusive to Indigenous peoples, and the second being a number of grave goods including Indigenous pottery sherds, a bear's tooth, and a terracotta pipe with an owl effigy (Pothier in press). This is similar to another mission cemetery at Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons in Ontario, where numerous objects were found as grave goods in the Indigenous burials at the site, tolerated by the 17th-century missionaries as there is no doctrinal edict against grave goods in Catholicism, although it is not typically customary (Pothier in press). An excellent example of a settler colonial grave with grave goods is the burial of Captain Gabriel Archer at Jamestown, VA, who was buried with part of a captain's leading staff and a silver reliquary containing human bones, a characteristically Catholic object (Jamestown Rediscovery 2021). It is clear in the treatment of the burial of these Indigenous individuals at Ville Marie that those who converted to Christianity were still retaining some of their customs when burying the dead, through the inclusion of cultural objects with the bodies, even when they were being interred in a Christian burial site.

This site is interesting in that Indigenous people were buried with the settlers, but their burials were, as with many Black burials during the period at other sites, segregated to their own section. The burial orientation was changed, possibly to differentiate their burials from the settlers, a practice also noted at the Sainte-Marie-aux-Hurons site (Pothier in press). The Indigenous bodies were buried in consecrated ground but were still

othered in death. It would be difficult to tell if or how their graves were marked at the time of burial, potentially with a wood cross, but due to the excavation and recognition of the site, their presence is visible on the landscape once again.

7.2.2.3 St. Paul's Anglican Churchyard, Trinity, NL (~1730 – 1888)

Although not included in my survey study, it would be remiss not to mention the St. Paul's Anglican Churchyard in Trinity, NL. The community of Trinity has been occupied by settlers since the 17th century and was once the hub of trade for the region. The first church at the site was constructed in 1730, although the site may have been used for burials prior to construction. A second church was built to replace it on the same site in 1820, which was again replaced with the current building in 1892. Although not dating to the 17th century, church burial records mention one Beothuk individual, named 'John August', was interred at the churchyard on Oct 29, 1788. The entry on his burial record in the St. Paul's burial records from 1788 stated that he was "(a Native Indian of this Island) & servant to Jeffrey and Street", a local business (St. Paul's Church 1788:48; Cole 2000) (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Excerpt from St. Paul's Anglican Church burial records, 1788, recording the death of John August, a Beothuk man St. Paul's Church 1788:48).

According to local oral history, the naming convention for enslaved Beothuk people like John, captured and taken from his family as a young child, was to give them an English first name and the month of their capture as their last name, hence 'August'. His original name was not recorded, and he had a tough, short life, being displayed as a sideshow attraction in England before being brought home to Newfoundland, likely as an enslaved labourer, dying at the age of 24 (Cole 2000). Because he was buried in the churchyard, he was likely baptised as an Anglican at one point in his life. However, today there is no knowledge about the location of his grave within the site. The original site of the church was slightly to the south of its current location and given that John died in 1788 before the construction of the second church, it is possible that his grave was disturbed in that construction, although graves to the north of a church is a less popular location than south or east (Rodwell 2012:305). It is also possible that he was buried on the periphery of the site, with or without a grave marker, segregated from the rest of the settler graves as was common in other sites with minority people.

While working at St. Paul's Churchyard doing gravestone conservation in 2022 and 2023, I did not come across any records or indication on the surviving gravestones of John's grave. Locals told me that there are one or two other Beothuk people buried at the site, including someone called 'boy June', but I have been unable to find any historic documentation pertains to their existence. Given the poor visibility of John's burial place on the modern landscape, perhaps that is not surprising.

7.3 Puritan Diaries as Documents of Death and Burial

By using primary sources in the form of personal diaries, the following analysis will examine how two individuals, Samuel Sewall and Joshua Hempstead, experienced and wrote about death and burial in the context of their Puritan beliefs. The first-person narrative provides valuable insight into how Europeans in the late 17th to early 18th centuries were experiencing and remembering burial services for their European, Black, and Indigenous neighbours. This analysis aims to look beyond the white settler narrative within 17th- and 18th-century burial spaces in New England, commenting on how we can use clearly biased views recorded by the most privileged individuals, white European men, to gain a better understanding of how visible people of colour were within their spaces.

Through the examination of who was visible within colonial burial grounds, and who was interacting and engaging with these spaces on a regular basis, we are able to better understand how burial landscapes were formed by and for white settlers, although they were not the only ones using these spaces. What is clear to archaeologists today is that while the populations of these colonial settlements were racially diverse, historically these spaces have been whitewashed to silence the voices of Black and Indigenous peoples who also resided in these communities. As Ana Schwartz writes in her book *Unmoored: The Search for Sincerity in Colonial America*, Puritan settlers attempted to use sincerity in their writing to form social cohesion and encourage idealistic behaviour (Schwartz 2023). These writers were recording their experiences from their place in the world, and as Puritans they were recording it faithfully in an effort towards the societal

sincerity required of them. Of course, all records hold bias, and through examination of records we can better inform and influence archaeological and historical interpretations of these spaces. The bias of writers in any period reflects their own lived experiences and what they deem important, from where they view and act in the world, but their writing is no more truthful or sincere than any other text. It reflects a singular person's views and experience within their society, influenced by their social status, religious beliefs, race, and innumerable other factors. In the case of the authors examined in the remainder of this chapter, their view was that of white men from the Puritan faith. The benefit of looking at these documents while considering the societal and religious lenses with which it was written is vital to interpreting burial spaces and understanding how people of colour existed within those spaces, and how they were visible to the settler majority at the time.

Puritans were concerned about death, as their position in the afterlives were predetermined, and this seems to have instilled a great fear into many people. They also did not view burial spaces as sacred, religious spaces, but a place for contemplation on one's own mortality, and this is reflected in how they write about funerals and burials. How they wrote about the deaths of people of colour, if at all, also reflects how they viewed Black and Indigenous people within the community, which is what this section seeks to examine. How were the deaths and burials of people of colour written about contemporaneously, when compared to settlers' burials recorded by the same author?

All text quoted directly from primary sources will retain original spelling from the period to maintain the authenticity or sincerity of the text. Derogatory terminology which was common during the 17th and 18th centuries has been removed from in-text quotations

and from the whole quotations as included in Tables 1 and 2. I have chosen to retain the first letter of such words (e.g., X--) as their usage was instrumental in identifying funeral and burial mentions of Black or Indigenous individuals. Historic spellings of words that include ‘y’ in place of ‘th’ have also been retained in direct quotations (e.g., ‘yt’ instead of ‘that’, and ‘ye’ instead of ‘the’). This letter is the ‘thorn’, an Old English / Old Norse rune which was carried into Middle English and was pronounced as a ‘th’.

7.3.1 Samuel Sewall’s Diary

Historical archaeology has the benefit of primary sources and first-hand accounts, and one of the best examples from 17th-century Boston comes from the renowned judge and diarist, Samuel Sewall. Sewall documented his life and work regularly from 1674 – 1729, one year before he died (Sewall 1973). Well-known for his role in the Salem witch trials, which he later regretted and apologized for, Sewall was a well-known figure in Boston during the turn of the 18th century who wrote about the minutiae of his life and the Boston community around them, including funerals of people he knew and those he attended. His diaries provide a record of numerous deaths and funeral proceedings, giving researchers insight into changing Puritan funerary and burial practices at the time. Among these records are sparce mentions of people of colour and Indigenous people, primarily as enslaved persons, and the occasional record of their deaths. We must remember that by looking at a personal record, we are reading the opinion of a single person reflecting their views, anxieties, and hopes through the written word, and they do not speak for all of society. In the case of this example, it is the opinion of one elderly white Puritan man.

From 1674 to 1699, there were approximately 127 mentions of death and burial, including Black and Indigenous peoples' deaths, recorded by Sewall. I categorized according to: 1) records of a death and burial with no additional details (e.g., May 8, 1676, Mrs. Wharton dyes: buried Wednesday afternoon); 2) records of death and burial with some detail (e.g., Dec 19, 1685, Father John Odlin is buried in the First burying place) or; 3) Black or Indigenous death and burial mentioned in any regard (e.g., "Dec 12, 1685, [Peter Butler buried a n_") (Sewall 1973:16;87-88). These categories were used to take a closer look at how a Puritan was describing deaths and burials of his fellow settlers as well as people that he may have viewed as 'other'. There are, of course, likely Black or Indigenous peoples who were not explicitly identified as such who were mentioned in this record, but to research every name for their cultural and racial background is beyond the scope of this project.

In some cases, for individuals of importance to the community or to his family, Sewall recorded what funeral favours were given, such as gloves or rings, who the pall bearers were, and other details about the funeral itself. These more detailed entries reflect his relationship to the individual, but as Sewall was also a prominent figure in Boston society, it also may reflect the importance of the individual he was writing about.

Only six entries prior to 1700 include Black and Indigenous records of death and/or burial not related to violence with settlers, and there are an additional five records from 1700 to 1729. There are additional records in Sewall's diary discussing attacks from or on Indigenous peoples that resulted in deaths on both sides. These deaths are recorded in Table 1 above. It is evident in these records that Sewall recorded fewer deaths of Black or Indigenous people in Boston, and on only one account does he mention a Black funeral

(Sewall 1973: 984). While he recorded these deaths and burials with equally little information as he did for the majority of the deaths of the European settlers, he recorded far fewer deaths of people of colour over the same period. By 1720, approximately 12% of Boston's population were enslaved, about 1500 people, with enslaved persons making up between 10-12% of the city's population through the early 18th century (City of Boston Archaeology n.d.). The percentage of Black or Indigenous death and burial recorded by Sewall was 8.8%, 6/127 examples before 1700, which is not representative of the number of people of colour in the city at the time.

What these records reveal is the visibility, or lack thereof, of Black and Indigenous people in the European settler society that was Puritan Boston in the 17th century. Through the late 17th century to 1708, there were 400 Black residents in Boston, increasing to 1374 in 1742, one third of all the Black residents of Massachusetts (Hayden 1992:34). In 1708, there were only 33 free Black residents recorded in Boston (Hayden 1992:34). While Sewall was known to have helped multiple Black people in courts of law to negotiate better arrangements with their enslavers, and delivered Boston's first public anti-slavery treatise, it was not until the 18th century that slave owners felt social pressure to provide their slaves with a burial (Hayden 1992:34; Sweet 2003:60, 157), and as a result the visibility of Black burials was significantly less in the 17th century than it would later become. The burial landscape that Sewall recorded in Boston was extensive, but primarily consisted of the society that he was a part of, one that considered Black people lesser than, and Indigenous enslaved people "unruly and dangerous" (Sweet 2003:60). It should also be noted that white settlers of lower socio/economic status were

also poorly represented in the burial landscape, with large, ornate gravestones being unobtainable for many.

These records of burials also give us unique insight into how Puritans were adapting their views and practices regarding death and burial in the late 17th century, a time when Puritanism was in the decline and the Anglican Church was moving into Massachusetts, much to the dismay of some of Boston's residents, Sewall included. For most people, Sewall simply recorded that they 'were buried', but for others, likely people he knew, he recorded additional details about the funeral procession and burial itself. Overall, Sewall's diary provides rich insight into the life of a Puritan settler in Boston, and his personal relationship and understanding of death and burial within his community. He recorded a significant number of burials in the late 17th century, including a handful of Black and Indigenous individuals. For people of colour, he rarely mentioned their place of burial with the exception of the one man who was buried at a crossroads as punishment for dying by suicide. There are many reasons why he could have chosen to omit the location of those burials, from Puritan seriousness about burials to simply overlooking details of the lives of people of colour around him. It is impossible to tell what someone in history was thinking, but by looking at their personal records, insights can be gained into how someone interpreted different situations.

7.3.2 Joshua Hempstead's Diary

The diary of Joshua Hempstead, a gravestone letterer among many other jobs, lived in New London, Connecticut in the early 18th century. His diary is one of the best

resources for the period, documenting his life from 1711 to 1758, stopping shortly before his death (Hempstead 1901). Through his role as a letterer, primarily for stones carved by his brother-in-law's uncle, John Hartshorne, his unique perspective as someone involved in burial ritual provides valuable insight (Hempstead 1901; Tucker 1995). It should be noted that like most well-off settler families in New England in the 17th and 18th centuries, Hempstead owned enslaved Black people, and benefited from the labour of indentured Indigenous people as well. He recorded on September 10, 1713, that "Josiah Topping came to [his] house & Signed over an Indian to me as p Indenture I to sell him for wt I can & to pay my self" (Hempstead 1901:26; Newell 2015:223). It is not a surprise to find this type of documentation amongst his personal records.

From the start of Hempstead's diary in 1711 to 1728, there are approximately 130 burials recorded. These burials were broken down the same way for recording purposes, burials with no details (e.g., November 24, 1711, "Bathshua Fox was Buried who died yesterday"), burials with some details (e.g., January 31, 1714/15, "I was at home & made Mary Ingrems Coffin & then at funeral"), and indications of Black or Indigenous death and burial (e.g., May 1, 1713, "Mary Jackley daughter of Hager Wright (a free [Black woman]) was buried who died last night") (Hempstead 1901:4, 22, 42). In many instances, Hempstead documented his construction of coffins for many members of his community. He typically built a coffin the night before or day of, as one of his many jobs in New London, and then attended the funeral. Unlike Sewall, whose records are earlier and come from a larger city centre, Hempstead did not write about the exchange of rings or gloves but did show more knowledge about the individuals being buried. On March 28, 1719, he wrote that "Sarah Waller was Buried Died wth a cancer on Thursday. She was

an old Maid about 60 or 70 years. Daughter of Matthew Waller one of ye first Settlers in this Town" (Hempstead 1901:86). These records suggest that Hempstead likely had a close relationship to many of the deceased funerals he attended, having known the individuals or families personally due to the small size of the community.

The estimated enslaved population of Connecticut in 1710 was 750, rising to 1490 enslaved people in 1730 (Hinks nd). While no early population data for New London itself is available, by 1756, the settlement's overall population had risen to 3171 (CT.GOV 2023). Of the 130 deaths noted in the diary between 1711 and 1728, there were 12 deaths and/or burials of Black or Indigenous individuals recorded by Hempstead. These deaths are recorded in Table 2. As Hempstead did record the names of many individuals, his records allow for future research on the location of their burials and their history in the area. This is significant for the burials of Black people that he mentioned, which greatly contributes to our understanding of their lives in colonial settlements. His records also show the racism that free Black people faced living in colonial New London. In 1716/17, Hempstead wrote that he "entered a caution" against the sale of land to Robert Jacklin, Hagar Wright's second husband, and the town later "voted that this town do utterly oppose and protest against Robert Jacklin a n… man's buying any land in this town" (Hempstead 1901:64; Schuch 2022).

The aforementioned Mary Jackley was the daughter of Hagar (or Hager) Wright, born in the West Indies, and William Wright, an Algonquin Anishinaabe man. A European settler by the name of James Rogers who enslaved her "promised Hagar freedom once she turned thirty-six" and because William wished to marry her, he agreed to be indentured to Rogers for six years to secure her freedom (di Bonaventure 2014:18).

The couple were freed in 1691, but in 1697 William was imprisoned in Hartford “not for burning the meeting-house, which is not proven against him…but for his averred determination not to submit to the law regarding servile labor on the first day of the week” (Bolles and William 1904:187; Connecticut State Library ND:4). Hagar, whose name was likely given to her by a slave trader or Rogers, is mentioned in multiple court cases concerning debts, and two attempts by the Rogers family to re-enslave her and one of her children, as stated by the New London Land Records (Wikitree 2023). Because information about these individuals’ names was recorded in Hempstead’s diary as well as other contemporaneous documents, more details about their lives can be brought to light, providing a richer picture of what life was like for Black people in New London. This demonstrates the value of examining historical documentation as well as the physical landscape of the burial ground together.

One may also note Hempstead’s own fears towards his health and wellbeing in these records. He wrote on December 8, 1717, that “Richard Chistoprs [Black] man Quash was buried died with this distemper yt I have” (Hempstead 1901:71). Did he record Quash’s name, be it his real name or a name he was given while enslaved, because he simply knew the man’s name, or because his death of a similar illness struck a chord of fear? Due to the smaller size of the community, knowing peoples’ names was likely a lot easier than in Boston, and the majority of these people would have been buried in New London’s ‘Ye Antientest Burial Ground’, which opened in 1653. A vote had been cast by the town in the next year to protect the land, stating “it shall bee for the Common Buriall place, and never be impropiated by any” (Blake 1897:37). This became the common

burial ground for all people, not just white settlers in the community, although the Black settlers buried there are not as evident on the surface today, with only a handful of gravestones attributed to Black residents present.

Table 2: Record of Black and Indigenous death and burial, Hempstead diaries (Hempstead 1901). All spelling is original to the source material and terminology that are considered slurs today have been removed, except for the first letter which was required to identify the death records of Black individuals.

Date	Name	Details	Pg #
Jan 22, 1711/12	a Moheag Indian	I was helping Clemt Damiels Pick up ye ye mill & Lay her down all day. A Moheag Indian buried yt Died att Samll Roger's.	7
Friday, Dec 5, 1712	Ashan	Chistopher Stubbins his Indian man named ashan was buried who died Last night - Sich less yn a week	18
May 1, 1713	Mary Jackley	Mary Jackley daughter of Hager Wright (a free N--) was buried who dided last night)	22
Nov 22, 1713	Andrew	N-- Andrew buried. Very cold.	30
Dec 8, 1717	Quash	Richard Christoprs N-- man Quash was buried died with this distemper yt I have	71
Dec 25, 1717	Nanny	old Nanny Jno Coits n-- woman was buried in ye evening	71
Feb 24, 1717/18	Mr Jonathan Prenttis	Mr Jonathan Prenttis a N-- Man Murdered himself with a Pistol Shot under ye Chun un to his head	73
Oct 1, 1721	Robt Jacklin's child	Robt Jacklin a free N-- had a Child buried	114
July 27, 1722	none	Richd Douglass hath lost a New N-- Woman & Thos Prenttis a n-- Child & a Indian Woman yt lived at Mr Winthrops dead & buried.	123
March 25, 1726	Reta	Madm Winthrops N-- Woman Reta buried.	167
June 28, 1726	none	I was at home al day Cutting gr stones &c. a N-- Woman of Capt Stars buried.	171
Aug 8, 1728	none	a N-- Child of Dorcas Judge Chistophers Servt buried last night.	201

7.3.3 Discussion

The visibility of Black and Indigenous peoples at a variety of colonial burial grounds through the 17th and 18th century was, and still is, relatively poor. Black individuals were forced to bury their dead at the edges of community burial grounds, and in some cities were eventually banned from even that. Boston, New York, and other colonial settlements enacted strict rules on the burials of Black, Indigenous, and mixed-race people, removing their ability to gather in community for funerals, or hold large, winding, processions that honoured homeland traditions continuing in the colonial context. Eventually in many cities, people of colour were forbidden from being buried in the churchyards and had to find space for their own burials, such as the African Burial Ground in New York City. Even there, where burials appeared Christian from the surface, evidence was uncovered through excavation of African and Caribbean heritage through grave goods and body modifications. These examples demonstrate that even when the colonial environment was forcing the erasure of Black burial traditions and practices, they were still finding ways to incorporate their culture in honour of the dead.

Indigenous peoples were often subjected to similar mandates in the colonial government, with the 1720s law from Boston including them together with Black people. In these examples, free Indigenous people that were baptized were buried in consecrated ground set aside for them, as a mark in the landscape by the settlers. Whether the people had converted of their own free will, by force, or through assimilation and loss of cultural identity as likely happened with John August in Trinity, from the surface, their burials appeared Christian. Like some exhumed Black burials, however, many exhumed

Indigenous burials from the early colonial period also showed signs of retention of their own cultural beliefs through the use of grave goods and offerings placed with the bodies.

Many of these individuals were likely buried in graves that were unmarked, marked with a wooden marker, or a small fieldstone, due to inaccessible prices of more formal gravestones, but that did not mean they were any less loved and cared for by their families and communities. Free individuals with means may have ordered a gravestone, as we see in Newport, RI, or an enslaver might purchase a gravestone for the deceased enslaved person to publicly show how 'good' of a person he was, and how much power he had as a wealthy slave-holder. In many cases, these sites or sections of burial grounds stand nearly empty today, a fraction of the markers present than there may have once been. While the visibility of people of colour in the colonial burial landscape historically was not high, through the historical and archaeological records, and the tireless work of community groups and descendent communities, that visibility is increasing.

The two diaries examined were both written by white men in English Puritan settlements in New England, and there are differences in the way that death and burial were remarked upon. They provide insight as to how difficult it is to say much about anyone's funeral and burial but the elite dead in a particular town. While Sewall attended many funerals, much of these activities were carried out through his role as a high-status public figure in late 17th-century Boston society. In many cases he recorded the pall bearers or funeral rings or gloves given out to the attendees, but in most cases, he only mentioned the individual being buried with no other details. He rarely mentioned the names of enslaved people that died around him or their burials in the community. Hempstead, also a busy member of his community who would eventually be appointed

Justice of the Peace for New London in 1727 (Hempstead 1901:184), also did not record much detail for most of the burials he noted and/or attended. For the most part, he took note of the names of the deceased, including several Black or Indigenous individuals, and included familial ties if he knew them. This distinction could be due to Hempstead living in a smaller community or through his job as a gravestone letterer, but his attention to detail allows researchers to better trace the lives of Black and Indigenous people who lived in New London at the time, such as Mary Wright's family as already discussed. Unfortunately, enslaved Black people often had names assigned by their enslavers recorded in such documents, making it more difficult to trace them.

Both men attended or were directly involved in over 100 burials over a relatively short period of time, 26 years for Sewall and 17 years for Hempstead. The closeness of the Puritan community to its burial practices and spaces, even though they did not deem them religiously important, is also evident in the diaries, as are the changing burial practices through the late 17th and into the 18th centuries. They may not be telling the truth of what happened to a fault, but they reflect how the individual experienced it and recorded it.

Both Sewall and Hempstead's diaries make it clear that, for European settlers in the 17th to 18th centuries in New England, the burial space and burial practices were something that they primarily thought about for their own people. While we know through historic records and accounts that community burial spaces like those in New London and Boston house the remains of white and Black people from this period, for the settlers living then, this was not the visible part of the burial landscape which they

interacted with. By the early 18th century, large, extravagant funerals were banned, specifically targeting the traditions of Black residents in colonial cities (Sweet 2003:334).

8 Discussion and Conclusions

8.1 Discussion

There were a variety of competing powers in northeastern North America during the 17th century: the Indigenous peoples who resided on these lands for thousands of years, the British, Dutch, and French sailors and colonists who looked for land to establish their forts and settlements, and the Catholic, Anglican and Reformed churches in the Netherlands, England, and France. The settlements were also home to Black African and Caribbean people who had been torn from their homes and enslaved in the colonies. This dissertation has examined the development of burial grounds in 17th-century settler communities through the lens of these powerful influences, shed light on the visibility of people of colour within those burial spaces both contemporaneously and today, and presented a local case study of the development of burial landscapes within a community which has seen continuous settler occupation since the late 17th century.

The research was approached through the lens of landscape theory, with a focus in taskscape theory, to explore the way in which a burial space was used by the community, and the types of tasks which lend themselves to constructing that landscape. There are numerous activities which contribute to the building of a burial landscape, from small tasks which take place at individual graves to larger events that can be seen and experienced by many citizens, all can be considered as "an act of remembrance" (Ingold 1993:152). We can start with the choosing of the grave location within the burial ground, implying close familiarity with the burial landscape. While the concept of prestigious locations for burial was rejected during the Reformation, certain areas of the burial

grounds such as those closer to the entrance and most easily visible sections, were preferred and reserved for important figures, while the graves of Black residents were carried out in a far corner. Next, the opening of the grave itself, where one or two grave diggers would have carried their shovels to the site, the clink of metal on rock reverberating off nearby buildings or deadened by trees. They might have been smoking clay pipes (it was the 17th century after all) and have taken a moment to break off the end of their pipe, dropping it on the ground to be found in the future. If a gravestone was to be installed, it would have to be carved, typically by a professional mason. If in the southern colonies of what is today the United States, the stone may have been imported from quarries as far away as several states for carving, or the family may have ordered a pre-cut stone all the way from Europe, as we see in Newfoundland during the 18th century with limestone gravestones being imported from the British Isles, or the limestone ledger at Jamestown from the 17th century which was made from a European stone (Pocius 1981; Jamestown Rediscovery 2024). These activities expand the landscape to include quarries and carvers far displaced from the burial ground itself, weaving their tasks together into the broader experience of the burial landscape.

Other activities that contribute to burial taskscapes and those experiencing it include death and dying itself, preparation in the home of the deceased, and the funeral procession. The individual would have been carried in a communal coffin and buried in a shroud, or buried in their own coffin, which was typically made by a local carpenter. The acts of preparing the wood and constructing the coffin extend the activities associated with the burial landscape further, overlapping with many other everyday practices and tasks a community participated in. The deceased, after a service dependent on faith (or no

service at all), would be lowered into the grave shaft, and the grave diggers would slowly fill in the grave with the dirt they already removed, the hollow clunk of dirt clods falling on the wood coffin rising to the ears of the mourners.

Settler burial grounds in northeastern North America reflect both the traditions of the peoples who founded them, formed by years of practice and religious influence in Europe, and new practices and traditions adapted by the settlers in their new colonies. What was established in the 17th century is reflected in how we as a settler society today in the 21st century, understand and deal with our own mortality. This is especially true in New England, where the Puritan foothold was strong, and Puritan values are still present.

Landscape was also considered when examining burial ground organization. Burial grounds can be considered within two distinct spatial divisions: inside the burial ground, meaning the burials and gravestones themselves which make up the space; and the burial ground's location in the community and the wider landscape. There were many aspects of burial traditions in Europe that made their way over to North America and with no reason to change them, can be seen in both European and North American burial ground organizations in the northeast. Other practices, such as the specific location of burial grounds in communities, radically changed in instances where religious groups such as Quakers or Puritans formed a significant percentage of the population. One major event that impacted burial traditions across Europe was the Protestant Reformation, creating an upheaval in religious practices around worship, church architectural styles, access to religious spaces such as monasteries, and burial tradition. As a result of the Protestant Reformation in Europe, unconsecrated burial grounds began to be favoured by more extreme groups of Protestants like the Puritans, who gained their foothold in

Massachusetts and Connecticut, severing ties between the physical space of the burial ground, and a church building, which they did not recognize as necessary, instead favouring a meeting house for services and municipal meetings among other activities.

While many aspects of Christian burial traditions remained the same — including burial inside a church being more revered than outside, the closer one was to the altar space the better (though not for the Quakers and Puritans), and similarities in coffin construction in post-medieval European burials compared to those in North America — some aspects were altered. In British burials in northeastern North America, for instance, it is more likely to see a coffin than not, as coffin-making and the availability of a coffin became more affordable throughout the 17th century. British burial grounds in this region also exhibit changes as the result of the Reformation, as well as the allowance for any religious faith to be practiced in British colonies, even if it was not allowed in England. As a result, we see Puritan burial grounds established separate from their meeting houses, with few marked graves in early years, and gravestones without iconography appearing in the mid-late 17th century, followed by grinning death's heads and memento mori symbology that New England is famous for today. Quaker burial grounds near their Friends Meeting Houses often had no grave markers at all, while Anglican churchyards were still being established adjacent to churches and were consecrated grounds. Catholicism, although deeply unpopular with the Crown and Anglican Church in England, was also practiced in the British colonies of North America, albeit less frequently, in places like St. Mary's City or Ferryland. Anglican and Catholic burial practices look similar in terms of organization and placement within a community, as was demonstrated through the survey presented in Chapter 5.

Dutch religious practices saw great upheaval in the 16th century due to the Reformation, which resulted in the formation of the Dutch Republic with the rise of Protestantism. With these reformations, came changes to the beliefs surrounding the funeral, burial, and afterlife. The new country was decidedly Protestant, with the Dutch Reformed Church (de Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk) founded in 1571. Becoming the official religion of the Netherlands after the Catholic Church was dismantled, and the Dutch Reformed Church was the only major church seen in the Dutch Colonies in North America. Burial practices in Dutch colonies still reflect Christian traditions adapted from the late medieval period through the post-medieval period (as did much of the rest of Europe's burials). A practice found in the Netherlands, due to their lack of space, was the burial of multiple layers of individuals in the burial ground, packed tightly together and covered with additional soil before more bodies were put into the ground. Even though this practice was not required in North American colonies due to the expanse of lands that could be utilized for burials, it persisted throughout the 17th century, with one record of exhumations in Beverwyck (today Albany) being stacked several layers deep. Due to the Reformation, Dutch Protestants changed their funerary practice from elaborate to simple, in line with their beliefs, and no longer spoke prayers or eulogies over the graves (Mathijssen and Venhorst 2019). Dutch settlements in the northeast saw burial grounds established adjacent to or very close to their churches, with almost no examples recorded that were not directly associated with a church. The exceptions were those established before a church was built, or for Jewish burial grounds in New Amsterdam.

Unlike that seen in British settlements, or the Dutch colonies, French settlements in North America were officially Catholic. While the Protestant Reformation did affect

French religion, the Catholic Church largely retained its power in France throughout the post medieval period, and Protestants were not recognized as equal citizens until 1789 (Harvard Divinity School 2023). Therefore, burial practices in France continued to reflect the traditions of the Catholic Church, with importance placed on burials close to altars and within consecrated ground. Churches and burial grounds were often the heart of the community, located close to the living and working spaces, and even ossuaries were utilized as part of burial practice up to and including the 17th century, although not in northeastern North America. Catholic graveyards in France were directly associated with the churches, whether or not they were adjacent to the physical structure. The Reformation did not impact French burial practices as much as it did in England or the Netherlands, countries which ultimately altered their national religion in the long run as a result, with the establishment of the Anglican Church and the Dutch Reformed Church, respectively. However, there was still an impact on burial practices in France, as Huguenots struggled to find a place to bury their dead in what remained a largely Catholic country. The burials of dissenter groups, suicide victims, or unbaptized infants were not allowed within the consecrated grounds. The same traditions are visible in French settlements in northeastern North America, although these eventually shifted with the development of the Acadian region in Maine, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and Quebecois culture in Quebec.

Charnel houses or ossuaries, which are not a part of this study in terms of communal burial practices, are still a practice of note. Less well studied than those on mainland Europe, the British did employ the use of charnel houses from the 13th century CE through the late-medieval period, but these structures saw destruction after the

Dissolution of the Monasteries (Farrow 2023). They should be noted, however, as a place of collective or communal memory, after the interred individual was removed from the grave and the bones added to this communal space. The same communal memory is at play at sites without grave markers as well, where one does not know where individuals are buried. While the loss of individuality through the reuse of burial plots and secondary interments was once part of the commemorative process (Farrow 2023:171), colonies in northeastern North America forget this aspect of burial all together, moving towards the concept of a 'forever' grave.

Settlements in northeastern North America, considered a land of uncertainty to Europeans, came with the threat of attack, from other European settler groups as well as Indigenous groups who were rightly upset that the colonizers had taken their land and resources. Many European settlements were established with some form of fortification, from blockhouses on the edges of a town to ditches and palisades made from earth and wood to later stone walls in many communities as they expanded and the need for protection grew. The fortifications of 17th-century French settlements were seen more prominently in the survey data collected for this project, with 60% of sites being surrounded by a fortifications, while only 40% of Dutch settlements and 30% of British settlements were fortified. For the British sites, this is likely reflecting the heavy presence of Puritan settlements in the British sites selected. A randomly selected sample from my previous research sites showed a breakdown of 50% fortified and 50% not fortified (Lacy 2017; 2020). However, the results also demonstrated that fortifications did not play as large a role in the placement of burial grounds as originally hypothesized. For French settlements, 50 % of burial grounds at fortified sites were outside, 33% inside, and 17%

unknown. The data for British settlements were 50/50, and Dutch fortified settlements saw 67% of burial grounds outside, 33% inside. These data represent a relatively small number of sites, so results should be recognized as not statistically significant or representative of the entire colonial world. Differences represent one or two sites varying from the surrounding settlements, a snapshot of the wider burial landscape, but one that requires further research. Considering the influence of Catholic faith in French settlements and in burial ground development, it is interesting to see relatively similar numbers of burial grounds outside the heart of the community compared to inside. It should be noted that the number of sites surveyed, 45, is relatively small, and any deviations should be interpreted with a high degree of caution.

One factor that heavily influences the location of a burial ground is a church, and furthermore a community's relationship with the church and specific faiths that held power at the time of a burial ground's inception. Protestant beliefs were not all that dissimilar from Catholic in terms of a churchyard or graveyard within proximity to the building where worship was held. Even when a church had not been constructed, as was the case in Beverwyck prior to 1652, we see internments taking place near the warehouse where services were held. This practice ceased as soon as a proper church was constructed in what became Albany, and subsequent burials were carried out inside and around that property. Of the sites surveyed, French burial grounds were all directly adjacent to churches (91.7%, 1 unknown), with Dutch sites having 86.7% associated with their churches. This was to be expected and includes the Dutch Jewish site which was still closely associated with its synagogue. These numbers stand out compared to the British sites, wherein only 50% were associated with a church, 44.4% not with a church, and 1

unknown (5.6%). A random sample of 10 sites taken from my Master's data represent a similar result, with 60% of those sites not associated with a church, and 40% associated with a church (Lacy 2017; 2020). Both datasets show the impact of Puritan sites on the burial landscape of the northeast coast. When sites founded by dissenting groups are removed from the British sites selected for this project, we see 75% of sites associated with churches (6 sites), 12% not associated with a church (1 site, non-denominational burial ground in Newport, RI), and 13% unknown (1 site, St. Mary's City fort burials).

There were ongoing connections between the community, the church, and the burial space in many settlements, but in others we see disruptions to that norm, with new ideas being displayed through a society's burial practices. These evolving traditions allow us to gain a better understanding of how people were living and how they were buried. No matter who they were, having a good death was of value, and being placed within consecrated ground remained an important consideration for the burials of the Dutch, French, and Catholic and Anglican British, and the deaths of those who did not fit the societal factors of acceptability, such as unbaptized infants in many cases, were not able to be buried within these same grounds. In some communities, such as Newport, Rhode Island, burial grounds were open to everyone, and religious freedom was practiced freely; yet, even in these places we still see a hierarchy of how people are buried within a space, with the 'high value' locations being reserved for the rich, the prominent, and the white. While Black or Indigenous burials were technically allowed to occupy the same burial grounds as the white settlers, they were not afforded the same options in their burial space, continuing the cycle of racism in the burial landscape.

All of this tells us that the colonists in 17th-century northeastern North America were creating their own traditions, driven by the freedom afforded by being in a new place, on a new continent, while also reflecting the traditions they brought with them from their home countries. We see Dutch Reformed Churches established across New Netherland, creating a foothold for the relatively new church in North America, while still constructing churches with graveyards around them which reflects older Catholic traditions that the protestant practices were adapted from. French sites show a connection to the Catholic practices of France, while British settlements boasted a variety of burial ground organizations and configurations with relation to their places of worship, due to some allowed freedom of religion for Christian faiths. While previous research has discussed how burial grounds in northeastern North America reflected their European traditions, what this tells us is that burial spaces do reflect the traditions carried over from Europe by settlers; however, they were not bound by those rules as new traditions were being created as settlements expanded and aged.

Additional avenues of research resulting from this project could be greatly expanded in the future. Within this dissertation, I sought to examine the development of burial landscapes in northeast North America, but what has that really told us? It has informed our understanding of where burial grounds were situated in colonial settlements, reflecting a society's relationship with their religion while also providing a glimpse into settlers' relationships with their own mortality. How can we use this information moving forward? As future research on these topics is conducted and new evidence is revealed through archaeology and archives, further connections between burial practices and commemoration may come to light. The topic of commemoration within a singular town

vs a comparison between wider spread communities will allow us greater insight into how it was to live and die in the 17th century.

As I have proposed in previous work (Lacy 2017; 2020), these datasets can be used by researchers looking to locate burial grounds within colonial settlements. While the data will not tell you specifically where a burial ground might be, overarching trends seen from different colonizing nations can be applied when studying the organization of settlements. For instance, a Dutch settlement is more likely to have the burial ground situated outside of the fortifications, while a French settlement is more likely to have them inside, but both tend to keep their burial spaces adjacent to churches. This speaks to a united religious faith which continued to be present (and mandatory) in their colonies, reflecting how burials would be carried out. The research has also demonstrated aspects of burial practices that were brought over from Europe, such as one example of an early Dutch burial ground with stacked coffins which was also present in Albany, providing insight into further research or urban archaeological recovery projects.

The British data collected as part of this project was an expansion on my earlier research in the northeast (2017) and provided as comparison against the French and Dutch settlements. Moving forward, these datasets demonstrate the diversity present in burial practices in British settlements, while also showing the extent to which practices continued to be based off earlier Catholic burial practices, yet altered to fit the newly formed ideals of various religious groups. In terms of Jewish burial practices, they do not reflect Catholic tradition, but their own practices transferred to North America. The study of early Jewish burial sites in North America should be expanded upon as the research

presented in this dissertation does not adequately cover their background or history in the colonies. The same can be said for other minority religious groups in the colonies.

Expanding on the number of settlements surveyed for the purpose of comparison may also add value to this type of research. Increasing the sample size of this study would allow us to look for wider-reaching trends in the data that may not have been as visible in the smaller sample size presented within the scope of this project, such as the number of sites associated with churches in the northeast which would allow us to see the influence of different religious groups on a larger scale. Additionally, further primary-source analysis could shed light on how people in these 17th-century colonies were experiencing mortality, dealing with death, and performing their burial practices under unfamiliar conditions. While I have explored these themes within this project, they would benefit from more targeted research relating to socio-political background and religious frameworks, such as the influence of Puritan practices on the burial landscape.

The results of this work demonstrated that the burial spaces in the community moved outward over 400 years of settler occupation, with the oldest burial grounds being close to the homes and harbour, with each new burial ground being opened farther and farther from the lived parts of the settlements, typically opened on the outskirts only to be surrounded again as the town expanded. Today the open cemeteries in New Perlican are obscured from daily life and are not visible from the major roads or any homes. This reflects the changing attitudes towards death through the 18th-20th centuries, with growing concern over the harm of viewing morbid subjects on a daily basis, and being close to graves. While much of this stemmed from overcrowding of burial spaces in city centres

like New York or London, the sentiments of these changes were clearly reflected in the case study, a rural outport community in eastern Newfoundland and Labrador.

In terms of community archaeology, while it is evident that the global pandemic affected the engagement levels, the community of New Perlican was interested in the work being done. I had more success through online engagement over Facebook posts, blog posts, and email conversations, and there was a good turnout from the residents of New Perlican and the surrounding outports for the end-of-project public talk. Comments and discussion from all avenues of communication with the community members helped shape how I approached the project, and what data I was able to compile to give back to Heritage New Perlican for local, public access. There are no set metrics for measuring the success of a public archaeology project, and it is clear that this aspect of the project was hindered by both by a public health crisis and the weather. Nevertheless, the engagement both online and at the community presentation was good, considering the small size of the population of New Perlican. In future work of this nature, scheduling more formal interviews in an indoor setting would have been more accessible and manageable, and would likely contribute additional background information on the burial spaces.

The research in New Perlican provided maps of the burial sites to the community to help protect them from future development. An expansion of this research could include further mapping of the gravestones and recording of inscriptions at the contemporary open cemeteries, in order to compare the organization of gravestones at those sites to the more historic sites. This would expand our understanding of material culture use in New Perlican's burial landscape, particularly with the use of uninscribed field stones in a rural community. Comparative studies could be conducted in other

communities with similar backgrounds in the Trinity Bay area, to see whether a similar history of burial landscape development is present.

Burial spaces in colonial settlements were not only places for white settlers to be buried but were often the final resting place for people from a variety of backgrounds and ethnicities, including enslaved and free African, Caribbean, and Indigenous people. While some sites, like Trinity Churchyard in New York, banned the burial of Black people in 1697, most of the sites surveyed contained the graves of people from a variety of backgrounds. As discussed in Chapter 7, there are many 17th-century sites recognized as being the burial place of people of colour, although there are limited written records about their burials or funeral practices. In most of these sites, such as the Newport, RI burial ground, people of colour were allowed to be buried within the boundaries of the site but were typically segregated to their own section away from the more prominent graves or high-traffic visiting areas, physically separated from the European settlers' graves. In Copp's Hill Burying Ground, Boston, the section reserved for Black burials was over the hill in one corner of the site, an area that has very few gravestones visible today, unrepresentative of the hundreds of people buried there. Sites like this may have had ephemeral grave markers made of biodegradable materials, which broke down and lead to what appears on the surface as an unmarked grave. This leads to spaces being underrepresented on the burial landscape today, and an unrepresentative interpretation of the use of the space upon first glance. This resulted in another layer of their identity being pushed from the view of the white settler, removing Black residents' ability to gather, as well as to express their cultural identity through the funeral practices. This made their movements easier to monitor by settler governments, but reduced their ability to practice

traditional funerals, removing that aspect of their cultural identity from public view. What was left were unmarked and/or segregated burials on the edge of municipal burial grounds, or on the outskirts of communities, a constant reminder to those enslaved or living free that Black and Indigenous people in these cities and towns were not part of the community.

Black funerals, a way to express cultural ties and to gather within their community, often included elements of West African tradition such as winding through town with the coffin, shaking rattles, and singing in the streets (Sweet 2003:334). Burials exhumed during the archaeological excavations of the African Burial Ground showed evidence of body modifications and ornamentation, culturally significant to the homelands of those buried, and while the arrangement of the bodies at the site appeared Christian, the people buried there came from a very different background (Sweet 2003:334; Lepore 2006:228).

Even in the 17th century, the burials of people of colour were included in colonial burial spaces but did not possess the same visibility as the burials of white people. This included the funeral itself, with less bells being rung for Black burials, and funeral processions being banned or limited in some place such as Boston, where records state that in 1723 Black people should be buried just before sunset, a deliberate marginalization in life and in death (Boston Town Records 1650-1710:427). There are few surviving gravestones of Black individuals in colonial burial spaces, and it is likely that originally their graves were marked with wood which has long since deteriorated, a small stone which has been removed, or were left unmarked. It was not just the burials of Black people that were less obvious within the burial landscape, but their physicality in terms of

language as well. African and Caribbean names were changed, and enslavers' last names were added, making it extremely difficult to trace ancestry for enslaved or freed Black people in northeastern North American colonies. With the limited number of surviving grave markers in the 21st century, it is even more difficult to know who these people were. Those who had gravestones, were often indicated as the 'beloved servant' or named for their enslaver's family, enacting ownership of their body even in death. There are instances of Black gravestone carvers such as Pompe Stevens who ensured his community retained familial ties through his epitaphs that were otherwise severed by enslavement (Hopkins 2014:110), but this was not the norm and the majority of the graves of enslaved people are unmarked today. Hopkins writes that Pompe Stevens was trained as a stone carver, and his work is the only reason the name of his brother, Cuffe Gibbs, or the familial connection, survives to this day (Hopkins 2014:110). The significant work reads "This Stone was / cut by Pompe / Stevens in Memo / ry of his brother / Cuffe Gibbs who / died Dec 27th. 1768 / Ages 40 Years." (Leibman 2008). Other surviving gravestones have statements such as 'A Native of Africa' to denote their background (Hopkins 2014:111).

In many cases today, the visibility of 17th- and early 18th-century burial grounds in colonial settlements is clear. They are seen as part of the historical celebration of the 'founders' of a settlement, glorifying the settler narrative, and sweeping aside less savoury aspects such as the brutality of slavery or the stealing of Indigenous lands. The Freedom Trail in Boston includes the three 17th-century burial grounds at King's Chapel, Copp's Hill, and the Granary, as stops on the route, highlighting famous Bostonians buried there. While some of the signage mentions people of colour buried in the sites, it

does not cover the extent to which they were and are a part of the burial landscape. Hopkins writes that "more than 6000 black Bostonians were buried in the city's historic graveyards before the American Revolution, accounting for 1 in every 6 burials, and prior to 1704 the death records were not separated by race" (2014:111). Study of Black burial spaces and Indigenous burial spaces within colonial contexts has received more attention in recent times. In Chapter 7, I examined multiple burial grounds such as the African Burial Ground in New York City, God's Little Acre in Newport, RI, the Garrison Graveyard in Annapolis Royal, NS, and Indigenous burials in sites such as St. Paul's Anglican Churchyard in Trinity NL, and the Maison des Jesuites de Sillery in Quebec City, QC, among others, in order to discuss how visible the burials of Black people were to the rest of the communities. Their graves were likely marked with wooden markers or stone if it could be afforded, which resulted in many Black burial spaces today having little to no above-ground visibility without background research or signage.

Although the graves of people of colour made up sizable portions of burial space interments, their visibility on the contemporaneous landscape was relatively poor. Under many laws such as those in Boston in the 1720s, Indigenous people were categorized together with Black people in terms of racial discrimination, not given the same burial opportunities as their European neighbours. There are few known primary source documents that describe the funerals or burials of Black or Indigenous people in North America in the 17th century, and what we do have is typically from the view of white, middle-aged men, such as Judge Samuel Sewall or Joshua Hempstead. These diaries were included in the study to examine period descriptions of burials, noting the bias that they also held. Neither diary recorded much information about the people of colour noted,

making it difficult to know anything additional about them. Hempstead's diary did mention the names of Black individuals who were buried in New London, making some further research possible. Overall, the diaries provided limited insight into how 17th- and early 18th-century settlers interacted with funerals and burials as a whole and represent the lack of visibility of the Black people and Indigenous people who shared those same spaces. This evidence, though a primary source, is mediated through a settler lens, and there is not much documentation from Black or Indigenous individuals from the period which has survived. Black lives from the 17th and 18th centuries live on through the archaeology, oral histories, and descendant communities, and accounts of their lives should not only be taken from the documents of their oppressors.

With more attention being drawn to people of colour in early colonial settlements, the visibility of the space they took up while alive and after death is increasing. Black people and Indigenous people made up a significant portion of the populations of these settlements in the 17th-century, and my research has demonstrated how their burials were both included and excluded in colonial burial grounds. The graves of Black residents, both free and enslaved, were typically permitted to be included in the community burial grounds as they were first established but segregated to a corner or far reach of the site. This demonstrated that even in death, there was a societal divide between the European settlers and the Black residents that could not be bridged after death, and was displayed on the burial landscape through deliberate placement of the graves and visibility on the landscape. It is evident that the burials of Black residents were not invisible in the colonial burial landscape during the 17th and 18th centuries, with gravestones or wood markers to indicate the graves, and colourful and vibrant funeral processions winding

through the city streets. In the 21st-century, the visibility of these graves has not entirely disappeared from the surface, but faded greatly with the degradation of wood markers and deliberate lack of care for minority burial spaces by the current governments.

One thing that is clear between all colonizing nations in North America is the lack of visibility of Black and Indigenous individuals within the public burial grounds. While some sites had segregated spaces in the municipal burial ground for Black and Indigenous bodies to occupy, others were buried in unmarked potter's fields or forced to bury their dead outside of the communities. Additional research is required to understand the whole picture of Black and Indigenous burials in the early 17th century within these colonial spaces, as during these periods of early colonization, their funeral practices restricted, and burials hardly visible, in the historical records or on the surface. Black or Indigenous burials are notoriously difficult to locate in contemporaneous literature, and thus piecing together aspects of how they held funerals and burials is often challenging. Surviving documentation of their burial practices is typically presented through the eyes of a white, usually male, chronicler and as a result the portrayal of minority group burial activities is presented with inherent prejudice and privilege. Further research into records from the 17th and early 18th centuries, such as the Boston Town Records at the Boston Public Library Archives may provide further information on how free and enslaved Black and Indigenous peoples were living in colonial settlements, what rights they had in life and death, and how these rights translated to their burials. It is well known that colonial burial grounds were not used exclusively by white, European settlers; therefore, additional research is required to investigate the ways in which people of colour also moved through

and used the same spaces, implementing traditions from their homelands or those of their ancestors.

In contributing to burial research in North America, this dissertation has furthered our understanding of the development of spaces deliberately set aside for the burial of community members. Continuing my previous research on British settlement and burial organization (2017), this dissertation has demonstrated the similarities and differences in French and Dutch burial organization in a way not previously investigated. These data present a unique analysis of spatial organization, comparing the built burial landscapes in each settlement to one another, and discussing connection to religious and social factors that play into their treatment of the dead, as well as traditions from their home nations in Europe. The study has told us that while there were strong traditions carried over with the settlers, people also had to make adaptations to suit the types of settlements they were constructing in North America.

8.2 Conclusions

The research discussed in this dissertation examines several themes at an international, national, and local context. First, how existing burial practices in colonizing European nations translated into North American contexts. English, Dutch, and French burial grounds were surveyed and compared against one another to look for similarities or differences in not only the burial practices that they cultivated in North American soil, but also how they transplanted older burial traditions and burial ground organization over from Europe. On a local scale, the case study community of New Perlican in

Newfoundland and Labrador was selected in order to delve deeper into how the burial landscape of a single settlement evolved over 400 years of continuous settler occupation. In addition, this research examined how people of colour, primarily Black people and Indigenous peoples, experienced access to burial spaces in the 17th century, and the visibility of their graves both contemporaneously and in the present-day. While people of colour made up a sizeable portion of the population in northeastern North America during the 17th century, their presence in colonial burial grounds is not discussed to the same degree as white settlers', which ultimately is a continued form of erasure of their experience in North America. It should be reiterated that the burial grounds established by settlers were on Indigenous territories, then and today; land that should be returned to its people.

These studies, combined throughout the dissertation, provides a view from broad to narrow, of the establishment and evolution of early burial traditions in the colonial northeast. Beyond the background data of European burial practices, this research presents a large-scale survey of settlements established in the 17th century where European settlements had never stood before. Next, a closer look at a single settlement which has seen settler occupation for nearly 400 years, and how these wider trends are reflected within that populus. Finally, an examination of the visibility of people of colour, Black and Indigenous, within these colonial burial spaces, a population who was more prevalent than written history alludes. Together, we have gained a better understanding of the establishment and growth within the burial landscape of northeastern North America, setting up the landscape used to this day. Whether looking at a large-scale landscape of burials between communities or the graves within a singular town or burial ground, what

is reflected in their choices is the need to remember loved ones. A gravestone placed at the head of a child who died in Boston is decided upon with the same care as a community deciding to set land aside in their first stages of development so their population will have somewhere close by to bury and visit the dead. It is all an act of commemoration, illustrated in different ways, yes, but to the same end of honouring and remembering the dead.

The organization of the burial landscape of colonial North America remains an understudied aspect of mortuary archaeology. Burials from the 17th century are often difficult to identify/locate due to the dearth of surviving grave markers, the number of sites impacted by development or continued use over time, and a lack of surviving documentation. However, this type of research is still worth pursuing as burial traditions can tell us about how colonial settlements were formed. Throughout this research, I have examined the organization of burial spaces within 17th-century settlements founded by the British, Dutch, and French in northeast North America, identifying the ways in which these colonizing nations established their settlements with regards to spaces for living and dying. As with my earlier research (2017; 2020), I've shed light on the stereotypical idea that a church was always in the centre of a community, with the graveyard surrounding it. While that may be true for some communities, and certainly we saw a greater number of French settlements with a central church and graveyard, British and Dutch burial sites were only slightly more likely to be outside the centre of town. Therefore, the results, though limited in sample size and therefore tenuous, may indicate that a central location did not matter as much to the British or Dutch as it did the French. In terms of church association with burial spaces, this connection was primarily retained by most sites in the

study, specifically those where there was a continued religious practice with ties to Protestantism or Catholicism. French settlements were Catholic, as was the nation of France at the time, and all but one site (unknown) was associated with a church. This is reflected with the Dutch Reformed Church as well, as the national religion of the Netherlands in the 17th century was Dutch Reformed (Protestant) after the Reformation, with 13/15 sites adjacent to a church; the outlying burial grounds predate the construction of churches in their communities. This information provides insight into the extent which religion played in the everyday lives of the settlers in these communities, and how it influenced how their body and grave would be established and cared for after death.

Finally, the community-based research developed with Heritage New Perlican to record the historic burial grounds in their community, in order to aid in site preservation against future development, was a wonderful opportunity. It allowed me to explore the development of burial grounds in a relatively remote settlement in eastern Newfoundland, and demonstrated that even in rural environments, the overarching trends in burial ground development and feelings towards mortality are like that seen in larger city centres.

The preliminary study on the visibility of minority groups such as Black and Indigenous peoples in settler burial grounds sought to continue the ongoing conversation on how these burial spaces were not only for white settlers. Through this research, I was able to gain a better understanding of not only how diverse these burial grounds truly were, but how little we really know about who was buried there. I strongly believe that future research is needed in this area of study, in tandem with consultation with descendent communities, to bring better awareness to how Black and Indigenous peoples lived and died in colonial settlements, and how their funerals and burials were treated.

This project sought to further the discussion on the development of burial grounds during the 17th century, as established by major players in the colonization of North America, the British, Dutch, and French. With every settlement studied, we gain a fuller understanding of how settlers dealt with mortality, how they clung to old traditions and created new ones, and who was allowed to be represented within those spaces. Our relationship with the dead has evolved greatly since the 17th century, but those early burial traditions laid down by European settlers 400 years ago set the course for how we treat the dead today. By inspecting and comparing burial landscapes, we can see why different communities dealt with their dead in certain ways, and how they chose to honour and remember those who came before them.

-la thèse est terminée-

Dissertation References

Primary Sources

Anonymous
1685 *The Three Rivers Plan.* National Archives of France, National Archives of Overseas Collections, Depot of Colonial Fortifications. FR CAOM 03DFC459C

Berry, John
1675 *Sir John Barry's Census – 1675.* Newfoundland's Grant Banks: Genealogical & Historical Data. <http://ngb.chebucto.org/C1675/1675berry.shtml>. Accessed on 15 August 2023.

Beers, Frederick W.
1891 Plan of Tarrytown, North Tarrytown, and Surroundings, E.4. *Atlas of the Hudson River Valley from New York City to Troy.* Watson & Co.: New York. <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/5fd666af-a980-a9e3-e040-e00a18060a9a#/?rotate=360>. Accessed on 6 February 2023.

Bolles, John R. and Anna B. Williams
1904 *The Rogerenes: Some Hitherto Unpublished Annals Belonging to the Colonial History of Connecticut.* Stanhope Press: Boston, MA. <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/55651/55651-h/55651-h.htm>. Accessed on 30 May 2023.

Boston Town Papers
1723 *Boston Town Papers: 1650 onwards.* MS f Bos.9 v. 1. Boston Public Library, Special Collections.

Brunet, Henri
1677 *Henri Brunet Merchant Papers, Collection Clairambault.* Bibliothèque nationale de France. Département des manuscrits. C-4594 MG7-IA5, Volume 864. < https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c4594/299>. Accessed on 25 March 2024.

Carver, Martin
2005 *Sutton Hoo: A seventh-century princely burial ground and its context.* The British Museum Press: London, UK.

Cassini, Cesar-Francois
1750 *Carte de France. Levee par ordre du Roy (1750-1815).* Carte de la France Directeures: Paris. <https://www.geoportail.gouv.fr/donnees/carte-de-cassini>. Accessed on 17 April 2023.

Champlain, Samuel de
1613 *Les Voyages.* Isle de sainte Croix. Jean Berjon, Paris. Pp. 134.

City of New York
1903 *Minutes of The Common Council of the City of New York, 1675-1775.* Volume II. Dodd, Mead, and Company: New York. <https://archive.org/details/minutescommonco04socigoog/page/n8/mode/2up>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

De Meulles, Jaques
1686 *1686 Census of Acadia.* Translated by Charles C. Trahan, 1993. <http://www.acadian-home.org/census-acadia.html>. Accessed on 24 April 2023.

de Néré, Jacques Levasseur
1704 *Plan of the City of Three Rivers Surveyed in the Year 1704.* National Archives of France, National Archives of Overseas Collection, Depot of Colonial Fortifications. FR CAOM 03DFC461B

Fernow, Berthold
1881 Journal of Director Stuyvant's Visit to the Esopus. *Documents Relating to the History and Settlements of the Towns Along the Hudson and Mohawk Rivers (with the exception of Albany) from 1630 to 1684.* Weed, Parsons and Company: Albany, NY.

Fernow, Berthold (editor)
1897 *The Records of New Amsterdam, From 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini.* Volume II. Minutes of the Court of Burgomasters and Schepens. The Knickerbocker Press: New York City, NY.

Hastings, Hugh
1901 *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York.* Volume II. James B. Lyon: Albany, NY. <https://archive.org/details/ecclesiasticalre02newy/page/n7/mode/2up>. Accessed on 3 March 2023

Hempstead, Joshua
1901 *Diary of Joshua Hempstead of New London, Connecticut, Covering a Period of Forty Seven Years, from September 1711, to November, 1758.* The New London County Historical Society: New London, CT. <https://archive.org/details/diaryofjoshuahem1901hemp/page/n10/mode/1up?view=theater>. Accessed on 16 February 2022.

Hills, John
1781 *A Plan of Paulus Hook with the road to Bergen and parts adjacent in the province of New Jersey.* Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Centre, Boston Public Library, Digital Collections. <https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:q524nb19w>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

Hopkins, G.M.
1876 Plan of Albany, Ward G, Plate E. *City Atlas of Albany, New York: From the official Records, Private plans and Actual Surveys.* G.M. Hopkins & Co.: Philadelphia, USA

King, Daniel
1730-1767 Diary. 1730-1767. Unpublished document MS.S-619. Daniel King Diary Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Lamb, George
1881 *Old Boston, 1645, compiled from the Book of Possessions.* Trustees of the Boston Public Library: Boston. Electronic document, http://maps.bpl.org/id/10907. Map image courtesy of the Norman B. Leventhal Map Center at the Boston Public Library.

Miller, John
1695 New York: 1695. Library of Congress <https://www.loc.gov/item/93680195/> Accessed 1 October 2021.

Munsell, Joel
1869 *The Annals of Albany,* Vol. 1. 2nd Ed. Joel Munsell: Albany, NY.

Old North Church Records
1733-1774 Typed transcriptions of African American burials, 1733-1774. *Old North Church (Christ Church in the City of Boston) Records,* Box 19, Folder 4. Supported by Old North Illuminated, Massachusetts Historical Society. <https://www.masshist.org/collection-guides/view/fa0290>.

Oppenheim, Samuel
1909 *The early history of the Jews in New York, 1654-1664: Some new matter on the subject.* For the Publication of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 18 (1909). <https://archive.org/details/cu31924067742332/page/n7/mode/2up>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

Raithby, John (ed)
1819 Charles II, 1677 & 1678: An Act for burying in Woollen. *Statutes of the Realm: Volume 5.* Pp. 885-886. <https://www.british-history.ac.uk/statutes-realm/vol5/pp885-886#h3-0002>. Accessed on 28 March 2023.

Rodd, Thomas
1843 Albany. Map originally created by John Miller, 1695. *Thomas Rodd.* Image in public domain, provided by the New York Public Library.

Sewall, Samuel
1973 *The Diary of Samuel Sewall 1674 – 1729: Newly Edited from the Manuscript at the Massachusetts Historical Society by M. Halsey Thomas.* Farrar, Straus and Giroux, Inc.: United States of America.

Stiles, Ezra
1901 *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale College.* Volume 1, January 1, 1769 – March 13, 1776. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York.

Stuyvesant, Peter
1658 *Agreement to Build the Stockage, May 31, 1658.* Ulster County Archives. <https://clerk.ulstercountyny.gov/archives/resources/agreement-to-build-the-stockade-1658>. Accessed on 20 February 2023.

Trudel, Marcel
1968 *Atlas of New France.* Laval University Press: Quebec.

van Rensselaer, Maria
1935 *Correspondence of Maria van Rensselaer 1669-1689*, A.J.F. van Laer, translator. University of the State of New York: Albany.

Venema, Janny (translator)
1998 *Deacons' Accounts 1652-1674: First Dutch Reformed Church of Beverwyck / Albany, New York.* Janny Venema, translator and editor. Wm. Eerdmans Publishing Company: Grand Rapids, Michigan.

Virginia Company
1606 *Instructions for the Virginia Company 1606.* University of Groningen, American History Documents. Electronic Document <http://www.let.rug.nl/usa/documents/1600-1650/instructions-for-the-virginia-colony-1606.php> Accessed 1 February 2023.

Secondary Sources

1696 Heritage Group

2020 African Burial Customs. *God's Little Acre: America's Colonial African Cemetery.* <https://www.colonialcemetery.com/burial-markers/>. Accessed on 27 June 2023.

2023 1696 Heritage Group Home Page. *1696 Heritage Group.* <https://www.1696heritage.com/>. Access on 22 November 2024.

Adams, Dart

2022 The Forgotten Legacy of Boston's Historic Black Graveyard. *Boston Magazine, City Life.* <https://www.bostonmagazine.com/news/2022/05/03/black-graveyard-legacy/>. Accessed on 2 July 2023.

Anschuetz, Kert F., Richard H. Wilshusen, and Cherie L. Scheick

2001 An Archaeology of Landscape: Perspectives and Directions. *Journal of Archaeological Research,* Vol. 9, No. 2: 157-211. Plenum Publishing Corporation.

Archaeodeath

2021 *Archaeodeath: Death & Memory – Past & Present.* <https://howardwilliamsblog.wordpress.com/>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Armstrong, Isabel C.

1924 For She Was a Militant Rose! Annapolis Royal Boasted First Policewoman and Feminine Baggage Smasher on Continent. *The Listening Post.* Montreal, May, 1924.

Armstrong, Matt

2014 Professionals, Not Adventurers: Personal Reflections on the Value, Ethics, and Practicalities of CRM. In *Blogging Archaeology,* Doug Rocks-Macqueen and Chris Webster, editors, pp. 20-35. Landward Research Ltd, <https://dougsarchaeology.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/blogging-archaeology.pdf>. Accessed 13 July 2023.

Arnold, Bettina, and Jeska, Robert J.

2014 The Archaeology of Death: Mortuary Archaeology in the United States and Europe 1990-2013. *Annual Review of Anthropology,* 2014-10-21, Vol.43 (1): 325-346.

Arts, N.M.A., A. Huijbers, K. Leenders, J. Schotten, H. Stoepker F.C. Theuws and A. Verhoeven

2007 De Middeleeuwen en vroegmoderne tijd in Zuid-Nederland. *Nationale Onderzoeksagenda Archeologie (NOaA).* <https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/4169363/61031_noaa_hst_22.pdf>. Accessed on 6 April 2023.

Atalay, Sonya

2012 *Community-Based Archaeology: Research with, by, and for Indigenous and Local Communities.* University of California Press: Berkeley.

2006 Indigenous Archaeology as Decolonizing Practice. *American Indian Quarterly* 30: 280-310.

Austin, Matthew

2014 Archaeological Blogging and Engagement. In *Blogging Archaeology,* Doug Rocks-Macqueen and Chris Webster, editors, pp. 9-19. Landward Research Ltd, <https://dougsarchaeology.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/blogging-archaeology.pdf>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Bain, Allison

2010 Environmental and Economic Archaeologies of Missions, Colonies, and Plantations. In *Historic Archaeology 44 (3)*: 1-3.

Bartram, Alan

1978 *Tombstone Lettering in the British Isles.* Lund Humphries, London.

Baugher, Sherene, and Richard F. Veit.

2014 *The Archaeology of American Cemeteries and Gravemarkers.* University Press of Florida: Gainesville, Florida.

Bayles, Richard M.

1888 *History of Newport County, Rhode Island. From the Year 1638 to the Year 1887, Including the Settlement of its Towns, and their subsequent Progress.* L. E. Prestion & Co.: New York. https://archive.org/details/historyofnewport00bayl. Accessed on 16 June 2023.

Bertrand, Régis

2017 Origines et caractéristiques du cimetière français contemporain. *Insaniyat.* Pp. 107-135.

Binski, Paul

1996 *Medieval death: ritual and representation.* British Museum Press: London

Blachowicz, James
2006 *from Slate to Marble: Gravestone Carving Traditions in Eastern Massachusetts, 1770-1870.* Graver Press, Evanston, Illinois

Blackbird, Leila K.
2023 A Gendered frontier: Metissage and Indigenous Enslavement in Eighteenth-Century Basse-Louisiane. *Eighteenth-Centuries Studies,* Vol. 56, No. 2.: 205-212.

Blake, Silas Leroy
1897 *The early history of the First Church of Christ, New London, Conn.* Press of the Day Publishing Company: New London, CT. <https://archive.org/details/earlyhistoryoffi00blak>. Accessed 22 November 2022.

Bones Don't Lie
n.d. *Bones Don't Lie.* <https://bonesdontlie.wordpress.com/>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Boreas Heritage Consulting
2023 Unpublished 2022 GPR Survey Data. Presented over Zoom, January 19, 2023, 5pm. *Boreas Heritage Consulting.* Shared by Heather LeBlanc, Mapannapolis, 2 July 2023.

Boston Public Library
2023 The Governing Bodies. *Boston Government History, Boston Public Library.* <https://guides.bpl.org/bostongovernmenthistory#s-lg-box-15192686>. Accessed on 10 June 2023.

Boyle, Angela
2015 Approaches to Post-medieval Burial in England: Past and Present. In *The Archaeology of Death in Post-medieval Europe,* Tarlow, Sarah, editor, pp. 33-60. De Gruyter Open Ltd.: Warsaw/Berlin.

Bradley, James W.
2006 *Before Albany: An Archaeology of Native-Dutch Relations in the Capital Region, 1600-1664.* New York State Museum Bulletin 509. The New York State Education Department: Albany, NY.

Brain, Jeffrey Phipps
2003 Popham: the First English Colony in New England. In *Avalon Chronicles: The English in America, 1497 – 1696, Vol. 8,* Tuck, James A. and Barry Gaulton, editors, pp. 87-116. The Colony of Avalon Foundation, Newfoundland.

Brain, Jeffrey Phipps

2016 *Fort St. George II: Additional Archaeological Investigations of the 1607-1608 Popham Colony.* Occasional Publications in Main Archaeology, Number 16. The Maine Historic Preservation Commission, and the Maine Archaeology Society, Augusta, ME.

Bromberg, Francine W. and Steven J. Shephard

2006 The Quaker Burying Ground in Alexandria, Virginia: A study of burial practices in the religious society of friends. *Historical Archaeology* 40 (1): 57-88.

Brooke, John L.

1988 "For Honour and Civil Worship to any Worthy Person": Burial, Baptism, and Community on the Massachusetts New Frontier, 1730-1790. In *Material Life in America, 1600-1860,* St. George, Robert Blair, editor, pp. 463-485. Northeastern University Press, Boston, MA.

Brown, Vincent

2008 *The Reaper's Garden: Death and Power in the World of Atlantic Slavery.* Harvard University Press: Cambridge, MA.

Bruwelheide, Karin S., Henry M. Miller, Douglas W. Owsley, and Timothy B. Riordan

2021 The Lead Coffins of St. Mary's: Burials of the Elite in Chesapeake. In *Unearthing St. Mary's City: Fifty Years of Archaeology at Maryland's First Capital,* Miller, Henry M. and Travis G. Parno, editors, pp. 183-202. University Press of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Buquet-Marcon, Cécile and Jean-Yves Dufour

2016 Huhuenots en boîtes de nuit: Le cimetière de Charenton (Val-de-Marne). *Archéologie de la reclusion et de la detention*, 143: 22-27.

Caron, Jean-François

2007 Montmorency Park. Encyclopedia of French Cultural Heritage in North America, Government of Canada < http://www.ameriquefrancaise.org/en/article-573/Montmorency_Park.html>. Accessed 29 September 2021.

Caulkins, Frances Manwaring

1895 *History of New London, Connecticut: From the First Survey of the Coast in 1612 to 1860.* H.D. Utley: New London. *Reprinted by:* Applewood Books: Carlisle, MA. <https://archive.org/details/historyofnewlond00caul>. Accessed on 12 April 2022.

Cantwell, Anne-Marie, and Diana diZerega Wall

2008 Landscapes and Other Objects: Creating Dutch New Netherland. *New York History* 89: 315–345.

CBC News
2021 Slavery in Newfoundland and Labrador Episode 1: Who was W.H.? *CBC News, Nfld. & Labrador, Nov. 12, 2021.* <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/newfoundland-labrador/unearthered-slavery-newfoundland-labrador-1.6242637>. Accessed on 4 April 2023.

Cell, Gillian. T. (editor)
1982 *Newfoundland Discovered: English Attempts at Colonisation 1610-1630.* The Hakluyt Society: London, England.

Cheek, Charles
2009 The Archaeology of 290 Broadway. In *The Archaeology of 290 Broadway: Volume 1, The Secular Use of Lower Manhattan's African American Burial Ground,* Cheek, Charles D. and Daniel G. Roberts, editors, pp. 69-122. John Milner Associates, Inc.

Cherryson, Annia Kristina
2018 Dressing for the Grave: The Archaeological Evidence for the Preparation and Presentation of the Corpse in Post-Medieval England. In *Death Across Oceans: Archaeology of Coffins and Vaults in Britain, America, and Australia,* Mytum, Harold and Laurie Burgess, editors, pp. 37-56. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press: Washington, DC.

City of Boston
N.d.a Granary Burying Ground. *City of Boston.* <https://www.boston.gov/cemeteries/granary-burying-ground>. Accessed 27 February 2023.

N.d.b Copp's Hill Burying Ground. *City of Boston.* <https://www.boston.gov/cemeteries/copps-hill-burying-ground>. Accessed 2 July 2023.

City of Boston Archaeology
n.d. Boston Slavery Exhibit. *City of Boston.* <https://www.boston.gov/departments/archaeology/boston-slavery-exhibit#:~:text=By%201720%2C%20there%20were%20more,the%20early%20and%20mid%201700s>. Accessed 18 March 2024.

City of Hackensack
2022 About. *The City of Hackensack.* <https://www.hackensack.org/about/#:~:text=The%20town%20was%20first%20settled,charter%20under%20its%20present%20name>. Accessed on 21 February 2023.

City of Quebec
2023 Sillery: 3D Reconstructions. *Ville de Québec: l'accent d'Amérique.* <https://www.ville.quebec.qc.ca/citoyens/patrimoine/quartiers/sillery/reconstitutions_3d.aspx>. Accessed on 4 July 2023.

Cole, Thomas
2000 Trinity Bay Transcriptions, 1600-1800. *Newfoundland's Grant Banks: Genealogical & Historical Data.* <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Articles/cole-trinity.shtml>. Accessed on 5 July 2023.

Connecticut State Library
ND New London County African Americans and People of Color Collection, 1701-1854, Judicial Department. *State Archives Record Group No. 003*. <https://libguides.ctstatelibrary.org/c.php?g=237328&p=5936425> Accessed on 30 May 2023.

Congregation Shearith Israel
2023 Cemeteries. *Congregation Shearith Israel, The Spanish & Portuguese Synagoge.* < https://www.shearithisrael.org/about/our-history/cemeteries/>. Accessed on 1 February 2023.

Conyers, Lawrence B
2004 *Ground Penetrating Radar for Archaeology.* Altamira Press: Walnut Creek, California.

Cook, Katherine R.
2011 Deathscapes: Memory, Heritage and
Place in Cemetery. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Department of Anthropology, McMaster University. *Open Access Dissertations and Theses.* Paper 5914.

Craig-Atkins, Elizabeth, Jennifer Crangle, P.S. Barnell, Dawn M. Hadley, Allan T. Adams, Ian Atkins, Jessica-Rose McGinn, and Alice James
2019 Charnel Practices in Medieval England: New Perspectives. *Mortality: The Materiality and Spaciality of Death, Burial and Commemoration*: 145-166.

Crist, Thomas A., Marcella H. Sorg, Robert L. Larocque, Molly H. Crist, and John M. Benson
2012 The Skeletons. In *Saint Croix Island, Maine: History, Archaeology, and Interpretation.* Edited by Steven R. Pendery. Pp: 185-222.

Crompton, Amanda
2013 Of Obligation and Necessity: The Social Contexts of Trade between Permanent Residents and Migratory Traders in Plaisance, Newfoundland (1662-90). In *Exploring Atlantic Transitions: Archaeologies of Transience and Permanence in New Found Lands,* Pope, Peter E. and Shannon Lewis-Simpson, editors, pp. 245-255. The Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology Monograph 8. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge, UK.

CT.GOV
2023 Population of Connecticut Towns 1756 – 1820. *Office of the Secretary of the State, Connecticut's Official State Website.* <https://portal.ct.gov/SOTS/Register-Manual/Section-VII/Population-1756-1820>. Accessed on 24 November 2023.

Curvers, Jeanine
2010 *Burial Rituals and the Reformations in Early Modern Europe: A Comparative Study.* Master Thesis Comparative History, Utrecht University.

Daniell, C.
1997 *Death and Burial in Medieval England 1066-1550.* Routledge: London.

Davis, Jane Eliza
1907 *Round about Jamestown: Historical Sketches of the Lower Virginia Peninsula.* University of Virginia. <https://archive.org/details/roundaboutjamest01davi>. Accessed on 11 April 2022.

de Bruin, Tabitha
2013 Kanesatake Resistance (Oka Crisis). *The Canadian Encyclopedia.* <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/oka-crisis>. Accessed on 5 December 2023.

Dee, Jane E.
1998 Bones Beneath Your Feet: Unmarked Graves Might Be Closer Than You Think. *Hartford Courant, Collections.* Electronic document, https://www.courant.com/1998/10/31/bones-beneath-your-feet/. Accessed 13 November 2023.

Deo, Meera E.
2021 Why BIPOC Fail. *Virginia Law Review,* Vol. 7, Online 115. <https://virginialawreview.org/articles/why-bipoc-fails/#:~:text=BIPOC%20is%20purposeful%20and%20unapologetic,of%20color%20section%20of%20BIPOC>. Accessed on 12 December 2023.

Desjardins, Pauline, and Genvevière Duguay
1992 *Pointe-À-Callière: From Ville-Marie to Montreal.* Translated by Käthe Roth. Les éditions du Septentrion: Sillery, QC.

Destination Québec cite
2023 Cemeteries. *Quebec Cité: l'accent d'Amérique.* <https://www.quebec-cite.com/en/quebec-city/cemeteries>. Accessed on 4 July 2023.

De Voragine, J.
1993 *The Golden Legend: Reading on the Saints* (Vol. 2). W.G. Ryan, Translation. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.

Dhillon, Jaskiran
2017 *Prairie Rising: Indigenous Youth, Decolonization, and the Politics of Intervention.* University of Toronto Press: Toronto, ON.

di Bonaventure, Allegra
2014 *For Adam's Sake: A Family Saga in Colonial New England.* W.W. Norton & Company: New York.

Diamond, Joseph E.
2006 Owned in Life, Owned in Death: The Pine Street African and African-American Burial Ground in Kingston, New York. *Northeast Historical Archaeology,* Vol 35, Article 22: 47-62.

Duggan, R.
2003 Archaeological Excavations at the Southwest Glacis 1989-1992: Fort Anne National Historic Site of Canada. *Atlantic Service Centre, Parks Canada Agency.* Unpublished report, May 2003.

Duffy, Eamon
2005 *The Stripping of the Alters.* 2nd ed. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Dungca, Nicole, Claire Healy, and Andrew Ba Tran
2023 What we know about the Smithsonian's Human Remains. *The Washington Post,* August 14, 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/interactive/2023/takeaways-smithsonian-human-brains-remains-collection/>.Accessed on 17 August 2023.

Dunn, Brenda
2004 *A History of Port Royal / Annapolis Royal, 1605-1800.* Nimbus: Halifax, Nova Scotia.

Education Initiative
2020 Glossary: Rights-Holders. *Education Initiative.* <https://www.right-to-education.org/monitoring/content/glossary-rights-holders#:~:text=Rights%2Dholders%20are%20individuals%20or,Universal%20Declaration%20of%20Human%20Rights.>. Accessed 9 September 2024.

Farrow, Thomas J.

2023 The dissolution of St. Paul's charnel: remembering and forgetting the collective dead in late medieval and early modern England. *Mortality,* 28:1: 171-188.

Faulkner, Alaric, and Gretchen Faulkner

1987 *The French at Pentagoet 1635-1674: An Archaeological Portrait of the Acadian Frontier.* Occasional Publications in Maine Archaeology, Number 5. The Maine Historical Preservation Commission and The New Brunswick Museum: Augusta, ME.

Feldberg, Michael

Nd New Amsterdam's Jewish Crusader. *Jewish Virtual Library: A Project of AICE.* <https://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/new-amsterdam-s-jewish-crusader>. Accessed on 4 May 2023.

Find A Grave

2013 Québec First Cemetery, #2501227. Find A Grave <https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2501227/qu%C3%A9bec-first-cemetery#:~:text=The%20C%C3%B4te%20de%20la%20Montagne%20Cemetery%20in%20Old%20Qu%C3%A9bec%20marks,300%20people%20are%20buried%20there>. Accessed 29 September 2021.

2016. Ancien cimetiere de la Pointe a Calliere (1642-1654), #2606268. Find A Grave <https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/2606268/ancien-cimeti%25C3%25A8re-de-la-pointe-%25C3%25A0-calli%25C3%25A8re-(1642-1654)>. Accessed 13 November 2023.

Fitts, Robert K. and Charles D. Cheek

2009 Historical Context. In *The Archaeology of 290 Broadway: Volume 1, The Secular Use of Lower Manhattan's African American Burial Ground,* Cheek, Charles D. and Daniel G. Roberts, editors, pp. 23-68. John Milner Associates, Inc.

Fletcher, Kami

2020 Founding Baltimore's Mount Auburn Cemetery and Its Importance to Understanding African American Burial Rights. In *Til Death Do Us Part: American Ethnic Cemeteries as Borders Uncrossed,* Amanik, Allan and Kami Fletcher, editors, pp. 129-156. University Press of Mississippi, Jackson.

Forbes, Harriette Merrifield

1927 *Gravestones of Early New England and the Men Who Made Them: 1653-1800.* Reprinted 1967. Da Capo Press: New York.

Fossier, R.

2010 *The axe and the oath: Ordinary Life in the Middle Ages.* L.G. Cochrane, translation. Princeton University Press: Princeton, NJ.

Fowler, Jonathan
2020 The Acadian Cemetery at Grand-Pré National Historic Site, Part III: Archaeology. *Archaeology in Acadia.* <https://www.facebook.com/archaeologyacadie/posts/2697725313873753/>. Accessed on 7 March 2023.

Freedom Trail Foundation
2023 The Freedom Trail. *Freedom Trail Foundation.* <https://www.thefreedomtrail.org/>. Accessed on 18 August 2023.

French, Mary
2010a The Old Graveyard of New Amsterdam. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2010/10/21/the-old-graveyard-of-new-amsterdam/>. Accessed on 2 March 2023.

2010b The New Burial Place without the Gate of the City. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2010/10/22/the-new-burial-place-without-the-gate-of-the-city/>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

2010c First Shearith Israel Cemetery. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2010/12/01/first-shearith-israel-cemetery-chatham-square-cemetery/> Accessed on 3 March 2023.

2011 St. Mark's In-The-Bowery Churchyard and Cemetery. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2011/06/04/st-marks-in-the-bowery-churchyard-and-cemetery/>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

2021a Flatslands Reformed Dutch Church Cemetery. *New York Cemetery Project.* < https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2021/09/05/flatlands-reformed-dutch-church-cemetery/>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

2021b Flatbush Reformed Dutch Church Cemetery. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2021/07/09/flatbush-reformed-dutch-church-cemetery/>. Accessed on 1 March 2023

2021c New Utrecht Cemetery. *New York Cemetery Project.* <https://nycemetery.wordpress.com/2021/11/30/new-utrecht-cemetery/>. Accessed on 1 March 2023.

Gaulton, Barry
2021 The Enduring Legacies and Shifting Realities of Archaeology at Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeology Society 2021 Annual General Meeting,* keynote presentation. November 17, 2021.

Gerbner, Katharine
2018 *Christian Slavery: Conversion and Race in the Protestant Atlantic World.* University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Gilbert, William
2003 "An Archaeological Survey of New Perlican, Conducted between Oct 15 and November 6, 2001", unpublished report submitted to Provincial Archaeology Office, June 24, 2003.

2012 The Hefford Plantation. *Baccalieu Trail Archaeology.* <http://baccalieudigs.ca/default.php?display=cid53>. Accessed on 7 November 2022.

2020 *Excavations at New Perlican 3 (ClAi-4) 2001-2009 (revised 2020).* Baccalieu Trail Heritage Corporation, April 30, 2020. Unpublished Report.

Gilchrist, Roberta
2003 'Dust to Dust': Revealing the Reformation Dead. In David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, editors, *The Archaeology of the Reformation, 1480-1580*. Pp. 399-414. Maney Publishing Ltd.: Abingdon, UK.

2012 *Medieval Life. Archaeology and the Life Course.* The Boydell Press: Woodbridge.

Gittings, Clare
1984 *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England.* Routledge: London.

Glaeser, Edward L.
2005 Reinventing Boston: 1630-2003. *Journal of Economic Geography* 5 (2005): 119-153.

Gordon, N.
2002 On visibility and power: An Arendtian corrective of Foucault. *Human Studies,* 25: 125-145.

Gould, Peter G.
2016 On the Case: Method in Public and Community Archaeology. *Public Archaeology,* Vol 15, 2016, Issue 1. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14655187.2016.1199942>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Government of Canada
n.d. Backgrounder: United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples Act. *Government of Canada – Gouvernement du Canada.* <https://www.justice.gc.ca/eng/declaration/about-apropos.html>. Accessed 25 March 2022.

Goya, Miren Egaña
2018 A Permanent Place in Newfoundland: Seventeenth-Century Basque Tombstones in Placentia. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies,* 33 (2018)

Graves, C. Pamela
2008 From an Archaeology of Iconoclasm to an Anthropology of the Body. *Current Anthropology, Vol. 49, No.* 1: 35 – 60. Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, University of Chicago Press.

Green, David B.
2014 This Day in Jewish History The First Synagogue in the U.S. Is Consecrated in New York City. *Harretz.* April 8, 2014. <https://www.haaretz.com/jewish/2014-04-08/ty-article/.premium/this-day-americas-first-shul/0000017f-e1b1-d568-ad7f-f3fb07aa0000>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

Greenwood, Richard
1976 Dutch Reformed (Sleepy Hollow) Church. *National Registry of Historic Places Inventory – Nomination Form.* Historic Sites Survey, National Park Service. <https://npgallery.nps.gov/NRHP/GetAsset/NHLS/66000581_text>. Accessed on 6 February 2023.

Grenier, Robert
2007 Fieldwork and Research Acknowledgements. In, *The Underwater Archaeology of Red Bay: Basque Shipbuilding and Whaling in the 16th Century, Vol. 1: Archaeology Underwater: The Project,* edited by Robert Grenier, Marc-Andre Bernier and Willis Stevens, pp.1:22-24. Parks Canada: Ottawa.

Grimes, Vaughan, Maria Lear, Jessica Munkittrick, and Robyn S. Lacy.
2018 Excavation and preliminary analysis of a historical burial ground at Foxtrap-2 (CjAf-10),
Foxtrap, Newfoundland. *Provincial Archaeology Office Annual Review, 2017.* Provincial Archaeology Office, Department of Tourism, Culture, Industry and Innovation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/Vol-16-2017.pdf>. Accessed on 22 March 2023.

Gruppuso, Paolo, and Andrew Whitehouse
2020 Exploring Taskscapes: an introduction. *Social Anthropology,* Vol. 28, Issue 3: 588-597.

Gutstein, Morris Aaron
1905 *The story of the Jews of Newport: Two and a Half Centuries of Judaism, 1658-1908*. Block Publishing Co.: New York.

Hannaway, Owen and Caroline Hannaway
1977 La fermeture de cimetiere des Innocents. *Dix-Huitieme Siecle* 9: 181-192.

Harding, Vanessa
1992 'Burial Choice and burial location in later medieval London.' In *Death in towns: urban responses to the dying and the dead, 100-1600,* edited by S. Basset, pp. 119-135. London, Leicester University Press.

2000 Whose body? A study of attitudes towards the dead body in early modern Paris. In *The Place of the Dead: Death and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* edited by Bruce Gordon and Peter Marshall, pp. 170-189. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

2003 Choices and Changes: death, burial and the English Reformation. In *The Archaeology of the Reformation 1480-1580,* edited by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, pp. 386-398. Leeds, Maney Publishing.

Harvard Divinity School
2023 Protestant Christianity in France. *Harvard Divinity School.* <https://rpl.hds.harvard.edu/faq/protestant-christianity-france#:~:text=Tensions%20between%20growing%20numbers%20of,and%20equalities%20to%20the%20Huguenots>. Accessed on 11 April 2023.

Hayden, Robert C.
1992 *African-Americans in Boston: More than 350 Years.* Trustees of the Boston Public Library: Boston, MA.

Heritage NL
2015 Hefford Plantation Municipal Heritage Site, New Perlican, NL. *Heritage NL.* <https://heritagenl.ca/heritage-property/hefford-plantation-municipal-heritage-site/>. Accessed on 7 November 2022.

2016 Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church (Ferryland). *Heritage NL.* <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/holy-trinity-church-ferryland.php>. Accessed on 27 January 2023.

2018 Pinsent's Lame Municipal Heritage Site, New Perlican, NL. *Heritage NL.* <https://heritagenl.ca/heritage-property/pinsents-lane-municipal-heritage-site/>. Accessed on 18 January 2023.

Hicks, Dan
2020 *The Brutish Museums: The Benin Bronzes, Colonial Violence and Cultural Restitution.* Pluto Books: London.

Hinks, Peter

n.d. Slave Population of Colonial Connecticut, 1690 – 1774. *Yale University, Slavery: Documents & Activities.* <https://glc.yale.edu/outreach/teacher-programs/citizens-all-african-americans-connecticut-1700-1850/connecticut-stories-3>. Accessed on 24 November 2023.

Hiseler, George

1996 *Report on Archaeological Assessment of Lots 6 & 7, Mountain View Park Subdivision, Falmouth, Nova Scotia*. Permit #A1996NS26. Report on file with the Nova Scotia Museum.

Historical Marker Database, The

2023 African Americans at Copp's Hill. *The Historical Marker Database.* <https://www.hmdb.org/m.asp?m=21011>. Accessed on 2 July 2023.

Historical Society of Pennsylvania

2009 With a Stake in the Heart: Suicides of 'Self-Murder' and a Peculiar Custom. *Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Hidden Histories Blog.* <https://hsp.org/blogs/hidden-histories/with-a-stake-in-the-heart-suicides-or-self-murder-and-a-peculiar-custom>. Accessed on 25 May 2023.

Holt, Eleanor S.

1985 *The Second Church of Elizabeth City Parish, 1623/4-1698.* Archaeological Society of Virginia: Virginia.

Hopkins, Caitlin Galante DeAngelis

2015 *The Shadow of Change: Politics and Memory in New England's Historic Burying Grounds, 1630-1776*. Unpublished PhD dissertation, American Studies, Harvard University: Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Houlbrooke, Ralph

1998 *Death, Religion, and the Family in England, 1480-1750.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Howard University Press

2009 *The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York.* Howard University Press: Washington D.C.

Hutchinson, Robert

2003 Tombs of Brass are Spent: Reformation Reuse of Monumental Brasses. In David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist, editors, *The Archaeology of the Reformation: 1480-1580,* pp. 450-468. Maney Publishing Ltd.: Abingdon, UK.

Ingold, Tim

1993 The Temporality of the Landscape. *World Archaeology,* vol. 25, No. 2, Conceptions of Time and Ancient Society, pp. 152-174.

2000 *The Perception of the Environment: Essays in livelihood, swelling and skill.* Routledge: London and New York.

INRAP
2005 Excavation of a Huguenot Cemetery at Saint-Maurice (Val-de-Marne Department) and Archaeology "First". *INRAP: Institut national de recherches archéologiques préventives.* <https://www.inrap.fr/en/excavation-huguenot-cemetery-saint-maurice-val-de-marne-department-12279>. Accessed on 14 April 2023.

Ireland, Tracy
2015 The Ethics of Visibility: Archaeology, Conservation and Memories of Settler Colonialism. In T. Ireland and J. Schofield (eds), *The Ethics of Cultural Heritage,* Ethical Archaeologies: The Politics of Social Justice 4. Pp. 105-125. Springer: New York.

Israel, Barbara A., Amy J. Schulz, Edith A. Parker, and Adam B. Becker
1998 Review of Community-Based Research: Assessing Partnership Approaches to Improve Public Health. *Annual Review of Public Health* 19: 173-202.

Jackson, Percival E.
1950 *Law of Cadavers and of Burial and Burial Places,* 2nd Edition. Prentice-Hall: New York.

Jackson, Victoria
2012 Mortuary Customs: The Huron-Wendat Approach to Death. *Prandium – The Journal of Historical Studies,* Vol. 1, No. 1 (Spring 2012): 1-16.

Jaenen, Cornelius J.
1985 *The Role of the Church in New France.* Canadian Historical Association Historical Booklet No. 40. The Canadian Historical Association: Ottawa.

Janssens, J.
2011 *Spiegel van de Middeleeuwen. In word en beeld.* Davidsfonds Uitgeverij: Leuven.

Jamestown Rediscovery
2021 Captain Gabriel Archer. *Jamestown Rediscovery: Historic Jamestowne.* <https://historicjamestowne.org/archaeology/chancel-burials/founders/gabriel-archer/>. Accessed on 20 February 2023.

2024 The Knight's Tombstone. *Jamestown Rediscovery: Historic Jamestowne.* <https://historicjamestowne.org/knights-tombstone-conservation/>. Accessed on 19 March 2024.

Jarvis, Dale Gilbert, and Eileen Matthews
2018 A History of St. mark's Anglican Cemetery, New Perlican. *Heritage NL Fieldnotes Series, 001, November 2018.* <https://heritagenl.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/04/001-St.-Mark%E2%80%99s-Anglican-Cemetery-New-Perlican.pdf>. Accessed on 17 January 2023.

Kaempffer, William, and Randell Beach
2012 Fallen tree on New Haven Green unearths what may be more than one human skeleton. *New Haven Register,* October 30, 2012. <https://www.nhregister.com/news/article/Fallen-tree-on-New-Haven-Green-unearths-what-may-11495700.php>. Accessed on 22 February 2023.

Karnoutsos, Carmela
2023 Our History. *Old Bergen Church.* <http://www.oldbergenchurch.com/our-history/>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

Kelso, William M.
2006 *Jamestown: The Buried Truth.* University of Virginia Press, Charlottesville and London.

Kelvin, Laura and Lisa Hodgetts
2020 Unsettling Archaeology. *Canadian Journal of Archaeology* 44:1-19.

Kerr, W. P.
2011 *History Etched in Stone: Gravestone Art and the Garrison Graveyard at Annapolis Royal.* Canadian Defense Academy Press: Kingston, Ontario.

Kimball, Jill
2021 Saving "God's Little Acre": Archaeology students are reviving the history of one of the oldest African-American cemeteries. *Impact: Research at Brown,* pp. 3. <https://www.brown.edu/academics/archaeology/news/2021/09/archaeology-gods-little-acre-newport-ri>. Accessed 27 June 2023.

Kirke, Henry
1908 *The First English Conquest of Canada.* Sampson Low, Marston & Co. Ltd.: London.

Klein, Augusta Julia
2017 Death in the City of Light: The Culture of Death in Paris from the Middle Ages through the Nineteenth Century. *Senior Projects Spring 2017, The Division of Languages & Literature of Bard College.* Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, May 2017.

Kooi, Christine
2009 The Reformation in the Netherlands: Some Historiographic Contributions in English. *Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, Vol 11, Issue 1.* Gutersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus.

Krugler, John D.
2004 *English and Catholic: The Lords Baltimore in the Seventeenth Century.* The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore and London.

Kujawski, Kim
2022 Ancient French-Canadian Burial Places. *The French Canadian Genealogist.* <https://www.tfcg.ca/ancient-french-canadian-burial-places>. Accessed on 10 March 2022.

Lacy, Robyn S.
2023a Burial Ground Surveying in Historic New Perlican: Public Talk & Maps. *Spade & the Grave.* <https://spadeandthegrave.com/2023/05/29/burial-ground-surveying-in-historic-new-perlican-public-talk-maps/>. Accessed 3 September 2024.

2023b Field Survey at St. Augustine's Cemetery #1, New Perlican. *Provincial Archaeology Office Annual Review 2021.* Department of Tourism, Culture, Industry, and Innovation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/PAO-Review-Vol-21-2022.pdf>. Accessed on 12 May 2023.

2022a PhD Fieldwork 3: Surveying Field Stones at St. Augustine's Cemetery 1. *Spade & the Grave.* <https://spadeandthegrave.com/2022/05/04/phd-fieldwork-3-surveying-field-stones-at-st-augustines-cemetery-1/>. Accessed 3 September 2024.

2022b 2021 Field Season: New Perlican Burial Ground Survey. *Provincial Archaeology Office Annual Review 2021.* Department of Tourism, Culture, Industry, and Innovation, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/Vol-20-2021-1.pdf>. Accessed on 13 May 2023.

2021a PhD Fieldwork Part 1: Surveying Burial Grounds in New Perlican, NL. *Spade & the Grave.* <https://spadeandthegrave.com/2021/07/03/phd-fieldwork-part-1-surveying-burial-grounds-in-new-perlican-nl/>. Accessed 3 September 2024.

2021b Black Cat x Heritage NL – Gravestone Repair Workshop. *Black Cat Cemetery Preservation Blog.* <https://blackcatcemeterypreservation.wordpress.com/2021/08/21/black-cat-x-heritage-nl-gravestone-repair-workshop/>. Accessed 15 November 2021.

2021c Cataloguing Funerals & Burials from Samuel Sewall's 17th-Century Diary. *Spade & The Grave.* <https://spadeandthegrave.com/2021/06/01/cataloguing-funerals-burials-from-samuel-sewalls-17th-century-diary/>. Accessed on 25 May 2023.

2020 *Burial and Death in Colonial North America: Exploring Interment Practices and Landscapes in 17th-Century British Settlements.* Emerald Points Series, Emerald Publishing Ltd: Bingley, UK.

2019a Burial Against All Odds. *Spade and the Grave.* < https://spadeandthegrave.com/2019/08/28/burial-against-all-odds/>. Accessed on 23 August 2024.

2019b Chinese Miners' Burials in British Columbia. *The Collective For Radical Death Studies.* <https://www.radicaldeathstudies.com/blog/2019/09/10/chinese-miners-burials-in-british-columbia>. Accessed on 18 August 2023.

2018a Public Engagement through Burial Landscapes: Cupids and Ferryland, Newfoundland. *AP: Online Journal in Public Archaeology,* Special Volume 3. Pp. 55-78. <http://dx.doi.org/10.23914/ap.v8i2.146>. Accessed 15 November 2021.

2018b Burial by the Sea: Historical Burial Ground Excavation in Newfoundland. *Spade and the Grave.* < https://spadeandthegrave.com/2018/03/28/burial-by-the-sea-historical-burial-ground-excavation-in-newfoundland/>. Accessed 22 March 2023.

2017 *Here lieth interr'd: An examination of 17th-century British burial landscape in eastern North America.* Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, Newfoundland. Available through Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, Queen Elizabeth II Library. <https://research.library.mun.ca/12933/1/thesis.pdf>.

Lacy, Robyn S., Barry C. Gaulton, and Stephen J. Piercey
2018 Inscriptions, outcrops, and XRF: Analysis of the Ferryland gravestones. *North Atlantic Archaeology Journal, 5*:91-110.

Lambert, E.M.
2018 *Singing the resurrection: Body, Community and Belief in reformation Europe.* Oxford University Press: Oxford.

Landmarks Preservation Commission
1998 New Utrecht Reformed Dutch Church Cemetery. *Landmarks Preservation Commission, January 13, 1998.* Designation List 287 LP-1978. <https://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/lpc/lp/1978.pdf>. Accessed on 1 March 2023.

2010 Reformed Church on Staten Island, Sunday School Building, and Cemetery. *Landmarks Preservation Commission, March 23, 2010.* Deisgnation List 427 LP-2384. <http://s-media.nyc.gov/agencies/lpc/lp/2384.pdf>. Accessed on 2 March 2023.

Landru, Philippe
2012 *Cimetière* des Innocents (disparu). *Cimetières de France et d'ailleurs.* <http://www.landrucimetieres.fr/spip/spip.php?article275>. Accessed on 13 April 2023.

Landscape of Grand Pré
Nd The Acadians and the Creation of the Dykeland 1680-1755. *Landscape of Grand Pré: A UNESCO World Heritage Site.* <http://www.landscapeofgrandpre.ca/the-acadians-and-the-creation-of-the-dykeland-1680ndash1755.html>. Accessed on 7 March 2023.

Légaré, Denyse and Paul Labrecque
2007 La Maison des Jésuites de Sillery: Arrondissement de Sainte-Foy-Sillery. *Histoire de raconteur.* La Division de la culture, de loisir et de la vie Communautaire de l'Arrondissement de Sainte-Foy-Sillery.

Leibman, Laura
2008 Gravestone of Cuffe Gibbs (1768) made by African American Carver Pompe Stevens. *Indian Converts Collection, Reed College.* <https://rdc.reed.edu/c/colhist/s/r?_pp=20&s=e6c5b55ae0721e57fbbe2cc6101f74f6d67729c4&p=6&pp=1>. Accessed on 27 November 2023.

Lennox, Suzie
2016 *Bodysnatchers: Digging Up the Untold Stories of Britain's resurrection Men.* Pen & Sword Books Ltd: Barnsley, UK.

Lepore, Jill
2006 *New York Burning: Liberty, Slavery, and Conspiracy in Eighteenth-Century Manhattan.* Vintage Books: New York.

Lewis-Simpson, Shannon, Maria Lear, Rita Uju Onah, and Elsa Simms
2021 An Early European Burial Ground at Bloody Point, New Perlican ClAi-12 Bloody Point 2, New Perlican, NL. *Provincial Archaeology Office Annual Review 2020.* March 2021, Volume 19: 139-145. <https://www.gov.nl.ca/tcar/files/Vol-19-2020.pdf>. Accessed on 16 January 2023.

Lightfoot, Kent G.
1995 Cultural Contact Studies: Redefining the Relationship between Prehistoric and Historical Archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60 (2): 199-217.

Lippok, Femke Eline
2020 The pyre and the grave: early medieval cremation burials in the Netherlands, the German Rhineland and Belgium. *World Archaeology 2020, Vol. 52, No. 1:* 147-162.

Litten, Julian
1992, reprinted with corrections 2002 *The English Way of Death: The Common Funeral Since 1450.* London, Robert Hale.

2009 The Anthropoid Coffin in England. *English Heritage Historical Review* 4: 73-83.
Llewellyn, Nigel
1991 *The Art of Death: Visual Culture in the English Death Ritual c.1500-1800.* Reaktion Books: London.

Lobell, Jarrett A.
2015 Buried with Care. *Archaeology: A Publication of the Archaeological Institute of America.* <https://www.archaeology.org/issues/169-1503/trenches/2979-france-medieval-lead-heart-coffin>. Accessed on 14 April 2023.

Loe, Louise and Ceridwen Boston
2018 Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Coffin Furniture from St. George's Crypt, Bloomsbury, and the Churchyard and Crypt of St. Luke's, Islington. In *Death Across Oceans: Archaeology of Coffins and Vaults in Britain, America, and Australia,* Mytum, Harold and Laurie Burgess, editors, pp. 129-164. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press: Washington, DC.

Ludwig, Allan I.
1966 *Graven Images.* Westeyan University, United States of America.

MacDonald, Fiona
2016 Guys, It's Time to Stop Using 'Statistical Significance' as The Mark of Important Research. *Nature, Science Alert.* <https://www.sciencealert.com/guys-it-s-time-to-stop-using-statistical-significance-as-the-mark-of-important-research>. Accessed on 11 May 2023.

MacLeod-Leslie, Heather
2014 Archaeology and Atlantic Canada's African Diaspora. *Acadiensis* XLIII, No. 1 (Winter/Spring 2014): 137-145.

Mapannapolis
2021 What Lies Beneath: An Acadian Ancestry Project. *Mapannapolis.* <https://www.mapannapolis.ca/what-lies-beneath>. Accessed on 6 March 2023.

Mappin, Charles
1995 The Evolution of Montreal's Cemetery Space from 1642 to Present. *Unpublished Thesis, Degree of Master of Urban Planning,* School of Urban Planning, McGill University. April 1995.

Marshall, Peter
2002 *Beliefs and the Dead in Reformation England.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, England.

Mathijssen, Brenda and Claudia Venhorst
2019 *Funeral Practices in the Netherlands.* Emerald Publishing Ltd.: Bingley, UK.

Mason, George Carrington
1946 The Earliest Known Church of Elizabeth City Parish. *The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* Vol. 54, No. 1:17-20.

Meade, Elizabeth D.
2020 *"Prepare for Death and Follow Me": An Archaeological Survey of the Historic Period Cemeteries of New York City*. Doctoral dissertation, Graduate Faculty of Anthropology, The City University of New York, NY.

Medford, Edna Greene (editor)
2004 *The New York African Burial Ground: History Final Report.* The African Burial Ground Project, Howard University, Washington, DC. The United States General Services Administration Northeast and Caribbean Region. <http://npshistory.com/publications/afbg/history-report.pdf>. Accessed on 25 March 2024.

Meier T., and J. Graham-Campbell
2013 Life, Death and Memory. In *The Archaeology of Medeival Europe, Vol. 1: Eight to Twelfth Centuries AD,* J. Graham-Campbell and M. Valor, editors, 175-196.

Merwick, Donna
1990 *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, UK.

Meskell, Lynn
2018 *A Future in Ruins: UNESCO, World Heritage, and the Dream of Peace.* Oxford University Press: New York.

Mickel, Allison
2021 *Why Those Who Shovel Are Silent: A history of local archaeological knowledge and labor.* University Press of Colorado: Louisville, CO.

Miller, Henry M.
1986 Discovering Maryland's First City: A Summary Report on the 1981 – 1984 Archaeological Excavations in St. Mary's City, Maryland. *St. Mary's Archaeology Series #1.* An Alexander H. Morrison Fund Publication, St. Mary's City Commission, Maryland.

Miller, Sarah E.
2015 Cemeteries as Participatory Museums: The cemetery Resource Protection Training Program across Florida. *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 3(3), pp. 275-290. <https://www.academia.edu/49826161/Cemeteries_as_Participatory_Museums>. Accessed 12 November 2021.

Montgomery, Lindsay Martel
2022 The Archaeology of Settler Colonialism in North America. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 51: 475-491.

Moore, Christopher J.
2009 Land of the Blacks. *Seaport Magazine,* Fall-Winter, pp. 8-13.

Munsell, Joel
1876 *Men and Things in Albany Two Centuries Ago.* Read before the Albany Institute, April 18, 1876. <https://archive.org/details/menthingsinalban00muns/mode/1up?q=human+bones>. Accessed on 18 February 2023.

Mytum, Harold
2000 *Recording and Analysing Graveyards,* Vol. 15. Council for British Archaeology: York, UK.

2004 *Mortuary Monuments and Burial Grounds of the Historic Period.* Springer, New York.
2006 Popular attitudes to memory, the body, and social identity: the rise of external commemoration in Britain Ireland and New England. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 40: 96-110.

2018 United in Death? A Comparative Introduction to Historic Mortuary Culture. In Mytum, Harold C. and Laurie E. Burgess, editors, *Death Across Oceans: Archaeology of Coffins and Vaults in Britain, America, and Australia.* Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press: Washington, D.C.

Nater, Catelijne I.
2016 Patterns in the Distribution of Graves in the Central Medieval Cemetery of Reusel, The Netherlands: Local Variations in Burial Practices. *Inter-Section: Innovative approaches by Junior Archaeological Researchers*: 5-13.

Native Land Digital
2023 *Native Land Digital.* <https://native-land.ca/>. Accessed on 4 July 2023.

National Park Service
2021 African Burial Ground in History. *National Park Service, African Burial Ground National Monument, New York* < https://www.nps.gov/afbg/learn/historyculture/african-burial-ground-in-history.htm>. Accessed 4 October 2021.

2022 Archaeology. *African Burial Ground National Monument, New York.* <https://www.nps.gov/afbg/learn/historyculture/archaeology.htm>. Accessed 16 June 2023.

Neeganagwedgin, Erica
2012 "Chattling the Indigenous Other": A Historical Examination of the Enslavement of Aboriginal peoples in Canada. *AlterNative: an international journal of Indigenous peoples,* Vol. 8 (1): 15-26.

Newell, Margaret Ellen
2015 *Brethren by Nature: New England Indians, Colonists, and the Origins of American Slavery.* Cornell University Press: Ithaca, NY.

Newfoundland's Grand Banks
2016 Old Non-Denominational Cemetery, Ferryland, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland's Grand Banks.* <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/cem-ferryland-old-non-fer.shtml>. Accessed 27 January 2023.

2023 Newfoundland 1921 Census, Trinity Bay District, New Perlican. *Newfoundland's Grand Banks.* <http://ngb.chebucto.org/C1921/21-new-perlican-tb.shtml>. Accessed on 23 January 2023.

Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage
2016 St. Luke's Anglican Church (Placentia). *Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador.* <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/st-lukes-anglican-church.php>. Accessed 4 May 2023.

New Jersey City University
2023a Bergen Square: The Intersection of Bergen Avenue and Academy Street. *New Jersey City University: Jersey City Past and Present.* <https://njcu.libguides.com/bergen>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

2023b Churchyard – Old Bergen Church. *New Jersey City University: Jersey City Past and Present.* <https://njcu.libguides.com/oldbergencemetery>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

Newport Historical Society
2016 History Bytes: Common Burying Ground. *Newport Historical Society: History Starts Here.* <https://newporthistory.org/history-bytes-common-burying-ground/>. Accessed on 23 February 2023.

2023 A Brief History of Newport. *Newport Historical Society: History Starts Here.* <https://newporthistory.org/about/newport-history/#:~:text=A%20group%20lead%20by%20William,separation%20of%20church%20and%20state> Accessed on 23 February 2023.

New York State Museum
2018 “a small fort, which our people call Fort Orange”, *Exhibitions, New York State Museum Cultural Education Center.* <http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/exhibitions/ongoing/fort-orange>. Accessed on 1 February 2023.

2023 Schuyler Flatts Burial Ground. *Bioarchaeology, New York State Museum.* <https://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research-collections/archaeology/bioarchaeology/research/schuyler-flatts-burial-ground>. Accessed on 15 June 2023.

Nijssen, Jaak, and Jan Nyssen
2011 Pre-Industrial Headstones across the Continental North Sea Plain. *Journal of Historical Geography* 37(3): 273-287.

Notre-Dame de Quebec Parish
2023 Notre-Dame de Quebec Basilica-Cathedral. *Quebec City Holy Door.* <https://holydoorquebec.ca/en/cathedral>. Accessed on 13 November 2023.

Old Montréal
2003 Following the Trail of Montréal, the 18th-Century Fortified City. *Old Montréal.* <https://www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/fortif/eng/tracesa.htm>. Accessed on 10 May 2023.

Oliver-Lloyd, Vanessa
2008 *Le patrimoine archéologique des cimetières euroquébécois.* Étude produite dans le cadre de la participation du Québec au Répertoire canadien des Lieux Patrimoniaux, volet archéologique. National Library and Archives of Quebec. <https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/2008323> Accessed on 8 March 2023.

Otele, Olivette
2023 *African Europeans: An Untold Story.* Basic Books: New York.

Raeburn, Gordon D.
2020 The Reformation of Burial in the Protestant Churches. In *A Companion to Death, Burial, and Remembrance in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe, c.1300-1700,* edited by Philip Booth and Elizabeth Tingle. Brill's Companions to Christian Tradition, Vol 94. Brill: Leiden and Boston.

Parks Canada
Nd Fort Trois-Rivieres National Historic Site of Canada. *Parks Canada Directory of Federal Heritage Designations.* <https://www.pc.gc.ca/apps/dfhd/page_nhs_eng.aspx?id=720>. Accessed on 10 March 2023.

2005 St. Luke's Anglican Church. *Canada's Historic Places.* <https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=2327>. Accessed on 6 March 2023.

2009 St. Matthew's United Church Southside Cemetery Municipal Heritage Site. *Canada's Historic Places.* <https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=14004>. Accessed 19 January 2023.

2022 Mapping Change: Fostering a Culture of Reconciliation within Parks Canada. *Government of Canada – Gouvernement du Canada.* <https://parks.canada.ca/agence-agency/aa-ia/reconciliation#section1>. Accessed on 4 December 2023.

Pearson, Andrew, and Ben Jeffs
2016 Slave-Trade Archaeology and the Public: The Excavation of a 'Liberated African' Graveyard on St Helena. In *Archaeologists and the Dead: Mortuary Archaeology in Contemporary Society,* Williams, Howard, and Melanie Giles, editors, pp. 97-112. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Perring, Stefanie Merlo
2013 Reformation of the English cathedral landscape: negotiation change in York Minster Close c. 1500-1642. *World Archaeology, 45:1*:186-205.

Perry, Warren R.
1997 Archaeology as community service: the African Burial Ground Project in New York City. *North American Dialogue*, 2 (1):1-5.

Perry, Warren R. and Janet L. Woodruff
2009 Coins, Shells, Pipes, and Other Items. In *The Archaeology of the New York African Burial Ground,* Warren R. Perry, Jean Howson, and Barbara A. Bianco, editors, pp. 349-366. The New York African Burial Ground: Unearthing the African Presence in Colonial New York, Vol. 2, pt. 1. Howard University: Washington, D.C.

Pillatt, Toby, Green, Katie, Maxwell, Deborah, Mytum, Harold, and Julian Richards
2021 Discovering England's burial spaces: Supporting community heritage. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage,* Volume 8, Issue 1. <10.1080/20518196.2021.1894786>. Accessed 12 November 2021.

Pitts, Reginald H.
2009 Sacred Space to Secular Use. In *The Archaeology of 290 Broadway: Volume 1, The Secular Use of Lower Manhattan's African American Burial Ground,* Cheek, Charles D. and Daniel G. Roberts, editors, pp. 123-136. John Milner Associates, Inc.

Plummer, Ryan, Amanda Smits, Samantha Witkowski, Bridget McGlynn, Derek Armitage, Ella-Kari Muhl, and Jodi Johnston
2022 *Building Sustainable Communities: The Impact of Engagement.* <https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/bscmodule1/chapter/stakeholders-vs-rights-holders-in-canada/>. Accessed 9 September 2024.

Pocius, Gerald
1981 Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-century Newfoundland Gravestones: Self-Sufficiency, Economic Specialization, and the Creation of Artifacts. *Material Culture Review, Volume 12 (Spring)*: 1-16.

1986 The Transformation of the Traditional Newfoundland Cemetery: Institutionalizing the Secular Dead. *Material Culture Review, Volume 23, Spring 1986*: 25-34.

Pointe-à-Callière
Nd 10 Historical and Archaeological finds at Pointe-à-Callière. *Pointe-à-Callière Museum.* <https://pacmusee.qc.ca/en/stories-of-montreal/article/10-historical-and-archaeological-finds-at-pointe-a-calliere/>. Accessed 4 July 2023.

Pool, David De Sola
2019 *Portraits Etched in Stone: Early Jewish Settlers 1682-1831.* Columbia University Press: New York City.

Pothier, Louise
1998 Vivre ses morts. *Continuité* (76). Pp. 9-10.

Prowse, D.W.
1895 *A History of Newfoundland from the Colonial and Foreign Records.* Macmillian and Company: London, UK. Reprint, Boulder Publications Ltd. 2007.

Rankin, Lisa, and Gaulton, Barry
2021 Archaeology, Participatory Democracy and Social Justice in Newfoundland and Labrador, Canada. *Archaeologies: Journals of the World Archaeological Congress.* <https://link.springer.com/content/pdf/10.1007/s11759-021-09418-x.pdf?fbclid=IwAR3ESpJHAKyOpINqi2KrOwz9NVYcQS-_7TbOkuL_OkAeP45dj-gEecEkHZQ>. Accessed 12 November 2021.

Redman, Samuel J.
2016 *Bone Rooms: From Scientific Racism to Human Prehistory in Museums.* Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Regan, Raulette
2010 *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indigenous Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada.* UBC Press: Vancouver, BC.

Reynolds, Ffion
2014 A Site's History Does Not End: Transforming Place through Community Archaeology at Tinkinswood Chambered Tomb and Surrounding Landscape, Vale of Glamorgan. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage,* Volume 1, Issue 2, pp. 173-189. <10.1179/2051819614Z.00000000012>. Accessed 10 November 2021.

Rhode Island Historical Cemeteries
Nd Clifton Burying Ground. *Rhode Island Historical Cemeteries.* <http://rihistoriccemeteries.org/newsearchcemeterydetail.aspx?ceme_no=NT014>. Accessed on 22 April 2023.

Richardson, Lorna-Jane and Jaime Almansa-Sánchez
2015 Do you even know what public archaeology is? Trends, theory, practice, ethics. *World Archaeology,* 42:2: 194-211

Richer-LaFlèche, Marc, Yves Monette, and Bruno Boussicault
2007 *Étude géophysique du site historique de la Maison des Jésuites (CeEt-27), arrondissement de Sainte-Foy-Sillery, Ville de Québec*. Research report No. R-958. National Institute for Scientific Research, Centre for Water, Land, and the Environment.

Riordan, Timothy B.
1991 The Location of Fort St. Mary's: A Speculative Essay. *Maryland Historical Magazine.* Vol. 86, Winter: 371 – 386.

Riordan, Timothy B.
2000 *Dig a Grave both Wide and Deep: An Archaeological Investigation of Mortuary Practices in the 17th-Century Cemetery at St. Mary's City, Maryland.* St. Mary's City Archaeological Series No. 3. Historic St. Mary's City, Maryland.

Rocks-Macqueen, Doug, and Chris Webster (editors)
2014 *Blogging Archaeology.* Landward Research Ltd. <https://dougsarchaeology.files.wordpress.com/2014/04/blogging-archaeology.pdf>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Rodwell, Warwick
2012 *The Archaeology of Churches.* Amberley Publishing: Gloucestershire, UK.

Roper, Lyndal
2021 *Living I was Your Plague: Martin Luther's World and Legacy.* Princeton University Press: Princeton and Oxford.

Ross, Marc Howard
2018 *Slavery in the North: Forgetting History and Recovering Memory.* University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Ross, Sally and Susan Surette-Draper
2009 Saint-Charles-des-Mines Cemetery in Grand Pré. *Acadian & French Canadian Ancestral Home.* <http://www.acadian-home.org/Grand-Pre-Cemetery.html>. Accessed on 7 March 2023.

Row, A.C. and E. Tuck
2017 Settler colonialism and cultural studies: ongoing settlement, cultural production, and resistance. *Cultural Studies & Critical Methodologies* 17(1): 3-13.

Ruane, Michael E.
2023 Experts unearth one of the first colonists: A teen with a broken leg. *The Washington Post,* May 3, 2023. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/history/2023/05/03/american-colonists-maryland-skeleton/>. Accessed on 5 May 2023.

Rugg, Julie
2013 Choice and constraint in the burial landscape: re-evaluating twentieth-century commemoration in the English Churchyard. *Mortality,* Vol. 18, No. 3: 215-234.

Satchel, M.
1997 Only remember us: skeletons of slaves from a New York grave bear witness. *U.S. News and World Report.* July 28, pp. 51-54.

Saul, Nigel
2009 *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK.

Sayer, Duncan
2010 *Ethics and burial archaeology*. London: Duckworth.

Sayer, Faye, and Duncan Sayer
2016 Bones Without Barriers: The Social Impact of Digging the Dead. In *Archaeologists and the Dead: Mortuary Archaeology in Contemporary Society,* Williams, Howard and Melanie Giles, editors, pp. 139-165. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Schneider, Tsim D. and Katherine Hayes
2020 Epistemic Colonialism: Is it Possible to Decolonize Archaeology? *The American Indian Quarterly,* Vol 44, No. 2, Spring 2020: 127-148.

Schuch, Tom
2022 Robert Jacklin. *Visit New London: New London's Black Heritage Trail.* <https://visitnewlondon.org/black-heritage-trail/robert-jacklin/>. Accessed on 30 May 2023.

Schwartz, Ana
2023 *Unmoored: The Search for Sincerity in Colonial America.* The Omohundo Institute of Early American History and Culture: Williamsburg, VA.

Sexton, James
2001 Not a Park or Mere Pleasure Ground: a Case Study of the New Haven Green. *Connecticult Trust for Historic Preservation* and *Town Greens.* <http://www.towngreens.com/DOCUMENTS/tg_newhaven_case.pdf>. Accessed on 5 March 2024.

Sharples, Jason T.
2020 *The World the Fear Made: Slave Revolts and Conspiracy Scares in Early America.* University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia.

Siber, Kate
2020 At God's Little Acre, Clues to the African American History of Newport, Rhode Island. *Preservation Magazine, Fall 2020.* National Trust for Historic Preservation. < https://savingplaces.org/stories/at-gods-little-acre-clues-to-the-african-american-history-of-newport-rhode-island>. Accessed on 21 April 2023.

Simon, Nina
2010 The Participatory Museum. <http://www.participatorymuseum.org/read/>. Accessed 12 November 2021.

Slater, James A.
1987 *The Colonial Burying Grounds of Eastern Connecticut and the Men Who Made Them.* Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts & Sciences. Archon Books: Hamden, Connecticut.

Sletcher, Michael
2004 *New Haven: From Puritanism to the Age of Terrorism.* Arcadia Publishing: South Carolina.

Smith, Angèle
2008 Landscape of Clearance: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives. In Angèle Smith and Amy Gazin-Schwartz, editors, *Landscapes of Clearance: Archaeological and Anthropological Perspectives.* One World Archaeology Series. Left Coast Press Inc: Walnut Creek, California.

Smith, Ralph Dunning
1877 *The History of Guilford, Connecticut.* J. Munsell, Printer, Albany, NY. Available online at: https://archive.org/details/historyofguilfor00smitiala

Soininen, Tuija-Liisa
2017 Adopt-a-Monument: Preserving archaeological heritage for the people, with the people. *Journal of Community Archaeology & Heritage,* Volume 4, Issue 2: Special Series: African Perspectives on Community Engagements, pp. 131-137. <10.1080/20518196.2017.1293926>. Accessed 17 November 2021.

Spade and the Grave
2021 *Spade and the Grave: death and burial through an archaeological lens.* <https://spadeandthegrave.com/>. Accessed 11 November 2021.

Springate, Megan, and Hilda Maclean
2018 Burial at the Edge of the Empire and Beyond: The Divergent Histories of Coffin Furniture and Casket Hardware. In *Death Across Oceans: Archaeology of Coffins and Vaults in Britain, America, and Australia,* Mytum, Harold and Laurie Burgess, editors, pp. 165-176. Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press: Washington, DC.

Sprunger, Keith L.
1982 *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.* E.J. Brill: Leiden.

Stannard, David E.
1977 *The Puritan Way of Death: A Study in Religion, Culture, and Social Change.* Oxford University Press: Oxford, UK.

Statistics Canada
2021 Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population, New Perlican, Town (T), Newfoundland and Labrador. *Statistics Canada Census of Population.* <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&SearchText=New%20Perlican&DGUIDlist=2021A00051001328&GENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1&HEADERlist=0>. Accessed 23 January 2023.

Steinberg, John, Brian N. Damiata, John W. Schoenfelder, Kathryn A. Catlin, and Christine Campbell.
2011 Results of Archaeogeophysical Surveying at the Great Friends Meeting House in Newport, Rhode Island. *Cultural Resource Management Study No. 46, Fiske Center for Archaeological Research.* <https://www.fiskecenter.umb.edu/Pdfs/GFMH_ArchGeoSurvey_Report.pdf>. Accessed on 24 April 2023.

Stimeling, Travis, and Mary L. Linscheid
2023 The Deathscape of Settler Colonialism: Remembrance and Erasure through Cemeteries and Graveyards in the Upper Monongahela Valley. *Journal of Appalachian Studies,* Vol. 23, No. 1: 23-46.

St. John's Episcopal Church
2023 About Us: History. *St. John's Episcopal Church, Hampton, Virginia.* <https://stjohnshampton.org/>. Accessed on 21 February 2023.

St. Mark's Church in-the-Bowery
Nd History. *St. Mark's Church in-the-Bowery.* <https://stmarksbowery.org/history>. Accessed on 3 March 2023.

Streb, Christoph Claus
2019 *The Materiality and Spatiality of Graves and Grave Markers in the Border Region Between Luxembourg and Germany.* Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Université Du Luxembourg, Histoire and Durham University, Archaeology

Stringfield, Margo, Sharyn Thompson, C. Renea Brown, Lauren Walls, Gregg Harding, Gwinn Corley, A. Joanne Curtin, Catherine Eddins, Helen Gibson, Nicole Grinnan, Ross Pristera, Della Scott-Ireton, Rhoda Gonzalez Wareren, Steve Wineki, and Frank Winn.
2015 Pentacosta Area Cemetery Team (PACT). <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5c1a4b7fc258b404c6e22755/t/5c1a8f5f70a6adcf4b3b3853/1545244515980/PACT+Manual.pdf>. Accessed 12 November 2021.

Sturn, C.
2017 Reflections on the anthropology of sovereignty and settler colonialism: lessons from Native North America. *Cultural Anthropology* 32(3): 340-348.

Sullivan, Francis A.
2011 The Development of Doctrine about Infants who Die Unbaptized. *Theological Studies 72:* 3-14.

Sweet, John Wood
2003 *Bodies Politic: Negotiating Race in the American North, 1730-1830.* University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia.

Tedesco, James J. III, Thomas J. Sullivan, Germaine M. Ortiz, Mary J. Amoroso, David L. Ganz, Steven A. Tanelli, Joan M. Voss, and Tracy Silna Zur
Nd *County of Bergan Overview.* Prepared by the County of Bergen. <https://www.co.bergen.nj.us/images/About_Bergen_County/History_of_Bergen_County/bergencountyoverview.pdf>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

Thierry, Eric, translated by Pauline Matarasso
2012 French Settlement, 1604-1613. In *Saint Croix Island, Main: History, Archaeology, and Interpretation.* Edited by Steven R. Pendry. Pp: 13-30

Thomson, George
2009 *Inscribed in Remembrance; Gravestone lettering: form, function and recording.* Wordwell Ltd., Dublin.

Thorton, K., and C.B. Phillips
2009 Performing the good death: The medieval Ars Moriendi and contemporary doctors. *Journal of Medical Ethics: Medical Humanities, 35(2)*: 94-97.

Thwaites, Reuben Gold, ed.
1896-1901 *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents.* 73 Volumes. Pageant Book Company: New York.

Touro Synagogue Foundation
2022a Colonial Jewish Burial Ground. *Touro Synagogue National Historic Site.* <https://tourosynagogue.org/history/jewish-burial-ground/>. Accessed on 22 April 2023

2022b History of Touro Synagogue: First Jews in Newport. *Touro Synagogue National Historic Site.* <https://tourosynagogue.org/history/> Accessed on 22 April 2023.

Tuck, Eve, and K. Wayne Yang
2012 Decolonization is not a metaphor. *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society,* Vol 1., No. 1: 1-40.

Tully, Gemma
2013 Community Archaeology: General Methods and Standards of Practice. *Public Archaeology,* Vol 6, 2007, Issue 3. <https://doi.org/10.1179/175355307X243645>. Accessed 15 November 2021.

Tyler, Lyon Gardiner
1922 *History of Hampton and Elizabeth City County, Virginia.* The Board of Supervisors of Elizabeth City County: Hampton, VA. <https://archive.org/details/historyofhampton00tyler>. Accessed on 20 November 2023.

UK Parliament
2023 Burying the Dead. *UK Parliament.* <https://www.parliament.uk/about/living-heritage/transformingsociety/private-lives/death-dying/dying-and-death/burying/#:~:text=Nonconformists%20and%20Catholics&text=The%20Church%20of%20England%20provided,with%20the%20prayer%20book%20service>. Accessed 20 October 2023.

Van Buren, Augustus H.
1912 Wiltwyck Under The Dutch. *Proceedings of the New York State Historical Association,* 1912, Vol. 11: 128-135.

Van Der Lem, Anton
2019 *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568-1648.* Reaktion Books Limited: London, UK.

Van Oers, Ron
2000 *Dutch Town Planning Overseas During VOC and WIC Rule, 1600-1800*. Walburg Pers, Zutphen.

Van Winkle, Daniel
1902 Church and School. *Old Bergen,* Chapter 35. John W. Harrison: Jersey City, NJ. <http://www.cityofjerseycity.org/oldberg/chapter35.shtml>. Accessed on 28 February 2023.

Venema, Janny
2003 *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664.* Hilversum, the Netherlands: Verloren.

Vivas, Mathieu
2018 Christian Burial Privation in the Middle Ages: An Interdisciplinary Approach (France, Mid-10th-Early 14th). *Imago Temporis. Medium Aevum* XII: 191-210.

Walker Bynum, C.
1995 *The resurrection of the body in Western Christianity, 200-1336.* Columbia University Press: New York, NY.

Wallace, Bergitta
1999 An Archaeologist Discovers Early Acadia. In *Looking into Acadie: Three Illustrated Studies,* Conrad, Margaret, editor, pp. 9-28. Nova Scotia Museum Curatorial Report Number 87.

Walsh, Madaline, and Howard Williams
2019 Displaying the Deviant: Sutton Hoo's Sand Bodies. In *The Public Archaeology of Death,* Williams, Howard, Benedict Wills-Eve, and Jennifer Osborne, editors, pp. 55-72. Equinox Publishing, Sheffield, UK.

Welch, Richard F.
1987 The New York and New Jersey Gravestone Carving Tradition. *Markers: The Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies* 4:1-54.

Westervelt, Frances A.
1922 *History of Hackensack, N.J.* Lewis Historical Publishing Co.: New York.

Williams, Howard, and Williams, Elizabeth J. L.
2007 Digging for the Dead: Archaeological Practice as Mortuary Commemoration. *Public Archaeology,* Volume 6, Issue 1, pp. 47-63. <10.1179/175355307X202866>. Accessed 15 November 2021.

Williams, Howard, and Alison Atkin
2015 Virtually Dead: Digital Public Mortuary Archaeology. *Internet Archaeology* 40. <https://intarch.ac.uk/journal/issue40/7/4/index.html>. Accessed on 13 July 2023.

Williams, Howard, and Giles, Melanie
2016 *Archaeologists and the Dead: Mortuary Archaeology in Contemporary Society.* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Williams, Howard, Benedict Wills-Eve, and Jennifer Osborne (eds)
2019 *The Public Archaeology of Death.* Equinox eBook Publishing, United Kingdom.

White, Lori M.
2015 *The Saddle Island Cemetery: A Study of Whalers at a Sixteenth-Century Basque Whaling Station in Red Bay, Labrador.* Master of Arts Thesis, Department of Archaeology, Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. St. John's, Newfoundland. Available through Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador, Queen Elizabeth II Library: https://research.library.mun.ca/8481/1/thesis.pdf.

Wikitree
2023 Hagar Wright (abt. 1663- abt. 1735). *Wikitree: Where genealogists collaborate.* <https://www.wikitree.com/wiki/Wright-50996#_note-4>. Accessed on 30 May 2023.

Appendix A – Database of British, Dutch, and French sites for Comparative Analysis

Orange indicates that a variable is unknown, and appears as 'missing' in the statistical analysis.

Site Name	Town Name	Founding Nation	Religious Affiliation	Date burying ground established	Fortified Town (y/n)	Burials inside fortification	Associated with Church (y/n)	Distance from Church (m)	Centrally Located (y/n)
King's Chapel Burying Ground	Boston, MA	England	Puritan	1630	no	no	no	230m (then 0)	yes
Coppy's Hill Burying Ground				1659	no	no	no	124m (not originally)	no (north)
Granary Burying Ground				1660	no	no	no	adjacent	yes
Ye Antientist Burial Ground	New London, CT	England	Puritan	1645 - 1652/3?	no	no	yes	>20m	yes
St. Mary's Fort Burials	St. Mary's City, Maryland	England	Unknown, possibly Catholic	1634	yes	no	unknown	unknown	no
St. Mary's City			Catholic and Protestant	Late 1630s	yes	no	yes	0	no
Jamestown	Jamestown, Virginia	England	Protestant	1607	yes	yes	yes	0	yes
The Common Burial Ground	Newport, Rhode Island	England	Non-denominational	1665	no	no	no	382m from Great Friends Quaker Meeting House, 1699	no (north)
Touro Synagogue Cemetery			Jewish	1677	no	no	no (yes 100 years later)	272m southwest of synagogue, 1760s.	yes
Quaker Meeting House Burials			Quaker	pre-1675	no	no	yes	0	yes
Clifton Burying Ground			Quaker	1675	no	no	no	1000m south southeast of Great Friends Meeting House, 1699	no (south)
The Chapell	Popham Colony, Maine	England	Protestant	1607	yes	yes	yes	0	yes
Burial Ground of the First Settlers	Old Town, Newbury, MA	England	Puritan	1635	no	no	no	530m	no

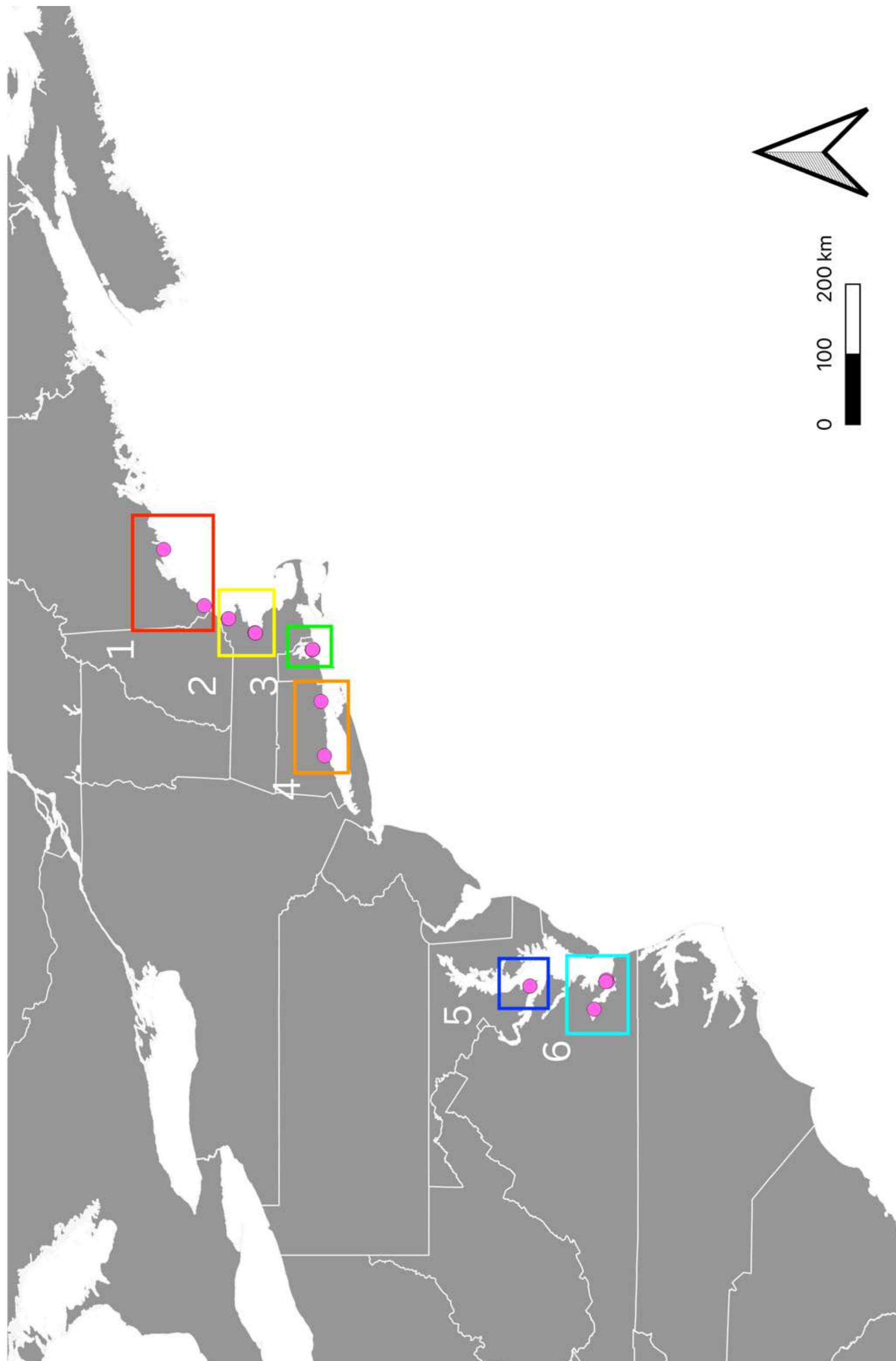
Old Town Cemetery			Puritan	1650-70?	no	no	no	428m	no
Second Church, St. John's Episcopal	Hampton, VA	England	Protestant	1623/4	no	no	yes	0	no
Third Church, St. John's Episcopal			Protestant	1667	no	no	yes	0	no
The Old Anglican Graveyard	York, ME	England	Protestant	1636 (chapel built - personal communication Emerson Baker)	no	no	yes	0	no
New Haven Green	New Haven, CT	England	Puritan	1638	no	no	yes	0- >100m	yes
Old Dutch Reformed Church Graveyard	Sleepy Hollow, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church (Protestant)	Graveyard mid-17th C, church built 1697-1702	no	no	yes	0	no (north)
First Community Burial Ground	New Amsterdam, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	pre-1656 when land was cleared for homes	yes	yes	yes	200m	no (northwest)
Second Dutch Reformed burial ground			Dutch Reformed Church	1690s	yes	no	yes	0	no (west)
First Shearith Israel Graveyard / Chattam Square Cemetery			Jewish	1682	yes	no	yes	0 (not built until 1728)	no
St. Mark's In-The-Bowery Churchyard			Dutch Reformed Church	1660	yes	no	yes	0 (expansion 117m northeast)	no
Fort Orange Burial Ground	Albany (Fort Orange /Benewyck) NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	pre-1656	yes	no	no	Approx. 70m NE of Fort Orange, located in the patroon's garden	no
1st Dutch Reform Church and Graveyard			Dutch Reformed Church	1656	yes	yes	yes	0	yes
Old Dutch Church burial ground			Dutch Reformed Church	1658	yes	yes	yes	187 m NW of church	yes
Flatbush Dutch Reform Church	Flatbush, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1654	no	n	yes	0	yes
Flatlands Dutch Reform Church	Flatlands, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1654	no	n	yes	0	yes
New Utrecht Reformed Dutch Church Graveyard	New Utrecht, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1653/64, original church built 1700	no	no	no	0	yes

Old Dutch Church and Graveyard	Kingston / Wiltwyck, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1650s or 1660s	yes	no, then yes later	yes	0	n (south)
New Richmond Dutch Reformed Church	Port Richmond, NY	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1665 or 1690s	no	no	yes	0	yes
First Reformed Dutch Church of Hackensack	Hackensack, NJ	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1650's-60's	no	no	yes	0	yes
Old Bergen Church and Churchyard	Jersey City (formerly Bergen), NJ	Netherlands	Dutch Reformed Church	1660 (land set aside)	yes	no	yes	0- >100m	no
St. Luke's Anglican. Churchyard	Placentia, NL	France	Catholic	(pre-1600, Basque)	yes	no	yes	0	yes
Garrison Graveyard	Annapolis Royal, NS	France	Probably Catholic	1630~	yes	no	yes	>200m from old chapel, >30m from new church	yes
Côte de la Montagne Cemetery	Quebec City, QC	France	Catholic, Jesuit	1608	yes	yes	Unknown	150m east of church	yes
St. Croix Island	St. Croix Island, ME	France	Catholic	1604	no	no	yes	unknown, less than 50m	yes
Maison des Jesuites de Sillery	Maison des Jesuites de Sillery, QC	France	Catholic, Jesuit	1637	yes	Unknown	yes	0 (burials to southwest of church)	yes
Sainte-Famille Cemetery	Falmouth, NS (formerly Pisiquid)	France	Catholic (likely)	1696	no	no	yes	Unknown	yes?
Fort Pentagoet Cemetery	Pentagoet, ME	France	Catholic (likely)	Fort established 1629, used through 1670	yes	no	yes	unknown, less than 100m	no (west)
St. Charles des Mines burial site	Grand Pre, NS	France	Catholic	1680s	no	no	yes	135m	yes
Fort Trois-Rivieres	Trois-Rivieres, QC	France	Catholic (likely)	1634	Yes	Yes	Yes	0	no (west)
Fort Ville-Marie Cemetery	Montreal, QC	France	Catholic (likely)	1642	no	no	yes	unknown, less than 50m	no (north)
Hotel Dieu Cemetery			Catholic	1654	no	no	yes	0	yes
The 3rd Cemetery			Catholic	1660	no	no	yes	unknown	no (south)

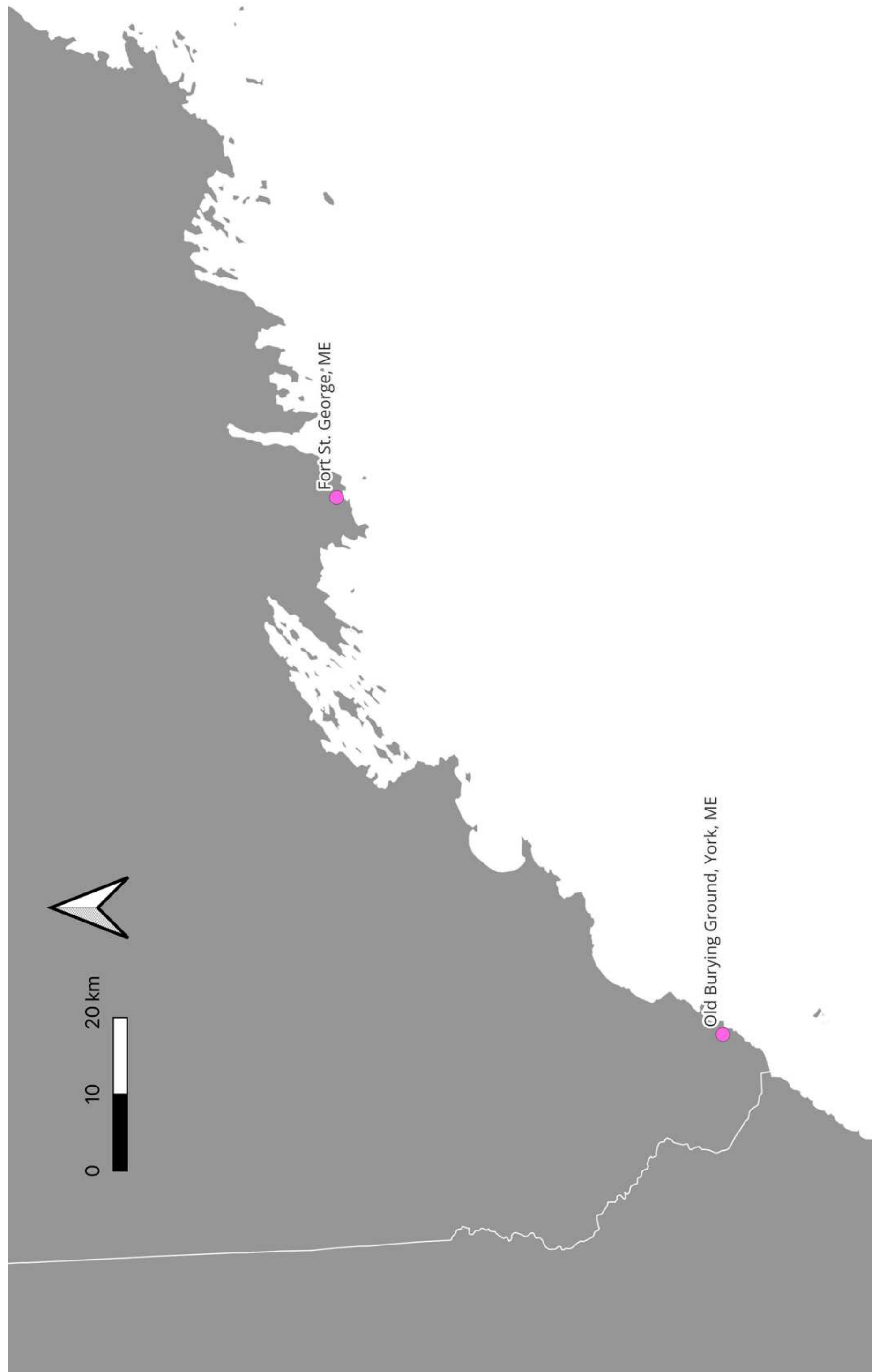
Appendix B – Maps of Study Area Sites

All maps created by map created by Euan Patrick Wallace, 2024.

British Sites



Overview of British sites used in this study.

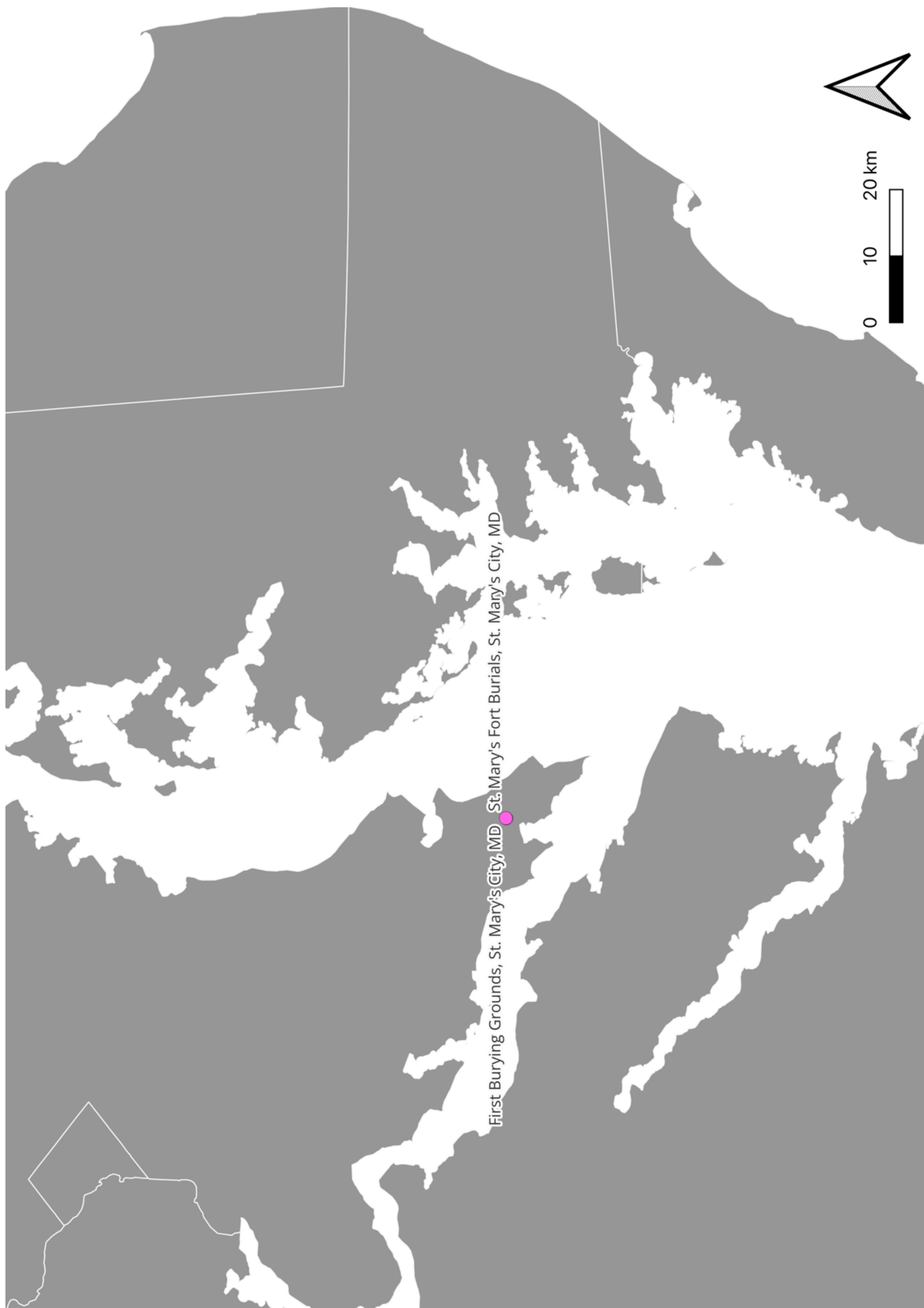


Map 1: Burial grounds at Fort St. George, ME and Old Burying Ground, York, ME.

Map 2: Burial grounds at Newbury, and Boston, MA. The location of the first meeting house in Boston is also marked.

Map 3: Burial grounds in Newport, RI.

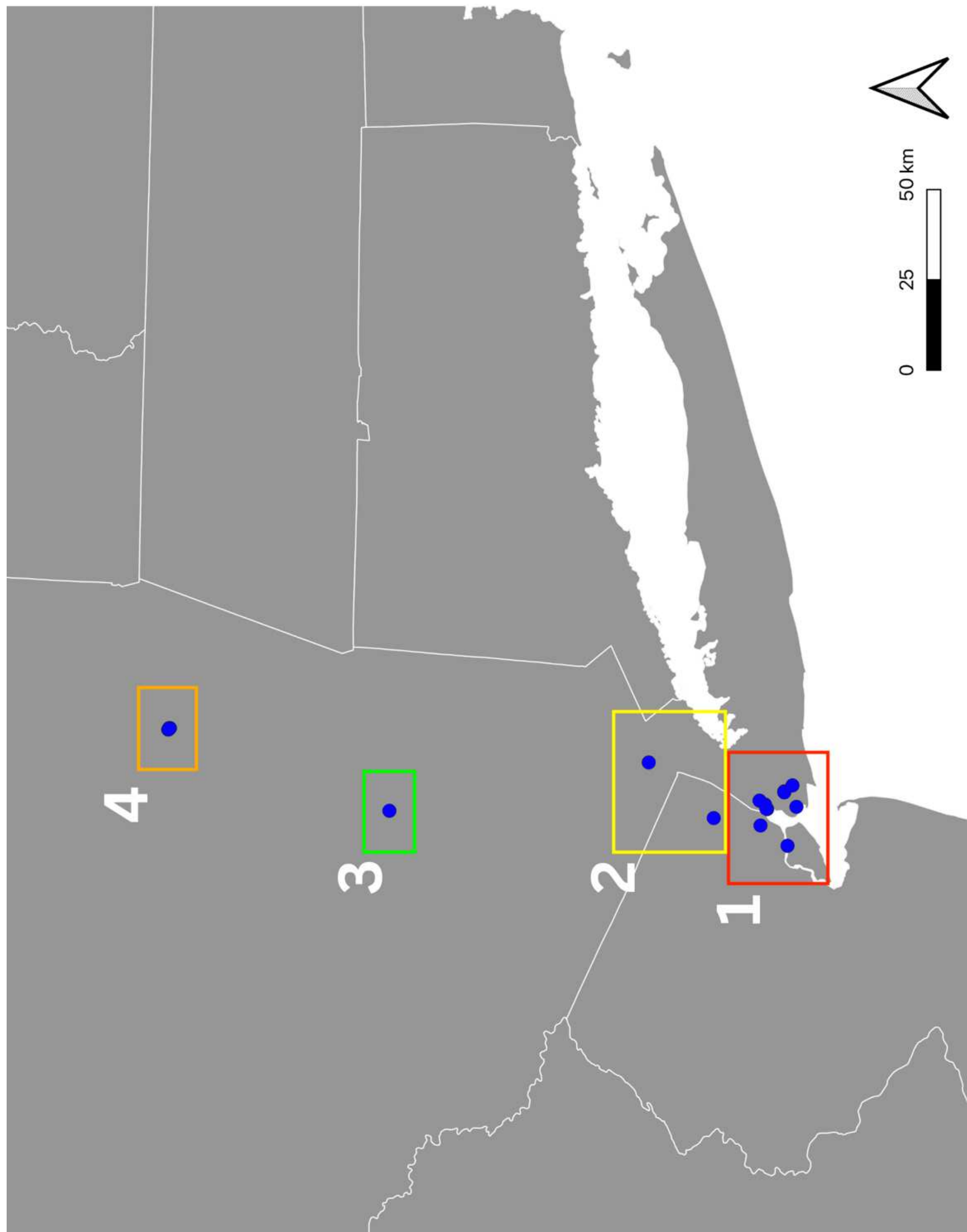
Map 4: Burial grounds in New Haven and New London, CT.



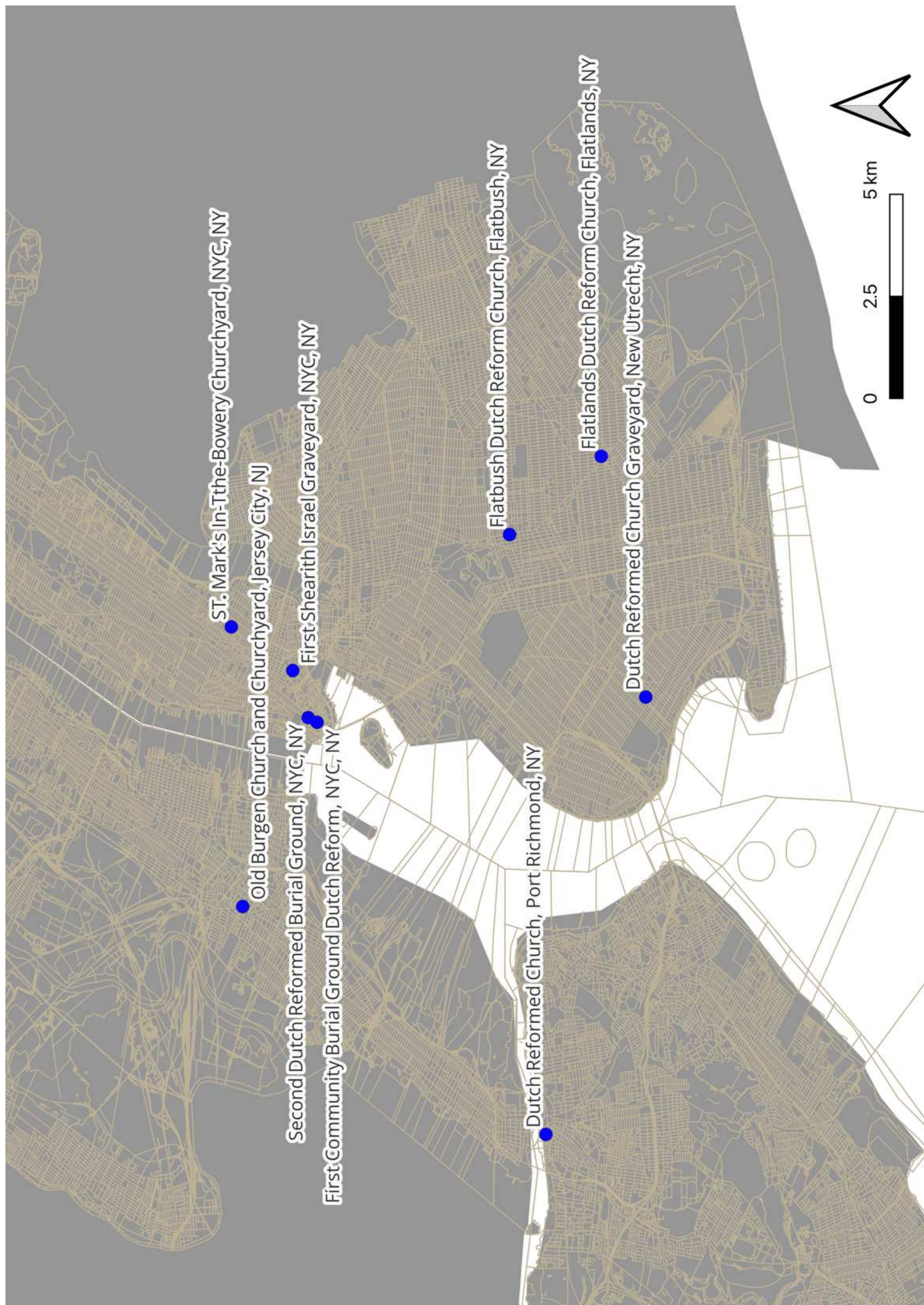
Map 5: Burial grounds in St. Mary's City, MD.

Map 6: Burial grounds in Jamestown and Hampton, VA.

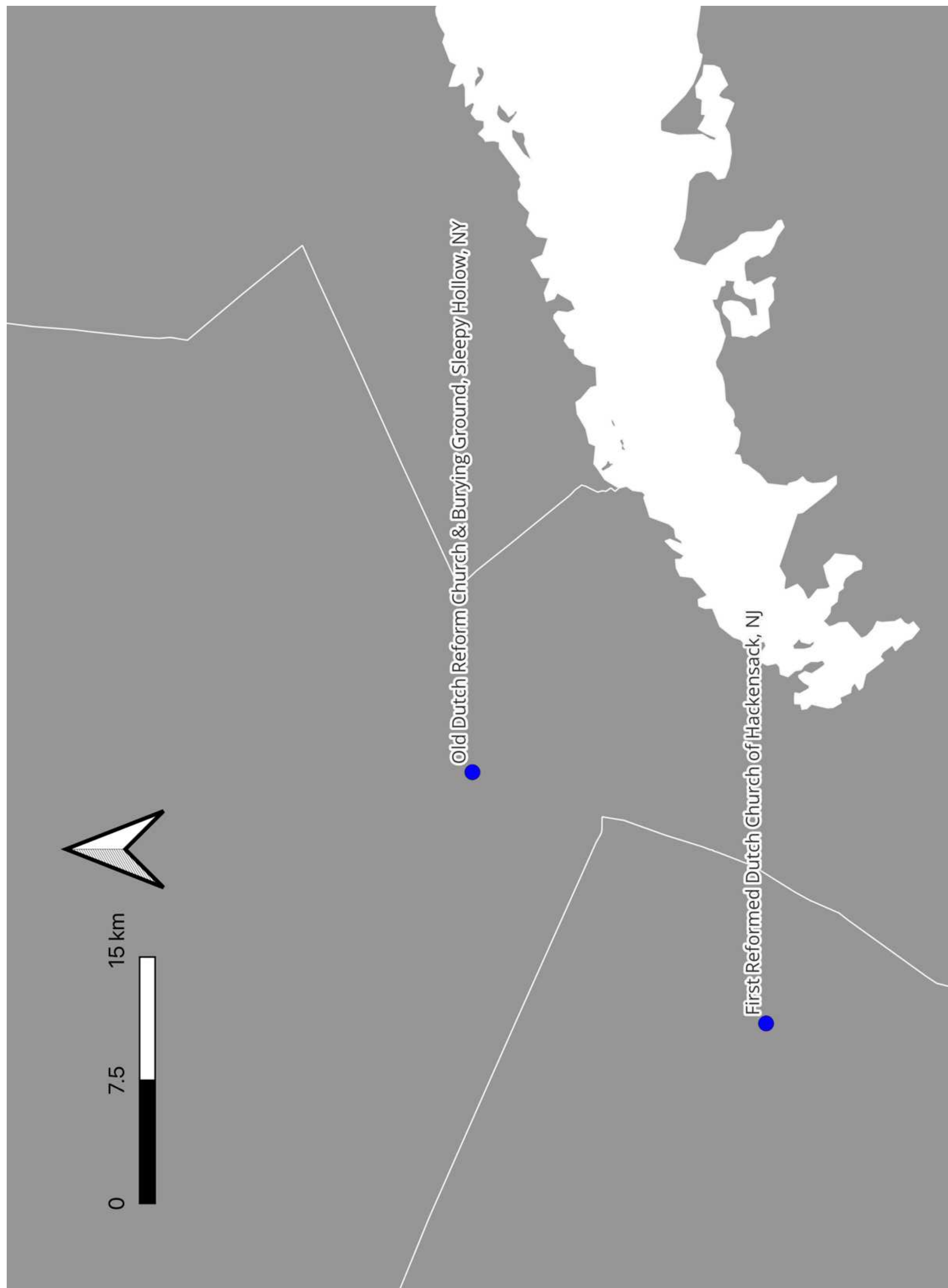
Dutch Sites



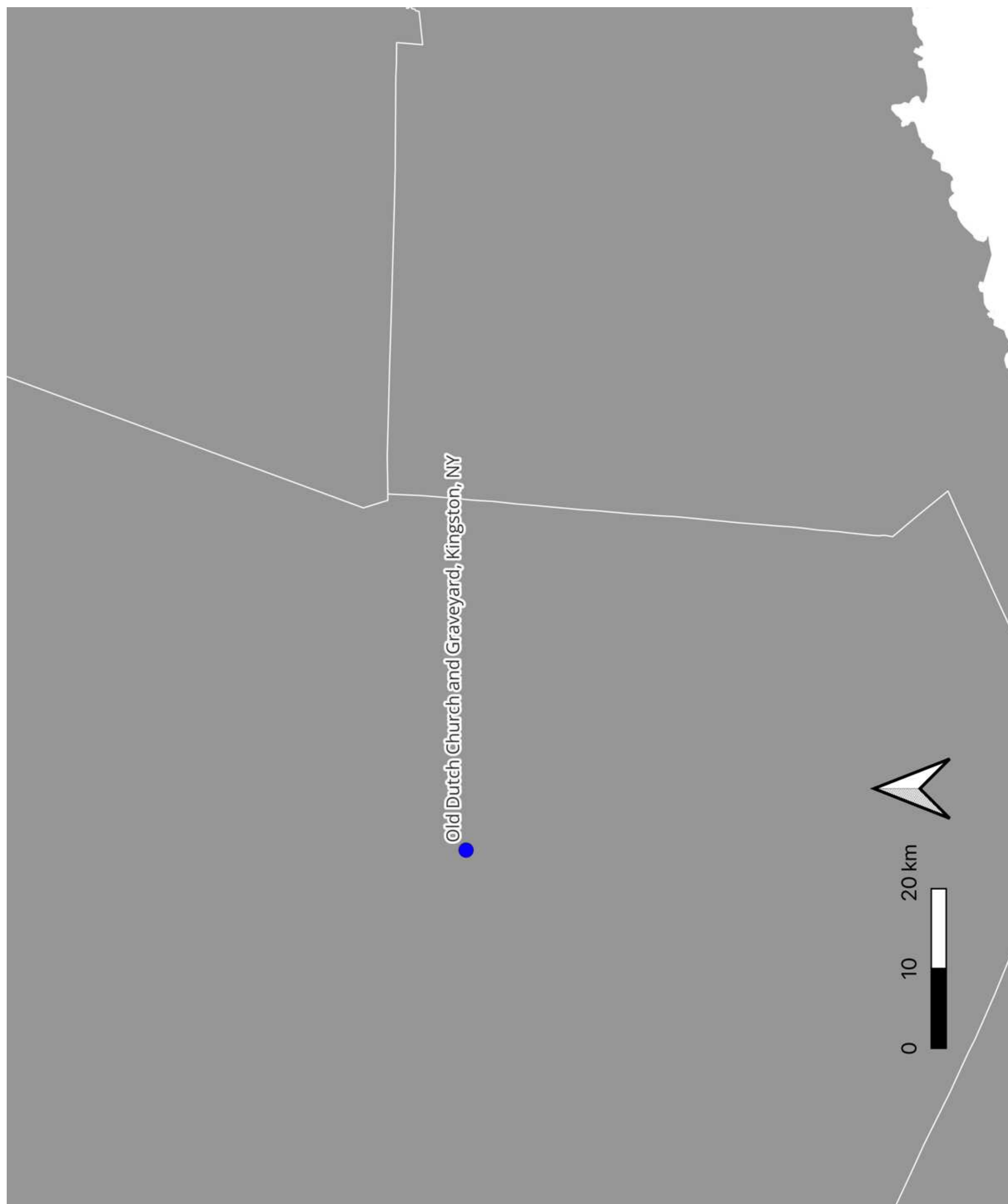
Overview of the Dutch sites used in this study.



Map 1: Burial grounds in New York City, Flatbush, Flatlands, Port Richmond, and New Utrecht, NY, and Jersey City, NJ.



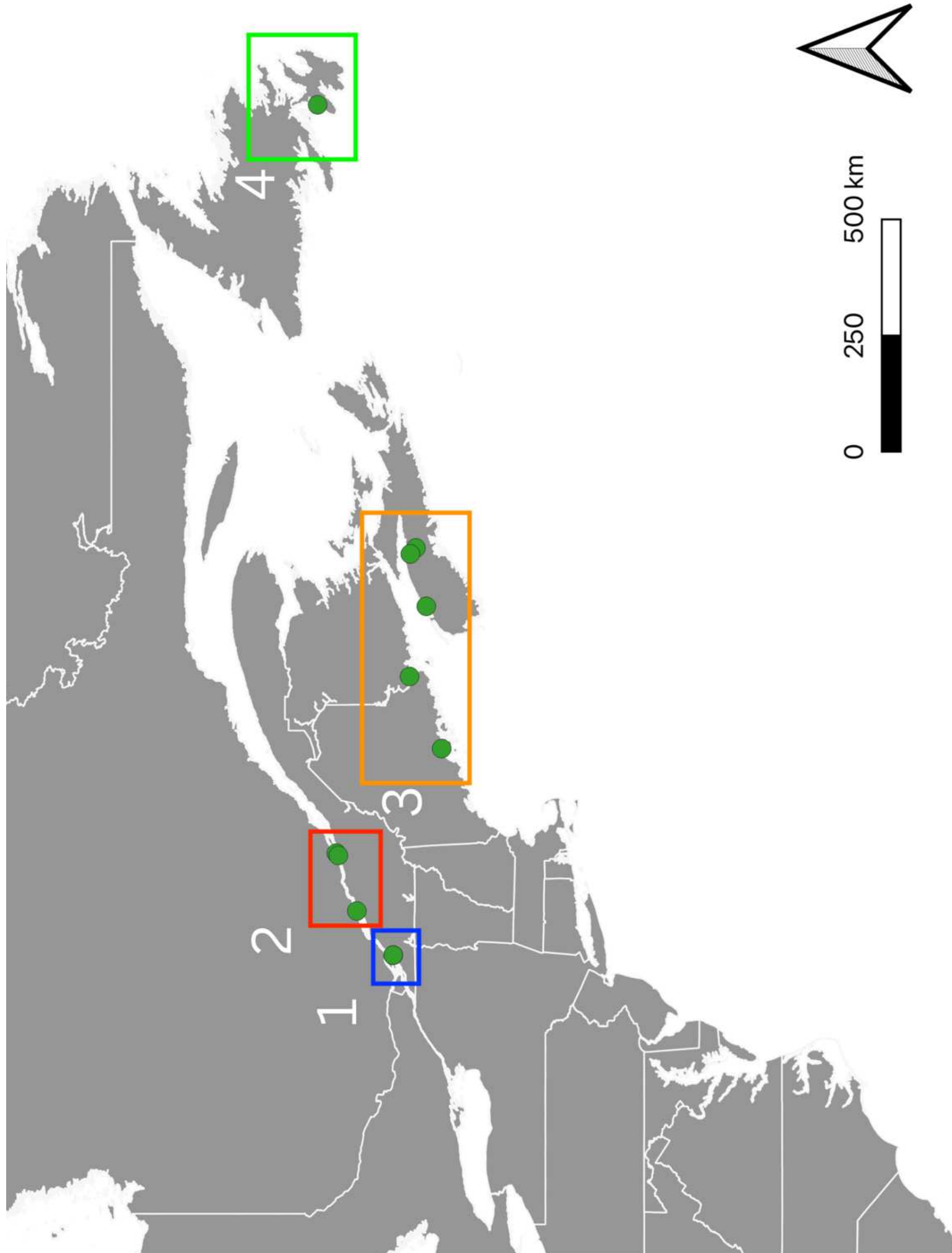
Map 2: Burial grounds in Hackensack, NJ and Sleepy Hollow, NY.



Map 3: Burial ground in Kingston, NY.

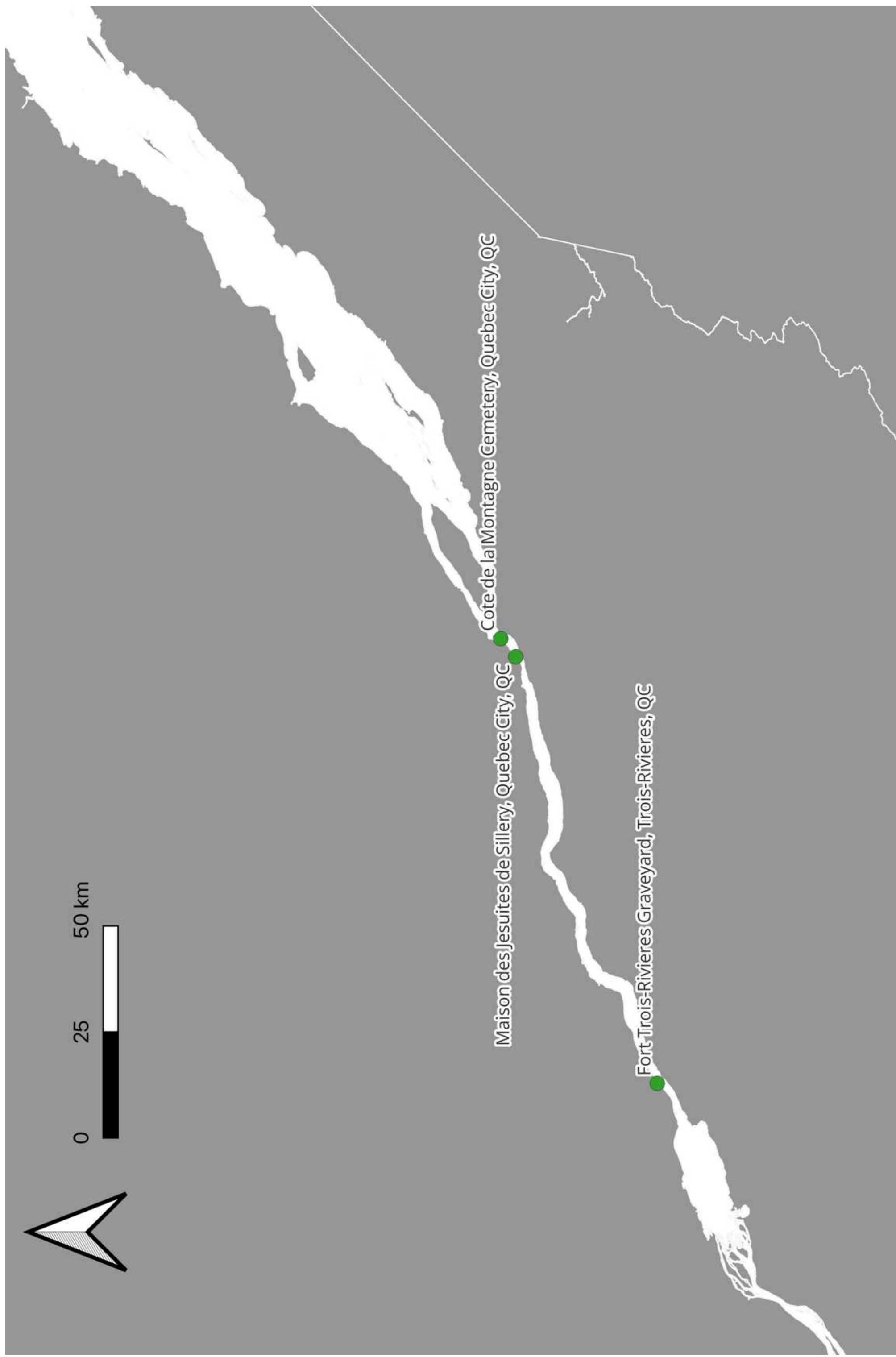
Map 4: Burial grounds in Albany, NY.

French Sites

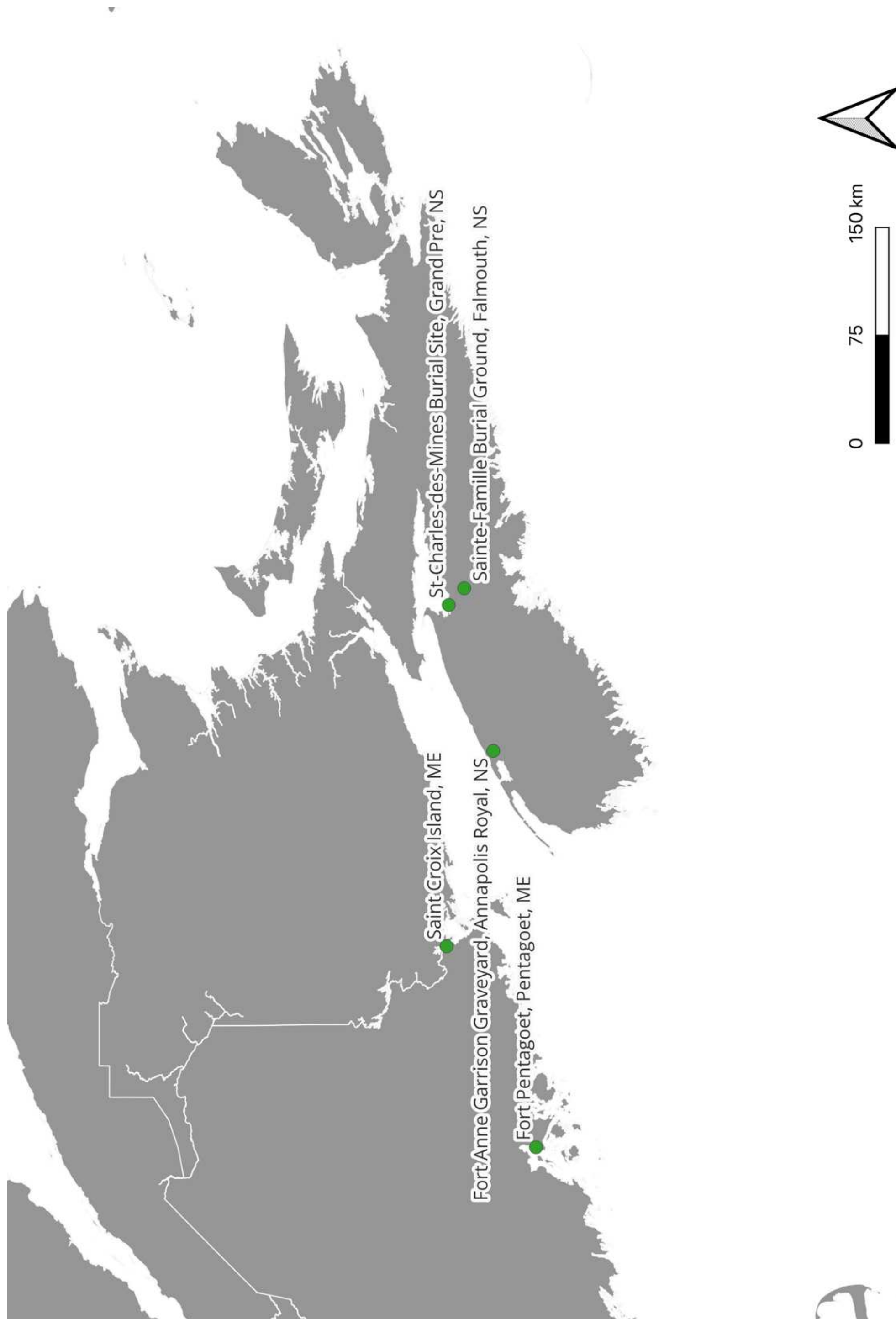


Overview of the French sites used in this study.

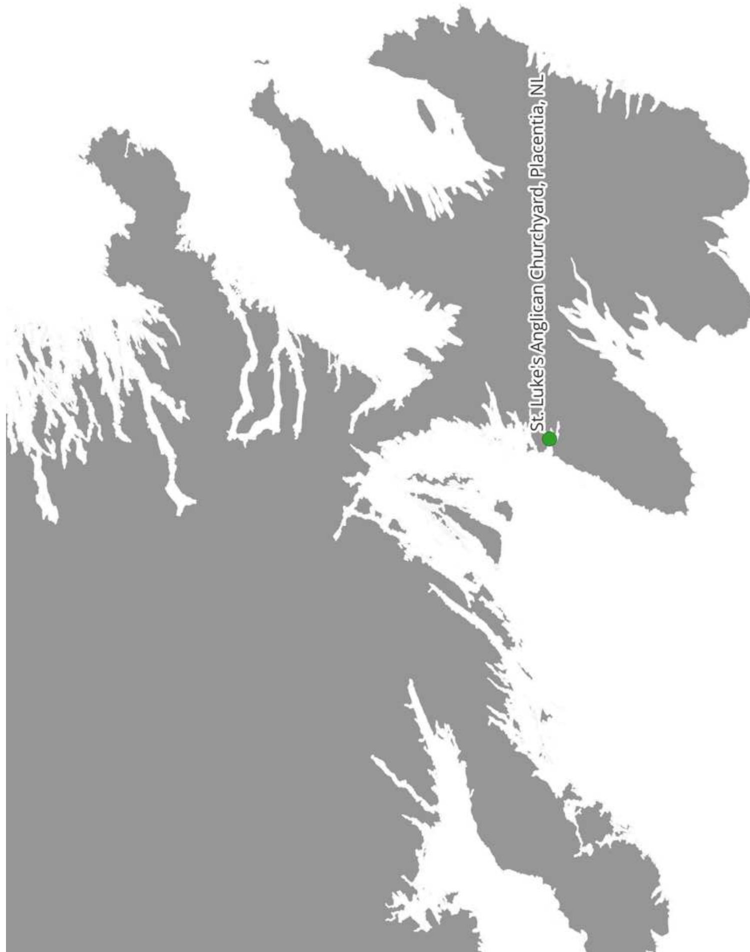
Map 1: Burial grounds in Montreal, QC.



Map 2: Burial grounds in Quebec City and Trois Rivieres, QC.



Map 3: Burial grounds in Pentagoet and Saint Croix Island, ME, and Grand Pre, Annapolis Royal, and Falmouth, NS.



Burial ground at Placentia, NL.

Appendix C – Selected Gravestone Photos from New Perlican Surveys

Hefford Plantation Burial Site (all stones)

Hefford Plantation stone 1

Hefford Plantation stone 2

Hefford Plantation stone 3

Hefford Plantation stone 4

Hefford Plantation stone 5

St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery (select stones out of 306 total)

St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery stone 12. footstone to stone 13.

St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery stone 13

St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery stone 39

St. Mark's Anglican Cemetery stone 48

St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery stone 70

St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery stone 137

Bloody Point Burial Ground (select stones out of 24 stones)

Bloody Point Burial Ground stone 1

Bloody Point Burial Ground stone 8

Bloody Point Burial Ground stone 17

Bloody Point Burial Ground stone 19

Pinsent's Garden Burial Site (all stones)

Pinsent's Garden Burial Site stone 1

Pinsent's Garden Burial Site stone 2

Jane Condon's Grave Site (all stones)

Jane Condon's Grave Site stone 1

Jane Condon’s Grave Site stone 2

Jane Condon’s Grave Site stone 3

St. Matthew's United Church Southside Cemetery (select stones)

St. Matthew's UC Southside Cemetery stone 1

St. Matthew's UC Southside Cemetery stone 2

S St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery stone 4

St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery stone 5

St. Matthew's UC Southside Cemetery stone 18

St. Matthew's UC Southside Cemetery stone 19

St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery Marker 20, representative of all other wood crosses at the site.

St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery stone 21

St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery stone 22

St. Matthew’s UC Southside Cemetery stone 27