

**Death and Heritage: An Archaeological Analysis of the Differential Treatment of Two  
Historic Burial Grounds in Ferryland, Newfoundland.**

By

© Alessandra Jordyn McMillan

A thesis submitted to  
the School of Graduate Studies  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Archaeology  
Memorial University of Newfoundland

**September 2024**

St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador

## **Abstract**

This thesis focuses on the study of two historic burial grounds in the community of Ferryland, Newfoundland. The South Side non-denominational cemetery and the North Side Anglican cemetery were both established in the 18th century with final burials of non-locals in the early 20th century. Despite relative similarities in age the South Side cemetery has received occasional maintenance, while the North Side cemetery has been left without community care. Taking this differential treatment as a starting point this thesis seeks to answer the question: what is the significance of this differential treatment and what can it tell us about how certain things become valued as heritage to be cared for while others, apparently of the same kind, do not? To answer this question this project uses archival research, interviews with community members and archaeological surveys of both cemeteries. Factors such as identity, religion, age value, location and size of cemeteries are discussed.

## Acknowledgements

There are many people I would like to thank for their help and support throughout my Masters research. First, I would like to thank Dr. Barry Gaulton and Dr. Mario Blaser for their never-ending support and advice at every stage of my research and without whom this project would not be possible. I would also like to thank: Elsa Simms, Jared Hogan, Tienne Johnson, Sarah Gourlay, Alex McDougall, Sarah Roberts, Heather Tough, Neil Jordan, Hannah Wade, Chris Morry, Steve Barnable, Kevin Reddigan and Melissa McDonald. Special thanks to Alyshia Reesor for her peer review on a paper, I wrote for the Advancements in Environmental Archaeology class, portions of which got expanded on in this thesis.

Thank you to Carli Perri whose lovely drawing was used in this thesis and from whom I learned lots about 19<sup>th</sup>-century ceramics and Valentin De Filippo for all his hard work with the RTK and GIS. In addition, I would like to thank Donna Teasdale for her aid and advice in cleaning the Sarah Carter Headstone, Maria Lear for conducting the GPR survey and Mercedes Johnson for her endless enthusiasm for the project and love of Halloween.

This project would not have been possible without the financial support of the J.R. Smallwood Foundation, Provincial Archaeology Office of Newfoundland and Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Most importantly, I would like to thank Michael Beardsall, whose unwavering support I will forever be grateful for.

## Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	vi
List of Figures	vii
Chapter 1: Introduction	1
Chapter 2: Methodology and Theoretical Framework	7
2.1 Methodology	7
2.2 Theoretical Framework	10
2.3 Terminology	17
2.4 Other Burial Grounds	18
Chapter 3: Fieldwork	20
3.1 Preparation for the South Side Cemetery	20
3.2 Survey of the South Side Cemetery	24
3.3 Survey of the North Side Cemetery	28
3.4 Interviews and Wrapping up Field Work	30
Chapter 4: Data and Analysis	33
4.1 Size of the Cemeteries and Number of Burials	33
4.2 Headstones and Fieldstones	42
4.3 Oldest Headstones and Headstones of Note	47
4.4 Further Decay and Present Condition	54
4.5 Local Headstone Production	58

4.6 Religion	60
4.7 Interviews	61
4.8 Stories of Stone: Object Biographies of select headstones in the South side and North Side Cemeteries	64
Chapter 5: Discussion	77
5.1 Location	77
5.2 Size	80
5.3 Heritage and Identity	82
5.4 Historical Importance and Age Value	84
5.5 c Cemeteries are Similar	87
5.6 Is the South Side cemetery heritage?	89
5.7 Ruins?	92
5.8 Suggestions for the Future of the Burial Grounds	94
Chapter 6: Conclusion	99
5.1 Research Questions	99
5.2 Summary of Results	99
5.3 Conclusions	101
5.4 Future Research	102
Bibliography	104
Appendix	114

## **List of Tables**

Table 1: Headstones in the South Side cemetery which feature legible stone carvers' signatures.

45

## List of Figures

Figure 1: Map depicting the North Side of Ferryland, Burial Ground noted in the lower left-hand corner (Map of the Holdsworth property in Ferryland, 1790s, Located in The Rooms 1984).	3
Figure 2: The Headstone of Bridget Rose before grass was removed.	22
Figure 3: The headstone of Bridget Rose.	23
Figure 4: Fieldstones in the South Side cemetery.	25
Figure 5: Fieldstones in the South Side cemetery.	27
Figure 6: The North Side cemetery on July 18 <sup>th</sup> , 2023.	29
Figure 7: The North Side cemetery on August 16 <sup>th</sup> , 2023.	29
Figure 8: Two pieces of an unknown headstone.	31
Figure 9: Picture from the Rooms archives depicting the South Side cemetery in the 1930s (Brooks 1938).	34
Figure 10: Map depicting the South Side cemetery based on data collected in the 2023 field season.	36
Figure 11: Map depicting the North Side cemetery based on data collected in the 2023 field season.	40
Figure 12: He headstone of Henry Leehe.	48
Figure 13: The headstone of William Saunders.	49
Figure 14: Headstone of John William.	51
Figure 15: The headstone of Sarah Carter (d.1772).	65
Figure 16: the star on the Sarah Carter headstone.	67
Figure 17: Drawing of the star found on the Sarah Carter Headstone (Perri 2023).	68
Figure 18: the headstone of Captain Petersen prior to restoration (Dunne 1998).	71

Figure 19: the headstone of Captain Petersen in 2023.	72
Figure 20: Photograph which may depict the funeral procession of Norman Bennett (Fifield 2022)	74
Figure 21: The headstone of Norman Bennett.	76



## Chapter 1: Introduction

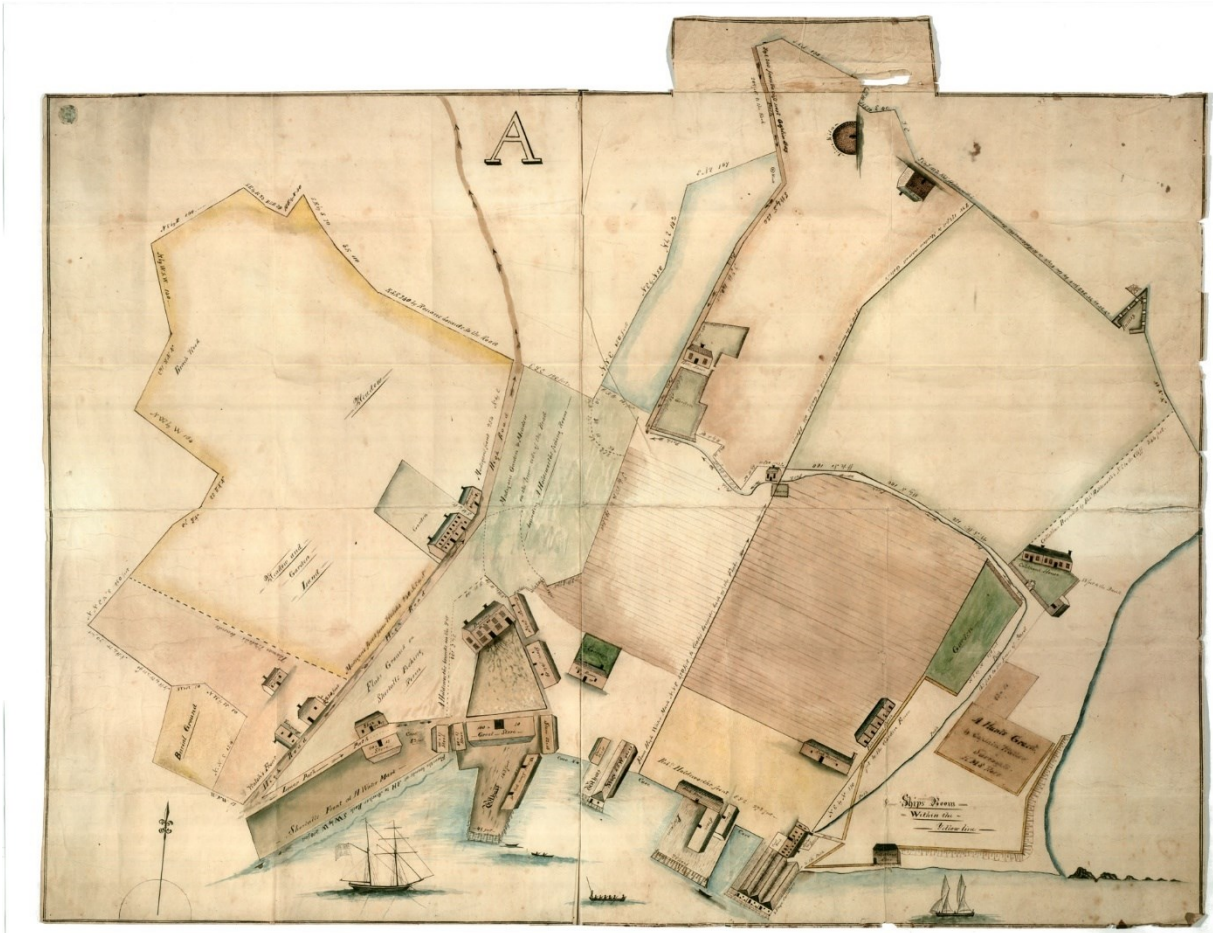
The town of Ferryland is located on the east coast of the Avalon Peninsula in Newfoundland, Canada. The community was first settled by Europeans in 1621 and established as a colony by Sir George Calvert (Cell 1969:91). However, archaeological evidence has shown that Indigenous Beothuk were present in the 16th century in what would later become the community of Ferryland (Gaulton 2021). Avalon, as it was called, was intended to be a place of religious tolerance with settlers practicing both Catholicism and Anglicanism (Lahey 1977). Much of the modern population of Ferryland can trace their ancestry to Irish Catholic settlers and by the late 18th century Anglicans of British descent had become a minority population (Pocius 1975: 131).

The location of the original burial ground which would have served the colony, currently remains unknown, with only fragments of headstones dating to the 17th century having been recovered by archaeologists (Gaulton 2006:88-9). Though it is likely located somewhere in the area known as the Pool, near to the current colony archaeological dig. This remains a gap in researchers' understanding of the colony and the history of death and burial in the community of Ferryland. The cemetery which likely follows this colonial burial ground chronologically, though the possibility exists of an overlap of usage, is the Non-Denominational cemetery located on the South Side of Ferryland. This cemetery, also known as the South Side cemetery or the Ferryland Old General cemetery (Singlehurst 2012) is located across the main road from the current Colony of Avalon interpretation centre. As a non-denominational cemetery, both Catholics and Anglicans were buried within. Both traditionally Irish and English surnames can be found throughout the cemetery. The cemetery first appears in a court record dating to September 8th, 1749, which stated that a resident was "granted land near Burrying [sic] Ground and path to

Gays” (NGB 2024). The use of the generic term ‘Burying Ground’ to refer to the cemetery suggests that by this point the South Side cemetery was well established and perhaps the only cemetery receiving interments at this time. No surviving, datable headstones date to this period, so the exact year the cemetery was established is unknown. In the journals of local resident Robert Carter from the 1830s, the cemetery is also referred to as the “Burying Yard at the Southside” (Stirling 2002). By this time another cemetery had been established, the North Side cemetery, so differentiating between the two grounds, in this case by location, is required.

The North Side cemetery, also known as Forge Hill or Fox Hill, is an Anglican burial ground in Ferryland. The cemetery is located on Fox hill and is significantly smaller than the main non-denominational cemetery. It appears first on a map dating to the 1790s created by Captain Jacob Waller (see Figure 1). The map depicts properties on the North Side of Ferryland and includes an area marked “burial ground”. The exact date of the map is unknown and only one headstone survives from the 18th century in the North Side cemetery. In Robert Carter’s journals, the North Side cemetery is referred to by some combination of ‘North Side’ and “graveyard’ or “Burial ground’, differentiating it from the South Side cemetery.

Both the South Side and North Side cemeteries were consecrated by Bishop John Inglis of the Church of England in July of 1827 (Heritage NL 2023). Both cemeteries fell out of common usage by the late 19th century and received final interments of non-locals who died in sea related accidents. The creation of the current Catholic burial ground, Holy Trinity, likely contributed to the decline of both the North side and South Side cemeteries. Both historic burying grounds were declared municipal heritage sites by the Ferryland town council in 2008 (HeritageNL 2023). However, they both remain overgrown with vegetation and many of the headstones have fallen over and have become weathered over the years. Despite this, the South



*Figure 1: Map depicting the North Side of Ferryland, Burial Ground noted in the lower left hand corner (Map of the Holdsworth property in Ferryland, 1790s, Located in The Rooms Provincial Archives 1984: Item MG 66).*

Side cemetery has received occasional maintenance by the community throughout the years, while the North Side cemetery has been left to ruin with only few community members with ancestral connections to the cemetery attempting maintenance.

There has been a wide variety of academic research conducted on historic burial grounds in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. These research projects have focused on topics including but not limited to: Chinese immigrants from the 20th century (Xingpei 2016), Royal Naval diets (Munkittrick 2019), 17<sup>th</sup>-century Basques headstones (Goya 2018) and self-sufficiency in local headstone production (Pocius 1981). Cemetery research in Newfoundland has increased in popularity, with many of the available published projects having been conducted in the last decade. Five theses (as of May 2024) available through Memorial University of

Newfoundland's online thesis repository have researched cemeteries, headstones and burials in Newfoundland and Labrador. Of those, only one dates to 1975 (Pocius) and the others date to 2015-2022 (Munkittrick 2015; White 2015; Lacy 2017a; Garlie 2022).

Despite the rise in popularity of cemetery research within the province only three academic projects have included the Ferryland cemeteries. Gerald Pocius used the headstones of James Culliton (1813) and William Saunders (1770) from the South Side cemetery to illustrate the size of headstones and script styles in Newfoundland in his master's thesis (Pocius 1975: 252, 402). Both the South Side and North Side cemeteries are utilized in Robyn Lacy's master's thesis to help locate the colony of Avalon's 17th century cemetery (Lacy 2017a). Lastly, the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery in Ferryland was surveyed using a Global Positioning System (GPS) in a technical thesis written by Sarah Molloy, Jenilee Rideout and Mandi Norman (Molloy et al. 2014).

In addition to the several theses that discuss the cemeteries in Ferryland, the North Side and South side are mentioned in the academic book *Burial and Death in Colonial North America* by Robyn Lacy, which expands on her master's thesis (Lacy 2020). Lacy also wrote about the two burial grounds in a blog post (Lacy 2019). Earlier surveys have been conducted at the South Side and North Side cemeteries by individuals involved with the websites Stone-pics and Newfoundland Grand Banks (NGB). These websites photographed (Stone-pics) and transcribed (NGB) any visible headstones. NGB's data was collected and transcribed in the North Side cemetery predominantly in 1993 and 2000, and in the South Side cemetery in the 1990s and 2005 (NGB 2024). Stone-pics data for both cemeteries was collected in August 2003.

Despite relative similarities in age, it appears the South Side cemetery still receives visitors and occasional maintenance, while the North Side seems to have been left without any

form of community care. Taking this apparent difference in treatment as a starting point, this research project has two objectives:

- 1) To understand in what ways the South Side and North Sides burial grounds are different and similar.
- 2) To establish if the community of Ferryland does in fact view these two burial grounds differently and what are the specific ways these manifests in their differential treatment.

In interrogating these smaller questions this thesis seeks to determine what is the significance of this differential treatment and what can it tell us about how certain things become valued as heritage to be cared for while others, apparently of the same kind, do not?

There are six separate chapters contained within this thesis which discuss various aspects of the project. Chapter one introduces the South Side and North Side cemeteries and the community of Ferryland at large. This chapter also outlines the objectives of the thesis and relevant terminology used throughout.

Chapter two outlines the methodology used to answer the research questions, including archival research, field survey using Real Time Kinematic Positioning (RTK), Photography (aerial and terrestrial) and interviews with knowledge holders. The questions asked during the interview process are provided in this chapter. In addition, the theoretical frameworks used throughout this project are presented including age value (Holtorf and Schadla 1999; Wells and Baldwin 2012), artifact biographies (Mytum 2004; Cook 2011; Kopytoff 2013) and ruination (Stoler 2008; Angelo 2017).

The third chapter discusses the 2023 Ferryland field season, including the implementation of the previously discussed methodologies and the various conditions that impacted field work

including weather and vegetation. The overgrown nature of the cemetery, scheduled timeline and actual timeline are also included in this chapter.

The fourth chapter presents and analyzes the findings from the field work, interviews and archival research. This includes a discussion of previously unknown headstones, the number of headstones, cemetery boundaries and artifact biographies of a select few headstones. This chapter seeks to both present and explain the collected data within the theoretical frameworks.

Chapter five is the discusses the data and uses it to explain the differential treatment. Four factors are discussed: age value, location and size of cemeteries and the religion associated with the cemeteries and modern inhabitants of Ferryland. In addition, the similarities between the North Side and South Side cemeteries are discussed.

The final chapter is the conclusion. This chapter summarizes the research findings and provides an answer to the research questions posed above. In addition, future research avenues are presented as are the lack of definitive answers concerning age and geographical boundaries of the two burial grounds.

## **Chapter 2: Methodology and Theoretical Framework**

There were three primary methodologies employed for this research project: archival data collection, field surveys of both cemeteries, and interviews with community knowledge holders. All three methods of data collection were completed over the course of 2023, with the bulk of the research conducted during the summer months.

### *Archival Data Collection*

The initial information gathering for this research project involved collecting archival data. The majority of the archival data was collected from The Rooms Provincial Archives online database, Memorial University of Newfoundland's online collections and the Newfoundland Grand Banks Genealogical Website. Several different types of primary sources were consulted including, historic maps which include at least one of the burial grounds, census records which include information on religious affiliation or individuals buried in either cemetery, and photographs which show the state of the burial grounds in previous decades. Historic letters and journals which mention the burial grounds were also consulted. The transcribed journals of Robert Carter were consulted extensively as several burials are mentioned which do not have corresponding headstones. Search words used to locate sources in databases include: Ferryland graveyard, Ferryland cemetery, South Side cemetery, Ferryland Non-denominational cemetery, North Side cemetery and Fox hill cemetery. In addition, the names of deceased individuals alongside dates of death and Ferryland were used to locate information. Searches started more specific using "advanced search" options when available through databases followed by more broad searches, as sometimes databases do not locate all sources. While archival collections were initially consulted in the winter of 2023, it was more extensively

analyzed during the summer, as names were discovered and recorded on various headstones during field work.

### *Cemetery Surveys*

The majority of the data was collected through field surveys of both the South Side and North Side cemeteries. Basic survey techniques such as photography and measurements of headstones were used alongside UAV photogrammetry and Real Time Kinematic (RTK) mapping. Real Time Kinematic Positioning or RTK is a method of GPS that is quick and precise (Limp and Barnes 2014: 138) allowing the documentation of the individual headstones and the cemetery boundaries. A reference base station was set up on the grounds of the Colony of Avalon Foundation which remained unmoved throughout the survey. The rover is then moved throughout the cemetery documenting each marker in the burial ground. The equipment measures the distance between the reference point and the rover allowing for a more accurate measurement less affected by GPS interference (Wright et al. 2020:4). Boundaries of the burial ground were determined by where the headstones and fieldstones ended in addition to the modern fence in the South Side cemetery. The maximum margin of error is 30 cm and DATUM WSG84 (21N) was used for recording of the GPS data points.

Throughout this process, the surface of the burial grounds was gently probed with pitch forks, shovels, and feet. Whenever something hard was felt, the grass was cleared using a trowel, shovels, or hands to see whether it was a headstone, fieldstone, or a false positive. False positives were naturally occurring rocks, not purposely brought to the site, plant roots or garbage such as beer bottles. Newfoundland's Grand Banks transcriptions were used to form a checklist to ensure all previously known headstones were documented fully. In addition, a UAV (unmanned aerial



vehicle) was used to record using photogrammetry both burial grounds to completion. Together, photogrammetry and RTK points were used to create a GIS map produced by Valentin de Filippo.

A survey using Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) was also planned of the South Side burial ground. An initial test GPR survey was conducted in 8m x 5m with 0.25m transects. However, due to the concentrations of dead vegetation, buried rocks and other possible interferences this survey was not possible. The GPR machine relies on being able to be pulled on wheels across flat surfaces however, the bumpiness of the cemetery made this difficult. No GPR survey was planned in the North Side cemetery due to the extensive overgrowth of rose bushes.

### *Interviews*

Interviews with knowledge holders were an integral component of this research project. These interviews were important for the contextualization of archival research and the data collected from the surveys. Prior to the process of interviewing, an ethics clearance was applied for and received by Memorial's Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR). Those interviewed were chosen at the suggestion of Dr. Barry Gaulton and were individuals who were most likely to have historic knowledge and personal connections to one or both burial grounds. In total, seven individuals were interviewed, and each interviewee was gifted a small honorarium. Interviews took place at the Colony of Avalon Foundation building at Ferryland, at Memorial University, or in the private residences of local residents being interviewed. All interviewees are anonymized through removal of pronouns and names. The following questions were asked of every individual, alongside additional questions that were brought up because of their responses.

1. Do you have any known family members or ancestors buried in North Side/Fox Hill cemetery or South Side cemetery?
  - a. If so, who are they?
  - b. What is their relation to you?
2. Have you ever visited North Side/Fox Hill or South Side cemetery?
  - a. How frequently do you visit?
  - b. How long have you been visiting the cemetery?
3. Do you have any personal anecdotes/stories about either cemetery?
4. Do you believe that the South Side cemetery should be preserved/maintained?
  - a. Why or why not?
5. Do you believe that North Side cemetery should be preserved/maintained?
  - a. Why or why not?
6. Are there any accessibility issues you personally face in visiting either cemetery?
  - a. For example, location?
7. Are you and your family Anglican, Catholic, non-religious or another religion?
8. Is there any other information you would like to discuss/share about either cemeteries that these questions did not address?
9. Have you ever attempted to clean/maintain your ancestor's grave?
  - a. If so, what methods did you use?

## **Theoretical Framework**

This research project looked at two historic cemeteries and how they were perceived as shared heritage to the modern-day community. As such this project was framed around three

theoretical frameworks: Age Value (Holtrof and Schadla 1999; Wells and Baldwin 2012), Artifact Biographies (Mytum 2004; Cook 2011; Kopytoff 2013) and Ruination (Stoler 2008; Angelo 2017). Each theoretical framework, while overlapping, addressed a different component of this project. Ultimately, they linked the historic burial grounds and their shifting importance and meaning through to the modern day.

### *Age Value*

Age value as a concept was first introduced by Alois Riegl, an Austrian art historian, in his 1903 German language paper “The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and its Development” (see Riegl 1996). Riegl argued that age value, which is separate and sometimes antithetical from historical value, is the concept that an object or a building has value as it decays and from its “lack of completeness” differentiating it from its modern counterparts (Riegl 1996:73). Historical value in comparison is the value of an object based on its evidence of or connection to historical human development (Riegl 1996:75). For example, a headstone might have historic value because it's an example of a particular stone carver's work. Age value would look at this same headstone and say it has value because it has begun to decay naturally and looks its age, differentiating itself from a headstone which was carved more recently.

The decay of monuments has been explored and expanded on in other frameworks including the concept of curated decay presented by Dr. Caitlin DeSilvey in her 2017 book *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*. It is argued that objects and buildings succumbed to decay and inevitable deaths (DeSilvey 2017:132, 159). DeSilvey also proposes that heritage researchers (archaeologists, historians, etc.) should not halt the decay completely but manage it (2017:132). Riegl similarly argued that those who subscribed to the concept of age value place

value on natural decay and are against both its abrupt halt and the unnatural acceleration of its decay caused by things such as vandalism (Riegl 1996:73).

While I do not argue for the abandonment of the burial grounds researched in this project, the concept of decay and its value are important frameworks to consider in studying these historic cemeteries. In the framework of age value there also exists good decay vs bad decay (Wells and Baldwin 2012:385). Though there are many factors that affect whether decay is good or bad (for example, artificially altered decay vs natural environmental process), one factor posed by Wells and Baldwin (2012:385) is historic vs modern material type. Historic building materials such as shale used in historic cemeteries, show age/decay (for example, cracks) in a way that is 'good'. It looks old, is old, and therefore has inherent value in that it managed to stand the test of time. In comparison, when modern concrete used in building roads, cracks, it is considered bad decay. Inferior construction materials are representative of the modern age.

Good decay, bad decay and the value of age is a purely subjective individual interpretation and does not exist inherently in the object, site or building (Wells and Baldwin 2012:385). Decay becomes equal to the concept of patina (the increase in aesthetic quality caused by good decay) when the observer expresses positive feelings towards the deterioration (Wells and Baldwin 2012:385). It is this subjective, emotional based response that provides a counterbalance to the objective elements of historical study (Wells and Baldwin 2012:384). A large component of this research project centres around the opinions of the modern population of Ferryland and their connections to the South Side and North Side cemeteries. How these differ, and why the South Side is deemed an expression of their shared community heritage while the North Side is not. The framework of age value allows for this subjective, emotional based dimension that may not be fully based in objective historical fact. It considers the opinions of

non-experts, instead of solely considering archaeological or historical points of view (Wells and Baldwin 2012: 385). The inclusion of community members in heritage-based research allows for them to have a say in their representation and acknowledges their role in the creation of heritage (Flinn and Sexton 2013: 3).

Another dimension that can be considered with age value is the concept of authenticity or aura which was first put forward by the cultural critic Walter Benjamin in his 1935 essay originally written in German “The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction” (Benjamin 2004). Aura, he defines, as the unique authenticity that exists within an artifact and exists even if the object is no longer in use or the perspective of society changes (Benjamin 2004:1236). He goes on to give the example of a Greek statue that was used in ritual by the ancient Greeks and is seen as a false idol by Christians in the middle ages, however, the authenticity or uniqueness of the piece remains in both contexts (Benjamin 2004:1236). Later scholars have argued that authenticity is subjective (like age value) and can change depending on context and how an archaeologist presents the individual artifact (Holtrof and Schadla-Hall 1999:231). Within this idea, it is perhaps not the actual chronological age that lends an artifact value, but rather the public's perceived age of the object (Holtrof and Schadla-Hall 1999:244). For example, a building from the 1800s may not be considered old by a community in Italy, and therefore not worth saving because they have much more ancient buildings and view such a structure as modern and having no value. In contrast, a building from the same time period in Canada may have historic protections because the public views the building as old and having value. Despite both buildings being roughly the same age, their value shifts based on the context and perceived ‘oldness’.

### *Site/Artifact Biographies*

Artifact or object biographies were first introduced by Anthropologist Igor Kopytoff in his 1986 paper “The Cultural Biography of Things” (Kopytoff 2013). Central to this framework is the object's connection to individuals or groups and the ever-changing contexts in which the object exists. This can include the transfer of ownership of the object, or the context in which the object is used (Gosden and Marshall 1999:172-174). For example, an object moving from being used in a ceremonial context to being put on display in a museum context. This framework analyzes and discusses artifacts in the context of its interactions and social life (Kopytoff 2013). Objects have social lives that can evolve and sometimes even result in a social death (Mytum 2004:111; Kopytoff 2013:90). As the context and social life evolves, so does its interpretation and meaning (Mytum 2004:111). Though the artifact does not need to be materially altered to have this change in meaning (Mytum 2004:111-112), material alterations can be part of the object's biography. This can include, but not limited to, vandalism (Mytum 2004:124), intentional alterations for a change or addition to its purpose (Cook 2011:191), restoration (Mytum 2004:113) and natural decay (Mytum 2004:115). Recent scholarship in applying this framework to headstones has argued that headstones and other mortuary monuments are able to develop new social relationships with living humans beyond those that knew the individual who the monument memorializes (Cook 2011:196). These relationships develop through the various ways modern people interact with a headstone or cemetery as a whole, through visiting.

Scholars have noted that when applied to an archaeological context there can be breaks in an object's social life due to the abandonment and rediscovery of an artifact (Mytum 2004:115). These distinct stages as outlined by archaeologist Michael Schiffer and reiterated by Harold Mytum will be used to discuss the Sarah Carter, Bridget Rose and Captain N. Peterson

headstones from the South Side and North Side cemeteries. These stages are: the original context (the object is being used as it was intended to), archaeological context (artifact has been buried), and re-discovery (it's now considered an artifact, it may or may not be on display) (Mytum 2004:115).

While this theoretical framework was originally conceived to analyze and discuss individual artifacts, it has been expanded upon to discuss site biographies by other researchers (Bernbeck 2008; Mytum 2010; Angelo 2017). Similar to the object biography, the site biography looks at a site as a whole rather than as individual objects. A site biography perspective was used to analyze the South Side and North Side cemeteries as a whole landscape, rather than individual headstones themselves, to discuss their shifting roles and social life in the community over the course of its use life, from active burial grounds to community heritage sites.

### *Ruination*

Ruination is a theoretical framework that focuses on the concept of ruins. The act of becoming a ruin is an ongoing process (Stoler 2008: 194; Angelo 2017:257). Like artifact biographies, ruination is focused on the social lives of objects and buildings (Angelo 2017:257). While artifact biographies consider the full life of an object from creation to abandonment and beyond, ruination is focused on the “social afterlife” of the objects (Angelo 2016:257). Recent scholarship has applied this framework to the study of colonialism and empire (see Stoler 2008; Fontein 2011). While not applicable to this project, it is important to acknowledge that the burial grounds in Ferryland serve as remnants of British colonization on Indigenous land. Ruins can also be romanticized remnants of a bygone era or evidence of the modern decline of a nation (McClanahan 2014:199). While everything will eventually decay and decline, there is politics in

the acts of ruin and what we choose to preserve, let decay or purposely ruin (Stoler 2008:202-203). For example, institutionalized racism in the United States of America has resulted in numerous historic black cemeteries being destroyed or left to ruin (see Lemke 2020).

Cemeteries, as they decay, change into something else; this process does not stop but rather continues as long as the decay is left unchecked (Angelo 2017:265). While headstones with the names and dates of deceased individuals may be lost, it is a part of the perpetual social cycle of the landscape, becoming something new over time (Angelo 2017:257). Even headstones and burial grounds which have been actively cared for and have not yet begun the process of ruination will have different identities and stages in their social life (see artifact biography), even if it is not a social afterlife (Mytum 2004:118-119). Family members no longer sit and mourn, repairs need to be done to maintain its longevity (Mytum 2004:119) and the headstone shifts from simply a memorial for a deceased family member to a piece of shared community heritage.

When objects decay they become not solely of the realm of culture but can cross the boundary into nature (Desilvey 2017:130). For example, lichen colonization can alter the surface and structure of headstones. The stone is initially carved by human cultural activity and modified by the existence of the lichen. It can change colour and become more porous because of this activity. It is through this lens that it becomes easier to view headstones and mausoleums as both objects of historical value, as well as containing value as habitats for lichens and other plant life.

Both values exist simultaneously; neither is intrinsically more important. When damage has occurred to a headstone and preservation begins, preservationists begin removing one of its identities, prioritizing culture over the concept of the headstone as a lichen habitat and in so doing, interfering with its place in the natural and social environment. Burial grounds which have controlled vegetation, are clean, and have easy to read mortuary markers, exist only briefly



without further human intervention. Grass will grow, lichen will colonize and weathering will begin on the headstone. This is the cycle of the cemetery.

## **Terminology**

There are three common terms used to refer to places where the deceased are buried and often marked with stones. The terms *cemetery* and *burial ground* are used interchangeably in this thesis in reference to the South Side cemetery and North Side cemetery. However, historically the use of *burial ground* denoted a non-religious burial space (Lacy 2017a:10). The term *graveyard*, while commonly used by people to refer to the same type of burial space as a cemetery, refers to the burial ground associated with and next to a church (see Lacy 2017a:8-9). This term will not be used in reference to the South Side and North Side cemeteries due to their locations. Neither cemetery is directly located next to a church.

The term *modern* is used throughout this thesis in reference to the current population of Ferryland and events occurring in the burial grounds following its period of active use (for example, headstone maintenance). The concept of modernity has many different debates around its precise definition or even whether it exists at all (see Latour 1991). However, these debates are not important for the understanding of this term within the context of this thesis; instead, the idea of modernity can be conceived as a notable break with the time before (González-Ruibal 2016:145). In the context of the two burial grounds at Ferryland there are two periods of relevance: the period in which the cemeteries were receiving active internments and the ‘modern’ period of abandonment. The exact time this break occurs is unknown but can be estimated using archaeological, historical, and archival evidence.

*Fieldstones* are markers made of flat local stone (shale in the context of Ferryland) that usually have minimal or no carvings. While they sometimes contain dates or names, most commonly, and in all instances in Ferryland they were unmarked (Lacy 2023). In the two burial grounds discussed in this thesis the fieldstones can be seen in relatively straight rows and are much more flat than other rounder rocks and stones visible on the ground. Fieldstones would have been much more accessible to the general population who couldn't afford professionally carved headstones.

### **Other burial grounds**

The community of Ferryland has five burial grounds, of which two: the South side and North side cemeteries, will be the focus of this research project. However, the other three will be discussed in various places throughout this thesis and are important to the history of the town and the context of this research.

The *Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery* is the active burial ground for Catholic members of the community located at the northern limits of the modern town of Ferryland. It shares its name with the Holy Trinity Catholic church located in the south side which finished construction in 1898 (HeritageNL 2016). The headstone with the oldest known date of death is 1871 and belongs to William Saunders (NGB 2015). The headstone was erected by the deceased's wife Frances Saunders. Several surnames present in the South Side and North side cemeteries such as Forristal, Morry, Culleton and Condon, are also present in the Holy Trinity cemetery. Active maintenance and headstone cleaning has occurred in the recent past at this active burial ground. Some community members refer to the Holy Trinity cemetery as the North Side cemetery due to its location, resulting in some confusion with the historic Anglican cemetery.

The *Presentation Sisters cemetery* is located behind the Holy Trinity Catholic church. There are three burials belonging to Presentation Sisters, a convent founded in 1833 in Newfoundland (HeritageNL 2024). The burials date to 1897, 1899, and 1910; however, the style and material used for the headstones are typical of the later 20th century and were likely erected later. Headstones of the same style can be seen in several other Presentation Sisters cemeteries in Newfoundland. A statue was erected for the 1958 centenary, and it is possible these headstones date to around the same time.

## **Chapter 3: Field Work**

### **Preparation for the South Side Cemetery Survey**

The fieldwork and interview components of this project began in the spring of 2023 and were completed that summer. Expenses incurred conducting the burial grounds surveys were funded by the J.R. Smallwood Foundation and the honorariums provided to the interviewees were funded by the Provincial Archaeology Office (PAO) of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Accessing the South Side cemetery was fairly easy as it is located on a hill adjacent to the main road in Ferryland and across from the Colony of Avalon Foundation building. Access does not require special permission and it is located next to the Caplin Bay Path of the East Coast Trail. A fence runs between the trail and the burial ground on the southern and western portions of the cemetery. The main difficulty in accessing the cemetery is the lack of an entrance. To enter the cemetery, we had to climb over a rope which connects the wooden posts of the fence. Alternatively, approximately halfway up the hill, there is a section between posts where the rope is no longer present, providing easy access. It is unclear if this is an intentional break in the fence to increase access to the cemetery.

Preparation for the GPR test grid in the South Side cemetery was done on May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2023 with the aid of Dr. Barry Gaulton and several volunteers. Due to the overgrown nature of the cemetery, we trampled the grass in rough transects across the lower part of the cemetery on the advice of Maria Lear, the geophysical technician for the Archaeology Department of Memorial University. This task was completed so that the grass would be flush to the ground and allow for the GPR to glide over it. Obstacles such as large rocks can also cause the GPR to pick up unrelated reflections, making it more difficult to determine what is relevant (Jones 2008:27). The grass in some locations was approximately two to three feet in length, was predominantly dead

with minimal new growth and was already partially flattened from the previous winter's snow. The initial start date of the GPR survey was delayed due to weather conditions and was eventually conducted on May 30<sup>th</sup>, 2023 with Maria Lear. A test grid of 8m x 5m (with 0.25m transects) was surveyed in the north-eastern corner of the cemetery; however, due to the sloping grade of the cemetery and uneven ground caused by vegetation, it was determined that a further GPR survey would not contribute accurate or usable data to the project and it was therefore discontinued.

The next step in preparation occurred during the period June 26<sup>th</sup> to June 30<sup>th</sup>, 2023. A power brush cutter was rented and blades purchased to trim the grass in the South Side cemetery. Various volunteers and I used the brush cutter to clear grass around headstones and fieldstones which remained upright. This was quickly found to be time consuming and would delay the commencement of the survey. This method was abandoned and we began to use manual methods (including shovel blades, a pitchfork or our feet) to carefully locate stones that were covered by vegetation. Any possible stone was marked using orange pin flags. These locations were then cleared of vegetation using hands, shovels, trowels and, occasionally in the first several days, the brush cutter. Some headstones only had dead grass surrounding and hiding them which was easily pushed aside. Others had fallen over and were flat to the ground, requiring the use of tools to clean away dirt and both living and dead grass. Several headstones were discovered using this method; however, in some cases no head or field stones were discovered when we removed the grass. In most cases these turned out to be small rocks, beer bottles and other modern debris. This stage of clearing and uncovering continued into the weeks when the RTK survey was also conducted due to the large size of the cemetery.

As noted above, we found several beer bottles and plastic water bottles, as well as other debris such as rusted wire fencing and plastic house siding. Most beer bottles were completely hidden and only located after someone stepped on them. We removed any bottles we found for safety and placed them next to the wooden fence that borders the southern side of the cemetery next to the walking trail. In addition, there were plants that when touched could cause itchiness and swelling. Therefore, as a safety precaution we wore gloves and did our best to not touch anywhere with our hands that we had not first stepped on.



*Figure 2: The Headstone of Bridget Rose before grass was removed.*





*Figure 3: The Headstone of Bridget Rose.*

On June 27<sup>th</sup>, 2023, while probing the ground with a shovel, we located a headstone in the far eastern section of the burial ground. The headstone was covered with grass and a thin layer of dirt. At first we thought it was just another fieldstone due to the material type, however upon closer inspection there was some lettering (see Figure 2). The headstone was at the eastern perimeter of the cemetery, near the edge which slopes down and leads to the main road. It had fallen, facing upwards, with the top of the stone facing northeast. We carefully removed the grass from on top of the headstone, predominantly using trowels, our hands, and a pocket-knife to cut some of the sod. Donna Teasdale, the conservator for the Colony of Avalon Foundation and Memorial University of Newfoundland, helped me and Dr. Barry Gaulton with this task. We ultimately decided not to expose the bottom right corner as it was heavily spalled due to the grass growing between the top layer of the shale. The headstone marked the final resting place of a woman named Bridget Rose who died in 1821 (see Figure 3). After some careful consideration and discussion with the Ferryland town council, it was decided the headstone would be reburied in the fall to protect the stone from the seasonal freeze-thaw cycle and help prolong its existence.

### **Survey of the South Side Cemetery**

From July 4<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup>, 2023, we began to survey the South Side cemetery. There were several days during this period when this survey was not possible due to rain and other poor weather conditions. Drone Photogrammetry was done when the sky was clear and there was minimal wind which would interfere with the drones ability to fly. Valentin De Filippo joined the team as a research assistant to conduct the Real Time Kinematic (RTK) positioning of the burial grounds. We began at the eastern portion of the South Side cemetery closest to the road, as this was the portion in which we had previously cleared away the grass from several buried head and



field stones (see Figure 4). Within this section we decided to begin by first documenting the standing headstones as there were fewer of them and, being visible landmarks, made for easy points of reference to tie the data back, should we need to do so in the future. While De Filippo used the RTK to document each headstone, I took photographs and measurements of the corresponding stone. I documented these measurements in a notebook alongside any identifying description and the number we assigned it on the RTK equipment. We used the abbreviations of FS for field stones and HS for headstones, followed by a sequential number. Any headstone which had broken into two or more pieces was documented separately using the RTK but noted as being part of the same headstone. For each headstone, a data point was recorded at each corner of the stone. Additional elements, such as the cast iron fencing surrounding several Morry Family graves and the base of a ledger style monument which had slid off it's base, were also documented.



*Figure 4: Fieldstones in the South Side cemetery.*

After we completed documenting the headstones, we moved to documenting field stones. Field stones were by far the largest category of markers in the burial ground and, as a result, several field stones were not fully uncovered during the preparation stage due to time constraints. So for these stones, we only took one to two points using the RTK equipment. While all the field stones were documented using RTK, only a random sample was photographed and measured.

Once we completed the eastern portion of the burial ground, me and several staff members from the Colony of Avalon Foundation, who volunteered their time to continue to search for headstones in the western portion of the burial ground using the methods described above (see Section 3.1). While this was being done, De Filippo continued to record exposed stones using the RTK equipment. We ultimately found more field stones than we had flag pins for, so we had to pause this search so that the RTK could catch up and we could remove and reuse the pin flags.

Most notably during this stage, we found multiple headstones which were covered with dirt and vegetation. The first stone found (after the previously discussed Bridget Rose headstone) was that of John William, located in the lower eastern portion of the cemetery approximately a quarter of the way up the hill. This headstone was found earlier during the field season, and it was decided at that time to wait to fully uncover it. Later on, when we wanted to take photographs and measurements of the stone, we found it difficult to relocate as it was hidden by the rapidly growing grass. The second stone found was that of Mary Saunders and was located towards the top or western section of the burial ground. Mary's headstone is one of the few stones remaining dating to the late 1700s (Figure 5). Found just below the stone was a piece of another headstone of a different material type which only had the letters "TER". This fragment potentially belongs to the Carter Family, a surname found on several headstones in the burial



ground. The fourth stone found was the top half of the headstone of James Howe Carter, located next to the bottom half, which is still standing. Both portions of the headstone are situated immediately north of the Mary Saunders headstone.



*Figure 5: The Mary Saunders headstone and fragment of a headstone with the letters “TER”.*

Overall, the stone markers were in approximate rows, however, due to the nature of the shifting of the ground evident by several fallen headstones, the rows were less straight further down the hill. The western, top portion of the hill had more straight rows of stones. This is likely due to the fact that the top portion of the cemetery is less sloped/more level.

Over the course of our work in the South Side cemetery, several individuals from the community stopped by to see what we were doing and share their stories and history they knew pertaining to the burial ground. There appeared to be great community interest in our work.

## **Survey of the North Side Cemetery**

Due to time constraints on the use of the RTK equipment and Valentine De Filippo's schedule, we paused our work in the South Side cemetery and began surveying the North Side cemetery on July 18th, 2023. With a significantly smaller area associated with this Anglican burial ground, both the RTK survey and photographs were completed quickly. Given the exceptionally warm weather (for NL) during this period, more breaks were required, and I later returned to ensure all the photographs and measurements were taken and nothing was missed. We attempted to use the pitchfork and the spiked end of the RTK machine to locate buried headstones. A few field stones were located using this method, mostly heavily spalled - likely due to the rose bushes which were in the burial ground - but no new headstones were found. Community volunteers a few weeks earlier had cleared away the rose bushes which covered the cemetery; however, their roots remained making it difficult to locate buried stones. There were also several rocks covered in moss throughout the cemetery. Moss appeared much more prevalent in the North Side than the South Side cemetery.

Visiting the North Side cemetery was significantly more difficult than visiting the South Side cemetery and there are two ways to get there. The first and more difficult way was attempted earlier in the summer on a preliminary visit. It required walking up from the main road and past a private residence. This area was very overgrown and on a steep hill. The second, and slightly easier way, which we used for all subsequent visits, required driving or walking up Fox Hill. We received permission to walk through a private property which was maintained, and then down a slightly worn path into the burial ground. This path was steep, had lots of rocks and vegetation underfoot, and when wet from recent precipitation, was treacherous to navigate. Despite the majority of the rose bushes having been removed, grass grew quickly in its place



which can be seen in these photographs from July 18th and one month later on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2023 (Figure 6 and Figure 7). Wearing gloves remained an important part of safety precautions in the North Side cemetery as there was still thorny vegetation present in the form of remnant rose bushes. Unlike the South Side cemetery, no beer bottles were found; however, there was still garbage present, although not nearly as much. Garbage included a broken glass soda bottle.



*Figure 6: The North Side cemetery on July 18<sup>th</sup>, 2023.*



*Figure 7: The North Side cemetery on August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2023.*

The North Side cemetery is fairly flat in comparison to the South Side cemetery, and as a result there are more distinct straight rows of markers throughout the cemetery. However, there appeared to be more headstones in the western portion of the burial ground near the tree line. This is likely due to preservation bias which will be discussed in Chapter 4.

### **Interviews and wrapping up the Field Work**

Once the two burial grounds were surveyed, I began conducting interviews with community members. This last period of work took place from August 2nd to August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2023. The majority of the interviews were conducted in a room at the Colony of Avalon Foundation building, with a few others taking place at other locations at the request of the interviewee. Interviews provided important insight into both the burial grounds' roles in the community as well as town history which may not be written down. While I had a prepared set of questions which I asked everyone, the majority of interviewees shared information that resulted in further questions being asked which were not part of my questionnaire. Some interviewees also shared photographs and written notes they had taken at the burial grounds.

I also used this additional time in Ferryland to return to both cemeteries to ensure no headstones were missed when measurements or photographs were taken. I also took additional photographs of hard to read headstones under different lighting conditions in hopes of obtaining more legible images. The best lighting for reading headstones proved to be a mix of sun and cloud. Newfoundland's Grand Banks website, which featured earlier transcriptions of both burial grounds was consulted throughout the fieldwork to ensure no known headstones were missed during the survey. This was especially important during the work conducted in the South Side cemetery due to its size and number of headstones.

At the South Side cemetery in particular, there were several shale field stones that had a similar shape to a carved headstone. Dr. Gaulton, Neil Jordan and I spent a few hours clearing away the grass and dirt from a select few of these stones to see if any of them had carvings remaining. Unfortunately, we found no new visibly carved stones. There was, however, a large thick stone found which appeared to have fallen over. While we were unable to find any carvings on it, we did locate two pieces of a separate headstone in the process. The two pieces belonged together and likely had been carved with inscriptions at one point, as it was white limestone; however, no markings were found on these newly discovered headstone pieces (Figure 8).



*Figure 8: Two pieces of an unknown headstone.*

Overall, the survey of the South Side cemetery took significantly more time and effort than the North Side cemetery. This is the result of both the size difference of the burial grounds and the number of stone markers in each. The South Side cemetery also yielded more new headstone discoveries, likely due to the size of the individual burial grounds; however, the rose

bush root system also posed a significant obstacle to the discovery of any buried headstones in the North Side.



## Chapter 4: Data and Analysis

### Size of the Cemeteries and Number of Burials

#### *South Side Cemetery*

It was known from initial research and observation that the South Side cemetery was going to be the largest of the two in both square footage and number of headstones. This was supported by the data collected during the surveys conducted in summer of 2023. The South Side cemetery is approximately 2650m<sup>2</sup>. As discussed in the previous chapter the precise boundaries of the South Side cemetery are unknown. The cemetery is surrounded by a fence consisting of wooden posts and metal chains that extends on all but the northern side of the burial ground. The fence on the eastern side of the burial ground ends just before a telephone pole in front of a neighboring house. This fence separates the burial ground from the road and the Caplin Bay path of the East Coast walking trail. It is unclear when the fence was put up, but an earlier version was present in a photograph from the 1930s (Figure 9). In addition, there were small buildings where the Caplin Bay path starts in the photograph, so it is unlikely that there are any headstones beyond the modern southern boundaries. The northern unfenced side of the burial ground appears to end with the presence of several mounds of earth, which were likely associated with subsistence farming or gardening. The mounds were probed using a pitchfork, but no headstones or fieldstones were located. While this may be the result of the thickness of the mound, if it is the result of farming activity it is unlikely that the cemetery continued further north.



*Figure 9: Picture from the Rooms Provincial Archives depicting the South Side cemetery in the 1930s (Brooks 1938: Item VA 6-32).*

In the South Side cemetery there are a total of 946 marked graves. Of these graves, 21 were headstones, containing names, dates and other carved information pertaining to the individual. The majority (925) of the markers were fieldstones and did not contain biographical information pertaining to the deceased (Figure 10). However, due to the number of stone markers that were buried under dirt or covered with vegetation there are likely to be several more undiscovered graves within the boundaries of the burial ground.

The Journals of Robert Carter, document day-to-day events at Ferryland between 1832 and 1842, including burials, legal issues and ships entering the harbour (Stirling 2002). There are several burials mentioned in these journals which do not have corresponding headstones. They could have been marked by field stones but there is no way to confirm the identity of those

buried with fieldstones. The burials mentioned in the journal include: Miss Weston, unknown date of burial, Mrs. Arthur Carter buried July 26<sup>th</sup>, 1835, Emily Carter died February 13<sup>th</sup>, 1837 buried on the 18<sup>th</sup>, Judge (William) Carter buried March 24<sup>th</sup>, 1840 and Henry Coryear July 5<sup>th</sup>, 1845. Several of these burials have mentioned locations and, in some instances, details pertaining to who attended the funeral. Mrs. Arthur Carter and Judge Carter are mentioned as being located near Miss Weston's grave; however, it is not currently known where Miss Weston is located in the burial ground. Emily, the daughter of the journalist, is said to be located between Mrs. Saunders and Harriette (Louisa Carter) on the "upperside" of the burial ground "her head to the westward" (Stirling 2002). Both Harriette and a Mrs. Saunders were documented during the field surveys of 2023. We did not find any headstones located between the two burials. However, just beneath Mrs. Saunders (Mary Saunders) a piece of a white headstone with the letters TER carved into them were found. It is possible that this is a piece of Emily's headstone. Future investigation in this area may locate the rest of the headstone to confirm the identity. In addition to the archival sources of information, an interviewee mentioned that there were several white marble or chalk headstones in the northeastern corner of the burial ground, located next to the house which borders the cemetery. During the 2023 field season only fieldstones were located in this corner. This section was significantly overgrown, and several larger pieces of rusted metal made it difficult to do a thorough search of the area. These headstones may still remain buried in this section of the cemetery. The interviewee also mentioned that their grandmother had previously seen a headstone from the 1700s in the middle section of the burial ground. The interviewee couldn't remember seeing it, however, there are three known headstones dating to this period (William Saunders 1770, Sarah Carter 1779, Mary Saunders 1792). It is possible that one of these stones is the one being referenced or is a currently unknown stone. The same individual

also mentioned the existence of a 1749 headstone; this headstone was not located and could not be confirmed. If it does exist it would be the oldest headstone in the burial ground.

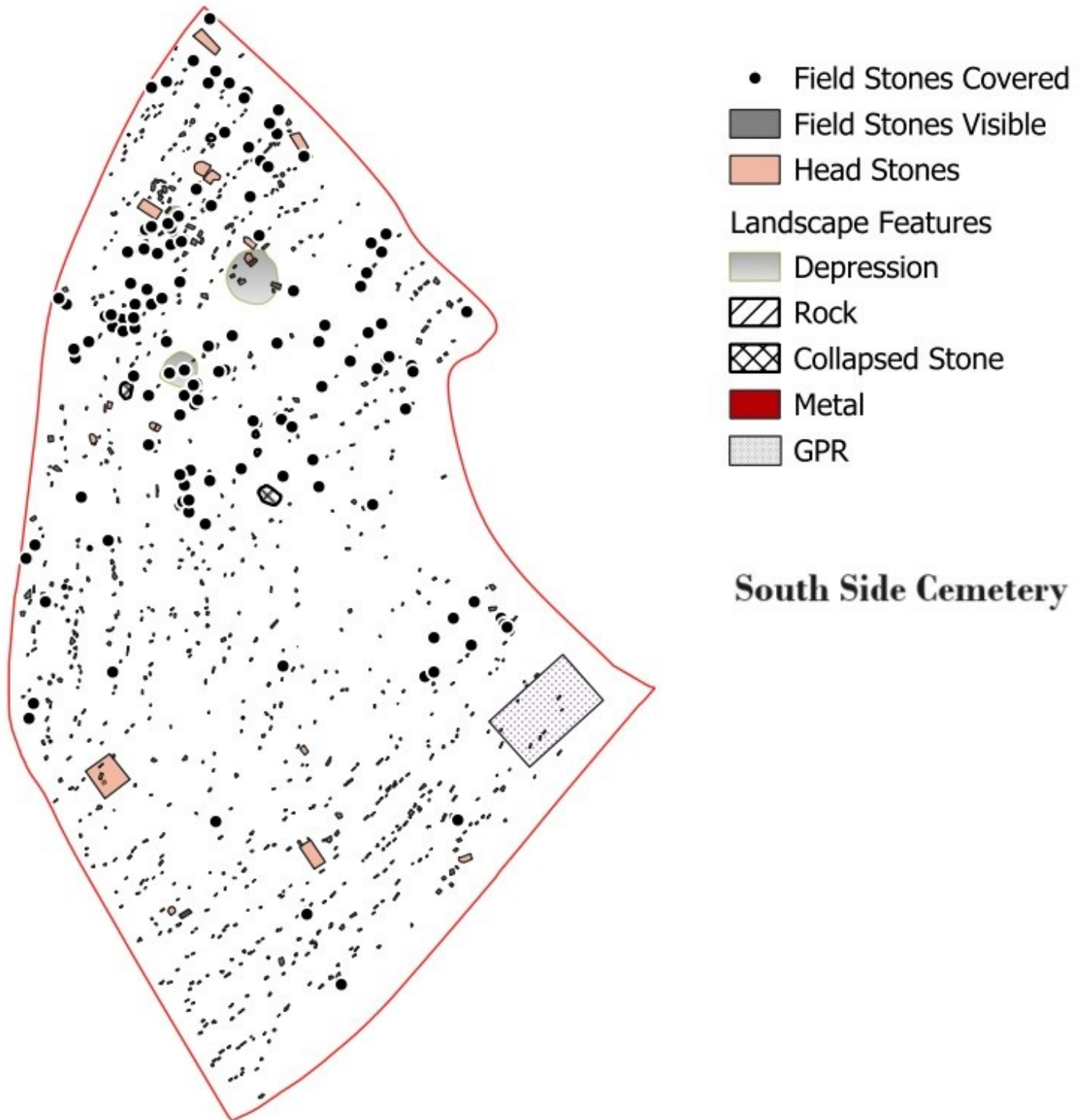


Figure 10: Map depicting the South Side cemetery based on data collected in the 2023 field season.

An anonymous column in the Daily News from September 17th, 1925 also mentions two more headstones which currently remain unfound: Peter Weston who died in 1760 and Robert Carter who died October 7th, 1852 (Anonymous 1925). Peter Weston may be related to the previously mentioned Mrs. Weston and may be located near her, Mrs. Arthur Carter and Judge Carter. The grave of Peter Weston was misattributed to the North Side cemetery by previous researchers (see NGB 2022, HeritageNL 2024). Pictures of the grave from the 1970s by Gerald Pocius show that it is a flat ledger style marker. According to Gerald Pocius (1975) it reads:

Sacred to the memory of  
PETER WESTON, Esq.  
One of his Majesty's Justices  
of the Peace for this Harbour  
who died 13 July 1776  
aged 63 years  
He was an Affectionate Husband  
a tender Father  
And a Sincere friend  
Also, WILLIAM, son of above  
Peter & Catherine Weston  
died December .?. 1760  
aged 6 months.

The presence of graves marked with wooden markers which have since decomposed may provide an explanation for these missing burials. Wooden markers, often in the form of cross, were common historically and still used in Newfoundland (Pocius 1975: 287). Wooden planks

carved into the shape of a more typical headstone have also been found in other burial grounds in Newfoundland (Pocius 1975: 290). While no evidence currently exists of wooden crosses in the South Side cemetery, there does exist a more recent example from the 2000s of this type of burial marker in the Holy Trinity Roman Catholic cemetery in Ferryland (NGB 2020). An individual interviewed remembered a wooden cross at the top of the burial ground dating to 1803 which no longer remains.

Unmarked graves are unlikely to be located without the use of GPR. Through consultation with Maria Lear, the geophysical technician for Memorial University of Newfoundland and a GPR test square in the northeastern corner of the burial ground it was determined that due to the uneven ground, vegetation and sloping grade that GPR would be inaccurate and unfeasible. There are a total of three visible depressions in the western top portion of the burial ground. Unlike the depressions found in the north side cemetery which were long and narrow, these were circular in shape. However, they were documented during our survey as possible burials (or headstones). Without the presence of accurate and complete burial records, the true number of burials remains unknown.

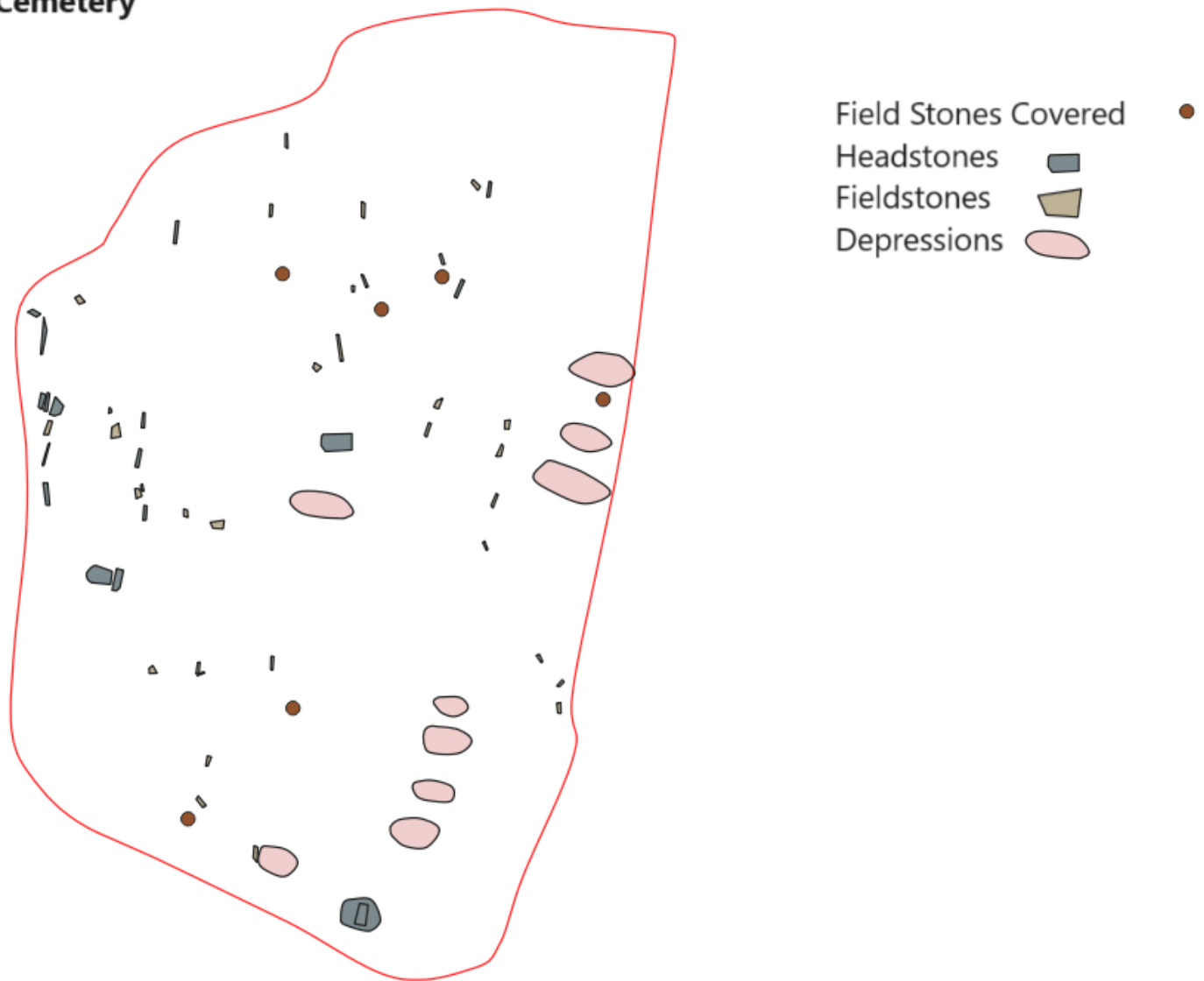
### *North Side Cemetery*

The North Side cemetery is significantly smaller than the South Side at approximately 250m<sup>2</sup>. The boundaries of the North Side cemetery were less clear and there is a possibility that it extends beyond the area that was mapped in 2023 (Figure 11). Due to the presence of rose bushes and other large plants throughout the cemetery and surrounding land, locating additional headstones proved difficult. While the pitchforks were useful in locating buried or covered stone markers in the South Side cemetery, very few were located this way in the North Side cemetery.

Those that were located were exclusively field stones and the rose bush root systems had shattered the stones. It was also difficult to probe into the ground as the pitchfork or shovel would hit roots. Therefore, any headstones or field stones which are located outside the perceived boundaries, particularly those that had fallen over and had been buried could not be located using this method. Ground Penetrating Radar (GPS) would also likely be ineffective in locating additional graves as the roots could provide significant interference (Jones 2008:27). The North Side burial ground appears on a 1790s map and looks similar in size to its modern parameters; however, it is unclear how accurate the map is (Waller 1790s). In addition, the cemetery continued to be in use during the 19th century and could have expanded in size after this map was drawn.

Nine long depressions were recorded in the cemetery, which could indicate the presence of burials. Of those nine, three were in a straight row, side by side, at the eastern end of the burial ground. Beyond these depressions no headstones or field markers were visible. However, there was significant plant growth, including bushes, that could conceal any headstones. For the purpose of this project, this row was considered the eastern boundary of the cemetery. Along the western boundary of the burial ground is the remains of a wooden fence. This however, was put up in the 20th century by a descendent of those buried in this section of the burial ground. The fence does not denote the historic cemetery boundaries but rather surrounded the Morry family headstones. However, beyond this fence line is a steep slope in the ground and it is unlikely there are any burials beyond that point.

## North Side Cemetery



*Figure 11: Map depicting the North Side cemetery based on data collected in the 2023 field season.*



In the North Side cemetery there are a total of 47 marked graves. Similar to the South Side cemetery the majority (33) of the stone markers are field stones. Only 14 of the known graves had carved headstones. Of the total number of stone markers, the North Side has the higher percentage of headstones with 29.78% of the known stone markers being headstones. Comparatively, only 2.2% of markers in the South Side cemetery were headstones. This difference is possibly explained by two factors: the South Side cemetery was the larger and older community cemetery in which more low income individuals were likely buried, and many of the fieldstones in the North Side cemetery were destroyed by rose bushes. In addition, as mentioned previously, there were an additional nine depressions which indicate potential graves which currently do not have a marker. While probing the ground, six concentrations of highly flaked shale were found covered in vegetation which could be remnant field stones. Each cluster was mapped using only one point. This increases the total number of graves to approximately 62. However, like the South Side cemetery there is significant potential for additional graves within the burial ground. Within the journals of Robert Carter there are several mentions of burials occurring in the North Side cemetery of individuals who do not currently have any known headstones. These include Robert Pitt buried January 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1843, Mrs. Austin buried November 4<sup>th</sup>, 1845, George Morry buried August 18<sup>th</sup>, 1846, Fanny Mayo buried November 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1849, and Mrs. Joseph (?) buried September 2, 1850. There are no details provided for where in the cemetery these individuals are buried with the exception of Mrs. Austin who was “buried beside her parents” (Stirling 2002). Presuming “Austin” is a surname, there are no headstones currently visible with this name. An individual interviewed, remembered at least 27 headstones in the North Side cemetery, further confirming the likelihood of more buried headstones in the cemetery. In addition, a headstone was mentioned belonging to a 19 year old boy from Halifax

who drowned in the harbour. It is likely a reference to the headstone of John Steer, who was born in Dartmouth, England and died in Ferryland Harbour at the age of 41 by drowning and that the information was misremembered.

### **Headstones and Fieldstones**

As discussed previously, fieldstones made from local shale make up the majority of the markers in both burial grounds. However, there are a variety of different types of headstones with the vertical style being the most common in both burial grounds. The monument styles present in both cemeteries are as follows: 1) Vertical, the standard headstone still used today and varies in size; 2) Ledger, flat and usually large in size; and 3) Cross, which can be combined with vertical. Between the two cemeteries there are a total of 27 vertical headstones of which 11 of them are in the North Side and 16 in the South Side cemetery. Only four headstones are of the cross type, with an even split between the two burial grounds. Lastly, there are only two ledger style stone markers located in the South Side and none in the North Side cemetery. Even within these morphological categories there are significant variations in symbols and other stylistic details.

Despite the presence of several children's graves both with surviving headstones (Sarah Carter age 9, Harrietta Louisa Carter age 1 1/2) and without (Emily Carter age 8) there is notably no distinct children's stylized markers in the South Side cemetery. The same can be said for the North Side cemetery's burials. The graves of Esther Graham Morry age 12, Mathew Morry age 11, Charles Morry age 7, and Reginald Morry age 1 month all have large headstones similar in size to the adults buried in the North side cemetery. Previous research into 19<sup>th</sup>-century children's burials found that children's headstones were often smaller and simpler in style than those of

adults (Muller et al. 2019:5). The symbols seen on children's graves in the North Side cemetery include roses, stylized letters IN and a pointed finger. In the South Side symbols include a death head and the stylized word sacred. None of the symbols used in either cemetery are exclusive to children and can be seen on other graves in both cemeteries or in other cemeteries in Newfoundland. Typical children's symbols such as lambs (Mckillop 1995:94; Muller et al. 2019:5) were not found on children's headstones in either cemetery. Children's headstones make up a small percentage of the overall marked headstones in both cemeteries (9.5% in the South Side, 21.4% in the North Side) which is to be expected. Despite the increased frequency of children's death during this period, the presence of a carved headstone for a child often indicates the wealth of the family (Muller 1995:5). All children in the South Side and North Side cemeteries who have headstones belong to two families, the Morrays and Carters, both prominent families in the Ferryland community at the time. Other children are likely buried in both cemeteries in unmarked graves or with a simple fieldstone. Others such as Emily Carter, likely had headstones which did not survive into the present.

### *North Side Cemetery*

One distinct element in the North Side cemetery was the presence of two headstones facing west. It is common in Christian burial grounds of all denominations for the headstone and the body to be facing east. This practice coincides with the belief that when Jesus returns, the dead will rise, and will be facing him (Honerkamp and Crook 2012: 108). The two headstones in the North Side cemetery have the inscribed side of the headstone facing west. It is likely the individual was buried in the typical eastern facing orientation, while the headstone is meant to be read from the back. This has been seen in other cemeteries in North America and Europe (King

2010:132; Thornbush 2013) including in a burial ground in Georgia, USA where the majority of headstones had their inscriptions carved on the western side (Honerkamp and Crook 2012:108). While many studies which discuss this phenomenon focus on its prevalence amongst historic African American burial grounds, it also occurred in European settler burial grounds like the North Side. It has been suggested in both African American and settler burials grounds, the western orientation could be the result of family preference (Honerkamp and Crook 2012: 108) or having the stone face the entrance to the burial ground (King 2010: 132). Considering the lack of obvious entrance to the burial ground in the modern day it's unclear why this abnormality occurred. It should be noted that both headstones, Esther Graham Morry (d. 1849) and Mathew Morry (d. 1836) belong to the same family and are buried next to each other. However, several other Morry family members in the burial ground have the typical east facing inscription.

There is also a significant amount of disturbance in the North Side burial ground which must be taken into consideration. There is one large piece of a headstone with the word 'aged' carved into it that is propped up against John Steer's headstone. The John Steer (d. 1825) headstone is complete and therefore, this piece does not belong to it. All other headstones of similar shape and material are not missing this piece. Other pieces of this headstone are likely buried nearby. There is also another headstone belonging to Henry Leehe (d.177?), which has weathered beyond legibility and which appears to be deliberately placed horizontally for its protection. Many headstones, through both human intervention and natural soil movement, are not in the exact position that they once were.

### *South Side Cemetery*

There were five headstones in the South Side cemetery that bore the names of stone carvers from St. John's, Newfoundland. In contrast, no carver signatures could be located in the North Side. However, given the condition of the two burial grounds it is possible additional signatures remain undiscovered or have since deteriorated beyond legibility. Four of the identified carvers in the South Side cemetery (Table 1) worked out of St. John's Newfoundland.

Table 1: Headstones in the South Side cemetery which feature legible stone carvers' signatures.

<b>Signature</b>	<b>Deceased</b>	<b>Date of Death</b>	<b>Carver's Name</b>	<b>Company</b>
R.A [illegible]	Mary Power	June 15th, 1870	Robert A. Mackim	
J.T. Kelly	Mary Forretistall and Luke Brown	August 1867 and November 1869[?]	John T. Kelly	John. T. Kelly
A.Smith	Edmund Hanrahan	February 13th 1875	Alexander Smith	St. John's Marble Works
W.Hay	Mary Morry	August 8th, 1870	William Hay	
?. Smith	James Howe Carter	February 3rd 1859	J. Smith?	

The oldest of the headstones which has a carver's mark belongs to James Howe Carter, son of Robert Carter (the 2nd) and Elizabeth Harris Howe (Morry 2018). James was born on January 23rd, 1794, and died at the age of 65 on February 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1859 (Morry 2018). In the bottom right-hand corner of the headstone is the carver's signature which consists of an unknown letter and the last name Smith. There was a carver in St John's named Alexander Smith, however the initial for the first name is indecipherable. A carver by the name of J. Smith from Liverpool,

England carved headstones found in other Newfoundland cemeteries, so it is possible that this headstone was carved by him and imported to Ferryland (Pocius 1975: 266). The James Howe Carter headstone was broken into two pieces, with the bottom half, which only contained a bible quote and the carver's name, still upright. The top half was located in front of the bottom portion of the stone buried over with soil and vegetation. This was labeled as an unknown headstone since at least 2001 (Fowler 2001).

The headstone of Mary Forretistall and Luke Brown was carved long after they had both died as the stone carver John. T. Kelly, whose signature can be found in the bottom left corner of the stone, was not born until 1875, six years after Luke Brown died (Familysearch 2023). This headstone likely replaced an older fieldstone or wooden marker or alternatively was put up by family members many years after their deaths. John T. Kelly began carving around 1898 based on current evidence but earlier headstones are possible (HeritageNL 2023). John T. Kelly eventually merged his company with Muir's Marble works in 1916, a headstone production company that still operates today (Anonymous 1916).

The headstone of Mary Morry (d.1870) was carved by William Hay who was the son of a stone carver named Cameron J. Hay. His father began headstone carving as early as 1856 and retired by 1877 where it is believed he may have given his business to his son William (Pocius 1981: 12). This headstone dates to 1870, several years before his father's retirement and was likely carved while working for his father. Similarly, the headstone of Mary Power (d.1870) was carved by Robert A Mackim, who was also a member of a stone carving family from St John's (Pocius 1981:11). The final and most recent stone carver signature located was that of Alexander Smith who carved the headstone of Edmund Hanrahan (d.1875). Alexander Smith was a well known headstone carver known for his elaborate carving and for likely being the first in

Newfoundland to import white marble (Pocius 1981:10). The headstone of Edmund Hanrahan is made out of the white marble and features the symbol of clasped hands that can be seen on many headstones in North America from the 19th century.

## **Oldest Headstones and Headstones of Note**

### *North Side Cemetery*

The headstone of Henry Leehe was rediscovered by a community member in 2023 while they were visiting the North Side cemetery (Figure 12). The headstone had been previously documented by the website Stone Pics in 2001, however, the rapid growth of vegetation obscured the headstone once more. Upon close analysis, while it was clear that the stone was carved and not simply just a fieldstone, very little details could be read. Words like “follow me” and “the ” could be seen but identifying information like date of death and the person’s name were nearly impossible to read. There was a possible date of 177?, but the surface was significantly deteriorated and I did not feel comfortable labeling the headstone as such at the time. For the rest of the field season the headstone was simply labeled as the “unknown” headstone. Pictures of the headstone from 2001 were analyzed and it was slightly more legible.

The inscription read:

Here Lieth the Body of

Henry Leehe S\_\_l

H[?] and ?\_\_Leehe

Departed this ?

\_\_ber 177? Aged \_

This headstone is the oldest dateable marker in the North Side cemetery and the only headstone from the 18th century. The rest of the known headstones date to the 19th century with the second oldest headstone (Neil Shannan) dating to 1818.



*Figure 12: The headstone of Henry Leehe.*

#### *South Side cemetery*

The oldest headstone in the South Side cemetery belongs to William Saunders, the son of William and Eleanor Saunders who died April 1770 at the age of 22 years old (Figure 13). This headstone is the largest in either cemetery at 226 cm in length and 104 cm in width. It is also notable for having a carving of a crucifix, the only headstone in the cemetery to have this symbol. It is currently broken into two large pieces horizontally and lying flat on the ground. A photograph from 1975 shows that that headstone has been in its current state since at least the 1970s (Pocius 1975:252). Deterioration of the surface of the stone makes it difficult to read the



entirety of the inscription.



*Figure 13: The headstone of William Saunders.*

In addition to the headstone of William Saunders there are three other headstones with death dates in the 18th century: Peter Weston 1776, Sarah Carter 1779 and Mary Saunders 1792.

Mary Saunders' headstone reads:

In  
Memory of  
Mary Saunders who  
Departed this life February  
\_1792 Aged \_ years.

It is not clear who Mary Saunders was. There were several Mary Saunders in Ferryland including Mary Sanders who was born in 1780 and Mary Saunders born in 1704 (Morry 2020a; Morry

2020b). Sanders appears in the 1800 census, and therefore this Mary cannot be the same person that died in 1792 (Morry 2020a). The Mary Saunders who was born in 1704 could be the Mary Saunders who is represented by this headstone, as her death date is unknown. However, the age of the deceased on the headstone has worn away and therefore, it cannot be determined what her age at death was. The headstone is made from South Devon limestone, which is a dark gray stone with white calcite veins (Pocius 1975:269-270). These veins can be seen most notably in this case, on the right side of the stone. Headstones made from this material can be found throughout Newfoundland as it was a cheaper material which could only be carved with simplistic lettering as seen on the Mary Saunders headstone (Pocius 1975:270-272). The Mary Saunders headstone was not previously documented by Newfoundland Grand Banks or Stone Pics. When discovered in 2023 it was covered with vegetation and soil and was likely buried when these previous surveys were conducted.

The headstone of John William was found while probing the ground in the 2023 field season (Figure 14). It had not been previously documented by prior surveys as it was buried by both grass and dirt. The stone is white limestone and is stained brown from the soil. It has horizontal cracks throughout the headstone and is chipping off in flakes. There is a cross at the top of the headstone and decorative swirls. According to his headstone, John William was the son of John and Catherine and died November 1866(?). There is also an age carved on the headstone which may say 27, but there is limited legibility on this section of the stone. The stone reads as follows:

In Memory of

John William

Son of



John and Catherine

---

November 1866

Aged 27(?) Years

Requiescat in pace

Requiescat in pace is Latin for Rest in Peace, and variations of it can be found on multiple headstones in the South Side cemetery including: Mary Power (d.1870) and Edmund Hanrahan (d.1875).



*Figure 14: Headstone of John William.*

The marker of Michael Kearney is a large flat ledger marker and is the only one of this type in either burial ground that remains legible. The stone is the second largest marker in the South Side cemetery after William Saunders' headstone. This ledger is 211 cm in length and 101 cm in width. Due to the shifting soil and slope in the cemetery, the ledger has shifted off its base. The stone has the IHS symbol at the top of the stone (see Bridget Rose). The rest of the inscription is difficult to read, and the surface of the stone is weathered and discoloured. There is also evidence of moss growth on the surface. The inscription of the ledger was transcribed based on a photograph from Stone-pics from 2001. The marker reads:

Sacred

To the memory of

Michael Kearney

Who departed this life

February 22nd

1831

Rest in Peace

The majority of the inscription is at the top of the ledger, however there is an additional line of text near the bottom of the stone. This is illegible and could not be transcribed.

There is no information concerning Kearney's identity in the available archival records. There are multiple instances of one or more individuals named Michael Kearney in various records; however, these all date to after the date of death on the marker. An individual interviewed stated that there was no body under the marker of Michael Kearney and that "they" took his body back to England and left the marker. It is possible that Kearney was born in

England and was not a permanent resident of Ferryland at the time of his death. This story could not be verified.

An additional headstone is in the Rooms provincial Museum in St. John's was originally located in the South Side cemetery. Donated in 1961, by a local resident, the headstone of Robert Bengier is fragmented, and no additional pieces were located in the 2023 field season. It was believed, as likely was the case with the Sarah Carter headstone, that the headstone would survive better if kept away from the weathering and the cattle that liked to graze in the cemetery.

The headstone reads the following:

In Memory of  
Robert Bengier  
Son of John Bengier F  
M<sup>rs</sup>. Sarah Be[ngier]  
Died April the [?]  
Aged 2[?]

The headstone is made of slate or shale and like the Sarah Carter headstone was likely imported from New England. The stone features a variation of the Death Head motif, featuring a cherubs head with wings. Though this headstone does not have a death date, this motif was most commonly used in the late 1700s and likely dates to this period. Though examples do exist of this motif in the first half of 18<sup>th</sup> century (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:503-505). The Bengiers were a prominent family in Ferryland during the 18<sup>th</sup> century, however, no other known headstones bare this surname.

## Further Decay and Present Condition

There are numerous headstones in both the South Side and North Side cemeteries that have seen significant deterioration over the past 20 years. They have become increasingly illegible and show other signs of weathering. While there are multiple headstones which could illustrate this point, I will be focusing on one headstone from each cemetery, which demonstrate the extremes of this decay: Harrietta Louisa Carter (South Side Cemetery) and Mathew and Charles Augustus Morry (North Side cemetery).

Harrietta Louisa Carter was the daughter of Robert<sup>1</sup> and Sarah Carter<sup>2</sup> and was born on May 1st, 1826, and baptized on August 4<sup>th</sup>, 1826 (NGB 2012). She died at the age of 1 and a half years old on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 1827 (NGB 2020). Her sister Emily Carter is buried nearby, though no longer has a visible headstone. Photographs of Harriette's headstone taken in 2005 by Newfoundland Grand Banks and 2001 by Stone Pics show the headstone was in one piece and almost entirely legible. A large piece of the surface had flaked off obscuring parts of her parents' names and her date of death. However, the lettering that remained was legible.

In the 2023 summer field season, the headstone was covered by dead vegetation and was only discovered through ground probing. The headstone was lying horizontally and broken into two pieces with the lettering on the top half and was discolored green from vegetation. The lettering has deteriorated significantly which made it difficult to determine the identity of the individual beyond the name "Harriette". The headstone was able to be identified by the shape of the stone and the word "Sacred" which was carved in large letters at the top of the stone. These

---

<sup>1</sup> Author of the series of journals referenced in this chapter.

<sup>2</sup> Please note that this Sarah Carter is a different individual than the one whose headstone is from the South Side cemetery.

were compared to the picture of the headstone on Newfoundland Grand Banks to positively identify it.

Mathew and Charles Augustus Morry were the sons of Robert and Victoria Morry. Both Morry brothers died as children at the ages of 11 and 7 years old. The family were from 'caplin bay' now referred to as Calvert, the community north of Ferryland (NGB 2002a). There is no Anglican burial ground in Calvert, and it is likely the North Side cemetery was shared by the two Anglican communities. Photographs of the headstone from 1969 show the stone was still upright and leaning forward slightly. The headstone has since fallen over backwards sometime prior to 2001 as it was not visible in pictures taken from this time (Fowler 2001). The stone is stained green from vegetation and is slightly less legible. The stone is fixed to a base which hides the bottom of the stone but it is unclear based on older photographs, whether this base is original or was added at a later date. The stone is white and the base is grey, however this may simply be the result of discoloration.

In the South Side cemetery many of the headstones have fallen over or shifted slightly from their original location. The stones (headstones and fieldstones) were generally placed in rows however they are not consistent nor straight. This is likely due to the sloping ground and shifting soil, with a general pattern toward stones moving down the slope. However, the rows at the more level portion of the hill at the top (or western end) are more consistently in straight lines. These same rows are also predominantly fieldstones. The fieldstones are fairly consistently densely populated throughout; however, the headstones are mostly limited to the south east and north west corners of the burial ground. Previous research suggested that the older burials were located near the bottom of the hill with the more recent near the top, due to the lack of dateable stones in the bottom portion of the cemetery (Lacy 2017a:72). However, the headstones of

Bridget Rose (1821) and John William (1866?) were discovered buried in the lower portion of the cemetery. In addition, an interviewee mentioned seeing several white headstones near to the road in their youth. The presence of the newly discovered headstones and these missing white headstones suggest that the locations of burials within the cemeteries does not correlate strongly to the specific period of interment.

All the known headstones are in one, two or three pieces. Of the 21 headstones, 6 remained upright, 8 had completely fallen over and 4 had partially fallen over. In addition, one was a flat ledger style marker and two were in an unknown condition. Of the two unknowns, one stone appears to be ledger style marker but has deteriorated significantly making it difficult to determine if it is a ledger marker or a rock, and one is a small piece of a larger stone which hasn't been located. This potential ledger stone may be the missing marker of Peter Weston (see Peter Weston). Those headstones that have broken in two pieces were exclusively vertical headstones which have since fallen over. Those that broke in three or more pieces were stones which had a cross attached to a base. An example of this is the headstone of Mary Louise Carter (1907) and William Thomas Skinner Carter (1908). The marker has broken into three pieces. The base remains upright, while the cross which was attached using metal rods has fallen and broken into two pieces. These two pieces are currently leaning against the back of the base. The bottom portion of the cross remained attached as late as 2005 (NGB 2020).

In the North Side cemetery, the headstones are in much more consistent straight rows. While the cemetery is still located on a hill, the cemetery itself is fairly flat allowing for minimal movement. The northwestern portion of the burial ground is more densely populated, with very few known headstones or fieldstones towards the eastern boundaries. Of the 14 headstones that remain, only 4 have fallen over and 10 remain upright. Those that have fallen over are: Mathew



and Charles Augustus Morry (1871/1873), Henry Leehe (177?), Thomas Congdon (1839) and unknown. The headstones of Thomas Congdon and the unknown individual are in the worst condition. Thomas Congdon's headstone is broken in at least nine pieces. Its current condition was documented in 2001 (Fowler 2001); however, it was reported as broken into four pieces in 1993 (NGB 2022). The unknown headstone currently only has one piece located with the word "aged".

Photographs from the late 1960s depict a fence around the Morry family graves that was, according to interviews, put up in the 20th century by an individual who maintained the graveyard. This was not the true boundaries of the burial ground as there are a handful of burials which are beyond this modern fence. Remnants of a wooden fence remain on the western side of the burial against the tree line. These trees were not present in the 1960s and may have been planted when the house which is located on the top of the hill behind the cemetery was built.

For many years community members believed the North Side cemetery to be a family cemetery belonging to the Morrys. This was due to the fact that 6 out of the 14 (42.8%) carved headstones have the surname, Morry. No other surname appears more than once in the cemetery. It is unlikely that the cemetery began as a Morry family cemetery as the oldest known headstone does not have the Morry surname. In addition, a map dating to approximately the 1790s refers to the site as a 'Burial Ground' with no reference to the Morry family (Waller 1790s). The Morry family also has a presence in the South Side cemetery with two headstones, likely husband and wife. It is unclear why some Morrys chose to be buried in the South Side cemetery despite the existence of the North Side cemetery. Like other Anglicans in the community, the choice might have been based on preference for the larger more centrally located burial ground. The predominance of Morry family members in the North Side cemetery may be the result of

preservation bias caused by the erection of a fence around the Morry graves and general maintenance by a descendant in the early to mid-20th century. Other non-Morry family member headstones, not receiving this care, may not have survived as well.

### **Local Headstone Production**

The two oldest headstones produced in Newfoundland date to the 17th century and were produced of local Ferryland shale (Gaulton 2006: 88-9). These headstones were discovered at the colony of Avalon archaeological site in a secondary context with no associated burials (Gaulton 2006: 88-9). There is a large gap between these locally produced headstones and the 1830s when stone craftsmen began to produce commercial headstones in St. John's, Newfoundland (Pocius 1981: 3). Prior research into headstone material and the signatures of their carvers has concluded that earlier headstones were imported from England and Ireland which is partially responsible for the widespread use of fieldstones and wooden markers (Pocius 1981:3).

#### *Bridget Rose*

The headstone of Bridget Rose was discovered in the 2023 field season in the South Side cemetery (see Chapter 3). According to the headstone, Bridget Rose died on April 27th, 1821. No other information could be found concerning the identity of Bridget Rose in the available archival sources. There are only three Roses which could be located: Thomas Rose of Renew, a town nearby to Ferryland, who married his wife in 1837, William Rose who was involved in a lawsuit in 1832 and Richard Rose who was a Justice of the Peace until September 16th, 1751 (Stirling 2002; NGB 2002b; NGB 2015). It is possible one or all of these men had a relation to Bridget Rose. According to local residents, Rose is not a surname which exists amongst the

modern inhabitants of Ferryland. There is also no birth date or age on her headstone making it impossible to identify her age. There is a cross with the letters IHS, the first three letters in Jesus' name in Greek, carved at the top (Mytum 2009:163). This symbol was almost exclusively used by Catholics in the 18th century but was not the case by the time of Bridget's death in the 19th century, and therefore cannot conclusively indicate her religion (Mytum 2009:165).

The stone itself is made of local shale, which was determined by visual identification. Therefore, it is likely that the headstone was locally carved in Ferryland. There are visible trace lines horizontally across the stone, which was a common manufacturing method to ensure straight lettering on the headstone. This indicates some level of professional headstone production knowledge. The stone itself is smooth and straight on the left side and may have been intentionally carved in its current shape. The final 'd' of the word departed was carved above the letter 'e', the carver having run out of space on the stone. This occurs on several 'folk' or locally produced nonprofessional headstones in Scotland and in New England (Thomson 2006:17), which supports the conclusion that the Bridget Rose's headstone was made locally in the Ferryland area. This predates the 1830s St. John's headstone production industry by a decade. Locally produced carved headstones have been recorded in other burial grounds in Newfoundland including in Brigus South, a town near to Ferryland (Lacy 2017a:130). There exists the possibility of professional stone carvers prior to the 1830s and a significant folk tradition. The Bridget Rose headstone was flaking and had vegetation growing between the top layer. It is possible that other stones which were previously carved by this unknown stone carver or other early Newfoundland carvers have since flaked off obscuring evidence of its carved surface. Other headstone researchers in the province should be aware of the potential for other locally produced headstones in other cemeteries.

## Religion

The headstone of Mary Louise and William Thomas Skinner Carter is the most recent headstone in the South Side cemetery to belong to a local resident. It is possible this cemetery was chosen because they had family members buried here. In addition, Mary and William had at least eight children which were all baptized by the Church of England (NGB 2012). As a result, they likely preferred to be buried in the South Side cemetery instead of the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery where most other community members were buried in the 20th century. Other Anglicans who died during the early 1900s in Ferryland (see NGB 2002a) do not have any known markers in any of the three Ferryland cemeteries or nearby Anglican cemeteries. There are at least three other individuals buried in the South Side cemetery who belonged to the Church of England: Henry Morry, Harriette Louisa Carter and Emily Carter (NGB 2002a).

Of those who have surviving headstones in the South Side cemetery, 15 have either Irish surnames, and are therefore likely Catholic, or have documented ties to the Catholic church. For example, Luke Brown was a witness to a Catholic wedding in 1864 and the daughter of Mary Morry was baptized Catholic (NGB 2014b; Morry 2020). Only eight of those buried in the cemetery have either British surnames or have ties to the Church of England. For example, the Carter family, of which there are many buried in this cemetery, are well documented as belonging to the Church of England, and others such as the Saunders family have British surnames and likely affiliated with the Anglican church. The possibility that some of those with British surnames converted to Catholicism is also possible.

The North Side cemetery was a shared Anglican cemetery with the community of Caplin Bay (Calvert). Out of the 13 headstones that have legible names, 5 are in the Church of England death records as members of the Caplin Bay community and 3 were noted as being from

Ferryland (NGB 2002a). Five Individuals who had headstones were not in accessible records: John Steer from Dartmouth (England), Thomas Congdon from Devon (England), Reginald John Morry (age 1 month), Neil Shannan and N. Peterson (Denmark). N. Peterson was a sailor who was not based in Newfoundland (see *the Wreck of the Sigrid*); however, others who were born in England likely settled in Ferryland or Caplin Bay.

## **Interviews**

There were several common themes that arose during the seven interviews conducted during this project. Most notably, with a few exceptions, people's knowledge was almost exclusive to the South Side cemetery. While they all knew of the existence of the North Side cemetery, there were very few personal stories or connections to the North Side cemetery. One individual noted that their mother regularly took them and their siblings by the North Side cemetery to pick blueberries and go swimming in a swimming hole. However, neither they nor their mother remember ever noticing the cemetery, despite walking past it multiple times. It is likely that the cemetery has been in an unkept state since at least the 1970s. The rose bushes and other vegetation obscured passersby from noticing the burial ground. There was only one individual out of seven interviewed who remembered visiting the North Side cemetery in their youth. This individual had visited the North Side with their grandfather when they were 10 years old, as many of their ancestors were buried there. Their grandfather had personally taken on the task of maintaining the North Side cemetery. He had received permission from the Church of England to cut the grass and he put up a fence around the graves. While he was not personally an Anglican, his father was and there were very few practicing Anglicans left in the community.

In contrast, three individuals had fond memories of playing in the South Side cemetery as children. Those interviewed mentioned running around and playing “cowboys and indians”. Cowboys and Indians was a popular make-believe game in the 1920s-1970s heavily tied with the narrative of the west conquering the local Indigenous populations (Mcgrath 2001). It was commonly played in backyards, other open fields, and in this case the South Side cemetery (Mcgrath 2001). Kids would also run through the cemetery reading the names and being impressed by how old some of the headstones dated to. Another individual stated that as kids many girls used to pick wildflowers to leave on the grave of Norman Bennett, who at the time was an unknown World War Two soldier, buried in the cemetery. The children referred to him as “our unknown soldier.” The cemetery was also referenced as a place of play in the correspondence between the Room provincial archives upon donation of a headstone (The Rooms 1961). Another individual interviewed remembered that as a teenager they would regularly wake up in the South Side cemetery, having stopped and passed out in the cemetery on the way home from parties. They stated “Theres good many times I woke up in that graveyard when I was younger. Lots of parities going down there and stuff. You get drunk and probably didn’t make it home. Thats where you made it. Lied down and fell asleep and woke up the next morning.” The cemetery was apparently still used in the recent past as a local drinking spot as several beer bottles and cans were found in the cemetery during fieldwork. The Southern Shore Shamrock folk music festival takes place across the road every summer, and with the slope of the land it is possible that the cemetery is used as a free viewing location for the festival.

Some of the people interviewed only became aware of the North Side cemetery later in life, having never visited or seen it before adulthood. Those who had visited were predominantly people involved in the local historic society and those who had spearheaded restoration efforts.

The majority of those who were interviewed identified as Catholic and came from Catholic families and had more strong ancestral ties to the South Side cemetery. A story was shared by one of the individuals interviewed of the only Anglican girl in their class who was pulled out during religion class, as the school was Catholic. It was further elaborated that due to her family's faith the "poor thing [Anglican Girl] got bullied and treated badly by other kids."

All those interviewed expressed an interest in the burial grounds being maintained and restored, however, some of them felt that it would be too much work and money due to their current condition and it was unlikely to occur. One interviewee stated "It would be nice to think a community the size of Ferryland could afford to take care of both. But I don't really see how that's ever going to happen." While another stated "Like I said, there's so many graves, there's so many stones and you don't know where the stones are too. You just going around trying to figure out. And if you do find them, that grass is something else. It would be a big project. The only way to do is to take out the headstones mark where they were too."

Another common theme amongst those interviewed was their connection to the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery. The Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery founded in the 1800s is the current active shared burial ground for Ferryland and Calvert. While many people acknowledged that they likely had ancestors buried in the South Side cemetery, they could only name ancestors and family members buried in the Holy Trinity cemetery. This is likely because the Holy Trinity cemetery actively receives burials and therefore is much more likely to be visited by family members in the present in comparison to the North Side and South Side cemeteries. In addition, referencing the North Side cemetery in interviews, people often thought I was referring to the Holy Trinity cemetery, and I would have to clarify that I was referring to the Forge or Fox Hill cemetery. People often unprompted brought up the nuns buried behind the Holy Trinity Catholic

church on the south side of Ferryland and appeared to have much more knowledge concerning these burials in comparison to the North Side cemetery.

## **Stories of Stone: Object Biographies of select headstones in the South side and North Side Cemeteries**

### *Sarah Carter*

The headstone of Sarah Carter is the second oldest known headstone in the South Side cemetery with a death date of 1772. This headstone is also one of three known examples of the Death Head Motif found in Newfoundland. The other two examples were the headstones of Mary Stow 17?? found during excavations at the St. John the Baptist Anglican cemetery in St. John's (Lacy 2017b) and Thomas Palnns (Sp?) 1755 in Trinity identified by Robyn Lacy. This motif features a skull with wings, but other variations can include a human face in place of the skull (Keister 2004:136). This version of the motif can be found throughout cemeteries in New England and in the Old Burying Ground in Halifax. The Sarah Carter stone itself is made of slate or shale and likely imported from the New England area of the United States.

The full headstone inscription reads:

In Memory of  
Sarah Carter  
Daughter to  
Robert Carter Esq<sup>R</sup>  
And M<sup>rs</sup> Ann his Wife,  
Born Sept<sup>r</sup> the 2<sup>d</sup> 1762,  
[Di]ed June the 4<sup>th</sup> 1772.



Sarah Carter was one of six children of Robert Carter Esq and Ann Wyllly (Stirling 2015:46). Sarah's five siblings (three girls and two boys) were Anne, William, Joan, Mary, and Robert Carter. She was born into a prominent family which included magistrates and sheriffs. Her parents are well known for protecting the community from French attacks in the 18th century (Stirling 2015: 47). In addition, her brother Robert Carter (the second) had a son (Robert Carter the third) who wrote a series of diaries, an important set of documents for historians, archaeologists and genealogists studying various aspects of life in 19<sup>th</sup>-century Ferryland. Despite the importance of her family, not much is known about Sarah Carter herself, including her place of birth. Her family originally came from England, and it is likely she was born in Ferryland. What little is known comes from her headstone. She was born September 2nd, 1762 and died June 4th, 1772 at the age of 9 years old (Figure 15). It is not known how Sarah died.



Figure 15: The headstone of Sarah Carter (d.1772).

The life biography of Sarah's headstone continued however, into the 20th century, when a descendant of one of Sarah's siblings visited the cemetery sometime in the 1950s or 1960s. Though it is not known exactly when he visited the cemetery, we do know that he stole Sarah's headstone from the South Side burial ground to take home as a "souvenir". The headstone was then stored in his garage or a workshop for another 20 plus years. This is evident by the fact that on the front of the headstone there is a circular grease stain and small spots of red paint. On the back of the headstone there is a large splash of the same red paint. It is possible that the headstone was lying flat and used as some sort of worktable. Some stories say the headstone was taken out of the town but remained in Newfoundland, others say it was taken out of the province or the country. The wife of the man who took the headstone for years begged him to return it. After his passing she went to the Historic Ferryland Museum in the late 1970s or early 1980s. The curator at the time attempted to figure out where the headstone belonged but the widow did not know as she wasn't with him when he removed it. She only knew it came from the South Side cemetery. During the 2023 field season, several different Carter family members' graves were documented, likely the children and descendants of Sarah's siblings, throughout the cemetery. There is not one distinct "Carter" section of the cemetery so it is unlikely the burial of Sarah will ever be located. The Historic Ferryland Museum placed the headstone in their showcase, where it remained until the museum closed for renovations. Their hope was that someone in the community would see the headstone and remember where it was originally located. Unfortunately, this never came to pass.

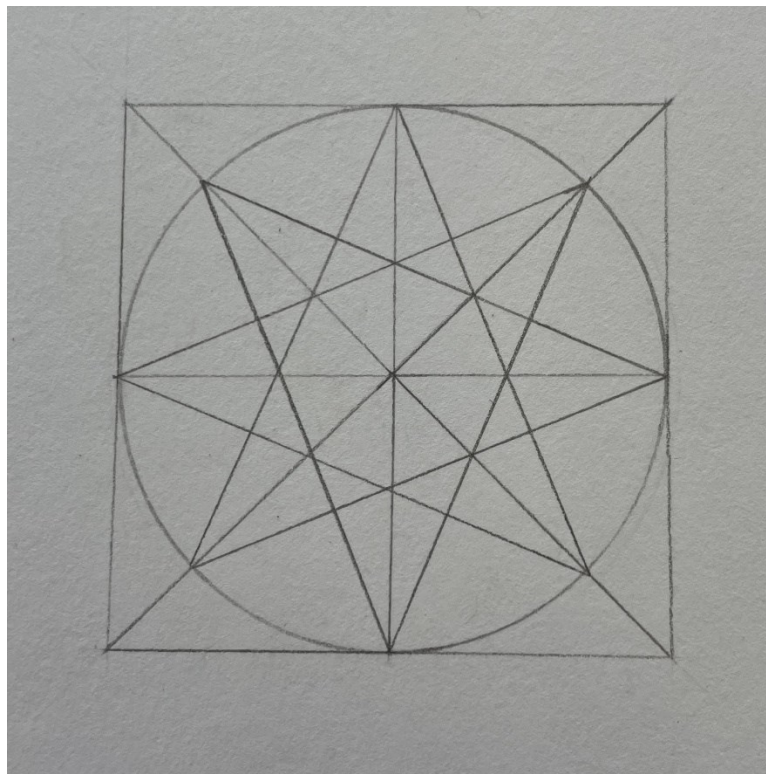
In the summer of 2023, the Sarah Carter headstone was acquired by the Colony of Avalon Foundation. After this acquisition, the headstone was able to be cleaned. First water, cloth and paint brushes were used to clean off the dirt and dust which had accumulated in the

carved crevices. Once this was completed, cotton balls on a stick were used with some acetone to remove the paint splatter at the suggestion of Donna Teasdale, conservator for Memorial University and the Colony of Avalon Foundation. This was slow work but was effective at removing the paint and grease. Overall, the headstone was in good condition except for the bottom left corner being broken off. This corner contained parts of the words “Died” and “born” and it is possible that the carver’s name might have been located on this missing piece. It is unclear if this was already broken at the time of the theft or if it occurred prior to the incident. The broken piece was not located during fieldwork, however, based on the discovery of several other buried headstones (both complete and in pieces), it is possible this corner piece is buried somewhere in the cemetery. There are also minor scratches in several spots across the front of the headstone. Despite the damage, the theft ironically protected the headstone from further weathering and exposure to the elements, and as a result it is one of the best preserved and most legible headstones from the South Side cemetery.



*Figure 16: the star on the Sarah Carter headstone.*

While cleaning the headstone a new discovery was made. Right in the center of the stone, equidistant from all corners and sides, is a faint eight-pointed star contained in a circle, inside a square (see Figure 16, Figure 17). Each line in the star is approximately 5.5cm in length. Four of the lines continue outside the circle and into the four corners of the square, and then further to the corners of the headstone itself. There are faint horizontal trace lines that are visible without additional lighting; however, the star is carved less deep and is only visible with raking light across the stone. It was only revealed by the light hitting it at just the right angle during the cleaning process. The surname Carter cuts through the star, indicating that likely the star was carved first before the lettering was carved into the headstone.



*Figure 17: Drawing of the star found on the Sarah Carter Headstone (Perri 2023).*

I argue that due to its precise location and size, it was used by the carver to ensure the symmetry of the headstone when carving the stone. At the writing of this thesis, no other example of this star design is referenced in existing literature or has been recorded on other

extant New England headstones. Due to the fact the headstone was kept inside and saved from weathering for at least 70 years it is possible that many other examples of this stage in the carving process are no longer visible on most other headstones if they were ever there to begin with.

Sarah Carter's headstone has had a long life, whose meaning has shifted and altered by its interactions with various individuals. From the headstone of a deceased child, to a stolen souvenir, to a museum artifact, to an object of research, and more. The Sarah Carter headstone could have simply been one of many forgotten weathered headstones in the community, simply just an artifact of the past. Instead, due to the unique object biography of the headstone, Sarah Carter's headstone continues to be discussed and analyzed in the present.

### *The Wreck of the Sigrid*

On December 3rd/4th 1903 the Danish schooner *Sigrid* crashed into the rocks at Burnt Head point just before the harbour in Ferryland, Newfoundland (Anonymous 1903). An individual interviewed for this thesis stated that this cove is now colloquially known as Dane's Cove, after the disaster. A newspaper report from the time and modern community knowledge states that no survivors were recovered. Local community members attempted to collect the bodies but this proved difficult due to the cliff site where the ship crashed (Parsons 2003). Residents lowered rescuers down via a rope, having to retreat when the water rose. In some instances, it took over 50 tries to retrieve one body (Parsons 2003, Harrington 1958:111). There are varying accounts of how many bodies were recovered; multiple newspaper articles from the time state only four bodies were recovered (The Evening Telegram 1903; The Harbour Grace Standard 1903), while later accounts of the rescue list five (Harrington 1958:113; Parsons 2003).

Rescue efforts were dangerous and took place over multiple days with many of the corpses being severely mangled (The Evening Telegram 1903; Harrington 1958; Parsons 2003). Danish captains docked in St. John's came to Ferryland to identify the bodies before they were ultimately buried in the North Side cemetery (The Evening Telegram 1903; Parsons 2003).

No reports from the time, nor later published oral accounts go into detail why the North Side cemetery was chosen when the South Side cemetery was the non-denominational cemetery and therefore could accommodate persons of unknown Christian denominations. One interviewee stated that the North Side cemetery was where they buried the deceased of unknown religions. It is possible that while the South Side cemetery was officially 'non-denominational' it was mostly used for Catholic burials. However, by the time of the *Sigrid* disaster the Holy Trinity Roman Catholic cemetery had already been well established, with the earliest known burial dating to 1871. A stone was erected by the Danish government made of a white marble and with a small cross on top. which states:

Danish	English
Her Hviler	Here Rests
Capt. N. Petersen.	Capt. N. Petersen.
Og Mandskab	And Crew
Fra	From
Skonnert Sigrid	the Schooner Sigrid
Ærøskjøbing Danmark	Ærøskjøbing Denmark
Forlist D. 4 Dcbr. 1903	lost on Dec. 4 1903
Herrens Fred Med Eder	Peace of the Lord be with you.



This headstone, while it marks a notable event in Ferryland’s recent history, has an object biography which continues into the 1990s, nearly a hundred years after the *Sigrid* disaster. Like many headstone object biographies the *Sigrid* stone fell into a period of abandonment or where it entered into the archaeological context. According to individuals who helped with the restoration of the headstone, by 1998 only 6 to 8 inches of the stone was visible above ground. The cross which currently sits at the top of the stone had broken off and was also buried by vegetation. The base which the stone currently rests on was not present (Figure 18).



Figure 18: the headstone of Captain Petersen prior to restoration (Dunne 1998).

A nephew of the captain of the disaster visited Ferryland and attempted to locate the headstone. Due to the overgrown nature of the cemetery, he was unable to locate it. He returned to the Ferryland Museum, and they confirmed the headstone should be there. After locating the headstone and returning to Denmark he collected \$600 CAD in donations from his family to help with the restoration of the headstone. It is during this period that the headstone entered its third phase: that of “re-discovery”. A team of volunteers dug up the main section of the headstone, the base and the cross, all of which were broken apart. These were cleaned using a solution purchased from a marble company. The pieces were re-assembled, and the letters were painted





*Figure 19: The headstone of Captain Petersen in 2023.*



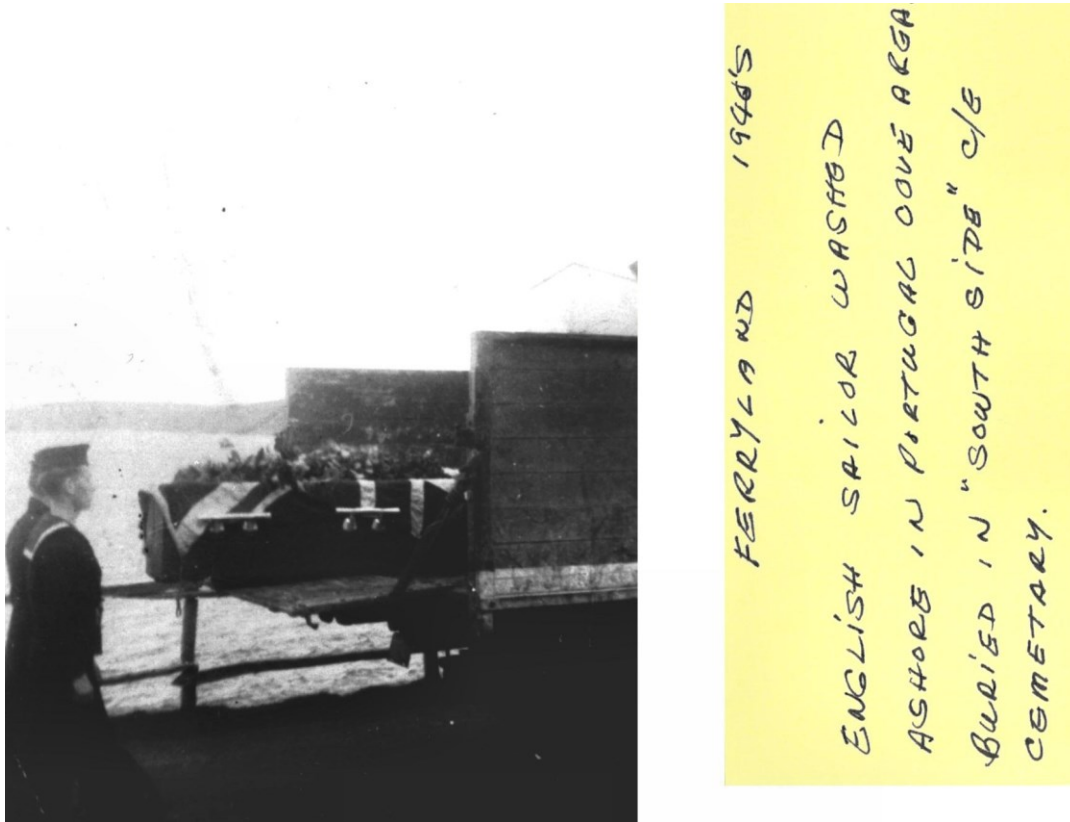
using black paint to increase its legibility. Painting lettering on old headstones is a common folk practice in Newfoundland (Pocius 1981:7) and can be seen on other headstones in Ferryland including Patrick Condon's headstone in the South Side Cemetery. The headstone was returned to its initial location in the cemetery with small white stones surrounding it. The restoration project was then written about in a local newspaper in Denmark.

The headstone is still standing however, it has been re-stained by vegetation and the black lettering added during the restoration has fallen off (see Figure 19) Photographs from 2001 show the painted lettering already wearing away (Fowler 2001). However, despite its present condition it is still highly legible especially when compared to some of the other headstones in the burial ground. If the cemetery is not maintained, it is possible that the headstone documenting the *Sigrud* disaster could re-enter the 'archaeological context' phase of its biography by falling down and being reburied.

*"Our unknown Soldier": Norman Bennett*

Born on October 30th 1905 to Sarah Ann and Albert William Bennett in Birmingham, England (Library of Birmingham 2013; Ancestry.com 2016), Norman Cyril Bennett was a member of the British Royal Navy in World War II (WW2). He died at sea near Ferryland, Newfoundland on June 21st 1942 (Wade 1942). Norman Bennett was an Engine Room Artificer 4th Class on the submarine HMS P.514 which had left Argentia, Newfoundland. Those interviewed state that a British Minesweeper in the area named *HMS Georgian* was unaware of the presence of a friendly submarine. When they put out a call and no response was given by the submarine the *HMS Georgian* rammed the submarine believing it to be a German U-boat, killing everyone on board including Norman Bennett. No other bodies were recovered at the time of the

accident. A photograph exists which, according to the note associated with it, depicts the coffin of Norman Bennett (Figure 20).<sup>3</sup> If this label is accurate Norman Bennett was given a proper military funeral.



*Figure 20: Photograph which may depict the funeral procession of Norman Bennett (Fifield 2022)*

Despite being baptized on November 19th, 1905 by the Church of England Bennett was buried in the non-denominational South Side cemetery (Library of Birmingham 2013). This likely occurred due to his burial taking place on October 8th, 1942, 31 days before he was officially identified by the Newfoundland government on November 17th (Wade 1942). The community members of Ferryland who buried Bennett would not have known the individual or

---

<sup>3</sup> The Photograph has been posted on Find a Grave, attempts to contact the poster and locate a source have been unsuccessful.

his religious affiliation. After his body washed ashore it was brought to the Ferryland courthouse where they had a wake and later funeral service at the Roman Catholic church. After he was buried, he was given a wooden cross by a local community member to mark his grave. His grave was registered by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission on September 15, 1952 (Walton 1952).

Many years after the disaster his now adult daughter came to visit and locate her father's grave. She was by her account, quite young when her father died and therefore had never considered looking for him until her stepfather, who raised her had died as well. The Ferryland Historical Society helped organize a service for Norman Bennett with the Anglican minister, as Bennett was Anglican and had previously had a Catholic funeral service in 1942. Community members had continued to leave flowers on his grave all those years later which was a comfort to his daughter who stated "I am not getting back here again but I feel good about it. My father is amongst friends."

The story of Norman Bennett's grave continued, as eventually he was given a proper military headstone in the common style used by the Commonwealth War Graves Commission to commemorate fallen Commonwealth soldiers of World War I and World War II (Figure 21). At the top of the marker is an anchor inside of a circle, which indicates that he was in the Navy. In addition, his identifying military numbers, his name, date of death and the submarine he died on are also included. Finally, there is a cross and the words "rest in peace". The grave is additionally marked by a stone border; however, it is unclear if this remains from the original burial and wooden cross or if this was added when the current stone was erected. Some individuals interviewed had stated that the stone was erected in the last 10-15 years, however, transcriptions

and photographs of the stone exist from at least the year 2000. No date of erection can be located on the Commonwealth War Grave Commission's website.



*Figure 21: The headstone of Norman Bennett.*



## **Chapter 5: Discussion**

There was noticeably more interest from the community in the research being conducted at the South Side cemetery in comparison to the North Side. Many people visited during fieldwork to share genealogical stories of their ancestors buried in the cemetery. The majority of those interviewed formally and those who I talked to in passing had more personal stories related to the South Side cemetery but few stories were shared about the North Side cemetery. The South Side cemetery is perceived to be part of a shared community identity, while the North Side is not. This is due to four main factors: identity/religion of the modern and historic inhabitants, perceived age value, location and size of the cemeteries. As time passes and the perception of these two cemeteries becomes more ingrained amongst the inhabitants of Ferryland it becomes more difficult to uplift the North Side cemetery as another facet of the community's shared identity. This is most evident in the ways in which some interviewees felt the North Side cemetery should be preserved and maintained for being a historic burial ground, but also felt that it was highly unlikely to occur. The reasons cited were both financial and because of its identity as an Anglican burial ground. There was an air of pessimism surrounding the North Side cemetery that did not exist when talking about the South Side cemetery.

### **Location**

There are significant differences in the accessibility of both burial grounds which affects the perceived importance of the North Side cemetery. The South Side cemetery is located on a hill next to the main road through Ferryland which connects it to the other towns along the eastern Avalon. Those who live nearby can easily walk to the cemetery without having to park on the side of the road. Individuals who come from further away can park at the Colony of

Avalon Foundation's parking lot which is located directly across on the other side of the road. Driving through town you have to pass directly by the cemetery. It is nearly impossible to live in the community and not be aware of the South Side cemetery's existence. Immediately left of the cemetery is the entrance for the Caplin Bay path of the popular East Coast hiking trail. Its proximity to the Colony of Avalon Foundation building and archaeological site and the Caplin Bay path aids in bringing in tourists to visit the burial ground. One individual interviewed mentioned giving directions to the burial ground to European tourists who had ancestors buried in the South Side cemetery. These tourists were walking the east coast trail and looking for the burial ground. Another individual interviewed stated that when the South Side cemetery was better maintained there would be lots of tourists who would visit.

The North Side cemetery is tucked away on Fox Hill and not visible from the main road. If one was attempting to visit the burial ground, it is difficult to locate. There is a small green sign for the road "Fox hill" on the right side of the road which can be easily missed. There is no part along the main road or on the paved Fox Hill road where the cemetery is visible. Prior knowledge of the location is required to locate it. Visitors must park at the bottom of the hill or gain permission from the owners of the house located at the top of the hill to park in their driveway. The road itself is a residential road which simply gives access to the four houses located on the hill. Once you reach the top of the hill you must walk on the edge of the owner's property to get to the cemetery. Next there is a beaten down path which goes down a steep hill. If visitors have any mobility issues, the North Side cemetery is simply not accessible. Another access point also requires traversing uphill through someone's property and is arguably more difficult to walk. Due to the vegetation and slope of the main entrance it can be dangerous even for able bodied individuals to access the cemetery if the area is wet. During the 2023 field season

I fell down multiple times attempting to access the cemetery. The location is also such that tourists are not going to stumble across it like they would the South Side cemetery. While tourists may visit the cemetery, for example, the nephew of Captain Peterson of the *Sigrid* disaster, these individuals are visiting with a purpose and like with this example, have known ancestors buried in the cemetery. The cemetery being located out of sight to those whose houses do not border the site further removes it from public memory and knowledge. There is no everyday visual reminder of the cemetery's existence. The cemetery itself, once accessed, is significantly flatter compared to the steep slope of the South Side cemetery and has fewer tripping hazards now that the rose bushes have been cleaned away due to the smaller number of stone markers. However, accessibility is likely the biggest deterrence for visitors. The majority of those who mentioned visiting the cemetery were individuals with ancestors buried there and were involved with and interested in researching the history of the town. If you simply wanted to visit a historic cemetery for the sake of visiting a historic cemetery, the South Side cemetery or even the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery has headstones dating to the 19th century and is much more accessible. Photographs depicting the North Side cemetery in the 1960s and earlier show that it was much more well maintained and accessible with much of the area surrounding it being fenced gardens and farmland. It is not clear when the North Side became less accessible.

The location of the North Side cemetery also makes it such that many people only became aware of its existence later in life, whereas the South Side cemetery was somewhere people visited and even played in as children. As a former place of play, the South Side cemetery is further solidified as not simply a place of historic importance but of childhood nostalgia and memories. This is an additional layer of value to the community beyond historic or age value.

The location of the South Side cemetery, on the main road and near to other elements of the community makes it so the cemetery is still visited and used for recreation. The prime example is its use as a viewing platform for the annual music festival which takes place across the road; beer bottles found in the cemetery are evidence of this practice. The North Side cemetery does not have these additional uses as a place of play or as a convenient location to enjoy music festivals. Depending on your point of view it is just a historic site, a ruin or simply just a cemetery. The North Side cemetery has a more singular identity compared to the South Side cemetery, which is both a historic site and a former and current place of recreation.

### **Size**

Another important factor that affects the perception of both burial grounds is their size. This includes both the square footage and the number of headstones/fieldstones in the two cemeteries. The size and location of both burial grounds interact as factors that affect the perceived importance within the community. The South Side cemetery is the larger of the two burial grounds both in dimensions and in number of stone markers. The South Side cemetery is also the older of the two burial grounds, likely only preceded by the lost 17<sup>th</sup>-century burial ground (Lacy 2017a:72). As a non-denominational cemetery there are a mix of Catholic and Anglican internments even after the establishment of the North Side cemetery. It's possible many individuals of Anglican faith during the 19<sup>th</sup> century chose to be buried in the South Side cemetery as the larger, more centrally located site was seen as more desirable. Since the cemetery predates the North Side site, likely by several decades, the soon-to-be deceased may have chosen the cemetery to be buried with family members who predeceased them, further resulting in its growth. For example, there exists a burial of an Anglican husband and wife which



dates to the early 20th century, long after most other burials appear to have stopped in both burial grounds. This was likely an active choice by the deceased to be buried with family or ancestors in the South Side cemetery. As a result of its size most community members in Ferryland who can trace their ancestors to the 18/19th century have ancestors both known and unknown buried in the South Side. This fact makes it statistically more relevant to a higher number of people compared to the North Side cemetery. People most frequently visit cemeteries in which they have personal family connections and the act of visiting graveyards help strengthen these generational ties (Francis et al. 2000:37-38). Considering this factor alone, many more people are likely to visit the South Side cemetery.

The North Side cemetery, both because of size and location, is easily missed. One interviewee remembered walking past it as a kid and not even knowing it was there because of its small size and overgrown vegetation. Researchers have argued that size of cemeteries can be a factor that affects their use for recreation (Quinton and Duinker 2018:256). While they refer to the presence of walking trails inside burial grounds and less densely populated sections of the cemetery which aren't present in either cemetery, the South Side cemetery is significantly larger than the North Side. This allows for children to run around and play games the way it was described during interviews. While location is likely a bigger factor affecting the choice of cemetery as place of play, it is unlikely due to its size that the North Side cemetery would have experienced this same level of childhood engagement if it had been located in a more accessible location.

## Heritage and Identity

The majority of the present population of Ferryland identify as Catholics, whether practicing or not. According to the 2021 census of the 340 people included in the census 325 identified as Christian. Of that 325, 290 identified as Catholic and only 10 people identified as Anglican (Statistics Canada 2021). A similar breakdown by religion was present in the 1836 census, with 458 people identifying as Catholic and only 49 as Protestant<sup>4</sup> (NGB 2014a). While historically there were more Anglicans than there are today, Anglicans were already a minority population in Newfoundland by the late 18th century (Pocius 1975:131). Many of those who were Anglican in Ferryland married Catholics and converted to Catholicism (Pocius 1975:131). Prior to the dissolution of the denominational school system in 1997 in Newfoundland and Labrador, the local school was run by Catholic nuns and there was no alternative for Anglican families in the community. In the 20th century, the remaining Anglican children were often bullied by peers and pulled out of religion class due to their family's beliefs. While not a Catholic burial ground, and in fact consecrated by the Church of England in 1837 (HeritageNL 2024), the South Side burial ground was where all Catholics in the community would have been buried prior to the development of the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery. According to archival records of those with headstones, 15 were Catholic or Irish (likely Catholic) and 8 were recorded as Anglican or having a British surname (likely Anglican). Therefore, there is a shared religious connection between the modern community and the majority of those buried in the South Side burial ground. This connection does not exist with the North Side Anglican cemetery as only 2.94% of the community identify as Anglican (Statistics Canada 2021). It should be noted that while recent statistics show there is a minimal Anglican presence in the community, two

---

<sup>4</sup> Anglicanism is a form of Protestantism. The term used here is the one used in the census.

interviewees could not recall knowing any Anglicans in the community and two mentioned how the area was predominantly Catholics. These people may have left or died since the 2021 census or are newcomers to the community with no ancestral ties to Ferryland. As a result, there are no active Anglican burial grounds in the community. Those of the modern population who identify as Anglican or had previous Anglican ancestors whose descendants converted to Catholicism likely have ties to the South Side cemetery as well due to the number of Anglican and English individuals buried in the South Side.

A large number of the North Side cemetery burial markers are attributable to members of the Morry family, a historically Anglican family. Other surnames only appear once in the burial ground and their surnames are not found in the South Side cemetery. These same surnames also do not appear in the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery, so it is unlikely their families converted. Many of them were born in Britain and may not have had children in Ferryland. It is also possible their children returned to England or left the community for St. John's. There is likely none or very few descendants of these individuals who have remained in Ferryland with a connection to the cemetery, further distances this cemetery from Ferryland's community heritage. In addition, it appears the cemetery was shared with the modern community of Calvert. One interviewee stated "no you couldn't see it [North Side cemetery]. was all buried up in grass and all that. And nobody cares, because there's no, well Aquaforte has a number of Protestants. Aquaforte is the Windsors and the Paynes, so they had a separate protestant church, I assume their church of England or Anglican or something." The presence of an additional Anglican cemetery, in Aquaforte located next to Ferryland and the spread of the Anglican families through multiple communities, instead of consecrated in Ferryland, further minimizes the importance of this cemetery to the modern community.

The concept of “past avoidance” as outlined by Lisa Rankin and Peter Ramsden, demonstrates how communities often intentionally or (in the case of Ferryland, perhaps passively) forget the aspects of their prior identity that no longer are compatible with the present culture (2023:142). They are no longer considered a part of the present-day identity and belief system (Rankin and Ramsden 2023:142). The community of Ferryland is almost exclusively Catholic, however, as many interviewees expressed, several families have Anglican ancestors who converted and married Catholic residents. Whether they were knowingly or unknowingly buried in the North Side, South Side or Holy Trinity cemetery an Anglican presence is part of the shared, sometimes unacknowledged cultural heritage of Ferryland. One Interviewee had expressed they had not learned of the North Side cemetery’s existence till later adulthood. The loss of interest, and in some cases memory of the North Side cemetery is the result of a combination of factors; however, this religious disconnect between present Catholics and historic Anglicans is a clear contributing factor.

### **Historical Importance and Age Value**

The South Side cemetery also contains the burials of several prominent figures including Edmund Hanrahan (d.1875), sheriff of the Southern District and a politician in Newfoundland’s House of Assembly (Wells 1972) who is buried alongside his son of the same name, who was a lawyer. Other important figures include Peter Weston Esq., a justice of the peace and magistrate, and several children of the senior magistrate Robert Carter: Harriette Louisa (d.1827) and Emily (d.1828 no headstone found). While it is not known where Robert Carter (d.1852) is buried, he is most likely buried in the South Side cemetery with his daughters. However, his wife who he predeceased by several years, Sarah Carter (d.1879) is buried in the Forest Road Anglican

cemetery in St. John's. The choice of the South Side cemetery as a place of burial also demonstrates the importance of this particular cemetery to the community at the time of its use as an active burial ground.

The headstone of Sarah Carter (d.1772) is one of the oldest headstones in the South Side cemetery and is perhaps older than any of the headstones in the North Side cemetery. The only headstone that potentially dates to this period in the North Side is that of Henry Leehe (d.177?), with all other known stones dating to the 19th century. Sarah Carter, while not a prominent figure herself, belongs to a prominent family, and arguments could be made that her importance increased posthumously, and as a result so did the cemetery in which she is buried. Sarah Carter's headstone is the only artifact associated with the cemetery which has (knowingly) been removed and put on display. The story had been repeated to me several times by several different community members and all those interviewed knew of the headstone in varying detail. The object biography of Sarah Carter's headstone saw an identity shift from marker for a deceased child, to a preserved archaeological artifact. Her headstone being one of the oldest in Ferryland and the presence of the death head motif, one of only a few found so far in Newfoundland further amplifies her importance. Should her headstone be put on display in the Colony of Avalon Foundation's Museum it is likely it would increase visitors to the South Side cemetery. In addition, the act of her headstone being stolen further demonstrates that those outside of the community are aware of the cemetery.

Despite the South Side cemetery having significantly more notable figures, the North Side is not without its own. Most notably the monument to Captain Petersen and the other victims of the wreck of the Danish schooner *Sigrud* (see chapter 4). This disaster demonstrates the fortitude of the community of Ferryland and its only monument is in the North Side

cemetery. However, unlike the important figures in the South Side cemetery, this was a singular event and those who died were not locals. There has only been one documented incident of a descendant coming to visit the monument. However, despite the religious differences between the North Side cemetery and the modern community of Ferryland, this monument is a representation of the courage, strength and kindness which can be key components of the identity of Ferryland residents.

The South Side cemetery is the chronological successor to the older, now lost burial ground associated with the colony of Avalon. Until the older burial ground is located, the South Side cemetery has the oldest burials that you can visit in Ferryland. Age value is a concept which posits that artifacts, buildings or in this case headstones have value from their perceived oldness which is visible through the signs of natural decay. This is purely subjective and is not inherent to the object and is based on individual perspective and context (Riegl 1996; Wells and Baldwin 2012:385). While being interviewed many five people mentioned the old graves they remember seeing and much emphasis was placed by certain interviewees on the 'oldness' of the South Side cemetery. The idea of something being historic or old, also meaning it is impressive or important was clear in their tone of voice and choice of words. There was lots of excitement over the age of the cemetery and many community members wanted to know precisely how old the cemetery was. Many interviewees told tales excitedly of headstones they saw as children, or their grandparents saw from the 1700s which likely no longer remain standing in the South Side cemetery. The perception of age, and its value and interest because of age, was something many community members appear to have been aware of from childhood in the context of the South Side cemetery. Even the oldest members of the community did not remember any active internments at the South Side cemetery, further solidifying its identity as a historic site or ruin.

Despite the North Side cemetery being potentially only a few decades younger than the South Side cemetery, it doesn't seem to benefit from this same age value. This is likely due to a variety of factors. The North Side is not the oldest nor is it the active burial ground for the community and may subconsciously be seen as just another burial ground. The small size of the cemetery, and its location largely hidden away on Fox Hill are both factors at play preventing it from seeming as impressive to the community as the larger and older South Side cemetery. Considered through the concept age value, should the original 1620s colonial burial ground be discovered, it is possible that the South Side cemetery could lose its age value to the community despite not changing physically. This new context, in which there's an older burial ground, could shift the public's perception of the South Side cemetery as something old and valuable.

### **Ways the cemeteries are similar**

Despite the above-mentioned differences amongst the two cemeteries (in terms of location, size, historical importance and religion), there are numerous ways in which the two cemeteries are similar. While the differences are perhaps most noticeable and have the greatest effect on their differential treatment, it is important to consider their similarities to understand the totality of the two burial grounds. The three main characteristics the South Side and North Side cemeteries have in common are: relative age, their current state of preservation, and evidence of individual headstone maintenance.

While no one knows the exact decade in which either cemetery was established, both burial grounds date to the 18th century. Archival evidence suggests the South Side cemetery was already established by 1749 likely predating the North Side cemetery by several decades. The North Side first appears on a map in the 1790s, and the worn headstone of Henry Leehe

potentially dates to the 1770s. The lack of additional headstones from this period and the lack of legibility of the above-mentioned headstone makes it difficult to concretely establish a date earlier than the 1790s. Due to the minimal number of early headstones in both burial grounds and lack of a concrete date of establishment, the exact difference in age is unknown. Both cemeteries were also used through much of the 19th century, receiving final burials of non-locals who died in maritime-related disasters in the early 20th century.

In addition to their relative age, both burial grounds are in similar states of ruin. As discussed previously (see Chapter 2) both burial grounds have seen a period of neglect in which neither cemetery has seen internments or maintenance. It's hard to know exactly how long this period lasted as the maintenance has not been well documented. Both cemeteries show signs that are common in historical ruins: vegetation overgrowth, weathering, and headstones having fallen over, broken and in some cases buried under vegetation and dirt. It is difficult to know how much damage has occurred in both cemeteries during the process of ruination as there is no photographic documentation of the cemeteries earlier than the 1930s (South Side) and 1950s (North Side) at which time both cemeteries were already in varying states of decay. It is possible the process of ruination began well before photographs became available to the general public.

Finally, both burial grounds have seen restoration attempts on individual headstones. While these restoration attempts vary in quality and best practice between the two cemeteries, both cases are evidence of the importance of individual headstones to community members even if the cemeteries themselves aren't being regularly maintained.

In the South Side cemetery, the headstone of Patrick Condon (d.1848?) was restored by an unknown individual. Due to the methods used to restore, this was not conducted by a professional cemetery preservationist or archaeologist. The headstone, which had broken into



pieces, had been reassembled using plaster or another hardening material. The headstone was then painted white, and lettering and symbols painted over in black. This is a practice commonly seen throughout cemeteries in Newfoundland and parts of Nova Scotia, and may have origins in Ireland, where the practice has also been documented (Mytum 2004:122). However, painting headstones can trap dirt, vegetation and moisture which causes further damage to the headstone. Removing the paint without causing future damage can also be very difficult (Lacy 2017c; Lacy 2022). In the case of Patrick Condon, the year of death was part of the broken section of the stone and a date was painted on in a place it wasn't originally. Therefore, the year of death cannot be confirmed by reading the headstone alone but was painted as 1848. Archival research conducted by Kevin Reddigan suggests 1840 is a more likely year of death (Reddigan 2014). Other evidence of restoration includes a wooden frame with a clear plastic front, allowing the headstone to still be legible. This too is problematic as grass and other vegetation are trapped in the casing. It's unclear if the casing is attached to the stone or simply around it.

In the North Side cemetery, the headstone of Captain Petersen who died during the wreck of the *Sigrid*, has also been restored. This headstone having been mostly buried was dug up, re-erected and the letters were painted on in black for legibility by the Ferryland Historical Society (see Chapter 4). While the lettering has worn away again, this headstone is the most legible of headstones in the North Side cemetery. This stone was chosen to be restored not because of importance to the local community but by a family member of the Captain in Denmark.

### **Is the South Side cemetery heritage?**

It is clear the South Side cemetery is seen as a shared community heritage and not just a place where relatives or ancestors are buried due to the difference in treatment between the South

Side and the Holy Trinity cemeteries. The concept of family is defined here as individuals who exist in living memory, who you personally know (not just through genealogy) and who you mourn their passing. Heritage is those who you may or may not be personally related to but have no active memory of their existence. If you know of them it is through family lore, genealogy or historical research. There is no clear chronological time in which one passes from family to heritage and can vary from person to person, family to family. This difference in treatment and perception is best shown by the fact that multiple graves in the Holy Trinity Catholic Cemetery have evidence of grave visits by family members including: the headstone belonging to the Barnable family, Walsh family and Ryan Family which have visible pink fake flowers present in photographs (Peterman 2007a; Peterman 2007b; Find a grave 2012; Tate 2015). In addition, a large majority of the older graves have had their lettering repainted for the legibility for those visiting the grave. An example is the headstone of John Stephenson (d.1872) whose lettering was repainted in black, and the rose motif was repainted in red and green (Stephenson 2015). In addition, the headstone was remounted on a new base in 2015. While this is not a recommended practice for preservation to paint graves, it is indicative of the care that the families and community feel towards the people buried in the Holy Trinity cemetery. Additional markers have been erected by family members for previously unmarked or lost burials. For example, a metal cross was erected for Michael Joseph Sullivan (d.1897) by family in 2015 (Reddigan 2015). Examples of this form of care are largely absent from the South Side cemetery with the exception of the Patrick Condon headstone which had been painted and encased in a plastic and wooden frame. However, many of the Condon family markers have been painted in the Holy Trinity cemetery so it is possible this was done at the same time. These differences between the South Side and Holy Trinity cemetery are clear examples of how they are viewed differently as

family vs heritage and history. Many of the people buried in Holy Trinity are in active memory: parents, grandparents and great-grandparents that people have met or who their parents knew. They take care of the Holy Trinity cemetery because there are family members buried there not because of community heritage.

In addition, those who spoke with me formally for interviews and those who walked past while fieldwork was being conducted expressed deep interest in the headstone of Bridget Rose (d.1821). Rose, is not a name that appears as a surname in the Holy Trinity cemetery and many community members remarked they did not know anyone with said surname. Even though Bridget Rose is not acknowledged as an ancestor to any of the modern community members, they were all very interested in learning about her headstone discovery as a piece of community heritage. Similarly, many people asked what the oldest headstone found in the cemetery was and spoke of dates of death they remember seeing on headstones. However, they didn't remember the names of the deceased. They were much more interested in how old the headstones were and the total number of burials. This implies an interest based on history and not purely the result of family connection. In addition, the South Side cemetery has been designated officially as a municipal heritage site registered with Heritage Newfoundland, where the Holy Trinity cemetery has not (Heritage NL 2008a).

However, despite these differences, a clear differential, I argue, is not required. Heritage as outlined by Waterton, Watson and Silverman, relies on an active connection with the past and the participation of individuals or communities (Waterton et al. 2017:8). While the South Side is seen as heritage by many, there are others perhaps with strong ancestral ties due to cultural, religious or personal genealogical interests that may change how they view the cemetery. To them the South Side cemetery may be important because their family is buried there. Similarly,

the Holy Trinity cemetery may be viewed as history and heritage by future generations that are more disconnected from those buried there. The fluid and ever-changing nature of heritage may result in the North Side cemetery evolving into a shared community heritage despite the lack of ancestral connections.

### **Ruins?**

Considering the discussed theoretical frameworks (see chapter 2), are the South Side and North Side cemeteries in Ferryland considered ruins? There are three components to consider in answering this question: do the residents of Ferryland identify the burial grounds as ruins; is decay a factor; and are they being maintained?

While the topic of ‘ruins’ was not discussed during the interview components of this research project, not one of the interview subjects used the word ‘ruin’ when describing the burial grounds. The most common terms used were “cemetery” or “graveyard” often with the adjective old used to describe it. It is of course possible, if prompted, that individuals would have described the cemeteries as ruins; however, it's clear this is not the term that immediately came to mind.

The other two components to consider are decay and maintenance. It is clear both cemeteries are in a state of active decay. There is lichen and moss visible on several of the headstones. Discoloration of the stones caused by vegetation and dirt, is present as well. Numerous headstones are broken into two or more pieces and displaced from their original locations. Many of the headstones have experienced significant weathering resulting in the inscriptions becoming less visible and legible when compared to photographs taken by earlier surveys. Most visible is the significant overgrowth of grass (South Side) and rose bushes (North

Side) in both burial grounds. While decay plays a major role in ruins and ruination, its presence alone, I would argue, does not designate a ruin. All things, especially those exposed to natural weathering, decay and are altered from the moment it is created. Even buildings and cemeteries that are actively in use and actively maintained will show signs of decay, especially as financial constraints exist, limiting the amount of maintenance that can be conducted. For example, the Anglican cemetery in St John's, Newfoundland on Quidi Vidi Lake receives active burials, the grass is regularly cut through the spring and summer, in addition to other maintenance activities as needed. However, several headstones are in a similar condition to those in the Ferryland burial grounds.

Is the St. John's Anglican cemetery a ruin? I would argue no. However, both the South Side and North Side cemeteries in Ferryland are ruins. Both of the Ferryland cemeteries have received maintenance throughout the years by the community or by individuals interested in their family history. However, the key component that differentiates them from the St. John's cemetery is the period of use. The Ferryland cemeteries are not active burial grounds, and maintenance has not been consistent throughout time as a result. Maintenance does not prevent something from being a ruin. However, the maintenance done at the Ferryland cemeteries has not been consistent, and there have been extended periods where no new burials were conducted nor was the grass cut. The key component that differentiates a ruin from a poorly maintained building is a period of inactivity sometimes referred to as "interval of neglect" (Jackson 1980:102; DeSilvey 2017:91), which can be followed by maintenance or restoration but is not necessarily required. The St. John's cemetery has not experienced this interval of neglect, while both the South Side and North Side have. In modern thought, ruins represent the past as a separate place from the present, their existence signaling the difference between the then and

now (Gordillo 2014:8-9). The St. John's cemetery is a continuous unbroken chain with the past and the present as it continues to be used. The South Side and North Side cemeteries show a distinct separation between the past community and the present community through the existence of ruin.

Scholars have outlined the difference between ruins and rubble, as ruins are considered worthy of historical protections and preservations, while rubble carries a negative connotation and seen as unrecognizable from its past state (Gordillo 2014:9-10). Ruins are considered aesthetically superior over the "shapeless" state of rubble (Gordillo 2014:10) Recent scholarship has attempted to remove the hierarchical divide between ruins and rubble, recognizing the near "fetishistic" obsession with preserving ruins and the past (Gordillo 2014:9-10). Both the North Side and South Side cemeteries fit the traditional definition of ruin and not rubble; however, the possibility exists to move from one to the other.

### **Suggestions for the future of the Burial Grounds**

There are many options available to help preserve the two cemeteries as heritage sites for the community. However, without heritage grants or community fundraisers, this may not be possible financially. Many grants available are regional and restricted to one city such as the St. John's Heritage Financial Incentives Program (St. John's 2017) or requires sites to be of national importance such as the Commemorate Canada program (Government of Canada 2023). If eligible grant programs are found or money raised by the community, there are several options to help maintain and improve these two historic cemeteries.

The main issue with the North Side cemetery when it comes to visitors is its location. Most people who are not from Ferryland will not be aware of the existence of the North Side

cemetery and those who know of its existence may find it difficult to locate without directions from a local. Putting a sign on the main road or on the bottom of Fox Hill indicating the presence of the historic cemetery to passerby would aid in its visibility. Many communities in Canada have simple green road signs, just like the one indicating Fox Hill, with the words “cemetery” and an arrow pointing in the direction of the cemetery. Alternatively, a sign with the name North Side or Fox Hill Cemetery could be used. This would increase awareness and visibility for the cemetery.

The key to the survival of both cemeteries is the maintenance and control of vegetation. Both cemeteries have fast growing vegetation which hindered recording efforts over the course of the 2023 field season. The main vegetation in the South Side cemetery was tall grass, which often obscured headstones from view. The North Side cemetery has extensive rose bushes, whose roots have caused documented damage to various field stones and likely to currently unknown buried headstones. Removal of this vegetation in both cemeteries would be time consuming in the initial season due to its current state; however, regular maintenance each year would likely prevent the cemeteries from returning to their current state. It should be noted that there are several buried headstones, and broken pieces of stones lying flat throughout both cemeteries. Removal of vegetation should not be done without consultation with archaeological professionals, doing so could result in further damage to the headstones. Notably, Black Cat Cemetery Preservation company based out of St. John’s has undergone several cemetery restoration projects in Newfoundland, including a large project with the town of Greenspond restoring all of their historic cemeteries (White 2022). In addition to the vegetation maintenance, garbage found throughout the cemeteries should be removed and in the case of the North Side cemetery, a new fence should be put up to replace the old one.

Commemorative plaques are one way of conveying historical information and the importance of a location to the general public. Plaques can play a central role in places such as the two historic burial grounds, where there are no tour guides or museum interpretation centres such as those at the Colony of Avalon Foundation. Without a plaque, tourists may walk past the cemeteries unaware of the roles they played in the history of the town, viewing them as just any other cemetery that dots the countryside of Newfoundland and Canada more broadly. Adding a historic plaque is a way to encourage community involvement in the cemetery by both tourists and locals. There are many examples of historic plaques in Newfoundland including two put up by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada for the colony of Avalon and Sir David Kirke. Examples of monumental plaques can also be seen in cemeteries, such as the plaque for Sir James Pearl put up by the City of Mount Pearl in the Old Anglican Burying Ground in St. John's. Plaques could be put up at both cemeteries either commemorating the sites themselves or important figures or events. For example, a plaque could be placed in front of the monument of Captain Petersen, explaining the events and the key role local community members played in the recovery and burial of those who perished in the disaster of the *Sigrid*.

The community of Ferryland maintains a website which includes historic information about the town, activities and places for tourists to visit. Currently, the only cemetery mentioned on the website is the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery. This is in the "Things To Do" section of the website under "History & Tributes". The South Side and North Side cemeteries could be added to this section with a brief description of their history and importance. Alternatively, the Colony of Avalon, Holy Trinity Church and East Coast Trail are all mentioned under the main section of "Things To Do" with pictures and brief descriptions. The cemeteries could be included here which would aid in their establishment as tourist and historic sites. The South Side cemetery



could also be included briefly in the description of the East Coast Trail due to it being located at the Caplin Bay path entrance. This would be an alternative to adding additional physical - signage. A study conducted in 2005 concluded that 67% of American tourists used the internet to research their trips (Nilashi et al. 2022:13870). Considering the proliferation of the internet in the last 19 years this figure likely remains the same or has increased since the original study. Therefore, it is important for both cemeteries to have a presence on the internet. While websites such as Newfoundland's Grand Banks and Find a Grave have information about both burial grounds, these websites are likely not going to be accessed by tourists, only those who already have some knowledge about the cemeteries, or those conducting genealogical or historic research. Having more historic sites, such as the two burial grounds, to visit in the town beyond the main historical/archaeological attraction of the Colony of Avalon would help keep more tourists in the community for longer, spending more money on local businesses such as restaurants and bed and breakfasts. Previous researchers have documented the town of Ferryland as having a heritage-scape identity, a place where the presentation and commodification of history and heritage are key elements of the landscape (Sullivan and Mitchell 2012:42). In response to the decline of the fishing industry, Ferryland shifted from a primarily fishing town to one with an established heritage industry catered towards tourists (Sullivan and Mitchell 2012:39). A trend seen across the island of Newfoundland (Carter et al. 2001: 113; Sullivan and Mitchell 2012:39). By establishing both cemeteries as heritage sites worth visiting, they would be further contributing to the town's already established identity as a heritage-scape and tourist destination.

Throughout the biography of a cemetery, its role and meaning shifts and changes, which can sometimes result in the loss of its 'social connection' to the community (Harvey 2006:309).

In the case of the South Side cemetery, with the establishment of the Holy Trinity Catholic cemetery, newer generations were mostly buried in the new burial ground. This could have been a preference for those of Catholic faith as the South Side cemetery was consecrated, despite being non-denominational, by the Church of England. As generations pass people forget about their ancestors in the South Side cemetery and have a stronger established social connection to Holy Trinity, where their more recent ancestors and family members are buried. Similarly, with the decline in Anglican members in the community, the North Side cemetery lost this religious and social connection to the community and was left to ruin. While the two cemeteries' identities will permanently have shifted from places of mourning to ruins to heritage sites, the cemeteries can be lifted up as important aspects of the community's diverse history and heritage. By adding plaques or signs, maintaining the vegetation, putting up fencing and otherwise establishing the two burial grounds as historic sites of importance to the community, its social life can be revitalized.

## **Chapter 6: Conclusion**

### **Research Questions**

This research project started with the observation that the North Side cemetery appeared to receive no care from the community, while the South Side still received visitors and occasional maintenance. This differential treatment occurred despite both cemeteries dating to the 18th century. With this observation, the research sought to answer the question: What is the significance of this differential treatment and what can it tell us about how certain sites become valued as shared community heritage, worthy of care, while others, apparently of the same kind, do not?

Additional secondary questions were posited to help answer this larger question. Firstly, it is important to determine, does the community in fact view these two burial grounds differently and what are the specific ways these manifest in their differential treatment? Once this differential treatment and community view can be established then additional questions can be examined. These were: what are the similarities and differences between the two burial grounds?; and how does this comparison help explain their apparent differential treatment and perceived heritage value in the community?

### **Summary of Results**

There were three primary data sources collected and analyzed over the course of this project: archival research, interviews with community knowledge holders and surveys of both burial grounds. Both the findings from the interviews and the archival sources analyzed help contextualize the data collected from the archaeological surveys.

Over the course of the survey work, several previously unknown headstones were discovered buried by vegetation and/or dirt in the South Side cemetery. Some headstones discovered were broken into pieces, while others were mostly intact, having simply fallen over before being covered.

Survey work has confirmed that the majority of stones in the South Side were fieldstones, flat local shale without any identifying data. This would have been a more affordable option to the majority of community members in the past. The North Side cemetery also is made up of mostly fieldstones; however, there is a larger percentage of headstones compared to the South Side cemetery. There is also evidence of several shattered fieldstones at the North Side cemetery, likely caused by the rose bush root systems which may have an effect on the overall number of recordable fieldstones. No previously unknown headstones were discovered in the North Side, however, several long depressions were found which may be the result of currently unmarked burials.

Both cemeteries received burials of Anglican community members, while only the South Side cemetery received Catholic burials. The choice by Anglicans to be buried in the South Side over the North Side may indicate the importance of the much larger South Side burial ground. Archival data suggests that the North Side cemetery may have also received internments from neighboring communities and outsiders.

Several interviewees discussed personal childhood connections to the South Side cemetery, with only one interviewee having a childhood story related to the North Side cemetery. Many people only gained knowledge about the presence of the North Side cemetery in adulthood and those who had any stories to share were involved in personal, professional, or volunteer work concerning historical research and preservation.

## Conclusions

This project started with the view that the North Side cemetery had not received any care while the South Side cemetery received occasional maintenance. This statement on its own, is not factual. The North Side cemetery, particularly the graves belonging to the Morry family, received maintenance in the early to mid-20th century by a local resident whose ancestors were buried in the cemetery. Once he passed away or stopped caring for the cemetery it fell into ruin, uncared for and overgrown until a partial cleanup in 2022 and a full cleanup in the field season of 2023, where other members of his family volunteered to clean up the cemetery in aid of this project. However, the North Side cemetery has not received maintenance or care by the community at large, nor has this maintenance occurred in recent years prior to the summer of 2023. The commitment of only a few individuals with ancestral ties to the burial ground further illustrates the lack of connection this cemetery has to the majority of residents of Ferryland. While the North Side cemetery is an expression of one family's heritage, it is not seen as an expression of a shared community heritage and is therefore treated differently by the community.

This cemetery's disconnection from the community at large, is the result of several major differences in comparison to the South Side cemetery. One primary difference is the location. The North Side cemetery is hidden away and as a result is not visited by many community members and others may not even know of its existence. The South Side cemetery is much more centrally located in comparison and visited by tourists. Secondly, the North Side cemetery is exclusively an Anglican burial ground, where the South Side cemetery received interments of both Catholics and Anglicans. The majority of the community is Catholic and there is no active Anglican congregation in the community. This further provides a disconnect between the community and the cemetery. Lastly, the North Side cemetery is much smaller than the South

Side and as a result, less people's ancestors are buried there and in general seen as less impressive.

No one likely believes the North Side cemetery should be left to succumb to ruination. However, its lack of connection to the community and the acknowledgement of minimal resources (both financial and time) to commit to the long-term project of maintaining a historic cemetery, means that if asked to choose between maintaining only one of the cemeteries most people would choose the South Side cemetery. This was an opinion reflected in many of the answers to the various questions posed in the interviews. Some people expressed that they felt it was unlikely the North Side cemetery would ever be cared for by the community. Another stated while they would like to see the cemetery maintained they "can't hold people responsible for that who have no [religious/familial] association with it."

While the two cemeteries have many similarities in terms of period of usage, age and overall condition in the present day, the biggest takeaway from this project is that sometimes differences matter more for the preservation of the site than its similarities. The differences between the two cemeteries are responsible for their differential treatment and why the South Side is seen as an expression of shared community heritage, while the North Side is not. However, despite these differences both cemeteries are worthy of community protection and maintenance, as both cemeteries contain deceased members of the Ferryland community.

### **Future Research**

The main reason that the older cemeteries stopped receiving internments was the creation of the Holy Trinity cemetery, the first official Catholic cemetery in Ferryland, sometime in the 20th century. This paired with the overall decline of non-Catholic residents in Ferryland saw a

decreased need for the Anglican and non-denominational cemeteries. However, what is not clear is when either burial ground was first created. The furthest back the South Side can be traced is 1749, though it was likely already established by this date (NGB 2024). The North Side appears in records as far back as the 1790s, though, like the South Side, is potentially older. To push back the dates of either cemetery additional buried headstones would need to be recovered by future archaeological investigation or additional archival research. Should the earliest colonial cemetery from the 1620s be discovered, it could potentially shed light on the early years of the South Side cemetery.

In addition to the age of the cemetery, further survey work could be conducted to confirm the boundaries of both cemeteries. Data collected during the surveys suggested that the South Side cemetery likely does not extend beyond its current borders and if it did previously, these headstones are long since removed either in construction of the road, houses, or subsistence farming. However, the North Side cemeteries' rose bush overgrowth has made it nearly impossible to discover any potential graves beyond the currently established borders. Additional vegetation removal may uncover additional graves and expand the currently known borders of the burial ground.

This research project is a preliminary exploration of the topic of the South Side and North Side cemeteries as heritage sites. This thesis discusses various factors that can influence a community's perspective on heritage and what can determine whether a cemetery is viewed as heritage or not. This project provides a data set and preliminary discussion of cemeteries as heritage which future research projects in Ferryland can expand on. A more in-depth study and data collection of the Holy Trinity catholic cemetery would also provide further data, avenues of exploration and site comparison.

## Bibliography

Ancestry.com (2016) UK, British Army and Navy Birth, Marriage and Death Records, 1730-1960.

Anonymous (1903, Dec 07) Awful Disaster. Loss of the "Sigrid". *The Evening Telegram*, Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archives.

Anonymous (1903, Dec 11) Lost With All Hands. *The Harbour Grace Standard*, Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archives.

Anonymous (1916) Muir's Marble Works (Established 1842). *Commercial Annual* 25: 69.

Anonymous (1925, Sept 17) Ferryland. *The Daily News*, Memorial University of Newfoundland Digital Archives.

Angelo, D. (2017) Histories of a Burnt House: An Archaeology of Negative Spaces and Dispossession. *American Anthropologist* 119(2): 253-268.

Benjamin, W. (2004) The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction. Pp.1235-1241 in Rivkin, J., & Ryan, M. (eds), *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing LTD.

Bernbeck, R. (2008) An Archaeology of Multi-Sited Communities. Pp. 43-77 in Barnard, H. & Wendrich, W. (eds), *The Archaeology of Mobility: Old World and New World Nomadism*. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology Press: Los Angeles.

Brooks, S.T., & Brooks, B.W. (1938) Ferryland Harbour. Item VA 6-32. Photograph, Newfoundland Tourist Development Board photograph collection, The Rooms Provincial Archives, St. John's.

Carter, M., Gaulton, B., & J. Tuck. (1998) Archaeology at Ferryland, Newfoundland, 1997. *Avalon Chronicles* 3: 49-62.

Carter, L., Jolliffe, L., & Baum, T. (2001) Heritage Tourism and World Heritage Sites: the Case of Newfoundland. *Tourism Recreation Research* 26(1): 113-116.

Cell, G.T. (1969) English Enterprise in Newfoundland 1577-1660. Toronto University Press: Toronto. s



Cook, K. (2011) A Different Kind of Afterlife: The Cultural Biography of Headstones. Pp. 189-198 in Amundsen-Meyer L., Engel N., Pickering S. (eds), *Identity Crisis: Archaeological Perspectives on Social Identity*. The University of Calgary: Calgary.

DeSilvey, C. (2017) *Curated Decay: Heritage Beyond Saving*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Dethlefsen, E. & Deetz, J. (1966) Death's Heads, Cherubs, and Willow Trees: Experimental Archaeology in Colonial Cemeteries.

Dunne, M. (1998/1999) Image of the Sigrid Headstone.

FamilySearch (2023). Canada, Newfoundland Vital Records, 1840-1949. Accessed via *FamilySearch*, <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QKQF-HVY4>.

Fifield, K. (2022) Norman Cyril Bennett, Find A Grave, [https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/156035089/norman\\_cyril-bennett/photo](https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/156035089/norman_cyril-bennett/photo)

Flinn, A., & Sexton, A. (2013) Research on community heritage: moving from collaborative research to participatory and co-designed research practice. *CIRN Prato Community Informatics Conference 2013: Refereed Paper*: 1-14.

Fontein, J. (2011) Graves, Ruins, and Belonging: Towards an Anthropology of Proximity. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 17: 706-727.

Fowler, K.M. (2001) Ferryland 3-Very Old. *Stone Pics*, <https://www.stonepics.com/cds/NF154/FER03%20-%20Ferryland%203%20-%20very%20old/index.htm>

Francis, D., Kellaher, L., & Neophytou, G. (2000) Sustaining Cemeteries: The User Perspective. *Mortality* 5(1): 34-52.

Garlie, M. (2022). An Isotopic Investigation of the Diet and Origins of 18th - and 19th -Century Individuals from Newfoundland and Louisbourg. [MA Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Gaulton, B. (2006) The Archaeology of Gentry Life in Seventeenth-Century Ferryland. [Ph.D Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Gaulton, B. (2021). Thirty Years of Archaeology at Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Newfoundland and Labrador Archaeology Society: Annual General Meeting*. [Keynote speech]: <https://nlarchsociety.ca/2021/12/02/nlas-2021-agm-keynote-lecture-thirty-years-of-archaeology-at-ferryland-newfoundland%EF%BF%BC/>

González-Ruibal, A. (2016) Archaeology and the Time of Modernity. *Historical Archaeology* 50(3): 144-164.

Gordillo, G.R. (2014) *Rubble: The Afterlife of Destruction*. Duke University Press: Durham.

Gosden, C. & Marshall, Y. (1999) The Cultural Biography of Objects. *World Archaeology* 31(2): 169-178.

Government of Canada (2023) Commemorate Canada, <https://www.canada.ca/en/canadian-heritage/services/funding/commemorate-canada/application-guidelines.html>.

Goya, M. (2018). A Permanent Place in Newfoundland: Seventeenth-Century Basque Tombstones in Placentia. *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 33(1): 172-199.

Harrington, M. (1958) *Sea Stories from Newfoundland*. Ryerson Press: Toronto.

Harvey, T. (2006) Sacred Spaces, Common Places: The Cemetery in the Contemporary American City. *Geographical Review* 96(2): 295-312.

Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador (2016) Holy Trinity Roman Catholic Church (Ferryland). <https://www.heritage.nf.ca/articles/society/holy-trinity-church-ferryland.php>

Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador (2023) List of known grave markers and memorial carvers for NL [Spreadsheet].

Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador (2024) Presentation Convent and School Registered Heritage structure, <https://heritagenl.ca/heritage-property/presentation-convent-and-school-registered-heritage-structure/>

Heritage Newfoundland & Labrador (2024) North Side Burial Ground Municipal Heritage Site, <https://heritagenl.ca/heritage-property/north-side-burial-ground-municipal-heritage-site>

Holtrof, C., & Schadla-Hall, T. (1999) Age as Artifact: On Archaeological Authenticity. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2(2):229-247.

Honerkamp, N. & Crook, R. (2012) Archaeology in Greechee Graveyard. *Southeastern Archaeology* 31(1): 103-114.

Jackson, J.B. (1980) *The Necessity for Ruins*. The University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst.

Jones, G. (2008) Geophysical Mapping of Historic Cemeteries. *Technical Briefs in Historic Archaeology* 3: 25-38.

Keister, D. (2004) *Stories in Stone: A Field Guide to Cemetery Symbolism and Iconography*. Gibbs Smith Publisher: Salt Lake City.

King, C. (2010) Separated by Death and Color: The African American Cemetery of New Philadelphia, Illinois. *Historical Archaeology* 44(1): 125-137.

Kopytoff, I. (2013) The Cultural Biography of Things: Commoditization as Process. Pp. 64-91 in Appadurai, A. (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Lacy, R., Gaulton, B., & Piercey. (2017) Inscriptions, Outcrops, and XRF: Analysis of the Ferryland Gravestones. *North Atlantic Archaeology* 5: 1-20.

Lacy, R. (2017a) 'Here lieth interr'd' An Examination of 17th-century British Burial Landscapes in Eastern North America. [MA Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Lacy, R. (2017b) Outsourcing Monuments? – Gravestone Carving vs. Importation in Newfoundland. *Spade & The Grave*.

Lacy, R. (2017c) Burial Ground Conservation Tips, *Spade & The Grave*,  
<https://spadeandthegrave.com/2017/11/20/burial-ground-conservation-dos-donts/>

Lacy, R. (2019) Curious Canadian Cemeteries: South side / Old Non-Denominational Burial Ground, Ferryland, Newfoundland. *Spade & The Grave*,  
<https://spadeandthegrave.com/2019/04/07/curious-canadian-cemeteries-south-side-old-non-denominational-burial-ground-ferryland-newfoundland/>

Lacy, R. (2020). *Burial and Death in Colonial North America: Exploring Interment Practices and Landscapes in 17th-Century British Settlements*. Emerald Publishing Ltd: Bingley, UK.

Lacy, R. (2022) Jane Condon's Gravestone, New Perlican, NL (or; please do not paint your gravestones). *Black Cat Cemetery Preservation*,  
[https://blackcatcemeterypreservation.ca/2022/02/28/jane-condons-gravestone-new-perlican-nl-or-please-do-not-paint-your-gravestones/?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTAAAR29zQi-0MustOYuvihPP6iI3aNHhtXOB7\\_4jt\\_QWT4pxYDfZLpjaMQu5R8\\_aem\\_AToYgymM2O53y0rsWARSQPznxLY6WdpTI6evEnWeGD6fXOMaia4eRzfeHqzY1scpi0nXggnLXITGB7uKMnc0PnJ](https://blackcatcemeterypreservation.ca/2022/02/28/jane-condons-gravestone-new-perlican-nl-or-please-do-not-paint-your-gravestones/?fbclid=IwZXh0bgNhZW0CMTAAAR29zQi-0MustOYuvihPP6iI3aNHhtXOB7_4jt_QWT4pxYDfZLpjaMQu5R8_aem_AToYgymM2O53y0rsWARSQPznxLY6WdpTI6evEnWeGD6fXOMaia4eRzfeHqzY1scpi0nXggnLXITGB7uKMnc0PnJ)

Lacy, R. (2023) Small, Modest Markers of Love and Respect: Field Stones in Newfoundland's Cemeteries. *Newfoundland Quarterly*, <http://nqonline.ca/article/small-modest-markers-of-love-and-respect-field-stones-in-newfoundlands-cemeteries-by-robyn-s-lacy/>

Lahey, R. (1977) *The Role of Religion in Lord Baltimore's Colonial Enterprise*. Maryland Historical Society.

Latour, B. (1991) *We Have Never Been Modern*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2015) Ferryland Main Roman Catholic Cemetery: William Saunders, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/saunders-wm-main-rc-fer-p0251.shtml>

Lemke, A. (2020) "Missing Cemeteries" and Structural Racism: Historical Maps and Endangered African/African American and Hispanic Mortuary Customs in Texas. *Historical Archaeology* 54:605-623.

Library of Birmingham. (2013) Birmingham Church of England Parish Registers; Reference Number: Dro 31; Archive Roll: 674. Birmingham, England, UK, Accessed via Ancestry.com.

Limp, W., & Barnes, A. (2017) Solving the Grid-to-Ground Problem when Using High Precision GNSS in Archaeological Mapping. *Advances in Archaeological Practice* 2(2): 138-143.

McClanahan, A. (2014) Archaeologies of Collapse: New Conceptions of Ruination in Northern Britain. *Visual Culture in Britain* 15(2):198-213.

Mcgrath, A. (2001) Playing Colonial: Cowgirls, Cowboys, and Indians in Australia and North America. *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 2(1).

Mckillop, H. (1995) Recognizing Children's Graves in Nineteenth-Century Cemeteries: Excavations in St. Thomas Anglican Churchyard, Belleville, Ontario, Canada. *Historical Archaeology* 29(2): 77-99.

Molloy, S., Rideout, J., & Norman, M. (2014). Graveyard Mapping. [Technical Thesis]: College of the North Atlantic.

Morry, C. (2018) Descendants of William Carter. The New Morry Family Website, <https://www.avalonia-hibernia.ca/Morry%20Genealogy/williamcarter160718/d1.htm#i6298>

Morry, C. (2020a) Mary Sanders. The New Morry Family Website, <https://avalonia-hibernia.ca/Morry%20Genealogy/MorryFamilyDevonNewfoundland/morrys%20of%20devon%20and%20newfoundland%20complete%20june%202020/5879.htm>

Morry, C. (2020b) Mary Saunders. The New Morry Family Website, <https://avalonia-hibernia.ca/Morry%20Genealogy/MorryFamilyDevonNewfoundland/morrys%20of%20devon%20and%20newfoundland%20complete%20june%202020/8227.htm>

Morry, C. (2020c) Mary Morry. *The New Morry Family Webstie*, <https://avalonia-hibernia.ca/Morry%20Genealogy/MorryFamilyDevonNewfoundland/morrys%20of%20devon%20and%20newfoundland%20complete%20june%202020/882.htm>

Muller, S., Burke, H., De Leiuén, C., Degner, H., & Farrell, Z. (2019) 'Childness': An Alternative Approach to the Archaeology of Childhood through Cemetery Studies. *Religions* 10(451): 1-15.

Munkittrick, T., Varney, T., Pike, K., & Grimes, V. (2019). Life histories from the Southside Cemetery, St. John's, Newfoundland: Insights into Royal Naval diet using stable isotopes. *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 24: 815-828.

Munkittrick, T. (2015). A nursery for seamen: life histories from the St. John's Royal Naval Hospital Cemetery, Newfoundland. [MA Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Mytum, H. (2004) Artefact Biography as an Approach to Material Culture: Irish Gravestones as a Material Form of Genealogy. *The Journal of Irish Archaeology* 12: 111-127.

Mytum, H. (2009) Mortality Symbols in Action: Protestant and Catholic Memorials in Early Eighteenth-Century West Ulster. *Historical Archaeology* 43:160–182.

Mytum, H. (2010) Ways of Writing in Post-Medieval and Historical Archaeology: Introducing Biography. *Post-Medieval Archaeology* 44(2): 237-254.

Nash, A. (2018) 'That this too, too Solid flesh would melt ... ': Necrogeography, Gravestones, Cemeteries, and Deathscapes. *Progress in Physical Geography* 42(5): 548-565.

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2002a) Church of England Ferryland District Burials, [http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer\\_husband3.shtml](http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer_husband3.shtml)

Newfoundland's Grand Banks. (2002b) Ferryland District Colonial records, "1700's to 1800's early" Part 2 (K - Z), <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Legal-Documents/fer-colonial-2.shtml>

Newfoundland's Grand Banks (2012) Ferryland District Birth/Baptisms Church of England, Pre 1891 Registration Records: Volume 31. *Newfoundland's Grand Banks*. [Electronic Document]: <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/births-ce-fer.shtml>

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2014a) Newfoundland 1836 Census: Ferryland District. <http://ngb.chebucto.org/C1836/1836-ferryland-census.shtml>

Newfoundland's Grand Banks (2014b) Southern Shore Marriage Records from R.C. Basilica, St. John's, Covering St. John's and Other Areas. [http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer\\_husband1.shtml](http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer_husband1.shtml)

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2015) Southern Shore Marriage Records from RC Basilica St. John's Covering St John's and Other Areas, [http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer\\_husband3.shtml](http://ngb.chebucto.org/Parish/fer_husband3.shtml)

Newfoundland's Grand Banks (2020) Roman Catholic Cemetery (Holy Trinity), Ferryland, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland's Grand Banks*. [Electronic Document]: <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/cem-ferryland-rc-fer.shtml>

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2022) Anglican Cemetery Ferryland, Ferryland District, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/cem-ferryland-ang-fer.shtml>

Newfoundland Grand Banks (2024) Old Non-Denominational Cemetery Ferryland, Ferryland District, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/cem-ferryland-old-non-fer.shtml>

Nilashi, M., Fallahpour, A., Yew Wong, K., & Ghabban. F. (2022) Customer satisfaction analysis and preference prediction in historic sites through electronic word of mouth. *Neural Computing and Applications* 34 (16):13867–13881.

Parsons, R. (2003) Wreck of the Segrid: An Account of the 1903 Recovery Operation off Ferryland Head. *Downhomer*: 67-68.

Peterman, C. (2007a) Michael & Bridget & Mary Margaret Ryan, Ferryland, Ferryland Main Roman Catholic Cemetery, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/ryan-michael-bridget-mary-main-rc-fer-p0131.shtml>

Peterman, C. (2007b) William J. Walsh, Lucy A. Walsh, Clarence J. Walsh, Ferryland, Ferryland Main Roman Catholic Cemetery, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/walsh-wm-lucy-clarence-main-rc-fer-p0145.shtml>

Pocius, G. (1975). The Place of Burial: Spatial Focus of Contact of the Living with the Dead in Eastern Areas of the Avalon Peninsula of Newfoundland. [MA Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Pocius, G. (1981) Cemetery Decoration in Newfoundland: Channels of Contact Between the Living and the Dead. *Meeting of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada and the Society of Architectural Historians*, Victoria, British Columbia [Paper presentation].

Pocius (1981) Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Newfoundland Gravestones: Self-Sufficiency, Economic Specialization, and the Creation of Artifacts. *Material Cultural Review* 12: 1-16.

Quinton, J.M. & Duinker, P.N. (2018) Beyond burial: researching and managing cemeteries as urban green spaces, with examples from Canada. *Environmental Review* 27: 252-262.

Rankin, L., & Ramsden, P. (2023) Forgotten Places in Political Spaces. In *Peripheral Spaces in Historical Places: Insights from Archaeology in the North Atlantic*, Northeast Historical Archaeology 50:142-152.

Reddigan, K. (2014) Patrick Condon, Old Non-Denominational Cemetery Ferryland, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/condon-patrick-and-catherine-ferryland-old-non-fer.shtml>

Reddigan, K. (2015a) Michael Joseph Sullivan, Ferryland, Roman Catholic Cemetery, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/sullivan-michael-1897-main-rc-fer.shtml>

Reddigan, K. (2015b) John Stephenson, Ferryland, Roman Catholic Cemetery, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/stephenson-john-1872-main-rc-fer.shtml>

Riegl, A. (1996) The Modern Cult of Monuments: Its Essence and Its Development. Pp. 69-83 in Stanley-Price, N., Talley Kirby, M., & Melucco Vaccaro, A. (eds), *Historical and Philosophical Issues in the Conservation of Cultural Heritage*. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute.

Semple, S. & Brookes, S. (2020) Necrogeography and Necrosapes: Living with the Dead. *World Archaeology* 52:1, 1-15.

Singlehurst, P. (2012), Commonwealth War Graves Registers. *Commonwealth War Graves Commission*. Accessed via: <https://www.ancestrylibrary.ca/discoveryui-content/view/290089:2706?tid=&pid=&queryId=9c304315-602c-4fcf-99b8-442186a4ae6c&phsrc=EyB25&phstart=successSource>

Statistics Canada (2023) Census Profile, 2021 Census of Population: Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2021/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&SearchText=Ferryland&DGUIDlist=2021A00051001149&ENDERlist=1,2,3&STATISTIClist=1&HEADERlist=0>

Stirling, J. C. (2002) The Journals of Robert Carter of Ferryland, Newfoundland, 1832-1852, *Centre for Newfoundland Studies*, St. John's.

Stirling, J. C. (2015) Historical Note: The Journals of Robert Carter (1790-1852) of Ferryland. *The Newfoundland Quarterly* 107(3):46-49.

St. John's (2017) Heritage Financial Incentives Program, <https://m.stjohns.ca/living-st-johns/building-renovation-and-repairs/heritage/heritage-financial-incentives-program>.

Sullivan, C., & Mitchell, C. (2012). From Fish to Folk art: Creating a Heritage-Based Place Identity in Ferryland, Newfoundland and Labrador. *The Journal of Rural and Community Development* 7(2): 37-56.

Stoler, A.L. (2008) Imperial Debris: Reflections on Ruins and Ruination. *Cultural Anthropology* 23(2):191-219.

Tate, Don. (2015) Peter Barnable and Kathleen Barnable, Ferryland, Roman Catholic Cemetery, Ferryland District. *Newfoundland Grand Banks*, <http://ngb.chebucto.org/Cemetery/barnable-peter-kathleen-main-rc-fer.shtml>

The Rooms (Aug. 1961). 2003.190.2, *The Rooms Provincial Archives*. [Letter].

Thornbush, M.J. & Thornbush S.E. (2013) The application of a limestone weathering index at churchyards in central Oxford, UK. *Applied Geography* 42: 157-164.

Wade, T.J. (1942) Death Certificate of Norman Cyril Bennett. Newfoundland death records, 1891-1949. The Rooms Provincial Archives, Newfoundland. Accessed via Ancestry.com.

Waller, J. (1790s) Ferryland Properties and Fishing Premises, Item MG 66. *The Rooms Provincial Archives*, St. John's.

Walton, A. (1952) Graves Registration Report Form: Ferryland Old General Cemetery. Commonwealth War Graves Commission, <https://www.cwgc.org/find-records/find-war-dead/casualty-details/2953895/norman-cyril-bennett>

Waterton, E., Watson, S., & Silverman, H. (2017) An Introduction to Heritage in Action. Pp. 3-16 in Waterton, E., Watson, S., & Silverman, H. (eds), *Heritage in Action: Making the Past in the Present*. Springer.

Wells, E.A. (1972) Hanrahan, Edmund. *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 10, University of Toronto/Université Laval, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hanrahan\\_edmund\\_10E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hanrahan_edmund_10E.html)

Wells, J. C., & Baldwin, E.D. (2012) Historic Preservation, Significance, and Age Value: A Comparative Phenomenology of Historic Charleston and the Nearby New-Urbanist Community of I'On. *Journal of Environmental Psychology* 32: 384-400.

White, L. (2015). The Saddle Island Cemetery: A Study of Whalers at a Sixteenth-Century Basque Whaling Station in Red Bay, Labrador. [MA Thesis]: Memorial University of Newfoundland.



White, L. (2022) Special Project to Restore the Headstones in the Cemeteries in Greenspond. *Greenspond Historical Society*, <https://greenspondhistoricalsociety.net/greenspond-cemeteries/black-cat-cemetery-project/headstone-restoration-project/>

Wood, E.M. (1997) Modernity, postmodernity or capitalism? *Review of International Political Economy* 4(3): 539-560.

Wright, A.E., Conlin, D.L., & Shope, S.M. (2020) Assessing the Accuracy of Underwater Photogrammetry for Archaeology: A Comparison of Structure from Motion Photogrammetry and Real Time Kinematic Survey at the East Key Construction Wreck. *Journal of Marine Science and Engineering* 8(849): 1-20.

Xingpei, L. (2016). Transnational Identities of Early 20th-Century Chinese Immigrants: A Study of Chinese Graves in the General Protestant Cemetery in St. John's, Newfoundland. *Material Culture Review* 84: 49–65.

**Appendix:**  
**Ethics Clearance Renewal for Interview portion of thesis 2024**



ICEHR Approval #:	20231754-AR
Researcher Portal File #:	20231754
Project Title:	<i>Death and Heritage: An Archaeological Analysis of the Differential Treatment of Two Historic Burial Grounds in Ferryland, Newfoundland</i>
Associated Funding:	20240209
Supervisor:	Dr. Barry Gaulton
<b>Clearance expiry date:</b>	<b>May 31, 2025</b>