

Sorting “Natives” from “Indians”:
Interrogating Historic Burials in the Catholic Burying Ground
on the Dartmouth Common (1835-1865)

By

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Abstract

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This research disrupts a colonial narrative about settlers and hundreds of “Indians” inscribed on a monument as part of a non-Indigenous tourism scheme to raise money and clean up the abandoned Catholic Burying Ground on the Dartmouth Common. Many Natives of Ireland and others, not Natives of North America, are identified by a detailed analysis of handwritten death records and other sources. They were all but forgotten when the municipality took control of the cemetery in 1975 without a copy of the church records. This left a gap in public memory that allowed variations of an “old Indian burial ground” narrative to evolve from burials in the ground (1962) to burials in a mound (2010). The findings are relevant to the national project of Truth and Reconciliation and serve as a cautionary tale about the importance of seeking truth before reconciliation. This research will be of interest to Irish researchers and descendants of those who died; residents of Halifax Regional Municipality who own the cemetery in trust; government administrators, planners, and surveyors; Catholic organizations in control of historic records; and to social, legal and Indigenous researchers who grapple with constructed “Indian” identities as a way of decolonizing the story of Canada.

August 2, 2018.

[Main themes: Irish immigration, “Indian burial ground,” Constructed “Indian” identity, Commemoration, Public Memory, Decolonized stories, Catholic Church, Dartmouth Common]

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List of Abbreviations

| | |
|------|-----------------------------------------------|
| AR | <i>Acadian Recorder</i> |
| BC | <i>British Colonist</i> |
| DCMP | Dartmouth Common Master Plan |
| DHM | Dartmouth Heritage Museum |
| HRM | Halifax Regional Municipality |
| HS | Heather Sutherland |
| MC | <i>Morning Chronicle</i> |
| MFM | Microfilm |
| MJ | <i>Morning Journal</i> |
| NS | Nova Scotia |
| NSA | Nova Scotia Archives |
| PW | <i>Presbyterian Witness</i> |
| RC | Roman Catholic |
| ST | Saint |
| TRC | Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada |
| UN | United Nations |

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INTRODUCTION

The Catholic Burying Ground (popularly known as St. Paul's Cemetery) on the Dartmouth Common is a place of contradictions. It is a curious fact that 403,131 residents¹ of the Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM) have a legal interest in clarifying the meaning of "Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs," who are commemorated on a monument in an historic Catholic Cemetery. It has a reputation as an "old Indian burial ground," on land zoned as parkland, granted as a public common, on the unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq, and is managed in public trust under a Charter that derives its power from the Canadian Constitution. The municipality budgets millions of dollars for the maintenance, administration and development of the Dartmouth Common without a clear understanding of who is buried there. This leads to speculation about the past that makes it difficult to plan for the future. With so many interested parties in the cemetery, it should not be difficult to account for the claim of "Indian" burials commemorated between 1835 and 1865 when churches commonly kept written records.

John Martin wrote the generic monument inscription in 1962 and he identified the burials as "Micmac" in his book, *The Story of Dartmouth* published in 1957.² It is surprising that their individual identities remain uncertain more than 50 years later given that the cemetery is located in an urban area, on public land, near major university research institutions, museums, archives, government departments, Catholic Churches,

¹Statistics Canada. 2017. *Halifax, RGM [Census subdivision], Nova Scotia and Canada [Country]* (table). *Census Profile*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017, last modified March 20, 2018, <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>.

²"Monument Under Way," [July 11, 1962?], Dartmouth Heritage Museum, Cemeteries Vertical File; John Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth* (Dartmouth, NS: J.P. Martin, 1957), 299.

and First Nation Reserves. Anecdotally, several interested stakeholders could not identify *any* Indigenous burials in the cemetery, including employees of HRM Cemetery Administration, St. Paul's R.C. Church, St. Peter R.C. Church, a few long-time residents of the area, and some knowledgeable members of the Mi'kmaw community. If none of these people can account for the burial story, then it is reasonable to ask whose "Indian" story is being told and why. Monuments are important because they hold collective memory about the past. Indeed, there is a sense of permanence in words carved in stone, but monuments are also repositories of power that "protect errors and sanctify prejudice."³ How can seven English words (33 letters and an ampersand) representing "Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs" carry that much weight?

Maliseet linguist Andrea Bear Nicholas understands that words have the power to distort reality. She cautions people about the popularity and danger of invented "Indian stories" that seek to define an Indigenous past:

It is into this void [where so many people no longer speak their languages] that invented traditions have come with a vengeance. One such "tradition", the medicine wheel, is of particular concern for it is now widely promoted as the basis of Maliseet or Mi'kmaq traditions. In fact, it was invented as recently as 1972 by a man representing himself as Cheyenne, but who was immediately exposed as a fraud. The medicine wheel is not a Maliseet or Mi'kmaq tradition, nor, it seems, was it a Cheyenne tradition. Within two decades, however, it evolved into the form it is known today, thanks to the embellishments of several others, including the discredited "plastic medicine man" known as Sun Bear, who exploited the idea for their own personal gain. The irony is that this now very non-Native invention is seen as the essence of Native traditions, not only by the dominant society but also by First Nations people, even many who style themselves as "traditionalists", in spite of the fact that the enormity of the fraud has been known at least since 1983. With the 1996 publication of a Native Studies textbook that features the medicine wheel, the concept has been foisted upon a whole generation of Maliseet and

³ Richard Cobb cited in David Lowenthal, "Fabricating Heritage," *History & Memory* 10:1, (Spring 1998):8, accessed December 4, 2007, DOI:10.1 353/ham.1998.

Mi'kmaq high school students who now firmly believe that this invention is an old Mi'kmaq and Maliseet tradition.⁴

Those who engage with “Indian stories” must think critically about their source and potential harm. Chief Justice Murray Sinclair’s public message of *truth* and reconciliation challenges individual Canadians and organizations to examine how their own constructed stories have played a role in the historic mistreatment of Indigenous peoples.⁵ In this context, a monument making a “truth” claim about “Indian” burials will have something important to say about the historic treatment of Indigenous peoples.

One problem is that mainstream non-Indigenous society has gazed, and still gazes, upon Indigenous peoples as the “exotic other.” Collectors have justified the desecration of their burial grounds in search of their human remains and cultural objects with vanishing race and evolutionary theories, rights-based claims of ownership, and a scientific ‘need to know’ about the past. When at its peak, the collecting craze of the 1800s raises questions about what, if anything remains in the ground to be commemorated in cemeteries identified as “Indian” burial grounds. The Smithsonian Institution once identified 14,500 Indigenous skeletal remains in its collection.⁶ Unscientific collection standards were clearly in place when Harry Piers, former curator of the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia, admitted to “opening” graves at Birch Cove, Bedford, and “proving” they were not “Indian” because one of the skulls had brown hair.⁷

⁴ Andrea Bear Nicholas, “Medicine Wheel Hoax,” April 24, 2007,

<http://www.tobiquefirstnation.ca/treaties/MedicineWheelHoax2007.pdf>.

⁵ Specific calls to action can be found in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Volume one, Summary: honouring the truth, reconciling for the future, 2015.

⁶ “Indians Seek Burial of Smithsonian Skeletons,” *New York Times*, December 8, 1987, Archives, 1987, <https://www.nytimes.com/1987/12/08/science/indians-see-burial-of-smithsonian-skeletons.html>.

⁷ Piers dug in the cemetery prior to the book’s publication in 1893. Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, ed. Harry Piers (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), 6.

In 1919, a Dalhousie University professor of anatomy pleaded, “I would personally be most grateful for any information regarding the location of genuine old Indian burial sites” in the interest of obtaining valuable “records” of the vanishing race of Mi’kmaq. He went on to say, “There is admittedly a certain degree of antipathy towards disturbing the dead and desecrating their graves in search for relics and other remains,” but he argued that skulls would serve as a reminder of Nova Scotia’s aboriginal people, “lest we forget.”⁸ This patriotic phrase of war evokes the desecration of a Mi’kmaq cemetery by New England forces in Port Toulouse, Cape Breton, in 1745 during a campaign to take Fortress Louisburg.⁹ Historically, burial grounds have been targeted for multiple reasons, but the media has created much of the existing sensationalism about “Indian” burial grounds.

Stephen King’s movie thriller *Pet Sematary* (1989) featured an abandoned Mi’kmaq burial ground with mysterious powers capable of bringing buried animals and people back to life. As one reviewer said, “It’s a good story Doesn’t matter if it’s true or not; what matters is, it’s part of the mythos.”¹⁰ Author Terri Jean remarked that the “Indian burial ground” theme became so popular in the 1970s because people believed “Indians themselves [were] incomprehensible and probably magic.”¹¹ Media creates

⁸ John Cameron, “A Craniometric Study of the Micmac Skull in the Provincial Museum of Nova Scotia,” *Proceedings and Transactions of the Nova Scotia Institute of Science*, Session of 1918-1919, 2-4. <https://dalspace.library.dal.ca/handle/10222/12881>, PDF.

⁹ A.J.B. Johnson, *Storied shores: St. Peter’s, Isle Madame, and Chapel Island in the 17th and 18th centuries* (Sydney, NS: University College of Cape Breton Press, 2004), 68.

¹⁰ James Smythe, “Rereading Stephen King: week 16-Pet Sematary,” *The Guardian*, February 21, 2013 <https://www.theguardian.com/books/booksblog/2013/feb/21/rereading-stephen-king-pet-sematary>.

¹¹ Dan Nosowitz, “Why Every Horror Film of the 1980s Was Built on ‘Indian Burial Grounds,’” October 22, 2015, *Atlas Obscura*, <http://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/why-every-horror-film-of-1980s-was-built-on-indian-burial-grounds>.

fantastic stories and distraction that ignores the cultural significance of burial grounds documented hundreds of years ago.

Between 1500 and 1630, “Champlain, Lescarbot, Biard, Denys, LeClerq and Dièreville” wrote about a variety of Mi’kmaw burial customs including embalming, drying, scaffolding, and burial with grave goods. Sometimes island burial locations were kept secret from their enemies.¹² It is presumed that the Mi’kmaq slowly replaced pre-contact burial practices with Christian burials after Membertou’s baptism at Port Royal in 1610. Protection of Indigenous burial sites (whether pre-contact, post-contact, and Residential School) has received national and international attention through reports, conventions, and inquiries including the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada Final Report (2015), *The United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples* (2007), and the *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples* (1996).¹³ Perhaps the most notorious “Indian burial ground” story in Canadian history was the 1990 “Oka Crisis” near Montreal. At issue was the proposed development of a 9-hole golf course over marked Mohawk burial land. During the highly publicized 78-day siege, Montreal’s Mercier Bridge was blocked, Corporal Marcel Lemay of the Sûreté du Québec Police was shot and killed, and there were violent clashes with citizens. Tensions

¹² Ruth Holmes Whitehead, NS Department of Education, NS Museum, Curatorial Report Number 75, “Nova Scotia: The Protohistoric Period 150-1630, Four Micmac Sites,” February 1993, 84-91, <https://ojs.library.dal.ca/NSM/article/viewFile/4080/3735>.

¹³ Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*. 2015, [http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring the Truth Reconciling for the Future July 23 2015.pdf](http://www.trc.ca/websites/trcinstitution/File/2015/Honouring%20the%20Truth%20Reconciling%20for%20the%20Future%20July%2023%202015.pdf); UN General Assembly, *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*: Adopted by the General Assembly, September 13, 2007. http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/documents/DRIPS_en.pdf; Library and Archives Canada; *Report of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples*, October 1996, (modified November 2, 2016) <https://www.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/discover/aboriginal-heritage/royal-commission-aboriginal-peoples/Pages/final-report.aspx>.

rose as the Canadian Armed Forces brought in helicopters, tanks, and heavily armed soldiers against its own citizens. The government eventually halted the development of the golf course and purchased the contested land for the Mohawk people. “In the end, the Oka Crisis cost the Quebec government an estimated \$180 million not including the cost of the army.”¹⁴ The “Oka Crisis” serves as a reminder to developers, governments, and law enforcement agencies that Indigenous burial grounds can erupt into places of protest, violence and death. In another protest for the return of Stoney Point Reserve, the police shot and killed Dudley George at Ipperwash Provincial Park. The subsequent Ipperwash Inquiry resulted in 78 policy recommendations that ranged from the need for consultation and public education to resolving treaties and land claims. Police were encouraged to promote peacekeeping in order “to minimize the risk of violence at occupations and protests.” The Commissioner’s recommendation for burial grounds was that:

The provincial government should work with First Nations and Aboriginal organizations to develop policies that acknowledge the uniqueness of Aboriginal burial and heritage sites, ensure that First Nations are aware of decisions affecting Aboriginal and heritage sites, and promote First Nations participation in decision-making. These rules and policies should eventually be incorporated into provincial legislation, regulations, and other government policies as appropriate.¹⁵

Of course, Inquiries make excellent recommendations that governments sometimes cannot or will not implement given their scarce resources of time, money, and staff. This can jeopardize the resolution of important cultural issues like burial grounds.

¹⁴ CBC Digital Archives “Oka Crisis ends,” accessed April 15, 2018, <http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/oka-crisis-ends>.

¹⁵ The Honourable Sidney B. Linden, *Report of the Ipperwash Inquiry*, Recommendations: Volume 2, “Policy Analysis, No. 38 (police) and No. 22 (Burial grounds), 102, https://www.attorneygeneral.jus.gov.on.ca/inquiries/ipperwash/report/vol_4/pdf/E_Vol_4_B_Policy.pdf.

Before embarking on a project of questioning or ‘disrupting’ the colonial narrative of an historic monument to settlers and “Indians,” it is important to recognize that the term “Indian” is variable and context specific to time and place. The Catholic Burying Ground (1835-1865) closed 11 years before “Indian” was legally defined under the *Indian Act* of 1876. This research uses the often-contested term in quotation marks, although it is recognized that individuals and Bands in Canada continue to define themselves as “Indian.” The terms “Indian” and “the Micmac Tribe of Indians” were in use prior to the *Indian Act* and they can be found in Dartmouth’s early Church Registers. Since 1876, numerous amendments to the Act have “whittled away” rights and raised questions about governance and identity that situate ‘blood’ against ‘politics.’ Linda Tuhiwai Smith’s influential research in *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* offers insight about these contested issues that is capable of changing attitudes. As she writes, people are “talking back,” “writing back,” and “researching back” against the colonized processes that have sought to define them.¹⁶ Questions of constructed Indigenous identities by non-Indigenous people are as important to the conversation in Smith’s native New Zealand as are hundreds of “Indians” written on a monument in an urban Catholic Cemetery in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia. Along with Linda Tuhiwai Smith and Andrea Bear Nichols, geographers Wendy Shaw, R.D.K. Herman and G. Rebecca Dobbs also caution researchers to beware of knowledge derived from constructed Indigenous identities:

... it is the contemporary issues, the debates, and more importantly the non-debates or *silences* that are cause for concern. These are due mainly, we contend, to the issue of the representation of indigenous peoples. If the issue of representation is not dealt with very carefully, then colonial/imperial projects

¹⁶ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, Introduction to *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (Zed Books: London, 2012), 8.

overall ... remain unchecked. There is an impasse of sorts between the tendency to not doing anything at all (either out of fear of misrepresenting, and/or offending), and of carrying out research that has not fully considered issues of identity and ‘worldviews’, representation, and the production of knowledge within contemporary post/neo-colonial settler and other repressive contexts.”¹⁷

The Dartmouth monument makes for an ideal study because it was the Town Historian and St. Paul’s Parish (both non-Indigenous agents) who constructed (e.g. wrote) the “Indian” burial story onto stone. This led to the perpetuation of the story in public memory through media and local histories. A team of public historians led by Margaret Conrad found in a survey of Canadians that museums (60%) and historic sites (50% +) were considered “very trustworthy” sources of information about the past, “followed by non-fiction books, family stories, teachers, and Web sites, in that order.”¹⁸ This suggests that half of the public¹⁹ will trust the claim about “Indian” burials because the monument is in an historic cemetery, followed by many others who will trust the claim because it appears in a local history book, *The Story of Dartmouth*. However, with public trust comes accountability.

Presumably, St. Peter Church Registers contain the death records of its entire congregation. Yet, it is just as likely that the records are incomplete and limited to those deemed worthy of preservation by those who had the power to save them. (The Registers are rebound.) Conclusions are limited to the available evidence. Existing gaps in the

¹⁷ Wendy S. Shaw, R.D.K. Herman and G. Rebecca Dobbs, “Encountering Indigeneity: Re-Imagining and Decolonizing Geography,” *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography* 88, no. 3 (2006), 274, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3878372?refreqid=robotstxt-sitemaps:7fa00ef1dc73607224427e6975bb27cf>.

¹⁸ Margaret Conrad et al., *The Pasts Collective, Canadians and Their Pasts* (n.p.: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division, 2013. eBook Collection), (EBSCOhost), EBSCOhost (accessed July 1, 2018), 50.

¹⁹ CTV News Atlantic, “Nova Scotia’s Indigenous population doubles over past 10 years: Stats Canada,” last updated October 26, 2017, <https://atlantic.ctvnews.ca/nova-scotia-s-indigenous-population-doubles-over-past-10-years-stats-canada-1.3651060> There were 51,495 people who identified as Aboriginal in the 2016 Census of Nova Scotia.

death records might be explained by a second death register, the unconsecrated state of the cemetery before 1845, the absence of a regular priest, or the physical condition of the cemetery. I reviewed approximately 2,000 original and microfilmed Register entries up to 1865, and transcribed approximately 3,000 names from the typed Register Indexes into an Excel database for cross-reference purposes. The result is the appended list of deaths.

There are limitations to conducting research with archival and written sources from headstone surveys, archival photographs, local histories, newspapers, legal documents, legislation and articles because the work does not tap into community-based or other Indigenous ways of knowing about the cemetery. I am limited in my knowledge of Roman Catholicism and burial practices and maintain doubt about European names that may conceal Indigenous identities of women in the records. As this research relies on documented sources, there were no formal interviews. There was no archaeological or ground penetrating radar testing to detect bedrock or existing graves. With so many public and private stakeholders, records are scattered. There is restricted access to the Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax where St. Peter Registers are located, and St. Paul's Church in Dartmouth has records for its own congregation's burials in the cemetery. HRM does not have a list of historic burials even though it has administered the cemetery since 1975. HRM Archives maintains scattered records for the former City of Dartmouth, but active files exist in HRM departments including the Cemeteries Administration, and Planning and Development offices. Other departments such as police, fire, 911, and parks would also have their own administrative files. The provincial Registry of Deeds and Land Registration office, the Nova Scotia Crown Lands office, and local and municipal surveyors maintain various land documents relating to the site. Halifax (with its large St.

Mary's Basilica) overshadows Dartmouth's Catholic history. The Nova Scotia Archives and Dartmouth Heritage Museum maintain historical information, newspapers, and photographs. There is also some confusion because the cemetery is known by multiple names. Overall, there is a lack of shared information about the cemetery.

As supported by numerous Irish surnames and specific notations in the Registers between 1835 and 1865, this thesis proposes there are many Natives of Ireland and their descendants, not hundreds of Natives of North America, buried in the cemetery. John Martin played a key role in constructing the monument's narrative, and consecutive stakeholders have maintained the story without question for more than 50 years. This point raises questions for the interpretation of the monument in the Catholic Burying Ground that states:

*Old Catholic Cemetery of Dartmouth
1835—1865
Consecrated By Bishop Walsh in 1845/ Containing
Many Graves of Waterloo Veterans
Hundreds of Indians, & Two of Their Chiefs
An Aunt of Princess Eugenie / Ancestors of Many Dartmouth Families
The Dunn Vault With 13 Coffins.
Monument Erected by St. Paul's Parish 1962*

The reasons for the monument designation need to be determined by investigating how and why this misleading impression was created. The risk of misinterpreting the burials can lead us to misinterpret Dartmouth's history and to ignore a story of Irish immigration. This thesis covers four main stages of research. Chapter One provides an introduction that discusses decolonized research and some differences between Indigenous and non-Indigenous perceptions about Indigenous burials. Chapter Two provides a history of the cemetery using many archival sources. Chapter Three interrogates the evidence for hundreds of Indigenous burials in the cemetery. Chapter Four interprets the claim to

Indigenous burials through the lens of tourism and invented traditions before reaching a conclusion. The major body of evidence attached as Appendix IV contains an exhaustive list of deaths by name, date, age, and other information as noted.

CHAPTER TWO

The History of the Catholic Burying Ground (1835-1865)

This chapter will examine the historical timeline of the Catholic Burying Ground using legal and church documents, legislation, maps and surveys, newspapers, local histories, photographs, and vital statistics information.



Figure 2.1. St. Peter Church, Dartmouth, established 1829. (NS Archives by permission)

In 1819, Governor Lord Dalhousie refused ferryman John Skerry's request for a Catholic church in Dartmouth. He said there were not enough Catholics in Dartmouth to make up a congregation, and he did not want to "take away" from Bishop Burke's "highly respectable" church in Halifax.¹ Within 10 years, the population of Irish Catholics had grown enough to establish a congregation who would be attracted to employment opportunities on the ambitious new Shubenacadie Canal project. Scottish Presbyterian stoneworkers and their families had already arrived in 1827 to work on the

¹ Terrence M. Punch, *Some Sons of Erin in Nova Scotia* (Halifax, NS: Petheric Press, 1980), 22.

canal and a Presbyterian church opened in January 1829 for their needs.² In July 1829, John Skerry leased his own land for a Catholic church at the corner of Ochterloney and Edward Streets (lots 7 and 8 in division letter O) to Bishop William Fraser. The Lease stipulated the 120' x 120' lot was to be fenced and yearly lease payments of one shilling were to commence on July 1, 1830. Further conditions stipulated that it be “occupied and conveyed as and for a Chapel place or house for the worship and service of God by the Church Society of Roman Catholics known by the name of Catholics” It was for a term of 999 years or until “the premises cannot be legally used as a Chapel or house of worship,” in which case it would revert to Skerry or his heirs.³ With a church in his own back yard, Skerry and his crew might have enjoyed a rest from ferrying Dartmouth Catholics to Halifax for Sunday service.⁴

There is a questionable tradition that Dartmouth’s St. Peter Church originally stood next to St. Mary’s Cathedral (Basilica) in Halifax:

The first church was a small wooden structure built in 1784 [in Halifax]. After St. Mary's [Cathedral] was built [in 1829], St. Peter's was dismantled and ferried across the harbour to become the first Roman Catholic church in neighbouring Dartmouth.⁵

² Mrs. William Lawson, *History of the Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, ed. Harry Piers (Belleville: Mika Studio, 1972), 82-83. The editor Piers writes, “the Congregation of the Church of St. James in Dartmouth” built at King and North Streets was formed by deed with James Morrison as Minister.

³ Lease from John Skerry to [Bishop] William Fraser, made July 1, 1829, and registered at the Halifax County Registry of Deeds on August 11, 1830 on the oath of D[enis] Geary, Parish Priest, at Book 53, Page 3, NSA, Mfm. 17,899. The land is described as “All that lot piece or parcel of land lying and being in the Town of Dartmouth and situate on Town lots numbers seven and eight in division letter O ...” [It is located behind Queen Square in downtown Dartmouth.]

⁴ Martin writes, “According to the Catholic Reference Book, collections for the church steeple were commenced in 1830.... The dead were interred in the adjacent churchyard which then included the area now occupied by St. Peter’s Hall...” Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth* (Dartmouth, NS.: J.P. Martin, 1957), 196.

⁵ Canada’s Historic Places, “St. Mary’s Basilica,” Heritage Value, accessed 9 June 2017, <http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=12131>.

The tradition goes on to say “It was brought from Halifax in sections by James Synnot and John Skerry”⁶ and “transported to the harbour on rollers and then barged across the water to Dartmouth.”⁷ The logistics of dismantling, moving and reassembling even a small church several blocks downhill to the waterfront and across tidal water would have been a major undertaking with skilled carpenters, labourers, teamsters, horses, wagons, and barges. This questionable narrative is contradicted by St. Peter Church’s own history that states the Dartmouth church was commenced (not moved) on October 26, 1829.⁸ The *Acadian Recorder* reported on October 31, 1829 that “On Monday, the frame of a new Catholic chapel was raised in this delightfully situated little village.”⁹ Construction began on the Dartmouth church six months before the decision to dismantle the Halifax church. On April 25, 1830, the Parish Priest J. Loughnan approved a Resolution of three Church Wardens to dispense with the old church:

At a meeting of the Wardens and Electors regularly called at the Parish Mass, the application of the Catholics of Dartmouth for such materials as could be spared from the old Chapel IT was unanimously Resolved that they should be allowed to take all such work or materials as they could render useful or ornamental to their Chapel.

It was also unanimously resolved that the old Chapel cannot be rendered further usefull, [*sic*] and that it now adds danger to the new Building [St. Mary’s] therefore Resolved that it be taken down and it[s] Remains put carefully away to be used for purposes & Requests about this Establishment and the Rubbish consumed....¹⁰

The *Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths* signed by the Parish Priest

James Dunphy on August 28, 1830 is one of the earliest records of the new church. Jane

⁶ *Dartmouth Patriot*, “St. Peter’s New Church which has just been completed,” June 22, 1901, page 1, column 1, *Patriot* April 20 – December 28, 1901, NSA, Mfm. 5136.

⁷ Harry Chapman, *In the Wake of the Alderney* (Dartmouth, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2001), 83.

⁸St. Peter Roman Catholic Church, “St. Peter Church 50th Anniversary,” History and Pictures, accessed April 15, 2018, <https://www.stpeterdartmouth.com/history-pictures>.

⁹ *Acadian Recorder*, October 31, 1829, cited in Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 163.

¹⁰ Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax-Yarmouth. Minutes. St. Mary’s Cathedral Fonds. 002.18.

Margaret, daughter of Lewis De Young and Mary A. Himmelman, was the first recorded baptism on September 15, 1830 with sponsors Henry Miers and Martha Vaughan. Patrick Moore was the first burial in the churchyard on December 17, 1830.¹¹ A cholera epidemic that struck Halifax on August 17, 1834 was blamed for 159 suspected deaths there,¹² however only the death of Elinor Walsh is recorded at St. Peter Church in Dartmouth at that time.

The churchyard was apparently abandoned for a new cemetery on the Dartmouth Common by 1835 (the date on the monument at the site). It is not clear how the inhabitants of Dartmouth who held legal title to the Dartmouth Common in trust since 1788¹³ passed title to the Dartmouth Catholics. There is no evidence that the Dartmouth Catholics petitioned for legislation authorizing a new use for the Common. This step was necessary because a private Catholic Cemetery was clearly not a public use for public Common land. There is no petition indexed in the Lt. Governor's list of correspondence held at the NS Archives for 1834 or 1835, and there is no subsequent legislation documenting a change in use or ownership of the Dartmouth Common for that period. If the town inhabitants collectively deeded a portion of the Common for the cemetery, there would be a Deed recorded at the Registry of Deeds in that period but there is not. Neither John Skerry nor Bishop William Fraser, who were the parties to the Lease for the church land in 1829, appear on a Deed for the Catholic Burying Ground in 1834 or 1835.¹⁴ Four

¹¹ "St. Peter's Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths, 1830-1854," NSA, Mfm. 11,330. Patrick Moore's burial is noted on December 17, 1830, p. 6.

¹² Douglas William Trider, *History of Dartmouth / District Families and Halifax Harbour 1800 to 1850*, Vol. 2 (Dartmouth, NS: Douglas Trider, 2001), 251.

¹³ Nova Scotia Dept. of Natural Resources, Crown Lands Branch, NS Crown Grant, filed at Old Book 19, page 58, (see old plan no. 636) September 4, 1788 to Thomas Cochran, Timothy Folgier [*sic*], and Samuel Starbuck, 150 acres in special trust for the use and benefit of the Inhabitants of the Town Plot of Dartmouth. Lt. Governor Bulkeley signed the Grant, not King George III as is sometimes reported.

¹⁴ A full title search of Deeds held for the Catholic Church is outside the scope of this research.

Justices of the Peace and 48 other people supposedly signed a form of “declaration” for expropriation of the Dartmouth Common on December 24, 1834, but its whereabouts are unknown. There is no evidence that Deputy Surveyor J. G. MacKenzie surveyed the cemetery or that legislation was secured for an encroachment. The “declaration” reads in part:

We the undersigned freeholders and inhabitants of the township of Dartmouth, upon considering the necessity of providing a place of burial for the congregation attached to the Roman Catholic Chapel, and the embarrassments that may result from burying in the ground on which the Chapel is now situated in the centre of the Town, are of the opinion that a part of the Common should be appropriated for that purpose, as there is no vacant ground that can be had in the neighborhood; and we for the consideration aforesaid, do freely and voluntarily agree that the piece of land described in the accompanying plan, containing one acre, may be enclosed and used for the purpose of a burial ground, as aforesaid; and we hereby surrender and relinquish our claim to it forever.¹⁵

The passage is incomplete and it does not specify who the new owner(s) of the cemetery would be. It also does not clarify how the land would transfer to the new owner for recording. That kind of information was required to release the Dartmouth inhabitants from their obligations under the 1788 Crown Grant and it would commence a clear chain of title in the cemetery for the Dartmouth Catholics.

Regardless of unclear title, the cemetery did exist in some form by 1835. That is when John Skerry willed £100 for a church spire and instructed that his body be “interred

¹⁵ Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 203; “Prior to incorporation [of Halifax] in 1841, civic administration was in the hands of governors and magistrates appointed by Britain, and justices of the peace who managed local affairs and performed legal duties in meetings referred to as general or quarter-sessions” cited in “Corporate Body,” City of Halifax fonds, accessed January 8, 2018, <https://memoryns.ca/halifax-n-s>. The “declaration” may have been flawed in some way and never registered. Establishing clear title to land can be difficult at many stages. Donald Chard writes, “As surveyor general, Morris was hampered throughout his career by the incompetence of many of his deputies and the difficulty of securing skilled, conscientious staff. In 1802 he criticized the “Blunders and inaccuracies” in one deputy’s work, which would necessitate the resurveying of lands to rectify the mistakes, and four years later he upbraided another deputy for laying out crown lands without his direction or the order of the lieutenant governor.” Donald F. Chard, “MORRIS, CHARLES (1759-1831),” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed January 9, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/morris_charles_1759_1831_6E.html.

in the new Ground provided as the place of Burial for the Catholic congregation of Dartmouth Chapel.”¹⁶ By leasing land for the new church, barging parts of the old church to Dartmouth, and leaving money for the church’s future needs, John Skerry played a significant role in the permanent establishment of Catholicism at Dartmouth.¹⁷ His burial in 1838 may be one of the earliest (if not the first) in the Catholic Burying Ground.¹⁸ Skerry’s intimate involvement in church business makes it conceivable that land documents dated close his death may have been in his estate papers.

An 1837 Crown Grant map of the Dartmouth Common¹⁹ gives no indication that a part of the Dartmouth Common was escheated (title taken back) by the government and re-granted to the Dartmouth Catholics for a cemetery. The cemetery was mapped into the Dartmouth Common by William MacKay when he surveyed out parcels of Common land (Fairbanks Street and Shore Road area) under the authority of *An act for regulating the Dartmouth common* in 1841 (Appendix I).²⁰ One surveyor suggested the boundary and the cemetery’s odd angles resulted from the left over portion of MacKay’s survey work all around the cemetery.

¹⁶ Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 211.

¹⁷ Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 233.

¹⁸ John Skerry’s death record appears on page 87 of St. Peter’s Register One (1830-1854) but his name is not in the Index of the Register prepared by the Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax in 1986-87 (NSA, Mfm. 11,437) where the surname Skerry is transcribed as “Zong.” Skerry was reinterred at St. Peter’s Cemetery according to Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 211-12. This suggests the Catholic Archdiocese used updated records to compile their typed Index in 1987, and that burial records survived a destructive fire at St. Peter Church on December 28, 1966.

¹⁹ NS Archives Maps. V7, 239-201402075. “Early Grant Map,” Town of Dartmouth, Dartmouth, NS, 1837. As noted on the map, His Excellency Sir J. C. Sherbrook, Lt. Governor & Commander in Chief authorized the Public Burying Ground on Victoria Road (registered at Book P, Page 95). No similar authorization appears for the Catholic Burying Ground as would be expected.

²⁰ William MacKay, “Plan of part of the Common of the Township of Dartmouth in the County of Halifax, as laid off and divided into lots and parcels by the Trustees of the said common, under the act of the Legislature of Nova Scotia 4 Victoria Cap. 52 entitled “An act for regulating the Dartmouth common” surveyed in June & July 1841, Halifax, 26 August 1841.” I am indebted for a copy of this plan to H. James (Jim) McIntosh, P. Eng., CLS, NSLS, Project Surveyor, Servant Dunbrack McKenzie & MacDonald, Land Surveyors and Consulting Engineers, July 2017.

Even when land documents were prepared to convey land title, for whatever reason, churches did not always record them with the Registry of Deeds. Over time, Deeds were lost, and misplaced, or were damaged by fire, water or rodents. Churches must prove title to their property before they can survey, sell or transfer their land, so missing proof of title becomes a problem.²¹ When the Catholic Burying Ground was deeded to the City of Dartmouth in 1975 (187 years after it was established with no registered land records), no prior ownership was expressed in the Deed to clarify a chain of title back to 1835 (Appendix II).²² This represents a large gap in the history of the Dartmouth Common that does not explain how a private Catholic cemetery was established on a public Common.

Whether or not the churchyard was abandoned around 1835, the new Catholic Burying Ground should have served the burial needs of Dartmouth Catholics for many years to come. Unfortunately, high death tolls (65 between 1856 and 1859), and bedrock formed a barrier to future burials.²³ When the Dartmouth Catholics petitioned the government for a new cemetery, Jonathan Elliot, Trustee of the Dartmouth Common, tabled a counter-petition on February 18, 1859.²⁴ He argued the Roman Catholics had

²¹ Personal communications with Reg Rainie, NS Land Registration; Nick Dearman, HRM Chief Surveyor; Fred Hutchinson, NS Land Surveyors; and H. James McIntosh, Project Surveyor, Servant Dunbrack McKenzie & MacDonald, July 27, 2017; and John MacLeod, Government Records, NS Archives, in July 2017. All agree that Deeds for church properties are notoriously difficult to search in part due to the inconsistent method used to record the owners of the Deeds. If filed at all, they can appear by church name, individual names, trustees, corporation names, priest's names, bishop's names, etc. Churches pay no taxes, so there are no searchable tax records for the properties.

²² Nova Scotia, Halifax County Registry of Deeds, Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation of Halifax to the City of Dartmouth, Deed made August 11, 1975, recorded August 14, 1975, and filed in Book 2930 at Pages 726-730.

²³ There were 19 deaths recorded in 1856; 0 in 1857; 11 in 1858; and 35 in 1859 for a total of 65 deaths.

²⁴ Martin writes that Jonathan Elliot was an architect and builder who acquired Joseph Findlay's buildings and lands on Chapel Lane [beside St. Peter's Church] for £150 in 1841, see Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 256; NS House of Assembly, "Petition of Inhabitants of Dartmouth against a parcel of common to Roman Catholics of Dartmouth," Tabled February 18, 1859, Submitted by Jonathan Elliot, Trustee of the Dartmouth Common, NSA, RG 5; Series "P", Vol. 17; 1859, #30. The Petition had 17 signatures: Jonathan

already received a “most valuable” piece of the public Common for a cemetery contrary to the terms of the original Crown Grant,²⁵ while the other religious denominations shared one public burying ground on the Common. He argued it would be “insidious and unjust” for one denomination to have two parcels of public land for burials and warned if the Catholic petition was approved, other denominations would come forward and petition for land for a “like purpose.” His tone is harsh, given the religious nature of the petition. Reasons for the Catholic petition appeared in a legislative committee report on March 23, 1859:

About 24 years ago [circa 1835] a small portion of the common lying near the Dartmouth Shore was enclosed by the Roman Catholics, and has since been used by them and the Indians as a burying ground, but in consequence of the numerous interments therein, and the rocky state of a considerable portion of the same, it is now unfit for further use, and much difficulty is felt in find sufficient depth of soil to cover their dead.²⁶

It is curious that Roman Catholics and “Indians” were mentioned separately in the report. Elliott’s counter-petition had only mentioned Roman Catholics and it is likely that his language mirrored the language of the Catholic petition in order to argue against it.²⁷

Elliot Trustee of Dartmouth Common, Charles Allen, George Shiels, N. [Roapell?], Nick McLean, T. A. Hyde, John Elliot, John Whidden, Jas. E. Lawlor, James Bowes, Alex Stephens, William Bowers, William Elliot, Henry Elliot, [Henry?] Watt, Charles [?], and [?] Barton.

²⁵ Nova Scotia Dept. of Natural Resources, Crown Lands Branch, NS Crown Grant, filed at Old Book 19, page 58, (see old plan no. 636) 4 September 1788 to Thomas Cochran, Timothy Folgier [*sic*], and Samuel Starbuck, 150 acres in special trust for the use and benefit of the Inhabitants of the Town Plot of Dartmouth. Lt. Governor Bulkeley (not King George III) signed the Grant.

²⁶ Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly, Session 1859, (Halifax, N.S: W.A. Penney, 1859), 517. http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00946_110/625?r=0&s=1 .

²⁷ The legislative committee may have assumed “Indians” used the Catholic Burying Ground simply because “Indians” were members of Dartmouth’s St. Peter Parish. Many French surnames in the Church Register have an historic association with Mi’kmaw people that dates back to Port Royal, Louisbourg, and the French Catholic Church. For example, Louis Petipas, assistant to Father Pierre Maillard (“the Apostle to the Micmac”) was active at Chezzetcook after the Expulsion of the Acadians. His father’s first wife in 1686 was supposedly a Mi’kmaw woman named Marie Therese. At the time of the Petition, governments were struggling to define who was an “Indian.” Ted Binnema writes that the Province of Canada formalized the term “Indian” on August 10, 1850 when they passed an *Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*. The Act legally defined the term Indian to include persons with Indian blood and their descendants, persons intermarried with Indians and their descendants, and persons

Without the original petition, it cannot be determined that the Dartmouth Catholics ever petitioned on behalf of themselves and “Indians.” After all, they only petitioned for one new cemetery, not two cemeteries for two congregations. Priests could easily travel by boat to conduct baptisms and marriages for Mi’kmaq families who were part of the Parish. There are many Register entries for the waterfront communities of Chezzetcook, Ship Harbour, Sheet Harbour, and Quoddy (Newdiquoddy). Sheet Harbour had its own St. Peter Church by 1857, which was a full eight years before the Catholic Burying Ground closed at Dartmouth.²⁸ For some reason, priests labelled Indigenous people differently in the records. Rev. Patrick Phelan wrote on May 2, 1849, “I undersigned Baptized Catherine 4 days old lawful Issue of Peter Sack, Mary Anne Thomas, Indians...”²⁹ In 1846, Rev. James Kennedy noted that Joe Paul and Ann Morris were “of the MicMac Tribe” when he recorded their marriage.³⁰ Baptisms and marriages easily fit into a priest’s scheduled visit, while unforeseen deaths and burials could not wait for a priest and would have occurred wherever and whenever it was appropriate to do so.

adopted in infancy by Indians and their descendants. See Ted Binnema, “Protecting Indian Lands by Defining *Indian*: 1850-76,” in *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 48, No. 2, Spring 2014, University of Toronto Press, 11-12, <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/553723/pdf>.

²⁸ The earliest date of St. Peter Church, Sheet Harbour’s records is 1857 on NSA, Mfm. 11,849, 11,850, and 11,851.

²⁹ *St. Peter’s Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths*, 1830-1854, NSA, Mfm. 11, 330, Baptism of Catherine [Sack], May 2, 1849, 201; There is a photograph of Catherine at about 56 years of age in the Mi’kmaq Portraits Collection of the Nova Scotia Museum, Reference Number: P113 /13.15 (4004) / detail, N-7073, circa 1905, Shubenacadie. “Copy photo, glass negative, by G. A. Gauvin of Halifax, for the Nova Scotia Museum, 1913. Left to right: Father Pacifique; Big Peter Paul; Catherine Sack (Mrs. Stephen) Maloney; Judge Christopher Peminuit Paul; Mary Jerome Jadis (former widow of Michael Thomas, now Mrs. John Jadis, seated); Newell Loulan (Noel Laurent) from Cape Breton. Big Peter Paul, also called Peter Stephen Paul, was the son of Judge Christopher and Mary Babaire Paul. He was born at “the Old Reserve, Snyder’s, Shubenacadie,” in 1861; elected chief 26 July 1912; died at Amherst, NS, on 3 March 1930. The original photograph was lent to the Nova Scotia Museum for copying by Chief William Paul of Shubenacadie,” accessed August 10, 2017,

<http://novascotia.ca/museum/mikmaq/?section=image&page=1&id=273&period=1900®ion=> .

³⁰ *St. Peter’s Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths*, 1830-1854, NSA, Mfm. 11, 330, Marriage of Joe Paul and Ann Morris, 183.

The legislative committee report went on to say “it was unwise to permit any portion of the common to have been set apart or given as a burying ground to any class” but it also recognized that precedents had been set on Common land for such purposes before. There was a movement in this period to move graveyards away from church grounds and both Dartmouth and Halifax (which is much better documented) belong to this trend. “Land for better graveyards, long identified as a matter of sanitation and public health, was provided at the same time to both Catholics and Protestants. In 1833, an Act of the colonial legislature (3 William IV. 32, 20 April 1833) had provided for a cemetery for all denominations to be created on land on the Halifax Common.”³¹ The 1859 committee rejected Elliot’s counter-petition and on April 15, 1859, *An Act relating to the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Dartmouth* allowed for a second Catholic cemetery on the Dartmouth Common, without any mention of “Indians.” The Act stated:

The trustees of the Dartmouth common are hereby authorized to set off, for the purpose of establishing a burial ground or cemetery for the Roman Catholics of Dartmouth, a certain portion of such common adjoining the present public burial ground [on Victoria Road] therein....; and such trustees shall convey the portion of the common so described to such person or persons as may be appointed by the Roman Catholic congregation of Dartmouth to receive the same for the purpose of being used solely as a place of burial.³²

³¹ Terrence Murphy, “ ‘Religion Walked Forth In All Her Majesty’: The Opening of Holy Cross Cemetery and The Transformation of Halifax Catholicism,” *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society* 18 (2015): 78; The Statute begins: “*WHEREAS* the several Grounds now appropriated within the Town and Suburbs of Halifax for the Burial of the Dead, are become altogether inadequate for that purpose, and the continued use thereof for interments will be of great public inconvenience to the Inhabitants, and injurious to the said Town. *And whereas*, it has become necessary that the practice of interment within the Town or Suburbs of Halifax should be discontinued, and that a Common Public Cemetery or Cemeteries should be provided at a convenient distance therefrom, suitable for that solemn use, and in lieu of the places of interment now appropriated thereto.” The Statutes of Nova Scotia, *An Act concerning Cemeteries or Burial Grounds for the Town of Halifax*, Passed April 20, 1833, Chapter 32, 207-211 accessed August 20, 2018, <https://nslegislature.ca>.

³² The Statutes of Nova Scotia: Passed in the Fourth Session of the General Assembly, February 3, 1859, Chapter 61, *An Act relating to the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Dartmouth*, passed April 15, 1859, http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00915_8/88?r=0&s=1.

In conclusion, few documents support the history of the Catholic Burying Ground. There was no chain of title in the Deed to the City of Dartmouth in 1975. This lack of information is surprising given that the cemetery was established on the Dartmouth Common that originated from a grant of Crown land. At most, the Dartmouth Catholics used the cemetery for the 30-year-period between 1835 and 1865 (and possibly only after 1845, when it was consecrated). It is not at all clear that Indigenous members of the congregation, who lived and probably travelled widely throughout St. Peter Parish ever used the cemetery. It was not an ideal burial location. By 1859, bedrock posed such a deterrent to burials along with increasing numbers of deaths that the government enacted legislation to create the new St. Peter's Cemetery on the Dartmouth Common. The Catholic Burying Ground fell into disuse for an entire century before it was commemorated as the burial site for "Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs." The next chapter examines the evidence for Indigenous burials and draws a conclusion about their identity.

CHAPTER THREE Problems with Hundreds of “Indian” Burials

In July 1962, the Dartmouth local historian John Martin wrote to a correspondent, probably the Halifax politician Edmund Morris, with a view to obtaining funds for a commemorative monument at the Catholic Burying Ground. Martin commented on a section of the cemetery with regard to Indigenous grave sites:

[T]here are nearly 200 remains of Indians because there are that [very?] number of oblong-shaped chunks of slate headstones, without any inscription, all laid in symmetrical rows as if a separate section had been set aside for these aborigines. Two of these, at least, are MicMac Chiefs. Newspaper records of April 1843 note that “poor old Paul, the venerable Chief of the MicMac tribe of Indians died last week at the encampment in Dartmouth”. Another record of January 1846 reports the death at Dartmouth of Gabriel Anthony, the MicMac Chief.¹

Martin intended the monument to mark the transition of the old cemetery into a new tourist attraction. However, in a book published five years earlier, Martin had identified just one Indigenous chief, not two. According to Martin in 1957:

¹John Martin to Edmund (Morris?), 32 King St., Dartmouth, N.S, July 7, 1962, in *The Story of Dartmouth* collection, Dartmouth Heritage Museum. This was likely Edmund Morris (born 1923), who attended Saint Mary’s High School in Halifax, became a Halifax M.P. in 1962, assistant to the President of Saint Mary’s University in 1963, Vice-President Finance and Development at Saint Mary’s in 1971, and Mayor of Halifax in 1974. He actively fundraised with the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation for the university [the same group who deeded the Catholic Burying Ground to the City of Dartmouth in 1975.] See “Oral History Interview with Edmund Morris” conducted by Angela Baker, July 9, 1993, and transcription by Jeff Lipton, February 13, 2000, 1-3. Saint Mary’s University, Audio, 1999:21, accessed December 8, 2017, http://www.smu.ca/academics/archives/oral/morris_e.html; The number 200 in the letter is more specific than what similarly appears in *The Story of Dartmouth* at page 61 where it is stated, “The century-old graves of the Indians are identified by the oblong chunks of slate rock, laid in symmetrical rows in a separate section; “To Unveil Cemetery Monument,” n.p. [July 11, 1962?], news clipping, Dartmouth Heritage Museum. “The monument has been erected by St. Paul’s Church with the possible assistance of a grant from City Council . . .” Chief Paul’s burial place is unknown. One newspaper stated, “Poor old Paul, the venerable chief of the Micmac Tribe of Indians, died on Wednesday or Thursday last at the encampment in Dartmouth.” See *The Novascotian*, “Death of an Indian Chief,” April 10, 1843, NSA, Mfm 8145; Gabriel Anthony died at Bear River in 1846 according to L. F. S. Upton, “ANTHONY, GABRIEL,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 7, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed May 12, 2017, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/anthony_gabriel_7E.html.

Geary Street Cemetery should be restored either by public or private subscription, and made into a tourist attraction like old St. Paul's cemetery at Halifax. The breast-high stonewall could be replaced, and an appropriate plaque erected, noting the Thompson burial-place and that of Bartholomew O'Connor . . . , hero of the battles of Badajoz and Waterloo. The latter's gravestone contains such particulars, and is probably buried in the sod. It is doubtful if any other cemetery in the Province has such a unique repository as the Dunn vault. The grave of the Indian Chief should also be noted. Certainly no cemetery in Halifax County has such a number of Micmac graves as Geary Street. All are marked with simple slate slabs, which could be easily uprighted.²

Further doubts arise from the number of reported graves that changed in a short time from “such a number” in the book, to “nearly 200” in the letter, to “hundreds” on the monument installed later in 1962, to 300 in a newspaper account a few months after the installation.³ The number increased seven-fold by 1994 when the *Daily News* reported, “No one knows how many native people are buried in St. Paul’s Cemetery [The Catholic Burying Ground], but estimates range anywhere from a few hundred to a couple of thousand.”⁴ On the same day, the *Mail Star* reported there were “unmarked graves of about 2,000 Micmacs, including two chiefs and about eight natives who died at Tufts Cove in the Halifax Explosion.”⁵ Martin was a notable resident of Dartmouth who received an honorary doctorate from Saint Mary’s University in 1955.⁶ He was a schoolteacher, official Town Historian, and author of *The Story of Dartmouth* published in 1957. His book was the culmination of a 10-year research project that began as a series of stories published in the local *Patriot* newspaper commemorating 200 years of

²Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, (Dartmouth, NS: J.P. Martin, 1957), 299.

³“Monument Under Way,” n.p. [July 11, 1962?], Dartmouth Heritage Museum. Paragraph 7 states, “An inscription for the memorial has been prepared by City Historian Dr. John P. Martin and will outline the three main points of interest about the cemetery: the large vault containing 13 coffins of members of the Dunn family, the remains of a near relative of the Empress Eugenie, wife of Napoleon III and the graves of almost 300 Indians, including two of their Chiefs.”

⁴Peter McLaughlin, “Micmacs cheer end of cemetery expansion,” *Daily News*, Friday, April 29, 1994, 8.

⁵Gordon Delaney, “Protests halt digging at historic burial sites,” *Mail Star*, Friday, April 29, 1994, A4.

⁶“About the Author,” in Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 551.

Dartmouth history between 1750 and 1950 . In the introduction, Martin stated, the book was “designed to help Dartmouth hosts exhibit their town to guests arriving here as utter strangers.”⁷

In other words, the book set out to dress up Dartmouth’s past for tourist purposes. Written to appeal to a broad audience,⁸ the book makes implicit use of sources rather than providing detailed footnotes or citations that would direct other researchers to sources. Newspaper sources were used extensively, and the book contains a wealth of information from archives, libraries, land records, church registries, photographs, interviews, and site visits.⁹ *The Story of Dartmouth* has become a classic, frequently-cited Dartmouth reference that has been widely accepted as a reliable history for many years.¹⁰ The book’s significance at the time of publication is reflected in the Foreword, in which the author Thomas H. Raddall praises Martin’s writing as, “the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but.”¹¹ The scope of Martin’s book is impressive but, ultimately, it represents his own story of Dartmouth. Noticeably absent from those passages dealing with Indigenous history are Indigenous voices themselves. This is particularly the case when he writes about the Catholic Burying Ground on Geary Street.

Accordingly, in the context of the general history of the cemetery outlined in the previous chapter, this chapter will critically examine Martin’s assertion that there are hundreds of Indigenous graves in the cemetery. Sources will be interrogated that could support Martin’s claim in order to evaluate the plausibility of his conclusion. No living

⁷Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 10.

⁸ “Dr. Martin is Our Official Town Historian (From the Atlantic Advocate) Official Historian,” (Np.:n.d), newspaper clipping.

⁹ Martin, Preface to *The Story of Dartmouth*, 7.

¹⁰ *The Story of Dartmouth* informed public policy in 2010. It appears in the Bibliography of the *Dartmouth Common Master Plan: Final Report* prepared by CBCL Limited in 2010.

¹¹ Thomas H. Raddall, Foreword to Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 5-6.

eyewitnesses remain to tell us about the Catholic Burying Ground in the mid-1800s so we must rely on existing sources to understand the history of the cemetery. Sources of evidence include photographs and images; legal, church, and hospital records; newspaper articles; population and death estimates; other burial histories; and alternative burial sites. Taking a closer look at Martin's assertions of Indigenous burials is important to understanding the link between the publication of his book in 1957, the installation of a commemorative monument in 1962, and popular media reports about Indigenous burials that have captured the public's imagination since then. This analysis will set the stage for the next and final chapter that relates the commemoration of Indigenous burials to tourism.

The height of the surrounding landscape allows for spectacular views in sketches, paintings, and photographs. Local histories have made repeated use of William Henry Bartlett's 1842 illustration of historic Dartmouth (Figure 3.1 below).¹² A sketch adapted from the painting on the book jacket of *The Story of Dartmouth* (Figure 3.2) differs in one conspicuous way from the original. It includes a stylized perhaps Western Plains Sioux individual in full, feathered headdress sitting with a stylized, perhaps Great Lakes Region individual with a "Mohawk-style" haircut in the foreground, neither of which appear in Bartlett's engraving. This raises the question why Martin presents *The Story of*

¹²A black and white copy of this image titled "Halifax from Dartmouth, by Wm. Henry Bartlett, 1842," is credited to the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa: 22(C-2419) in Joan M. Payzant and Lewis J. Payzant, *Like a Weaver's Shuttle* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1979), 47. A coloured version of the image is described as "One of many nineteenth-century views of Halifax from Dartmouth, this one by the prolific British scene painter, William Bartlett ...," in Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford and David Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years* (Halifax: Formac Publishing, 1999), 72. The artist of the book jacket sketch in Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth* is uncited. Experts have debated whether Bartlett, a well-known engraver, ever painted in oil, and if "there are no Bartlett oils in any public collections in Canada." See Eleanor Bartheaux, "W. H. Bartlett, of 'Bartlett Prints,'" *Dalhousie Review* 24, no. 4 (1945): especially 431-434, accessed November 30, 2017, <http://dalspace.library.dal.ca>.

Dartmouth—the truth, according to Raddall—with contrived stereotypical images from other regions of Canada. On closer inspection, Bartlett’s engraving is altered further in that Halifax is barely suggested on the opposite shore. Diminishing Halifax while privileging Dartmouth in this “historic” image subtly challenges the familiar narrative of allowing the history of British settlement at Halifax in 1749 to overshadow the settlement of Dartmouth in 1750. As the heritage specialist David

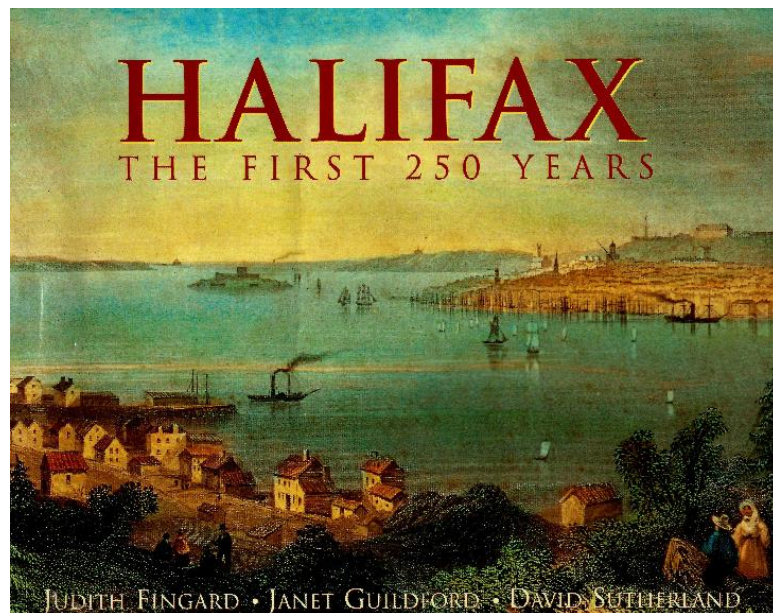


Figure 3.1. Book cover (uncited). Original engraving titled “View of the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia from Dartmouth” is attributed to William Henry Bartlett, circa 1842. (Judith Fingard, Janet Guildford and David Sutherland, *Halifax: The First 250 Years*, 1999)

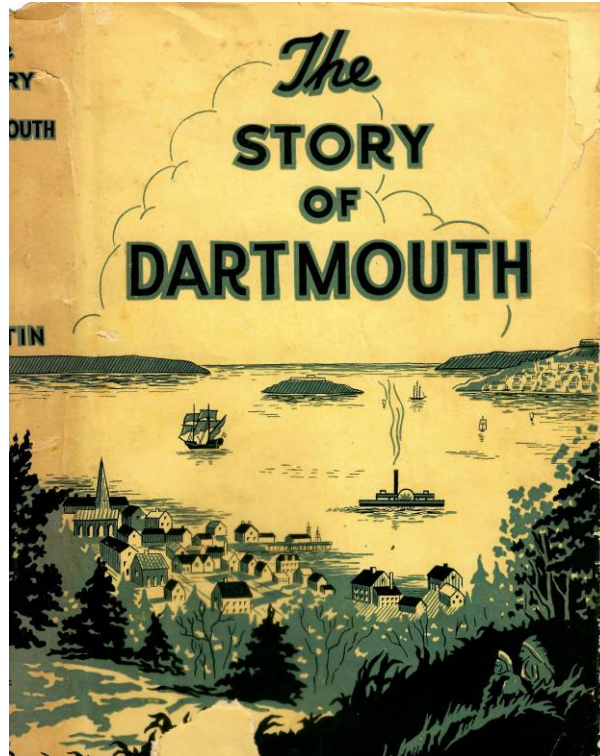


Figure 3.2. Dust Jacket (uncited) with imagined “Indians” in lower right corner.
 (Engraver, David Briggs, Dartmouth, NS?)
 (John Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 1957).

Lowenthal notes, “[Heritage] *updates* anachronistically reading back from the present qualities we want to see in past icons and heroes or ‘restoring’ paintings in line with modern preferences...”¹³ Adopting a critical view of the sketch converts a seemingly pleasant and harmless scene into one of contested narratives about the story of Dartmouth. Martin’s book jacket hints at an alternative history of Dartmouth before the reader ever opens the book while shifting the historical focus away from Halifax and onto Dartmouth.

Nevertheless, it is well known that a book cannot be judged by its cover. Perhaps, particularly in addressing the question of Indigenous grave sites, it is better to avoid

¹³ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *History & Memory* 10:1, (Spring 1998):12, DOI: 10.1353/ham.1998.

imaginative landscapes in favour of photographic evidence. A rare photograph dated 1869 captures the Catholic Burying Ground four years after it closed in 1865.¹⁴ On the other hand, tourist-style images turned their gaze away from the less than desirable view of the Catholic Burying Ground near the foot of the Dartmouth Common. This has created a gap in the visual record that makes the 1869 photograph much more compelling. One can stand in the place of the photographer and readily observe changes in the landscape since then. Gone are the barns near the cemetery and the sheds at the waterfront wharves. The roads are paved and there are mature trees in the Dartmouth Common. The Dartmouth Common granted in 1788 continues to form part of the Dartmouth Common today.¹⁵ Its fields are visible in the upper left, bordered by Park Avenue and intersected by King Street. The slope of Synott's Hill in the lower left of the photograph contains a stairway that leads down into the cemetery from Fairbanks Street. McNab's Island and Halifax Harbour are barely discernable in the upper right. Windmill Road runs into Alderney Drive along the left side of the cemetery and goes past the ferry into historic downtown Dartmouth. Portions of the rock wall along the right of the photograph now follow a chain link fence behind houses that border the cemetery on Shore Road. The cemetery boundaries remain essentially the same as they were in 1869.

¹⁴ The cemetery dates of 1835 and 1865 appear on a commemorative monument in the Catholic Burying Ground erected by St. Paul's Parish in 1962.

¹⁵ Nova Scotia Dept. of Natural Resources, Crown Lands Branch, NS Crown Grant, filed at Old Book 19, page 58, (see old plan no. 636) 4 September 1788 to Thomas Cochran, Timothy Folgier [*sic*] and Samuel Starbuck, 150 acres in special trust for the use and benefit of the Inhabitants of the Town Plot of Dartmouth.

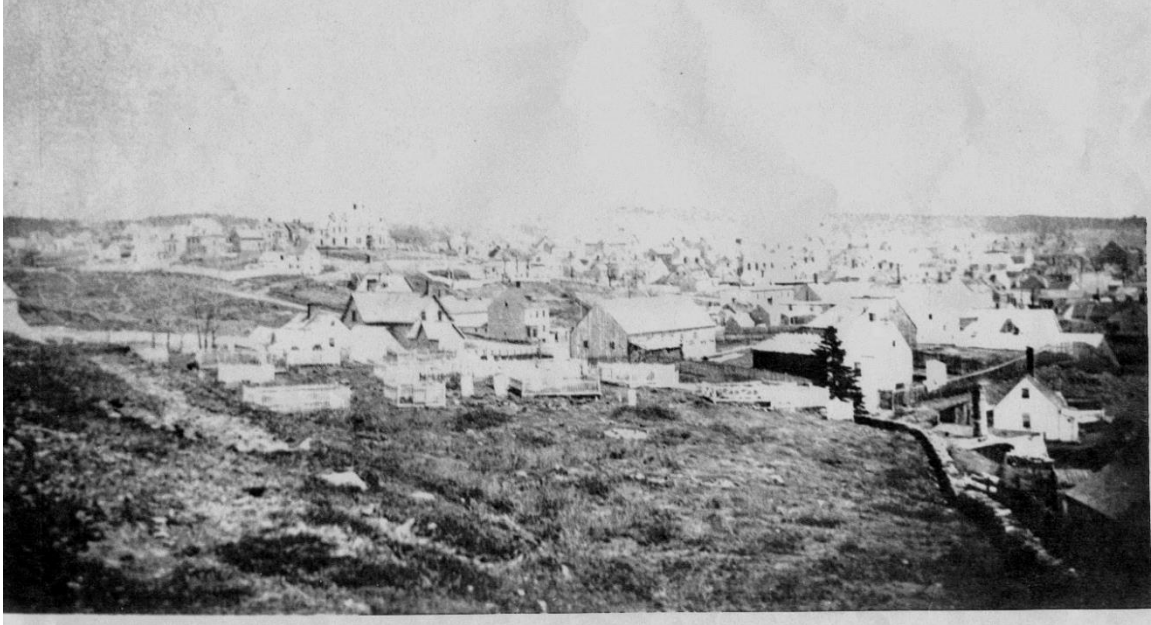


Figure 3.3. The Catholic Burying Ground, 1869.
("1869 Geary St.," A2636 Craig Photo, Dartmouth Heritage Museum by permission)

The photograph date is so close to the cemetery dates on the monument (1835-1865) that it might offer irrefutable visual evidence of hundreds of oblong chunks of slate in a row as reported by Martin. However, it does not.¹⁶ The photograph offers visual evidence of a cemetery division between marked fenced plots and an unmarked field. Martin does not discuss the possibility of Indigenous burials in the fenced family plot sections, and his omission alludes to a biased interpretation of the cemetery layout. The practice of separating burials into sections by group membership in society and

¹⁶ HRM's current plot plan cited as City of Dartmouth, Engineering Dept. File No. 32-189, August 17, 1977, 1" = 10', contains numerous unmarked plots along the rear of the cemetery. These were identified to me as the location of "Indian" burials. (Personal communication with Stephen Hardman, HRM Cemeteries Administration office, October 2017.) I was advised there is no written evidence in the HRM Cemeteries Administration office about "Indian" burials. (Personal communication with Bonnie Murphy, HRM Cemeteries Administration, October 2017.) In addition, the location of the original plot plan (1835-1865) is unknown. The current HRM plot plan (1977) may be based on a 1962 tape survey that is supposed to be registered and attached to the 1975 Deed to the City of Dartmouth from the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation. (See Appendix II). The waterfront changed after the 1869 photograph when Canadian National Railway (CNR) straightened the Dartmouth shoreline in order to lay railway tracks so the cemetery is located further away from the water than it was in 1869.

physically distancing the cemetery from the church and its haphazard method of churchyard burials is attributed to the Reform-Style Cemetery Movement.¹⁷

The Reform-Style Cemetery model originated in 1797 in the New Haven Burying Ground, New Haven, Connecticut.¹⁸ Many popular cemeteries in Halifax are contemporary examples of this organized layout, including Halifax's Holy Cross Cemetery and Camp Hill Cemetery. Popular sections in other cemeteries attract cemetery tourists interested in Titanic burials, Halifax Explosion victims, and so on. Catholic cemeteries had an additional design philosophy that is especially evident in the 1869 photograph. That is, "It must not be laid out like a pleasure-garden or shrubbery, with flower-beds, serpentine walks, and rock-work, and other such Protestant devices for shutting out the wholesome thought of death."¹⁹ Yet, this is exactly how Cora Greenaway described the Catholic Burying Ground in 1980 after the City of Dartmouth took over the property. She writes, "the grass had been cut, the stones righted, [serpentine] paved walks constructed and a little park laid out with seats facing the harbour. What had been a jungle, is now a truly delightful spot ..."²⁰ From a Catholic design perspective, the cemetery had indeed become less Catholic through Protestant devices employed under the guise of development. This visual and structural shift in the landscape represented a move from the sacred to the profane—a move from private church to public state—as the

¹⁷ Bruce Elliott, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontaniam, and Irishness: The Creation of Holy Cross Roman Catholic Cemetery, Halifax, Nova Scotia," Occasional Paper, Irish Catholic Halifax: From the Napoleonic Wars to the Great War, *Historical Studies* 81 (2015): 106-111.

¹⁸ Bruce Elliott, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontaniam, and Irishness," 108.

¹⁹ "Catholic Funerals," *The Rambler: A Catholic Journal and Review* 6, part 31 (July 1850), 5 cited in Bruce Elliott, "Cemetery Reform, Ultramontaniam, and Irishness," *Historical Studies*, Vol. 81, 110.

²⁰ Cora Greenaway, "The Old Catholic Cemetery in Dartmouth, Nova Scotia," *Canadian Collector*, July/August 1980, 42, NSA, V/F, Vol. 66 #10.

cemetery transitioned back into government control after it was deeded to the City of Dartmouth in 1975. This is discussed further in the following chapters.

In the absence of an original burial plot plan for the Catholic Burying Ground, the layout of the New Haven Burying Ground in Connecticut offers a useful model for discussion purposes. The apparent left-right division in the 1869 photograph is consistent with the idea of separation described in New Haven's Burying Ground:

The pattern of the cemetery also appears to have been unique, for it was arranged in lots for families as opposed to random burials which had been common in the past. The grounds were also divided to give space to parishioners of the three churches on the Green, an area for strangers who might die in New Haven, one for the indigent, a section for persons of color and one for Yale College.²¹

The well-known design axiom that “form follows function” might explain the layout of the cemetery but existing evidence raises doubt about the presence of hundreds of Indigenous burials at Geary Street. The remaining portion of this chapter examines problems linked to the location, status, records and provenance of the site, and questions whether this case fits the trend of problematic “Indian stories” in Dartmouth's narrative.

The Catholic Burying Ground was an unsuitable burial location in spite of John Elliot's 1859 reference to the cemetery as “nearest to the Town, and therefore most valuable.”²² Observation of the surrounding landscape, especially along Shore Road and Synotts's Hill to the rear of the cemetery, confirms why a petition for a new cemetery came forward after only 65 deaths had been recorded in the St. Peter Church Register

²¹ Friends of the Grove Street Cemetery, “The Grove Street Cemetery,” 2nd paragraph, accessed January 27, 2017, <http://www.grovestreetcemetery.org/>.

²² NS House of Assembly, Petition by Jonathan Elliott and others, Tabled February 18, 1859, NSA, RG5; Series “P”, vol. 17, 1859, #30.

between 1835 and 1859. The area is extremely rocky (full of shale and bedrock outcroppings) and never made a good burial location.²³ In 1854, after learning that ancient burial sites had been ploughed up for farmland, which was “a source of great annoyance to the Indian,” the Indian Agent William Chearnley reported, “The resting places for the dead for the most part were selected in spots free from rocks, and on a fertile peninsula.²⁴ The Catholic Burying Ground was neither. The natural world of bedrock determined burial location at Geary Street, not layouts based on social class and race. The Legislative Committee apparently agreed with the Catholic Petition for a new cemetery in 1859 when they wrote, “much difficulty is felt in finding sufficient depth of soil to cover their dead.”²⁵ It is plausible that the Dunn burial vault was built above ground to avoid the bedrock while, at the same time, ensuring future burial space for the family.

Rev. John Sprott wrote that he knew a family that was concerned enough about unconsecrated ground to carry an Indigenous youth’s body almost 30 miles to a consecrated burial ground.²⁶ The Catholic Burying Ground remained unconsecrated for two years after Chief Paul’s death in 1843 so it is unlikely his family considered burying

²³ This rocky range known in downtown Dartmouth as the “Northwest Range” covers most of peninsular Halifax. It appears on a “Simplified geological map of metropolitan Halifax” in Figure 8 in C.F. Michael Lewis, C.F., Nova Scotia. Dept. of Natural Resources, and Geological Survey of Canada, *Earth Science and Engineering Urban Development in the Metropolitan Halifax Region*. Contribution Series; CS ME 1998-3 (Halifax, NS: Dept. of Natural Resources, 1998), 418.

²⁴ William Chearnley, Indian Agent, to Joseph Howe, 4 March 1854, in *Legislative Assembly of Nova Scotia Journals*, 1854, Appendix 26, 211-212 cited in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 1991), 253. There has been no archaeological testing or evidence of pre-contact burials in the Dartmouth Common area to date (Personal Communication with Stephen Powell, Assistant Curator of Archaeology, NS Museum, 30 October 2017). In a 29-year period, the Dartmouth Catholics moved from the churchyard (1830), to the Catholic Burying Ground (1835), to St. Peter’s Cemetery (1859/1865). Death dates from the Registers suggest which burial ground is most likely associated with the death. Questions remain if burials from the first two cemeteries were reinterred in St. Peter’s Cemetery after it was established in 1859.

²⁵ Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly for the Province of Nova Scotia, 1859 (Halifax, NS: W.A. Penney, 1859), Appendix 45- Dartmouth Cemetery, March 23, 1859, 517. http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_00946_110/3?r=0&s=1.

²⁶ John Sprott in the *Novascotian*, Halifax, 30 June 1851, cited in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 245.

him there. Dartmouth's unconsecrated ground may also be the reason that Peter Cope's²⁷ son, Joseph Cope, age 21, was buried in Halifax's Holy Cross Cemetery on October 28, 1844. He was followed by his brother Lewis in 1854.²⁸ Natives of Dartmouth, Magdaline [Maurice] buried December 2, 1846, and Ann [Gload], buried January 7, 1848, were buried in Holy Cross Cemetery after the Catholic Burying Ground was consecrated.²⁹ Chief Louis Benjamin Peminuit Paul's brother and successor, Francis Paul, died at Dartmouth on May 18, 1861. "It was the wish of the tribe and his family to take his remains to Shubenacadie for burial."³⁰ Long-time Dartmouth area resident Mary Thomas (died 1915, widow of Peter Sack), and her children Catherine (Sack) Maloney (died 1912 whose baptism was noted earlier), and Isaac Sack (died 1930) were all buried at "Indian Reserve," Shubenacadie.³¹ Their Dartmouth connection did not presume a Dartmouth burial. According to L.F.S. Upton in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Chief Gabriel Anthony, the second Chief referred to on the monument, died during an outbreak of "Indian Fever" at Bear River in

²⁷ W.H. Stevens's photo of Peter Cope's house, circa 1890, appears in Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 442.

²⁸ Joseph Cope, Burial No. 240, October 28, 1844; Lewis Cope, Burial No. 2426, May 5, 1854, Holy Cross Cemetery, Halifax City, Halifax County, NSA, MG5, Mfm. 12,060.

²⁹ Saint Mary's University, "Holy Cross Cemetery," First Nations, accessed April 30, 2018, <http://www.smu.ca/history/holy-cross/first-nations.html>.

³⁰ "Vide letter of Captain William Chearnley, paper no. 128, vol. 431 of Public Records of Nova Scotia." Harry Piers. Unpublished notes, Nova Scotia Museum Printed Matter File, [held at NS Archives] cited in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 262-263; Paul Street, renamed Bolton Terrace, at Lake Banook, was possibly named for Chief Paul's family.

³¹ The Sack family appears in Dartmouth's early Catholic records. As noted, Catherine Sack was baptized at Dartmouth on May 2, 1849. She died in 1912, age 67 (NS Historical Vital Statistics 1912, Book 10, Page 190, No. 1138); Isaac Sack, was born at Dartmouth May 15, 1854 and died in Shubenacadie, November 26, 1930, age 76, having lived there for 40 years [since 1890] (NS Historical Vital Statistics, 1930, Book 124, Page 948), accessed December 4, 2017, <https://www.novascotiagenealogy.com/ItemView.aspx?ImageFile=124-948&Event=death&ID=210249>; Catherine and Isaac's mother, Mary Noel, (widow of the Chief John Noel, and former widow of Peter Sack), died March 11, 1915, at about 93 years of age, at Indian Reserve, Shubenacadie. There is no reference to Dartmouth in her obituary. The obituary is quoted in Nova Scotia Museum Library, Harry Piers Papers, Mi'kmaw Ethnology: Genealogies, 23 cited in Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Niniskamijinaqik Ancestral Images: The Mi'kmaq in Art and Photography* (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing, 2015), 81.

1846 and there is no indication he was taken to Dartmouth for burial.³² This challenges the claim that Chief Gabriel is buried in the Catholic Burying Ground.

The claim that hundreds of Indigenous burials took place in the cemetery rests on an uncertain evidentiary basis. Martin's book established clearly that by 1962 there had been published accounts of Indigenous burials, notably in newspapers, and this was reflected in the commemorative monument in the cemetery. Yet in all of these accounts, specific details were missing about the source of the story, the names of those buried, where they had lived, and the dates and circumstances of their deaths. As the newspaper photo in Figure 4.3 implies, no Mi'kmaw people were present at the unveiling of the monument that set out to honour them. This lapse of protocol resulted in a story being told to the public *about* a group of Indigenous people rather than letting them tell their own story. Since that time, space has been created for Indigenous stories in non-Indigenous Canadian society. Importantly, the Supreme Court of Canada now recognizes oral history, which has been "placed on an equal footing with the types of historical evidence that courts are familiar with."³³

The adoption of "Indian stories" for non-Indigenous purposes is problematic. In this context, these apparent traditions are often misleading and can contain elements of cultural appropriation, romanticism, errors, and myths framed with a sense of authenticity. For example, regardless of international controversies about culturally inappropriate sports club names, Dartmouth area paddling clubs continue to use names such as Abenaki, Senobe, and Mic Mac. The Mic Mac Amateur Aquatic Club, situated on

³² L. F. S. Upton, "ANTHONY, GABRIEL," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

³³ Mary C. Hurley, "Aboriginal Title: The Supreme Court of Canada Decision in *Delgamuuk v. British Columbia*," Law and Government Division, Parliament of Canada, January 1998, revised February 2000, accessed July 5, 2018, <https://lop.parl.ca/content/lop/ResearchPublications/bp459-e.htm>.

Lake Banook, represents itself with a logo of an appropriated “Red Indian” mascot wearing a Plains feathered headdress.³⁴ The name “Lake Banook” was selected in a newspaper competition in 1922, and was not credited to the Mi’kmaw word *panuk* meaning “at the opening.”³⁵ For many years, the Boy Scouts of Canada perpetuated the myth of Jerry Lonecloud’s burial at Camp Lone Cloud, in Fall River near Dartmouth, but his death record confirms he was buried in St. Peter’s Cemetery on the Dartmouth Common in 1930.³⁶ In light of this trend of uncertainties, it is reasonable to ask if the burial claim is simply another fabricated “Indian story” from the 20th Century. David Lowenthal might have been writing about “Indian stories” when he described fabricated heritage, noting, “Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error ... Prejudiced pride in the past ... is its essential aim.”

³⁷ As the introductory quotation to this chapter shows, the “Indian story” was useful in

³⁴ Mic Mac Amateur Aquatic Club, “Paddling,” accessed December 5, 2017, <http://www.micmacaac.com>.

³⁵ “The Dartmouth lakes were so popular by 1922, that there was finally a move by *The Evening Echo* newspaper, sanctioned by Town Council, to have appropriate names given to them. “Banook” was submitted by six citizens, each of whom received a share of the \$10 prize for the chosen name. ‘MicMac’ was suggested by two residents and they split another \$10 prize.” Allan Billard, *Banook Canoe Club – Voices from our Past* (Dartmouth: Sand Dollar Productions, 2003), 14. “Banook” is derived from the Mi’kmaw word “Panuk” translated as “at the opening” in Mi’kmaw Place Names Digital Atlas, Basemap, accessed December 8, 2017, <http://sparc.smu.ca/mpnmap/>. Formerly mapped as First Lake, Lake Banook is the first in a chain of many lakes and waterways that lead from Halifax Harbour to the Bay of Fundy. “Banook” may have nothing to do with the Scottish bread *bannach* although the Hartshorne-Tremaine grist mill operated in 1792 near Lake Banook, an area frequented by the Mi’kmaq. Flour was a trade item at Fort Clarence when it was a Truck House; D.A. Sutherland writes, “In response to prompting from the lieutenant governor, Hartshorne formed a partnership with yet another loyalist, Jonathan Tremaine, and around 1792 or so built a combined grist-mill and bakehouse on the Dartmouth side of Halifax Harbour (the site being chosen because of the availability of water power)... Following the outbreak of war with France in 1793, Wentworth, thanks to his contacts in the Home Department, helped the firm of Boggs and Hartshorne secure military contracts and also named them as provisioning agents for Nova Scotia’s Indian population.” D. A. Sutherland, “HARTSHORNE, LAWRENCE,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 6, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003, accessed April 12, 2018, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/hartshorne_lawrence_6E.html.

³⁶ NS Historical Vital Statistics, “Certificate of Registration of Death,” Jerry Lonecloud, 1930, Book 134, Page 1618.

³⁷ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *History & Memory*, Volume 10, No. 1 (Spring 1998), DOI: 10.1 353/ham.1998.

soliciting funds from sources outside the church to clean up, protect and preserve the cemetery in 1962. Within five years, St. Paul's Parish assumed administrative control of the cemetery, renamed it, and began burying members of its own congregation there. Hundreds of "Indians" so central to the "historic" story told in 1962 were ignored when the Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation deeded the cemetery to the City of Dartmouth in 1975. Geographer David Harvey might argue the "Indian burial story" had simply run its course and evolved into something new:

[E]ntities achieve relative stability in both their bounding and their internal ordering of processes creating space, for a time. Such permanences come to occupy a piece of space in an exclusive way (for a time) and thereby define a place—their place—(for a time). The process of place formation is a process of carving out "permanences" from the flow of processes creating spatio-temporality. But the "permanences" – no matter how solid they may seem – are not eternal but always subject to time as "perpetual perishing." They are contingent on processes of creation, sustenance and dissolution.³⁸

"Indian stories" contrast with legal stories based on the quality of information they contain. Confidence quickly wanes in "Indian stories" when they are challenged by known facts (e.g. Lonecloud's death record.) On the other hand, confidence in legal documents improves with facts from original sources, sworn evidence, and other forms of substantiation. Yes, the words "Hundreds of Indians" were carved into a stone monument in the cemetery, authorized by the name of an established church, and written by the Town Historian—all good authorities in the public's mind, but no one swore there were "hundreds of Indians" when the property was legally transferred to the City. Apparently, the story was a useful diversion in 1962 that did not serve legal purposes in 1975. This suggests that another story must account for nearly 200 unmarked and 'worthless' slate

³⁸ David Harvey, *From Space to Place and Back Again* (London: Routledge, 1992), 294.

stones probably buried in the cemetery sod. (Stone is heavy to move.) Scrutiny of the surviving evidence, therefore, must ultimately prevail.

The group that does extend to almost 200 deaths, as recorded in the St. Peter Church Registers between 1830 and 1865 (Appendix 1V) comprises those with mainly Irish surnames.³⁹ Between 1815 and the 1860s, the Irish made up almost half the population of Halifax and Dartmouth.⁴⁰ Dartmouth parishioners, whose place of origin was noted in their death record, came from at least seven counties in Ireland, namely: Cork, Kilkenny, Queens (Laois), Tipperary, Waterford, Westmeath, and Wexford (baptisms and marriage records have not been reviewed here). Their Irish surnames include Corcoran, Donovan, Dunn, Farrell, Kennedy, Meagher, Moore, Murphy, Murray, Leahey, O'Brien, O'Leary, Ryan and many others. Their deaths tell a story of tragedy and loss that is synonymous with Irish immigration.⁴¹ Who cannot imagine the heartache of William and Mary Beehan who lost their three children, William, Mary, and Martin all in the month of June 1841? And what of the tragic but heroic death of 23-year-old John McCabe (son of Richard McCabe of County Wexford) who died while “attempting to rescue from a watery grave the late Mr. John Irwin,” age 18, after he had fallen “through the ice while skating on Maynard’s Lake” in January 1855.”⁴² What traditional words of comfort helped the living to reconcile their losses? Additionally, how did the Parish Priest Father Geary find the strength to repeat the funeral service week after week, and

³⁹ Martin documented many of these deaths in *The Story of Dartmouth*.

⁴⁰ Nova Scotia Archives, “The Irish,” accessed November 23, 2017, <https://archives.novascotia.ca/genealogy/irish>.

⁴¹ This tale of loss extends to the widely publicized deaths of two little girls, Jane and Margaret Meagher (Irish immigrants affectionately remembered as the Babes in the Woods), who were lost and died in the snow covered woods in 1842. They are buried in the Woodlawn United Church Cemetery, Dartmouth.

⁴² *Morning Chronicle*, January 11, 1855, and the *Novascotian*, January 8, 1855 cited in Terrence Punch, *Erin’s Sons, Irish Arrivals in Atlantic Canada 1761-1853, Vol. III*, (Baltimore, Md.: Genealogical Pub., 2008), 26; the death entry appears in St. Peter Church Register Two, February 10, 1855, 4.

month after month, when epidemics struck down members of his own congregation? These are stories of the human condition that emerge from an analysis of the historic Church Registers and other sources. Significantly, this evidence leads directly into an untold story of Irish immigration into the Dartmouth area although it is a story that lies largely outside the scope of this thesis.

It is curious there are no “Indian” deaths in the St. Peter Church Registers between 1830 and 1865;⁴³ there are only baptismal and marriage records.⁴⁴ The book jacket for *The Story of Dartmouth* states that an insider’s view is present in Martin’s work through his “boyhood associations with older folks who had lived through the vicissitudes of the 19th century.”⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the disruptions associated with the

⁴³ Seven deaths (Appendix IV) merit further investigation because they have common Mi’kmaq surnames (Julien, Marshall, Nowlan, and Richard) but even these could not account for hundreds of Indigenous burials in the cemetery:

- (a) David JULIEN, Burial No. 24, July 10, 1859, age 3. This familiar surname at Chezzetcook is associated with Simon Julien who supposedly deserted from the Napoleonic War in Europe;
- (b) John JULIEN, Burial No. 30, September 6, 1859, age 1 year and 9 months, parents not named, John William Julien baptized on March 2, 1858, the son of William Julien and Ellen, [Mansfield?] is possibly the same child (see Register Two, 57);
- (c) Edward MARSHALL, Burial No. 7, October 7, 1858, age 22 (with broken headstone, son of James Marshall). His baptism is not indexed in 1836 in Register One;
- (d) James MARSHALL, Burial No. 7, March 16, 1859, age 70, father of Edward Marshall above (with broken headstone);
- (e) Catherine NOWLAN, Burial No. 9, September 3, 1862, age 4 years and 5 months, (Register Two, p. 116). Her baptism is not indexed in 1858. Variants of the Nowlan / Knowlan / Nolan surname appear in the Quoddy / Newdiquoddy area near Sheet Harbour. The surname is familiar at Dartmouth because Chief Francis Paul’s daughter Margaret was married to Edward Nolan (Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 233). Knowlan Street next to the Mic Mac Amateur Aquatic Club in Dartmouth may be closely connected to this family;
- (f) Amelia RICHARD, Burial No. 29, September 4, 1859, age 12 months. Richard and Richards are familiar French names at Chezzetcook;
- (g) Mary Ann RICHARD, Burial No. 4, May 3, 1862, age 7 weeks.

⁴⁴ In 1846, Michael Allen and Sarah Willmott’s marriage was witnessed by John Baptist and Christian Paul (Register One, 181). Christopher Paul and Margaret Hedley’s marriage was witnessed by John Prosper and Mary Paul of Dartmouth (Register One, 180-181). In 1848, James Penaul married Mary Ann Toni in the presence of Christopher Paul and Eliza (Register One, 198).

⁴⁵ In Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 330, a note about Martin’s inside sources says, “William Wells, died only in 1943, aged 96. He often furnished us with first-hand accounts of people and places at Dartmouth and Eastern Passage in the early days. Mr. Wells said that his grandmother usually conversed in French.” Therefore, Mr. Wells was born around 1847 and was about 13 years old when the cemetery closed. It is doubtful whether he had first-hand knowledge of the cemetery.

centralization of Mi'kmaw communities during the 1940s would have weakened any ability to collect insider information about the history of Indigenous burials. Descendants in a position to know one way or another would in many cases have been removed to other areas. Government unwillingness to recognize the special status of Indigenous peoples, or to properly address issues of unemployment and political instability were contributing factors to the process of centralization. "The Department of Indian Affairs put enormous pressure on the leaders of the smaller Mi'kmaq communities to move their people to either Indian Brook or Eskasoni under threat of being abandoned to their fate and forced to enfranchise should they chose to remain in their homes."⁴⁶

One possibility of Indigenous burials due to unidentified deaths was the so-called "Indian Fever." One hundred and eighty two (182) or approximately 20% of the mainland Mi'kmaq died in 1846 and 1847 from a "malignant fever" that affected Pictou, Bear River, Merigomish, Pomquet, Shubenacadie, and Dartmouth.⁴⁷ This is an average of 30 deaths in each community, which is consistent with 32 deaths reported near Dartmouth.⁴⁸ Yet even notionally, 32 deaths only accounts for 16% of the estimated 200 Indigenous burials in the cemetery while the remaining 167 deaths remain unidentified. Dr. Edward Jennings noted the death figures came from Reverend Mr. James Kennedy's Register, not from him personally (probably during the construction of the "Indian Hospital" in early

⁴⁶ Anita Maria Tobin, "The effect of centralization on the social and political systems of the mainland Nova Scotia Mi'kmaq: (Case studies: Millbrook-1916 & Indian Brook-1914)," (M.A. thesis, Saint Mary's University, 1999), 19, 77.

⁴⁷ Allan Everett Marble, *Physicians, Pestilence and the Poor, A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia, 1800-1867* (Victoria: Trafford Publishing, 2006), 306, 310.

⁴⁸ NS Archives, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, MG15, Vol. 4 #19, NSA, Mfm. 15,106. See also Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 232. My unpublished research suggests the Indian Hospital built near Lake Loon about four miles from Dartmouth was on Col. Thompson's property (former Charles Morris's estate), since converted into a golf course. Legislative records show that Col. Thompson worked closely with Dr. Jennings and the Indian Hospital in 1847.

1847).⁴⁹ Rev. Kennedy's name appears in the Register after several entries for Bermuda after March 1, 1846 where he may have been at that time. Dr. Jennings identified two adults and five children who died near Dartmouth during the outbreak. Their baptisms and deaths are not indexed in the church records. This suggests they were from another parish and not buried at Dartmouth. If they were unbaptized Catholics, they likely would not have been buried in the consecrated Catholic Burying Ground. Their names are Elizabeth Stephens (age 7); Eliza Finall [Penaul?] (age 6); Sally Paul (age 6); Mary Ann Glode (age 9); Francis Glode (age 2 ½); Joe Stephens Sr. (age 63); and Joe Stephens Jr. (age 29).⁵⁰

Indeed, no "Indian" burials appear in the financial records of the hospital in 1847.⁵¹ This is significant because high death numbers might translate into high burial numbers in the Dartmouth cemetery from 1846 to 1847, and yet no deaths appear in the Church Register for those years. No cost was overlooked in documenting the containment of the fever at government expense at the hospital. A long list of itemized invoices includes arrowroot, barley, boots, beef, blankets, bread, clothing, cotton, doctors, horses, labour, lumber, milk, molasses, nails, oatmeal, sleighs, stoves, sugar, wine, and "Drink for the Carpenters Without Wich they would not work So nier the Seek Indians."⁵² There is a receipt from Dr. Jennings to William Davis, dated January 30, 1847, "To Making 2

⁴⁹ Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 232.

⁵⁰ Commissioner of Indian Affairs "Return of the Names, Ages, Diseases, Duration and Termination of Diseases of the Indians of the Micmac Tribe near Dartmouth," December 8, 2017, NSA MG 15 Vol. 4, No. 25, NSA, Mfm. 11, 151.

<https://novascotia.ca/archives/mikmaq/archives.asp?ID=766&Page=201724985&Language=> .

⁵¹ Dr. Edward Jennings to Sir Rupert George, Provincial Secretary, 16 February 16, 1847. Public Archives of Nova Scotia, Halifax. MG15, Vol. 4, #19, cited in Holmes Whitehead, *The Old Man Told Us*, 232.

⁵² NS Archives, Commissioner of Indian Affairs NSA, MG 15, Vol. 4, #26, 26, 11, 12, 11, 26, 12, 11, 17, 12, 26, 12, 26, 26, 26, 26, 11, 7, 26, and 19, NSA, Mfm. 11,151; the invoice for the carpenters is #26; and #11 for the coffin invoices for Davis and Room.

Coffins for Indians”; and another to William H. Room dated January 12, 13, 20, and 25, 1847 for 5 coffins “for indians.”⁵³ Such meticulous accounting might have accounted for transporting at least two of these coffins to the cemetery, had they been sent there, since Dr. Jennings reported two deaths occurred in hospital, but this is not the case.⁵⁴ Further, the government had an interest in knowing who had died during the fever outbreak. The individuals represented financial cost in the administration of a larger social project designed to create self-supporting “Indians” through (failed) policies of “the Bible and the Plough.” A drop in population should have translated into reduced government expenditures in the following years for housing, tools, seed potatoes, farm animals, education, etc. Instead, the £200 that had been budgeted each year for “Indians” from 1844 to 1846 increased to £300 in 1847. Actual costs for expenses due to treating the fever were almost triple what had been budgeted in 1847. Population decline did not affect the £300 budgeted for 1848,⁵⁵ which, in itself, was a measure of underfunded resources for Indian Affairs. It is not clear if Dr. Jennings conducted anatomy training on those who died, although there is a well-documented medical history of taking human remains for anatomy education in the days before refrigeration. The covert practice was justified as a means for the poor to give back to society for the training of new doctors.

Today, the practice is legal under Section 5(1) “Bodies for science” in the *Anatomy Act* of

⁵³ NS Archives, Commissioner of Indian Affairs NSA, MG 15, Vol. 4, No. 11, (1847), NSA, Mfm. 11,151.

⁵⁴Jennings, PANS, MG 15, Vol. 4, #19, 16 Feb 1847, NSA, Mfm. 11, 151.

⁵⁵ *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of the Province of Nova Scotia*, [Years 1844-1848], accessed December 7, 2017, <http://eco.canadiana.ca>. Report 18, p. 67 shows an over expenditure of £5 9 11 in 1845. In 1846, the £300 budget was over by £813 13 11 due to the malignant fever (Appendix No. 57, 246-247). In 1848, under Indian Affairs, another £300 was allotted to Indians, p. 175.

Nova Scotia.⁵⁶ Dr. Jennings did become a Coroner at Halifax and his covert training methods might explain the unknown whereabouts of people who died during the fever.

Enough Mi'kmaw people died in the province during the time of the fever that Indian Commissioner Abraham Gesner reported they were “fast fading away.”⁵⁷ While similar accounts have not survived in Dartmouth's narrative, an emotionally charged, dying-race poem was read at Pictou where “The only Indian who escaped the fatal sickness was present at the reading of the Poem.”⁵⁸ It was also reported that “late accounts represent the same fever as prevailing among the Indians at Dartmouth, where thirty have already died.” Short excerpts combined from the 19-page poem give the impression that all the Mi'kmaq had died from fever:

*Indian, how fallen! in vain we try to trace
The noble clansmen of thy ancient race;...
All, all are gone! no relic now is seen,
Save the rude mound on some sequestered green...
O fear not, Indian, hearts are not of stone;
Some share thy sufferings, and thy grief bemoan...
And no *small portion* of that fading race,
Within the year, have found their resting place
Beneath the sod, and tell to all around —
This, only this, is now the Indian's ground!*⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Nova Scotia Legislature, *Anatomy Act*, R.S., c. 13, s. 1, 1989, “Bodies for science 5 (1) Every chief medical examiner and medical examiner and every officer of any town, city, district, municipality or county, having charge or control of dead bodies requiring to be buried or cremated at the public expense, and every superintendent, manager, keeper or officer in charge of any municipal home, prison, morgue, hospital or other public institution, having charge or control of dead bodies of persons who previous to death were being maintained at the public expense, shall, whenever any such body comes into his possession, charge or control, notify the Inspector, in writing, setting forth as far as possible the name, sex, age, status, religion, nationality, occupation, date of decease and disease, or other cause of death of the deceased, and shall, without fee or reward, deliver the body to the Inspector, and permit the Inspector to remove every such body for the purpose of being used, within this Province, by any legally established medical school or college for the advancement of anatomical or pathological science.”
<https://nslegislature.ca/sites/default/files/legc/statutes/anatomy.htm>

⁵⁷ Abraham Gesner, Commissioner for Indian Affairs, Report dated Cornwallis, 21 December 1847, cited in Marble, *Physicians, Pestilence and the Poor*, 309.

⁵⁸ “Introduction” to *The Pictou Indians: An Original Poem, by a Member of the Pictou Literary and Scientific Society*, (Pictou, NS: Eastern Chronicle Office, 1847),
<http://eco.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.68303/5?r=0&s=1>, E-book.

⁵⁹ *The Pictou Indians: An Original Poem*, 14, 17. On page 15, the poem's anonymous author describes meeting Dr. Gesner in Prince Edward Island during the previous summer while he was “collecting together

In spite of the cost and sympathies invested in managing “Indian Fever” in Nova Scotia, it remains a mystery what happened to the 32 individuals who reportedly died at Dartmouth in 1847.

While population figures between 1835 and 1865 do not account for individual deaths or burials in the Catholic Burying Ground, only limited assistance can be found in overall population measures. Extremely low Mi’kmaq population estimates for Halifax County during the dates of the Catholic Burying Ground (1835-1865) makes 200 estimated Indigenous burials seem high by comparison. According to the historian Allan Marble, the entire Mi’kmaq population of Halifax County dropped from an estimated 265 people in 1838 to 169 people in 1851.⁶⁰ To complicate matters, historical records for the cemetery are incomplete. Ten years of death records are missing for the years 1836; 1846 to the end of 1851; and 1863 to 1865. Curiously, baptisms and marriages continued uninterrupted so a separate death register may well exist (Dr. Jennings mentioned Rev. Kennedy’s Register). It is not clear why burial records lapsed for six years after Rev. James Kennedy took over the Dartmouth Parish, especially since the cemetery was consecrated in 1845. The records also do not include all of the names and death dates noted on historic headstones in the cemetery in October 2017, including Anne Biery (1843); Martha Keys (1853); Catherine Marsh (?); Murth Murphy (1843); John Murphy (1849); and infant Aliss [Alice or Eliza?] Shortill (undated). The headstones mentioned in Lawson and Martin for Andrew O’Neill (1832) and Bartholemew O’Connor have

and committing to the ground the bones of Indians” after a fierce storm had exposed their burials on the Gulf.

⁶⁰ Allan Everett Marble, “Figure 46: Estimated Population of Mi’kmaq in Nova Scotia, 1838-1881,” *Physicians, Pestilence, and the Poor: A History of Medicine and Social Conditions in Nova Scotia 1800-1867*, 311.

disappeared.⁶¹ Lawson's book mentions a couple of dozen headstones in the cemetery but does not record their names.⁶² Surprisingly, there is no death record for Michael Dunn, who is credited with building the original Dunn Burial Vault, although his death notice did appear in the *Presbyterian Witness* on April 11, 1863. There is also no record of Catherine Thompson's death in 1846 even though the Coroner wrote to Rev. Kennedy and demanded that her remains be disinterred from the "Church Yard at Dartmouth" and brought to an Inquest the next day.⁶³ Her commemoration in the Catholic Burying Ground as "An aunt of Princess Eugenie" strongly suggests she was reinterred from the churchyard. The records do not identify burial locations so it cannot be stated with absolute certainty who is buried in the Catholic Burying Ground. It is presumed that death records generally correspond to burials in the cemetery between the dates 1835 to 1865 inscribed on the monument at Geary Street.

Finally, it is possible that there are cases of mistaken identity between the Catholic Burying Ground and St. Peter's Cemetery. St. Peter Church managed both sites that are located near each other on the Dartmouth Common. This makes it easy to confuse both sites as St. Peter's Cemetery, which they are not. There are documented "Mic-Mac" and "Indian" burials in St. Peter's Cemetery on Victoria Road, but none are documented in the Catholic Burying Ground. According to a preliminary search of some common Mi'kmaw surnames in NS Vital Statistics, several Tuft's Cove Mi'kmaw individuals who died in the Halifax Explosion in 1917 and others who died in the NS

⁶¹Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 61; Mrs. William Lawson, *The Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, ed. Harry Piers, (Ontario: Mika Studio, 1972), 82.

⁶² Lawson, *The Townships of Dartmouth, Preston and Lawrencetown*, 81.

⁶³ Coroner's Inquest, Coroner to Rev. Kennedy, September 28, 1846, NSA, RG41, Series C, Vol 20(35):85, NSA, Mfm. 16,576.

Hospital, and at the Cole Harbour Reserve, are all buried in St. Peter's Cemetery (Appendix V). Their burials have no marked headstones and no marked plots on the cemetery plot plan held at the HRM Cemeteries Administration office. The location of the Halifax Explosion burials is described in the February 1918 edition of *The Micmac Messenger* (*Setaneoei; migmaoi solnaljitj*) with the word *tagmog* (modern spelling *taqmaq*, roughly pronounced as "tah-ha-muk") which translates as "the crossing" or "crossing over."⁶⁴ Wilfred Prosper, whose relatives lived at Tuft's Cove, interpreted the burial location as "in the mainland."⁶⁵ These are examples of knowledge embedded in language and place. The combination of language, geography, personal knowledge, death records, and active cemetery dates offer clues to the burial locations of Mi'kmaw people that remain speculative. Perhaps *tagmog* refers to a crossing place from the Common land into the cemetery, or a place where one crossed from the North End into downtown Dartmouth (e.g. at the termination of Green Road, where Bicentennial School was built). It might represent the entrance into St. Peter's Cemetery where Tulip Street crosses Victoria Road, but crossing used in this sense does not relate to the act of crossing oneself while approaching or passing a cemetery. Even though exact burial locations remain

⁶⁴ Personal communication with Mi'kmaw linguist Bern Francis in October 2016. I am grateful to Mi'kmaw translator Kenny Prosper (Wilfred's son) for providing me with a rare copy of the February 1918 *Micmac Messenger* article for translation purposes in September 2016. I understand this issue was not available in any library east of Montreal. The phrase in question is *Asogom testitjig npoinog otgotalosenig tagmog 20 tes. Gtjigos, tapofoei elogotimgeg, patlias Mgr Underwood otgotalaseeni*. [Six of the dead were buried at the crossing 20th day of December, Tuesday, [Father/Priest] Monseigneur Underwood presiding.] *Migmaoi Solnaljitj*, No. 370, February 1918, 484; Greg Baker and Will Flanagan of Saint Mary's University Geography Dept. kindly provided a copy of a 1931 aerial photo of the Dartmouth Common and a 2017 coloured aerial photograph of the Dartmouth Common for discussion purposes. The name of Tatamagouche on the north shore of Nova Scotia is derived from the Mi'kmaw word *taqmaq*.

⁶⁵ Kenny Prosper, "Mi'kmaw at the Halifax Explosion" *Mi'kmaq-Maliseet Nations News*, December 2002.

undetermined, the body of evidence supports the presence of Mi'kmaw burials in St. Peter's Cemetery and not in the Catholic Burying Ground just over the hill.⁶⁶

In conclusion, in spite of gaps in death and burial information, the historical evidence examined in this chapter does not support the presence of hundreds of Indigenous burials in the Catholic Burying Ground between 1835 and 1865. On the contrary, a new interpretation of the cemetery has emerged from St. Peter Church records that highlights Irish immigration to Nova Scotia in the early to mid-1800s. Marketing "Indians" in the cemetery suited the tourism agenda of 1962 when the site needed something to 'cash in on.' Once the idea was fixed in public memory, the story that began as "Indian" burials in the ground evolved into a story about burials in a mound, which is discussed in the next and final chapter.

⁶⁶ Mi'kmaw burial claims persist in the Catholic Burying Ground. In 2017, an exhibit piece created from social media stated, "I believe one of our previous sources said that the rock hill in St. Paul's cemetery (Geary st. & windmill road) is an Lnu [Mi'kmaw] Halifax explosion victim burial" William Marshall Johnson, *Kepe'kek from the Narrows of the Great Harbour*, Exhibit, Art Gallery of Nova Scotia, viewed November 2017.

CHAPTER FOUR
Remembering “Indians” in the Cemetery

It is reported that Captain John Smith, a British Naval Officer, fell in love with a beautiful Mi’kmaq Princess who lived on the shores of the Bedford Basin. During a secret evening meeting, under the cover of darkness, they stole away to his ship which later sailed to England. This so enraged the Mi’kmaq Chief that he placed a curse on the narrows proclaiming that “*three times will the white man attempt to bridge Chebucto, three times will he fail. The first in a great wind, the second in a great quiet, and the third time will be with great death.*”⁶⁷

The appropriation of the familiar Pocahontas story for this local curse legend serves as a useful example for discussing how the constructed narrative of “Indian” burials evolved into a new narrative about burials in a mound. It raises relevant questions about the public’s tolerance of constructed “Indian stories” in 1955, story source and authority, time and location, history and heritage, fact and fiction, identity, linguistic terms of reference, and even notions of love and revenge.

The local curse supposedly threatened the new Angus L. Macdonald Bridge built across Halifax Harbour in 1955. On opening day, a “Micmac Indian” from Waverley named James Paul told reporters he had never heard about a curse in “any Indian councils.”⁶⁸ The story might have ended there on good authority but it survives as an urban myth through media, local histories, and supernatural accounts. As fiction, the legend offers an entertaining and anti-modern sentiment to the technological advances in bridge construction that were stronger than any curse in 1955. However, in a heritage-

⁶⁷*Chronicle Herald*, “A Curse on the Narrows,” Anniversary Edition insert “Bridge Spans 40 Years: The Angus L. Macdonald Bridge 1955-1995,” April 1, 1995, Halifax Central Library, Vertical File, Halifax, NS, Bridges—Angus L. Macdonald (1995); John Martin writes that 30 Dartmouth men went to suppress the North West Rebellion in 1885. See John Martin, *The Story of Dartmouth*, 419. It is possible that the legend evolved out of fears the local Mi’kmaq had cursed the early Narrows bridge(s) in retaliation for anti-Métis sentiment in Dartmouth.

⁶⁸ *Halifax Mail Star*, “Indian Says He Never Knew Of Legendary Bridge Hex,” April 4, 1955.

based archaeological report about the Dartmouth Common area in 2009,⁶⁹ it perpetuates a stereotype about romantic and tragic Indigenous figures endowed with mystical powers over the physical world. Dartmouth's only possible link to Pocahontas occurred in 1750 when 353 of its settlers arrived on the Ship *Alderney* from her burial place in Gravesend, England.⁷⁰ The legend demonstrates how the 350-year-old Pocahontas "Indian" story set in Jamestown, Virginia was appropriated as a Mi'kmaw "Indian" story at Halifax Harbour, Nova Scotia. Both versions project English males into the lives of Indigenous women whom they remove from the eastern seaboard of North America; any connection to a bridge in the Pocahontas story refers to a literary one between two cultures, and not to a physical bridge. There are discrepancies between the two accounts. In the original version, Pocahontas saved John Smith's life, married John Rolfe, went to England and died. In the local legend, the unnamed "Mi'kmaq Princess" married John Smith (not John Rolfe) and went to England where her fate is unknown. Terms of reference can date changes to the local legend over time. For example, the popular "Indian curse" of 1955 evolved into a "Mi'kmaq" curse by 1995.

Similar to the way the Pocahontas story was adapted and modernized into a local legend, once established on the monument in 1962, the narrative of "Indian" burials inspired *anti*-modern interpretations of the Catholic Burying Ground that also differed from the original source. A series of development projects inspired new interpretations that highlight the limits of public memory to inform us accurately about the past. As

⁶⁹ Robyn Crook, Matt Munro, and April D. MacIntyre, "Dartmouth Common Master Plan: Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment," Heritage Research Permit A2009NS14, Category C (Dartmouth, NS: Davis Archaeological Consultants Limited, May 2009), 12-13.

⁷⁰ Harry Chapman, *In the Wake of the Alderney: Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, 1750-2000*, 2nd ed. (Halifax: Nimbus Publishing Limited, 2001), 24.

public memory aids, monuments contain limited information, which makes them unreliable and incomplete sources about the past. However, once the “Indian” burials appeared on the monument with the blessing of the church, there was no way of going back—the idea became fixed in public memory. Most disconcerting is the lack of convincing evidence for “Indian” burials in the first place and the way the “Indian” burial story has continued for more than 50 years while the conversation has wavered between history and heritage. Historian David Lowenthal explains the difference:

Heritage should not be confused with history. History seeks to convince by truth, and succumbs to falsehood. Heritage exaggerates and omits, candidly invents and frankly forgets, and thrives on ignorance and error. Time and hindsight alter history, too. But historians’ revisions must conform with accepted tenets of evidence. Heritage is more flexibly emended. Historians ignore at professional peril the whole corpus of past knowledge that heritage can airily transgress.

Heritage uses historical traces and tells historical tales. But these tales and traces are stitched into fables closed to critical scrutiny. Heritage is immune to criticism because it is not erudition but catechism—not checkable fact but credulous allegiance. Heritage is not a testable or even plausible version of our past; it is a *declaration of faith* in that past. Loyalty and bonding demand uncritical endorsement and preclude dissent. Deviance is banned because group success, even survival, depend on all pulling together.⁷¹

Significant events between 1962 and 2010 will be examined to understand how a tourism inspired narrative constructed for a monument progressed into a mound in the cemetery.

The photograph in Figure 4.1 shows that the Catholic Burying Ground was so overgrown with shrubs by 1952 that it barely resembled a cemetery. Ten years later, Father Michael Laba of Dartmouth’s St. Paul’s Parish was highly commended by Joan Forsyth of the Dartmouth Museum Society for restoring “one of the most precious of

⁷¹ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” *History & Memory* 10:1, (Spring 1998):7-8, DOI: 10.1 353/ham.1998.

Dartmouth's historic land marks."⁷² The site was surveyed (Appendix II) and fenced and "some bulldozing and clearing of the site with bulldozers was the first step toward protecting the old Indian and civilian burying



Figure 4.1. The Catholic Burying Ground in 1952 after a century of neglect. ("Old Roman Catholic Cemetery," Dartmouth, by E.G.L. Whetmore, 1952 201742588. Nova Scotia Archives by permission.)

grounds."⁷³ Promoting the historic site as unique for its "Indian" burials fit well into

William Bird's vision for tourism in Nova Scotia:

The first concrete step [William R.] Bird took when he became head of the Historic Sites Advisory Council was to urge every Nova Scotia town government to erect large signs at its borders advertising 'any historical details of its founding, the identity of the first settlers, data regarding any interesting feature of the

⁷² *Halifax Mail-Star*, "Appreciation for restoration of cemetery," June 14, 1962.

⁷³ "Historic Graveyard In Process Of Restoration," n.p. [October 30, 1962?], newspaper clipping, Dartmouth Heritage Museum.

locality, its recreational facilities, and leading industries.’ He went further in urging local governments to invent historic attractions - to pretend, for example, that an old toll-gate was still operational, since this would ‘rouse the curiosity of tourists and cause many pictures to be taken.’⁷⁴

Bird would have agreed that hundreds of unmarked stones marking “Indian” graves close to historic downtown Dartmouth was very curious indeed and made for an instant tourist attraction. This site offered photographic opportunities of the ocean, islands, downtown Halifax, the harbour ferry, and the Angus L. Macdonald Bridge. Any tourist with a copy of Martin’s *Story of Dartmouth* could stand in the scene suggested on the cover of the book and “see” the “Indians” for themselves near the cemetery. It was picture perfect, but they also had to imagine “Indian” burials in the cemetery after their supposed gravestones were removed. Since only “[g]rave markers with inscriptions in the cemetery [had] great historic significance,”⁷⁵ then unmarked stones were ahistorical because they did not represent historic aspects of the cemetery.

Removing the stones ensured there was no “checkable fact but credulous allegiance”⁷⁶ to the “Indian” burial claim because there was nothing left to challenge after they were gone. This process was less about history and more about designing heritage with a ‘carefully stitched fable that was closed to critical scrutiny.’⁷⁷ As Lowenthal argues, heritage belongs to groups that exclude and dissenting voices are unwelcome.⁷⁸

⁷⁴ W.R. Bird to R.L. Stanfield, 18 August 1959, Historic Sites Advisory Council, MG 20, vol. 934, PANS, cited in Ian McKay, “Cashing in on Antiquity in Nova Scotia,” in *Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History*, 476. Will R. Bird wrote the popular *This is Nova Scotia* in 1950.

⁷⁵ “Historic Graveyard In Process Of Restoration,” n.p. [October 30, 1962?], newspaper clipping, Dartmouth Heritage Museum.

⁷⁶ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” 7.

⁷⁷ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” 7.

⁷⁸ David Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” 8-9.



Figure 4.2. Commemorative monument to “Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs,” 1962. (*The Halifax Mail Star*, Thursday, August 9, 1962. Collection of the Dartmouth Heritage Museum.)

That is why it is so curious that no Mi'kmaw officials appeared in media reports of the monument unveiling. They, more than any other group, could have challenged the claim to hundreds of “Indian” burials. No one else would have objected. In 1962, it was tantamount to heresy to question the motives of a Catholic priest like Father Laba. Furthermore, the cemetery had been closed for a century and there were no living eyewitnesses to talk about burials between 1835 and 1865. It is unlikely that the Natal Day public was qualified to question Indigenous history (at least not based on public school

so on Natal Day, which itself was a day set aside for commemorating the British settlement of Dartmouth.⁸⁰

Historian Ian McKay explains that tourism narratives were designed with a beginning, a middle, and an end. He also describes William Bird and Thomas Raddall's "urgent need" for "heroic narratives... associated with the triumph of English-speaking Nova Scotians over their ethnically and racially defined adversaries: the 'Indians'... French, and ... the Americans." Forget French history at Port Royal; in true British style, this narrative begins with English-speaking arrivals to Nova Scotia around the mid-1700s, followed by commemoration of the period between 1783 and 1800, and ending with the 1900s "in decline." The critics must have thought the tourism project was designing 'silk purses from sows' ears' for Nova Scotia's short history as a colony lacked the antiquities that drew tourists to Europe. R.R. McLeod remarked, "Here are no buried cities, nor feudal castles, and blood-stained battlefields."⁸¹ This was resolved by incorporating themes of Empire and settlement into tourism narratives for the monument inscription.

European themes of war and nobility expressed a connection to Empire. The theme of "settlers" and "Indians" represented a new and separate identity from Europe. It is always problematic when it fails to incorporate Indigenous perspectives about the same

⁸⁰ The Royal Union Flag, referred to as "The Union Jack" at sea, continues to be flown in Canada next to the national flag. It is symbolic of Canada's allegiance to the British Crown. It includes the red Cross of St. George (England), the white saltire Cross of St. Andrew on a blue field (Scotland), and the red saltire Cross of St. Patrick (Ireland). Historica Canada, "Royal Union Flag (Union Jack)," accessed 31 January 2018, <https://thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/royal-union-flag-union-jack/>.

⁸¹ R.R. McLeod cited in Ian McKay, "Cashing in on Antiquity in Nova Scotia," in *Settling and Unsettling Memories: Essays in Canadian Public History* (Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 458.

event. The resulting tourism narrative becomes visible with a rereading of the monument inscription:

*Old Catholic Cemetery of Dartmouth
1835—1865
Consecrated By Bishop Walsh in 1845/ Containing
Many Graves of Waterloo Veterans
Hundreds of Indians, & Two of Their Chiefs
An Aunt of Princess Eugenie / Ancestors of Many Dartmouth Families
The Dunn Vault With 13 Coffins.
Monument Erected by St. Paul's Parish 1962*

The monument's message is vague because it refers to general categories of veterans, "Indians," Chiefs, ancestors, an aunt, families, and coffins. It is more specific about the dates 1835-1865 and the name "Old Catholic Cemetery of Dartmouth" which identify the cemetery as an historic site. The "Ancestors of many Dartmouth families" are presumably the Ship *Alderney* "settlers" who arrived in 1750. The second group includes the triumphant veterans of the [Battle of] Waterloo, who won a major victory in the French Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815). In the context of a Catholic cemetery (and lacking evidence of their burials), saving the souls of hundreds of "Indians" was significant in the religious war against Protestantism. The date 1865 signifies the end of the "old" cemetery ("in decline"), while the last line suggests a new interest for St. Paul's Parish in 1962. Unique tourist attractions include the large Dunn Vault (rebuilt in 1962 with unidentified coffins), and a connection to European nobility with a reference to the "Aunt of Princess Eugenie" (whose grave is unmarked.) Remarkably, the Irish who were so prominent in the early Catholic history of Dartmouth never made it to the face of the monument. As "knowledge," the monument was a poor memory aid because it was too small to include the names of veterans, "Indians," Dartmouth families, nobility, and burials in the Dunn Vault. For tourism and heritage purposes, it offered just enough information to engage the

imagination of tourists on a brief, cost-free visit before they redirected their attention to taking photographs of the surrounding area.

In 1962, the voice of authority in the cemetery belonged to the Town Historian, John Martin who had the privilege of composing the monument inscription,⁸² albeit with poor evidence for doing so. We have already seen how Martin borrowed “Indians” and placed them into a familiar Bartlett scene copied onto the cover of *The Story of Dartmouth*. His sole scholarship is the link between the book jacket, the burial claims in the book, and the “Indians” on the monument. As David Lowenthal says, “Heritage practitioners take pride in creating artifice, we don’t want fact, we want fantasy, and “are willing to be deceived when it is pleasant and costs nothing.”⁸³ One media report promoted the cemetery as the oldest in Dartmouth, although the Quaker cemetery behind Christ Church was older.⁸⁴ The *Mail Star* promoted the Natal Day commemoration as an event “to perpetuate the colourful story of the ancient burial ground,”⁸⁵ which truly was a fanciful claim for the 127-year-old cemetery.

In 1968, the past narrative about protecting and preserving the cemetery shifted towards the future when Father Laba of St. Paul’s Parish announced the redevelopment of the Geary Street Graveyard, “where rest the bones of Dartmouth’s earliest settlers and 300 Indians.” Burial land was scarce in the downtown area near St. Paul’s Parish when he announced:

⁸² “To Unveil Cemetery Monument,” n.p. [July 11, 1962?], newspaper clipping, Dartmouth Heritage Museum.

⁸³ Lowenthal, “Fabricating Heritage,” 13-14.

⁸⁴ Peter Topsy, “Christ Church Cemetery asking for heritage designation,” *The Signal*, February 23, 2017, <http://signalhfx.ca/christ-church-cemetery-asking-for-heritage-designation/>.

⁸⁵ “Historic Graveyard In Process of Restoration,” n.p. [October 30, 1962?], newspaper clipping, Dartmouth Heritage Museum; Pat Brinton, “Elaborate Plans Made to Mark 212th birthday,” *Mail-Star*, Wednesday, August 8, 1962, front page, paragraph 8.

The area will be developed as a burial ground for St. Paul's parishioners who have no burial grounds of their own. The practice, though not common in this area, is a normal procedure in many French communities in Nova Scotia, in Europe and parts of the United States. It is estimated that the space available will be able to look after the needs of the parish for the next 50 or so years.⁸⁶ St. Paul's Parish continued to bury in its own section of the cemetery, but the City of Dartmouth took over the Deed to the cemetery in 1975 (Appendix II). There was no reference made to "settlers or Indians" buried at the site.

In 1976 and 1977, the cemetery was redeveloped for a third time as part of a major Neighbourhood Improvement Project in the Fairbanks Street and surrounding area.⁸⁷ Streetscapes and sidewalks were improved, old buildings were demolished, a new playground was built, etc. St. Paul's burials remained intact while the rest of the cemetery was bulldozed yet again. The large mound under construction in Figure 4.4 inspired an anti-modern, pre-contact interpretation that appeared in a short history about St. Paul's Parish in 1992:

... there is a strong possibility that a tribe of Indian people called the "Adena" inhabited the Dartmouth area about 2500 years ago. Artifacts have been found in the community of Hatchett Lake linking them to this tribe which is thought to have migrated here from the Mississippi area. The reason for the interest in St. Paul's Cemetery is the existence of a large mound of earth, topped by a number of large stones which appears similar to other known Adena burial mounds. A mystery for Dartmouth, located in our parish!⁸⁸

⁸⁶ *Dartmouth Free Press*, "Geary St. cemetery to be re-developed," April 20, 1967.

⁸⁷ Sid Gosley, Doug Trider, Jeff Katz, and Mike Dillistone, "NIP Harbourview Scheme" (booklet), 1976, HRM Municipal Archives, 711.409 716225 D 1976 REFCOLL; See City of Dartmouth Planning and Development records (1878-1984), Planning and Development photographs (predominantly 1970-1980), NIP photographs (predominantly 1976-1979) on the Halifax Municipal Archives website. Search database for "NIP Harbourview" or especially "NIP-Harbourview, St. Paul's Cemetery", 1976-04 to 1977-07, Retrieval Code 101-80C-7-1, for photographs of the project, last updated April 3, 2018, at <https://www.halifax.ca/about-halifax/municipal-archives/search-archives-database>.

⁸⁸ Edward T. O'Brien, *The History of St. Paul's Church: Dartmouth Nova Scotia 1931-1992* (Dartmouth, NS: [Bounty Print?], 1992), 13.



Figure 4.4. “Burial” mound under construction, June 1977.
(NIP-1976, 101 80C 7-1 Harbourview. Halifax Municipal Archives)



Figure 4.5. No “burial” mound existed in 1976.
(NIP-1976, 101 80C 7-1 Harbourview. Halifax Municipal Archives)

Of course, this was a 15-year-old mound, not a 2,500-year-old Adena burial mound. No mound is visible in the 1869 photograph in Figure 3.3 and the 1976 photograph in Figure 4.5. Harvard anthropologist Frederic Ward Putnam warned about interpreting every mound as a burial mound saying:

There are so many kinds of mounds in this country, that it shows a limited experience in their investigation when a writer here and there asserts that they are all the work of the present Indians, or their immediate ancestors; and an equal disregard of known facts, when another as confidently asserts that they were all made and superior to the Indian race, and of great antiquity.⁸⁹

Putnam's words were long forgotten by the time a "First Nation's burial mound" was identified in the Dartmouth Common Master Plan in 2010.⁹⁰ The planning document thrust "Indian" burials into HRM's political framework. It also subjected the mound to public scrutiny under the HRM Charter. The Davis Archaeological Report that informed the Master Plan suggested the burials *may* be in a mound, not *were* in a mound and this is a likely source for the shifting narrative from burials in the ground to the "First Nation's burial mound" in the Master Plan. As the Report says:

The exact location of the Mi'kmaq burial ground is not known, although the burials are said [by Martin] to have been marked with oblong chunks of slate which are no longer visible on the surface. However, at the northwest end [south end] of the cemetery is a cluster of trees and a mound of stones which may mark the location of the Mi'kmaq burying ground.⁹¹

By comparison, the Pocahontas story appropriated for non-Indigenous use in 1955 is not so different from a First Nation's burial mound that evolved in 2010 from "Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs" in 1962. Inconsistencies between the

⁸⁹ F.W. Putnam, "An Indian burial-mound," *Science*, Vol. 1, No. 6 (16 March 1883), American Association for the Advancement of Science, 168 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1758439>.

⁹⁰ CBCL Limited, *Dartmouth Common Master Plan: Final Report* (Halifax, NS: CBCL Limited, 2010).

⁹¹ Charlene Regan, "Geary Street Cemetery Research Project." Report prepared for heritage Explorers and Alderney Landing, 2008, cited in *Dartmouth Common Master Plan: Archaeological Resource Impact Assessment* (Dartmouth, NS: Davis Archaeological Consultants Limited, May 2009), 28.

accounts suggest unreliability and lack of accountability as the terms of reference change from Micmac, to “Indian,” to Adena, to Mi’kmaq, to First Nations. In this case, public memory shifted from its original source on the monument (and Martin’s book) into a municipal planning document where it has recent credibility.

The Master Plan identifies the “First Nation’s burial mound” as a heritage resource which effectively alienates it from the Dartmouth Common. It is possible to map, measure and name the mound because it has clearly defined borders, unlike the unidentified burials laid in the ground. Significantly, a mound takes up less valuable real estate than hundreds of burials. As a heritage resource, the mound narrative serves municipal planning purposes because it reduces the size of the original burial claim and allows for piecemeal development of the historic cemetery. This puts historic burials at continued risk from bulldozing. The writers of the following passage caution that chopping up space for Indigenous narratives is inherently harmful because “[g]eography is not politically neutral...”⁹²:

Cartography is already a method that reifies a particular spatial view of land that is rooted in colonially imposed understandings of land, and revolves around boundary-based mapping. Indigenous environmental understandings are dismembered when integrated wholes become ‘sites’ translated into points on a map. But perhaps more immediately important is how those maps are then used, and they are easily used to show the ‘emptiness’ that lies between these disintegrated points. And emptiness—from the colonizers’ perspective—means un(der)utilized, which means ripe for exploitation. Thus indigenous communities using mapping and GIS to inventory their lands are leaving themselves open to perhaps unwanted interventions by capital. When state funds are involved, indigenous mapping projects, such as those that identify the location of cultural sites, often become public property. The result may be a loss of control over information....⁹³

⁹² Wendy S. Shaw, R.D.K. Herman and G. Rebecca Dobbs, “Encountering Indigeneity: Re-imagining and Decolonizing Geography,” *Geografiska Annaler Series B*: Blackwell Publishing Limited, 267.

⁹³ Wendy S. Shaw, R.D.K. Herman and G. Rebecca Dobbs, “Encountering Indigeneity: Re-imagining and Decolonizing Geography,” 273-74.

Indeed, the Master Plan lays out plans to develop the empty space between the “burial mound” and St. Paul’s burials, saying “The western part of the open space should be respectful of the existing St. Pauls [*sic*] Cemetery and First Nation's burial mound.... Geary Street should be closed and Shore Road cul-de-sac-ed to allow for ... a continuous open space through the area.”⁹⁴ This plan privileges the narratives of St. Paul’s burials and the burial mound, while it completely ignores the presumed historic burials of many Irish and others documented in the Church Registers. Planners continue to colonize and diminish the appearance of Indigenous cemetery space by objectifying, othering, and separating it physically and ideologically from the historic Catholic Burying Ground. In doing so, they have lost sight of the early Irish character of the cemetery in favour of dubious heritage claims that have been accepted without question.

⁹⁴CBCL Limited, *Dartmouth Common Master Plan: Final Report*, (Halifax, NS: CBCL Limited, 2010), St. Pauls Cemetery/Waterfront Park, Section 5.5.1, 55.

CONCLUSION

Redevelopment of the Catholic Burying Ground in 1962 fit into a broader trend of post-war provincial and national heritage projects that linked economic growth with carefully constructed anti-modern sentiments. Megaprojects such as the TransCanada Highway, the Angus L. Macdonald Bridge, and the Canso Causeway offered modern access into the newly created “tartanized” past of Nova Scotia where the simpler “Folk” could be found.⁹⁵ And while still in its early planning stages, Canada’s largest project of all to celebrate 100 years of Confederation in 1967 was still five years away when no project was too small to contribute to national pride in Canada’s past.⁹⁶ The Catholic Burying Ground provided a specific example of heritage commemoration in this era, and a highly indicative one.

However, the message of boastful pride on the monument in the Catholic Burying Ground does not hold up to scrutiny. No evidence has been found of Indigenous burials in the Catholic Burying Ground in Church Registers, archival photographs, newspaper accounts, registered Deeds, or legislation between 1835 and 1865. Church records do not support a claim made in the 1859 NS House of Assembly Committee Report that “Indians” used the Catholic Burying Ground. The idea may have originated on the

⁹⁵ Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1994); and Ian McKay, “History and the Tourist Gaze: Politics and Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964,” *Acadiensis* XXII, no. 2 (Spring 1993), 102-38 cited in Meaghan Beaton and Del Muise, “The Canso Causeway: Tartan Tourism, Industrial Development, and the Promise of Progress for Cape Breton,” *Acadiensis* XXXVII, no. 2 (Summer/Autumn 2008): 55.

⁹⁶ Meaghan Elizabeth Beaton, *The Centennial Cure: Commemoration, Identity, and Cultural Capital in Nova Scotia during Canada’s 1967 Centennial Celebrations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2017), 23-49.

assumption that because Mi'kmaw people were members of St. Peter Church they also buried in the cemetery. St. Paul's Parish used the narrative of "Indian" burials to solicit funds to clean up and "redevelop" the cemetery in 1962. Within five years, they established their own burial ground over top of the Catholic Burying Ground, and renamed the space St. Paul's Cemetery. The "Indians" who played such a central role in the commemoration of the cemetery in 1962 were not even mentioned when the cemetery was deeded to the City of Dartmouth (now HRM) in 1975.

Although there is no evidence of Indigenous burials in the Catholic Burying Ground, there are Vital Statistics records of Indigenous burials in St. Peter's Cemetery on Victoria Road, including several Tuft's Cove burials from the Halifax Explosion in 1917, and others from the NS Hospital and Cole Harbour Reserve. Confusion may exist about the location of these burials because St. Peter Church administered both the Catholic Burying Ground and St. Peter's Cemetery. They are also located in close proximity to each other on the Dartmouth Common. There are many reasons why there has been confusion and lack of understanding about the history of the Catholic Burying Ground. The cemetery was almost forgotten after 100 years of neglect, there has been inconsistent and poor record keeping, difficulty accessing church records, faded memories, and honestly mistaken belief based on the claims made on the monument erected by the authority of a church.

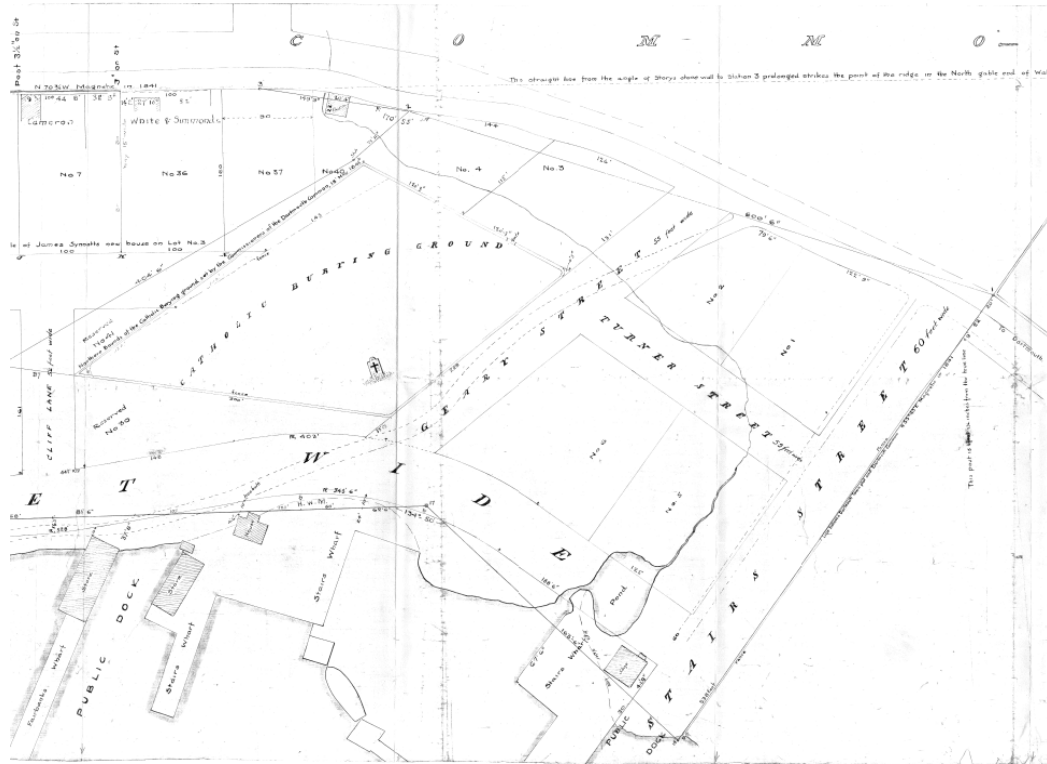
John Martin's sole scholarship appears to be the source of the claim to "Hundreds of Indian's & Two of Their Chiefs." His vision of Dartmouth's past clearly included "Indians" and he made every effort to include them in his work. He published *The Story of Dartmouth* and claimed the burials were in the cemetery based on the questionable

evidence of unmarked and broken slate stones. He drew stereotypical “Indians” onto the cover of his book that did not exist in the artwork copied for the project. He helped St. Paul’s Parish to solicit financial support to fix up the old cemetery for tourism purposes based on the large numbers of (undocumented) “Micmac” graves, and he drafted the inscription for the commemorative monument, all apparently without the input of any Indigenous people. Apparently, no Mi’kmaw representatives were present at the monument commemoration. Why did Martin engage in all of this work? By all accounts, he was an upstanding citizen who left a legacy of historical writings that are still popular today. Was it wrong to commemorate undocumented “Indians” in the Catholic Burying Ground when so many of their documented burials were unmarked in St. Peter’s Cemetery? Was the book cover, the claim to burials in his book, and the inscription on the monument the result of confirmation bias on his part? It certainly seems so, but we may never know for sure because he never fully disclosed what inspired him to invest such effort into the story of Indigenous burials. Surely, it was not only for tourism purposes and there were not enough copies of *The Story of Dartmouth* published to make a huge profit by telling the story, if that was a goal. While some will say he told an Indigenous story that he had not lived, I suggest he lived the story through his own imagination and writing and inspired others to do the same. Perhaps in future, we will check our biased thinking about the term “Indian” before we jump to conclusions about their identity and immediately correct the historic record with more politically acceptable (and possibly erroneous) terminology.

As for the Native Irish (and other documented burials likely to be found in the Catholic Burying Ground), it is time they were recognized in the cemetery. This research

offers a new interpretation of the cemetery that originates in their lived story. Clearly, further research is required to document Mi'kmaw burials in St. Peter's Cemetery on Victoria Road so they can be properly commemorated, especially those connected with Indian Residential School or Day Schools in the Halifax Dartmouth area. As for the monument to "Hundreds of Indians & Two of Their Chiefs," it uses outdated and offensive language while it distorts the past and limits our ability to make informed decisions about the future of the cemetery. It does not represent anyone's best interests, whether that be church, state, or residents of the Halifax Regional Municipality. This research demonstrates why truth must come before reconciliation in our local histories.

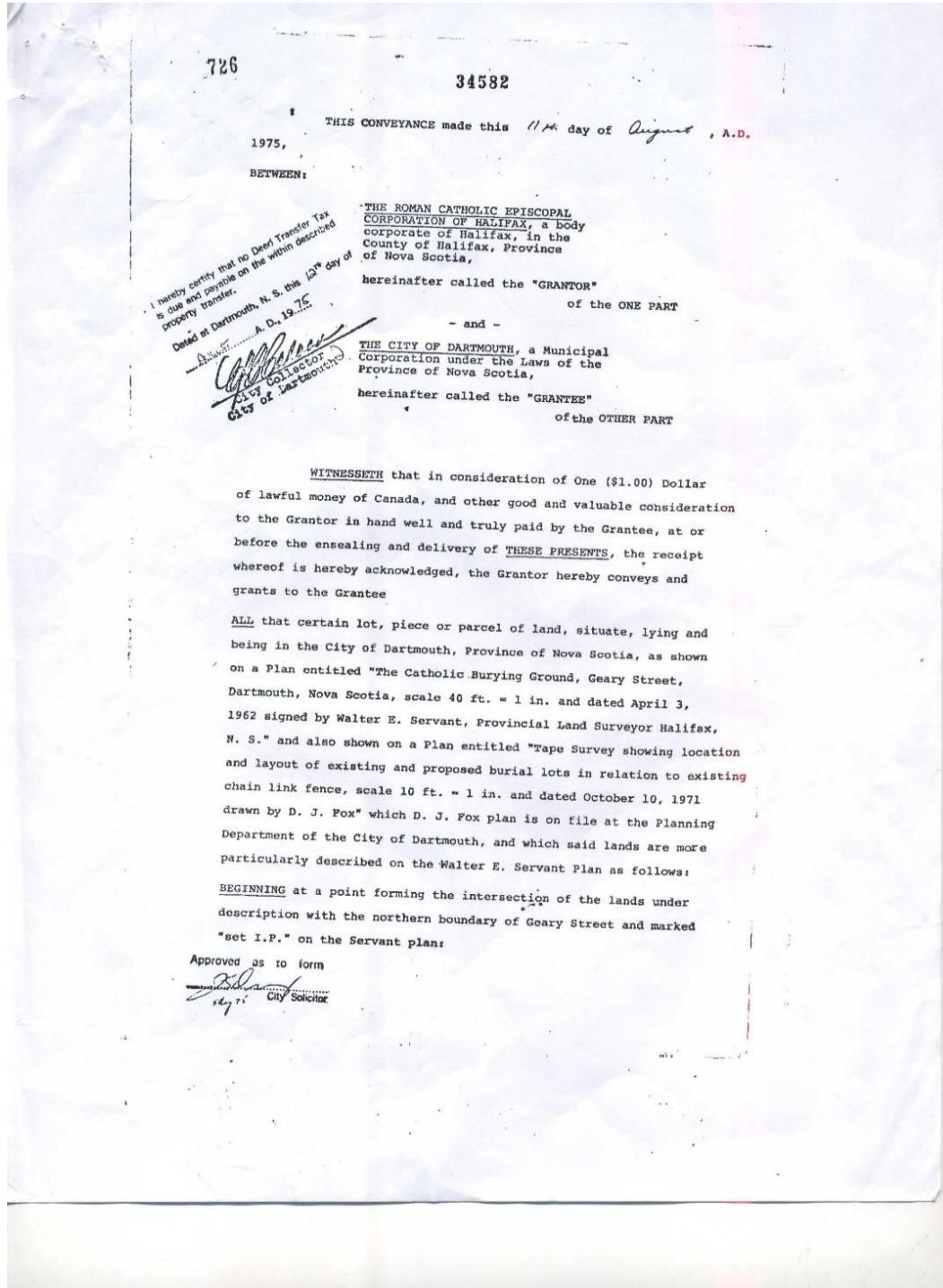
APPENDIX I
 1841 Survey (Excerpt) of The Catholic Burying Ground



“Plan of part of the Common of the Township of Dartmouth in the County of Halifax, as laid off and divided into lots and parcels by the Trustees of the said common, under the act of the Legislature of Nova Scotia 4 Victoria Cap. 52 entitled “An act for regulating the Dartmouth common” surveyed in June & July 1841 by William MacKay. Halifax, 26 August 1841.”

APPENDIX II

1975 Deed from The Roman Catholic Episcopal Corporation to The City of Dartmouth



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THENCE South seventy-six degrees thirty-six minutes west (S 76° 36' W) a distance of two hundred eleven and seven tenths feet (211.7') more or less to a point shown on said plan and marked "set I.P.";

THENCE North fifty-eight degrees zero seven minutes west (N 58° 07' W) a distance of Three Hundred Fourteen and seven tenths feet (314.7') to a point shown on said plan and marked "set I.P.";

THENCE North eighty-one degrees fifty-five minutes east (N 81° 55' E) a distance of Three Hundred Fifty-six and nine tenths feet (356.9') to a point shown on said plan;

THENCE South Thirty-five degrees Thirty-four minutes west (S 35° 34' W) a distance of Two Hundred Five and seven tenths feet (205.7') to a point shown on said plan and marked "set I.P.", said point being the place of beginning;

SAVING AND EXCEPTING THEREOUT AND THEREFROM all those burial plots referred to in Schedule "A" hereunto annexed, said plots being shown outlined in blue and in red on the aforesaid D. J. Fox plan, the said plots outlined in blue being plots in which there are present burials and the said plots being outlined in red being those plots for which there are future commitments;

AND FURTHER SAVING AND EXCEPTING THEREOUT AND THEREFROM "the Dunn Vault" as shown on the aforesaid D. J. Fox plan;

TO HAVE AND TO HOLD the said land and premises, with the appurtenances, and every part thereof, unto the said Grantee, its successors and assigns, forever, in trust nevertheless to be used only for the purposes following, that is to say:

- (1) As a community burial ground; or
- (2) As open space; or
- (3) As a public park; or
- (4) As some or any combination of such uses as are hereinbefore expressed.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the Grantor and the Grantee have

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duly executed These Presents the day and year first above written.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED
In the Presence Of



THE ROMAN CATHOLIC EPISCOPAL CORPORATION OF HALIFAX

Per: James M Hayes, Archbishop

Per: D J McCarthy, Priest

Per: Thomas White, Priest

of the ONE PART

THE CITY OF DARTMOUTH

Per: William [unclear]

Per: [unclear]

of the OTHER PART

Francis McLean

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA
COUNTY OF HALIFAX SS

ON THIS 4th day of July, A.D., 1975, before me,
the subscriber personally came and appeared J. Burke,
a subscribing witness to the foregoing Conveyance, who, having
been by me duly sworn, made oath and said that THE ROMAN CATHOLIC
EPISCOPAL CORPORATION OF HALIFAX, one of the parties thereto,
caused the same to be executed in its name and on its behalf and
at the same time caused its Corporate Seal to be thereunto affixed
by James M Hayes, its Archbishop
and D J McCarthy, its Priest
and Thomas White, its Priest
its proper officers duly authorized in that behalf, in her
presence.

L J Hayes
A Commissioner of the Supreme Court
Of Nova Scotia

L J HAYES

729

PROVINCE OF NOVA SCOTIA)
COUNTY OF HALIFAX SS)

ON THIS *1st* day of *August*, A.D., 1975, before me,
the subscriber personally came and appeared *Frances
Melancon*, a subscribing witness to the foregoing
Conveyance, who, having been by me duly sworn, made oath and
said that the CITY OF-DARTMOUTH, one of the parties thereto,
caused the same to be executed in its name and on its behalf
and at the same time caused its Corporate Seal to be thereunto
affixed by *Eileen Stubbins*, its *Mayor*
and *H. D. Brady*, its *Deputy City Clerk*
its proper officers duly authorized in that behalf, in her
presence.

J. S. Davy
A Commissioner of the Supreme Court
Of Nova Scotia
J. S. DAVY

730

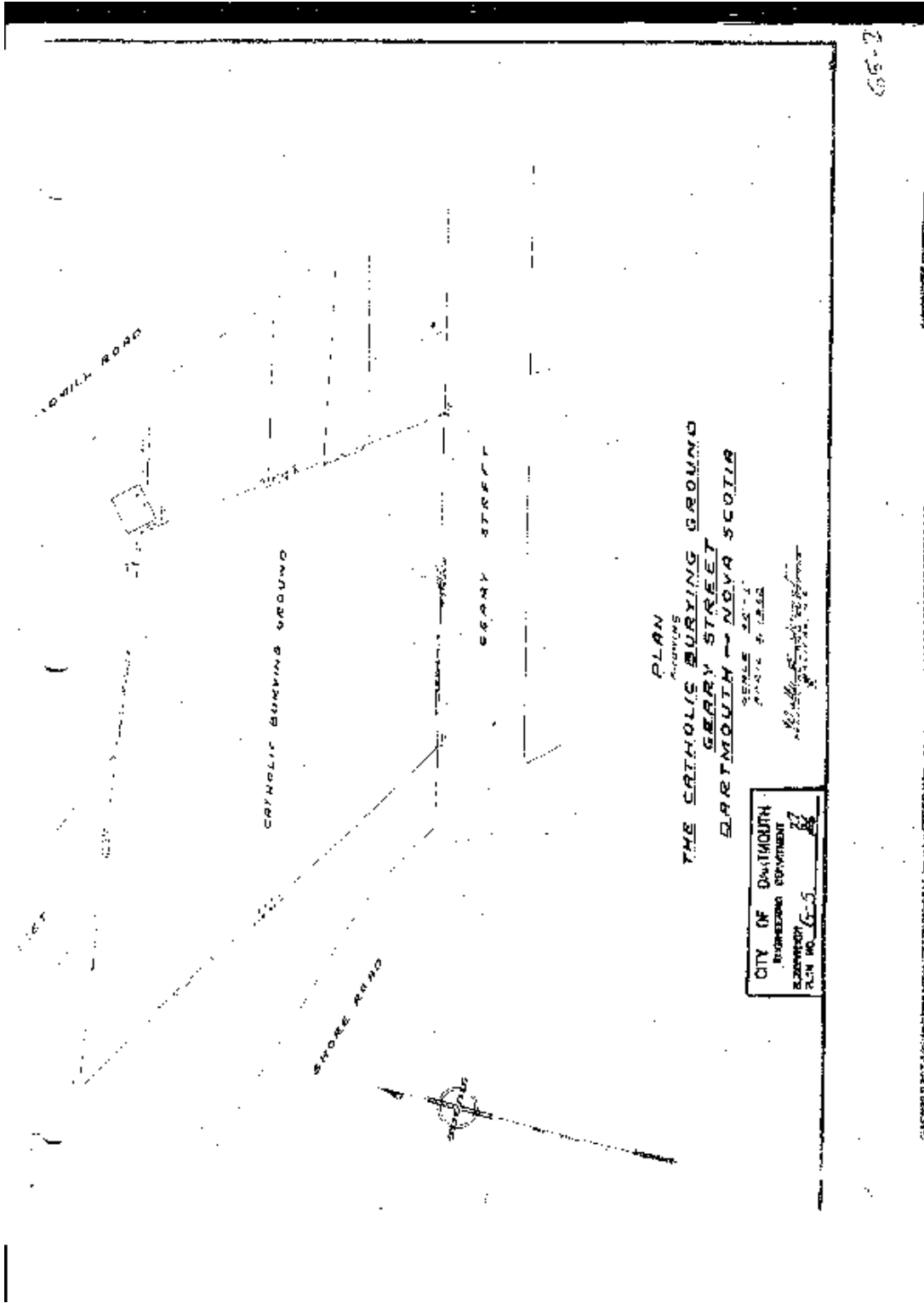
SCHEDULE "A"

BURIALS IN ST. PAUL'S CEMETERY,
GEARY STREET AT SHORE ROAD,
DARTMOUTH, NOVA SCOTIA

| NAME | DATE | AGE | LOT NO |
|-----------------------------|-------------|--------|--------|
| 1. Bown | | | F-5 |
| 2. Carroll, John | Sept. 19/72 | | C-8 |
| 3. Cowen, Margaret | Oct. 14/67 | 80 | F-1 |
| 4. Daye, Veronica | Feb. 8/72 | 55 | D-5 |
| 5. DeCoste, Albert David | Aug. 11/70 | 58 | A-7 |
| 6. DeCoste, Charles P. | Aug. 8/70 | 81 | A-7 |
| 7. Derrien, Peter M. | June 30/69 | 61 | E-7 |
| 8. Gaudet, John | Aug. 16/69 | 69 | E-5 |
| 9. LeBlanc, Gaily | June 20/69 | 52 | C-4 |
| 10. Lecky, Allan Joseph | May 10/71 | 53 | E-2 |
| 11. Lowe, Joseph | Nov. 23/68 | 72 | B-4 |
| 12. Lutley, Fred | | | C-7 |
| 13. MacMaster, Hugh A. | Feb. 25/72 | 71 | D-1 |
| 14. McBride, Percy A. | May 27/71 | 61 | F-3 |
| 15. McDonah, Gerard | Oct. 16/69 | 11 | A-5 |
| 16. Mesgher, Ed. Laffin | Dec. 22/70 | 68 | C-2 |
| 17. Nolan, Wilson Manuell | Mar. 2/71 | 44 | F-2 |
| 18. Pettipas, Margaret | June 9/71 | 75 | F-4 |
| 19. Pottie, Stephen Deblois | Mar. 18/71 | 56 1/2 | A-8 |
| 20. Richard, J. Leon | June 18/71 | 44 | E-3 |
| 21. Sampson, Charles | Jan. 5/70 | 69 | B-5 |
| 22. Walsh, J. Timothy | Aug. 10/71 | 79 | B-3 |

Province of Nova Scotia
County of Halifax

I hereby certify that the Within instrument
was recorded in the Registry of Deeds Office
at Halifax, in the County of Halifax, N.S.
at 9:55 o'clock *P.M.* on
the *14th* day of *August*
A. D. 19 *75* in Book Number *2930*
at Pages *726-730*
R. Macdonald Keefe
Registrar of Deeds for the Registration District
of the County of Halifax



PLAN
 SHOWING
 THE CATHOLIC BURYING GROUND
 GARRY STREET
 BARTMOUTH - NOVA SCOTIA

SCALE 1:1000
 DATE 1952
 [Signature]

CITY OF BARTMOUTH
 ENGINEERING DEPARTMENT
 PLANNING
 PLAN NO. 6-5

65-2

APPENDIX III

IRELAND: Irish Counties Identified in St. Peter Church Death Records

- Cork
- Kilkenny
- Queen's (Laois)
- Tipperary
- Waterford
- Westmeath
- Wexford



“A map showing the 4 provinces of Ireland and the traditional Irish counties.”

Source: Atlas of William Mackenzie (1846) - map of Ireland and own work.

Author, Andrein, October 2008 https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Ireland_regions.svg

*Note: Additional counties are noted in baptism and marriage records

APPENDIX IV
ST. PETER CHURCH, DARTMOUTH, NS, Page Index
Registers of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths
Register One (1830-1854), and Register Two (1854-1865)

| REGISTER ONE: 1830-1854 PAGE NUMBERS | | REGISTER TWO: 1854-1865 PAGE NUMBERS | |
|-----------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1830 | 1-7 (St. Peter's RC Churchyard burials begin) | 1854 Cont'd | 1-3 |
| 1831 | 7-33 | 1855 | 3-14 |
| 1832 | 33-48 | 1856 | 14-38 |
| 1833 | 48-54 | 1857 | 38-56 |
| 1834 | 54-56 (no cholera burials) | 1858 | 56-69 |
| 1835 | 56-64 (The Catholic Burying Ground est. Geary St.) | 1859 | 69-88 (St. Peter's RC Cemetery est. Victoria Rd.) |
| 1836 | 64-74 | 1860 | 88-100 |
| 1837 | 74-82 | 1861 | 100-111 |
| 1838 | 82-89 | 1862 | 111-121 |
| 1839 | 89-103 | 1863 | 121-131 |
| 1840 | 103-113 | 1864 | 132-145 |
| 1841 | 113-124 | 1865 | 145- ? |
| 1842 | 124-134 | 1866 | |
| 1843 | 135-147 | 1867 | |
| 1844 | 148-159 | 1868 | |
| 1845 | 159-177 Cemetery consecrated | 1869 | Cemetery consecrated |
| 1846 | 177-191 | 1870 | |
| 1847 | 191-193? (not legible) | 1871 | End of Register Two [or 1874/5?] |
| 1848 | 193? - 200 | 1872 | |
| 1849 | 200-209 | 1873 | |
| 1850 | 210-217 | 1874 | |
| 1851 | 218-226 | | |
| 1852 | 226-238 | 1975 | Catholic Burying Ground was deeded to the City of Dartmouth |
| 1853 | 238-252 | | |
| 1854 | 252-263 (Register One)1-3 (Two) | | |

Main Source: NS Archives, Mfm. 11,330 & 11,437

ST. PETER RC CHURCH, DARTMOUTH
Register Deaths/Headstones/Additional Sources 1830-1865, during the period:

- (1) St. Peter RC Churchyard, Chapel Lane (1830-1835);
 (2) The Catholic Burying Ground, Geary Street (1835-1865), consecrated 1845; and
 (3) St. Peter's Cemetery, Victoria Road (1859-Present), consecrated 1869

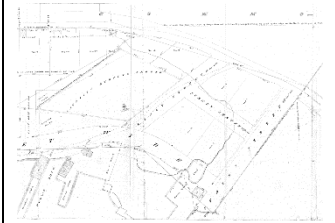
| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|----|------|--------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | 1830 | MOORE | Patrick | 17 December 1830. Identified as the first burial in St. Peter's Churchyard <i>ST. PETER RC CHURCH AND CHURCHYARD WAS ESTABLISHED AT CHAPEL LANE IN 1829</i> | (a)RC Register One:6 (b)RC Index One:6 (c)Registry of Deeds: Lease from John Skerry to [Bishop] William Fraser, recorded in Book 53, Page 14, in 1830 |
| 2. | 1831 | WALSH | Martin | 19 July 1831, son of Thomas Walsh and Honora Croke of the Canal, 1 st entry, age 3 weeks | (a)RC Register One:23 (b)RC Index One:23 |
| 3. | 1832 | O'NEILL [Headstone removed] | Andrew | Died 14 August 1832. "Oldest headstone" (Martin:61) "The oldest inscription in the grave-yard is dated 1832..." (Lawson:82) | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not Indexed (c)Martin:61 (d)Lawson:82 |
| 4. | 1832 | KENNEDY | Timothy | 10 January 1832, son of John Kennedy, 5 th entry, age 3 | (a)RC Register One:33 (b)RC Index One:33 |
| 5. | 1832 | FANNING | Mary | 16 January 1832, 4 th entry, age 24 | (a)RC Register One:33 (b)RC Index One:33 |
| | 1833 | | | No burials recorded in 1833 | |
| 6. | 1834 | WALSH | Ellenor | 21 September 1834, wife of Patrick Walsh, 2 nd entry, age 20 | (a)RC Register One:56 (b)RC Index One:56 (Elinor) |
| 7. | 1835 | CREAGAN | James | 26 May 1835, of County Wexford, Ireland, 3 rd entry, age 32 <i>THE CATHOLIC BURYING GROUND WAS ESTABLISHED AT GEARY STREET IN 1835.</i> | (a)RC Register One:60 (b)RC Index One:60 (c)The Catholic Burying Ground Monument Inscription (d) Registry of Deeds: 1975 Deed from RC Episcopal Corp. of Halifax. to City of Dartmouth recorded in Book 2930, Page 726-730 |
| | 1836 | | | No burials recorded in 1836 | |
| 8. | 1837 | HUNSTONE | Jeremiah | 16 February 1837, son of Samuel Hunstone and Mary Baker, 3 rd entry, age 13 months | (a)RC Register One:74 (b)RC Index One:74 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|---------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 9. | 1837 | MURPHY [Shared headstone with son] | Mrs. Frances | 23 February 1837, of Ireland, 5 th entry, age 70 Headstone: "In Memory of/ Frances Murphy/Died 21 st Febry. 1837, Aged 72 Years/ Also her Son/John/Died 23 rd August 1849/Aged 58 Years/May they rest in peace. | (a)RC Register One:75 (b)RC Index One:75 (c)HS site visit Geary St. May and October 2017 |
| 10. | 1837 | SHORTILL | Ellen | 14 March 1837, daughter of James and Ellen, 1 st entry, age 18 | (a)RC Register One:75 (b)RC Index One:75 (Indexed as Shortell) |
| 11. | 1837 | BIERY [Headstone] | Mary Cecilia | 24 March 1837, wife of Peter Biery, Tailor of Halifax, last entry, age 30. Headstone: "In Memory of/ Mary Cecelia/ wife of/ Peter Biery/ Born in Lisbon, Portugal 26 th Janry./1800, died 22d. March 1837/ Come and thou But, Thou art not Lost" "Peter Biery, Sgt, 32 in 1821, tailor, Berne, Switzerland, discharged at Fredericton, NB, 31 Dec 1828 ... He was awarded a pension, 25 June 1829. His wife, Mary Cecily LeCAINE died, Dartmouth, NS, 21 March 1837, age 35. (Punch: <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol 1: 68) | (a)RC Register One:75 (b)RC Index One:75 (c)HS site visit Geary St. May and October 2017 (d) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol I:68 |
| 12. | 1837 | MEAGHER | Timothy | 30 March 1837, of Killkenny [sic] Ireland, many years at Portabella, 1 st entry, age 45 | (a)RC Register One:76 (b)RC Index One:76 |
| 13. | 1837 | CONNORS | Johanna | 3 May 1837, daughter of Patrick Connors and Ellen Kennedy, 5 th entry, age 14 months | (a)RC Register One:76 (b)RC Index One:76 |
| 14. | 1837 | POWER | Mary | 5 May 1837, of S.E. Passage, 6 th entry, no age given | (a)RC Register One:76 (b)RC Index One:76 |
| 15. | 1837 | McHERON [Headstone] | Daniel | 3 July 1837, age 6 Headstone (bottom cast in concrete): "Sacred/To the Memory of/Daniel McHeron/Who dept. this life on/The 3 rd of July 1837/In the Seventh Year of his age..." | (a)RC Register One: ? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. | 1837 | MCKENNA | David | 6 July 1837, son of David, 4 th entry [Is this Daniel McHeron, died age 6, 1837?] | (a)RC Register One:78 (b)RC Index One:78 |
| 17. | 1837 | CROWLEY | John | 28 December 1837, of Co. Waterford, Ireland, 6 th entry, age 29 | (a)RC Register One:82 (b)RC Index One:82 |
| 18. | 1838 | LEAHY | Ann | 18 February 1838, 2 nd entry, age 2 years and 5 months | (a)RC Register One:83 (b)RC Index One:83 |
| 19. | 1838 | LYNCH | Bridget | 1 Jun 1838, wife of Thomas Lynch, 2 nd entry, age 37 | (a)RC Register One:85 (b)RC Index One:85 |
| 20. | 1838 | SKERRY [Headstone and remains were removed to St. Peter's Cemetery] | John | 2 [or 3] September 1838, 5 th entry, of Co. Killkenny [<i>sic</i>], Ireland, age 74. Last Will 1835: "I desire that my body be so interred in the new Ground provided as the place of burial for the Catholic congregation of Dartmouth Chapel." (Martin:212) Skerry was a ferry operator and innkeeper. Martin writes the family was re-interred in St. Peter's Cemetery by niece, Mrs. Thomas Elliott [near Tulip Street and Victoria Rd.] | (a)RC Register One:87 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)Martin:211-212 (d) HS site visit to St. Peter's Cemetery, June 2017 (e) Marble:165 Public Cemetery [St. Peter's Cemetery] (S)[tone] |
| 21. | 1839 | SHORTILL | James | 12 February 1839, of Queen's Co., Ireland, 2 nd last entry, age 54 | (a)RC Register One:90 (b)RC Index One:90 |
| 22. | 1839 | HUMPHRIES | Robert | 1 Mar 1839 by Rev. Loughlan, [of Wexford, Ireland?], last entry, age 65 | (a)RC Register One:90 (b)RC Index One:90 (Indexed as Humphery) |
| 23. | 1839 | SMYTH | Miriam Ruth | 7 April 1839, daughter of Heath and Catherine Meaghers, wife of Capt. ___? Smyth, 1 st entry, age 29 | (a)RC Register One:92 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed |
| 24. | 1839 | FONTON | Denis | 19 May 1839, native of Claymore, Ireland, for a long time employed by the Harris Book Co., 2 nd entry, age 40 "19 May 1839: Denis FENTON, Cla[sh]more, Waterford, age 40." (Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. 1:77) | (a)RC Register One:92 (b)RC Index One:92 (c) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. I:77 [He identified only 4 burials specifically at St. Peter's RC Church, Dartmouth, 1830-1852: Skerry, Fenton, Kennedy, and Moore.] |
| 25. | 1839 | McCORMICK | Mary | 19 Jul 1839, wife of Philip McCormick [Roony?], late of the Royal Artillery, 5 th entry, age 41 | (a)RC Register One:95 (b)RC Index One:95 (Indexed as McCormick (Rooney)) |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|---------------------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 26. | 1840 | HATFIELD | Mrs. Mary | 5 January 1840, 2 nd entry, age 80 | (a)RC Register One:103 (b)RC Index One:103 |
| 27. | 1840 | LYNCH | Thomas | 17 March 1840, of Ireland, husband of Bridget Lowrey, 3 rd entry, age 45 | (a)RC Register One:104 (b)RC Index One:104 |
| 28. | 1840 | HALEY | Patrick | 23 June 1840, of Co. Cork, Ireland, 4 th entry, and sailor of the bark [barque] E[dward?], age 27 | (a)RC Register One:105 (b)RC Index One:105 |
| 29. | 1840 | McDONALD [Headstone removed to St. Peter's Cemetery] | Allan | 7 November 1840, native of Scotland, age 46. Allan McDonald and Company (general merchants, millers and farmers). * "The remains are in Geary Street cemetery, but the broken headstone there was salvaged about 1940 by Rev. John Burns. The stone is now in the family lot at St. Peter's cemetery. See the verses thereon: Remember man as you pass by/As you are now so once was I/As i am now so shalt thou be/So pass not by but bend your knee." (Martin:246) | (a)RC Register One:112 (b)RC Index One:112 (c) Martin:246* (d) Marble: <i>Morning Post</i> , 5 Nov 1840 (D), tobacconist |
| 30. | 1840 | MEAGHER | Catherine | 23 December 1840, 5 th entry, age 73 | (a)RC Register One:112 (b)RC Index One:112 |
| 31. | 1841 | CHAPEL [Headstone] | John | 11 January 1841, son of John Chapel, 2 nd entry, age 33 22 years, John Chappell, Jr. (Martin:259) Headstone (bottom set in concrete) "Sacred /to the Memory of/ John Chappel. June.r /Who deptd this life /The 9 th of jan 1841/ Aged 33 years../ Requiescat in pace/ Amen/ All you people who pass by as you are.../" | (a)RC Register One:113 (b)RC Index One:113 (c)Martin:259 (d) HS site visit Geary St., May and October 2017 (e) Marble:174, St. Paul's Cem. (S)[tone] |
| 32. | 1841 | SHORTILL [Shared headstone with daughter] | Michael | 6 June 1841, Shoemaker, husband of Mary Roctish of Halifax, 5 th entry, age 35 Headstone: "Erected by/Mary Shortill/In Memory of her husband /Michael Shortill/ [Cont'd] | (a)RC Register One:116 (b)RC Index One: 116 (Indexed as Shortell) (c)Martin:259 (d) HS site visit, Geary St., May and October 2017 [Cont'd] |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------------------|--------------------------------------------|------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | Who deptd this life/ The 3d of june 1841/Aged 33 years/ Also/Their child Aliss/who died in her infancy/ _ ? in pace? | (e)Marble:158, St. Paul's Cem. [The Catholic Burying Ground], (S)[tone] |
| 33. | ? | SHORTILL [Shared headstone with father] | Aliss | Unknown date of death, infant [possibly Eliza?] Headstone: See Michael Shortill (1841) | (a)Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 34. | 1841 | BEEHAN | William | 6 June 1841, child of William Beehan, 6 th entry, age 4 | (a)RC Register One:116 (b)RC Index One:116 (c) Martin:259 |
| 35. | 1841 | MURRAY | Maria | 10 June 1841, child of Thomas Murray and Caroline Tupper, 8 th entry, age 15 months | (a)RC Register One:116 (b)RC Index One:116 (c) Martin:259 |
| 36. | 1841 | BEEHAN | Mary | 11 June 1841, child of William Beehan and Mary Smyth, 9 th entry, age 15 | (a)RC Register One:116 (b)RC Index One:116 (c) Martin:25 |
| 37. | 1841 1841 | BEEHAN | Martin | 26 June 1841, child of William Behan, 2 nd last entry, age 13 THE CATHOLIC BURYING GROUND WAS SURVEYED IN 1841 [View excerpt of 1841 Plan at 500%] | (a)RC Register One:117 (b)RC Index One:115 (c)Martin:259 (d)Dartmouth Common Plan of 1841: Surveyed in June & July 1841 by William MacKay. Halifax, 26 Aug. 1841, under <i>An act for regulating the Dartmouth Common, 4 Victoria Cap.52</i> |
| 38. | 1841 | GARRETT [Shared headstone with mother] | John | 20 September 1841, age 7 months. Headstone: see Mary Garrett (1842) | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 39. | 1841 | SMYTH* | William | 20 December 1841, son of Stephen Smyth and A. [W___?] of Dartmouth, 3 rd entry, age 4 [*This baptism is interpreted as a death entry as there is a cross above the name and no sponsors are named.] | (a)RC Register One:124 (b)RC Index One:124 |



| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 40. | 1842 | BOWEN [Shared headstone with father and brother] | Honora | 26 December 1841, daughter of John Bowen of Musquodoboit, 4 th entry, age 19 Headstone: See John Bowen (1856) | (a)RC Register One:124 (b)RC Index One:124 (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 41. | 1842 | BOWEN [Shared headstone with father and sister] | Maurice | 26 January 1842, son of John Bowen of Musquodoboit, 8 th entry, age 13 Headstone: See John Bowen (1856) | (a)RC Register One:124 (b)RC Index One:124 (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 42. | 1842 | GARRETT [Shared headstone with son] | Mary | 8 April 1842, daughter of David and Mary Vaughan, wife of [James] Garrett of St. Andrew's, NB, age 22. Headstone: "Sacred/to the Memory of/Mary, wife of James/Garrett who departed/This life April 6 th 1842/Aged 22 years/Also their son John/Garrett who died septm. 20 1841/Aged 7 months" | (a)RC Register One:126 (b)RC Index One:126 (Indexed as Mary Vaughan) (c) HS site visit, Geary St. May and October 2017 (c)Martin:266 (Funeral service by Rev. Loughnan) (d)Marble:68, Mary Garrett, 22, St. Paul's Cem. (S)[tone], wife |
| 43. | 1842 | VAUGHAN | Martha? Howard? | 1 May 1842, daughter of David Vaughan and Mary Murphy, age [3?] months. | (a)RC Register One:126 (b)RC Index One:126 (Mary Vaughan) |
| 44. | 1842 | McCABE | Richard | 8 June 1842, of Co. Wexford, Ireland, husband of Alice [Lonergan?], 4 th entry, age 54 "Died in Jun 1842 at Dartmouth, NS – Richard McCABE, 51, from Co. Wexford, leaving a widow [Alice LANDRIGAN] and five children – AR, 11 Jun 1842" (Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol II:39) | (a)RC Register One:128 (b)RC Index One:128 (c)Martin:266 (d)Marble:137, <i>Acadian Recorder</i> , 11 Jun 1842, age 51, of Co. Wexford (d) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. II:39 |
| 45. | 1842 | KENNEDY | John | 29 July 1842, native of Ireland, husband of Elizabeth, 7 th entry, age 75 "Died 27 July 1842 at Dartmouth, NS – John KENNEDY, 75, from Carrick [on-Suir, Co. Tipperary] – AR, 30 Jul 1842 (Punch, Vol. II:40) | (a)RC Register One:131 (b)RC Index One:131 (c)Martin:266 (d)Marble:16, <i>Acadian Recorder</i> , 30 Jul 1842 (D) age 75, of Carrick (e) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. II:40 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|----------------------------------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 46. | 1843 | MURPHY [Shared headstone with his nephew] | Murth? | 11 March 1843 Headstone (Bottom cast in concrete): "In Memory of/Murth Murphy/Died 11 March 1843/[aged _3] Years/Also his nephew/David,/_ 1843" | (a)Not in RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 47. | 1843 | BIERY [Headstone] | Anne | 16? May 1843 Headstone (bottom cast in concrete): "In Memory of/Anne Biery/Wife of/Thomas Murphy/Who died [16?] May 1843,/Aged __/And art thou min__ with the dead/And doth the cold epulchral stone/say where that silent heart..." | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 48. | 1843 | MURPHY? [Shared headstone with uncle] | David | Died1843, nephew of Murth? Murphy, (age 2?) Headstone: see Murth Murphy (1843) | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: ? (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2107 |
| 49. | 1843 | MOORE | Joseph | 28 July 1843, native of County Wexford, husband of Catherine McDonald, alias Tobin, 1 st entry, age 55. Died 1848 "Mrs. Catherine Moore 61, relict of Joseph Moore (of the Canal Masons)" (Martin:330) Her death is not recorded in Register One | (a)RC Register One:140 (b) RC Index One: Not indexed (c) Martin:330 (d) Marble:252, <i>Times</i> , 1 Aug 1843 (D), age 54 |
| 50. | 1843 | BOWES | Mary | 30 July 1843, wife of John Bowes, daughter of John Murray and Rebecca Hatfield, 2 nd entry, age 39 | (a)RC Register One:140 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)Martin:273 (d)Marble:105, <i>Times</i> , 1 Aug 1843 |
| 51. | 1844 | BRENNAN | Edward | 23 January 1844, of Co. Kilkenny, Ireland, husband of Catherine Brown of this parish, 4 th entry, age 35 | (a)RC Register One:149 (b) RC Index One: Not indexed |
| 52. | 1845 | CORCORAN | Margaret | 12 January 1845, daughter of Edward Corcoran and Catherine Farrell, 3 rd entry, age 11 | (a)RC Register One:160 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
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| 53. | 1845 1845 | LARISSEY | Margaret | 8 April 1845, of Ireland, of Co. Kilkenny, widow to late John Larissey, 2 nd last entry, age 55 <i>THE CATHOLIC BURYING GROUND WAS CONSECRATED IN AUGUST 1845 BY BISHOP WILLIAM WALSH <u>There is a 6 1/2 year gap in the death records after Rev. Denis Geary left St. Peter's in 1845. The death records resume in 1851.</u></i> | (a)RC Register One:161 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)Rev. Denis Geary served St. Peter's Church 1831-1845, and 1857-1862 www.saintpeterdartmouth.com/pastors (accessed 19 Aug 2017) (d) James Kennedy took charge of Dartmouth 3 Aug 1845 (<i>The Cross</i> , mentioned in an unofficial ½ page bio. of Rev. Kennedy at Halifax Archdiocese Archives, 10 Oct 2017) |
| 54. | 1846 1846 1847 1848 1849 1850 1851 | THOMPSON [Catholic Burying Ground Monument 1962: "An aunt of Princess Eugenie" Reinterred from the churchyard?] | Catherine | Died 20 September 1846. She belonged to the Church of England. "She died on the 20 th September, and between ten and eleven o'clock, a.m. on the 22 nd , she was buried by Rev. James Kennedy of St. Peter's Chapel." (Lawson:238) "Col Thompson having called upon me in my capacity of Coroner in consequence of various reports circulating respecting the death of a woman <u>buried</u> from his [home?] <u>by you in your Church Yard at Dartmouth.</u> I have with his acquiescence determined to have an inquest held on the body..." (Coroner to Rev. Kennedy, Inquest:85) No burials recorded in 1846 No burials recorded in 1847 No burials recorded in 1848 No burials recorded in 1849 No burials recorded in 1850 No burials recorded in 1851 until 29 December | (a)Not in RC Register One (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)Martin:297 (d)Lawson:232-239 (e)HS site visit Geary Street May 2017 (f) [1846 Coroner's Inquest] Marble:239, 29 Sep 1846, RG41, Series C, Vol. 20(1)], wife, Lt. Col. G. F. Thompson (g) RG41, Series C, Vol. 20(35) Coroner's Inquest:85: Letter from Coroner to Rev. J. Kennedy 28 Sep 1846, NSA Mfm. 16,576 |
| 55. | 1848? | [FE]ATTERY [Headstone] | ? | Headstone: "[FE?]ATTERY/ 2 __ Rifle Brigade/who died/[June 4, 1848?] aged..." | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One:? (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|------------------------------------------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 56. | 1849 | DUNN [Dunn Burial Vault?] | William Edward | January 1849, age 18 “Died. At Dartmouth, on Thursday last, WILLIAM EDWARD, youngest son of M. Dunn in the 19 th year of his age.”(<i>Presbyterian Witness</i>) | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not Indexed (c) <i>Presbyterian Witness</i> , 27 January 1849, p. 131 |
| 57. | 1849 | MURPHY [Shared headstone with mother] | John | 23 August 1849. Headstone: See Frances Murphy (1837) | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One:? (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 58. | 1851 | KINGSTON | William | 29 December 1851, age 19, 3 rd entry | (a)RC Register One:226(b) (b)RC Index One: Not indexed |
| 59. | 1852 | LEAHEY [Headstone?] | Elissa | 22 February 1852, 4 th entry, no age given Headstone (broken): First piece: “In Memory of/Eliza Jones/wife of/___/” Second piece: “Daughter of the Late/Edward Bartlett/of Philadelphia U.S./Who died Feb. 20 1852/Aged[?]0 Years” | (a)RC Register One:227(b) (b)RC Index One:227 DUPLICATE INDEXED PAGES 226-227, are renumbered as 226(a) and (b) and 227 (a) and (b) (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 60. | 1852 | McCORMICK | Philip | 20 March 1852, of Dartmouth, age 59 “Died 19 Mar 1852 at Dartmouth, NS – Philip McCORMACK, 57, from Ireland [He was a Chelsea pensioner from the 5 th Battalion of the Artillery] – <i>MC</i> , 23 Mar 1852.” (Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. II:68) | (a)RC Register One:228 (b)RC Index One:228 (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. II:68, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 23 Mar 1852. |
| 61. | 1852 | KEYES | Martha Jane | 29 May 1852, daughter of John Keyes and Martha Murphy, last entry, age 4 | (a)RC Register One:230 (b)RC Index One:230 |
| 62. | 1852 | McHEARN | Mrs. | 7 October 1852, died on the 5 th , first entry. | (a)RC Register One:235 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed |
| 63. | 1853 | KEYS [Headstone] | Martha | Died 15 January 1853 Headstone: “In/Memory of/Martha Keys/Who died 15 th Jan 1853/Aged 35 years/May she rest in peace” [Note death of Martha Jane Keyes in May 1852, age 4.] | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not Indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|-------------------------------|-----------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 64. | 1853 | DUNNE [Dunn Burial Vault?] | Isabella | 16 April 1853, age 30 “On Saturday, 16 th inst., at Dartmouth, after a long and painful illness, in the 31 st year of her age, Miss Isabella Dunne, daughter of Mr. Michael Dunne. (<i>Presbyterian Witness</i>) | (a)RC Register Two:? (b) RC Index Two: Not Indexed (c) <i>Presbyterian Witness</i> 23 April 1853, p. 131, NSA Mfm 8082 (d) Will File No. 1154, Probate Index Estates 1842-1917, NSA Mfm, 1863 |
| 65. | 1854 | BOWES | Mrs. | Burial No. 1, 28 April 1854, “John Bowes’ mother,” 5 th entry, age 75 | (a)RC Register One:255 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (indexed as William Bower:255) |
| 66. | 1854 | BATES | Thomas | Burial No. 2, 28 April 1854, age 79 | (a)RC Register One:255 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed |
| 67. | 1854 | SMITH | Ellen | 2 June 1854, of Dartmouth, 2 nd entry, no age given | (a)RC Register One:258 (b)RC Index One:258 |
| 68. | 1854 | MANNING | Mrs. | 27 July 1854, Cole Harbour Road, no age given END OF REGISTER ONE (1830-1854) | (a)RC Register One:260 (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (indexed as William Manning:260) |
| 69. | 1854 | O’LEARY | Ester Elizabeth | REGISTER TWO (1854 Cont’d -1874) 1 November 1854, 2 nd entry, age 16 | Page numbering restarts at page one in Register Two (a)RC Register Two:2 (b)RC Index Two:2 |
| 70. | 1855 | CHAPPELL | Mrs. | 2 May 1855, 5 th entry | (a)RC Register Two:4 (b)RC Index Two:4 |
| 71. | 1855 | SULLIVAN [O’Sullivan] | Cornelius | 22 February 1855, of Dartmouth, age 58 “Died 17 Jan 1855 at Dartmouth, NS: Cornelius O’SULLIVAN, 58, merchant from County Cork – <i>MC</i> , 18 Jan 1855 [Married 11 July 1824 at Halifax (RC): Cornelius, son of Timothy and Elizabeth O’SULLIVAN of the Parish of Kilmocomoge, County Cork, to Bridget, dau of Francis and Anastasia (CLOWNEY) BROWN of the Parish of Inistioge, County Kilkenny. Cornelius owned a trading schooner, the <i>Hibernia</i> .] (Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:27 | (a)RC Register Two:4 (b)RC Index Two: 5 [<i>sic</i>] (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:27, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 18 Jan 1855. |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|----------------------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 72. | 1855 | FARRELL | John | 20 March 1855, of Dartmouth, 2 nd last entry, age 78 “Died 20 Mar 1855 at Dartmouth, NS: John FARRELL, 69, from County Westmeath – <i>BC</i> , 22 Mar 1855. [Mrs. John Farrell (see 1856 entry) was “Mrs. Elizabeth [MANNY, alias ROBINSON] FARRELL, 72, from County Westmeath – <i>MC</i> , 27 Nov 1856.” (Punch, Vol. III:58)] | (a)RC Register Two:4 (b)RC Index Two:4 (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:30, <i>BC</i> , 22 Mar 1855. |
| 73. | 1855 | McCABE | John | 10 February 1855, last entry, age 23 Died 10 Jan 1855, age 24, son of late Richard McCabe [OF Co. Wexford, and Elizabeth Alice LARKIN of Rawdon.] Died while “attempting to rescue from a watery grave the late Mr. John IRWIN on the 1 st inst.” – <i>MC</i> , 11 Jan 1855. [NS, 8 Jan 1855, reported that John, 18, son of George IRWIN, marshal of Halifax, drowned 1 January “after falling through the ice while skating on Maynard’s Lake.” (Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol III:26) | (a)RC Register Two:4 (b)RC Index Two:4 (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol III:26, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 11 Jan 1855. |
| 74. | 1855 | QUINN | Mary | 4 May 1855, of Dartmouth, 3 rd entry, age 69 | (a)RC Register Two:5 (b)RC Index Two:5 |
| 75. | 1855 | BOWES | Peter | First entry, age 20 th year | (a)RC Register Two:13 (b)RC Index Two:13 |
| 76. | 1856 | KENNEDY | Cornelius | [Burial No. 1] 22 January 1856, 1 st entry, age 102 | (a)RC Register Two:16 (b)RC Index Two:16 |
| 77. | 1856 | MURPHY | John | [Burial No. 2] 28 January 1856, 2 nd entry, age 65 | (a)RC Register Two:16 (b)RC Index Two:16 (c)HS site visit Geary Street May 2017 |
| 78. | 1856 | BOWEN [Headstone] | John | [Burial No. 3] 20 May 1856, of New Guysborough Road, 3 rd entry, age 74 [Recorded as Michael] Headstone (bottom cut off): “IHS/In Memory/of/John Bowen,/a native of [Cont’d] | (a)RC Register Two:21 (b)RC Index Two:21 (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|-----|------|-----------|------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| | | | | Ca__tuhill,/County Cork, Ireland,/Who died May 20, 1856,/aged 73 years,/also his children,/Honora, Maurice/” | |
| 79. | 1856 | KENNEDY | James | [Burial No. 4] 25 May 1856, 4 th entry, age 22 | (a)RC Register Two:21 (b)RC Index Two:21 |
| 80. | 1856 | HURLEY | Mary Ann | [Burial No. 5] 1 November 1856, wife of Michael Hurley, of Dartmouth, 3 rd entry, age 32 | (a)RC Register Two:32 (b)RC Index Two:32 |
| 81. | 1856 | BOW | John | [Burial No. 6] 8 November 1856, 4 th entry, age 42 | (a)RC Register Two:32 (b)RC Index Two:32 |
| 82. | 1856 | ANDERSON | Margaret | Burial No. 7, 18 November 1856, 2nd last entry, no age given | (a)RC Register Two:34 (b)RC Index Two:34 |
| 83. | 1856 | FARRELL | Mrs. John | Burial No. 8, 27 November 1856, 1st entry, no age given “Died 25 Nov 1856 at Dartmouth, NS: Mrs. Elizabeth [MANNY, alias ROBINSON] FARRELL, 72, from County Westmeath – <i>MC</i> , 27 Nov 1856. [widow of John FARRELL, who died in March 1855.]” (Punch, Vol. III:58) | (a)RC Register Two:35 (b)RC Index Two: Not indexed (indexed as John Farrell) (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:58, <i>Morning Chronicle</i> , 27 Nov 1856. |
| 84. | 1856 | PARKER | Charles | Burial No. 9, 15 December 1856, drowned in Grand Lake, 3 rd entry, age 12 | (a)RC Register Two:36 (b)RC Index Two:36 |
| 85. | 1856 | QUINN | Jane | Burial No. 10, 16 December 1856, of Dartmouth, no age given | (a)RC Register Two:36 (b)RC Index Two:36 |
| 86. | 1856 | MAHONEY | John | Burial No. 11, 17 December 1856, no age given | (a)RC Register Two:36 (b)RC Index Two:36 |
| 87. | 1856 | BUCKLEY | Michael | Burial No. 12, December 1856, New Guysborough Road, age 34 | (a)RC Register Two:37 (b)RC Index Two:37 |
| 88. | 1857 | GOGGINS | David | Burial No. 1, 19 January 1857, no age given. | (a)RC Register Two:38 (b)RC Index Two:38 |
| 89. | 1857 | KENNEDY | Elizabeth | Burial No. 2, 27 January 1857, age 72 “Died 25 Jan 1857 at Dartmouth, NS: Elizabeth, 72, widow of John KENNEDY [from Carrick-on-Suir, County Tipperary] – <i>MJ</i> , 28 Jan 1857 [Elizabeth was the dau of John and Margaret (MURPHY) MONOVAN of County Clare.]” (Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol III:60) | (a)RC Register Two:38 (b)RC Index Two:38 (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:60 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------|--------------------------------------------|--------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 90. | 1857 | COONEY | John | [Drury?] Burial No. 3, 16 February 1857, no age given "Died 14 Feb 1857 at Dartmouth, NS: John COONEY, 64, from Waterford – AR, 21 Feb 1857." (Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol III:60) | (a)RC Register Two:39 (b)RC Index Two: Not indexed (c) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. III:60, <i>Acadian Recorder</i> , 21 Feb 1857 |
| 91. | 1857 | BRENNAN | Mary | Burial No. 4, 22 February 1857, age 21 | (a)RC Register Two:40 (b)RC Index Two:40 |
| 92. | 1857 | SLAVIN | Patrick | Burial No. 5, 2 March 1857, age 32 "Died 1 Mar 1857 at Dartmouth, NS: Patrick SLAVEN, 34, from County Tipperary – AR, 7 Mar 1857" (Punch:61) | (a)RC Register Two:40 (b)RC Index Two:40 (c) Punch, <i>Erin's Sons</i> , Vol. III:61, <i>Acadian Recorder</i> , 7 Mar 1857 |
| 93. | 1857 | VAUGHAN | David | Burial No. 6, 8 November 1857, age 74 | (a) RC Register Two:53 (b) RC Index Two:53 |
| 94. | 1857 | VAUGHAN | Mary | Burial No. 7, 24 November 1857, age 69 | (a)RC Register Two:55 (b)RC Index Two:55 |
| 95. | 1857 | BEHAN | Catherine | Burial No. 8, 29 November 1857, wife of John Butler, age 23 | (a)RC Register Two:55 (b)RC Index Two:55 |
| 96. | 1858 | BOLAN | Johanna | Burial No. 1, 23 April 1858, first entry, age 13 | (a) RC Register Two:60 (b) RC Index Two:60 |
| 97. | 1858 | DEMPSEY | Michael | Burial No. 2[a], 14 May 1858, age 1 year and 10 months | (a) RC Register Two:60 (b) RC Index Two:60 |
| 98. | 1858 | MURRAY | John (twin) | Burial No. 2[b], 13 July 1858, 1 st entry, age 1 day and 10 hrs (twin to James Murray below) | (a) RC Register Two:63 (b) RC Index Two:63 |
| 99. | 1858 | MURRAY | James (twin) | Burial No. 2[c], 13 July 1858, 1 st entry, age 1 day and 10 hrs (twin to John Murray above) | (a) RC Register Two:63 (b) RC Index Two:63 |
| 100. | 1858 | DONAHOE | Catherine | Burial No. 3, 15 July 1858, age 14 | (a) RC Register Two:63 (b) RC Index Two:63 |
| 101. | 1858 | SPRIGS | Barbara | Burial No. 4, 20 Jul 1858, wife of Thomas Curran, age 39 | (a) RC Register Two:63 (b) RC Index Two:63 Sprigs (Curran) |
| 102. | 1858 | REDMOND | Martin | Burial No. 5, 21 Jul 1858, age 69 | (a) RC Register Two:63 (b) RC Index Two:63 |
| 103. | 1858 | NAUGLE | Charlotte | Burial No. 6, 28 September 1858, of S.E. Passage, age 80 | (a) RC Register Two:66 (b) RC Index Two:66 |
| 104. | 1858 | MARSHALL [Shared headstone with father] | Edward | Burial No. 7, 7 October 1858, age 22 Headstone: See James Marshall (1859) | (a) RC Register Two:66 (b) RC Index Two:66 (c) HS Site visit, Geary St. May and October 2017 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------|-----------------------------------------|---------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 105. | 1858 | MOORE | James | Burial No. 8, 23 October 1858, native of New Ross, Co. Wexford, Ireland, age 75 “Died 21 Oct 1858 at Dartmouth, NS: James MOORE, 75, from New Ross, County Wexford – AR, 23 Oct 1858. (Punch: <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III: 75) | (a) RC Register Two:67 (b) RC Index Two:67 (c) Punch, <i>Erin’s Sons</i> , Vol. III:75, <i>Acadian Recorder</i> , 23 Oct 1858 |
| 106. | 1858 | FARRELL | Richard | Burial No. 9, 5 December 1858, age 3 years 5 months | (a) RC Register Two:68 (b) RC Index Two:68 |
| 107. | 1858 | FARRELL | Thomas Emmett | Burial No. 10, 27 December 1858, age 6 | (a)RC Register Two:69 (b)RC Index Two:69 |
| 108. | 1859 | DUNN | Isabel | Burial No. 1, 2 January 1859, age 1 year and 9 months | (a) RC Register Two:70 (b) RC Index Two:70 |
| 109. | 1859 | DONOVAN | Mary | Burial No. 2[a], 4 January 1859, wife of John Donovan of the Shubenacadie, age 24 | (a) RC Register Two:70 (b) RC Index Two:70 |
| 110. | 1859 | LEARY | Denis | Burial No. 2[b], 20 January 1859, age 61 | (a) RC Register Two:71 (b) RC Index Two: 71 |
| 111. | 1859 | KILLEN | Luke | Burial No. 3, 26 January 1859, age 56 | (a) RC Register Two:71 (b)RC Index Two:71 |
| 112. | 1859 | KEHOE | Ellen | Burial No. 4, 3 February 1859, a native of Waterford, Ireland, age 51 | (a) RC Register Two:71 (b)RC Index Two:71 |
| 113. | 1859 | ROACHE | Emiline | Burial No. 5, 2 March 1859, daughter of Michael Roache and Bridgette of Cole Harbour, age 13 | (a) RC Register Two:73 (b) RC Index Two:73 |
| 114. | 1859 | WARNER | Alexander | Burial No. 6, 13 March 1859, son of Alexander Warner and Mary Ann Synott, age 10 months | (a) RC Register Two:73 (b) RC Index Two:73 |
| 115. | 1859 | MARSHALL [Shared headstone with son] | James | Burial No. 7, 16 March 1859, age 70 Headstone (top missing): “[M]arch 14, 1859/Aged 70 years/Also his son/Edward/ who died Oct [3?], 1858/Aged 28 years/[Latin verse]” | (a) RC Register Two:73 (b) RC Index Two:73 (c)HS site visit Geary St. May 2017 |
| 116. | 1859 | CLEARY | Johanna | Burial No. 8, 23 March 1859, age 10 | (a) RC Register Two:74 (b) RC Index Two:74 |
| 117. | 1859 | McCARTY | James | Burial No. 9, 20 March 1859, son of John McCarty and Mary, age 1 year | (a) RC Register Two:74 (b) RC Index Two:74 |
| 118. | 1859 | MEDLEY | George | Burial No. 10, 7 April 1859, coloured boy, age 14 months | (a) RC Register Two:75 (b) RC Index Two:75 |
| 119. | 1859 | RYAN | Ann | Burial No. 11, 10 April 1859, age 38 | (a) RC Register Two:75 (b) RC Index Two:75 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------|-------------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 120. | 1859 | BIRKENHEAD | Thomas | Burial No. 12, 11 April 1859, age 1 year and 10 months and a half <i>A PETITION WAS FILED FOR A NEW RC CEMETERY IN 1859</i> <i>ST. PETER'S CEMETERY Was established in 1859 on Victoria Road and consecrated by Archbishop Connolly 7 Aug 1869.</i> | (a) RC Register Two:75 (b) RC Index Two:75 (Berkenhead) (c) "An Act Relating to the Roman Catholic Cemetery at Dartmouth," NS Statutes 1859, Cap. 61, page 78. (d)Martin:378 (e) Petition Against New RC Cemetery by Jonathan Elliot, filed in NS House of Assembly, 18 Feb 1859 |
| 121. | 1859 | POWER [Dunn Burial Vault?] | Mary | Burial No. 13, 20 April 1859, daughter of Thomas Power and Frances Dunn, age 13 | (a) RC Register Two:76 (b) RC Index Two:76 |
| 122. | 1859 | EDGECOMBE | Gabriel | Burial No. 14, 1 May 1859, native of Cornwall, England, age 78 | (a) RC Register Two:76 (b) RC Index Two:76 |
| 123. | 1859 | COURTNEY | Johanna | Burial No. 15, 2 May 1859, age 14 months | (a) RC Register Two:76 (b) RC Index Two:76 |
| 124. | 1859 | LEDGWICH | Catherine | Burial No. 16, 13 May 1859, age 2 years 5 months | (a) RC Register Two:76 (b) RC Index Two:76 |
| 125. | 1859 | SYNOTT | Michael | Burial No. 17, 5 June 1859, age 1 year 9 months | (a) RC Register Two:78 (b) RC Index Two:78 |
| 126. | 1859 | MYRES | Catherine | Burial No. 18, 7 June 1859, age 12 weeks | (a) RC Register Two:78 (b) RC Index Two:78 |
| 127. | 1859 | FARRELL | Patrick | Burial No. 19, 24 June 1859, age 8 months | (a) RC Register Two:78 (b) RC Index Two:78 |
| 128. | 1859 | DONAHOE | Theresa | Burial No. 20, 30 June 1859, age 13 | (a) RC Register Two:79 (b) RC Index Two:79 (Indexed as Teresa) |
| 129. | 1859 | FARRELL | William | Burial No. 21, 2 July 1859, age 5 years 8 months | (a) RC Register Two:79 (b) RC Index Two:79 |
| 130. | 1859 | KILLEN | Agnes | Burial No. 22, 6 July 1859, age 60 | (a) RC Register Two:79 (b) RC Index Two:79 |
| 131. | 1859 | DONOVAN | Catherine | Burial No. 23, 8 July 1859, age 86 | (a) RC Register Two:79 (b) RC Index Two:79 |
| 132. | 1859 | JULIEN | David | Burial No. 24, 10 July 1859, age 3 | (a) RC Register Two:80 (b) RC Index Two:80 |
| 133. | 1859 | FARRELL | John | Burial No. 25, 11 July 1859, age 3 years 4 months | (a) RC Register Two:80 (b) RC Index Two:80 |
| 134. | 1859 | FARRELL | Elizabeth | Burial No. 26, 21 July 1859, age one month | (a) RC Register Two:81 (b) RC Index Two:81 |
| 135. | 1859 | CUSHAN | Thomas | Burial No. 27, 5 August 1859, age 55 | (a) RC Register Two:81 (b) RC Index Two:81 (Indexed as Cashan) |
| 136. | 1859 | PRENTICE | Catherine | Burial No. 28, 4 September 1859, age 43 | (a) RC Register Two:83 (b) RC Index Two:83 |
| 137. | 1859 | RICHARD | Amelia Rebecca | Burial No. 29, 4 September 1859, age 12 months | (a) RC Register Two:83 (b) RC Index Two:83 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------|------------------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 138. | 1859 | JULIEN | John | Burial No. 30, 6 September 1859, parents not named, age 1 year and 9 months | (a) RC Register Two:83 (b) RC Index Two:83 |
| 139. | 1859 | McCARTY | Eugene | Burial No. 31, 30 September 1859, age 47 | (a) RC Register Two:84 (b) RC Index Two:84 |
| 140. | 1859 | BEHAN | William | Burial No. 32, 4 October 1859, age 67 | (a) RC Register Two:84 (b) RC Index Two:84 |
| 141. | 1859 | O'BRIEN | Elizabeth | Burial No. 33, 9 October 1859, age 2 years and 2 months | (a) RC Register Two:85 (b) RC Index Two:85 |
| 142. | 1859 | BREADY | Mary | Burial No. 34, 4 December 1859, age 2 years and 4 months | (a) RC Register Two:87 (b) RC Index:87 |
| 143. | 1860 | ANDERSON | William | Burial No. 1, 2 January 1860, age 79 | (a) RC Register Two:88 (b) RC Index Two:88 |
| 144. | 1860 | HERTZSLIP | Elizabeth | Burial No. 2, 29 January 1860, age 84 | (a) RC Register Two:90 (b) RC Index Two:90 |
| 145. | 1860 | COURTNEY | Ellen | Burial No. 3, 16 February 1860, age 82 | (a) RC Register Two:90 (b) RC Index Two:90 |
| 146. | 1860 | DUNN [Dunn Burial Vault?] | Rebecca | Burial No. 4, 27 February 1860, age 72 "Mrs. Michael Dunn 71, interred in the vault at Geary Street Cemetery." (Martin:364) | (a) RC Register Two:91 (b) RC Index Two:91 (c) Martin:364 |
| 147. | 1860 | DONOVAN | Johanna | Burial No. 5, 19 May 1860, age 5 weeks | (a) RC Register Two:93 (b) RC Index Two:93 |
| 148. | 1860 | CORCORAN | Mary | Burial No. 6, 27 September 1860, daughter of Edward Corcoran and Catherine Farrell, age 32 | (a) RC Register Two:98 (b) RC Index Two:98 |
| 149. | 1860 | GLAWSON | Bridget | Burial No. 7, 22 October 1860, age 33 | (a) RC Register Two:98 (b) RC Index Two:98 |
| 150. | 1860 | LEHAYE | Miriam Agnes | Burial No. 8, 25 October 1860, age 25 years and 6 months | (a) RC Register Two:98 (b) RC Index Two: Not indexed |
| 151. | 1860 | DECADY | James | Burial No. 9, 14 November 1860, age 55 | (a) RC Register Two:99 (b) RC Index Two:99 (Dicady) |
| 152. | 1860 | SKERRY | James | Burial No. 10, 24 December 1860, age 87 | (a) RC Register Two:99 (b) RC Index Two:99 |
| 153. | 1861 | CHAPEL | Henry | Burial No. 1, 7 January 1861, age 56 | (a) RC Register Two:100 (b) RC Index Two:100 |
| 154. | 1861 | HERBERT | Michael | Burial No. 2, 11 February 1861, age 22 | (a) RC Register Two:101 (b) RC Index Two:101 |
| 155. | 1861 | McCARTY | Matthew | Burial No. 3, 14 February 1861, age 5 months | (a) RC Register Two:101 (b) RC Index Two: Not indexed |
| 156. | 1861 | SULLIVAN | Ann | Burial No. 4, 21 February 1861, age 45 | (a) RC Register Two:101 (b) RC Index Two:101 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------|------------------------------|----------------|----------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 157. | 1861 | DUNN [Dunn Burial Vault?] | Michael | Burial No. 5, 5 March 1861, age 1 year and 9 months | (a)RC Register Two:101 (b) RC Index Two:101 |
| 158. | 1861 | STEWART | Mary | Burial No. 6, 16 March 1861, age 33 | (a)RC Register Two:102 (b) RC Index Two:102 |
| 159. | 1861 | KEARNEY | Mary Elizabeth | Burial No. 7, 16 March 1861, age 1 year 3 months | (a)RC Register Two:102 (b) RC Index Two:102 |
| 160. | 1861 | BUCKLEY | Daniel | Burial No. 8, 2 April 1861, age 81 years | (a)RC Register Two:102 (b) RC Index Two:102 |
| 161. | 1861 | HUMPHREY | Mary Josephine | Burial No. 9, 13 April 1861, age 4 weeks | (a)RC Register Two:103 (b)RC Index Two:103 |
| 162. | 1861 | SULLIVAN | Timothy | Burial No. 10, 23 April 1861, age 54 | (a)RC Register Two:103 (b) RC Index Two:103 |
| 163. | 1861 | BEHAN | Patrick | Burial No. 11, 13 June 1861, age 45 | (a)RC Register Two:104 (b) RC Index Two:104 |
| 164. | 1861 | SMYTH | Ellen | Burial No. 12, 18 June 1861, age 79 | (a)RC Register Two:104 (b)RC Index Two:104 |
| 165. | 1861 | SMYTH | William | Burial No. 13, 28 July 1861, age 77 | (a)RC Register Two:105 (b)RC Index Two:105 |
| 166. | 1861 | WARNER | Michael | Burial No. 14, 11 September 1861, age 3 weeks | (a)RC Register Two:108 (b) RC Index Two:108 |
| 167. | 1861 | GROMLEY | William | Burial No. 15, 7 October 1861, age 2 1/2 | (a)RC Register Two:108 (b) RC Index Two:108 (Granley) |
| 168. | 1862 | DALY | James | Burial No. 1, 20 January 1862, age 2 months | (a)RC Register Two:111 (b) RC Index Two:111 |
| 169. | 1862 | ROACHE | Catherine | Burial No. 2, 12 March 1862, age 19 | (a)RC Register Two:113 (b)RC Index Two:113 |
| 170. | 1862 | DEASY | William | Burial No. 3, 18 March 1862, age 3 | (a)RC Register Two:113 (b)RC Index Two:113 (Deasey) |
| 171. | 1862 | MURRAY? | Jane? Ellen | Burial No. 4, 24 March 1862, age 1 month and 5 days | (a)RC Register Two:113 (b)RC Index Two:113 (Laura) |
| 172. | 1862 | SULLIVAN | Michael | Burial No. 3, 24 April 1862, age 37 | (a)RC Register Two:114 (b) RC Index Two:114 |
| 173. | 1862 | RICHARD | Mary Ann | Burial No. 4, 3 May 1862, age 7 weeks | (a)RC Register Two:114 (b) RC Index Two:114 |
| 174. | 1862 | SYNOTT | Thomas | Burial No. 5, 13 June 1862, age 10 | (a)RC Register Two:114 (b) RC Index Two:114 |
| 175. | 1862 | BRADY | Catherine | Burial No. 6, 22 August 1862, age 32 | (a)RC Register Two:115 (b) RC Index Two:115 |
| 176. | 1862 | REYHY | John | Burial No. 7, 24 August 1862, age 73 | (a)RC Register Two:115 (b) RC Index Two:115 |
| 177. | 1862 | HARNEY | Isabelle | Burial No. 8, 2 September 1862, age 12 months | (a)RC Register Two:116 (b) RC Index:116 |
| 178. | 1862 | NOWLAN* | Catherine | Burial No. 9, 3 September 1862, age 4 years and 5 months | (a)RC Register Two:116 (b) RC Index Two:116 * "Nowlan" is sometimes recorded as "Indian": See Edward Nowlan in Baptism of Alexius Paul,1863,p.130 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | SOURCES 1835-1865 |
|------|------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 179. | 1862 | BERKENHEAD | John | Burial No. 10, 7 September 1862, age 7 | (a)RC Register Two:116 (b) RC Index Two:116 |
| 180. | 1862 | FRASER | Grace Eleanor | Burial No. 11, 11 September 1862, age 2 weeks | (a)RC Register Two:117 (b) RC Index Two:117 |
| 181. | 1862 | MURRAY | Mary | Burial No. 12, 3 October 1862, age 49 | (a)RC Register Two:117 (b) RC Index Two:117 |
| 182. | 1862 | SEYMOUR | Peter | Burial No. 13, 5 October 1862, age 84 | (a)RC Register Two:117 (b) RC Index Two:117 |
| 183. | 1862 | MURRAY | Cornelius | Burial No. 14, 22 October 1862, age 40 | (a)RC Register Two:118 (b) RC Index Two:118 |
| 184. | 1862 | KILMARTIN | Anthony | Burial No. 15, 29 October 1862, age 70 | (a)RC Register Two:119 (b) RC Index Two:119 (Gilmartin) |
| 185. | 1862 1863 1864 1865 | LEDJWICH | John | Burial No. 16, 24 November 1862, age 3 months No burials recorded in 1863 No burials recorded in 1864 No burials recorded in 1865 | (a)RC Register Two:120 (b) RC Index Two:120 (Indexed as Ledgwith) |
| 186. | 1863 | DUNN [Dunn Burial Vault?] | Michael | 6 April 1863, age 69 “DIED. On Monday, the 6 th inst, Michael Dunn, aged 69 years, a native of Waterford, Ireland.” (<i>Presbyterian Witness</i>) [Michael Dunn is attributed with building the Dunn Vault] | (a)RC Register Two:? (b) RC Index Two: Not indexed (c) <i>Presbyterian Witness</i> , 11 April 1863, NSA Mfm 8396 |
| 187. | ? | MARSH [Headstone] | Catherine | Headstone (top only): “IHS/In Memory/of/Catherine Marsh?” | (a)RC Register One:? (b)RC Index One: Not indexed (c)HS site visit Geary Street May and October 2017 |
| 188. | 1867 | DUNN [Dunn Burial Vault?] His name and several other Dunn family names appear on a monument in St. Peter’s Cemetery | James Patrick | 4? August 1867, age 42 “the last body in the Dunn’s vault” (Martin:374) “Dunn, Patrick D[ied] Sun[day] as a result of a fall over an embankment near [the] home of James Synott. He was a carpenter, [and] lived near the windmill.” (<i>Presbyterian Witness</i> Index) “James Patrick Dunn, M[ale], Verdict, Died from Injuries received from a Fall which produced compression of the Brain” (NS Historical Vital Statistics) | (a)RC Register Two:? (b)RC Index Two:147 (c)Martin:374 (d) <i>Presbyterian Witness</i> Index, Saturday 10 August 1867, Vol. XX No. 32, p. 252, NSA Mfm 8398 (e) NS Historical Vital Statistics: Book 1808, Page 108, No. 846 www.novascotiagenealogy.com (accessed 3 Sep 2015) (f)HS site visit St. Peter’s Cemetery June 2017 |

MAIN SOURCES:

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- St. Peter Roman Catholic Church. *Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths*. Dartmouth, NS, 1854-1875. Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax-Yarmouth. [Available on NS Archives Microfilm 11,330.]
- Whitehead, Ruth Holmes. *The Old Man Told Us: Excerpts from Micmac History 1500-1950*. Halifax, Nova Scotia: Nimbus Publishing Ltd, 1991.

ADDITIONAL SOURCES:

Personal site visits, headstone inscriptions, photographs, legal documents, legislation, reports, biographies, newspapers, St. Peter Church website, NS Historical Vital Statistics Online (www.novascotiagenealogy.com), and other sources as noted.

APPENDIX V

**Known and Suspected Mi'kmaw Burials in
ST. PETER'S RC CEMETERY, Victoria Road, Dartmouth (est. 1859)
From a Preliminary Search of NS Historical Vital Statistics Deaths**

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | ST. PETER'S CEMETERY SOURCES |
|----|------|-----------|----------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. | 1910 | PAUL | Joseph | Died 8 November 1910 of consumption, ill 2 weeks, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, labourer, born Eastern Passage, father Abram Paul, Race Red, age 28 In 1880, a new 45-acre Reserve administered by Millbrook Band was established at Morris Lake, Cole Harbour, near Dartmouth. It had a chapel and school and up to 27 families. (Chapman:152) | (a)NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1910, Book 9, Page 173, No. 1034 (b)Chapman, <i>Along the Cole Harbour Road:152</i> |
| 2. | 1910 | PAUL | Noel | Died 3 June 1910 of bronchitis, ill 6 months, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, Race Red, age 1 year and 6 months | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1910, Book 9, Page 136, No. 810 |
| 3. | 1911 | PAUL | Joseph | Died 25 March 1911, of abscess?, of Dartmouth, son of Lewis Paul, Race Red, age 3 months | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1911, Book 9, Page 196, No. 1172 |
| 4. | 1912 | PAUL | Abram | Died 17 November 1912 of heart disease, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, ill 18 months, born Guysborough Co., Race Red, age 72. Physician: Dr. A.B. Smith | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1912, Book 9, Page 341, No. 2041 |
| 5. | 1913 | PAUL | Madaline [sic] | Died 9 May 1913 of Rheumatism, at Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, born at Pictou, married to James Paul, Race Red, age 49 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1913, Book 9, Page 381, No. 2282 [Madeline Paul] |
| 6. | 1914 | BERNARD | John | Died 26 October 1914 of TB at Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, Laborer, born CB, married, Race Red-Mic Mac, age 35 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1914, Book 9, Page 501, No. 3006 |
| 7. | 1914 | GLODE | Mary A. | Died 21 September 1914 of convulsions, ill 5 days, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, parents not named, Race Red, age (8?) months | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1914, Book 9, Page 480, No. 2880 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | ST. PETER'S CEMETERY SOURCES |
|-----|------|-----------|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 8. | 1914 | NIBBEY | Katie | Died 22 October 1914 of TB, ill 9 months, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth. Domestic, born at Shubenacadie, wife of James Nibbey, Race Red (Mic-Mac), age 24 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1914, Book 9, Page 501, No. 3005 |
| 9. | 1914 | PAUL | Sarah | Died 10 January 1914 of TB, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, single, Race Red, age 21 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1914, Book 9, Page 435, No. 2609 |
| 10. | 1916 | PAUL | Mary E. | Died 26 May 1916 of convulsions, ill 5 weeks, of Indian Reserve, Halifax Co., [Dartmouth?], daughter of John Paul, Race Red, age 9 months | (a) NS Vital Statistics Year 1914, Book 9, Page 454, No. 2724 |
| 11. | 1916 | PROSPER | Ethel | Died 23 September 1916 of Tubercular Meningitis, ill 3 weeks, daughter of James Prosper, of Water Street, Halifax, Race Indian, age 7 Buried at Dartmouth [St. Peter's?] by Zinck's. | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1916, Book 21, Page 179, No. 1070 |
| 12. | 1916 | PROSPER | James | Died 4 March 1916 of Bronchitis Broncho pneumonia, of 105 Water Street, Halifax, son of James Prosper, Race Indian, age 3 months Buried at Dartmouth [St. Peter's?] by Zincks | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1916, Book 21, Page 76, No. 451 |
| 13. | 1917 | LABRADOR | Ben | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, Race Brown. Red, age 2 years | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 485, No. 1590 [see also incomplete record at 1917, Page 153, No. 922] |
| 14. | 1917 | BROOKS | Frank | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, widower, Race Brown.Red, age 70 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 485, No. 1589 [see also 1917, Page 153, No. 921 for incomplete entry] |
| 15. | 1917 | DENNEY | Charles | Died 20 February 1917 of TB at NS Hospital, Woodside, ill 2 years, born West River, Race Red, age [25?] | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 369, No. 1216 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | ST. PETER'S CEMETERY SOURCES |
|-----|------|-------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 16. | 1917 | GLODE | Janet [Genevieve?] | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, single, Race White, age 33 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 484, No. 1583[see also 1917, Page 38, No. 231, Residence Milton Reserve, husband Abram Glode] |
| 17. | 1917 | LABRADOR | Matilda | Died 14 September 1917 of cholera at Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, ill one week, no parents named, Race Red, age 5 months | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 437, No. 1430 |
| 18. | 1917 | LONECLOUD | Hannah | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, daughter of Jerry Lonecloud and Elizabeth Paul, age 15 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Page 153, No. 923 [Partial record only] |
| 19. | 1917 | McDONALD | Rose [Rosie] | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, single, Race White, age 22 [Daughter of Jerry Lonecloud and Elizabeth Paul. Married to James McDonald.] | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 484, No. 1587 |
| 20. | 1917 | NEVIN | Howard | Died 6 [or 9?] December 1917 Halifax Explosion, son of Richard and Madeline Nevin of Tuft's Cove, Race Red, age 15 months | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 486, No. 1594 [see also 1917, Page 152, No. 918 for incomplete entry, died 9 December, ill 3 days] |
| 21. | 1917 | NEVIN | Johanna | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, of Tuft's Cove, married, Race Red, age 70 [Wife of William Nevin] | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 485, No. 1592 [see also 1917, Page 153, No. 920 for incomplete entry] |
| 22. | 1917 | PAUL | Mary | Died 6 December 1917, Halifax Explosion, Race Indian, age and address not given | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Page 153, No. 919 [Indexed as Mary Katherine Paul, incomplete entry. Similar entry at 1917, Book 34, Page 485, No.1593, Tuft's Cove age 35 |
| 23. | 1917 | PAULL [or Lewis?] | Mary Agnes | Died 1 September 1917, of inflammation, ill 8 weeks, of Indian Reserve, Dartmouth, father Paull Lewis [or Lewis Paull?], Race Red, age 16 mos | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 34, Page 440, No. 1447 |

| | YR | LAST NAME | FIRST NAME | COMMENT | ST. PETER'S CEMETERY SOURCES |
|-----|------|-----------|---------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 24. | 1917 | PROSPER | Ada | Died 3 March 1917 of pneumonia, of Water Street, Halifax, single, daughter of James Prosper of Antigonish, Race Indian, age 16 Buried at Dartmouth [St. Peter's?] by Zincks | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1917, Book 21, Page 262, No. 1572 |
| 25. | 1924 | PROSPER | AGNES | Died 28 June 1924 of TB at TB Hospital, 280 Water Street, Halifax, Domestic, Race Indian, age 21 Buried at Dartmouth [St. Peter's?] by Zincks | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1924, Book 104, Page 726 |
| 26. | 1930 | LONECLOUD | Jerry, Dr. | Died 16 April 1930 at VG Hospital, born Belfast, Maine, son of Abram Bartlett Luxey, and Mary Ann, married, Guide, Race Indian, age 79. [Husband of Elizabeth Paul, father of 8 children.] | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1930, Book 134, Page 1618 |
| 27. | 1935 | PROSPER | Infant (male) | Born and died 28 September 1935 at Grace Maternity Hospital, child of Reta Prosper and Fred Carleton, 9 Conley Place, Halifax. | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1935, Book 163, Page 953 |
| 28. | 1935 | PROSPER | James | Died 30 April 1935 of angina pectoris, married, born Antigonish, son of James Prosper, and [Flo. Vincent?], Longshoreman, Race Indian, age 65 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, Year 1935, Book 163, Page 356 |
| 29. | 1941 | BERNARD | Sarah | Died 18 May 1941, of Status Epiliptiuis, at NS Hospital, Woodside, daughter of Annie Joe Paul and Martin Bernard of Nyanza Reserve, Race Indian, age 14 | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, (Informant Hospital records) Year 1941, Book 193, Page 615 |
| 30. | 1942 | LABRADOR | Gladys | Died 15 February 1942 at NS Hospital of TB, Residence Indian School, Shubenacadie, exact date of birth unknown in 1919, no record of parents, Race Indian, age 23 years. [student of 13 years?] | (a) NS Historical Vital Statistics, (Records of the NS Hospital) Year 1942, Book 205, Page 52 |

Suggestions for Further Research

A complete list of Indigenous marriages, baptisms and deaths in St. Peter Church and cemetery would contribute immensely to an understanding of local history. This would require access to original records held by St. Peter Church and the Catholic Archdiocese, which are currently restricted access.

It would be useful to make a scanned copy of the St. Peter Church Registers, held at the Catholic Archdiocese of Halifax and to compile a bibliography of documents for the Catholic Burying Ground held by the Archdiocese. HRM manages the Catholic Burying Ground (St. Paul's) and St. Peter's Cemetery and should have a copy of the Registers in their own Archives or offices in order to make informed decisions about the site.

Ascertain whether burials were disturbed during the process of construction of the mound in the Catholic Burying Ground during 1976-1977.

Identify individuals and families in the Church Registers who were involved in the construction of the Shubenacadie Canal in anticipation of the 200th Anniversary in 2026.

Ascertain the identities of those in the Dunn Vault through forensic investigation and fieldwork.

Link the death records of this thesis with other research databases.

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