HISTORICAL NIAGARA FAMILY CEMETERIES
THE HERITAGE OF LIFE AND DEATH IN HISTORICAL FAMILY CEMETERIES OF
NIAGARA, ONTARIO

By CATHERINE PATERSON, B.SC., M.A.

A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfilment of the
Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

This study explores the history of Niagara settlement and settlers through the changing patterns of burial and commemoration visible in historical family cemeteries that were established following the Euro-American settlement of the Niagara Peninsula in the 1790s. Data collected from a combination of site survey and archival research demonstrates three clear phases of: 1) early cemetery creation and use to create connections to newly acquired land; 2) the transition to burial in public cemeteries throughout the late 1800s that included the increased visibility of the nuclear family and the expanding social group of burial; and 3) the subsequent closure of family cemeteries by the early 1900s followed by periods of neglect and renewal characterized by inactive cemeteries being repurposed by descendants as sites of heritage display.

Within these phases there is incredible variation between and within families over generations in their choices about cemetery membership, duration of use, reburial, and re-commemoration. The overall patterns of burial data speak to changing identity relating to family, land, community, memory, and history. More specifically, the results of this study demonstrate a shift from an identity created through the experience of family place and burial to a community-based identity that emphasizes the nuclear family and their history within their wider social network. Heritage displays later established in inactive cemeteries have explicitly introduced a narrative of settlement, Loyalist identity, and land ownership that was inherent when cemeteries were in use, further demonstrating the importance of family history for later generations.

This cemetery-based history approach demonstrates the potential of mortuary material culture to address questions of social change within the historical context in which it was created and used. It also highlights the value of variability in cemetery data and the consideration of the circumstances of cemetery creation, use,
neglect, and renewal to inform the range of personal and collective histories that are visible over generations.
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CHAPTER ONE: CEMETERY HISTORY IN NIAGARA

“In some neighbourhoods there were public graveyards, as a rule in the rear of the church; but in many instances a plot was selected on the homestead, generally a sandy knoll, where a grave could be easily dug and there would little likelihood of a pool of water gathering in the bottom. In such a lonely spot were laid the remains of many of our ancestors, with a wooden slab at the head of the grave. Upon this was painted a brief epitaph, with a favourite quotation from Holy Writ. In time the lettering yielded to the ravages of the weather, the paint was washed away, the board rotted, and the fence surrounding the reservation, if such there was, was broken down by the cattle. A careless posterity neglected either to remove the remains or to renew the wooden marker by a more enduring monument, until sentiment ceased to play its part in the respect for the memory of the dead. The farm was sold with no reservation, and the plough and harrow soon removed the only visible trace of the last resting-place of those who, in their time, played important parts in shaping the destiny of Upper Canada.”

- Herrington (1915:106-7)

Whether abandoned deep in the woods, neatly maintained by a roadside, or no longer visible at all, the family cemeteries of Niagara contain a history of generations of settlers and their descendants. Created by Euro-Canadian settlers prior to the availability of public burial grounds, these family cemeteries are numerous and contain an abundance of visible material culture. More than sources of iconography, genealogy, and epitaphs, the monuments in these cemeteries are permanent traces of a family’s presence and history in the region, from their arrival and acquisition of land to the marriage, relocation, birth, and death of its members over generations.

This dissertation is based on the idea that through the archaeological study of these monuments and cemeteries, the historical context in which they were used can be better understood. The aim is not to explain patterns of burial and
commemoration, but rather to use them as the starting point for exploring broader historical processes. The resulting cemetery-based history, therefore, is ultimately not about cemeteries. Mortuary data are the starting point for exploring questions of a broader social and historical scale.

Beyond a reflection of beliefs relating to death and burial, cemetery use in Niagara is variable and includes many complex layers relating to individual circumstances and context. Mortuary data in the Niagara region results from burial, commemoration, reburial, recommemoration, consecration ceremonies, neglect, and heritage efforts. The patterns in the data resulting from these actions in cemeteries are highly variable between and within families. Not only did families at any given time have unique experiences, the generations of a single family had differing circumstances and motivations for cemetery use.

The overall history of family cemetery use begins with Niagara families creating private burial grounds on their newly acquired land in the late 1700s. As families became increasingly identified with their farms, cemeteries became the visible accumulation of their history on their land. By the 1850s, families began transitioning to the use of public cemeteries as they became available. This was a time of shifting family identity as land became limited, ties were being made between people throughout the region, and new immigrants began arriving from overseas. Family cemetery use became highly variable and by 1900 the majority were no longer in use. Once inactive, most cemeteries became neglected, some to the point of destruction. Others were reclaimed by descendants and became sites where a specific narrative of family history was presented through heritage or re-commemoration efforts.

These patterns relating to cemetery creation, membership, duration of use, and long-term care speak to the ways different generations maintained, altered, or lost connections to the identity and history of their family, place, and community.
The great variability in these identities, as seen in cemetery data, is broadly related to a sense of place and ancestors, but ultimately, not to the degree that might be expected based on mortuary studies in archaeology. The differing and changing circumstances and choices of each generation of each family played more of a role than the general influences of ancestors and place, as demonstrated in the many examples of cemetery use presented here.

The following discussion outlines the features and process of creating history from cemetery data. A brief discussion of the traditional uses of material culture in the archaeological study of historical cemeteries serves as the starting point to situate the cemetery history approach in the context of common methodology within the discipline. The theoretical basis and features of a cemetery history are then outlined and highlighted with examples of previous studies of this kind. Finally, the case is made for the use of this approach specifically for the study of the history of the Niagara region.

*Archaeological Studies of Historical Cemeteries*

The study of historical cemeteries is a relatively recent field for North American archaeologists. Prior to the enactment of the North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) in 1990, archaeologists mainly focused on the study of prehistoric cemeteries of North America. With new restrictions on the opportunities to excavate and analyze prehistoric skeletal remains and material culture stemming from NAGPRA, archaeologists turned to the study of historical mortuary sites in greater numbers. At the same time, the growing rate of urban and rural development led to the discovery of many unmarked cemeteries (Bell 1994:2). The opportunity to excavate historical cemeteries in North America usually occurs in this type of salvage context after the discovery of sites during construction (Pfeiffer et al. 1989; Saunders and Lazenby 1991). The study of Ontario cemeteries follows
this pattern where the majority of research has been done in the context of cultural resource management (CRM) excavations of single family or church cemeteries (Archaeological Services Inc. 2001; Helmuth and Jamieson 2001; Pearce 1987, 1988, 1989; Saunders and Lazenby 1991).

The excavation of historical cemeteries prior to NAGPRA, while rare, followed the approach common in prehistoric studies of the time, using grave goods to reconstruct social structure and determine the socioeconomic status of individuals (Mainfort 1985). The influential work of Deetz and Dethlefsen in the 1960s did not involve excavation, but documented the iconographic changes of colonial New England gravestones (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966). Correlating gravestone motif with inscribed dates of death served as a clear demonstration of the dating technique of seriation. While their focus was on recording temporal changes, they argued that “the replacement of one universal motif by another through time over the entire area is certainly a function of changes in religious values combined with significant shifts in views regarding death” (Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966:506). This statement clearly highlighted the use of gravestones to reflect worldview and belief.

Just as the desire and opportunity to study historical cemeteries grew, the previously dominant approach within the field of mortuary archaeology that focused on status reconstruction was recognized as problematic. Goldstein (1981:56-7) argued that “[w]hat we may interpret as different ranks may in fact represent changes in funerary behaviour through time.” McGuire (1988:436) and Parker Pearson (1982:110) had shown that people were representing their idealized social relations in their use of material culture and therefore it was not possible to create a direct “microcosm of social organisation” through the study of cemeteries. Cannon (1989) demonstrated the complex and changing relationship between display and status in the use of material culture in historical mortuary contexts.
Following these developments, the study of historical cemeteries generally continued on a site-by-site basis with the purpose of documenting changes in the use of material culture over time. As the focus on status and social organization diminished, attention turned to the potential of the historical context to account for these temporal patterns. Most commonly, this is done using the beautification of death, the thoroughly documented periods of increase, peak, and decline of the elaboration of mourning, funeral, and burial practices and material culture use that were widespread in Britain and North America during the 19th century (Curl 2004; Farrell 1980; Habenstein and Lamers 1955; Laderman 1996). This trend of the beautification of death, or the Victorian celebration of death, is now commonly used to explain the use of historical cemeteries.

An early study that clearly demonstrates this trend is the work of Little et al. (1992). Upon excavating 24 graves at a family cemetery in Virginia and comparing burials over time, Little et al. (1992) established four groups corresponding to periods of pre-increase, increase, peak, and decline in the elaboration and quantity of coffin hardware. The presence of these groups is then accounted for based on the historical context, specifically as an example of the phases of the Beautification of Death (Little et al. 1992:411-2). The value of using the historical context to explain mortuary variation in this way is highlighted with the argument that if they had not done so, “the temporal groupings of burial expense … probably would have been attributed to status difference” (Little et al 1992:414). Even though Little et al. (1992:398) introduced their study as a means to test cycles of status display and the implications for prehistoric burials, their use of the beautification of death to explain cemetery use has had a wide and lasting impact on historical cemetery studies.

While these attitudes towards death are most commonly referenced, other studies utilize different social or historical processes in the same way. The preliminary report of the extensive collection of data from gravestones by Mallios
and Caterino (2007:51) states the project’s aim as documenting how monuments changed over time, how “historical governance, strife, gender, ethnicity, community, religion, and status affected mortuary art,” and how the use of gravestones correlate to the use of other forms of material culture. Other studies focus on how a single factor, such as ethnicity and acculturation (Barber 1993), influenced material culture use.

While these studies recognize that people’s use of material culture changes over time, what they have in common is that this variation is ultimately explained as a reflection of a historical context that has previously been documented. Even if studies are of local interest, it is difficult to discuss them on a broader scale, except with respect to how they compare to each other as examples of the processes by which they are explained. Doing so does not provide a framework for exploring why people used the customs they did or how their actions influenced broader historical processes. Ultimately, explaining material culture use in these ways risks “learning what we already know,” a common critique of historical archaeology (Deetz 1996:32).

The extensive referencing of the Beautification of Death in particular is problematic. While there is no denying that the 19th century saw an increase, peak, and decline in the elaboration of mortuary practices, according to Cannadine (1981:188) the common explanations for the cause of this trend are “excessively romanticized and insufficiently nuanced.” Cannadine (1981:190-1) argues that it has never been shown how changing 19th century mourning customs had anything to do with dealing with grief. In fact, in Britain following the First World War, Victorian mourning customs, which had been in decline for much longer than is recognized in the Beautification of Death literature, were abandoned and replaced with private participation in spiritualism and the public use of war memorials, indicating that the
Beautification of Death had little to do with assuaging grief and that the interwar period was actually one of an increased celebration of death (Cannadine 1981:193).

It should be noted that archaeological discussions of the Beautification of Death do not generally involve any mention of dealing with grief or the role of the mourners themselves. The closest that has been found is the discussion of sentimentality. For example, Little et al. (1992:414) seem to consider sentimentality an element of the Beautification of Death as they conclude that it “seems clear that we are not seeing “status” expressed here so much as sentimentality.” Similarly, in the discussion of a rural 19th century cemetery that did not exhibit a pattern of material culture use that shadows the typical trend of increasing elaboration, the authors conclude that this was because in this particular case, “life on the rural frontier was too hard for us to believe that these folks were deeply sentimental and saw death as ‘sleep’” and “the relative absence of grave goods may signal their practical nature as much as their apparent lack of wealth” (Goldstein and Buikstra 2004:62). Equating choices with sentimentality or practicality recognizes that people were involved but ultimately it does not further an understanding of those choices or those who made them.

It is understandable that it has become popular to study historical cemeteries as examples of historical processes. The salvage context of most cemetery excavations impacts research, as in many cases “it is often impossible to construct a research design that is wholly appropriate without forcing the fit between data and design” (Deetz 1996:44). Additionally, the study of historical cemeteries emerged as a new approach in light of the critiques to directly reconstructing status in prehistoric cemeteries at a time when the diachronic complexities of historical cemeteries and their links to broader processes were being discussed (Cannon 1989; Dethlefsen and Deetz 1966; Goldstein 1981). Instead of building on these ideas, however, the majority of studies have focused on providing examples of them.
Furthermore, while much of the work on historical cemeteries highlighted the potential of the study of above ground mortuary material culture, these types of studies were still being called for in 2004 (Mytum 2004:1). As a result, the majority of research on historical North American cemeteries documents changes over time but does not contribute to a broader archaeological discourse. In order to do so material culture from cemetery excavation and/or above ground survey must be studied as a means to inform the historical context of its creation and use.

**A Cemetery History Approach**

A cemetery history uses mortuary material culture as a source of data resulting from the complex and changing relationship between the living and the dead to inform social and historical processes. The remainder of this chapter discusses the theoretical basis of this approach in the field of archaeology in general, and its validity for the study of Niagara family cemeteries specifically.

The approach taken in this research is based on the relationship between material culture and the people who made it in the past. In the introduction to his study of colonial American material culture, Deetz (1996:35) outlines how social behaviour is “reflected in subtle and important ways in the manner in which we shape our physical world.” Material culture is created by people based on what is learned and accepted in their particular time and place and involves what is referred to by Parker Pearson (1982:100) as the “externalisation of concepts through material expression.” When people create material culture they are influenced by and in turn influence their “context, history, and social structure” (Wobst 2000:41). It is because

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1Mytum is referring to archaeological research in Britain, where a general lack of interest in the study of historical cemeteries was inextricably linked to the view of the 19th century as insignificant in comparison to pre-Victorian periods, which have been the focus of the majority of research (Burgess 1963:11; Tarlow 2000:218).
of this relationship that archaeologists attempt to understand something of a past social context through the study of the material culture created within it.

In his study of the folk houses of Virginia, Glassie discusses this relationship wherein material culture informs and is informed by the context in which it is created and used. He states that his work “is not exactly a study of old buildings, or even old builders. It is a study of the architecture of past thought – an attempt to reconstruct the logic of people long dead by looking seriously at their houses” (Glassie 1975:vii). In his later discussion on the role of the artifact and architect, Glassie (1985:47,48) states that “when it comes [the builder’s] time to act, his creation seems proper because it orders and incorporates the accumulated experience the builder shares with his fellows who do not build” and “architecture is conceptual, a matter of shaping memory into plans, plans into things that can be sensed by other people. So architecture is a variety of communication.” Based on the architecture of houses and the placement and characteristics of windows, doors, rooms, and chimneys in hundreds of houses, Glassie outlines the changes in house design over decades. His interpretations are not focused on explaining architectural design. Nor is he content to simply produce “anecdotes and examples to insert in old patterns” or reduce local patterns to “a ‘reflection’ of national history” (Glassie 1975:185, 184). The changes to house design are instead the basis of discussing changes in how those who built and occupied the houses thought about themselves as individuals, Virginians, and Americans.

There is also great potential using material culture from cemeteries to write history in a similar way. The archaeological study of mortuary contexts has drawn greatly from ethnographic studies that show how the complex rituals involved in disposing of the dead relate to more than ideas directly related to death, dying, and the dead (Goody 1962; Metcalf and Huntington 1991). Archaeologists recognize burial of the dead as a context in which people express, obscure, and negotiate their
ideas about the dead, themselves, and broader groups within society (Chesson 2001; Francis et al. 2002; McGuire 1988; Parker Pearson 1982). As stated by Chesson (2001:1), “mortuary rituals provide a sensuous arena in which the dead are mourned, social memories are created and (re)asserted, social bonds are renewed, forged, or broken, and individuals make claims for individual identities and group memberships.” There is the possibility, therefore, to study cemeteries in order to address a broad spectrum of questions about past societies.

As doing so is based on exploring the material remains resulting from the actions of individuals in mortuary contexts, recent discussions of the recoverability of intention in archaeology are relevant. Concerns, raised not only in the study of cemeteries but in all archaeological contexts, focus on whether material culture results from intentional actions and if so, how intention can be studied archaeologically. David (2004:68) outlines the issue as “while an object generally implies its intentional creation and use, we cannot know from the material remains alone whether or not people were from the outset aware of the eventual effects of their work on the world.” As research has generally shifted to focus more on the choices and actions of individuals, caution has been raised about the risk of archaeologists overextending their interpretations. Herzfeld (2004:195) argues that this has manifested in the increasing use of ‘perhaps’ or ‘may have been’ to preface discussions and indicates a “deeply speculative uncertainty.”

According to Dobres and Robb (2000:12), there is a spectrum of how archaeologists view material culture that ranges from it being “created and manipulated by more or less freely acting individuals” to “not only actively constructing the world within which people act, but also the people themselves.” For archaeologists who agree with the former, and argue that intention can be recovered through the study of material culture, the challenge then becomes understanding how it can be recovered.
There is no set formula to address intentionality, but several factors have been put forward for consideration in doing so. Russell (2004:64) recognizes layers of intentionality and suggests using the simplest as a starting point, such as the recovery of inhumations as an indication of the intention to bury the dead. Similarly, in his analysis of rock art, Tilley (2004:80) argues that it is beneficial to alter the scale of the research question being addressed. For example, a narrow attempt to determine what a specific figure carved in rock represents or what it meant to the person who carved it will likely lead to limited or speculative interpretation. A greater degree of complexity can be addressed by looking instead at the spatial relationship between figures, the setting of the landscape or how people interact with images. Finally, in the case of historical contexts, written records are argued to record a different level of information and therefore add a level of complexity to analysis and interpretation (Cowgill 2000:57; Herzfeld 2004:200; Tarlow 1999:3).

A second consideration is the role of social reproduction and change. As argued by David (2004:68), in order to recover intention, it is necessary to first understand the various options that were available for people to choose from. Whether the active process of social reproduction maintained or changed the established norm can then be determined. Even if the actual outcomes were not those intended, shifts in sociocultural structures indicate the influence and intention of people or groups to create change (Cowgill 2000:57; David 2004:68). Absence of change in the archaeological record in turn indicates that sociocultural structures were actively or passively maintained over time through social reproduction (Cowgill 2000:57). Furthermore, whether or not change occurs is impacted by conflict.

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2Early discussion of the practice of historical archaeology argued that material culture is a more objective source of data about the past compared to written sources (Deetz 1996:259). It has since been argued, however, that the relationship is more complex as material culture is also created in and informs a particular context (Tarlow 1999:3) and embodies concepts in a more implicit way than written sources (Parker Pearson 1982:100).
between different individuals with different desires (Cowgill 2000:52). David (2004:68-9) suggests that because “change implies innovation, and innovation implies choice between a new idea and what came before it,” archaeological evidence of historical events and change in particular can be studied as a way to recover intention.

A third area of discussion relates to the size of the sample available for study. It is agreed that the larger the sample, the greater the potential of recovering intention, as an increased sample of material culture allows observation of recurring patterns on a greater scale (Herzfeld 2004:196; Russell 2004:65). Similar to Russell’s (2004) point about different layers of meaning, Cowgill (2000:52) states that the intentions of individuals play out over one or two hundred years. In order to see these actions, evidence from a range of periods is required. David (2004:70) discusses the difference between individual and social intentions which are also explored in different ways, it being more difficult to observe evidence relating to specific people. Some recent research includes constructing fictional narratives of the individuals being studied (Joyce 2001). These hypothetical vignettes add a degree of nuance that are plausible, but not necessarily provable, based on the archaeological evidence of burials.

Ultimately, the question arises whether it is necessary to know human intention in order for archaeologists to infer history. Glassie devotes much discussion to how ideas become embedded in material culture and the ways in which they can be recovered while maintaining that “we cannot know what lay deep in the cultural logic, but if we have a desire to understand the Middle Virginian, we must consider alternative explanations of his behavior and, perhaps, settle on one of them as best” (Glassie 1975:141). Doing so first involves identifying correlations in the patterns of artifact use and then comparing a range of explanations in order to “come to a better understanding of the specific mind and to general principles of
culture” (Glassie 1975:181). He states that “after we have taken analysis as far as possible, we should follow even paths of inquiry known to lead into sloughs of circularity, if it seems that they may, by their very exploration, help us to comprehend our existence” (Glassie 1975:185). In this sense, Glassie is using the historical context to situate patterns with the ultimate goal of gaining further understanding of a historical question.

Deetz (1996:38) argues that “in our not knowing [specific people] on personal, individual terms lies a great asset, for the true story of a people depends less on such knowledge than on a broader and more general familiarity with what life was like for all people.” That is not to say Deetz is not interested in the role of the individual. In fact, he begins his study with a series of fictional vignettes that make clear the connection between the material culture he is about to discuss and those who created it. In the end, however, his goal is not to determine the specific motivations of individual people. Rather, he seeks to explore the patterns resulting from their actions to make observations about their broader experience.

In this sense, the specific motivations that led to the creation of patterns visible in archaeological data are often unknown, but interpretations that focus more broadly on outcomes can provide a sense of understanding of the context and circumstances in which these patterns were created. Returning to the discussion of cemeteries, the work of Broce (1996) illustrates how such interpretations can create history somewhere between the specific intentions of individuals and the broadest of processes. His brief study of the Juris cemetery for Slovak settlers in Colorado focused on the characteristics of headstones, the cultural identity of the deceased, and the proximity of the cemetery to six others in the region. Through changes in the use of the cemetery over time, Broce (1996:181) found that the Slovak settlers left their kin behind in the Juris cemetery and shifted to the burial practices and places used by the dominant American cultural group.
It is interesting to note that use of the Juris cemetery does not give any degree of insight into a broader worldview, religion, desire of members of an ethnic group to maintain continuity, or beliefs regarding death, all interpretations that have been argued to be possible in previous studies. Instead, Broce (1996:181) concludes that “probably the simplest way of understanding the cemetery, its plainness and relative uniformity, is to point out that the people buried there (and the people who buried them) knew one another well and shared a common heritage and way of living. When they were buried there was little need or concern to represent their distinctions and relationships.”

While the scale of the study was small, Broce has shown that even without knowing the underlying intentions of these settlers, their actions resulted in a pattern that speaks to the processes of migration and settlement. This work also cautions against the scope of interpretations becoming too broad. In his discussion of houses, Glassie (1975:185) states that research “must go beyond those influences, such as weather, which we can be certain had effect within the abstracted context of the old builder, to discover some others that may have been influences.” Ultimately, the task of the archaeologist is to find the scale of interpretation that suits the particular data and provides new insight.

Two archaeological studies that explicitly create history from cemetery data are explored here to highlight the preceding discussion and further define the process and components of this approach. In his study of ancient Greece, Morris (1987) set out to determine why the city state developed in the form of the polis, instead of focusing only on how this form of government arose. His decision to use material culture from cemetery contexts was made because they are the source of the majority of archaeological evidence for the period. He states that “[i]nstead of comparing forms of burial customs through time and space, it will be possible to trace changes in the principles which guided funerary behaviour and the concept of community”
Changing the established burial practice, both in the placement of the dead and expression of group membership using material culture, was one way that members of ancient Greek society ushered in a major transformation of social structure (Morris 1987:210).

The aim of Keswani’s (2005:341) research is to “examine mortuary evidence from the formative Early-Middle Cypriot Bronze periods … to explicate the ways in which social changes were expressed in ritual practices and reflexively the ways in which economic and sociopolitical developments were influenced by ritual.” These changes in burial practices as well as the broader society and economy are explored through the increasing elaboration of grave goods, especially locally produced copper objects, and changes to the placement of the dead in relation to the living.

It is of particular interest to consider how Keswani addresses evidence of the elaboration of Cypriot mortuary practices as it is such a prominent observation in historic North American cemeteries. Keswani (2005:394) presents evidence of how competitive mortuary display became linked to the wider economy to the extent that it “stimulated the intensification of copper production and exchange, and ultimately created a new role for imported goods within the local prestige system.” Display is not simply regarded as the reflection of a broader process, it is directly linked to the creation of, and of changes within, the broader economy of society.

Both Morris and Keswani discuss challenges related to recovering intentionality. That not all aspects of the rituals involved in mourning, funeral, and even burial practices are visible archaeologically and the meaning of those that are cannot be wholly known, are issues specific to the study of cemetery contexts (Keswani 2005:343; Morris 1987:211). As outlined above, both researchers focus on the changes in practices over time, and Morris (1987:212) states that the “assumptions which must be made can often be shown to have a high probability of
relevance, and placing burials in the context of settlement and other ritual evidence, where this is available, can provide an essential and revealing context.”

Additionally, both studies recognize that the burial and commemoration of the dead is an active process with a social component and that the use of material culture in a mortuary context is part of a complex relationship between the living and the dead. Both Morris (1987:54) and Keswani (2005:348) also explore the physical and spatial relationship between the living and the dead as a way to understand the ongoing or changing connection between the two. The relationship between the living and the dead is also studied by Parker Pearson (1993) who does so by looking at both the spatial arrangement of the dead in relation to the living and the ways the dead are used by the living to create ties to or to present versions of the past. He states that the study of mortuary practices should recognize how “past societies’ treatment and placing of the dead was integral to their development and change” (Parker Pearson 1993:227). In other words, the on-going use of material culture informs and influences the historical context, of which the living are members.

Building on the examples discussed so far, a cemetery history can be said to be the use of material culture resulting from the relationship between the living and the dead to inform historical or social processes. Using material culture in this way involves the study of a large sample of data that spans a long period of time and that allows for different scales of analysis. With this framework in place, it is useful to briefly outline the potential and expectations of a cemetery history approach in the study of the historical family cemeteries of the Niagara region.

Family cemeteries remain throughout southern Ontario, having been created by early settlers prior to the availability of church or community cemeteries. The presence of these cemeteries is often noted in passing by historians and are characterized as small, remote, and neglected (Coffin 1976; Hanks 1974; Herrington 1915; Schereck 1905). Family cemeteries were also created in the American colonies,
but were not as common in New England where Puritans preferred burial in meeting house cemeteries (Sloane 1991:15). There are no contemporary examples of family cemeteries in Europe, although some wealthy estates had cemeteries associated with churches (Sloane 1991:15).

At the outset of research, the scope of understanding about Ontario family cemeteries included that they were created on farms during early settlement due to isolation or lack of an alternative burial place and that they have since been abandoned. Based on this limited information, fieldwork was not approached as a way to test specific hypotheses about these features of family cemetery use. Instead, fieldwork began with the aim of collecting data to determine how much, and what, could be said about settlers, families, and their histories in Niagara based on their cemetery use. Early during site survey, observations of links to place, ancestors, history, and identity relating to each family’s experience settling and making a life in this new place began to emerge. Burial and commemoration served to create ties to place, people, and a sense of a family’s identity over time. As it became clear that these themes were playing out within and over generations, research expectations were refined to incorporate them in framing questions about cemetery use and Niagara history. There was the potential for discussion of the use of private space compared to social space and the changing connections to family and community as the membership and use of family cemeteries were not regulated by the by-laws of later church or municipal cemetery commissions. The changing function of cemeteries over time from places of burial to places of heritage or neglect was also apparent. The patterns that result from generations of the use of cemeteries speak to the processes of settlement and migration, creation of community, remembering and forgetting the past and more broadly, the connections between people, their place, and each other.
Ultimately there is no other source of data that provides insight into the settlement and history of families in Niagara. Tracing the location of burials over generations using historical documents is not possible prior to the 20th century as provincial death records were not kept until 1869 and did not record the place of burial until the early 1900s. While census records can trace family relationships and habitation patterns after 1851, they do not convey a sense of family identity or long-term connection visible in the grouping of the dead. Other records have the potential to provide incredibly nuanced data about individual choice, such as the burial records of a cemetery sexton. Alone, written sources do not create as complete a sense of cemetery use as when combined with material data from cemeteries themselves.

The following chapters present and discuss the mortuary and archival data from Niagara family cemeteries. Chapter two introduces the history, sites, and samples of the Niagara region that are the basis of this research. The patterns observed during cemetery survey and archival research are presented in chapter three and their implications for furthering the understanding of Niagara settlement and settlers are explored in chapter four. Finally, the broader implications, contributions, and limitations of this research are discussed in chapter five.
CHAPTER TWO: NIAGARA SETTLERS AND CEMETERIES

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the historical context and sources of data that are relevant to exploring the experiences of settlers of the Niagara region. First, the historical background serves to situate the remaining chapters that focus on settlers’ use of cemeteries and their links to land, family and community, and how they are remembered by later generations. The goal in this chapter is to outline previous research and existing knowledge in areas specific to Niagara, such as: how settlers obtained, used, and transferred land; who settlers were; where they came from and the communities they established; and how settlers, Loyalists specifically, are remembered. Second, the specific cemetery and archival data used in this research are outlined.

The Settlement of Niagara

The land encompassed in this research includes the Niagara Peninsula, which extends west from the Niagara River, south from Lake Ontario, north from Lake Erie and is bounded by Wentworth and Haldimand Counties to the east (Figure 2.1). This area was part of the larger region originally inhabited by the Neutral, who established villages and carried out agriculture (Trigger 1994:42). The Neutral were displaced in 1650-1655 by the Seneca from west of the Niagara River (Turner 1994:183). For fifty years the majority of the land previously occupied by the Neutral was uninhabited and used as hunting ground by the Seneca (Trigger 1994:57). The Niagara Peninsula was again occupied around 1700 by the Mississauga, an Ojibwa group from eastern Ontario (Powell and Coffman 1956:20). While the French were present in the Niagara Peninsula throughout the 17th century with interests in “the fur trade, missionary work, defence of New France, and expansion into the Ohio and
Mississippi Valleys, and military action against the American colonies,” they did not establish permanent settlements (Turner 1994:183-86).

According to Turner (1994:183), despite the centuries of Neutral, Seneca, and Mississauga presence in the Niagara region, there were few remains of their lives that were visible to later arrivals. Neutral villages and cemeteries have been archaeologically identified at the modern day settlements of Grimsby, Thorold, St. David’s, Port Colborne, Sherkston, Port Albino, and Stanley (Lennox and Fitzgerald 1990:414), but how visible they would have been in the late 18th century is unknown. One visible and lasting feature was the system of trails established by the Neutrals that served as the template for early roads and were modified as settlement increased and as trails along the lakes and river eroded (Turner 1994:183,189).

The naming of settlements also drew from the prehistory of the region. The town of Niagara-on-the-Lake takes its name from an earlier Neutral village, Ongiara (Powell and Coffman 1956:20). Chippewa, both a settlement and river, refers to the Ojibwa Mississauga who lived there (Surtees 1994:94).

Other visible features were the burial mounds of the previous inhabitants. Wright (1994:30) outlines the beginning of burial mound use in Ontario by the Point Peninsula and Princess Point cultures between 1000 B.C. and A.D. 1000 and documents three visible mounds in the Niagara Peninsula but does not discuss them. The discussion of the visibility of the burial places in other research is limited. Wilson (1981:109) refers to the graves of the Mississauga being vandalized by later
settlers. According to Hulbert (1908:157) there were “numerous burial mounds which are scattered over this vicinity.” Harris (1895:9,83) briefly recounts the excavation of one such mound found the shore of Lake Erie in 1887 by archaeologist David Boyle and a monument erected in 1934 commemorates the 1820 discovery and 1908 relocation of an ossuary just outside of Niagara Falls. These accounts indicate that settlers would have been aware of previous inhabitants, but the degree to which they interacted with these sites is unknown.

The British were involved with both the Seneca and Mississauga in acquiring land in the Niagara region in the second half of the 18th century. Following an attack on the British at the portage of the Niagara River during the Seven Years War, the Seneca, who sided with the French during the conflict, surrendered land on both sides of the river (Surtees 1994:97). Even though the remaining land of the Niagara Peninsula was still held by the Seneca, it was the Mississauga who were involved with Europeans and the later land redistribution of the late 1700s (Surtees 1994:97).

When the American Revolutionary War began in 1775, the British-occupied Fort Niagara on the eastern shore of the Niagara River quickly became the gathering point of refugees, soldiers, and their dependants. As the number of arrivals increased, by 1778 a larger parcel of land immediately to the west of the Niagara River was sought to establish farms to provide goods for the occupants of the Fort. In 1781, this larger strip of land six kilometers inland on the west side of the river spanning from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie was obtained by the British from the Mississauga in exchange for 300 suits of clothing (Surtees 1994:97). The arrival of the farming families on the west side of the Niagara River marked the start of permanent European settlement in the region.

When more land was required, the British purchased the entire tract of land between Lake Ontario and Lake Erie in 1784 (Wilson 1981:82). Also purchased was land surrounding the Grand River, and in a later agreement, land in the Bay of
Quinte on the northeastern shore of Lake Ontario. These two areas became the settlements of the First Nation groups who had been occupying the Niagara region, some of whom relocated with Joseph Brant to the Grand River area, while others settled in the Quinte area with Chief Deseronto (Surtees 1994:102; Wilson 1981:91-2).

After the British acquired this larger parcel of the Niagara Peninsula from the Mississauga, Fort Niagara became more crowded and officials recognized that a system of granting land on the west side of the Niagara River was needed (Hughes 1994:209). According to Wilson (1981:13), 500,000 Americans were loyal to Britain during the war and of the 100,000 who fled, half arrived in Canada. The majority settled on the east coast and 7,500 chose present day Ontario, 54% of whom were foreign born and had previously immigrated to America, mostly to New York state (Wilson 1981:13).

Initially, the idea was for men who served the British to be granted land surrounding their commanding officers, who would continue to hold seniority (Wilson 1981:29). Instead, without waiting for early survey efforts to be completed, settlers “happily staked claim as they pleased” with preferences for locations along sources of water, and were known to set arbitrary property boundaries and trade land with neighbours (Wilson 1981:84).

These settlers began clearing the land with the hopes they would be allowed to remain on it. They became concerned, when the war concluded and the option of returning south was not a consideration, that there was no system of land tenure in place (Hughes 1994:224). As the Niagara Peninsula became part of Upper Quebec when it was purchased by the British, settler land initially fell under seigneurial tenure system with the King holding title to the land (Hughes 1994:224) and the option of a quit rent of ½ penny an acre after ten years (Wilson 1981:113). Complaints led to the abandonment of seigneurial tenure in 1788 and the quit tax in 1794 (Wilson
Concerns of settlers also resulted in Loyalist officers who had received less land than others being rewarded with larger grants and in the government’s abandonment of their plan to own all the mills in the region (Wilson 1981:113).

While Loyalists had to prove their support of the British in order to receive compensation for their possessions lost during the war, the government’s desire to populate the region led to a system of granting land that was not tied to settlers’ loyalty during the war (Wilson 1981:102). Initially, settlers had only to pledge allegiance to the King to obtain land, and in 1794 this was replaced with a Christian oath (Wilson 1981:102). A land board was established to oversee the granting of land, establishment of towns, and the creation and improvement of roads, which Wilson (1991:57) argues made it “the single most significant administrative institution in the colony.”

The passing of the Canada Bill in 1791 distinguished Upper and Lower Canada, the former of which was divided into nineteen counties by Col. John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant Governor (Powell and Coffman 1956:9-11). The Niagara Peninsula was divided into two counties, which were then subdivided into townships. Originally, “to prevent any local patriotism springing up, the Townships were at first forbidden to be named and went only by number in the survey” (Crysler 1943:18-9). The counties of Upper Canada were named after English and Scottish counties, and the townships were later renamed after towns within those counties (Powell and Coffman 1956:11). The Niagara counties of Lincoln and Welland and their townships are seen in Figure 2.2.
Settlement did not rigidly follow the plan of officers living grouped around commanders as was planned, but the Niagara region was home to many of Butler’s Rangers, a militia group led by Colonel John Butler, just as soldiers of the King’s Royal Regiment of New York were generally grouped along the St. Lawrence near Kingston (Lamb 1971:86). As settlers continued to arrive, the policy was to grant land based on rank. Field officers received 5000 acres, captains 3000 acres, corporals 400 acres, and soldiers and non-military Loyalists received 200 acres (Lamb 1971:88). Loyalist identity and land issues were very much connected. Loyalists were rewarded with the designation of “Unity of the Empire” (UE) after their names, a distinction that carried on to their descendants (Wilson 1981:102). This practice became important as land grants of 200 acres were available to descendants of United Empire Loyalists, which led to many non-Loyalists receiving land, the subsequent refining of who was considered a Loyalist, and the eventual discontinuation of these grants in 1837 (Wilson 1981:103).
Loyalist settlers can be divided into those who arrived between 1780 and 1787, and the “Late Loyalists” who arrived between 1788 and 1812 (Wood 1988:56) who were often families who had been delayed in departing the colonies (Wilson 1981:97). No matter when they arrived, Knowles (1997:17) characterizes the majority of Loyalists as being “drawn from the middle and lower strata of society. Farmers were by far the largest occupational group, although there were a number of skilled craftsmen.” Reasons for leaving the colonies were varied and were not always directly related to being loyal to Britain. Some families, many of whom belonged to religious or ethnic minorities, had remained neutral during the war and were worried about repercussions if they stayed in the colonies (Knowles 1997:17; Wilson 1981:97). Others “were attracted by the prospect of obtaining good land and repelled by the economic and social instability in the United States following the revolution” (Wilson 1981:97).

While the Loyalists were the first permanent settlers to the Niagara Peninsula, they were soon joined by overseas immigrants. After the start of the War of 1812, the government of Upper Canada became uneasy with the continued immigration of Americans, and by 1815, campaigns to end immigration from the Thirteen Colonies began (Turner 1994:195). After this, the majority of immigrants to Upper Canada came from Britain (Lamb 1971:89), most of whom originated in Ireland, followed by those from England and Scotland (Wood 1988:56).

Even with the wide diversity of immigrants, the Niagara region became increasingly associated with the Loyalists who settled it, and over time a specific image of the group was created. The legacy of the Loyalists began to be formed in the 1890s with the establishment of the Niagara Historical Society in 1895 and the United Empire Loyalist Association of Ontario in 1896 that, according to Upton (1967:3), “came into existence on the wave of imperial enthusiasm that crested with the Boer War and flowed into the Great War of 1914.” It was during this time that
the ‘Loyalist tradition’ was established that presented Loyalists as elite, Anglo Saxon, anti-American, and overtly concerned with the unity of the British Empire (Knowles 1997:14; Wilson 1981:10).

As outlined above, Loyalists had varying reasons for relocating to Upper Canada, and recent studies have shown that the diversity of settlers was markedly increased from the previous settlements to the south. According to Turner (1994:190), “besides aboriginal and mixed (Aboriginal-European) peoples and British settlers, there were Blacks (free and slaves), German-speaking residents, … [briefly] French-speaking aristocrats who had fled the Revolution.” There was also a range of religious denominations represented including Roman Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Baptist, Mennonite, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Quakers (Turner 1994:190; Wilson 1981:113). While there were clusters of settlers based on religion, such as Quakers in Pelham township, settlement was not organized based on ethnicity or religion, as was the case in the Cornwall area. There, Catholic Highlanders, Scots Presbyterian, German Calvinists, German Lutherans, and Anglicans of the King’s Royal Regiment opted to each occupy one of the five townships (Potter-MacKinnon 1993:155). War loss claims of holdings of the Niagara Loyalists indicate that the majority of newcomers were not wealthy (Wilson 1981:13) and over time, the diversity of social strata increased with the arrival of workers of varying occupations (Turner 1994:196).

Land surveys had continued around settlers and the remaining land was distributed over time, with settlement initially concentrated around the water, including Lake Ontario, the Niagara River, and the numerous creeks in the region (Turner 1994:196,190). Based on the censuses carried out in ten year intervals, beginning in 1851, the population of Lincoln and Welland Counties can be seen in Table 2.1.
Table 2.1. Population of Lincoln and Welland Counties 1851-71 (from Census 1855; 1863; 1873).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>County</th>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1861</th>
<th>1871</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lincoln</td>
<td></td>
<td>23868</td>
<td>27625</td>
<td>24366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Welland</td>
<td></td>
<td>20141</td>
<td>24958</td>
<td>20572</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that straight population estimates can mask the variation within counties and the turnover of inhabitants that has been found to be highly characteristic of 19th century Upper Canada. Based on analysis of census records in Toronto’s Peel Township, Gagan and Mays (1973:35) argue that “one of the most pervasive and persistent characteristics of nineteenth-century Ontario was the relentless movement of people in and out of this society at every stage in its development.” This is seen in Peel, where the population steadily increased through the 19th century, but less than 25% of the families in the 1851 census were still present in the 1881 census (Gagan and Mays 1973:40). Furthermore, Wood (1988:65) documents a population decrease in 1829-30 in many of the earliest settled townships, including Niagara. In the decade between 1861 and 1871, Upper Canada had a net loss of 192,000 people as the 379,000 who departed for the United States were replaced by only 187,000 immigrants, a pattern of loss which held until the turn of the 20th century (Lamb 1971:97).

This phenomenon of population turnover is also discussed by Wood (1988:64) who categorizes Ontario settlers into transients who left within two years of arrival, sojourners who stayed between five and seven years and who likely farmed rented land, and the persisters who are considered to be a township’s founding families. He goes on to state that: “… a township newly opened to settlement, no matter what the period and no matter what its ultimate agricultural potential, gave expression to some common characteristics. Among the initial body of settlers were the founding families: close to half the households involved in the first flush of land taking would remain in the township. They would soon develop households larger
than the average for the township… Around the founding families milled large numbers of less fixed households that moved in and out…” (Wood 1988:74).

Gagan and Mays (1973:40) found that the 60% of families who were landless had a turnover rate of 75% between 1851 and 1881, whereas the turnover was only 25% in the 40% of families who owned land. The issue of holding land was very much tied to a family’s experience in Niagara. Industry and agriculture, especially the export of wheat, thrived in Upper Canada and by 1850 the lack of available land was a concern which Gagan (1976:127) attributes to “a man/land ratio which favored unscientific and wasteful agricultural practices” that “seems to have become fixed in the minds of Upper Canadian farmers as the source and symbol of their prosperity.” As a result, the majority of land was owned by a small number of men and as land became less available, the issue of inheritance became increasingly important. Gagan quotes Susannah Moodie (1853:138), who went as far to say “it is certain that death is looked upon by many Canadians more as a matter of … a change of property into other hands, than as a real domestic calamity.”

Gagan (1976:129) studied the probate records of one Ontario township to see how Upper Canadian families dealt with land distribution after death and found three modes of inheritance were used: the partible system of the estate being equally distributed among heirs; the impartible system of the entire estate being given to one descendant and completely excluding the others; and the impartible-partible system (also referred to as the Canadian system), observed in sixty percent of wills, where all land was granted to one or two heirs, who had to compensate the remaining descendants, often with cash that had to be borrowed. The Canadian and impartible systems of inheritance ensured that land was not divided, a practice that Gagan (1976:132) summarizes as follows:
“No doubt some of that reluctance represented sentimental attachment to the family farm, the physical symbol of the family’s historical experience and identity in the community. But unquestionably the undesirability of liquidating real property, or worse still of dividing it up into increasingly smaller units, signified adherence to the principle that the social and economic space associated with the family’s past, present, and future survival was sacrosanct and indivisible. One generation, having labored to acquire this ultimate symbol and source of independence, evidently was determined to preserve it as the basis of the next generation’s security.”

The Canadian system of inheritance, while aiming to provide for all descendants, was a hardship on the heir(s) responsible for compensation (Gagan 1976:132) and added to the number of men without land, which in turn likely influenced the rate of transiency, as discussed above.

The families who owned property had similar experiences settling and transforming their land, a process outlined by Lamb (1971:89), as “a crude shanty provided a first shelter; as clearings and cropped areas increased in size, it would be succeeded by a log cabin and barns of logs; later still these would give way to frame buildings. Priorities after shelter were grist- and saw-mills and “churches, schools and small towns would follow in due course.” Aside from documenting the early experiences related to these necessities and later milestones of achievement, there has been little research on how the settlers of Niagara established ties within their new communities, either through marriage or other means.

**Niagara Community and Church Cemeteries**

The timeline of cemetery establishment in Niagara follows the general trend towards the formalization of burial and funeral practices documented in America and
Europe throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. During the earliest period of Niagara settlement in the late 1700s, in addition to family cemeteries, several churches were established for urban congregations. This follows the norm of churches and their cemeteries being created earlier in towns and villages compared to more rural areas of Upper Canada (Guillet 1963). Rural populations would congregate in private homes and were occasionally visited by preachers who traveled a circuit by horseback to provide religious service and perform baptisms, marriages, and funerals along their route. One such circuit was established for Niagara Methodists by 1795 (Wilson 1981:110). Urban ministers with established congregations would also travel to serve rural locations, as indicated by records of funerals performed by the Anglican minister of Niagara-on-the-Lake at the Servos Family Cemetery in 1813 (Carnochan 1912:6) and the Anglican minister from Port Dalhousie for several burials at the Schram-Tinlin Burial Ground (OGS 2006:8-9).

In some cases, a single church and its cemetery served multiple denominations until each could establish their own places of worship and burial. In Niagara-on-the-Lake, the Anglican mission of Reverend Robert Addison began in 1792, with St. Mark’s Anglican Church being built in 1804 (Powell and Coffman 1956:71). The church was built adjacent to land that had been used by First Nations as a burial ground and later by townspeople prior to the establishment of the church, as evidenced by a grave maker found in the cemetery from 1782, a decade earlier than the start of Addison’s burial records (Habermehl and Combe 1995:13). In 1792, Addison began burial services for Anglicans as well as other denominations

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3 During the early 1800s, it was the responsibility of family members and neighbours to prepare and bury the dead, but their roles were eventually replaced by workers in the funeral industry throughout the 19th century (Farrell 1980:146; Laderman 2003:5). A similar pattern is seen in the material culture related to death and burial. Originally, family members would build coffins using general hardware and mark graves with wooden markers or crudely shaped and carved field stones, practices eventually replaced by the products of carpenters and stone masons (Hanks 1974:8).
(Habermehl and Combe 1995:15), including the Presbyterians who formed a congregation in 1794 but did not complete the building of their church until 1827 (Powell and Coffman 1956:71).

Similarly, St. Peter’s Anglican Church originally served as Thorold’s main cemetery (Gannon 1997) and St. George’s Anglican Church in St. Catharines served residents no matter their denomination from its creation as a mission in 1791 until 1835 when the church was relocated (OGS 2001). A sermon by St. George’s Reverend Luxton in 1935 declared that the parish “was not only the Mother Church of England of the Settlement, but also […] merits a broader title as Mother of all churches in the community, excepting our Roman Catholic brethren. In the early days there was but one church in St. Catharines” (Luxton 1935:16). Also during the early 1800s, a limited number of community cemeteries were established in Niagara, often in more rural areas with a cluster of surrounding population. For example, the Allanburg Cemetery outside of Thorold was used between 1813 and 1876 by many of the residents of Allanburg (Heritage Thorold nd).

By the 1850s, challenges faced by growing cities and towns throughout Upper Canada prompted campaigns to prohibit in-town burial. Paramount were public health concerns over cemetery overcrowding and the proximity of the dead during epidemics, anxieties also felt throughout America and Europe. Specifically, the cholera epidemic of 1832 had a great impact on the development of public health policy as well as burial practices in Upper Canada (Patterson 1958:165). An earlier epidemic of cholera in England in 1831 lead to theories of the disease originating as “evil ‘miasmas’ arising from the decaying matter in overcrowded burial-grounds which could not cope with the demands for interment in ‘normal’ times, let alone during an epidemic” (Curl 2004:52). This view was the driving force to prohibit in-town burials and the creation of rural cemeteries to replace churchyards (Curl
2004:116). This pattern is seen in Upper Canada, although the prohibition of in-town burials is not seen until the 1850s or later.

Upper Canada was greatly impacted by the cholera epidemic of 1832, a year of peak immigration that saw the arrival of 52,000 immigrants (Patterson 1985:166). The number of residents of the Niagara region who died during the 1832 epidemic is unknown, but the areas surrounding the Welland Canal are known to have been especially impacted due to the proximity of communities to ships passing through the locks and the concentration of workers involved in the canal’s construction and operation (Jackson 1997:67). The churchyards that had been serving multiple denominations since the late 1700s were those that appear to have been most affected by the increased number of cholera dead.

The decision to close St. George’s Church in St. Catharines in 1835, as discussed above, was tied to the closure of the cemetery following the cholera epidemic of 1832 (OGS 2001). Also of concern, however, was the anticipated growth of the congregation and the decision was made to build a larger church on land in the downtown core of St. Catharines. This church still stands, although the cemetery was only used briefly, as in-town burial was prohibited in 1856 (Archaeological Services Inc. 2011:26). This was the year that the town opened St. Catharines Cemetery, later renamed Victoria Lawn Cemetery, on the outskirts of the city (City of St. Catharines 2010). Carnochan (1912:52) noted that “to this comparatively modern cemetery many bodies have been brought from private graveyards, or others being destroyed by the march of improvement.”

While this is a single church in the region, St. George’s represents the trend towards formalized burial practices and places. The timing of changes to town and city burial customs differs in different regions of Upper Canada, possibly tied to population size at the time of an epidemic and the degree of cemetery overcrowding that resulted. For example, St. James’ Cemetery in Toronto was created in 1844
“after the burial ground at St. James’ Cathedral became overcrowded following a cholera epidemic” (Cooke 1998:214) and Kingston’s Cataraqui Cemetery was established due to an increased awareness of the unsanitary conditions resulting from in-town burials after a 1847 typhoid epidemic (McKendry 1995:4). The town of Port Hope east of Toronto did not ban burials within its limits until it opened the Union Cemetery in 1874, and does not appear to be related to a specific epidemic (Craick 1966:107). Later still, the municipal Lakeview Cemetery in Thorold was not opened until 1886 (Gannon 1997).

Cemeteries created during early settlement of Upper Canada were considered public open spaces along with commons, public squares, church plazas, and military parade grounds (Wright 1983:38). Each of these places served the local population as venues for social gathering, ceremonies, markets, and political meetings. As park-like cemeteries began opening on the outskirts of towns, they became popular destinations for picnics, walking and visiting, often on Sundays (Wright 1983:45). Victoria Lawn Cemetery in St. Catharines was used as such a social recreational space following its establishment in 1856, with a street car service line being extended to the cemetery in 1878 (Jackson 1992:98). Furthermore, many of the in-town churchyards and cemeteries that were closed throughout Upper Canada eventually became community park space, including cemeteries in Guelph in 1879, Kingston in 1893, and Toronto in 1939 (Wright 1984:21-23).

While further research into the variability and changes to in-town burial practices and the timing and circumstances of the creation of municipal cemeteries in Upper Canada is needed, there is clearly a connection to the growing awareness and necessity of public health protocol. The families who made the transition to burial in public or church cemeteries from the use of their private cemeteries did so in this context of increasing options for burial in public places.
Family Cemeteries in Niagara: Sites and Samples

The cemeteries included in the current study have been identified primarily from transcripts compiled by the Niagara Branch of the Ontario Genealogical Society (OGS). Beginning in the 1980s, OGS branches across Ontario initiated efforts to transcribe and publish the inscriptions of grave markers of all Ontario cemeteries to aid in genealogical research. These records are available at various libraries and archives throughout the Niagara region and can also be purchased from the OGS. There are also cemetery transcriptions recorded in the early 1900s by Carnochan (1912) and in the 1920s and ’30s by Reive (Robbins 1991b). As these historians tended to focus on the graves of notable families of the Niagara region, their transcriptions are not as comprehensive as those by the OGS. The records of Carnochan and Reive are quite useful, however, as they provide a clear picture of cemetery and monument conditions almost 100 years prior to my fieldwork. These earlier surveys allow comparison of monuments visible then and now to identify monuments that have been lost or damaged in the last century.

Each OGS cemetery transcript has a unique four digit reference number and generally includes a map and a description of cemetery location, transcriptions of gravestones, a sketch of the cemetery showing the arrangement of gravestones, and often a brief history of the cemetery. Records have also been created for cemeteries that are no longer visible because gravestones have been removed or damaged over time. In these cases, volunteers have consulted local residents or the transcriptions of Carnochan and Reive to create records that include a brief history of the cemetery and a list of individuals possibly buried there.

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4 The transcripts for all the cemeteries in the Niagara region are available and sold out of the Thorold branch of the St. Catharines public library. OGS transcripts for all regions of Ontario are available at the North York Public Library. The OGS has compiled a searchable database at www.ocfa.islandnet.com.
A total of 98 family cemeteries are included in this study and the details of each are included in Appendix A. Most family cemeteries are identifiable by the name of the cemetery given when recorded by the OGS such as family burial ground, family burial plot, or farm plot. These variations in terminology are included here unchanged. In some cases, such as the Wills Cemetery in Wainfleet or the Hansler Cemetery in Effingham, the cemetery name alone does not indicate affiliation with a family or church and additional research was required. Will’s Cemetery is included in the study sample as records indicate that it was for use by the Wills family and their neighbours. The Hansler Cemetery is excluded as it was for members of a Methodist congregation but the church is no longer standing.

Once identified, I researched the family cemeteries of Niagara through site survey followed by archival research. Site survey involved obtaining permission to access private property, photographing grave markers and transcribing and recording them on a sketch of the cemetery layout. Initially, cemetery and monument data recording sheets were used, but their use was modified during fieldwork. For example, there are spaces for recording monument height and width, but these were not filled in as these data ultimately did not address the questions being asked in this research.

Several challenges arose during field research. The most significant issue was the illegibility of worn or broken monuments. The technique of side-raking light to enhance shadow was employed, but was not always successful, especially for fallen monuments. Furthermore, many monuments recorded by the OGS were not found. An issue encountered at many cemeteries was the rearrangement of monuments, either collected and embedded in concrete or laid flat on the ground. While

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5 This sample includes 1012 monuments and 1534 individuals. The number of monuments is considerably lower as it was common for multiple people to be commemorated on the same marker. A greater influence on the discrepancy, however, is likely including cemeteries that are no longer visible, but for which records remain of those thought to be buried there.
commonly carried out since the 1960s to prevent damage to monuments or ease the task of cemetery maintenance, this practice is highly detrimental to historical stone in the long-term. It also removes the association between monuments and the graves and individuals they commemorate, preventing interpretation of the layout and relationships of burials over time. To deal with these issues, earlier transcriptions were consulted to determine whenever possible the arrangement and presence of monuments at an earlier point in time.

Following cemetery survey, archival research of each family determined their history in Niagara, the connections between generations of single families, how non-family members were connected to the main family, whether additional people were previously recorded but do not have an existing monument, when and where family members began to be buried in other cemeteries, and whether any events in addition to burial, such as dedication or consecration ceremonies, were celebrated. This information was collected from census, birth, marriage, death, and land records, newspaper articles, as well as family documents on file at the Mayholme Foundation in St. Catharines, and the public libraries of Fort Erie, Niagara-on-the-Lake, and St. Catharines. Other sources specific to burial in Niagara, such as the records kept between 1845 and 1916 by the sexton of Drummond Hill Cemetery (Robbins 1991a), shed light on the burial of specific individuals.

Family relationships were determined through a combination of biographical information of inscriptions and historical records. The ultimate goals were to create family trees and to determine the burial place of as many members as possible. For each family, the first step was to identify family members recorded in census records to compile a list of parents and their children. Additional children who were born and died during the ten-year span between census taking were often located in birth or death records. Living children were then traced through marriage and death records. Often these records are the only source of a mother’s maiden name,
allowing connections to be made between families. Additional research in local archives sought information on cemetery ceremonies, disputes, closures, or other events that discussed the historical cemeteries in terms of their place in the modern community.

Multiple challenges arose during archival research relating to availability and characteristics of records. There are few records prior to the 1860s as census taking of all household members only began in 1851 while records are currently only available for deaths between 1869 and 1934 and births between 1869 and 1913. Prior to the movement for a provincial registry of births, marriages and deaths in the 1860s, Upper Canada relied mainly on church registers, a system recognized by early legislators to exclude farm families using cemeteries on their own land (Emery 1993:23). Even with the introduction of a social registry, it took many years before all births, deaths, and marriages were recorded. Emery (1993:34) notes that between 1871 and 1880, registry of death improved from 32 to 60 percent for the province, mainly due to the increased recording of cities. Furthermore, it wasn’t until the early 1900s that death registrations began recording place of burial. Once recorded, however, place of burial was often listed simply as Niagara Falls or Thorold instead of a cemetery name.

There were two main challenges that these characteristics of Ontario archives posed to this research. First, the lack of records prior to 1850 made it difficult to create family trees of early families. This was especially problematic for cemeteries that were closed by the 1860s as it was difficult to track families who left the Niagara area or to establish the relationship of those buried in a cemetery to each other or to others of the same surname throughout the region. If a cemetery continued to be used into the 1880s it was often possible to fill out the family tree through information in later records. As a result of the better archival representation of more
prominent stayer families, it is these families whose cemetery use is better understood.  

Second, the absence of place of burial as a category of death registries was a major challenge. As a result, the place of burial is unknown for many people not in family cemeteries. For the majority, this is likely because they are buried in public cemeteries and this information is not recorded on their death record. In other cases, it is possible that they had relocated to another province or country. To account for these unknown burials, if the scope of research were expanded to include site survey of public cemeteries, it is likely that many gaps in place of burial would be filled.

Tracking the division and ownership of family land through land records was not as useful as was anticipated. For example, if Lot 4 of Concession 8 has a family cemetery, as land was divided into 10 parcels over 200 years, the ownership of the cemetery can only be determined if there is specific mention of what parcel the cemetery is located in, and it is rare for this type of notation to be made. In most cases, all land divisions for one cemetery included the notation “save and except the burial ground,” making it unclear who owned the cemetery once the original owners had died.

To illustrate the scope of data collected and how results of site and archival survey were combined, observations relating to the Willick Family Cemetery are briefly presented. The aim here is not to make interpretations, but to demonstrate how cemetery and archival data are combined to explore the history of one family’s cemetery use. It is the patterns of experiences of many families, such as the Willicks, over the Niagara region that the following chapters present and discuss.

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6 In addition to archival sources, more prominent families are the focus of the gravestone transcriptions of Carnochan (1912). Reive (Robbins 1991b) included a broader selection of families, but also focused on notable families of the area.
This small fenced cemetery is located in a worked field with a sign “Willick Cemetary [sic] 1834-2000”, seen in Figure 2.3. There are eight marble slabs that have been collected and laid flat in the centre of the fenced area. The five smaller stones in the foreground are for children Benjamin, John, Nicholas, Esther, and Jacob, three of whom have the name “Willik” inscribed. The stones for parents Joseph and Esther and their older son Henry are in the background.

Through a combination of census, birth, marriage, death, cemetery, and land use records, the history of the Willick family and their use of cemeteries in Niagara can be outlined. Table 2.2 lists the members of the Willick family and their locations of burial if not in the family cemetery.

Figure 2.3. Willick Family Cemetery.

Joseph came to Willoughby with his parents John (1777-1831) and MaryAnn (1777-1852) and brothers John (1811-1882) and Nicholas (1815-1894). The 1851 census shows that Joseph Willick owned 100 acres of land, but it appears that he never owned Concession 3 Lot 11 where the cemetery with his family is located. The eastern half (50 acres) of lot 11 was originally owned by his father, John, who died in 1831 and divided it between only two of his three sons, giving the northern half (25 acres) to his son John and the southern half (25 acres) to his son Nicholas in return for providing a home for their mother (Willick and Willick 1979). The 1851 census shows MaryAnn living with her son Nicholas and his wife Esther. Nicholas sold his 25 acres to his brother John in 1838, and this land remains in John Jr.’s line, as he willed it to his son Peter in 1882, who in turn willed it to his son Louis in 1927.
Table 2.2. Family line of Joseph and Esther Willick, with bold names indicating the eight individuals with gravestones in the Willick Cemetery.7

Even though the land was owned by his father and then brother, it appears that only Joseph’s line of the Willick family used the cemetery, which was active

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7 Sources: Elizabeth’s Death Record (Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_126); Samuel’s Death Record (Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_233); Monuments located for Joseph, Susana, Mary Ann, and Lydia in Niagara.
between 1834 and 1893. There is no record of John Sr.'s place of burial in 1831, but according to family history, MaryAnn was one of the early burials in St. Joseph's Cemetery in Snyder in 1851, and her son John and his wife were later buried there as well (Willick and Willick 1979). Nicholas was buried in the Presbyterian Cemetery in Chippawa (Willick and Willick 1979).

Of the twelve children of Joseph and Esther, only the six who died young or without marrying were buried with their parents in the family cemetery. Of the remaining six children who survived to adulthood, all were married, and none are buried in the family cemetery. Two moved with their spouses to Middlesex County, where they are buried, and the other four are buried with their spouses in three different public cemeteries and one church cemetery in Niagara Falls.

Summary

While there were no permanent settlements prior to the arrival of the Loyalists in the late 18th century, these new settlers situated themselves in a landscape marked by the presence of previous inhabitants. Burial mounds and settlements of the Neutral and Seneca were not only visible, but in some cases were altered through excavation or vandalism by the new settlers. Land in the settlers’ new home was tied to their experience as Loyalists and became an important resource for family prosperity and identity.

Once permanent settlement on the peninsula by Loyalists began, the region became home to families from the American colonies, who represented a range of social, religious, and ethnic groups. They were soon joined by an influx of settlers from Britain that led to an increase in diversity. Settlers were initially concerned with matters of survival, usually related to clearing and cultivating their land, and building homes, mills, and roads. These families were only part of the population though, and would have witnessed great turnover in other residents in their township. Aside from
these general characteristics, however, little is known about how settlers maintained family links or established community networks within Niagara.

The remembrance of settler experience and identity in the Niagara region is often tied to myths that are not supported by archival records. As demonstrated by Gagan and Mays (1973) and Wood (1988), the high rate of turnover shows that not all families who immigrated set down roots where they first arrived, which counters the prevailing ideas of settlers as stable and non-mobile. The image of settlers, Loyalists in particular, has generally been of elite, fiercely loyal subjects, instead of the diverse group they were, many of them recent immigrants to the colonies from Europe with complex reasons for relocating to Upper Canada.

The following chapters explore the observations in cemetery and archival data relating to these themes. Similar to the overview of cemetery use by the Willick family, data from multiple sources are combined to understand how families and their relationships to land and community and are remembered in cemeteries.
CHAPTER THREE: THE HISTORY OF FAMILY CEMETERY USE IN NIAGARA

Many of the settlers arriving in the Niagara Peninsula from the American colonies had lost established family farms in a place that was known to them. Others had not been in the colonies long before relocating once again. Regardless of their past experience, and while the landscape of the Niagara region was not bare of indicators of previous and existing inhabitants, to the new settlers it was free of connections between them, the past, and a sense of place and identity. One aspect of settler experience that speaks to the creation of such connections is the burial and commemoration of the dead. How these connections were maintained by later generations varied, as did each family’s experience, history, and goals.

The history of cemetery use in Niagara supports the argument that burial and commemoration of the dead speak initially to the creation and later to the maintenance or alteration of connections to place, ancestry, history, and identity. The general chronology of family cemeteries in Niagara follows their early creation and use, a transitional period of increased and changing burial options, and the more recent phase of cemetery heritage and neglect. Cemetery use during the initial phase of settlement was of a practical nature, but evidence shows that in some cases, burial practices strongly relate to the creation of ties between settlers and their newly acquired land. The presence of their dead on family land would have created an inherent connection for settlers, but their decisions relating specifically to cemetery location speak to the possible meanings and importance of such connections.

As the options for burial were increasing, beginning in the 1850s with the creation of church and municipal cemeteries, families throughout the region were aligning through marriage and church and community memberships while others were relocating to other areas. During this time some families maintained private membership of their cemeteries, others expanded membership to include non-family, and some family cemeteries were closed all together. No matter the history of use,
the majority of families were no longer using their cemeteries by 1900. During the transition to the use of community cemeteries, burial and commemoration in family cemeteries was highly variable as were the circumstances and choices made by each family. The connection to land and place emphasized by earlier generations was lost and replaced with use by families whose history and identity were varied and still changing.

Once the majority of family cemeteries were inactive by the early 1900s, focus shifted to what to do with monuments, remains, and more broadly, historical places on original farm land. The relationship between each family and their inactive cemetery ranges from overt displays of their history and identity to neglect. In some cases neglect was extreme and cemeteries were removed from the landscape. Those families that recreated their cemeteries with a heritage narrative through re-commemoration or the addition of signs often emphasized their identity in relation to their family’s history in the Niagara region. Loyalist identity is not represented in any material culture that remains from the burial of the Loyalists themselves, but does appear in family cemeteries during this period, often with an emphasis on family land ownership. The cases where families did not maintain a connection to their cemeteries are more difficult to explore, as some have moved away from the region while others remained. No matter the circumstances for neglect, however, the result is often the same with cemeteries becoming run down or no longer visible.

Overall, within the general framework of cemetery creation, transition and disuse, there is immense variation. Who was included, how they were commemorated, and the strategies followed to maintain or sever connections to land and people were highly variable, especially once family cemetery use began to decline. As a result, the themes of place, ancestry, history, and identity are emphasized to different degrees by different families and even vary within families over time. This variation is fitting as the experiences of settling and creating a life in
Niagara differed for each family and even changed within families over generations. Overall, the burial and commemoration of the dead was a way for families to express, neglect, or modify their connections to place, ancestry, history and identity. The variation in how they did so, within and over time speaks to the broader narrative of life and death in the Niagara region.

Planting the Dead: 1780s-1850

Families living on their own farms were faced with various practical considerations in choosing the location of their cemetery. For example, in Wainfleet township Reive noted that the land was “very flat and low lying. Although a great deal of this area has been recovered by drainage there is still considerable marsh land. One finds small cemeteries on knolls throughout this district – dry spots few and far between in early days” (Robbins 1991b:346). It has been suggested that farm cemeteries were located in areas that were not possible to cultivate, thereby saving prime property for agricultural enterprises (Coffin 1976), or areas that were secluded, such as on the side of a hill (Scherck 1905). Yet others have indicated that it was necessary to fence farm cemeteries to prevent grazing cattle from rubbing against the monuments.

There are records that demonstrate how a family’s lived history on their farm also influenced cemetery location. For example, at the K[u/o]nkle Cemetery, Adam Kunkle left instructions in his 1802 will to “bury my body in my orchard on my farm” (OGS 1984e). Similar accounts have been found for cemeteries in other areas of Ontario, including the notable reference of the Abbott Family Cemetery in Wellington County, where “Martha and Aaron Abbott were buried, according to their wishes, on the very spot where, years before, they had spent under the trees, their first night on their newly acquired land” (OGS 1982).
While these accounts indicate a balance between practical and meaningful factors in the decision of where to place a cemetery, the specific location of these cemeteries in relation to the wider landscape is not easily established due to the extensive changes to original farm lands and layout that have occurred over time. As a result, it is difficult to determine from the material evidence how visible these cemeteries were in the day to day life on a family farm. Furthermore, it is not widely known how visible they would have been to travelers or visitors when passing by or arriving at the farm or whether guests were purposefully shown the cemetery.

Evidence does remain about natural and created spaces within the landscape with which settlers associated their cemeteries, as at least 34 cemeteries were created in close association with water, as seen in Table 3.1. The majority of these are located on the banks of streams, and a smaller number are nearby to rivers or lakes. In addition to being picturesque and removed from prime farm land, creeks and other sources of water were important geographical features throughout the region. As many of these waterways provided transportation, many of these cemeteries would have been visible to passersby. Furthermore, many creeks allowed the establishment of mills that were essential to early building and farming practices and the ability to own and run an enterprise on the family farm. Clearly places of importance during life, the dead were buried alongside water, likely increasing their visibility, when access allowed it.
In addition to placing the dead in association with the natural water features, settlers were also aware of and made use of the places created by earlier groups. In his discussion of St. Catharines cemeteries written in 1856, local journalist Junius stated that “[t]he Indians too, of our own country, always held sacred their burial places... Many are the chosen and selected spots of the Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, now-a-days” (Junius 1967[1856]:3). While this matter of fact claim suggests the appropriation of burial sites was common in the Niagara region, there are few cemeteries that have visible evidence remaining of this practice.

The cemetery at St. Mark’s Anglican Church in Niagara-on-the-Lake was created on land that had been previously used as a First Nations burial site.
Burial of congregation members began when the parish was established in 1792 and the church was built in 1805. A grave marker for a man who died in 1782, however, has been found in the cemetery (Carnochan 1912:10), suggesting the burial site was in use by townspeople even before the presence of the church. This aspect of the cemetery’s history is not mentioned in other literature about the early years of the Anglican Church. Interestingly though, discussion of the cemetery often focuses on it having initially been inclusive to non-Anglican settlers until churches and cemeteries of other denominations were established in the town throughout the early 1800s, but the presence of the First Nations is not celebrated at the same time in literature about the church (see Carnochan 1912:9-10).

Anecdotal evidence of the Dean Family Cemetery and the Indian Communal Grave also relates to this practice of reuse of a burial place. In the 1950s, a local resident of the Twenty Valley, south of Vineland, recounted the 1900 discovery of a burial site of approximately 150 individuals that, despite having been quickly destroyed by amateur excavation, was determined by an official from the Royal Ontario Museum to be a communal First Nation burial ground (OGS n.d. a). This is also recorded as the site of the Dean Cemetery dating to the later Loyalist settler period even though no grave markers remain, reportedly having been thrown down a well (OGS n.d. c). This is not clear evidence of appropriation, as it is unknown if the remains of the settlers were also found in 1900, but it points to a common knowledge of the use of burial sites by multiple groups.

The appropriation of burial grounds was not unique to Niagara. Based on evidence from the Halton region (approximately halfway between Toronto and the Niagara peninsula), a settler family in the region buried their dead on what they knew to be the site of a First Nation effigy burial mound located on their new land. The family’s marble slab grave markers from the 1800s are spread over the mound of
land that is now covered in trees and shrubs. While the specific motivations for appropriation are unknown, both practical and meaningful factors could have been at play. Settlers may have recognized a burial mound as an ideal location for a cemetery as it already had been chosen as the best location. They also could have wished to align the dead to create a deeper continuity and history on the land than is possible at newly created cemeteries. In general, settlers were clearly aware that the land they owned was occupied by people before them. The use of pre-existing burial grounds was a way for a family to become aligned with the a longer-term history of their land, extending the connection to their own time, as well as clearly placing themselves as the new owners.

There are several examples of cemeteries being created by different branches of the same family. In two instances, the Miller Family Cemeteries in Crowland and Willoughby Townships and the Lampman Family Cemeteries in Stamford and Gainsborough Townships, the considerable distance between different branches of the family likely influenced burial practices, especially when early roads were not well developed. Other factors may have been involved, but it is likely that the logistics of transporting the dead played a role in these two cases. The four Culp families of John, Christopher, Tilman, and Jacob Jr., however, all owned farms along the shore of Lake Ontario in Clinton Township after they settled in the region from Pennsylvania in 1786 (Powell 1963:46). The cemeteries for Tilman and Jacob Jr. are known to have been lost, and John and Christopher’s cemeteries were not found during fieldwork, so beyond knowing these families chose to create their own cemeteries, the use of these cemeteries or the implications for membership are not clear.

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8 A sign marks the site of the Tilman Culp Burial Ground, but no monuments remain. Photographs on file at the Mayholme Foundation in St. Catharines show the monuments at both the John and Christopher Culp cemeteries piled beneath trees in the 1970s, but these were not located during fieldwork.
In a similar example, the Lymburner and Dochstader cemeteries in Caistor township are located on adjacent oxbows of the Chippawa Creek with members of the Lymburner family buried in both. Matthew and Rachel Lymburner, their descendants, and neighbours are buried in the Lymburner Cemetery while Matthew’s brother John, his wife Elizabeth, their descendants and neighbours are buried in the Dochstader Cemetery. While the Lymburners did not create the Dochstader cemetery themselves, no relation by marriage has been found between the two families that would possibly explain them having a cemetery together or why the family of John Lymburner chose to be buried with their neighbours instead of in the nearby cemetery of their immediate family.

The Upper family had an even more complex use of cemeteries throughout Thorold Township. The original family cemetery was established by George Upper when his wife Anna died in 1809. Some of the descendants of their son Anthony continued to use this cemetery, while others began using the Allanburg Village Cemetery approximately 500m south of the family cemetery. The Allanburg Cemetery was established in 1813 (Heritage Thorold nd) and the first Upper was buried there in 1832. Instead of using the original family cemetery or the Allanburg Cemetery, another son of George and Anna, Jacob, created a new cemetery for his family when his grandson died in 1844. It was located on his property approximately 2km from his brother’s family cemetery and was used by Jacob, his wife, and their descendents.

Once the first member of a family died and cemetery location had been established, focus shifted to decisions relating to burial and commemoration. During this period, preparation and burial of the dead was the responsibility of the family and neighbours, as the funeral industry that would later become prominent had yet to be established (Coffin 1976; Farrell 1980; Laderman 1996). Preparation for burial involved washing and dressing the body and placing it in a coffin or shroud. After
death, a family member of the deceased would travel by horseback to the surrounding farms to notify those nearby and invite them to the funeral and a gathering afterwards (Scherck 1905). Any ceremony during burial would have been determined by family, except in the rare case a circuit preacher was in the area. Records exist for funerals performed at the Servos Family Cemetery in 1813 by the Anglican minister of Niagara-on-the-Lake (Carnochan 1912:6) and for several burials at the Schram-Tinlin Burial Ground by the Anglican minister from Port Dalhousie (OGS 2006:8-9).

Earliest graves were marked by wooden monuments or fieldstones and in some cases went unmarked. Not until experienced masons began arriving to towns in the 1820s and 1830s did professional gravestones become more widely available (Hanks 1974:16). In an interesting case at the Warner Methodist Cemetery outside of Queenston, “the grave of [Christian Warner] has been marked only by the stock of his musket, from the time of his death on 21st March, 1833 until the 1920s, when even the musket stock disappeared” (OGS 1991). A headstone was erected in 1940 to replace the original grave marker.

No grave markers of a similar fashion were found during field work. In fact, very few monuments of any kind remain for those who died prior to 1830. The first generation of settlers, those who arrived as Loyalists, are not often commemorated with original grave markers. For many, their places of burial can only be inferred based on land ownership, limited alternative cemeteries, the burial location of their descendants, or monuments later erected by their descendants. The lack of monuments from this period is likely the result of few permanent grave markers being used at all and the fact that those that were would have been placed on graves.

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9 Stone grave markers in Upper Canada were initially carved in limestone but by the 1820s marble became the most common monument material and remained so throughout the 19th century. By the early 1900s, granite became widely popular and many cemeteries eventually introduced by-laws to restrict the use of marble and limestone in favour of the more durable granite.
over 200 years ago, making them more likely to have disappeared over time compared to those marking more recent deaths. Also, the number of dead from this earlier population would have been smaller compared to that from the larger populations of the mid- to late-1800s, meaning there are fewer grave markers to be found. Monuments that were found from this time are usually limestone slabs with inscription limited to name and dates of birth and/or death, examples of which are seen in Figure 3.1.

Figure 3.1. Examples of monuments erected prior to 1830. Anna Upper (died 1809) at the Upper Family Cemetery; Frederick (died 1789) and Catharine (died 1811) Lampman at the Lampman Cemetery in Stamford Township; Mary Misoner (died 1801) at the Misoner Cemetery; and Rebecca Brown (died 1808) at the Field, Brown and Vrooman Cemetery.

A period of Niagara history that also sheds light on early burial is the War of 1812. The interment of the war dead highlights the practical nature of burial during this time, the lack of an organized funeral industry, and the limited availability of public cemeteries. Dead soldiers were often buried where they fell throughout the region on battlefields or they were gathered and buried in trenches. For example, the Battle of Lundy’s Lane, fought in the summer of 1814, took place mainly on a raised area that included “a half-acre cemetery plot with rough wooden or stone grave markers enclosed by a split-rail fence overgrown with bushes and shrubs” (Graves 1997:120). After the battle, the British burned the American dead and buried their
own in trenches throughout the surrounding area (Graves 1997:188-9). The small cemetery on the knoll eventually became the public Drummond Hill Cemetery. Throughout the 19th and early 20th centuries, when digging graves for new burials, the sexton, William Dalton, often encountered remains of the war dead who had been buried where they fell.  

Other soldiers were buried in family cemeteries, as seen in Figure 3.2, an historical map of the Hamilton Family Cemetery in Queenston. The northeastern corner of the cemetery, first used in 1796, is marked as the burial location of “Indians & Soldiers killed in the Battle of Queenston [Heights]” (Butler n.d.). No visible indication of the burial of these war dead remains today at the cemetery. In fact, this section is now the location of burial for members of the Hamilton family who died throughout the late 20th century. It is possible that other families throughout the region opened their cemeteries to the dead of the War of 1812, but no other evidence of this practice remains.

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10 Examples of Dalton’s entries include: from 1882, “[i]n diging [sic] [the] grave I came on to 3 soldiers skelitons [sic] just two feet in the ground. One skull was ball shots through it” (Robbins 1991a:43); from 1890, “[t]he ground caved being a bunch of soldiers crossing it. I found 3 skeletons laying south east the heads by North west, the feet and two feet half down. There was large skulls with good teeth in jaws, the buttons was all decayed and cloth” (Robbins 1991a:98); and, from 1900, “[i]n diging [sic] the grave I, Wm. Dalton, came on to 9 American soldiers of the 9th Infantry” (Robbins 1991a:188).
Figure 3.2. Historical map of Hamilton Family Cemetery in Queenston, Ontario, showing burial location of soldiers and Indians who died in 1812 in the Battle of Queenston Heights (Butler n.d.)

The inclusion of soldiers in family cemeteries and the use of battlefield trenches fit in with the practical approach to burial otherwise observed during this time. It also marks another way the presence of the dead created history on the land. The burial spots of war dead would have been known by locals as battles were often fought on their farm land, and the continued uncovering of their remains over the next generations was a constant and immediate reminder of the British roots of the region.

Overall, this period of cemetery use is marked by the pragmatic approach to burial, seen in the extensive responsibilities of family members, isolation of ceremonies, disposal of the dead from the War of 1812, and the use of one cemetery by multiple denominations. This is not to say that settlers did not have choices to make regarding cemetery creation and use. Those with cemeteries on their own land
were responsible for choosing location, the extent of ceremony, and methods of commemoration. Choosing a cemetery plot, whether on an existing burial ground or in a specific place on a farm created a connection to newly acquired land. As the issues of practicality eased, subsequent generations who worked to further develop the region were faced with a new set of circumstances and decisions related to cemetery use.

*Busy Bodies: 1850-1900*

By the mid-nineteenth century, the first Niagara-born generations were moving within and out of the region, marrying, and inheriting and purchasing land while new immigrants were arriving, mainly from Europe and the British Isles. Also during this period, municipal and church cemeteries were being created throughout the rural areas and as the availability of the funeral industry increased, the role of the family in the preparation and burial of the dead decreased. As descendants of original settlers were faced with these new options for burial, the use of family cemeteries did not last, as by 1900, the majority were closed. Decisions about cemetery membership, use, organization, and closure were highly variable during this transition to public burial. Furthermore, as cemeteries became inactive, families began removing the dead for reburial in new cemeteries. This modification foreshadows the subsequent period of heritage and neglect of inactive cemeteries as families were faced with what to do with the physical remnants – both above and below ground – of their ancestors once they were no longer being buried together.

During this period of cemetery use, 26 families kept their cemeteries private. These single family cemeteries include members of one family, often from several generations. In some cases there is only one surname seen on headstones, but at others multiple names are found when a married daughter and her family are buried
in her parents’ cemetery. Another 31 families expanded their cemeteries to include non-family members such as neighbours, farm labourers, and in-laws of those who married into the family. These multi-family cemeteries were not public, but had a more open membership that was determined by the deceased’s relationship to the primary family. They differ from examples like the Lane and Smith Cemeteries that became fully public, run by boards of trustees with membership not requiring permission from the original families. There are an additional 32 cemeteries that cannot be characterized in relation to membership because nothing remains of them. These cemeteries, discussed in more detail below, are sites that are known to have existed but are no longer visible. As a result, it is difficult to determine who was included in them, when they were used, or the circumstances of their neglect.

These general categories are useful only to a certain point. For example, of the 18 people known to be buried at the Gonder Cemetery, 17 are from four generations of the Gonder family. Also buried here is David Thomas (1784-1860) who is listed in the 1851 census as an American-born, bachelor shoemaker from the nearby Humberstone township (Willoughby Census 1851b). His relationship to the Gonders is unknown, but it was one that led to his inclusion in their cemetery. Thomas was the ninth person buried in the cemetery, which was in use from 1813 to 1895. The Gonders opened their cemetery to a non-family member, but not to the same extent as other families such as the Lymburners who included nine and six members of their neighbouring Killins and Nevill families, respectively. Even within the category of multi-family cemeteries there is immense variation relating to the connections of each particular family.

Also, having a single family cemetery does not necessarily indicate that all members of that family were buried together. For example, the Willick Family Cemetery includes parents and six of their children who died young. The six Willick children who grew to adulthood and married were buried in six separate public or
church cemeteries. In this case, the parents and young children all died between 1839 and 1893, before the first of the five adult children died in 1906. A similar history of cemetery use is seen at the Miller II Cemetery in Crowland township. David and Eve Miller and six of their children, some of whom did live to adulthood but did not marry, were buried on their farm between 1846 and 1874. Again, five adult, married children are buried in public cemeteries, the first having died in 1898.

There are other single family cemeteries of families whose descendants moved from the area during this period. For example, the Park Family (O'Reilly’s) cemetery in Wainfleet Township includes burials for Captain Shubael Park (unknown-1824), his daughter Jane (1824-25) and Alpheis (1842-45) and Mary Catharine (1850-51), children of his son Charles. The Park family is not found in the Niagara region census records after 1861. According to the OGS transcript of the cemetery, “the Park family has long since left Wainfleet Township and only a few people by that name are in the area. Most of them are in St. Catharines. The only remnant of the Park estates, which once almost certainly exceeded 2,000 acres is the little spot on the knoll.” (OGS 1984d:4).

In these cases, there is not an overlap of family and public cemetery use. Instead of a gradual transition to the use of public cemeteries, there is more of a gap of time during which a decision is made not to be buried with parents and siblings, whether or not the family stayed in the area or moved on. On the other hand, families cemeteries that were used by several generations of multiple families, such as the Fretz and Upper cemeteries, often had a more gradual decline in use. In these cases, some members of the family were using the family cemetery while others had begun to use local church or community cemeteries.

The individual circumstances of family cemetery use and membership are demonstrated by the choices surrounding the burial of several individuals. According to the OGS transcript for the House Family Cemetery, (OGS n.d. b) “a descendant
stated that when Lewis House, who had married Catharine, the granddaughter of Harmonious House, and who had lived on the farm and later owned it, died, he did not wish to be buried with the rest of the family, but asked to be buried on the next hilltop where he could overlook his farm.” Similar to the wishes of Adam Kunkle to be buried in his orchard, this request goes a step further in specifying separation.

A monument at the Upper Family Cemetery in Thorold Township, seen in Figure 3.3, commemorates Walter Upper (1845-1932), and notes that his wife, Sarah L. Dyke Upper (1848-1911) is buried in Drummond Hill Cemetery. The burial records of Drummond Hill sexton William Dalton notes this event in his 1911 entry (Robbins 1991a:390) that reads:

“Sarah Louise Dyke Upper, wife of Walter Upper, died Dec. 5, 1911 age 63. They lived in a stone House at Allenburg [sic]. She was born in the Township of Stamford and was a fine woman. She died very sudent [sic] with heart disease and was buried in her mother’s grave marked with a Head Stone. Susan wife of Henry Dyke died March 20th 1849 age 32. It was Mrs. Upper’s request to be buried in her mother’s grave….”
After her mother Susan’s death in 1849, Sarah’s father Henry remarried and he and his second wife were buried together at Drummond Hill Cemetery nearby to Susan after their deaths in 1876 and 1899, respectively.

A particular and private episode in the history of the Servos family of Niagara Township played out in the use of their family cemetery. Mary Ball became part of the Servos family when she married Peter (1823-1887), the grandson of the original Servos land owners. When Peter died in 1887, he was buried in St. Marks Anglican Church cemetery in Niagara-on-the-Lake instead of his family’s cemetery, while Mary, who married into the Servos family, was the last member of the Servos family to be buried at the cemetery when she died in 1905.

Circumstances surrounding death also played a role in burial decisions. There are several family cemeteries with infants or children whose parents chose to be buried in public cemeteries when they died many years later. While the earlier examples of the Willick and Miller (of Crowland Township) families suggest a unity of parents and children who died before marriage, this was not always the case. For example, the son of Eliza and William Kirby was buried in the Servos Family Cemetery with the family of his mother in 1849, but when his parents died in 1891 and 1906, they were buried in St. Mark’s Anglican Church Cemetery in Niagara-on-the-Lake. The same situation is found at the Miller Cemetery (in Willoughby

Figure 3.3. Monument for Walter and Sarah Upper, Upper Family Cemetery (Private), Thorold Township.
Township), where two children who died in 1859 and 1856 are buried with their grandparents, but whose parents, who died decades later, are buried elsewhere. By the turn of the 20th century, as discussed further below, most family cemeteries were no longer in use. As both the grown Miller children and the Kirbys died when family cemetery use had declined, their choices are indicative of the changing standards in burial practices.

These examples suggest caution in assuming that burial in a family cemetery was automatic and inclusive for all family members. Individual choice and family circumstances clearly played a role in these burials, where some decided themselves to be buried elsewhere and others had their options restricted by other family members. There are doubtless other instances of individual choice impacting cemetery use that are not visible from monuments or records, even though the stories would have been well known by families at the time.

At multi-family cemeteries, expanding membership suggests an emphasis on group rather than family identity. The use of space, however, relates to varying ideas about inclusivity. The use of enclosures is mentioned by both Reive and Carnochan in their cemetery transcriptions of the early 20th century. At the Servos Family Cemetery, Reive (Robbins 1991b:50) notes that “the sacred area is surrounded by fine old trees and within a stone walled enclosure lie many generations of the Servos Family and their connections. Outside the wall many others are buried, their resting places are mostly marked with field stones – but some stones have inscriptions remaining.” In her review of the Servos cemetery, Carnochan (1912:6) states that “several Indians here found sepulture.” Monuments were only found within the enclosure of the cemetery when visited during fieldwork.

At the enclosed Hutt-Brown Cemetery, Reive (Robbins 1991b:306) transcribed monuments for Hutts inside and outside an enclosure. A stone wall surrounding the Hamilton Family Cemetery still stands, and posts remain as evidence
of a chain enclosure of a section within the Field, Brown and Vrooman Cemetery in Niagara Township. Of the cemeteries observed during fieldwork with enclosures, most are modern chain link or cedar post, making it difficult to determine if and where original enclosures were located. It is possible that these modern materials have replaced original enclosures that were removed once they deteriorated. The transcription record for the Colver Family Cemetery notes the poor condition of a stone wall observed in 1962 (OGS 1984a) and Reive (Robbins 1991b:134) noted a stone wall at the Graham Cemetery, neither of which are still visible.

It is not clear whether burials outside enclosed cemeteries began only once the interior was full or were occurring at the same time. Other evidence for the spatial organization of cemeteries is seen at the Lymburner Family Cemetery where multiple families are buried within the same area, but are in separate clusters. The Lymburner, Killins, and Nevill families all have their own space for burial within the cemetery, with the Lymburners located closest to the entrance. There is also a large granite monument with the inscription “Lymburner” in the centre of the cemetery, making it clear who the primary (and land-owning) family is. Similarly, members of the Fretz family are all buried in a group in the western half of their cemetery and neighbours and in-laws are grouped separately to the east.

Even with the great deal of variation in cemetery use, comparing duration of use between single and multi-family cemeteries indicates a link between membership and how long a cemetery was active. As seen in Table 3.2, the majority of family cemeteries are now inactive and all of the nine still in use\textsuperscript{11} are used by multiple families.

\textsuperscript{11} Burial after 1950 is used to determine whether a cemetery is still in use. If the last generation to be buried in the cemetery died prior to 1950, it is likely their children have died and are buried elsewhere. Children of those who died after 1950, however, may still be alive and choose to be buried in the family cemetery in the years to come, even if it has been inactive for nearly 60 years.
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<td><strong>89</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
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**Table 3.2.** Breakdown of family cemeteries by membership and current activity.

This relationship between membership and length of cemetery use is further highlighted when the year of last burial is compared for single, multiple, and unclassified cemetery types. As seen in Figure 3.4, most family cemeteries were closed by 1900, and those that remained in use the longest had expanded to include non-relations. The relationship between cemetery membership and duration likely relates to multi-family cemeteries having more groups of users to continue cemetery use as opposed to one primary family. Expanding the membership also mirrored the characteristics of public burial which was becoming increasingly popular and possibly prolonged use. It is important to note that this comparison is possible only for the 82 cemeteries that remain visible as there are 16 cemeteries in the total sample of 98 that do not have known dates of use.
Figure 3.4. Year of last burial for 82 cemeteries: 26 single, 39 multiple family, and 17 unclassified cemeteries. 16 cemeteries are excluded as the dates of last use are unknown but likely closed prior to 1900. Of these 82 cemeteries, 64 (78%) were closed by 1900.
Along with the general trend of families beginning to use public cemeteries, there are also those who created new private cemeteries during the mid 1800s, at the very time when the use of established family cemeteries was beginning to decline throughout the region. There are three examples of members of a family creating their own cemetery instead of using the one previously established by other members of their family. Based on land transaction records, these occurrences do not appear to be related to the inheritance of original property. For example, Eliot Cosby gave the established cemetery on his property to his son Robert in June of 1873, at the same time that he sold him the surrounding land. In March of 1873, Robert’s son Benjamin had died and instead of being buried in Eliot’s cemetery, he was buried in a new cemetery on adjacent property belonging to Robert and his brother. This second Cosby cemetery continued to be used by Robert, his family, and his bachelor brother until 1896, while only fragments of monuments remain at Eliot Cosby’s cemetery, the most recent being from 1854. The reasons for the family dividing themselves this way is unknown, but it indicates a clear pattern of choice in burial location. In a similar example in Niagara township, when William Servos died in 1862, he was buried on a plot of his own land instead of the nearby family cemetery of his uncle, Daniel Servos, which had been in use since 1807 and continued to be used into the 20th century. There are no other monuments besides William’s at the smaller Servos site.

In the case of the Weaver family, a new cemetery was created on land that had been previously established as a burial ground. This occurred much later than the examples of appropriation from First Nations discussed earlier but is similar in creating an association to a group with an existing history. The Weaver Family Cemetery in Willoughby Township was established in the 1870s on land being used as the cemetery of the German Evangelist Protestant United Church of Chippawa. Of the 12 remaining monuments in the older church section, the earliest is from 1860 and there were only two burials after 1900, in 1915 and 1938. As the use of the
cemetery by the church was beginning to decline, the first Weavers were buried on the site in 1873, and the cemetery continues to be used by them as well as by Willicks and Wingers who married into the Weaver family. The Weaver family and German Evangelist Protestants are enclosed in the same fenced area but are separated by an open grassy area with no monuments. Although it is unclear whether the Weavers were members of this particular parish, census records indicate they were members of Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical, and Presbyterian Churches. A city of Niagara Falls sign erected on the site names the cemetery as the Weaver Family Cemetery and includes the history of both groups who used it and states that in 1993, the Weaver family petitioned to become owners of the cemetery.

It is of interest to note that the Servos Burial Plot was created in 1862, and the Robert Cosby Cemetery in 1873, the same year the Weaver Family Cemetery was established on Lutheran land. These family cemeteries were not created in the same context as those in which burials began in the late 1700s or early 1800s, during early settlement, when there were fewer alternatives. In fact, they were created after many family cemeteries in the region had seen their last burial. The establishment of new family cemeteries during this time is another example of the varied ways families were negotiating the changing burial landscape. William Servos, and members of the Cosby and Upper families who branched out all had alternative burial places they either chose not to use, or, based on the example of Peter and Mary Servos, in which they were not invited to be buried. The Weavers, on the other hand, seemingly appear out of nowhere. George and Catharine Weaver are listed in the 1851 Willoughby Census as being born in France (Willoughby Census 1851a), so it is possible that they did not bury a family member in Niagara until 1873.

As family cemetery closures became more common, so too did the reburial of the dead. Reburial essentially removed any connection between the deceased and their land and put them in a place that was likely unknown to them when living. As a
result of this practice of reburial, it is conceivable that there are monuments for
dividuals with dates of death that precede the actual creation of the public
cemetery. So reburial not only removes the connection to family land, it can
artificially extend a family’s association with a new cemetery back in time.
Motivations for reburial cannot be established in every case, but the records of
William Dalton, sexton of Drummond Hill Cemetery, recorded such an event in his
entries from March 31st and April 1st 1884 (Robbins 1991a:58) that read:

“Whent to Stamford to the Presbyterian grave yard. Raised
William Gardners daughter and little babey by his second wife
and took them to the Fare View Cemetary, Niagara Falls, Ont.
Wm. Dalton & Thomas Balmer. $5.00 paid.”

and,

“raised Gardners first wife and daughter by the first wife [from
Drummond Hill] and took them to Fare View Cemetary, N. Falls.
The wife was buried 18 years and the daughter 9 years. $6.00
paid.”

William Gardner, who died in 1903, his two wives, these daughters, and several other
children are now buried together in the same plot and are commemorated on a single
monument in Fare View Cemetery. Dalton records numerous examples of reburial
throughout the late 1800s, whether to move burials to a new lot within Drummond
Hill, to another Niagara cemetery, or to ship the remains to the United States. While
not specific to family cemeteries, Dalton’s records, especially in the case of William
Gardner’s family, provide insight into the lack of permanence of burial and the
reassembling of the dead.

Throughout the history of settlement in Niagara, remains were exhumed
from family cemeteries and reburied in the new public cemeteries. Reive notes

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12 Based on notations made in OGS transcripts and by Reive and Carnochan, burials from at least
twenty family cemeteries throughout Niagara are known to have been removed and relocated to
several cases where farm cemeteries were removed and relocated to newer cemeteries, either due to neglect or land development. For example, at the Steele Cemetery in Humberstone Township, all members of the Steele family have been moved to the Bethel United Cemetery while the Steele Cemetery continues to be used by several local families. The date of the Steele family reburial is unknown, but it occurred sometime prior to Reive’s visit in 1929 as he notes there are no longer any members of the Steele family buried at their cemetery (Robbins 1991b:180). The dates of reburial are also unknown for two other examples. Adam and Magdalene Haines were first buried in Schram-Tinlin Cemetery and were later reburied in the Maple Lawn Methodist Burial Ground, and William and Gertrude Servos were moved by their children from the Servos Family Cemetery to Homer Anglican Cemetery. The specific motivations for reburial in these cases are unknown, but the result is a reshaping of the relationships between the living and the dead, and of the way in which the dead are grouped. By reburying the dead, descendants were changing not only the place of the dead, but they were also changing it to a cemetery that was not likely available when the deceased was alive.

Perhaps the most famous example of reburial in the Niagara region occurred in 1840 when General Sir Isaac Brock and Colonel John MacDonald were reburied in the Hamilton Family Cemetery in Queenston, in the third of their four burials. The two were originally buried at Fort George in Niagara-on-the-Lake after their deaths during the Battle of Queenston Heights, but were later reburied at the Brock Monument after it was built in 1824 (Morden 1929:71). Their reburial in 1840 was necessary after the monument was bombed by a disgruntled American. When repairs were completed in 1853, Brock and MacDonald were re-interred at the Brock Monument, where they remain today (Morden 1929:79).

public burial grounds. The total number of individuals reburied is less clear as in some cases the individuals are identified but in others a general notation is made that several reburials took place.
Additional evidence was found that even in cases where remains were not relocated, in some cases families included the identity of ancestors buried on the farm on new monuments in public cemeteries. During an “off the clock” walk through the public Mount Osborne Cemetery in Vineland, a monument commemorating Adam Konkle was spotted. This is the same Adam Konkle commemorated at the Konkle Family Cemetery (where the family name is also spelled ‘Kunkle’). The monument at the family cemetery is for Adam alone, while in Mount Osborne he is included on the stone for his son, Adam Jr. and his daughter in law, Ann. Both monuments, shown in Figure 3.5., record Adam Sr.’s death on September 17, 1813 at the age of 66 years.

Figure 3.5. Inscriptions for Adam Kunkle on his monument in the family cemetery (left) and in Mount Osborne Cemetery (middle) on an obelisk for his son Adam Jr. (right).
It is of interest to note that the inscription for Adam Jr. includes an extensive report of his military record and identity, connecting him to the British roots of the region. Re-commemorating his father on the same stone further enhances this identity of British loyalty. This chance encounter of a family member from the study sample indicates that family cemetery use is only part of the wider set of burial and commemoration practices that families used to display their identity and history.

Overall, burial during this period is highly variable with respect to who was buried with whom and the timing and nature of the transition to using public cemeteries. There is not one accepted set of practices for using a family cemetery, and individual family identity and experience is visible in burial and commemoration. It was not automatic for all members of a family to be buried together, as descendants moved away, family members opened their own separate cemeteries, individuals had specific wishes to be buried elsewhere, children opted for burial away from their parents, and in other cases parents away from their infants. Even once burial had occurred, decisions were not necessarily permanent, as the dead were reburied according to new and changing family relationships. Despite this variation, the overall trend was to discontinue using the family cemeteries established by the first generations of settlers.

_A Pleasant Heritage: 1900-present_

The majority of family cemeteries were closed by the turn of the 20th century, but many families throughout Niagara maintained a connection to the cemeteries

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13 The full inscription reads “Col. Adam Konkle, Born Jan'y 2, 1792. Served 3 Yrs. War 1812, afterwards Vol. with Gen'l Brock, fought at Queenston, Lundy's Lane & Fort George, was active quelling Rebellion 1837, commanded a horse Troop in Lincoln Co. 22 Yrs. afterward, was Major(?) in 3d Lincoln Bat. & was promoted Col. which office he held unto his death. Died Sept. 16, 1888: Aged 96 Y'rs, 8 M's & 14 D's.”
even though they were no longer using them for burial. Other families lost any connection they may have had to their cemetery. The range of experiences of families is evident in efforts to recreate cemeteries as sites of heritage or to remove cemeteries from the landscape by those who find them to be a nuisance. Somewhere between these extremes is a passive ‘time will tell’ trajectory that is neither maintenance nor neglect.

Connections to inactive cemeteries are maintained by descendants in various ways. The majority of maintenance efforts are carried out under the broad category of heritage preservation and include introducing a narrative of family history using monuments and interpretive signs. In other cases, family cemeteries are purchased and used by new groups. Just as active cemeteries impart an understanding of the lives of those using them, what becomes of them is equally telling. Only one cemetery is known to have been designated under the Ontario Heritage Act as a provincial historical site. The designation of the Carl-Misener Cemetery places an emphasis on the history of the land and the settlers buried there as opposed to the material culture itself, as only fragments of original monuments remain. As seen in the examples below, many Niagara families began using their cemeteries to re-establish a connection to family land and the memory of the ancestors who had originally established themselves on it. References to Loyalist roots appear in new monuments and signs, even though the Loyalists themselves did not commemorate this aspect of their identity.

The earliest example of a family re-commemorating their ancestors is at the May Family Burial Ground in Grantham Township. A monument erected in 1890 by the grandson of the original land owner a year before his own death in 1891, seen in Figure 3.6, reads:

“[on west side of monument] In Memory of William May Native of Germany. While living in the State of N.Y. near Albany, he joined

Figure 3.6. The May Family Burial Ground, showing the monument erected in 1890 by George May for his ancestors buried in the cemetery.
While the land the Mays acquired in Niagara is not mentioned, their loss of American land, a key feature of the Loyalist experience, is included. The connection to Loyalists and land is also presented at the Haynes Family Cemetery, where in 1948, members of the Haynes family organized a rededication ceremony of their family cemetery. A commemorative stone was set in concrete together with the remaining original headstones, as seen in Figure 3.7.

Figure 3.7. The Haynes Cemetery as rededicated in 1948 with a memorial stone in the centre and the original gravestones embedded on either side.

The names of multiple generations of the Haynes family are inscribed on the newer central stone, followed by a very specific record of the family’s land:

“All of whom with other members of their family lie buried in this plot and in honour of all those pioneers whose courage and labour made this land into our pleasant heritage. Erected 1948 by the executrix of Frederick Charles Haynes of the fourth generation to reside on and operate this farm which was granted to Adam Haynes, U.E.L. in 1784 by King George III.”

Included in the inscription on the central commemorative stone is “Adam Haynes of Butler’s Rangers.” Haynes descendants later discussed the re-commemoration in general, as well as the fact that no historical records have been found to show that Adam Haynes was in fact a member of Butler’s Rangers (Adkin 1985). Even without records, it is possible that this aspect of the family’s history had been passed down orally and accepted when the decision was made to rededicate the cemetery.
Other re-commemoration efforts focus solely on the specific identity of ancestors. At the Miller Cemetery in Willoughby Township, a new granite monument for the original Miller settlers was erected and the original monuments have been placed flat on the ground in front of the new marker, seen in Figure 3.8. The names of those who put up the monument are not included in the inscription, but it commemorates their great-grandfather and mother, grandparents, and their parents’ generation. Based on these dates, it is likely the monument was created in the early 20th century. The emphasis here is on the previous generations as no mention is made of family land. The last original monument in the cemetery dates from 1886, but Sarah Miller, who died in 1912, is included on the new monument. It is unclear where she is buried.
Descendants of the Stoner family in Humberstone Township rededicated their cemetery in November of 1972 with the unveiling of a new granite obelisk, seen in Figure 3.9, with the names of Stoners thought to be buried on the site but whose grave markers have been lost. Also commemorated on the monument are members of the Neff family who are buried on their nearby farm at their own family cemetery, but whose monuments have also been lost over time. The Neffs and Stoners intermarried (OGS 1998:ii), but had historically used their own cemeteries. No information has been found about the decision to combine the families or what has become of the bodies at the Neff cemetery, or the condition of the original site in general.

The Butler Burying Ground in Niagara Township includes family members of Colonel John Butler, who led the militia group known as Butler’s Rangers during the American Revolutionary War. It is thought that Butler is buried here even though a monument was never placed at his grave. Members of the Clench family are also buried here in an underground vault. The original marble slabs for members of the Butler family have been laid flat in front of granite replicas, seen in Figure 3.10. There is also a plaque with a biography of Colonel Butler and a monument outlining the military action on the Butler farm during the War of 1812. Even though Butler had died in 1796, his burial place is the site of a connection between the earlier Revolutionary War and the centrality of the War of 1812 in the region’s history.

Figure 3.9. The monument at the Stoner Family Cemetery with the names of several generations of the Stoner and Neff families. No original stones remain at either cemetery.
Knowles (1997:158-60) recounts the efforts to commemorate Colonel John Butler at the family burial ground beginning in the early 1900s, as the cemetery had become quite run down and Butler himself was being presented in American history as a rogue and unethical military officer, a much less flattering image than his status as a war hero to Niagara residents. These efforts were hindered by debates over the actual burial place of Butler, legal issues with the farmers who then owned the land, and the lack of funds raised from the public or from provincial sources that feared subsequent requests for other monuments as the centennial of the War of 1812 approached (Knowles 1997:159).

During these ongoing efforts, care of the cemetery was entrusted to the Niagara Parks Commission in 1907 (Knowles 1997:160). Sixty years later, the monuments for various members of the Butler family were recreated in granite. An additional granite monument is inscribed: “The Niagara Parks Commission erected
these markers in 1967 Canada’s Centennial Year. The corrected inscriptions have been used.” The “corrected inscriptions” referred to include the traditional inscriptions of AE, Yrs, and Mo’s being re-inscribed as Aged, Years, and Months. More serious and confusing alterations include adding information and recombining individuals who were, or were not, originally commemorated together. An original monument is inscribed: “Jane M. wife of Robert Rist died Oct. 31, 1831 aged 37 years.” The corrected monument has been inscribed: “Jane wife of Robert Rist late Captain in the 37\textsuperscript{th} Regiment and eldest sister of Charles Richardson. Died Oct. 31\textsuperscript{st} 1831 Aged 37 Years.” This tablet was erected as a family monument by Charles Richardson A. D. 1835.” This inscription, except the last line, has also been inscribed on the duplicate granite monument for Ralfe Clench and his daughter Eliza who married Charles Richardson. It is possible that Jane appeared on the original monument for Ralfe and Eliza, and that this monument was originally “erected as a family monument by Charles Richardson,” but it is no longer legible and therefore the inscription cannot be verified. On another new granite tablet, Eliza Richardson and her daughter Eliza M. are re-commemorated together, even though both originally had their own marble slabs.

A different approach to re-commemoration was taken at the Lampman Cemetery in Gainsborough Township, the burial spot of Samuel and Charity Lampman. They are buried in what is now a worked field in a cluster of lilac and rose bushes. Samuel’s original slab marker is still standing, but Charity’s has gone missing since OGS volunteers recorded it in 1985 (OGS 1985). Instead of recreating the original monuments, a large granite boulder with a plaque with their names has been placed on their burial place in the field, shown in Figure 3.11. There is no re-interpretation of settler identity in this case. A boulder is much less likely to be lost over time compared to Samuel’s monument, so the result here is more of prolonging the visibility of the cemetery as opposed to the specific history of those buried here. The same can be said for the Miller and Butler cemeteries, where original fallen
monuments are expected to be lost, and the new monuments will serve as a replacement.

Not all cemeteries are modified with new monuments. The use of interpretive signs provides more detailed information and a specific narrative about the particular family’s Loyalist, military, and land-owning identities. Signs have been placed at cemeteries by descendants, municipalities, and the Monument Board of Canada throughout the region. Most have been placed by the cities of St. Catharines (May, Smith, Haynes, Schram-Tinlin, and McCombs Cemeteries) and Niagara Falls (Young-Misoner and Weaver). Signs from the Smith Family Cemetery and Young-Misoner Cemetery are shown as examples in Figures 3.12 and 3.13. Signs at the May, McCombs, and Smith Cemeteries indicate that family members were involved in erecting the signs.

Figure 3.11. The granite boulder marking the burial location of Samuel and Charity Lampman. Samuel’s white slab marker is seen behind the boulder while Charity’s is no longer visible.
Figure 3.12. Sign erected by the St. Catharines Heritage Committee and Smith Family at the Smith Family Cemetery, now the site of the Henry of Pelham winery.
Figure 3.1. Sign at the roadside of the Young-Misner Cemetery in Crowland Township.

Descendants placed a sign and plaque at the burial site of William Servos, who was discussed above in relation to his decision to be buried on his own land instead of in the nearby cemetery of his uncle. A sign attached to the wrought iron enclosure around the monument reads:

“William Secord Servos UE 1810-1862. Of the Township of Grantham in the County of Lincoln Niagara District, Province of Canada. Yeoman. Buried on his own land in 1862. The original land grant for the property on which Servos is buried was made to Thomas Butler, second son of Colonel John Butler, commanding officer of Butler’s Rangers. The Crown Grant of one hundred acres was made on May 6, 1796. William Secord Servos acquired the land on December 10, 1858. On his death, William left his property, then comprising sixty-seven acres, part of lot number nine in the first
concession, together with the broken front of same in the said Township of Grantham and County of Lincoln, to his niece Mary Servos, daughter of his brother Robert Franklin Servos. Executors to his Will were Abraham Moote and his nephew George Washington Servos. William was the son of Loyalist Jacob Servos UEL and Mary Comfort.” [dedicated May 2005].

This newer commemoration certainly sheds light on William’s decision to be buried on his own property instead of at the nearby cemetery of his family. While he did not own the property for long before his death, this memorial presents the significance of the land and its connection to Colonel John Butler, a prominent historical figure in the region, and to William’s Loyalist roots.

The commemoration of family and land by descendants of original settlers is also observed on monuments in public cemeteries, similar to the Miller Cemetery.\(^{14}\) There are other monuments, however, that were erected at the time of death, in some cases prior to 1820. An example of this type of inscription of place is seen at St. Mark’s Anglican Church Cemetery in Niagara-on-the-Lake on a monument that reads:

“This Sacred to the memory of John McFarland, a native of Paisley, Scotland. He was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort George and

\(^{14}\) Examples found at the Vineland Mennonite Cemetery for the Claus and Rittenhouse families are inscribed:

“John Claus, U. E., leading a party of Sixty Loyalists, joined Chief Joseph Brant of the Six Nations Indians in Mohawk Valley in 1777 and following the Revolutionary War in 1783 came from Tryon County New York State. On February 10\(^{th}\) 1797 he received a Crown grant for 300 acres composed of Lot No. Four in the 3\(^{rd}\) Concession and Lots No. Two and Three in the 4\(^{th}\) Concession in the Township of Clinton, County of Lincoln and Home District. On December 31\(^{st}\) 1798 he received a Crown grant for 400 acres composed of Lots Nos. Eight and Nine in the 3\(^{rd}\) Concession in the Township of Delaware, County of Suffolk, Western District. He was the pioneer of the Claus family being one of the first U. E. Loyalists to settle in Upper Canada, now Ontario. Erected by his great grandchildren.”

escaped from Green Bush near the close of the war, 1815. He returned to his place, Niagara, and, finding his property burnt up and destroyed by the enemy, it enervated him so much that he died a few months after, in the 64th year of his age.”

The following inscription is found at Homer Anglican Church outside of St. Catharines:

“In 1638 Wm. Havens of Alerywith Wales was in Portmouth RI. In 1658 he moved to NJ. Children John, Wm., Daniel, Nicolus and two girls. In 1783 John’s grandson Wm. Havens and wife Lydia Masters and six children John, Wm, George, Hannah, Sarah and Elizabeth settled on Lot 8 Con 7 Grantham. Wm Havens May the 30, 1738 Dec 21.1800. Lydia Masters July the 3 1742 Oct 2 1817”

Commemoration of a connection to land on original monuments erected at the time of death at family cemeteries were observed in only two family cemeteries, and they occur almost 100 years later than the McFarland and Havens monuments. At the Lymburner Cemetery in Caistor township, the monument for a descendant of the original settlers, who was the caretaker of the cemetery until his death in 1979, reads in part “born on this farm 1909.” Also at the Lymburner Cemetery is the gravestone of Jacob Lymburner (1796-1874) that reads “In memory of Jacob Lymburner who died May 6th 1874 aged 77 years and 8 months. Jacob the first white boy born in these parts.”

The monuments in the Lymburner Cemetery have undergone extensive repair work including the drilling of metal supports into marble slabs and the painting of inscriptions or entire monuments. The inscription on Jacob’s monument is not a traditional style when compared to contemporary stones in the cemetery, such as that of his wife Anna, both of which are seen in Figure 3.14. It is possible

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15 Other inscriptions of place used at the time of death are found but are more general references to Niagara or a particular township.
that the inscription became illegible or difficult to read and was re-carved. As a result, it is unclear if the phrase was original or was added later during repairs.

A similar reference is found on the heritage sign erected at the Haynes Family Cemetery that “Peter Haynes was the first pioneer child to be born in Grantham Township.” Specific mention of being the first white child is included in the burial records of the sexton of Drummond Hill Cemetery for a John Allison. The entry from August 16th, 1900 includes mention that he “was the Eldest son of Thomas Allison who was the first white male child born at St. David’s…. “ (Robbins 1991a:186). A headstone for Rebecca Biggar at Drummond Hill Cemetery in Niagara Falls is inscribed “first white child born on / Niagara frontier Sept 26 1876 / 8 dys after her parents walked / from New Jersey to Bender farm / died Oct 8 1880 / her parent interred in Lundy’s Lane.” The original monument has been removed from the cemetery and placed at the Lundy’s Lane Historical Museum with a modern replica now marking the grave (Kamolfy-St. Angelo and Sloggett-Rivard 1985:53).

Being the first white child, or even the child of the first white child, was a distinction carried throughout life. In the case of Jacob Lymburner, whether the phrase is original or was added later, the decision to do so is interesting, as Jacob was the first white child born there, but his family were not the first settlers, white or not. The earliest settler of the township was a black man known as Diamond who arrived in 1778 and occupied the land surrounding Chippawa Creek later owned by both the Lymburners and Dochstaders, families discussed above for the proximity of their cemeteries on the creek. Diamond sold his land to the New York Loyalist Henry Dochstader in 1782, who, along with his family, were the first white settlers to Caistor (Page 1876:10). As Henry Dochstader’s children were born in New York, however, the title of first white child born in Caistor does go to Jacob Lymburner, but with much history behind it.
Figure 3.14. Monument for Jacob Lymburner (1796-1874), left, and his wife, Anna (1801-1879), right.

The second example of inscribed place is found in the Servos Family Cemetery. The gravestone for Mary Ball Servos (1827-1905) includes the inscription “Died at Palatine Hill” which was the name given to the Servos farm after the region in Germany where the family originated. Mary Ball Servos was discussed earlier as her husband was buried in the Anglican cemetery in town rather than on the farm. The monument of Mary Ball Servos, seen in Figure 3.15 appears to be a public display of her connection to the family farm related to her personal history with her husband. Mary’s monument is the last erected for a Servos family member buried in the family cemetery and, as one of only two obelisks in the cemetery, it would have been very prominent throughout the surrounding orchards and visible from the nearby home, before falling to lean on the stone wall surrounding the cemetery.
At the majority of family cemeteries, monuments erected at the time of death were not inscribed in ways that identified the deceased as settlers or expressed their connection to the Niagara region. Only monuments at the Lymburner and Servos Cemeteries commemorate the deceased’s connection to the specific land they owned. Both of these examples are broadly related to land, but not as an extension of Loyalist identity. They are instead indicative of a personal decision in the case of Mary Servos in 1905, and a possible claim of legitimacy at the Lymburner Cemetery, sometime after 1874, but likely in the 20th century when repairs were being carried out at the cemetery.

The Servos family was also reused by non-relatives. The cemetery was in use by members of the Servos family between 1807 and 1905. The acre of land with the cemetery was purchased in 1923 by Emanuel and Gustav Hahn, brothers from Toronto with ties to the Niagara region, but an unknown connection to the Servos family. Four members of the Hahn family are commemorated in the Servos cemetery. The timing of this is of interest when compared to a ceremony that was held at the Servos cemetery in 1928. According to a newspaper account of the event, the emphasis was on the significance and contributions of the Servos family in the Niagara region. The cemetery was “solemnly consecrated and set apart for burial purposes for all time” (Old Cemetery Consecrated 1928). The farm was still owned by Mary Servos Snider, but no mention is made of the previous sale of the cemetery. Two members of the Hahn family were in attendance, but their connection to the cemetery is not mentioned either (Old Cemetery Consecrated 1928). No monuments

Figure 3.15. The obelisk commemorating Mary Ball Servos, including the phrase “died at Palatine Hill.”
have been placed in the cemetery since the 1930 death of a member of the Hahn family, and Mary Servos Snider was not buried in the family cemetery when she died.

In comparison to the efforts discussed above to conserve or celebrate family cemeteries, many others have had a very different trajectory of alteration in the 20th century. The general approach to cemetery care during this time was captured by Reive (Robbins 1991b:303) who notes the Garner Burying Ground has “been placed in order which means that a nice lawn has been made, but many stones with their inscriptions have vanished. The main idea with many who beautify old neglected cemeteries is to level the ground, plant flowers and shrubs, and remove the old stones.” In many cases such as this, and in the many detrimental monument repair techniques discussed below, work was done with the best of intentions, but has resulted in cemeteries and monuments being impacted in a negative way. That the desire to “clean up” a cemetery simply involved removing visually unpleasing monuments is more indicative of the general attitude towards conservation as opposed to the deliberate destruction of historical material culture.

In the 1960s, this clean-up approach shifted from removing monuments to collecting them and embedding them in cairns or cement pads, examples of which are seen in Figure 3.16. Many of these were carried out as centennial projects in 1967, again indicating the positive intentions, in this case of celebrating pioneers. This irreversible practice, however, is incredibly detrimental to the historical fabric of the monuments and permanently alters any understanding of the cemetery once monuments are removed from their context of marking graves.
Monument repair at family cemeteries is often irreversible and too extreme for historical fabric, as seen in the examples in Figure 3.17. This work, however, can also often be considered as having been done with the best intentions as intervention is usually carried out when monuments are at risk of being buried or further damaged once they have fallen. Efforts usually involve materials and techniques that
are available and not costly, but are not appropriate for the historical material in the long-term.

Only since the 1990s has a conservation-based approach to the care of cemeteries and monuments become more widely developed and accepted. Standards specific to the conservation of historical Ontario cemeteries have also been developed (Anson-Cartwright 1998). In many cases, however, the last century of cemetery ‘care’ has permanently impacted what is even available for conservation or study today.

Figure 3.17. Repair work at the Clark, Lymburner, and Swayze Family Cemeteries, showing the extensive use of metal, most extreme in the centre image where struts have been bolted into the marble and painted.

Several examples of passive neglect leading to significant damage involve the disturbances of graves by animals. When the vault at the Butler Burying Ground collapsed, Carnochan (1912:2) recounts it was “open to the inquisitive and irreverent gamin, who has been known to carry off bones which should have been safe from such desecration.” A similar fate was recorded at the Haynes Cemetery in Louth Township, which was moved to White Churchyard “when the groundhogs started bringing up the skulls” (OGS 1997:ii). During this time, individual monuments were also removed in undoubtedly non-passive ways, such as the several monuments at
the Gregory Family Burial Ground that were used as disc weights by young descendants of the Gregory’s in the 1950s (OGS 1997:1).

There are other cemeteries, however, whose neglect is clearly deliberate and whose destruction was intended by those who found them to be a nuisance. For example, according to a heritage plaque at the May cemetery erected by the City of St. Catharines and the May family, “in 1903, a new owner … constructed a barn over part of the cemetery, removed some of the hedges and pulled down the tombstones. The May family initiated court proceedings in 1904-05. They were granted access rights to the cemetery, as well as compensation for damages.” Although at least nine individuals are thought to have been buried there, today only one monument remains, the earliest example of re-commemoration of descendants’ connections to their family and land, erected in 1890, as discussed above.

In the case of the Smith Cemetery, a family cemetery in Thorold Township that eventually became public, municipal workers removed, with the aid of sledgehammers, a number of fieldstones that were early head and footstones. A general unawareness of historical burial practices and a continued desire for easier grass mowing led to the removal of the stones as, according to a local official, “workers thought they were breaking up fieldstones brought to the surface by winter frost so they would not damage lawn mower blades” (Workers 1989).

A similar turn of events was recorded at the Tilman Culp Cemetery (also referred to as the Tufford Road Cemetery) when the land was sold to a farmer who removed the headstones in order to plant a peach orchard some time after 1906. As the cemetery was in poor condition at the time, local reaction was mixed, and a former township official is quoted as saying “people who had ancestors buried there let it deteriorate, … putting a peach orchard in was, in my opinion, an improvement” (D’Souza 1977). No one knows what became of the monuments, but there were many theories, ranging from them being cemented to make a cellar floor in the
schoolhouse on a nearby property, put in the nearby creek to reinforce the banks, or used as a fireplace lining by a local with a flair for decorating (D’Souza 1977). Figure 3.18 shows the sign that stands at the site today and is all that remains that indicates the presence of the cemetery.

Figure 3.18. All that remains at the Tilman Culp Cemetery is a sign that reads “Site of the United Empire Loyalist Cemetery Originally Known as Tilman Culp Family Burial Ground.”

Other family cemeteries have been lost to municipal planning or development. As the farm land of Niagara has been altered, especially for the several Welland Canals, family cemeteries have been relocated. The Hodgkinson Family Cemetery in Grantham Township was moved from the family farm to Victoria Lawn Cemetery in 1913 as it was in the path of the canal. The Hodgkinson family continued to use the new family plot in the public cemetery. In another example, the Ball Family Cemetery was moved to the edge of St. Mark’s Anglican Church
cemetery in Niagara-on-the-Lake, when Eden College was opened on the original Ball family land.

While several cemeteries were found in states of neglect, at most, broken monuments lay where they had fallen. Only one cemetery remains in the state of complete disregard that is likely how many others appeared in the past before being “cleaned up.” According to the OGS transcript of the Haun Cemetery in Bertie Township (OGS 1984b) there is only one monument remaining at the site. During my fieldwork, however, approximately 40 other monuments were found stacked and scattered throughout the plot, as seen in Figure 3.19. Many of the monuments are broken and it is no longer possible to determine the original cemetery layout.

![Figure 3.19](image)

**Figure 3.19.** The current state of original grave markers at the Haun Cemetery. At left, three piles leaning against a wire fence, and right, one of many stacks of monuments. There is currently no record of inscriptions of these monuments, although the OGS has compiled a list of those thought to be buried here.

It should be noted that neglect of cemeteries and preserving them as heritage monuments is not mutually exclusive. For example, the Haynes cemetery, rededicated and re-commemorated in 1848, was, in the early 2000s, the site of much struggle between descendants and the city over an adjacent community centre and skateboard park. Concerns focused on the unmarked portions of the cemetery being disturbed during construction, and the general disregard for the significance of the
site. Similarly, it was only after the monument commemorating ancestors was placed at the May Family Cemetery that the new owner damaged it. In neither case did the significance imparted by descendants resonate with unrelated parties. Even the prominence of the Butler Family did not result in swift action, as it took over a century to decide on a course of action for re-commemoration, once many of the original monuments had been lost or had become illegible.

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The history of Niagara family cemetery use presented here ranges from their creation to their current conditions. Throughout this time, burial and commemoration varied considerably in relation to the experiences of settlers and their descendants. While early cemetery use was influenced by practicalities of isolated conditions, settlers emphasized connections to their newly acquired land and created burial plots on areas of their farm that were often near water, and in cases where records remain, locations that had meaning and were chosen specifically. Some settlers created cemeteries in direct connection to the burials of members of First Nations who had occupied the land before them. While it is tempting to think of these plots becoming idyllic representations of settler families buried together on their land, after the burial of the first generation, any sense of cohesive burial practices, both within and between families, is lacking.

Once burial options expanded, extensive variation is visible in family cemeteries in terms of who is included, who is making decisions about inclusion, and the range of options for burial at different cemeteries, including the creation of new family cemeteries. The trend was overwhelmingly toward the use of public cemeteries, once they were available, or toward the expansion of family cemeteries to be more inclusive of a broader range of people. Some areas did not even have family cemeteries, as it was feasible to create church or community cemeteries earlier in
settlement due to larger populations in more urban areas. Many of these early cemeteries were shared by many denominations for decades.

As family cemetery use began to decline, the narrative about families that emerges is not indicative of the reality that was experienced. Families lost the connections to their land and ancestors when they stopped using their cemeteries, but these are the very aspects of their identity that are emphasized generations later. In many cases descendants moved the dead and their monuments, and installed new and corrected monuments and signs to reflect their interpretation of their family’s history in the region. While it is definitely part of their past, it is only one aspect that has been highlighted. Similarly, re-dedications and consecrations serve to re-assert the significance of these sites, something that is not necessary when they are in use. Other cemeteries have been completely removed from the landscape, suggesting further that there is no one ideal of families that can be established from their cemetery use, as not all families maintained any connection to their ancestors, whether they remained in the region or not.

Overall, the different generations who used, stopped using, and altered family cemeteries did so in specific contexts of the development of the Niagara region and the history of their families. The patterns of cemetery data discussed above are related to changes in these histories over time as well as differences between families at any given time. The experience and context of the creation and maintenance of cemeteries as sites of family history and identity was unique to each family. Even so, the themes of place, family and heritage are common among each family, even though their experiences of them differ.
CHAPTER FOUR: LAYERS OF MEANING IN NIAGARA FAMILY CEMETERIES

Throughout the history of family cemetery use from the first permanent Euro-American settlement in the 1780s to 2010 when fieldwork for this thesis was completed, changing connections to people and place are visible. Over generations, families made decisions regarding burial, commemoration, reburial, re-commemoration, dedication and re-consecration ceremonies, passive or active neglect, and heritage and preservation efforts. The patterns of variability and change in these cemetery data correspond to three periods. First, between the 1780s and 1850, settlers established a connection to their newly acquired land through the creation and use of family cemeteries. There was an aspect of pragmatism and convenience to the use of family cemeteries, with a lack of alternatives, and many of the first settlers do not have monuments that have survived to the present. Second, between 1850 and 1900, there was great variation in family cemetery use as it was expanded, restricted, or ended. By 1900 the majority of families had started using public cemeteries instead of their own. Third, since 1900 to the present, only nine family cemeteries have been used. Since 1950, inactive families cemeteries have been neglected and later recognized as sites of heritage by descendants who have re-established a connection between family and land through new commemoration efforts, or have been lost through active or passive neglect.

Arguably the greatest change in the history of family cemetery use is the introduction of public cemeteries. The outcome of this development was for families to diverge from the established practice of burying their dead on privately owned land in groups of their choosing in favour of burial on land owned by communities or congregations with an extended membership beyond the control of individual families. While the transition to public cemetery use is a key historical change, the characteristics of early cemetery use and the more recent maintenance or loss of a
connection to inactive family cemeteries are an integral part of the overall understanding of the families who used them.

While the changing relationships to land, family, community, and history that are visible in Niagara cemetery data are strongly connected, their emergence and emphasis roughly correspond to the three periods of cemetery use outlined above. Emphasis on family land and place was replaced by the growing importance of creating social and community ties that in turn shifted to the growing tension between memory and history. With reference to archaeological and historical studies, the following discussion explores these themes to trace the meaning of cemetery use and better understand the social changes experienced and shaped by settlers and their descendants.

**Place in Niagara**

Looking at the pattern of Niagara family cemetery use over time, there is an initial period of creating visible ties to new land through burial on private land. Evidence demonstrates inherent connections were being made, especially when compared to the explicit display of land ownership and settler identity visible in contemporary town cemeteries. Ultimately, however, these connections were not maintained by the descendants of original settlers. An understanding of this phase of cemetery use informs families’ changing relationships to land and also a broader shift away from identity based on an inherent sense of experienced family place and towards identity based on family history.

Evidence relating to cemetery location indicates that plots of land were selected for burial with consideration of practical and personal understanding of the broader farm landscape. Practical considerations included the geographical features of the land, such as soil type, elevation, and water sources. Furthermore, the built
landscape of residences, fields, gardens, barns and other farm buildings, and in some
cases enterprises such as mills and tanneries would have also been considered. There
is also evidence of locations selected based on personal choice and history, such as
Adam Kunkle requesting to be buried in the orchard he planted or Martha and
Aaron Abbott being buried where they slept under the stars on their first night on
their land.

While Niagara settlers initially lacked personal history and places of meaning
on their land, they clearly recognized First Nation burial places, and in many cases re-
used these established sites. It is unknown whether burial in First Nations’ cemeteries
was due to their ideal location relative to other possible locations on a given farm, or
to existing cemeteries being seen as sacred places. The re-use of earlier burial sites
could also be a form of more deliberate appropriation by settlers who marked the
transition in land ownership through the continuation of burial. No matter the
reason, the end result of cemetery re-use was the connection of settlers to a history
of their land of which they were not a part as newcomers.

Historical cases of the first white child born in a newly settled region being
identified do indicate that settlers celebrated being the newest inhabitants of the
region. No evidence was found of how these children were recognized at their birth,
but this identity clearly remained with them for life and became part of their family’s
history. In one case the son of the first white child was even recognized. References
in obituaries, diaries, and later on a monument at the Lymburner cemetery that
celebrate the first white child certainly suggest that settlers were aware of and
negotiated their identity as newcomers in relation to other, non-white groups.

No evidence of this emerging settler identity appears specifically in the
commemoration of the dead, however. The few monuments that remain from the
early 1800s rarely commemorate individuals beyond their name and dates of birth
and death. Unlike contemporary monuments in public cemeteries, there are very few
examples in family cemeteries of inscription of place of birth or death, and none of Loyalist origins. Furthermore, while the appropriation of First Nation burial grounds would have been recognized at the time of re-use, no visible evidence of this practice remains. Instead, early cemetery use shows that families were creating places of meaning that were inherently tied to their personal circumstance and experience of their land without long-term explicit displays of settler identity.

Evidence from plantation gardens in Colonial Virginia indicates the importance of creating social identity through use of space during early settlement when there are no social or sacred spaces that hold significance for newcomers (Kealhofer 1999). Excavation of two plantation gardens found striking differences in their structure as one referenced a medieval manor that separated the house from the landscape and reinforced the landowner as a traditional lord while at a second, the garden linked the plantation to the wider landscape and was used as a social setting that emphasized the role of the landowner in the growing community, rather than his role in his home (Kealhofer 1999:74). In addition to meaning created through garden structure, it was through the “ongoing process of creating gardens, maintaining them, and using them as social and political venues … that [landowners] used to define themselves as Virginians and Englishmen” (Kealhofer 1999:72).

Data from Niagara cemeteries indicate a similar use of land by settlers to situate themselves in a landscape void of personal history. Furthermore, the examples of related families who settled in close proximity to each other yet established their own cemeteries, such as the Culps of Clinton Township, suggest there was an importance in the family identity related to the individual farm rather than as a wider group in the region. Not every farm family had a private cemetery, however, suggesting there were additional ways lived experience of a farm created identity for settlers. The role of burial in creating a sense of place and history, however, has been recognized through numerous archaeological studies that explore
the relationship between social memory, identity, and the place and ritual of burying the dead (Buikstra and Charles 1999; Kujit 2001; Parker Pearson 1993; Silverman 2002). These archaeological studies demonstrate how people enact a sense of place and history through the continued practice of burial and commemoration that is specifically tied to their experience and the collective identity of the dead.

It is clear from historical studies that during the early settlement of Niagara prior to 1850 family identity became increasingly tied to their land, to the extent that the family farm was considered “the physical symbol of the family’s historical experience and identity in the community” (Gagan 1976:132). Cemeteries were a visible manifestation of a family's history on their land and became part of a wider farm and family identity. At cemeteries where graves were unmarked, families would be aware of the presence and placement of the dead. At others, the accumulation of monuments made this connection visible to all.

It is telling that very few monuments for original settlers were located during my fieldwork. While it is possible that in some cases monuments were erected and have been lost, due to the lack of suitable stone and masons prior to the 1830s in Upper Canada, these early graves were likely marked by field stones or wooden markers that were lost. That these less permanent markers were not replaced by the descendants throughout the 1800s indicates that the place of the dead was remembered as part of the experience and use of the cemetery and did not warrant renewed material marking. As discussed further below, this is in contrast to the numerous cases where descendants erected monuments for ancestors who had died generations earlier but did not have monuments visible in the 1900s.

By the 1840s and ‘50s when public cemeteries were increasingly available, the relationship between land and Niagara families was beginning to change. The first settlers’ relationship with their land was mainly related to its acquisition and the establishment of working farms. Their children often had a similar experience, either
acquiring land entitled to them as the descendants of Loyalists or inheriting part of their parents’ large parcels of land. By the 1850s, the third generation came up against the inheritance issues that saw families reluctant to divide their land any further. Gagan (1971:132-3) documents how the success and identity of earlier generations with land was no longer the dominant experience for the Denison family of Toronto:

“the pursuit of place, though not historically uncharacteristic of the Denison family, seems to have become endemic to the third generation, none of whom emulated the personal entrepreneurial success of their father and grandfather. One explanation may be that urbanization, fecundity and longevity conspired to deprive George Denison 2nd’s sons of the family’s traditional source of financial and social security, their land. By 1860, most of it had been either liquidated or subdivided into homesteads for the Denisons’ numerous children. … By the time George Denison 3rd reached maturity many of the traditional vehicles of the family’s ascendancy, land for example, were beyond his grasp.”

It was not only in terms of inheritance or economic value that families’ connection to land was changing. Add to this the transiency of children who relocated to acquire land or work in cities, families becoming connected through marriage, and the arrival of new immigrants from overseas, the dynamic of land that had been in play for the previous 50-60 years was no longer viable. In fact, at this point, it becomes difficult to even discuss a family’s relationship to their land as there had been multiple generations connected to original land parcels.

This changing relationship between Niagara families and their land has been documented in a broader context by historians. In his study of changing family identity over time, Gillis (1996:15) states that prior to the 1800s, “it was place, not past, that gave people a sense of their identity.” Families generally lost this connection in the 19th century and became increasingly interested in knowing and
documenting their past in ways not seen prior to the Victorian period. In his discussion of families, Harrison (2001:403-404) elaborates on the changing relationship between people and place with regards to burial practices:

“…throughout this era, which got underway with the domestication of animals and discovery of agriculture, the great majority of human beings lived and toiled on the land where their ancestors were interred, where they and their children and their children’s children would also be interred. This is no longer the case in Western societies. For the first time in millennia, most of us don’t know where we will be buried, assuming we will be buried at all. The likelihood that it will be alongside any of our progenitors becomes increasingly remote. From a historical or sociological point of view, this is astounding. Uncertainty as to one’s posthumous abode would have been unthinkable to the vast majority of people a few generations ago. Nothing speaks quite so eloquently of the loss of place in the postneolithic era as this uncertainty.”

The general loss of a connection to land documented by Gillis and Harrison indicates the changing burial practices in Niagara were part of a larger trend, but cemetery data relating to the overall increase in the variability of burial practices beginning in the 1850s suggests that there were other factors involved. Reburial, reuse of settler cemeteries almost 100 years after the first appropriation of First Nation burials, and the variable connections people were making to each other through the use of new burial places all suggest that changes were about more than relationships to land alone. This transition from burial in private to public space cannot be fully separated from the ties that were being made between people as well. Focusing solely on land and place provides an incomplete picture as it neglects the fact that the changes in burial practices are ultimately related to the changing placement of family members whose identities are an important element of patterns of burial and commemoration.
It is important to note that the transition to public burial was not an inevitable outcome but is specifically related to the context of Niagara. Contemporary burial practices during the 18th and 19th centuries in New England demonstrate a much different period of transition that sheds light on this. In comparison to the Niagara evidence, Deetz (1996:123-4) found “the literal packing of a small plot of consecrated ground [often with members of a single family] was typical of colonial burial practices, but towards the end of the eighteenth century, New Englanders began the practice of burial in small family plots. Such tiny cemeteries are scattered throughout rural Massachusetts and almost always date to the last decade of the eighteenth century or later. By the early nineteenth century, the concept of the modern cemetery had appeared, with carefully designated lots and only one body per grave pit.”

By this account, family cemeteries appeared at a similar time to those in Niagara but under a completely different set of circumstances. The identity of the families creating private cemeteries at this time is unknown, but presumably they were supportive of the American position during the conflict that saw the Loyalists relocate to Niagara. These American cemeteries, however, were only used for approximately 20-30 years, a span briefer than that of most Niagara family cemeteries, which would not likely result in the burial of many members of a given family. Deetz does not mention what this rapid change from churchyards to family plots to modern cemeteries means in the context of New England history, only that it occurred. The variation in emergence and duration of family cemeteries in these two contemporary contexts indicates that there was not a straightforward or uniform historical experience of transition between use of different cemetery types.

The decline in family cemetery use after 50-70 years suggests that the ties created by original settlers were not maintained over the long-term by their descendants. By the time public cemeteries began opening in the mid-1800s,
members of at most two to three generations had been buried in family cemeteries. This is not a relatively long period of time compared to the almost 175 years that have followed during which burial in public cemeteries has remained the norm. These results indicate that the social identity created through burial were not as influential for later generations as might be expected from other archaeological studies.

For example, the work of Saxe (1970) has had significant impact throughout the field of mortuary archaeology in his claims that corporate groups bury the dead in bounded cemeteries to legitimize their access to the restricted resource of land. Later modified by Goldstein (1981) to account for burial being only one way for groups to achieve such legitimization, this approach emphasized the importance and benefit of descendants maintaining a local identity through a connection to the burial place of ancestors. In contrast, not only were Niagara private cemeteries closed in favour of public alternatives, the timing of their closure coincided with the increasing restriction of the number of families who had access to the ancestral farm.

Saxe’s hypothesis has been criticized as being too narrow in focus to the point of losing sight of those who created the archaeological record (Morris 1991:148; Parker Pearson 1993:206). Ultimately, to assume that groups claim access to land without understanding who these groups are does not recognize that “social collectives and collective identities are constituted in historically and culturally specific ways” (Gerritsen 2004:145). Similarly, Niagara cemetery data show that relationship to land changed within families over generations and ultimately was not the only factor in changing cemetery use. As discussed below, family identity was changing in relation to their land, but also in relation to the connections being created on a wider social level, specifically the creation of community ties in Niagara.
People in Niagara

The period of transition from private to public cemetery use in Niagara is marked by considerable variation in the place of burial and cemetery membership. The changing relationships between family and community visible in mortuary evidence during the transition inform the growing importance of social ties and identity for these Niagara families descended from Loyalist ancestors. Compared to the strong connections to land and ancestral place created by original settlers, later generations, often as nuclear families, began creating identity in relation to their place in the community. There is, however, evidence of bringing forward an ancestral identity to public cemeteries through commemoration of family members buried on a farm, a foreshadowing of the incorporation of family history into social identity that is a key feature of later repurposing of inactive family cemeteries. The patterns of cemetery use during this period ultimately speak to shifting family relationships, the emergence of the nuclear family, the creation of community ties, and the use of a social venue to create family identity, all of which are explored below.

The insight gained into family relationships in Niagara relates to the growing variation in burial practices as the number of available cemeteries increased. In fact, the most variable data from family cemetery use comes from the specific examples of families negotiating this change. The spousal separation, remarriage, and a parent dying young that impacted cemetery use by members of the Servos, Gardner, Upper, and Dyke families, respectively, clearly show the unique connections between family history and burial practices. Other families, including the Culps, Servoses, Lymburners, and Uppers who were divided in their cemetery use make it clear that being part of a family did not mean that burial in their cemetery was a given. The examples of children being buried with grandparents while their parents were later buried elsewhere demonstrate a permanence in the shift away from family cemetery use. In contrast, the decision to remove and rebury ancestors, as seen most drastically in the Steele Cemetery, allows reinterpretation of the earlier decisions
made in a different context when options were more limited. Rather than allowing
general conclusions about family relationships, ultimately this variation highlights the
role of each family’s experience and decisions relating to individual members as a
main determinant of cemetery use.

Also evident during this period is the narrowing of the family group buried
together. Whereas earlier use of family cemeteries often included several generations
of a family descended from original settlers, grown siblings and their immediate
families now chose burial in separate public cemeteries. While nuclear family groups
dispersed from the ancestral place of burial, there are also clear examples where ties
to extended family identity were carried forward. Commemoration of family
members buried on family farms on the monuments of their descendents in public
cemeteries, or the more extreme cases of removal of farm burials to be included in
public cemeteries demonstrate a different but continued connection to extended
family.

In addition to a smaller family unit, there is a trend towards the expansion of
the social group of cemetery membership. This is evident both in the shift to burial
in community or church cemeteries and also the expanding membership of family
cemeteries when these were still in use. While there were certainly non-family
members included in private cemeteries prior to the 1850s, the broader membership
of in-laws and neighbours was much more widespread throughout the mid to late
19th century. Also, family cemeteries that expanded membership were in use longer
than those used by a single family, although ultimately all but nine have been closed
in favour of public burial by the early 1900s.

Considering this shift from ancestral to social burial place and group in light
of the diminishing relationship to the experience of family farms discussed earlier,
changing cemetery use indicates that this generation separated themselves from the
inherent and ancestral identity created though earlier use of private cemeteries and
situated themselves as members of a wider community. This evidence of the changing identity of families and their connections to wider social networks visible in Niagara cemetery data clearly parallels the themes addressed in recent studies by historians and demographers. Research has increasingly questioned earlier studies that stress the prevalence of the nuclear family structure and its emergence as a response to industrialization following generations of the extended family structure being the norm (Burke 2007:18; Ruggles 1987:9). Ruggles (1987:9-10) actually found evidence of increasing numbers of extended families following industrialization throughout England and America that challenges the widespread acceptance of the nuclear family. Additional research has shown the nuclear family was championed as an ideal of “social and moral stability” by Anglo-Protestant reformers (Sager and Baskerville 2007:9) and eventually became a myth of idealized family of past society (Gillis 1996; Ruggles 1987). Bradbury (1992:2) argues that the predominant family structure evident prior to rapid social, economic, or ideological change will often be later remembered as traditional and ideal, at the expense of the complexity of what was actually experienced.

This is not to say that the nuclear family was not present throughout the 19th century, only that “family and household structure is dynamic and potentially adaptive, not a prevailing, static, and unchanging concept” (Burke 2007:18). Furthermore, nuclear and extended families should not be considered as idealized traditional family types (Bradbury 1992:2) or be placed in opposition (Burke 2007:18). In fact, the work of Ruggles (1987:131) found evidence that extended family often included several generations of nuclear families such as “the nuclear kin of childhood – such as parents and siblings – or the dependents of nuclear kin – such as grandchildren” rather than more distant relations, suggesting a much more fluid relationship between different family structures. As stated by Bradbury (1992:2), “certain kinds of relationship, family structures, and demographic patterns” are more
popular during certain periods than others and their duration of being in fashion is variable.

Part of the renewed study of 19th century families has also included exploring sources beyond the census as a record of household membership. Doing so has expanded the understanding of relationships within a wider social network of family, neighbours, and friends in Upper Canada (Christie 2004:11; Noel 2003:273). Noel (2003:191) found an extensive pattern of social calling and visiting that, along with activities surrounding courtship, marriage, childrearing, aging, and death, created and maintained social networks and eventually transformed neighbourhoods into communities. Families were embedded in this wider support system and, “though one might inhabit a nuclear household as defined by census takers, one’s cultural and social world may be characterized by contacts with a wide range of kin, both close and distant” (Christie 2004:11).

While this complexity of family structure and relationships to wider social networks is visible in Niagara cemetery use, it is not often considered in studies of 19th century cemeteries. For example, the mourning practices of 19th century Victorians, often characterized by the periods of dress that correspond with stages of grief, have been argued to be engrained “firmly on the institution of the family” (Morley 1971:69). Gillis (1996:214) goes as far as stating Victorians “no longer grieved the community at large” as strict mourning customs “created and maintained a much stricter distinction between family and friends, even friends of a lifetime.” Similarly, Gillis (1996:203) attributes the use of family plots and vaults in Victorian cemeteries of North American and Europe in part to the increasing importance of the nuclear family. Results from Niagara, however, indicate that while the nuclear family is visible, there was also an expansion rather than narrowing of the social aspect of mortuary customs, cautioning against generalizations that restrict involvement in funerary rituals solely to members of a nuclear family.
The tension between family and community identity visible in changing cemetery use is the focus of O’Rourke’s (2007) study of the modern village of Lehonia, Greece. Through long-term cemetery survey and ethnographic interviews, O’Rourke (2007) found a decrease in the long-held practice of disinterring the dead from the family grave followed by placement within a communal shed in favour of placing a bone box with individual remains in front of the family grave. Exploring this modification of mortuary practices to emphasize family connections over community cohesion, O’Rourke (2007:394) found that villagers were negotiating their identity in a context of rising rates of in-migration, increased earning of income outside of the village, and improved transportation that facilitated socializing outside of the village. While results from Niagara differ in the trend towards an increasingly broad social aspect of burial by families, both studies demonstrate that families make visible their changing ideas of themselves, their communities, and their broader social experiences in their transformation of burial practices.

Considering the shifting emphasis between family and community identity visible in Niagara cemetery use, a brief discussion is warranted to address the links between cemetery use and creating community ties in Niagara. Recent archaeological studies of community focus on the social interactions and relationships that create locally significant and collective identity (Yaeger and Canuto 2000:6; Gerritsen 2004:145; Mac Sweeney 2011:18). While tracing the families in this study through their use of public cemeteries in Niagara was beyond the scope of this research, 16 This research focus developed in contrast to earlier studies that have been criticized for equating community with a shared residence of a site or settlement (Barnes 2011:674; Yaeger and Canuto 2000:3; Gerritsen 2004:144; Walsh and High 1999:257), essentially correlating community as the human occupants of a site (Mac Sweeney 2011:23). While a focus on the social component of community can expand to explore social interaction among diaspora, virtual, or political communities (Mac Sweeney 2011:20), it does not necessarily exclude examination of a spatial component. In fact, Mac Sweeney (2011:20) defines geographical community as one that shares space, but also “consciously identify themselves with that place and each other, ascribing to a sense of collective identity.”
current results suggest that continuing study in this way can inform how families
created and maintained a sense of community through their use of church and town
cemeteries. The Niagara cemetery evidence of the increasingly social nature of burial,
the use of public cemeteries for the creation of an explicit social identity through
commemoration of personal information not seen in private cemeteries, and the
historical evidence of cemeteries being used for social visiting or gathering certainly
suggest that cemeteries became sites of social importance to the communities who
used them. Further research has great potential to explore the specific ways burial,
commemoration, and visiting in public cemeteries created or maintained a sense of
community in Niagara. Furthermore, such research would allow continued
examination of the identities of the collective community and those of nuclear and
extended families.

Considering again the specific results of this research, the shifting sense of
identity visible in the changing patterns of cemetery use continues throughout the
following period of cemetery neglect and re-purposing. Exploring this trend
throughout the early 20th century expands the understanding of the intersection of
family and community life in Niagara and the increasing importance of family history
in the creation of identity.

Memory and History in Niagara

As families continued to make connections to their social networks in
Niagara through the use of public cemeteries all but nine family cemeteries in the
region were closed by the early 1900s. The overwhelming majority of inactive
cemeteries eventually became characterized by their state of neglect, and many have
been permanently removed from the landscape through active or passive means.
Following this neglect, in several cases inactive cemeteries have become the sites of
heritage displays, new monuments, and ceremonies commemorating the earliest generations of Niagara settlers. In doing so, a narrative of settlement, Loyalist identity, and land ownership that was inherent when cemeteries were actively used for burial has been explicitly introduced. The evidence of neglect and re-purposing in Niagara family cemeteries speaks to the processes of remembering and forgetting and more specifically to the creation of a narrative of the history of Niagara settlement and settlers.

The circumstances of cemetery care once inactive varied with the proximity, ability, and desire of families to maintain them. Even so, the majority of inactive cemeteries were soon in a state of neglect. So not only did this generation not continue to create connections to family and land through burial and commemoration in family cemeteries, in many cases the historical connections of their ancestors were not maintained or, at the extreme, were purposefully destroyed. By the time family cemeteries had become neglected to the point of some or all monuments being lost or graves being disturbed and uncovered, their appearance and the history in them had become permanently altered. Any remaining wooden markers would have been lost during this time and damaged stone markers were often removed to improve the cemetery’s appearance.

Brooks (1989:78) outlines various factors that contributed to the decay of Victorian and Edwardian cemeteries in England including financial constraints of operators who focused on upkeep of active areas of the cemetery rather than historical sections. The maintenance of historical cemeteries was also hindered by a general “failure to appreciate or understand nineteenth-century landscape and monumental design” (Brooks 1989:80). Zielinski (1991:4) notes the widespread occurrence of cemetery decay and its increase after industrialization in Canada, as seen in Figure 4.1. Zielinski (1991:4) further states that “natural decay, deterioration caused by environmental pollution, vandalism and the efforts of those interested in
“tidying-up” abandoned or rarely used sites” are the greatest contributors to the loss of historical cemeteries. This decay is clearly seen in the family cemeteries of Niagara, and is documented more widely for cemeteries of all kinds throughout the Peninsula by Reive (Robbins 1991b) and Carnochan (1912). Similar to Niagara family cemeteries, Cook (2011) found a cycle of use, decay, and renewal in the city cemetery in Hamilton, Ontario, indicating that this pattern occurs in both rural and urban cemeteries, as well as in both active and abandoned cemeteries.

![Increasing Rate of Cemetery Monument Decay](image)

**Figure 4.1.** Increasing rate of cemetery monument decay, from Zielinski (1991:4).

The majority of studies on the neglected condition of historical cemeteries focus on factors of cemetery management as the cause, such as the limited budget or lack of awareness noted by Brooks (1989). Furthermore, the outcomes of decline tend to be discussed in relation to the physical appearance of overgrown cemeteries and deteriorated monuments. Less consideration has been given to understanding how such widespread decline is related to changing motivations and experiences of the descendants of the dead. Tzortzopoulou-Gregory (2010) considers the lack of
studies that explore the role of neglect, or forgetting, in historical cemeteries to be in contrast to the growing number of studies that explore the role of cemeteries as active sites of remembrance for social groups. Instead, Tzortzopoulou-Gregory (2010:287) advocates for evidence of the abandonment of monuments and cemeteries and the related processes of forgetting to be studied in conjunction with questions of remembrance, especially due to the widespread cycle of use, neglect, and re-purposing.

Looking at the current state of Niagara family cemeteries, there are certainly examples of decline due to families moving from the region, such as the Park family, and the more overt destruction of monuments by non-family members at the Miller II and Culp cemeteries. The most common scenario, however, involves a more passive neglect that speaks to a loss of connection by later generations who remained in the region but no longer used their family’s cemetery.

Gerritsen (2004:149) differentiates cemeteries still in use and inactive cemeteries still visible in the landscape by the reduced social role of inactive cemeteries that “no longer … function in the same way in the constitution of communities, as that is something that occurs through social interaction.” Following the move to public burial in Niagara, subsequent generations did not experience their family’s cemetery through continued burial with their ancestors on private land. That this loss of experience and connection resulted in a deteriorated condition speaks to the importance of continued use of cemeteries for burial in the creation of connections to ancestors and the past.

Similarly, at the nine family cemeteries that remain in use, heritage displays and re-commemoration have not been introduced. The only exception is the commemoration of the first white boy at the Lymburner Cemetery. Its proximity to the Dochstader Cemetery that was used by relatives and the likely more recent involvement of the caretaker have probably played a role in the assertions of family
legitimacy as early settlers with the first white child in the region. This lack of display suggests that maintaining connections created through burial impedes neglect and removes the need for explicit displays of connection to ancestors, land, and history.

Francis et al. (2005:198) found that renewal of inactive cemeteries in London, England was initiated by citizens who recognized these cemeteries as having value due to their “biodiversity and urban green space” and heritage and social value. Furthermore, Francis et al. (2005:213) found that the connections that were being made by visitors, some of whom were relatives of the dead while others were of no relation, had a “focus on communities that are as imagined as they are ‘real’.” Within the context of Niagara, however, the connections being made at inactive historical cemeteries include, and are often initiated by, members of the same family still living in the region. Renewed activity at these cemeteries involves re-commemoration, rededication ceremonies, and more general repair or clean-up efforts. These efforts focus specifically on the identity of the dead and their history in the region to create a narrative of family history and more broadly of the Loyalist settlement of Niagara.

Before exploring the pattern of repurposing historical sites further, it is useful to briefly consider the relationship between memory and history that has implications for understanding the changing use of Niagara cemeteries. The tension between memory and history as outlined by Halbwachs (1980:78) was based on his argument that there is a fundamental difference between memories based on experience and history that emerges when the “tradition ends and the social memory is fading...” As such, memory is alive until it fades into history where it is reconstructed to suit a traditional historical narrative.

This distinction was extensively explored and expanded by Nora (1989:8) who outlined the fluidity of memory in opposition to the reconstructive nature of history in his introduction of the concept of lieux de mémoire, places of memory that represent the wider landscape of experience to which there is no longer a connection.
Nora (1989:12) states that “lieux de mémoire originate with the sense that there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally … that without commemorative vigilance, history would soon sweep them away.

Specific to the understanding of Niagara families, Gillis (1996:xvi) outlines the increasing importance of maintaining family archives and history that emerged during the Victorian period that “earlier generations would have found quite embarrassing and totally unnecessary.” He goes on to distinguish families lived ‘with’, those that people are born and married into, from families lived ‘by’ that are “constituted through myth, ritual, and image” Gillis (1996:xv). Families lived by tend to be idealized and static, evidence for which has been found for Upper Canadian families who are remembered as more static and less mobile than they really were (Gagan and Mays 1973; Nett 1981).

This tension between memory and history is clearly visible in Niagara cemeteries where decreasing connection to family farms and the meaning created through the experience of ancestral place was followed by the creation of meaning through the display of the history of that place, now static and inactive. As lieux de mémoire, Niagara cemeteries have been used to reconstruct history at the level of families displaying their own history in the region, and the broader level of the narrative of Niagara settlement.

Many families have erected new monuments to replace originals that are illegible or missing. In these cases, such as the Lampman boulder or the Stoner obelisk, the names of the dead are re-introduced without any interpretation of their history or identity. The focus is instead to extend the memory and identity of the dead at inactive sites in danger of being lost. While not re-interpreting historical family identity, they are adding approximately another century to the visibility of their
ancestors’ burial place. Small (2002:164) identified several additional ways that descendants used the Nisky Hill Cemetery in Pennsylvania as a venue for the ongoing creation of social identity through the alteration of historical monuments and burial plots. Placing military flags at veterans’ monuments, cleaning monuments to make them stand out, or placing flat markers in association with larger historical family monuments all serve as cemeteries are all examples of how cemeteries are used to negotiate identity, both of the dead and living.

As discussed above, the re-commemoration of ancestors in Niagara is in contrast to the earliest generation of settlers who did not have permanent monuments yet were not re-commemorated by any generation of their descendants throughout the 1800s. Generations throughout the 20th century, however, have erected new monuments, indicating the increased importance of family history that was not necessary when identity was created from a more inherent experience of place. A detailed example of this relates to Colonel John Butler who, following his death in 1796, did not receive a monument that survived to the 20th century despite his being renowned throughout the region for his campaigns during the American Revolutionary War. In fact, even his place of burial remains unclear and continues to be debated. Efforts beginning in the early 1900s culminated in a 1967 project that introduced replica monuments and heritage signs to the family cemetery making clear Colonel Butler’s connection to the cemetery and local history.

Also highlighting the more recent emphasis of family ties and history are examples of new monuments using corrected versions of earlier inscriptions. While it appears that the original information is present, correcting appears to include editing and reformatting. At the Butler Family Burying Ground connections not visible on original monuments are made between family members. At the Stoner Family Cemetery, members of the Neff family are included on a new monument erected to replace all original monuments that have been lost even though they were (and
possibly still are) buried on their neighbouring farm. Future researchers will be challenged to distinguish the original from revised inscriptions, and, if the historical monuments are lost, the visible record of the cemetery will be permanently altered.

There are also a range of heritage displays that highlight the Loyalist origins of the family, the general experience of losing and acquiring land, and the more specific listing of parcels of land originally owned. Commemoration of these aspects of family history does not provide a sense of the changing identity of family in relation to their land and community. Instead, the narratives of historical families present a fairly static representation of the generations who are buried in the cemetery. Additionally, the majority of family cemeteries visited during my fieldwork are no longer connected to a wider farm landscape. At the extreme, they are now found adjacent to parking lots, in back yards, or at the roadside. Others are surrounded by fields but have no apparent connection to an original farmstead or farm buildings or the lots and concessions listed on interpretive signs. Re-commemoration of the larger original land holdings of which cemeteries were originally a part, and of which are now the last remaining feature, further emphasizes them as static representations of the farms and families of the past.

Considered together, these individual displays speak to the creation and maintenance of a broader narrative of the Loyalist experience and the settlement of Upper Canada. The colonial experience in Southern Ontario has been found by Ferris (2009:170) to differ from the use of “overt military force, slavery, genocide, or deprivation” observed elsewhere. Instead, combined with ideological and bureaucratic constraints, “any European dimension to influencing, constraining, or altering the world of the Indigenous occurred [through] the more insidious and unacknowledged impact of massive population increases that created a previously unimaginable scale of non-Native settlement, encroachment and land clearance” (Ferris 2009:170).
The evidence of settlement in Niagara indicates that this was the case as outlined in Chapter Two. First Nation history on Niagara land was also visible to settlers in existing road and water travel routes and place names. Settlers gradually expanded transportation, began plans for the first canal, and named new settlements such as St. Ann’s and Moyerville after those who settled there. While townships were originally numbered, they, along with counties, were eventually named after existing places in Britain. Given that the majority of early settlers were born in America or had recently arrived there from Germany, however, these British places were likely unknown to them. The result was a blending of the First Nation, British, and settler histories of the land.

Evidence of the reuse of the burial places of First Nations groups by Niagara settlers and evidence of the celebration of the first white children born in the region also comes from this period of initial settlement. A difference of these two practices is that the celebration of the first white births served to distinguish the new settlers from those who came before, while burial together, even if motivated by a desire to appropriate place, connected the two groups in a physical way. It is of interest that over time the identity of separateness remains, but the practice of connection is not remembered or displayed to the same extent. In fact, the dominant understanding of settlers’ relationship to First Nations’ burial grounds is one of looting and vandalism, whereas only one mention has been found in the many histories of St. Marks Anglican Church in Niagara-on-the-Lake of its creation on an existing cemetery.

No evidence of cemetery re-use by settlers exists at cemeteries today in the material culture and it is only through brief mention in historical sources that this

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17 A connection between the ruins of Crowland, England and the newer Crowland of Niagara was made by Duff (1928:13) in his romantic musings based on his travels and the idea that “antiquity … is especially dear in a young country, and maybe that is why we in Canada like to link ourselves, where and when we can, with a far past.”
practice is known. The graves of the dead of First Nations are not visible, nor is an explicit settler identity found on the monuments of the Loyalists themselves. It is interesting to note that 20th century re-commemoration efforts are the only way First Nations individuals are visible in family cemeteries, although not in a way that indicates they are buried there. Two City of St. Catharines heritage signs, at the Smith and May cemeteries, seen in Figure 3.12, include the same image of two men, one a Loyalist soldier and one a First Nations soldier, with no mention of these being depictions of anyone buried in the cemetery. That the image is the same indicates that there is possibly not a wider message, except to recognize the contributions of First Nations individuals in conflict during the period of settlement. A provincial heritage plaque at the Butler Burying Ground recounts the military conflict between Six Nations and Western Indian soldiers and American soldiers that was fought on the Butler farm. All commemorations of First Nations are related to their military identity and their role in the ongoing conflict with the Americans. Again, this serves to emphasize family cemeteries as they exist today as static representations of what existed at the time of renewal without consideration of the depth and variation in the history of their use.

The considerable emphasis of land ownership introduced into inactive cemeteries through heritage displays as noted above is often accompanied by family history relating to American origins and military support of the British. Loyalists themselves did not explicitly commemorate any aspect of their Loyalist or settler identity. Even inscriptions of American places of birth, while rare, do not necessarily indicate a Loyalist connection as many Americans arrived in Niagara in the decades after the original Loyalist settlement.

Knowles (1997:20) has documented emergence of the Ontario Loyalist identity as “an aristocratic, principled, Yankee-hating Anglophile,” an image that does not represent the actual diversity of settler identity and experience. This
creation of a Loyalist tradition beginning in the late 19th and early 20th century involved the writing of histories, creation of Loyalist historical groups, and the use of monuments. Through these means, the now dominant image of the fiercely British, American-hating, Anglo-Saxon Loyalists took shape, even though this was not the historical experience of this group of settlers with a range of origins and motivations for settling in Niagara.

There are public monuments that have been erected throughout the Niagara peninsula to commemorate notable historical events and individuals that are part of a wider public celebration of Ontario’s past, often headed by historical organizations. Historical plaques and signs are prominent throughout the region, with different agencies often represented at the same site. For example, the Salem Church in St. Catharines was established by a congregation of freed African-American slaves and is now the site of five historical plaques erected by different levels of government or the church (Johnston and Ripmeester 2010:131-2).

The study of monuments has been recognized as a valid source of data that can be used to understand the creation of identity in colonial contexts. Similar to the archaeological study of monuments that commemorate the dead in cemeteries, monuments to commemorate national or social history are also studied archaeologically, but with a focus on public memory and the creation of tradition (Osborne 1996) or to mark a place and belonging (Baldassar 2006). Speaking specifically of settler societies, Bell (2006:11) states that “settler colonials themselves could be well attuned to how visual representations and objects can play primary roles in shaping senses of the past and the relationship of people to place; in attempted constructions of the ‘shared memories’ and narratives that societies, in particular new societies need.”

The evidence from family cemeteries presents a slightly different perspective. While re-commemoration certainly informs the wider narrative that was being
created about Ontario settlement, it is motivated at the level of local families rather than public figures. In the case of heritage signs, the local municipality or city is the highest level of government involved. Only the Butler Family Burial Ground has a provincial heritage plaque, and it recounts the military events that took place on the farm. Inactive family cemeteries are not public spaces in the same way as Brock’s Monument in Queenston Heights, which is surrounded by park space for social use.

The growing number of archaeological studies of colonial encounters in the British settlements of South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand provide several examples of the study of the creation of identity in new locales. For example, research by Lester (2001) explores how in the 1820s the British settlers of South Africa sought to maintain differences of gender and class in their identity among locals. It was not until the political and communal security of the British was threatened after military conflict in the 1840s that a shift occurred to create a cohesive settler identity. The earlier differentiating identity that emphasized religion, ethnicity, and class was replaced by one that solidified the group in relation to the local Xhosa group and Dutch speakers. Identity became based on the characteristics of resolution, enterprise, industry, and triumph over adversity and was reinforced through writings, memoirs, commemorative ceremonies that resulted in a “cult of the settler.”

The work of Baldassar (2006) explores the design and placement of monuments commemorating Italian immigration to Australia in the 1950s and ‘60s. The focus is on the tensions between the original settlers, the first generation born in Australia, and later arrivals from a second period of immigration, each of whom had different ideas of how to represent Italian ethnicity, migrants, and identity. In a different example focusing on the role of the remains and commemoration of the dead in creating settler identity, Bell (2006:11) studied the process whereby the body of a settler was moved to a hilltop sacred to those who were native to New Zealand.
In addition to the placement of the remains of an individual identified as an “original settler” the monument to commemorate his burial became a highly visible point in the landscape. Of interest was the involvement and approval by indigenous people at the time, but the later contestation by their descendants.

Similar to Niagara, these studies highlight the process of creating identity in new locales and show how identity shifts over generations in relation to the identity of other groups in the region and to the changing historical narrative of settlement. Exploring this changing experience and narrative through interviews, Johnston and Ripmeester (2007; 2010) have studied public perception of a monument commemorating Private Watson, a soldier killed in the Northwest Rebellion of 1885, in downtown St. Catharines, and of heritage signs throughout the Niagara peninsula. Their results indicate that the majority of local residents do not widely identify with either monuments of local history or their connection to a national historical narrative. With regards to the Watson monument, they found that “passing time, shifting focus, and the unwillingness or inability of both teaching and receiving generations to continue to commemorate Watson and the Northwest Rebellion have left them almost completely irrelevant to local people” (Johnston and Ripmeester 2007).

These results certainly bring into question the experience of the public when viewing heritage signs in inactive family cemeteries on parcels of land that look nothing like the original farm would have looked. Several signs were unveiled with ceremony for the wider public, but the lasting impact of these heritage efforts is not known. It also is not clear the degree to which the specific identity of the family plays a role in the wider recognition of the cemetery, or whether they are celebrated more as representative of a Niagara pioneer family.

This evidence of commemoration is a source of data that allows an understanding of the ways that settlement and identity is both created and
remembered by different generations. Following the absence of any explicit commemoration of a settler identity by the first generation of Niagara Loyalists, their descendants later introduced this very identity while emphasizing the aspects of the Loyalist tradition that were becoming popular throughout Ontario. This commemoration of local identities and ties to the Loyalist tradition is only the latest stage of cemetery use that has spanned over 200 years.
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The history in Niagara family cemeteries is abundant, complex, and variable. As demonstrated in this research, a cemetery-based history of the region speaks to its earliest settlement and the long-term and changing relationships that families made to their land, each other, their community, and their history. In addition to its contributions to Niagara settlement and family history, this research clearly establishes the significance of historical cemeteries as the basis for the archaeological study of a broad range of social and historical processes. Ultimately, this research demonstrates the value of using mortuary material culture to explore historical contexts beyond those of death and burial. Doing so in Niagara has provided insight into a broad scope of historical relationships and social change experienced and shaped by generations of families that are not visible in other sources of data. The purpose of this chapter is to discuss these contributions and their implications for Niagara history, historical archaeology, and future research.

Niagara Cemeteries, Families, and Communities

Early cemetery use beginning in the late 1700s created and made visible the connections between settler families and their farms. By the 1850s, however, cemetery use became highly variable and resulted in the increased use of community and church cemeteries and the closure of most family cemeteries by 1900. Over this period, families changed the placement of the dead from burial with their ancestors on their own land to burial with a group of the wider population, suggesting the growing importance of community ties over earlier ties to their farm. Following the fairly rapid transition to public burial, inactive cemeteries became sites of neglect, and some were eventually lost through intentional destruction or gradual attrition of grave markers. Other neglected cemeteries later became sites celebrating the heritage
of the collective identity of original settler families in conjunction with the emergence of a national narrative of Loyalist history.

More broadly, these results demonstrate how generations of Niagara families used the dead to create and alter connections to identity, family, land, and history. Early on, identity was inherently linked to a shared ancestral place. Later generations focused instead on their identity in the wider community and in doing so, they lost any earlier connection made by their ancestors. Descendants only began to reclaim ties to their past by realigning with the dead in the 1900s by incorporating the history of their ancestral place, rather than their experience of it, into their now community-based identity.

The depth of data for individual cemeteries speaks to the variability in the choices and circumstances of each family. These choices were made by families with various experiences of land ownership and mobility, not to mention the size and number of generations to have lived in the region or the timing of the deaths of its members. The Miller and Willick families both limited cemetery membership to immediate family and included only a husband and wife and their children who died young. The young Servos children were buried in the family cemetery with their grandparents but their parents who died years later chose burial in the Anglican cemetery that existed when their children died but was not used. Four Culp families, at least three of whom were brothers, established four separate but nearby cemeteries. The Fretz, Sherk, and Graham families included neighbours in their cemeteries. The Steele family was removed from their cemetery which continues to be used by members of the community.

Belonging to a family did not automatically result in burial together or in cemetery upkeep, and earlier decisions could be altered by later generations through reburial or the removal or destruction of monuments. The outcomes of cemetery membership and duration of use demonstrate the complexity and range of a family’s
relationship to its members and to non-family connections. While providing great insight into each family, it is difficult to discuss these relationships more generally beyond their not being inevitable or static. It is in the temporal phases of cemetery use, specifically relating to changes in the place of burial, that the results of this study speak to a broader history of settlement in the region. Creating and sharing social space and the loss of connection to private and experienced space became the norm over the span of one to two family generations. Expanding family cemeteries or joining public cemeteries created community ties in long-term and visible ways.

This difference between commemoration in private and public space is also telling of the importance of history in the creation of a community-based identity. From their earliest use, community and church cemeteries included commemorations of a Loyalist past and land ownership. Farm families who began using public cemeteries after closing their own also appear to incorporate their history in the region on their new gravestones. Similar commemorations do not appear in family cemeteries until they became inactive and essentially no longer private. Separated from their original context of a meaningful place on a larger working farm, cemeteries become venues for public display, not just of the past, but the place of the dead within it.

The written history of Niagara tends to focus on milestones and characteristics of different settlements without addressing the means or desire of people to make their own connections and history visible within their community. Certainly, the general understanding of the settlement of Upper Canada includes the variability of settler origins (Turner 1994), their mobility (Gagan and Mays 1973), and the tendency to remember an idealized and uniform experience (Gillis 1996; Nett 1981). As settlers of Niagara, and more generally as generations of Upper Canadians, the families who created and used private cemeteries created layers of meaning that inform this understanding.
Furthermore, the existing historical understanding of Ontario family cemeteries has been framed by their current state of neglect. References to family cemeteries are made in passing and limit discussion of their creation to being the inevitable result of necessity and isolation. As this research shows, however, not only are there clear phases of use, neglect, and reconnection, the characteristics and timing of these phases relate to changing experience, identity, and historical context. Additionally, cemetery closure was not the last chapter in cemetery use as the circumstances of their neglect, loss, and repurposing are equally informative as the circumstances of their use for burial.

These cemeteries contain an abundance of history that ranges from personal to community and national narratives, yet they remain poorly understood and largely unexamined. In fact, at the outset of this research, the Niagara Peninsula was selected as a starting point for data collection, essentially as a test case prior to continuing research throughout all of Southern Ontario. Needless to say, the scope of a provincial study quickly narrowed as the number of Niagara family cemeteries and the depth and variability of data within each became apparent. Furthermore, while the purpose of this research, to explore how historical family cemeteries inform the understanding of 19th century Ontario, was clear from the outset, expectations of possible results or the level on which it would be possible to discuss the historical context were not apparent until fieldwork was underway. In light of this, the insight gained into the nature and potential of cemetery data as the basis of archaeological study of historical experience and change merits discussion.

*Niagara Cemeteries and Historical Archaeology*

The results of this research demonstrate that cemetery data are particularly suited to exploring questions of the historical context in which cemeteries were
created and used. In order to continue to study mortuary sites in this way, however, cemeteries must be better understood as places that hold such historical meaning. Niagara family cemeteries exhibit several characteristics that allow for broader discussion, which have been consistently overlooked within the field of archaeology.

The family cemeteries of Niagara clearly show evidence of being places with phases of use associated with the goals and experiences of distinct and changing generations. Results also indicate that monuments are only one aspect within this wider history of cemetery creation, use, and neglect. Cemetery data are also present in observations of cemetery membership, location, use for non-burial purposes, and the relationship between the cemeteries of a given region. Furthermore, it is not changes to the specific attributes of size or type of monuments that allowed interpretation on a level relevant to the historical context of Niagara. This fact so quickly became evident that monument dimensions ceased to be collected during fieldwork. Rather, meaning was obtained through observations of the changes in the use of monuments as visible and long-term markers of individual and group memory. Lastly, the data collected for Niagara cemeteries range from unique and personal stories to more general phases and outcomes. Recognizing these multiple layers allows patterns to be discussed on a regional scale without losing sight of the variability of the original data.

When considered together, these characteristics clearly indicate that to fully understand historical cemeteries, they must be approached first as places with a history of use that is as relevant as the monuments found within them. Variability should also be expected, as circumstances of cemetery creation, use, neglect, and repurposing are not inevitable or uniform. Ultimately, historical cemeteries must be recognized as part of, and not determined by, the broader history of the region where they are found. The focus is less on how cemetery use is impacted by
historical circumstances and more on how cemetery use itself plays a role in historical change.

This research began as a regional survey with a very general question about the relationship between family cemeteries and their historical context. The themes of settlement, family, and identity only emerged during fieldwork as the focus of discussion and interpretation. Cemetery-based history can also be discussed in relation to broader anthropological themes. For example, an archaeological study with the aim of understanding religious identity and experience of Upper Canadians could explore the cemeteries of the Bay of Quinte region of Ontario, where settlement was organized by denomination (Potter-MacKinnon 1993:155). Variability within and between cemetery use in neighbouring townships can be explored to understand the long-term role of religious expression in Quinte history and how it was influenced by residents on personal and group levels, especially in the context of continued settlement. Results would be relevant to the broader anthropological discussion of religious identity and could be discussed in relation to studies from a range of contexts, whether based on cemetery data or not.

Certainly, there are challenges involved in a cemetery history approach. Cemeteries with a small sample of individuals of unknown identity, a situation commonly encountered in North America during land development, is especially challenging. Not only are there limited data available in such a context, such studies are often prompted by the fact that a cemetery happened to be found, rather than having been sought out as part of a particular research program. Elements of a cemetery history approach are still applicable to such a context, as shown by the Kniseley Family Cemetery outside of Port Colborne, which was excavated and relocated by Archaeological Services Inc. (ASI) in 2000 to accommodate industrial development. The aim of the excavation report (Archaeological Services Inc. 2001) is clearly to document the process of locating and removing the cemetery, and the
findings that resulted from the excavation. It includes data about coffin hardware, coffin shape, depth of burial, garment buttons, burial orientation, hand placement, taphonomy, and an animal feature with the remains of a sheep or goat and the head of a dog. Burials were dated to pre-1850 based on details of coffin shape and hardware. Where possible, osteological analysis was used to determine the age and sex of the six individuals, whose remains were recovered. There were historical reports of a family cemetery on the property, and after a list of previous land owners was established through archival research, members of the Kniseley family were identified as those likely found. It is clearly stated that neighbouring families could have been buried in the cemetery, so ultimately the specific identities of the dead are unknown. The report also documented that the cemetery was located near the property line between land owned by the Kniseley’s and their neighbours, and that a grave marker for an member of the Kniseley family thought to be buried here was found in a local clay pit.

While artifacts allow the burials to be dated, it is difficult to discuss the cemetery on a level that contributes to an understanding of broader historical processes based solely on the artifacts from individual graves. Expanding research questions to focus on evidence of these six individuals as a group of family members and possibly neighbours, or more broadly as early 19th century Niagara residents can potentially form the basis for addressing larger-scale questions. Considering the history of the cemetery, it is clear that it was located close to two properties, was in use for a short duration for six individuals, included domestic animals, likely had grave markers that have been removed, was left untended long enough for trees to grow directly above and through the graves, and eventually was approved for removal and relocation. This clearly fits within the overall patterns discussed in this thesis for the broader Niagara region. Yet even if nothing was known of Niagara family cemetery use, a sense of the cycle of use and neglect emerges and can be discussed in relation to local history and heritage, however briefly.
Continuing Research

Several questions arose during this research that will be explored in future research. The first focuses on the specific ways Niagara residents used public space to negotiate identity and create ties with their community. This will be approached through the continued study of the families included in this research to better understand their use of public cemeteries once they ceased use of their own family cemeteries. Preliminary evidence indicates families began displaying their history in the region through inscriptions on monuments in public cemeteries where such practice had been common for generations. Further study is needed, however, to better understand the particular types of history families created through their connection to the past, specifically the remembrance of their ancestors, in public cemeteries.

Additionally, research on the use of public space can focus on the history of public cemeteries that were established in the late 1700s and early 1800s in more urban areas such as St. Catharines, Niagara-on-the-Lake, Niagara Falls, and Fort Erie. Changes in the use of public cemeteries would speak to the settlement and diversity of the urban population, a facet of Niagara history not addressed in this study. Given the observations that cemeteries were used as a social space to display identity, the early and on-going use of public cemeteries is expected to include more examples of inscriptions relating to personal and regional history. While the practice of doing so is seen in this research, the broader patterns of meaning that result are unclear and merit further study. Additionally, residents’ choices following periods of change have great potential for understanding their community identities. For example, the choices of burial place following the establishment of separate denomination-specific cemeteries after early use of a single churchyard by several denominations will likely be variable and linked to connections between the living and the place and memory of the dead.
Furthermore, there are several examples of cemetery use for public display of heritage that are of interest in further study of community history and identity. These include a plot in the St. Vincent de Paul Cemetery in Niagara-on-the-Lake for Polish soldiers who died during the 1918 Spanish Influenza epidemic that is now the site of historical plaques and community celebration. Nearby, the monuments of the Negro Burial Ground, established by members of the Baptist Church, have been lost. The site is now marked by plaques that tell the history of the site and the community of the freed and escaped slaves and free-born African Americans buried in the churchyard. Study of sites such as these will address questions of the remembrance of a wider range of groups than the families studied here.

A second area of future research is based on further questions of Ontario settlement. For example, in the absence of a unifying factor such as the post-war relocation of the Loyalists, how did settlers from overseas negotiate the creation of community to define their collective identity? In areas such as Wellington County surrounding Guelph, settlement did not include an initial wave of Loyalists. Rather, settlers began arriving in the 1820s and 1830s from overseas, mainly the British Isles. The overall pattern of cemetery use in Wellington, however, is similar to that seen in Niagara, with early public cemeteries in urban centres and family cemeteries in more rural areas. The outcomes of cemetery use in Wellington, however, likely vary and it is expected that details of settler identity such as when individuals immigrated, and from where, would be inscribed more frequently at the time of death instead of by later generations. Additionally, it is possible that there was an earlier and shorter transition to the use of public cemeteries because fewer family members would have been buried in private cemeteries in the shorter span between arrival and the availability of public cemeteries (30-40 years versus the 60-70 years in Niagara). Without a Loyalist history, there are likely fewer heritage efforts, especially if settler details were inscribed at the time of their deaths. If later commemoration occurs, it is expected to take the form of monument replication to ensure the continued visibility
of family memory. These types of observations would provide the basis for exploring the potentially alternative ways in which Wellington County settlers made connections to their land, ancestors, and communities.

Ultimately, future research will continue to explore the ways that historical cemeteries inform historical processes and the lives of those who experienced and shaped them. It requires an exploration of patterns of cemetery use without losing sight of the variability on which they are based. It considers monuments as a source of data, but only within the broader context of the cemetery and the long-term changes in their visibility, relocation, and re-use in heritage efforts. Taking this approach in Niagara has shown the connections generations made to their family, place, community and history. Each family’s cemetery use relates to their personal connections but also their creation of ties and history in the wider community. Continued archaeological research can and should explore the history visible in family cemeteries, which is inherently and often explicitly linked with broader histories of the places and circumstances of those families.
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OGS (1985) Lampman Plot. OGS Cemetery Transcript #6260, Niagara Peninsula Branch.


OGS (2001) St. George’s Anglican Cemetery and Columbarium. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3294, Niagara Peninsula Branch.


Willoughby Census (1851a) Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 23; Line: 38. George Weaver.

Willoughby Census (1851b) Schedule A; Roll: C_11757; Page 11; Line 7. David Thomas.


APPENDIX A: THE FAMILY CEMETERIES OF NIAGARA

The results of cemetery survey and archival research for each cemetery are presented here in (1) summary form and (2) a more detailed outline of cemetery use, membership, and condition of each cemetery. Maps of cemetery locations are included at the beginning of each section, organized by townships of Welland County followed by Lincoln County. When a mapped cemetery number is enclosed in a circle, the location is known, whereas unenclosed numbers indicate cemeteries that are no longer visible but that are thought to be in the general area.

(Map from Page 1876)
<table>
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<th>Use</th>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>Inactive</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>Multiple</td>
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BERTIE TOWNSHIP, WELLAND COUNTY

Family cemeteries of Bertie Township: 18

1. Barnhart (Carver) Cemetery
2. Benner Cemetery
3. Foreman Burial Ground
4. Fretz Cemetery
5. Graham Cemetery
6. Haun Cemetery
7. Sherk Cemetery

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1. BARNHART (CARVER) CEMETERY

Concession 14 Lot 13 Bertie Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 5 headstones commemorating 5 people between 1849 and 1892.

All monuments have been laid flat on a sloping bed of wood chips in a small clearing at the side of Fox Road. A sign marks the site as the “Town of Fort Erie / Carver Cemetery / (Barnhart).” Included in this cemetery are:

Elizabeth Barnhart (1779-1849), wife of John Barnhart (date of death and burial place unknown)

Their daughter Catharine19 (1804-1892) and her husband John Carver (1808-1868)

Based on the 1851 Bertie census, Catharine and John had six children between the ages of 11 and 24 still at home: Sarah (1827-?) burial place unknown, Jonathan (1829-1877)20 burial place unknown, Henry (1831-?) buried in the Sherk Family Cemetery, Peter (1834-?) burial

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19 Catharine is a Barnhart based on the death record of her son, Uriah, which states his parents as John Carver and Catharine Barnhart (Death Record, Archives of Ontario; Series: MS935; Reel: 259)
20 Death Record, Archives of Ontario; Series: MS935; Reel: 17
location unknown, Magdalene (1835-?) and Uriah (1840-1919) who is buried in the Tunker Cemetery in Bertie.\textsuperscript{21}

Their granddaughter \textbf{Magdalene} Barnheart (1855-1860), daughter of their son Abraham (1817-1890)\textsuperscript{22} and his wife Magdalene (?-?) whose burial places are unknown. As none of the six other children of Abraham and Magdalene were found in death records, their places of burial are unknown.

\textbf{Sarah E. House} (1865-65), daughter of Benjamin and Rhoda House (burial places unknown). No record of Rhoda being born a Barnhart has been found. Benjamin and Rhoda House are found in the 1861\textsuperscript{23} and 1871\textsuperscript{24} census records with their children, but are not found in any later census years. They are recorded on the same census page as the Barnhart family, suggesting they were neighbours.

\section*{2. \textbf{Benner Cemetery}}

Concession 2 Lot 24 Bertie Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 10 headstones commemorating 11 people between 1817 and 1881.

The Benner Cemetery is currently in the backyards of several houses close to a creek. A town of Fort Erie sign marks the gated entrance. There are ten headstones, eight of which are for nine Benners and two for non-family members. These same ten headstones were found when the cemetery was visited by Carnochan (1912:86) prior to the 1920s, and she notes that two of the stones are for non-family members but does not name them. This cemetery appears to be used by the first two generations of Benners in Bertie Township but not their children.

\textsuperscript{21} Death Record, Archives of Ontario; Series: MS935; Reel: 259
\textsuperscript{22} Death Record, Archives of Ontario; Series: MS935; Reel: 86
\textsuperscript{23} 1861; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Canada West; Roll: C-1080; Page: 35.
\textsuperscript{24} 1871; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9919; Page: 13; Family No: 50.
Buried here are:

**Jacob Benner** (1750-1817), who Carnochan (1912:86) notes was a member of Butlers Rangers, and his wife **Susannah** (1723-1822)

their son **Jacob** (1784-1861) and his wife **Mary** (1785-1863)

their son **Phillip** (1785-1866) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1781-1863)

their nephew **Jacob** (1782-1863) (the son of Jacob Sr.'s brother John Benner and his wife Anna Margatha — burial places unknown) and his wife **Christianna** (1790-1874)

No death or burial records have been found for John or Anna Margatha or the children of Jacob and Mary or Philip and Elizabeth, although both have families listed in their 1851 households. Jacob and Mary had three sons and one widowed daughter between the age of 20 and 44; Philip and Elizabeth had three sons and one daughter between the ages of 28 and 40.

**William Near/Teal** (1866-1881), whose last name was thought to be Teal when the inscriptions were recorded in 1984 by the OGS, but it could not be certain based on the extreme wear of the stone. This monument is now broken in several pieces that are stacked together. The 1851 census for Jacob and Mary include a Michael Near (b. 1796), so it is possible William was a Near. No death records were found for a William Teal or Near. No matter his surname, William’s connection to the Benner family is unclear.

**Patience Foster** (1799-1836), wife of Holly (b.1793), who by 1861 was remarried to Catharine. It is possible that Patience was born a Benner, although her connection

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25 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 23
26 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 37
27 1861 Census, Bertie Welland County, Canada West (Ontario) Roll C-1080 Page 51
to those in this cemetery is unclear. Patience was born too late to be the daughter of
Jacob and Susannah and too early to be the daughter of any of the next generation.

3. **FOREMAN BURIAL GROUND**

*Concession 8 Lot 9 Bertie Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 2 stones commemorating 2
individuals between 1816 and 1845.*

Two headstones for a father, **Jacob** (1778-1845) and daughter, **Christianna** (1814-
1816) (fallen) are located in a grove of trees and shrubs adjacent to a farm field. Jacob’s first wife, Elizabeth Miller (1802-1830) has a monument in the Little Cemetery Around the Corner outside of Fort Eric. Neither date of death or burial location has been found for his second wife, Leah Wooliver (1816-?). Sons of Jacob and Elizabeth (and brothers of Christianna), John (1825-1901) and David (1823-1890) relocated to Haldimand and Oxford Counties, Ontario, respectively, where their deaths are registered. None of the children of Jacob and Leah are buried here. Benjamin (1836-1881) is not found in Ontario records and possibly relocated, Christopher (1841-1912) and his wife are buried in Ridgeway Cemetery, and Francis (1840-1921) are buried in Dunnville Cemetery, Haldimand County.

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28 OGS (n.d.) *Little Cemetery Around the Corner Cemetery* OGS Cemetery Transcript #5463, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
29 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_101
30 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_58
31 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_181
32 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_277
4. Fretz Cemetery

Concession 15 Lot 3 Bertie Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 56 headstones commemorating 67 individuals between 1815 and 2006.

This cemetery is located in a field, set back approximately 500m from the road and is bordered by trees. Signs erected by the town are located at the road and inside of the cemetery. Primarily used by the Fretz family, their neighbouring and in-law families of Huffman, Johnston, Kennedy, Pearn, McMurray, Rickert, Sherk, Winger and Zavitz are also buried here. The Fretz family occupies the western half of the cemetery (except for a recent burial in 1973, which is located in the southeastern corner) and all other families are grouped together in the eastern half of the cemetery.

According to family history, John Fretz was born in Germany and emigrated to Lancaster Co. Pa. and arrived with his children in Welland County in 1800. He later “settled in the township of Bertie, Welland Co., Ont., on lots 2 and 3, concessions 15 and 16, which consisted of about 400 acres, on which he built a log house. Some time previous to his death he laid out on his property a family burying ground, in
which he and his wife were buried, and is still used by his descendants as a place of burial.”

According to family history, several of the families buried here were connected prior to their relocation to Welland County and had been connected by marriage while still living in Pensylvannia. Buried here are:

FRETZ

Seven generations of the Fretz family are buried in the family cemetery. Members of the Barnhart, Ford, Sherk, Winger, and Zavitz families married into the Fretz family and are noted in the Fretz family summary below with italicized surnames:

John (1749-1815) and his wife Magdalena Fox (1748-1820)

Their son Jacob (1779-1850) who married Barbara Sherk (?-1839) (burial place unknown)

Jacob and Barbara’s children:

John (1802-1881) and his second wife Prudence Sarah (1816-1915)
their daughter Catharine (1858-1893)

Jacob and Barbara’s seven other children are not known to be buried here, although their son Samuel died in 1805 as an infant and is likely buried here.

Their son Peter (1778-1864) and his wife Mary Zavitz (1783-1863)

Their daughter Mary’s (1809-88) husband Peter Barnhart (1805-66). No stone was found for Mary.

Their son Daniel (1810-1891) and his wife Margaret (1812-1872)

Their children Mary (1843-43) and Abraham (1838-46)

34 Fretz (1890:473)
Daniel and Margaret’s granddaughter (by their son Peter and his wife Christianna – burial places unknown):

**Margaret** (1865-1872)

Peter and Mary’s grandchildren (by their son Solomon (1814-?) and his wife Elizabeth Winger (1815-1844) – burial locations unknown)

Esther (1838-9)
Daniel (1840-1914) and his wife Julia (1840-1908)
Their daughter Rosanna (1864-64)
Peter S (1843-1928) and his wife Susan Kennedy (1846-1926) and several members of Susan’s family – see entries under Kennedy.

Their son Jonas (1817-1893) and his wife Margaret Winger (1821-1903). Also Margaret’s parents Henry Winger (1776-1853) and Elizabeth Winger (1789-1867)

Their son David (1842-1904) and his wife Susanna Zavitz (1843-1920)

Their daughter Helena (1867-1954) and her husband Peter Sherk (1862-1932)

Their daughter Minerva (1891-1891) (commemorated on an individual stone, and on her grandparents’ (David and Susanna) stone)

Their daughter Florence (1879-1973) and her husband Harvey Sherk (1869-1944)

Their daughter Angel (1901-1901)

Their daughter Jessie Ruth (1903-1988) and her husband Charles Ford (1896-1962)

Their son Harry William Ford (1923-2006)

Their son Willie (?-1884)
Their daughter Jessie (1881-1882)

Their son Morin (1886-92) (commemorated on an individual stone, and on his parents’ (David and Susanna) stone)

Their daughter Maryann (1843-1928)

Also, Leroy Joseph Fretz (1939-2001)

HUFFMAN

There are monuments in the Fretz Cemetery for husband and wife William (1805-1856) and Elizabeth (1808-1870) and their children Sally (1835-35), Mary (1836-46), Tamar (1838-46), Wm (1846-47), and an infant (1849-49).

According to the 1851 Bertie census, William and Elizabeth were born in Bertie township and were members of the Church of England. Their other children were:

Anna (age 21), Leonard (20), Elen (11), Hulda (8)

No records were found for their marriage, death or burial.

JOHNSON/JOHNSTON

Members of the Johnson family buried here include:

Husband and wife Daniel (?-? stone broken) and Catharine (1806-1895)

Their children Catharine (1835-36) and William (1827-1882)

The burial place of another son, Daniel (1843-) who married Chanty Sider in 1868 is unknown.

Their grandson George (1859-64), by their son Henry J (burial place unknown) and his wife Elizabeth Johnston (died 1917, buried in the Zion Cemetery although the Fretz cemetery was still in use in 1917).

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35 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 113
36 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS248_17
37 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_236 Elizabeth’s maiden name is Nigh and is found on both her and Philip’s death records
According to the 1861 Bertie census, Henry’s mother Catharine was living with them and was listed as a widow, indicating Daniel died prior to 1861. Based on the same census record, the children of Henry and Elizabeth were:

- Philip (8) (1851-1914, married Elizabeth Burger) burial location unknown
- Samuel (6) (no records found – possibly died prior to 1871 census?)
- George (3) (who died in 1864 and is buried in the cemetery)
- Catharine (1) (1860-1897 never married. Burial location unknown)

**Kennedy**

**James** (1784-1869) and the families of two of his sons

- **John** (1814-1850)
  - **James** (1816-1903), his wife **Mary** (Kniseley) (? Stone broken) and their children **Elmer** (?) - 1864), **Telista** (1863-4) and **Clarissa** (1863-4).

  Their daughter Susan (1846-1926) is also buried here (and is included in the Fretz family above). She married Peter Fretz, and they are commemorated on a stone together (her maiden name is inscribed).

**McMurray**

Buried here are husband and wife **John** (1793-1872) and **Margaret** (1803-1842) and their son **James** (1821-1849). The 1851 Bertie census includes:

- John (age 60, married, Presbyterian, farmer)
- James (50, laborer from Ireland)
- William (17) married Alice McBride. His death is registered in Osprey, Peel

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38 1861; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Canada West; Roll: C-1080; Page: 37
39 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_202
40 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_19
41 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_86
42 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_342
43 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 57
44 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS248_13
County in 1887.\(^{45}\)
Robert (14) - buried in Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo in 1920.\(^{46}\)
Joseph (12) – death registered in Haldimand County in 1916.\(^{47}\)
Francis (58, married - suggesting John remarried after the death of Margaret in 1842; no death record found)

**Pearn**

Only one member of the Pearn family, *Thomas* (1783-1864) has a monument in this cemetery. No records have been found for Thomas to explore his relationship to the other families.

**Rickert**

Husband and wife *John* (1768-1851) and *Mary* (1776-1847) are buried here.

**Winger**

*Frederick Winger* (1822-1841), son of Abraham and Susanna. His connection to Henry and Elizabeth is unknown as is the story of his parents. Several members of the Winger family married into the Fretz family, so it is likely he is related to others buried here.

**Zavitz**

*Clara* Zavitz (1858-58) is buried here. She is the daughter of James and Almira, whose deaths are both registered in Middlesex County.\(^{48}\) Her connection to Mary and Susanna Zavitz (who married Fretz’s and are listed above) is unclear.

\(^{45}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_47  
\(^{46}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_133  
\(^{47}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_126  
\(^{48}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_121; MS935_93
5. Graham Cemetery

Concession 3 Lot 9 Bertie Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 44 stones for 51 individuals between 1812 and 1929.

The Graham Cemetery is located in a clearing behind a residential area, accessible via a path from Rose Hill Road, just west of Fort Erie. In addition to the Graham family, there are 22 other surnames found on monuments in the cemetery. The Graham Cemetery is only one of two included in this research that include several monuments with inscriptions in German. Buried here are:

Husband and wife Richard (1759-1812) and Ann (1768-1847) are buried here with their son:

Richard (1808-1899) and his wife Margaret Baxter (1809-1884) and their children:

Charles (1835-1911)
Jessie Baxter (1844-1906) and his wife Sarah Hobson (1844-1929)
William R (1847-1908)
According to Bertie census records, Richard and Margaret had several other children who do not have headstones in the family cemetery:

Adam Clarke (1841 - ?), a surgeon married Isabella Keefer in 1879 in Grey County. Sylvester (1843-?) married Mary Georgina Fitch in 1873 but is not found after the 1881 census. No death or burial record has been found.

No records of marriage or death have been found for Mary A (1836-?), John (1837-?), or Elizabeth (1839-?).

BADGER

John Badger (1805-1884). Found in the 1871 census with four (possible children) between the ages of 15 and 20. No wife is recorded and his marital status is not listed. Born in England. He is listed alone in the 1881 census.

BAXTER

Elizabeth (1798-1860)

Susannah (1800-1879), wife of Jacob (burial place unknown)

Shannon (1838-1896) and his wife Isabella Chambers (1855-1904)

their daughters Minnie (1868-76) and Nettie (1880-84)

Their relationship to Margaret (listed above) who married Richard Graham, is unknown.

BRAUN

49 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 33; Line: 1
50 1861; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Canada West; Roll: C-1080; Page: 19
51 1871; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9919; Page: 13; Family No: 51
52 1881; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C_13253; Page: 7; Family No: 30
53 1881; Census Place: Stamford, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C_13253; Page: 86; Family No: 429
54 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_30
55 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_13
56 1871; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9919; Page: 12; Family No: 49.
57 1881; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C_13253; Page: 42; Family No: 214.
CH Braun (?-1875) identity and relationship to others unknown

CAMPBELL

Infant Sarah (1858-58) daughter of John and Mary Campbell (burial locations unknown)

CHAMBERS

Buried here are husband and wife William (1814-1892) and Nancy (1825-1874), their son John (1851-1889) and William’s brother John (1809-1877)\(^{*} \text{58}\). Also included is James (1812-1887) who may be another brother.

EDSALL

John Edsall (1787-1855) found in the 1851 census with his wife Catherine and their family\(^{*} \text{59}\), but no further records were found.

FINCH

William Finch (1840-1888). According to the 1871 census,\(^{*} \text{60}\) William was married to Mary (1849-?) and they did not have children and are not found in the 1881 census.

FOWLER

Mary L. Fowler (1819-1959) daughter of James and Catherine Wintemute; connection unknown

FRIDERICKS

Mena Fredericks (1828-1870) wife of Christopher (dates and burial location unknown). She does not appear in the 1861 census, but “Mine” is listed in the 1871 census under deaths within the last year and is recorded as 42, married, Lutheran, or German origin.\(^{*} \text{61}\) Christopher and their children are found in the 1871 census, but Christopher is not found in records after this.

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\(^{58}\) 1861; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Canada West; Roll: C-1080; Page: 13
\(^{59}\) 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C-11757; Page: 11
\(^{60}\) 1871; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9919; Page: 21; Family No: 81
\(^{61}\) 1871; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9919; Page: 1
HOBSON

William Hobson (1807-1881) and his wife Sarah (1817-1901) and (possibly) their son William (1847-1877)

LINDROTH

Louise Lindroth (1871-1874) parents unknown. Inscription is in German.

NIGH

Husband and wife Phillip (1785-1877) and Esther (1806-1888)
Also Adam (1792-1859) and Juliann (1833-1876) whose connections are unknown.

PALMER

Only Hannah Palmer (1828-1883) has a monument here. According to the 1861 census she was married to John Palmer (1836-?) and their daughters were Ellen and Margaret. No records were found for their burial or death.

PLATO

Sarah (1800-1865) wife of Cornelius, who died in 1884, but whose burial location is unknown.
Several children are also buried here, apparently without their parents:

Benjamin F Plato (1858-63) son of Henry and Catherine. Henry died at the age of 94 in 1919 and is listed as the son of Cornelius Plato and Sarah House, but his place of burial is listed only as Bertie township.

David Plato (1864-65) son of Jason and Flora who are found in the 1901 census at the ages of 69 and 56. No death records found. David is commemorated on the same stone as Sarah, suggesting he is her grandson.

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62 Based on death record – monument is broken. Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_104
63 1861; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Canada West; Roll: C-1080; Page: 12
64 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_39
65 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_259
66 1901; Census Place: Bridgburg (Village), Welland, Ontario; Page: 4; Family No: 43.
RATHVON

Buried here is David (1860-61) the son of Henry and Martha, whose places of burial are unknown. A death record for Henry and Martha’s daughter Elizabeth (Benner) (1857-1934) records her place of death as the Bertie Mausoleum.67

ROSE

Buried here are:

John (1802-1885) and Rebecca (Carter) (1806-1875) and their children:

   Phebe (1830-1851)
   Silas (1832-1903)
   John Jr. (1837-1860)
   Nicholas (1839-1897)

TROUP

Mary (?-?) wife of Benjamin, daughter of ? Benner. An ‘M” Troup (b. 1803) is listed as the wife of Benjamin (b. 1799) in the 1851 census along with five children between the age of 9 and 18: Jacob, Mary, Lida, Henry, and Peter.68 Mary and Benjamin are not founding the 1861 census.

WEEKES

Susan M (1840-1866) wife of David W – burial place unknown. Her maiden name is unknown.

WOEVER

Peter (1778-1860) and Susan (1777-1871)

Peter (1816-1871) listed in the 1861 census69 with his wife Margaret (b. 1820) and their children John (b. 1848), William (b. 1854) and Walter (b. 1859 and died in 1929 and buried in Ingersoll70)

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67 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_494
68 1851; Census Place: Bertie, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 29
69 1861 Census; Bertie Township; Welland County Roll: C-1080.
Eugenia (1807-1873) wife of Capt. A Wolever (burial location unknown)

6. Haun Cemetery

Concession 8 Lot 12 Bertie Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; unknown number of monuments or burials, unknown dates of use, although used until at least 1929.

This cemetery is on a rise of wooded land above a winding creek behind houses on Ott and Fox Roads outside of Stevensville and is marked by a sign erected by the town of Fort Erie. The OGS record from 1984 states that only one stone was standing of the 30+ that were originally erected for members of the Haun, Barnhart, Hannigan, and Eberly families.\(^71\)

During fieldwork, however, roughly 40 stones were located stacked in several piles throughout the area. If visited in the late summer, most monuments would not be visible due to the low brush that would be growing. According to the OGS record of those thought to be buried here, the last burial was in 1956 for 69 year old Charles Haun. This death record is not public to confirm this, but a death record was found for Herbert Hannigan who died in 1929 at the age of 15 who is listed as being buried in Hauns Cemetery.\(^72\) Even though the criteria for active cemeteries was use since 1950, the Haun cemetery is considered inactive as it has clearly been abandoned and the year of last use is not certain. Recording the monuments in the cemetery as they were found would be a major undertaking not within the scope of this research.

\(^{70}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_375
\(^{71}\) OGS (1984) Haun Cemetery. OGS Cemetery Transcript #4602, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
\(^{72}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_376
7. Sherk Cemetery

Lot 7 Concession 15 Bertie township; Active multiple family cemetery; 40 monuments for 60 people; in use 1828-1990.

The Sherk Cemetery is surrounded by farm fields and a cluster of pine trees along its north side. There is a Town of Fort Erie sign inside the cemetery and also a metal sign marking the site from the road – the cemetery is set back roughly 500m. The monuments are all located in the eastern section of the cemetery and only take up about 1/3 of the fenced space. Several generations of the Sherk family have used this cemetery, all descended from half-brothers Andrew (1816-1880) and Joseph (1835-1921). The surnames Carver, Hill, Horton, Sayler are all branches that married the daughters of these brothers. There are additional members of this family whose direct relationships are not clear, so they are included separately under their family name.

Buried here are:

**John Sherk** (1779-1866)
John’s first wife Sarah (1791-1828)

Their son Andrew Sherk (1816-1880) and his wife Catharine (1826-1905) and their children:

Saloma Hexemer (1847-1885) wife of David (burial place unknown)

their son Andrew O. (1876-1876)

David Sherk (1849-1930) and his wife Margaret D. (1855-1893)

Margaret (nee Sherk) Sayler (1854-1933) and her husband Nicholas Sayler (1849-?)

their son Warren A. Sayler (1878-1880)

Esther (1857-1867)

William Sherk (1863-1897) and his wife Lydia (1866-1943) and their sons

Frank Sherk (1890-1964)

Jesse (1891-1897)

And Peter E. Nigh (1869-1947) husband of Andrew and Catharine’s daughter Melissa Sherk (no stone found)

Andrew and Catherine also had two other daughters. Sarah (b. 1860) married William Noyes in 188373 and died in 1919 although her death record only lists her place of burial as Bertie.74 Adeline (b. 1865) married Benjamin Carver in 189075 (there are several Carver’s buried here that are entered below) and died in 1928 and was buried in the Dunker Cemetery.76

John’s second wife Margaret (1811-1895)

Their son Joseph (1835-1921) and his wife Elizabeth Fretz (1847-1894)

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73 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_45
74 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS9235_259
75 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_69
76 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_365
Their son John (1866-1888)

Joseph and Elizabeth’s children are listed in the 1881 census as John (b. 1866 – buried here), Daniel* (b. 1867), Margaret (b. 1869), and Norman (b. 1876). Only a death record for Norman has been found for his death in 1936 that lists his place of burial as Fairview Cemetery in Niagara Falls and his mother’s maiden name as Fretz.

*Daniel’s daughter with Minnie Troup, Agnes Sherk Davison (1898-1988) and her husband Gordon W Davison (1894-1990) is the most recent burial here

Their grandchildren by daughter Sarah Sherk (1838- ? no stone found – burial place unknown) and her husband Henry Carver (burial place unknown)

Peter Carver (1864-1918) and his wife Dora Iona (1863-1927)

Their grandchildren by their daughter Laura Carver (b. 1892) and her husband George Horton (b. 1892) (burial places unknown)

Myrtle M. Horton (1922-1922). There is also a Floyd A. Horton but his relationship is unclear.

Monica (nee Carver) Hill (1864-1934) and her husband William Hill (1859-1942) and their children

Robert (1882-1896)
Margaret (1883-1942 and her husband William Andrew Parker (1871-1939)

their son Howard Stanley (1913-1943).

Christina (1890-1896)

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77 1881; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: C_13253; Page: 10; Family No: 44
78 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_571
79 Archives of Ontario Birth Record MS929_144
80 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_401
81 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_494. Lists Sarah Carver’s maiden name as Sherk.
Albert (1892-1904)
Viola (1906-1926)

Christina (1875-1891) daughter of Henry and Sarah Carver

Their daughter Catherine (1840-1908) and her husband Ephraim Neff (1839-1908)

Their daughter Christen (1846-1861)

Other families buried here include:

Burger

Jacob Burger (1784-1841)

Jacob Burger (1797-1879) and his wife Mary (1802-1875) and their son

Jacob Burger (1824-1904) and his wife Margaret (1823-1905) and their sons

Jacob (dates unknown)
George (1850-1853)
Daniel (1852-1853)

Also unknown connections:

Christopher Burger (1834-1909)

Magdalena Burger (1864-1931) and her husband Menno (1863-1950)

Carver

Laura S. Carver (1870-1903)

Dora C. Carver (1900-1900)

Likely related to the members of the Carver family who married into the Sherk family (as outlined above). Possibly mother and daughter as they are commemorated on the same stone. Also see Horton, Laura (nee Carver)
KEFFER

Debold Keffer (1834-1866)

ROTT

Elizabeth Rott (1823-1859) wife of George Rott (burial place unknown) – connection to the Sherk family is unknown.

SAYLER

Peter Sayler (1820-1885) and his daughter Maggie (?)

Levi Sayler (1869-1922) and his wife Catherine Margaret Gregg (1873-1951) and their daughter Agnes Myrtle (1899-1916)

Likely related to Nicholas Sayler who married Margaret Sherk (included above).
Crowland Township, Welland County

Family cemeteries of Crowland Township:

8. Miller II Cemetery
9. Young-Misener Cemetery

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8. Miller II Cemetery

Concession 7 Lot 1 Crowland Township; Inactive single family cemetery; no stones remaining for 8 individuals buried between 1846 and 1874.

The exact location of this cemetery is unknown as no monuments remain, possibly having been bulldozed in the 1960s. Information regarding death and burial gathered from a family bible is included the OGS record and includes two generations of the Miller family:

David* Miller (1800-?) and his wife Eve Shoup (1807-1870) and their children Jonas (1827-1852), Fanny (1828-1855), Eve (1834-1858), Sophia (1838-1860) Christian (1840-1874) and Benjamin (1845-46).

David and Eve’s other children not buried here include:

Jacob (1831-1900) - burial location unknown but his death is registered in Middlesex County.\(^83\)

Lyed (1832-?) – (Lydia) married Christian Wm Schroeder at the age of 55 in May of 1887.\(^84\) Christian died in October of the same year\(^85\) but no death record has been found for Lydia.

David (1836-1898) – married Christiann Lemon at the age of 40 in October of 1886\(^86\) both of whom are buried at Doan’s Ridge Cemetery.\(^87\)

Solomon (1842-1926) - married Catharine Haist at the age of 42 in March of 1886\(^88\) Solomon died in 1926 and is buried in the Evangelical Cemetery in Willoughby\(^89\).

\(^83\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_97
\(^84\) Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_59
\(^85\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_49
\(^86\) Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_25
\(^87\) Robbins, D A 1991b:150
\(^88\) Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_55
Finish (1847-1889) – corresponds to Lavina who married John Dunn at the age of 38 in October of 1886. Lavina’s death is registered in Waterloo but her place of burial is not known.

*David’s (1800-?) parents are Jacob Miller and Barbara Hershey. They are buried in the Miller Cemetery in Willoughby township, also included in this research, with the families of two of their other sons (brothers of David).

9. **Young-Misener Cemetery**

*Broken Front Lot 9 Crowland Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 30 monuments for 30 individuals buried between 1822 and 1883.*

The Young-Misener Cemetery is located on the southern bank of the Welland River and is marked by a sign erected by the City of Niagara Falls. Buried here are the families and descendants of three Young brothers: John, George, and Adam. Adam married Margaret Misener, whose family members are also buried here. Her father, Nicholas (1760-1849) is the brother of Lenoard Misener, whose family is buried in the Carl-Misener Burial Ground in Thorold.

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89 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_576
90 According to the family bible transcribed in the OGS record, Finish was born 23 February 1847 which corresponds to Lavina’s death record with her age of 41y, 11m and 2d at her death on 25 Jan 1889
91 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_55
92 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_55
93 Robbins (1991b:386)
Also included are members of the Clark, Dell, Hilton, McCracken, and Shafer families who all appear to be neighbours. According to the 1861 agricultural census, Postle McCracken, Robert Hilton, and John Shafer were owners of pieces of the Broken front lots 12 + 13, 12, and 9 respectively.\footnote{1861; Census Place: All Places (Agricultural), \textit{Welland, Canada West}; Roll: C-1081; Page: 16}

**Young**

All members of the Young family buried here are related through three brothers:

**John** (1770-1857) and his wife **Mary Ann** (1785-1869)

Wife of their son Jacob (1806-1886 no stone), **Susan** (1816-1883)

Their children **Hiram** (1843-51), **Charlotte** (1846-51), and **Morris** (1848-50)

**George** (1774-1842) and his wife **Rachel** (1789-1861)

Their children **Samuel** (1805-1822), **Jane** (1810-1829), **William** (1819-1842), and **George** (1825-26)

Another son, Daniel (1820-1901) has an unknown burial place, but his wife **Margaret** (1827-1848) is buried here.

**Adam** (1779-1859) and his wife **Margaret** Misener (1789-1874)

Their daughter **Edna Jane** (1834-58)

Their daughter-in-law **Eliza** (1824-46) wife of their son Walter (1818-1903) whose burial place is unknown. The burial places of their other sons Nicholas (1816-56) and Phillip (1827-84) are also unknown.

**Misener**

The Misener family is connected to the Youngs through the Marriage of Margaret to Adam Young. Also buried here are Margaret’s parents and several of their descendants:
Nicholas (1760-1849) and Jane (1768-1845). In addition to their daughter Margaret, also buried here are:

Their son Andrew (1790-1876)

Their son John and his wife Jane are buried in an unknown location, but their children

Andrew (1839-62) and Phebe (1847-65) are buried here

Their son William and his wife Jane are buried in an unknown location, but their daughters

Melissa (1856-56) and Charity (1850-60) are buried here

Their daughter Mary (1809-1834)

Clark

Buried here is Isabella (1815-1855), wife of Joel B, whose burial location is unknown. Isabella’s maiden name is unknown and the Clark connection to the Youngs is unknown.

Dell

Buried here is Burrous Dell (1771-1832) for whom no records have been found due to his early year of death.

Hilton

Buried here is Joseph H (1854-57) son of Robert and Eliza whose dates of death and burial locations are unknown.

McCracken

Postle McCracken (1820-1863) is buried here. According to Reive Postle was married to a Young.95

Shafer

95 Robbins (1991b:385)
Buried here is Emily (1849-50) daughter of John (died 187796) and Amanda (died 189497) whose burial locations are unknown. John briefly owned the land with the cemetery before his death.98

96 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_17
97 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_73
Family Cemeteries of Humberstone Township:  
10. Shisler Cemetery  
11. Steele’s Cemetery  
12. Stoner Family Cemetery  
13. Neff Family Cemetery  
14. Kniseley Family Cemetery

10. **Shisler Cemetery**

*Concession 1 Lot 5 Humberstone Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 24 headstones for 29 people (stone fragments suggest there are more) buried between 1869 and 1923.*

Shisler Cemetery is located within the Sherkston Beaches campground on the shore of Lake Erie. It is fenced and surrounded by parking lots and fields for campers. There is a great deal of open space without monuments and those that remain are mainly fragmentary, fallen, or surrounded by dense growth making it difficult to gain access to them or determine the relationships between those buried here. Included are members of the Shisler, Benner, Randall, Ecker, Parsons, Stouth, Cunningham, Ott, Sherk, Michener, and Flagg families.

**Shisler**

**Abram** (1814-1895) and his wife **Mary** Flagg (1824-1895)

**Rhoda** (1880-84) and **Levi** (1865-69) children of Joseph and Agnes Shisler (relation to Abram and Mary unknown).
**Benner**

*Melissa May* (1892-1903) who is listed in the 1901 census as the daughter of Albert (1858-1919 death registered in Waterloo; burial place unknown

100) and Mary (1860-) Benner

101 whose burial place is unknown.

*Unknown* (?-1882) stone is broken

**Randall**

*Ruth Minor Randall* (1889-1923) wife of Arthur Randall who were married in 1907.

102 No death or burial records have been found for Arthur. It is possible that Arthur made Ruth's monument as it is made out of a cement mix and was likely made by a non-professional – one of the few examples of a non-stone monument in this sample (seen at left with camping tents in the background).

**Ecker**

*Emery W* (1891-95) and *Andrew L* (1893-95) sons of Levi and Mary whose death/burial records have not been found. Also an unknown *girl* (1894-1895) daughter of ? and Rosella.

**Parsons**

*Arthur L* (?-1892) no records found

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100 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_259

101 1901; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Page: 11; Family No: 130.

102 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_131
CUNNINGHAM

George W (1895-1908) son of Mrs. Sam Cunningham – no records found for George or his parents

STOUTH

Laura Stouth (?-?) inscription illegible – relationship unknown

Mable Stouth (1886-1901) who is listed in the 1901 census with her parents Adam (1846-1909 whose death record doesn’t have a place of burial but lists him as a farmer on concession 2 lot 3 of Humberstone) and Magdalene (1847-1915 whose death record does not list place of burial)

Elizabeth Stouth (1849-1881) no further records found

Adam Stouth (1813-1888) no records found for the burial locations of his family

OTT

Mary (1888-95) daughter of Eli and Laura (Snider) no death/burial records found

Delfred (1882-3) son of Cyrenus and Rebecca – no death/burial records found

Gustov L C (1855-1916) no records found – it is possible the surname is not Ott as the stone is broken, but it appears to be.

SHERK

Mary Jane (1826-83) wife of Samuel (burial place unknown)

Nina and Nella (1886-86) twin daughters of Amos and Candace Sherk (no death/burial records found)

103 1901; Census Place: Humberstone, Welland, Ontario; Page: 13; Family No: 125.
104 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_149
105 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_214
106 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_52 (stone illegible for birth year)
107 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_51
MICHENER

Curtis (1881-92) and Maud (1891-92) children of Wm and Priscilla (1856-93). William died in 1922 and is buried in Steele’s Cemetery with his second wife Henrietta Springer (1848-1925). ¹⁰⁸

FLAGG

Anna (1819-1891) wife of George

Wilson (1874-92) who is listed in the 1891 census ¹⁰⁹ as the son of Benjamin and Abigail and is therefore the brother of Lucinda:

Lucinda (1882-82) daughter of Benjamin (no death/burial records found) and Abigail (1847-1929) who is buried in the Tunker Cemetery¹¹⁰

UNKNOWN

There are three individuals of unknown identity also buried here with fragmentary or illegible monuments. Only one, for Wilhelm (surname unknown) infant son of Clara and Hardy who died in 1914 is somewhat legible.

¹⁰⁸ Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_295
¹⁰⁹ 1891; Census Place: Bertie, Welland, Ontario; Roll: T-6375; Family No: 12.
¹¹⁰ Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_376
11. STEELE’S CEMETERY

*Concession 3 Lot 16 Humberstone Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 112 monuments for 117 individuals buried between 1827 and 1997.*

Steele’s Cemetery is located just east of the intersection of Miller Road and Second Concession Road outside of Port Colborne. Monuments are found throughout for several families.

By the time Dr. Reive visited Steele Cemetery in 1929, all members of the Steele family originally buried here had been removed and reburied elsewhere. According to Reive, “many bodies have been removed from it, but on finds memorials to Aaron Doan 1756-1844 and many of his descendants and to Christiana wife of Daniel Kinsley 1757-1837. Apparently many removals have been made from this cemetery as I understand to Bethel. None of the name Steele are now found here.”

No records have been found to understand why the remains and monuments of the Steele family were moved. It is also unclear who of the Steele’s in the Bethel Cemetery were originally buried at the Steele Cemetery.

Currently buried here are:

**BEARSS (3)**

*Cyrenus* (1837-1922) and his wife *Leah* (Michener) (1837-1876)

*Martha J* (1903-1903) daughter of Tom and Naomi (no records found for parents)

**BERNARD (2)**

*Issac* (1907-1964) and his wife *Brenda E* (1904-1974) and their son Charles E (1944-uncut)

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111 Robbins (1991b:180)
BERSKA

**John** (1886-1966)

**BOGDON** (1)

**Thomas** (1898-1965)

**CAMPBELL** (1)

**Rebecca** (Michener) (1867-1912) wife of Elgin Campbell (no death record found)

**DOAN** (27)

**Aaron** Doan (1756-1844), married to Rhoda (?-?). Their sons:

**Levi** (1791-1884) and his wife **Anna** (1799-1897). Their children:

- **Benjamin** (1818-1893) and his wife **Almira** (1823-1896) and their children:
  - **David** (1845-49)
  - **Mary Ann** (1847-49)
  - **Benjamin C** (1853-54)
  - **Wm E** (1859-60)

- **Timothy** (1828-1849)

- **David** (1838-1844)

**Timothy** (1801-1851) married to Hannah (no stone found). Their children:

- **Silvia** (1824-27)

- **Nelson** (1829-1899) and his wife **Elizabeth** Perelet\(^{112}\) (1834-1905) and their children:
  - **Claton** (1857-60)
  - **Elizabeth**\(^{113}\) (1863-1938) and her husband **Edward C Near** (1856-1906)

\(^{112}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_613

\(^{113}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_613
Their son Edward Near (1902-?)

Aaron and his wife Waty (burial places unknown)

Their son Manuel F (1857-61)

Elbridge (1837-42)

Sebastian (1839-65)

Belrethia (1843-48)

Henrietta (1845-46)

Joshua (1808-1883) and his wife Elizabeth (1818-1896)

Their son Caleb (1838-45)

Their son Jacob (1854-1932) is buried in Doans Ridge Cemetery114 with many other members of the Doan Family

DOUTHETT (1)

Huldah (Houthiy) (1810-1846)

KABEL (3)

Martin (1833-1901) and his wife Sarah (Kniseley115) (1850-1908)

Henry M (1892-1918)

KNISLEY (25)

Daniel (1786-1870) and his wife Christina (1777-1857)

Their son Henry (1813-1880) and his wife Catherine (1822-1871)

Their son David P (1842-1912) and his wife Mary Ann (Barnhart) (1841-1879)

Their son Warren (1871-1918)

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114 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_452
115 Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_13
Their son Elvin (1875-1912)

Their daughter Eliza (1853-64)

Their daughter Matilda (1860-89)

Their son John H (1863-1908)

Their grand daughter Eliza G (1891-91) (daughter of Levi and Priscilla)

Their son Christian (1814-1886) and his wife Christina (1823-1880)

Their son Samuel (1843-1924) and his wife Margaret (Sherk) (1847-1937)

Their daughter Julia (1848-1933)

Their daughter Almeda C (1859-59)

Their son Daniel (1817-1881) and his wife Elizabeth (1823-1895)

Their daughter Catharine (1844-1920)

Their son John D (1858-1924) and his wife Lavina (Geedy) (1856-1902)

Also two members who cannot be placed:

Elizabeth (?-1876) daughter of ? and William

Catherine (1867-79)

Koopman (1)

Harry G (1890-91) son of Jno and Jessie

Michener (18)

William (1804-1892) and his wife Cinthy (1810-1862)

Their son Benjamin (1827-1913) and his wife Mary (White) (1834-1901)

Their son Martin (1863-1912) and his wife Cora Flagg (1876-1914)
Their grandchildren Harry (stone broken) and Lillie (?-1897) children of their son Ellis and his wife Mercy

Their son William (1844-1922) and his wife Henrietta (Springer) (1848-1925)

Their daughters Ella Elizabeth (1873-77) and Bertie Dell (1877-78)

Their grandson Clarence (1903-1905) (son of their son Arthur and his wife Emma)

Their daughter Sarah (1829-1904)

Their son Joseph (1851-1919)

As well as three whose connection to these family members is unclear:

John (1846-1892)

Lillie (1906-07) and Stella (1903-04), daughters of George and Hannah

Nolan (3)

Rachel (Kniseley) (1856-1923) and her daughters May (1890-1949) and Jessie H (1886-1890)

Perlet (2)

Louis Frederick (1810-1853) and his wife Margaret (1800-1895)

Price (1)

John (1821-1900)

Sauder (1)

Roger L (1934-1987)

Sherk (13)

Fannie (1847-1874) her children (with Elmon) Candace (1876-77), infant son (1871-71)

Sarah J (1879-1973) and her husband Wilmer S (1877-1951)

Claude K (1923-1932)
Samuel (1844-1910) and his wife Rosanna (Knisley) (1846-1941) and their children:

Arthur W (1869-69), Thomas M (1879-79), Effie S (1883-83), Marvin R (1880-87),
Lillian C (1873-1917)

SobolciK (1)

Tom (1898-1967) (no records found)

Wade (1)

Reuben A (1834-1868)

Zavitz (8)

Jonas (1846-1920) and his wife Mary (1841-1913)

Their daughter Anna Mandilla (?-1874)

Merritt (1904-1983) and his wife Candace (1913-1997)

Elra A (1875-1958); his first wife Bertha (1881-1908) and their daughter Anna C
(dates unknown); and his second wife Phyllis (1876-1936)

12. Stoner Family Cemetery

Concession 3 Lot 30 Humberstone Township; Inactive single family cemetery; no original
monuments remaining; 1 monument erected in 1972 currently on site; thought to be 36 people
buried here between 1782 and 1897.

The original monuments of the Stoner family
are no longer visible. Family names have been
recorded on a monument erected in 1972 by
descendants. It is the family of Christian Stoner,
who came to Humberstone in 1781, who is
buried here.

Christian’s wife was born a Neff and of their
eleven children, three married into the
Augustine family and two into the Neff family; these families appear to have been
connected throughout their lives in Humberstone. Several members of the Neff family who lived nearby and had a cemetery on their farm are inscribed on the new Stoner obelisk, as the Neff monuments had also been lost over time. The Neff family commemorated here are outlined in the entries for both the Stoner and Neff cemeteries as it is unclear where they are buried.

**Christian Stoner** (1753-1835) and his wife **Elizabeth Neff** (1760-1849) and their children

**John Stoner** (1780-1861) and his wife **Rosannah Augustine** (1782-1861)

**David Stoner** (1782-1782)

**Mary Stoner** (1786-1862) and her husband **George Augustine** (1780-1868) and their daughter

**Elizabeth** (1806-1846)

**Jacob Stoner** (1796-1796)

**Abraham Stoner** (1796-1868) and his wife **Esther Herr** (1801-1839) and their children

**Elias** (1821-1832)

**Esther** (1835-1854)

And their grandchildren by their son Daniel (?) and his wife **Letitia Stoner** (1832-1850)

**Whitmore** (1850-1854)

Also:

**Joseph Stoner** (?) and his wife **Margaret Mellenby** (?) and their son

**Aaron** (?) (1852)

And the children of Elizabeth Stoner and John Ellsworth:

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Marion (?)  
Myron (?)

Neffs thought to be buried on their nearby farm and commemorated here:

Abraham Neff “the elder” (?) and his wife Catharine Shoeber (?) and (possibly) their son

Peter Neff (1780-1832) and his wife Maria Durrin (1779-?) and their son

Peter Neff (1806-1866)  
his first wife Lydia (?)-1831) and their daughter

Esther Neff (1831-1882)  
his second wife Susan (1807-1892) and their daughter

Rachel D. Weaver (1843-1873) and her son with Henry Weaver (burial place unknown)

Oren Grant Weaver (1886-1886)

Also two children:

Warren Neff (?-1893) son of Jeremiah and Louise Neff (burial places unknown)

Clarence Neff (1897-1897) son of Wesley and Sarah Neff (burial places unknown)

13. NEFF FAMILY CEMETERY

Concession 3 Lot 28 Humberstone Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no monuments remain; several family members have been inscribed on a monument at the Stoner family cemetery; dates of use unknown.

This cemetery is known only through the rededication of the Stoner Family Cemetery that included members of the Neff family who are known to have been buried on their farm. According to Mayor of Port Colborne who officiated the Stoner ceremony “You may notice that we have also recorded the names of the Peter Neff cemetery on this cairn as well. The Neff cemetery was located on the now
Babcock Wilcox property but the stones and markers had disappeared as they had on [the Stoner] cemetery.”  

The Neff and Stoner families were connected through marriage and it is unclear where the Neffs commemorated on the Stoner obelisk are buried, as some might have been part of the Stoner family.

The Neffs recorded on the Stoner Cairn include:

**Abraham Neff** “the elder” (?) and his wife **Catharine Shoeber** (?) and (possibly) their son

**Peter Neff** (1780-1832) and his wife **Maria Durrin** (1779-?) and their son

**Peter Neff** (1806-1866)

his first wife **Lydia** (?-1831) and their daughter

**Esther Neff** (1831-1882)

his second wife **Susan** (1807-1892) and their daughter

**Rachel D. Weaver** (1843-1873) and her son with Henry Weaver (burial place unknown)

**Oren Grant Weaver** (1886-1886)

Also two children:

**Warren Neff** (?-1893) son of Jeremiah and Louise Neff (burial places unknown)

**Clarence Neff** (1897-1897) son of Wesley and Sarah Neff (burial places unknown)

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14. **Kniseley Family Cemetery**

*Concession 3 Lot 27-28 Humberstone Township. Inactive unclassified family cemetery removed and relocated to Oakwood Cemetery in Wainfleet township; 6 graves excavated; in use prior to 1830.*

Archaeological excavation of the Kniseley Family Cemetery was completed in 2001 prior to development of the property and is detailed in a report by Archaeological

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The coffin hardware for the graves were characteristically used prior to 1850. While it is not possible to identify the six people found buried at the cemetery, it is possibly family of Christian Kniseley. The cemetery was located close to the property line with the neighbouring farm of the Neff family, however, suggesting that there could be others buried there.

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**Pelham Township, Welland County**

Family Cemeteries of Pelham Township:

15. Beckett Plot
16. Brown Burial Plot
17. Crow Plot
18. Schram Family
19. Swayze Family Cemetery

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15. **Beckett Plot**

Concession 5 Lot 10 Pelham Township; Inactive unclassified family cemetery; 1 headstone commemorating 1 individual in 1874.

The gravestone and footstone for **Stephen Beckett** (1797 - 1860) are currently located in a flower garden beside a house on Centre Street. The remains of Mr. Beckett, who according to his gravestone, drowned in Port Dalhousie, are thought to be buried in a grove of trees behind the house.

According to the 1851 census, Stephen’s family included his wife Eve (b. 1804) and their children Samuel (b. 1824), Emaline (b. 1836), Stephen (b. 1838), Alvin (b. 1840), Albert (b. 1843), and Joseph (b. 1845).\(^{120}\)

On his death in 1910, Stephen Jr. was still living on the family property, but his burial place is not recorded.\(^{121}\)

His brother Alivn died in 1926 and is buried in North Pelham Presbyterian Cemetery\(^{122}\) along with numerous other members of the Beckett family.

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\(^{120}\) 1851 Pelham Census, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 35

\(^{121}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_159

\(^{122}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_342
16. **Brown Burial Plot**

*Concession 4 Lot 1 Pelham township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; no stones remaining thought to be in use in the early to mid-1800s for 10 people.*

Janet Carnochan provides a detailed description of the “Brown Plot” as it was in the early 1900s:

“Lieunt. Jno. Brown was one of the first settlers on the Welland river, … a young Irishman, born about 1739… He … came to New Jersey [from Ireland] and to Canada in 1789. On the Brown farm, originally 300 acres, is the burial place of the old solider, a creak meanders its way, solemn pines wave their branches, and an oak tree stands between the graves of husband and wife. A pathetic interest attaches to the spot, for here an old negro and his wife, who had faithfully nursed Capt. John Brown when ill with smallpox, are buried. The son, Alexander Brown, who was in the Incorporated Militia in 1812, is buried on the Farr farm, and his son Capt. John Brown, who was out in the Rebellion, is interred at Fonthill.”

Upon visiting the site in 1928, Reive notes “there was only one stone standing but some broken ones were lying around on the ground and some in the creek.”

Only five inscriptions were found by Reive, for the McCormicks and Joseph Wilford, as recorded below.

No monuments were found at this site when visited by an OGS volunteer who noted “this almost forgotten cemetery … was visited in 1988. Little remains on top of a little knoll beside Crane’s Creek and unless specifically looking for it, you would not find it.”

Based on these visits, the following people are thought to be buried here:

**Lieut. John Brown** (1739-?) and his **wife**

**Robert McCormick** (dates unknown) and his wife **Celesta** (1819-1852) and their daughter **Ann** (dates unknown)

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123 Carnochan (1912:75)
124 Robbins (1991b:223)
Sarah McCormick (1876-1846) the wife of James

John McCormick (1850-1852) son of James and Catherine

Joseph H. A. Wilford (1793-1847)

Abraham and Lydia Lee (dates unknown) thought to be the freed slaves noted by Carnochan.

17. CROW PLOT

Concession 5 Lot 9 Pelham Township; Inactive unclassified family cemetery; 1 gravestone for 1 individual who died in 1816.

The grave marker for John Crow (d. 1816) transcribed in 1985 by OGS volunteers was not located in a heavily wooded area during field work. No burial or death records or burial locations have been found for John’s parents or wife or other members of these earlier generations. Many members of later generations of the Crow family are buried in North Pelham Presbyterian Church Cemetery, located one street west of the Crow plot. Reive found only the single stone in 1931 and noted that “supposedly many of name Beckett and Cross previously buried here.”

126 Robbins (1991b:205)
18. Schram Family

Concession 2 Lot 9 Pelham Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 2 stones for 2 people in use 1834-1851.

Located in the corner of a farmer’s field, both stones for members of the Schram family have fallen in the long grass. Buried here are John Schram Sr. (1755-1851) and William Schram (1789-1834). Neither appear in census records, so their immediate family is unknown, as is their possible relation to the Schram family buried in Louth township.

19. Swayze Family Cemetery

Concession 2 Lot 4 Pelham Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 7 stones for 7 people between 1842 and 1878.

The Swayze Cemetery is located behind a row of house in a cluster of trees. Several of the monuments at the are broken and difficult to read, but the site is being cared for as evidenced by metal bracing that has been placed around broken marble slabs to keep them upright. Due to the early dates of death recorded on many of the stones
it is difficult to locate these individuals in census records, making their connections to each other unclear. There are several marble fragments, suggesting that there are more than seven people buried here.

Buried here are:

**James Swazye** (1825-1857)

**Mary Johnson Swayze** (1788-1863) wife of **Freeman** (?)-1878)

**George Swayze** (1853-1855) son of Freeman and Jennifer.

**Jabez Johnson** (dates unknown)

**Pheabe Dennis** (1817-1842)

**Unknown** name (?)
STAMFORD TOWNSHIP, WELLAND COUNTY
Family cemeteries of Stamford Township:127

20. Hutt-Brown Burial Place
21. Lampman Burial Plot
22. Old Thompson Family Burying Ground

20. HUTT-BROWN BURIAL PLACE

Lot 12 Stamford Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 1 stone in 1983; 5 stones (and fragments) in 1931; at least 5 individuals; in use 1825-1844.

This cemetery was not found during field work. In 1983 OGS volunteers found several fragments of stone and 1 legible monument:128

Margaret Muirhead (1800-1825)

In 1931, Reive (Robbins 1991b:306) found Margaret’s monuments and four others:

Jacob Hutt (179?-?) son of Adam and Dortothy

William Hutt (1784-1830)

Mary (McGlashan) Robertson (1797-1844)

Adam Esq Hutt (1763-1842)

Reive notes that Margaret, Mary, and Adam are buried outside of an enclosure, while Jacob and William are within it. He notes the enclosure is a wall that has been damaged by a fallen tree and that several broken monuments are resting against the wall. In 1983 the site was described as “overgrown with weeds and scrub bushes on a slight rise in the land. A fallen rotting tree lays across the plot. An old stone fence lies in ruin around the site.”

21. **LAMPMAN BURIAL PLOT**

*Lot 100 Stamford Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 1 monument for 2 people; in use 1789-1811.*

The monument for **Frederick** (1722-1789) and his wife **Catharine** (1739-1811) is located on the bank of Shriner’s Creek in an area overgrown with trees and low growth. No other monuments are visible. This limestone slab has been embedded in concrete, suggesting work in the late 20th century.

Frederick was born in New Jersey and came to Stamford in 1784 and one of his sons with Catharine, Peter (1783-1866), is buried in Drummond Hill Cemetery.129 Their grandson Samuel is buried in the Lampman Plot in Gainsborough. Burial places for other family members are unknown.

22. **OLD THOMPSON FAMILY BURYING GROUND**

*Lot 108 Stamford Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; 3 stones in 1982; at least 4 individuals; in use 1830-1849.*

Three stones that were recorded by OGS volunteers in 1982 as leaning against a house in Niagara Falls were not found during fieldwork.130 It appears that the house is original to the Thomson family who also used the spelling of Thompson. Neither the location of the cemetery or the identity of other members of the family to be buried here are known.

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Two headstones were recorded in 1983 for three children of John and Noami Thomson: two infant daughters (1828-1830) and Janet (1832-1838). There was also a headstone for Margaret (White) Law (1810-1849) of Fifshire, Scotland, erected by her husband John Law.

According to Walker\textsuperscript{131} John Thomson was one of seven children of John (1758-1814) and Jeannett (1756-1813) Thomson and with Naomi he had six daughters, one of whom married John Law, presumably after his first wife died.

\textsuperscript{131} Walker, Isabel (1976) \textit{The Thompsons of Whirlpool Farm}. Niagara Falls
Thorold Township, Welland County

Family cemeteries of Thorold Township.\textsuperscript{132}

\begin{flushright}
\end{flushright}
23. Carl Misener Burying Ground  
24. Clark Family Burial Ground  
25. Price Family Burial Ground  
26. Overholt Cemetery  
27. Upper Family (Private) Cemetery*  
28. Upper Family Burial Ground  

* Orange arrow marks location of the Allanburg Village Cemetery, also discussed below.

23. CARL-MISENER BURYING GROUND

Lot 213 Thorold Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; monument fragments remain; 75 people thought to be interred here; unknown dates of use.

This cemetery is on the eastern bank of the Welland Canal and while well landscaped, there are only fragments of the original monuments that remain. The cemetery is designated under the Ontario Heritage Act and is marked with several signs and plaques. The designation is based on the cemetery’s association with the setter families of John Carl, Leonard Misener, and Thomas Bald all of whom arrived in Thorold between 1780 and 1795. It is thought that 75 people were buried here while the cemetery was in use, possibly including canal workers and their families who died during the cholera epidemic of 1832-34. According to Heritage Thorold,

133 Heritage Thorold (nd)  
www.heritagethorold.com/DESIGNATED%20PROPERTIES/carl_misener_bald_cemetery.html
 gravestones for Barbara Misener, Hannah Misener, and Thomas Bald were visible when the site was designated in 2007.\(^{134}\) There is one complete monument remaining that has been placed flat on the ground with the fragments of several others.

The OGS record from 1990 includes the only remaining monument at that time for **Barbara Misener** (1741-1821), the wife of Leonard Misoner.\(^{135}\) Leonard Misener was the brother of Nicholas Misener who is buried in the Young-Misener Cemetery in Crowland with his wife and several of his children.\(^{136}\)

According to the inscription on Barbara’s monument, she and Leonard had nine children who married and settled in the surrounding area. Reive transcribed a family bible in his notes\(^ {137}\) and records these nine children as:

Peter (b. 1768 m. ? Bender),
Elizabeth (b. 1770 m. John Cook)
Mary (b. 1772 m. John Heslop)
John (b. 1774 m. Catherine Young)
Leonard (b. 1777 m. Ann Cook)
Anna (b. ? m1. Amasa Matthews m2. Jno. Watston)
Charlotte (b. 1779 m. Calvin Cook)
Mathias (b. 1781 m1. Catherine Vanderburg m2. Hanna Hilton)
Cara (b. 1783 m. Jno Wagner).

When Reive visited the site in 1930, he noted “a stone to Leonard Misener… brother of Nicholas, still stands on the bank of the Welland Canal near Port Robinson, one of the few stones still standing following the destruction of a large cemetery during the building of the canal. … Lies on government land on a knoll – and as all but one of the stones lie flat on the ground, it is practically never seen by passers by. The depressed surfaces of the ground would indicate many unmarked graves.”\(^ {138}\)

In addition to the stone for **Leonard** and his wife **Barbara**, Reive transcribed monuments for:

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\(^{134}\) Heritage Thorold (nd)
\(^{136}\) Robbins (1991b:386)
\(^{137}\) Robbins (1991b:384)
\(^{138}\) Robbins 1991:387
Thomas (1818-1832) son of Thomas and Catharine Bald

Hannah (1790-1840) wife of Mathias Misener

Catharine (1784-1834) wife of Mathias Misener

24. CLARK FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

Lot 212 Thorold Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 3 stones for 3 individuals between 1861 and 1867.

The Clark Family Burial Ground is located roadside, with monuments for John Clark (1792-1861) and his children Wellington (1843-1862) and Rhoda, whose monument is damaged, but based on the 1851 Thorold census was born in 1848\(^\text{139}\) (and appears in the 1861 census at 13 years old\(^\text{140}\)). Based on the inscription of being 16 at her death, Rhoda died in 1867.

According to Rhoda's headstone, her mother was Sarah, for whom no death or burial records have been located. Sarah appears in the 1861 census at 52 years old\(^\text{141}\), but is not included in the next census, suggesting she died prior to 1871. Seeing as the cemetery was still in use in 1867 when Rhoda died, it is likely that Sarah is buried with her husband and children.

John and Sarah's other children, according to the 1851 Thorold census, were:

\(^{139}\) Thorold Welland County; Canada West (Ontario) Schedule A roll C_11757 P. 33

\(^{140}\) Thorold Welland County; Canada West (Ontario) Schedule A roll C_1081 P. 50
Wesley (1830-1871 burial location unknown), whose wife Rosette remarried after his death.\(^\text{141}\)

Eliza Jane (1834-?) Does not appear with the Clarke family in subsequent census years. Possibly married by the 1861 census (when she would have been 28).

Nelson, (1838-1895), who moved to Hamilton with his family between 1871 and 1881 where he and his wife died and are buried.

Margara (1845-?). Appears in the 1861 census at 16 years old but is not located in records after this. Possibly married.

All three monuments are being held up by metal braces and wire.

25. **Price Family Burial Ground or Colbeck Drive Cemetery**

*Lot 256 BF Thorold Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 1 remaining stone; records of at least 9 people buried between 1842 and 1890.*

This cemetery is located in an area of overgrowth on the western bank of the Welland River just outside the town of Thorold. While only the stone for Sarah Hutson is legible, there are stone fragments and depressions from sunken graves throughout the small area. Reive visited the site in 1926 and recorded several other grave stones for members of the Price family.\(^\text{142}\) Buried here are:

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\(^{141}\) Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_16

\(^{142}\) Robbins (1991b:338)
James Hutson (1829-1854) and his wife Sarah (1830-1886). No records found.

Aaron Price (1789-1847) and his wife Charlotte (1796-1880) and their son

Peter B. (1816-1890) and his wife Phebe (1821-1846)

Peter is listed in the 1851 census\(^{143}\) with his mother Charlotte. While Charlotte is listed as a widow, Peter is listed as married. Also listed are Jane (b. 1828), Sarah (b. 1831), Phebe (b. 1834 and a teacher), Harriot (b. 1836), Hannah (b. 1830), Melissa (b. 1842) James (b. 1844), and Emma (b. 1846).

Melissa, James, and Emma are the children of Peter and Phebe, while Peter married Jane after Phebe’s death. Melissa’s death record lists her married name as Augustine, her parents as Peter Buckbee Price and Phebe Catherine Davis Price, and that she died and was buried in Lambton County in 1923.\(^{144}\) Emma, who did not marry, also died and was buried in Lambton County in 1936.\(^{145}\) James died in California but his place of burial is unknown.\(^{146}\)

Joseph Price (1783-1842) and his wife Mary (1787-1862) no records found

Delilah Price (1853-1853) daughter of Mary (burial place unknown; father unknown)

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\(^{143}\) 1851; Census Place: Thorold, Welland County, Canada West(Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 25; Line: 22.

\(^{144}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_314

\(^{145}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_554

\(^{146}\) OGS (1983) Colbeck Drive Cemetery. OGS Cemetery Transcript #5750, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
26. **OVERHOLT CEMETERY**

*Lot 157 Thorold Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 17 monuments for 20 people; in use between 1813 and 1878.*

The Overholt Cemetery is in a wooded area behind several houses. According to a newspaper article, in the 1960s the property owner leveled the cemetery that had an estimated 265 interments.\(^{147}\) At some point since then, 17 remaining headstones have been collected under a wooden roof and enclosed by a fence. No records have been found regarding the identity of those whose monuments were lost. Reive visited the site in 1928 and his record only includes two monuments that were not found during fieldwork, suggesting the cemetery was close to this size when it was removed in the 1960s. If so, the majority of the suspected 265 monuments were lost or removed between the last burial in 1878 and Reive's visit in 1928. Reive states the cemetery “lies in a little grove close to the house. Apparently it was the burial place of a branch of the Overhol family in early days. The earliest burial recorded by the stones is 1813. It is kept in good order by the present owner of the farm and the last burial seems to have been in 1877.”\(^{148}\)

Monuments that remain are mainly for the Overholt family with several for members of the Wills family as well. Included here are:

**Abraham** Overholt (1746-1840) and hiswife **Elizabeth** (1752-1836)

**Martin** Overholt (1774-1864) and his wife **Catharine** (1793-1854)

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\(^{148}\) Robbins (1991b:207)
Abraham Overholt (1785-1866) and his first wife Rebecca Disher (1786-1813) and his second wife Margaret (1788-1859)

Elizabeth (1812-1840) wife of Matthew Overholt – burial place unknown

John (1863-1863) son of Henry and Margaret Overholt – burial places unknown

William Overholt (1800-1840)

Others include:

Jacob Wills (1785-1840) and his wife Elizabeth (1780-1877) and their son

Peter (1822-1840)

Jacob Wills (1823-1849) son of Henry and Mary Wills – burial places unknown

Richard Wills (1815-1867) and his wife Elizabeth (1814-1871)\(^{149}\)

Henry Acker (1806-1874) and his wife Charity (1814-1878)

William Gilmore (1799-1864)

Jane Winger (1815-1851) wife of Jacob – monument not found during fieldwork, but was recorded previously by Reive.\(^{150}\) Jacob’s burial place has not been found.

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\(^{149}\) Elizabeth’s monument not found during fieldwork but was previously recorded by Reive (Robbins 1991b:207)

\(^{150}\) Robbins (1991b:207)
27. Upper Family (Private) Cemetery

Lot 95 Thorold Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 52 monuments for 85 people between 1809 and 2002.

The Upper family used at least three cemeteries within close proximity to each other. This family cemetery was used by Anna and George Upper and their son Anthony and his descendants and several other families. Several members of this family also used the Allanburg village cemetery, located roughly 500 m south of the family cemetery. Both are on the banks of the Welland Canal. In the discussion of the Upper family below, those who used the Allanburg cemetery are included in italics. George and Anna’s other son Jacob created a nearby cemetery for his own family that remained private (discussed separately below).

Members of the Upper family buried here are indicated by names in bold and italicized names indicate family buried in the nearby Allanburg Cemetery. Buried here are:

George (no stone, but thought to be buried here) and his wife Anna Upper (1734-1809) and their son

   Major Anthony (1771-1853) and his wife Catharine (1777-1835) and their children
Peter (1799-1861)

and his first wife Nancy (1802-1832) and their children

Eliza (?-1838)

Mary Jane (?-1849)

And his second wife Margaret (1812-1850) and their two sons

William (who has a footstone close to a broken and illegible headstone) an his wife Mary Catharine (1830-1872) and their sons

Peter A. Upper (1851-1917) and his wife Charlotte F. (1854-1935)

Milton F. (1871-1871)

Joseph (1829-1895) and his wife Sarah Clark (1830-1915) and their children

Charles D. (1851-1857)

Matilda C. (1855-1876)

Joseph Sr. (1810-1876) and his second wife Jane (1813-1875) (first wife was Charlotte) and their four sons (and a granddaughter by their daughter)

James Upper (1832-1906) and his wife Rachel Mosier (1828-1924) and their son and grandson and Rachel’s parents

Ruben J. (1869-1926)

A second son, Albert does not appear to be buried here, but his son is:

Philip Upper (1891-1951)

Also Rachel’s parents Ruben Mosier (1804-1879) and his wife Eliza (1809-1883)
William (1837-1914) and his wife Janet Riddel (1842-1912)

Walter Upper (1845-1932) (wife Sarah L. Dyke 1848-1911 buried in Drummond Hill with her mother) and their children

Emily (1872-1960)
Evan (not buried here, but a son with Jessie Pew is)

Hugh Charles Upper (1900-1984) and his wife Helen Isabel McGarry (1903-1995)

Charles (1875-1936) and his wife Nettie Baker
(1878-1969) and their four children

Guy E. Upper (1902-1983) and his wife
Muriel Wynant (1902-1985)
Walter P. Upper (1905-1966) and his wife
Anna E. (1908-1992)
Shirley Margeret Upper (1909-1984) and her husband James Harold Bradley (1906-1984)
Claude Allan Upper (1912-1993) and his wife Molly Jacque (1914-1968)

Ellen (1877-1959)

Hartley (1881-1949)

Oscar (1847-1910) and his wife Jennette F. (1850-1931) and their son

Ernest O. (1879-1880)

Joseph and Jane’s daughter Phebe and her husband Alex Fraser do not appear to be buried here but their daughter is:

Cora H Fraser (1877-1877)

There are four additional Uppers who cannot be placed:

Harry W. (?-1874) son of Joseph and Kitte Upper (unknown).
Joan C. Upper (1934-1956) (no public records – too recent)

George H. Upper (1916-2002) and his wife Ruth Elizabeth Fletcher (1916-1996) (no public records – too recent)

Others buried here include:

Several members of the Mussen family:

Philip Mussen (1802-1889) and his wife Lucinda (1866-1890) and their children

Henry Mussen (1837-1919) and his wife Eliza (1837-1890) and their daughter

Stella (1874-1875)

Stewart (1839-1853)

Matilda (1844-1846)

John Theal (1866-1918) and his wife Florence Clara Mussen (1869-1902)

Children whose parents appear to be buried elsewhere:

Grace Eliza Walker (1906-1907) daughter of George and Eliza Walker

Mabel (1871-1872), Mary Maude Rogers (1872-1874), and Raymond (1873-1874), children of William and Mary

Effie and Harry (unknown)

And others:

John Bruce (1822-1877) born in Dumfries, Scotland and eight infant children of John and Agnes (burial place unknown)

Joseph Arthur Chambers (1878-1889) son of Wm. and Ag.
Charlotte Cook (?) and her children with Henry Cook (burial place unknown) – Jennie (?) and William James (1880-1880)

Thomas Fairburn (1837-1881)

William Hicks (?-1903) and his wife Martha Reynolds (1819-1901) and their grandson William Morgan Hicks (1895-1895)

Robert George Mitchell (1986-1987) too recent to obtain records

Charles E. Plumsteel (1852-1879) son of Daniel (burial place unknown) and Catharine Plumsteel (1811-1885)

Raymond Rogers (1873-1874) son of William and Mary Rogers

Melvia and William Swain (markers not found during fieldwork but are recorded without dates in OGS record)

Ca(?) Vanderborgh (1818-1860)

James Waters (1814-1901)

28. **Upper Family Burial Ground**

*Lot 43 Thorold Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 14 stones for 18 individuals between 1844 and 1974.*

The branch of the Upper family buried here include are related to the Uppers discussed above. The family of Jacob Upper, second son of George and Anna Upper, is buried here while his parents and brother Anthony’s family are buried in the Upper Family (Private) Cemetery. Whereas the other Upper cemetery includes other families, this cemetery appears to have been used by immediate family only.
Buried here are:

**Jacob** (1771-1846) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1775-1851) Jacob is the son of George and Anna Upper, buried nearby. Also their three sons

**William** (1804-1871) and his children

- **Mary I** (1832-1854)
- **William H** (1849-1849)

**James** (1813-1844) and his wife **Jane** (1817-1897) and their children

- **Philip** (1838-1845)
- **Albert C.** (1841-1845)
- **Jacob** (1842-1905)

**Aaron** and his wife **Abigail** (dates unknown – stone broken) and their daughter

- **Mary E.** (1850-1851)

A fourth son, **Andrew** (1808-1899) and his wife Mary do not appear to be buried here, although their grandson (by their son James Benjamin and his wife Mary Pew[^151])

**Arthur L** (1882-1956) and his wife **Winnie** (1894-uncut).

The **most recent burial** is for a member of the family who died in 1974 at the age of 21. Records for his birth are not public, so it is not possible to determine the line of the family still using the cemetery, however.

Also buried here are **Johanna Lutjenkossink** (1898-1953) and **Johannes Merinus Lutjenkossink** (1895-1965). As these deaths occurred relatively recently, no records have been found that link the Lutjenkossinks to the Uppers. The middle name of the man most recently buried here in 1974 is Johannes, so it is possible that these are his descendants.

[^151]: Archives of Ontario Birth Record MS929_57
maternal grandparents and they are the parents of a woman who married into the Upper family.
Family cemeteries of Wainfleet Township: ¹⁵²

29. Farr Cemetery
30. Grabell's Cemetery
31. McEown Family Cemetery
32. O’Rielly’s Cemetery (Park Family Cemetery)
33. Will’s Cemetery
34. Wilson Chambers Farm

29. **Farr Cemetery**

*Concession 6 Lot 1 Wainfleet Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 32 monuments for 38 individuals commemorated between 1836 and 2007.*

The Farr Cemetery is located to the south of the Welland River and is marked by a perimeter of pine trees, a stone sign, and a marked gate. It is still in use by members of the Farr family, but the earliest burials are for the Brown family who were buried between 1836 and 1857.

**Alexander Brown** (1769-1843) and his wife **Hannah** (1777-1845), their grandsons **David P** (1821-1836) and **Henry W** (1832-57) sons of David P Sr. and Matilda – burial locations unknown. Alexander is the son of Lieutenant John Brown who is buried in the Brown Burial Plot in Pelham.153

Also buried here is **Elizabeth Clarkson** (1824-1851) and her son **Edwin** (dates unknown). Due to the limited membership of the cemetery, it is possible that Elizabeth was born a Farr.

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153 Carnochan (1912:75)
The Farr family makes up the rest of the burials here. While there are additional surnames found, they are the married names of women born into the Farr family. Members of the Farr family buried here include:

**Stephen M** (1790-1863) and his wife **Sarah** (1791-1871) and their children:

- **William** (1819-1865) and his daughter:
  - **Amelda** (1845-1867) wife of Orin Lamb (burial place unknown)
- **Ira** (1822-1848) and his wife **Sarah Ann** (1823-1864)
- **David M** (1824-1852) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1828-1857)
  - Their son **John D** (1850-1876)
- **Alexander** (1825-1853)
- **Catharine** (1827-1854) wife of Calvin Haun
- **Robert** (1831-1853)
- **Harriet** (1834-1851)

Descendants of Stephen’s brother Archibald (burial place unknown) are also buried here, including

- **Richard** (1836-1910) and his wife **Hulda Louise** (1838-1910), and their sons
  - **William J.** (1868-1915) and his wife **Martha Sodtka** (1871-1961) and their children
    - **Gertrude P** (1908-1922) and her twin brother and his wife who both died in the late 20th century
  - **Richard** (1913-1928)

- **John I.** (1876-1951) and his infant child (1909) with his wife **Nettie** who doesn’t have a grave marker but whose death record includes
Farrs as her place of burial after her death from Spanish influenza in 1920.154

Also buried here is Jean Evelyn Farr (1910-1936) whose death record indicates she was the wife of William Farr, who appears to have remarried and is buried here with his second wife, both of whom died in the late 20th century.

Also Mildred N (1908-1918) Norval Francis (1917-1919), children of Frank and Lillian – burial place unknown.

Also husband and wife William and Edith who were both born in the 1930 and died in the late 20th century.

Also a Farr woman (1968-2007) whose connection is unknown due to the recent dates of her birth and death.

30. GRABELL’S CEMETERY

Concession 1 Lot 20 Wainfleet Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 14 monuments commemorating 14 individuals between 1850 and 1887.

The Grabell family is found in historical records as Graybell, Graybiel, and Grabel. Samuel Grabell was born in Pennsylvania to John and Barbara and purchased land in Wainfleet in 1813.155 Their eldest son Samuel Jr. was born in 1818 and settled in

154 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_272
Wainfleet in 1872 after being in the California Gold Rush. He married upon his return and he and his wife had five children, only one of whom is buried in the family cemetery; the rest of the family is buried in Morgan’s Point Cemetery. The farm stayed in this line of the family for many years, although the last burial was in 1887.

Many of the stones in the cemetery have fallen and appear arranged in the grass. The site is marked by a sign erected by Wainfleet township. The cemetery is at the road and surrounded by fields on a slight rise of land with Lake Erie just visible to the south.

Buried here are:

**Samuel** Grabell (1790-1870) and his wife **Mary** (Sherk) (1792-1877) and their children:

- **Benjamin** (?-1866)
- **Frances** (1816-1855) wife of Daniel Sherk (1811 - ?) who married Leah Stoner (ref?)
  - their daughter **Louisa Maria** (1876-1855)
  - their daughter **Bella Frances** (?-?)

Also, **Florence Jane** Grabell (1876-1877) who is the daughter of Samuel Grabell Jr. and Jane Chalmers.

Samuel Jr. and Jane are buried in Morgan’s Point Cemetery along with their sons S Bruce (1873-1925)157, Sidney T (1878-1924),158 LeRoy Jerome (1879-1927),159 and G Malcolm (1884-1933).160

Non-family members include:

**Chester Kinnard** (1801-1887) and his wife **Margaret** (1808-1850)
- Their **son** (name unknown)(1849-1852)

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156 Wainfleet Historical Society (1992:178)
157 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_330.
158 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_318.
159 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_353.
160 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_475.
Julia Ann Bearss (1838-1863) wife of Cyrenus who is buried in Steele’s cemetery with his second wife Leah Michener

Isaac Miller (1822-1851) born in Erie Co. NY.

Sir Walter Freeman (?-?) (this stone is not included in the OGS record but was found mostly buried and difficult to read after falling. Freeman has not been located in any archival sources, his connection to the Grabell’s is unclear.

An illegible stone: In memory of M. EM… (dates unknown).

31. McEown Family Cemetery

Concession 6 Lot 10 Wainfleet Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 3 stones commemorating 3 people from 1839 to 1865.

The McEown cemetery is located on the bank of the Welland River and is enclosed by a small fence in a grassed area between two houses. The cemetery includes husband and wife Patrick (1752-1839) and Elizabeth (1769-1848) and their son John J (1793-1865). Elizabeth’s stone includes the inscription “A Native of New York” and Patrick’s reads “A Native of New Jersey,” both rare examples in this sample of American place of birth being included on monuments. John and Elizabeth had several other children, but records for them have not been found in Niagara archives. Dr. Reive’s entry upon visiting the cemetery in 1830 includes reference to “many other unmarked graves.” No record of others possibly buried here have been found.

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161 Robbins (1991b:372)
32. **O’Rielly’s Cemetery/Park Family Cemetery**

*Concession 6 Lot 8 Wainfleet Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 monuments for 4 individuals between 1825 and 1851.*

The O’Rielly’s Cemetery for the Park family has only four monuments in the western ¼ of the cemetery with the remaining space open without monuments. The site is marked with a sign erected by the township as O’Reilly’s Cemetery. The OGS record for this cemetery includes a brief history of the Park family in Wainfleet.  

Captain Shubal Park was granted the land prior to fighting in the War of 1812, but the family did not remain in Wainfleet. Reive visited the cemetery in 1930 and his notes include research on Captain Park’s son who was a doctor in Simcoe and Ancaster, where he died.

Buried here are:

**Captain Shubal Park** (1778-1827)

His daughter, **Jane** (1825-1825)

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163 Robbins (1991b:372)
Alfred (1842-1845) and Mary Catharine (1850-1851), children of Charles and Elizabeth Park – burial places unknown.

33. WILLS’ CEMETERY

Concession 5 Lot 31 Wainfleet Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 38 headstones for 45 individuals between 1849 and 1914.

The Wills’ Cemetery is the resting place of several local families, many of whom include parents who buried children here in the 1860s and ‘70s and were later buried elsewhere in the 1900s. While some families are grouped together, others such as the Beachins and Siders are found throughout the cemetery, which is marked by a sign erected by the township. Members of the Wills family buried here include:

Anthony (1794-1880) and his wife
Hannah (1797-1866)

George (1820-1880) and his wife
Catharine Dunn (1828-1891)

Their granddaughter Leta Ellen (1895-1897) (daughter of William (son of George and Catharine who died in 1923 and is buried in Zion Cemetery164 and Etta)

Henry (1826-1909) and his wife Eliza Ann (1840-1891)

Also Jacob (1850-1875) and Daniel (1854-1879) and Paul (1866-1900) who are possibly children of George or Henry.

164 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_307
Others include:

**Allen**

**Isaac** (1807-1870)

**Beachin**

The first and second wives of Joseph Beachin: **Eliza** (1822-1862) and **Mary** (1827-1898). Joseph died in 1902 but his place of burial is unknown.

**Caroline** (1880-1897) daughter of Henry and Cornitha Beachin. Cornitha is buried in Winger Cemetery in Wainfleet in 1920 but no record of Henry’s burial place has been found.

**Hendershot**

**John C.** (1799-1868) – no details known about his life in Wainfleet

**House**

**William Arthur** (1875-1948) and his wife **Rosetta** (1872-1899)

**McIntee**

**Barnabus** (1824-1890)

**Soper**

**Mary Ann** (1848-1884) and her sons **William** (1874-1880) and **Robert G** (1879-1880) with George, who is buried in Zion Cemetery.

**Swayne**

**William Henry** (1820-1914) and his wife **Phoebe** (Overholt) (1820-1880)

**Willie** (1873-1881) son of William (died 1913 – son of Wm Henry and Phoebe and Almira – burial places unknown

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165 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_108
166 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_272
167 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_376
Willie (1875-1875) son of David (died 1925 – son of Wm Henry and Phoebe\(^{169}\)) and Mary – burial places unknown

Also a baby, and Etta and Eva, relations unknown

**Taggart**

William (1803-1891) and his wife Elizabeth (1838-1891)

**Thompson**

Nathanial (1822-1899) and his wife Rosannah (1823-1895); their sons James (1853-1875) and William (1854-1883)

**Wilson**

Gordon (1845-1849) son of James and unknown mother – burial places unknown

There are also several children buried here whose parents are not:

George Greer (1867-1871) son of Robert and Abigail – burial places unknown

Ella May Hiles (1881-1882) daughter of John and Mary – John buried in Zion Cemetery after his death in 1935\(^{170}\); Mary’s burial unknown.

Nancy A Mater (18862-1869) daughter of Jacob and Mary

Everett Moore (1898-99) son of John W and Sarah G – burial places unknown.


Sara Sett and unknown child of Louis and Catharine (Sider\(^{172}\)) – buried in Maple Lawn Cemetery in Wainfleet

\(^{168}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_192

\(^{169}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_330

\(^{170}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_526

\(^{171}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_420

\(^{172}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_159
Joseph Sider (?-1879) son of Martin and Barbara – buried in Maple Lawn Cemetery in Wainfleet

Julia Ann Sider (?-?) daughter of Christian and unknown mother – Christian buried in Maple Lawn Cemetery

Sarah Stayzer (1869-1869) daughter of Anna and Andrew – buried in Maple Lawn Cemetery

34. Wilson Chambers Farm

Location unknown Wainfleet Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 monuments for 5 individuals between 1852 and 1890.

The only record of this cemetery for members of the Chambers family is found in Reive’s notes following his visit in 1928. He notes “On the farm of Wilson Chambers on the Welland River about seven miles from Welland are buried several members of the Chambers family. The burial place is in good order.” Even so, no evidence of this site appears to remain and it is not recorded by the OGS. Buried here are:

Robert (1801-1876) and his wife Agnes (1810-1864) and their son

  Henry (1851-1852)

Jessie and Dessie, daughters of R & L (?-1890)

  The births of Jessie and Dessie are registered in 1890 to parents Robert and Lucinda (Robins) – burial places unknown.

Robert and Agnes had at least one other son, Wilson (1850-1934) who is buried in Hillside cemetery in Ridgeville. This is likely the Wilson Chambers referred to by Reive as the owner of the family farm in 1928.

173 Robbins (1991b:374)
174 Archives of Ontario Birth Record MS929_101
175 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_494
WILLoughby TOWNSHIP, Welland COUNty

Family cemeteries of Willoughby Township.176

35. Gonder Family Burial Ground
36. Byer Burial Ground
37. Lapp Cemetery
38. (Abandoned) Lee Plot
39. Lutes Farm Plot
40. Miller Cemetery
41. Misoner Burial Plot
42. Morningstar Cemetery
43. Willick Burial Ground
44. Weaver Cemetery

35. Gonder Family Burial Ground

Concession 1 Lot 6 Willoughby Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 2 legible stones and multiple stone fragments remaining; record of 18 people buried here between 1813 and 1895.

This small cemetery is located on the eastern bank of what was once known as the Gonder Creek in a heavily wooded area outside of Fort Erie. Remains of a brick wall and wire fence enclose the site with a diagonal modern gate in the south west corner. The monument, for Michael D. Gonder, an obelisk with the spire fallen and sunken into the ground so only one side can be read with the remaining stages of the monument are stacked beside the spire, is the most visible monument in the cemetery. There are broken and fallen marble slabs and other stone fragments throughout the cemetery, which is over grown with brush, and patches of daffodils (in late April). A transcription by Mrs. Stanley C. Tolan from October 13, 1957 records 14 gravestones and 8 footstones in three rows with north-south orientations. Tolan notes “most of the wall is down and a number of the stones.” A subsequent record from 1974 indicates that none of the 14 stones recorded were still standing.

According to Carnochan (1920:106), “In an old private burial pace on what was formerly the first Gonder farm, (now the Stoner farm, near Welland,) was buried in 1813 Michael Gonder, who came to Canada in 1787 and lived at Niagara for some time. David Price, who married Margaret Gonder, was Indian Interpreter and Niagara, and is buried here. ‘In memory of David Price of the township of Crowland, died 26th Feb., 1841, aged 91.’”

The biographical sketch178 of Michael D. Gonder (1804-1886) states that he was born on lot 6 on the bank of the Niagara river. His grandfather, Michael (1742-1813), a native of Germany, his father Jacob (1775-1846), and mother Mary Ann (Dunn)...

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177 Toland (1957) The Gonder Cemetery. On file in the Gonder Family files at the Mayholme Foundation, St. Catharines
(1766-1858) came to Niagara from Lancaster, Pennsylvania in 1779 and are all buried in the family cemetery. His grandmother Evelyn Rebecca (Snyder) died in Pennsylvania prior to 1779.

The 1957 transcription includes a monument for David Thomas (1784-1860), the only record of whom is found in the 1851 Willoughby census, where he is noted as being 67 years old, single, born in the United States, of no sect, residing in Humberstone township and occupied as a shoemaker. His relationship to the Gonder family is not known.

Members of the Gonder family buried here include:

Michael Gonder (1742-1813) and his son

Jacob (1775-1846) and his wife Mary Ann (1766-1858) and their children

Michael D. (1804-1886) and his wife Sarah Ann (1810-1881) and their children

John P (1830-1832), Thomas (1833-1895), Hannah (1843-1862), and Evelyn (1850-1871)

Jacob Jr. (1808-1834) and his wife Mary A. (1804-1886)

George (1814-1884)

Mary A. (1818-1891) and her children Joshua D. (1848-1855), Sarah E. (1850-1861), and Wellington (1853-1855) with her husband, Joshua Fares, who died in 1896 in Norfolk County after living as a widower and gardner for the Armstrong family in Port Colborne (burial place unknown).

David Price (1750-1841) husband of Margaret Gonder (1785-1865) (burial place unknown)

Death records for sons of Michael D. and Mary Ann were found:

179 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_80
180 1891 Port Colborne Census, Welland Ontario Roll T-6376; family no. 57
Reuben Michael (1837-1916) is buried in Drummond Hill Cemetery.\textsuperscript{181} 
Levi Mark (1834-1917) is buried in Fairview Cemetery, Niagara Falls.\textsuperscript{182} 

Michael D. and Sarah Ann had other children according to the 1871 census\textsuperscript{183}: Thomas (b. 1834) Harvey J (b. 1847), Sarah B. (b. 1850), Mine (b. 1852), Albert (b. 1854) and Gertrude (b. 1855) 

Sarah married Andrew Carroll in 1874,\textsuperscript{184} Gertrude married George Durham in 1881\textsuperscript{185} and Harvey married Mary Ann Menzies in 1877 in Bruce County\textsuperscript{186}. Death records have not been found for these children. 

### 36. Byer Burial Ground or Bossert Road Cemetery

*Concession 1 Lot 8 Willoughby Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 3 monuments for 3 people between 1839-1895.*

The Byer Burial Ground is located off of the Niagara Parkway, west of the Niagara River. Only three monuments remain and all are broken and fallen on the ground. These monuments are for:

**John Byer (?-1839) and his wife Mary (?-1855)** 

Also **Jacob Byer (1824-1895)**

Because the dates of birth for John and Mary are unknown, it is difficult to research them further.

In the 1891 census,\textsuperscript{187} Jacob is living with Michael and Eliza Lee (discussed below in the

\textsuperscript{181} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_226  
\textsuperscript{182} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_236  
\textsuperscript{183} 1871 Willoughby Census Welland, Ontario; Roll: C-9920; Page: 6; Family No: 16.  
\textsuperscript{184} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_16  
\textsuperscript{185} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_38  
\textsuperscript{186} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_226
Lee Cemetery in Bertie township at the age of 67. His death was registered\textsuperscript{188} by Michael but does not record whether he was a bachelor, married, or a widower.

37. **LAPP CEMETERY**

*Lot 15 BF Willoughby Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 15 monuments for 16 people; in use between 1828 and 1879.*

The Lapp Cemetery is located nearby the Niagara River on the front yard of a private home enclosed by a wooden fence. Members of the Lapp, Hershey, and Sayler families are buried here including:

- **Abraham Lapp** (1764-1880) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1766-1828)
- **Isaac Lapp** (1810-1881) and his wife **Anna** (1810-1874) and their daughters **Elizabeth** (1842-1842) and **Anna** (1843-1895)
- **Julia A. Lapp** (1879-1879) daughter of Jacob and Salama – burial places unknown
- **David Hershey** (1828-1872) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1831-1864) and their children **Benjamin** (1858-1864) and **Samuel** (1864-1864)
- **Peter Sayler** (1795-1862) and his wife **Elizabeth** (1804-1870)
- **Permelia Sayler** (1821-1853) wife of Abraham (burial unknown) and their son **Michael** (1852-1853)
- **Benjamin** (1844-1846) son of Samuel and Anna – burial places unknown

\textsuperscript{187} 1891 Census Bertie Township Roll: T-6375; Family No: 217.
\textsuperscript{188} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_77
38. (ABANDONED) LEE PLOT

Concession 11 Lot 10 Willoughby Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; 1 stone for 1 individual in 1862.

The Lee Plot is referred to as abandoned by the OGS, whose volunteers surveyed it in 1984. Currently, the cemetery is found in a wooded area behind homes on Willoughby Road. It is fenced, with ‘Willoughby’ sign on the gate for the township. The ground within is quite overgrown and there are stone fragments throughout. Only one legible stone remains, for Mariah Lee (1810-1862) wife of Herbert Lee.

In the 1851 Willoughby Census the Lee family is found with Herbert and Mary and their children Rebekah, John, Benjamin, Esther, Samuel, Michael, Joseph, and David – all between the ages of 21 and 4. No marriage records were found for the daughters, but several sons appear in historical records.

John Lee (born 1832) died in 1883 in Willoughby township but his place of burial is unknown. His wife (according to his death record) was Rebecca Baker whose place of burial is also unknown. In the 1861 census John is recorded with his wife and their children Elena (b. 1855) and Susana (b. 1857) and additional children appear in the 1881 census: Henry (b. 1860), Abram (b. 1863), Abner (b. 1867), and Edwin (b.

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190 1851 Census Willoughby Township Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 11
191 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_35
192 1861 Census Willoughby Township Schedule: A Roll: C-1081; Page: 17
193 1881 Census Willoughby Township Schedule: Roll: C_13253; Page: 3
1872). Henry died in 1930 and is buried in the Mennonite cemetery in Bertie.\textsuperscript{194} Elena married Reuben Morningstar\textsuperscript{195} who died before his wife in 1922 and is buried in the Evangelical Cemetery in Willoughby.\textsuperscript{196}

Death records found for other children were all registered in Bertie township: Samuel Lee (born 1839) died in 1909,\textsuperscript{197} Michael Lee (born 1841) married in 1879 to Elizabeth Zimmerman\textsuperscript{198} and died in 1904,\textsuperscript{199} Joseph E Lee (born 1845) died in 1877.\textsuperscript{200} No burial places are known.

Based on this, it appears that several of the children relocated to Bertie township while John remained in the area.

### 39. LUTES FARM PLOT

\textit{Concession 1 Lot 15 Willoughby Township; Inactive and unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain.}

Thought to be located to the North of Miller Road, just west of the Niagara River. No evidence remains of this cemetery. According to the OGS record, the Hershey family owned the farm in 1862 and Jacob Lutes owned the land in 1876. As the cemetery is named the Lutes Farm Plot, and not the Lutes Family Plot/Burial Ground, it is not clear what family is buried here, but it is possibly members of the Hershey family as they are known to have owned the land prior to the Lutes family.

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\textsuperscript{194} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_402  
\textsuperscript{195} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_48  
\textsuperscript{196} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_295  
\textsuperscript{197} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_149  
\textsuperscript{198} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_32  
\textsuperscript{199} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_118  
\textsuperscript{200} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_17
40. **Miller Cemetery**

*Broken Front Lot 17 Willoughby Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 17 stones for 17 people; in use between 1834-1886.*

The Miller Cemetery located behind several houses that line the Niagara River. It is fenced with monuments throughout for the family of Jacob and Barbara Miller. Their son David and his family are buried in the Miller II Cemetery in Crowland township.

This cemetery includes a monument erected by the great-great grandchildren of Jacob and Barbara that commemorates several earlier generations to be buried here. The original monuments for Jacob Sr. and Jr. and their wives, and Owen Miller are still standing but stones for Phares and Sarah are not found.

![Miller Cemetery Image]

Included here are:

- **Jacob** Miller (1772-1841) and his wife **Barbara** (1771-1840) and their sons
  - **Henry** (1798-1886) and **Elizabeth** (1804-1843)
  - their daughter **Dinah** (1841-1841)
Jacob (1805-1865) and his wife Susanna (1810-1871)
their son Owen F. (1842-1863)

John (1764-1839) and Mary (1769-1834) Miller

Dinah (1821-1839) daughter of John and Mary Miller

Others include:

Elias (1856-1856) son of John and Magdalena Emerick – burial places unknown

Dayton J. Holcolmb (?-?)

Rebecca Holcomb (1820-1873)

Esther M. (1857-1859) daughter of Mylind and Susanna Weaver – burial places unknown

Infant son (1861-1861) of Owen and Hannah Kniseley – burial place unknown

There are also fragments of a stone that were previously recorded for an unknown individual who died in 1853 at the age of 62y, 11m, and 13d
41. MISONER BURIAL PLOT OR MCREDIE FARM CEMETERY OR MCREDIE ROAD CEMETERY

Concession 7 Lot 13 Willoughby Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery; 1 stone remaining for 1 individual in 1801; unknown dates of use.

The one stone remaining at this site on the bank of Lyon’s Creek has been enclosed in a small fence. The monument is for Mary Misoner (1779-1801) the wife of William and daughter of Isaac and Jane Vansickle. Due to the early date of her death, no records relating to Mary’s family members has been found. No additional stones were found by Reive when he visited the site in the 1930s.201

No connection was found to the Misener families of the cemeteries in Crowland or Thorold townships.

201 Robbins (1991b:382)
42. MORNINGSSTAR CEMETERY

Broken Front Concession Lot 17 Willoughby Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 8 monuments commemorating 9 people between 1848-1873.

The Morningstar Cemetery was found in a heavily wooded area and monuments were completely overgrown and difficult to locate. A sign erected by the Town of Fort Erie marks the site, named after the Wale farm where it is located, and the Morningstar family who originally owned the land and used it. (“Town of Fort Erie / Wale Cemetery / (Morningstar)"

Members of the Morningstar family buried here with members of the Barnhart, Everett, Krafft, and Neas families.

John Morningstar (1770-1848)

Jacob Morningstar (1795-1860) and his wife Anna (1800-1870)

Anna Morningstar (1835-1873)

Also buried here:

Fanny Barnhart (1816-1851) wife of Michael Barnhart

Their daughter Sarah (?-? age 3)

Mary Ann Everett (1809-1863) wife of Martin Everett

Alice E Krafft (1871-1871) daughter of Samuel and Phebe

Sade Ann Neas (1819-1853) wife of Michael Neas
Based on the patterns observed at other cemeteries, it is possible that each of these women were born Morningstars and these are their married names. No records have been found for their husbands, however.

**43. Willick Burial Ground**

Concession 3 Lot 11 Willoughby Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 8 stones for 8 individuals between 1834-1893.

The Willick Burial Ground includes husband and wife Joseph (1808-1872) and Esther (1813-1893) and six of their young children who died between 1834 and 1871. They had six other children who survived to adulthood and are buried with their spouses elsewhere between 1906 and 1930. Two moved with their spouses to Middlesex County, where they are buried, and the other four are buried with their spouses in three different public cemeteries and one church cemetery in Niagara Falls. Their children include:

**Benjamin** (1833-1834)

Elizabeth (1836-1906) married Isaac Saylor, buried in Middlesex County\(^{202}\)

**John** (1837-1838)

**Nicholas** (1839-1839)

Joseph (1840-1909) married Margaret Misner, buried Lyon’s Creek Cemetery\(^{203}\)

Susana (1842-1917) married George Morningstar, buried St John’s United Cemetery\(^{204}\)

**Henry** (1844-1871)

\(^{202}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_126
\(^{203}\) Gravestone found
\(^{204}\) Gravestone found
**Esther** (1845-1852)

Mary Ann (1846-1930) married (1) Nicholas Myer and (2) Alexander McCloy, buried Drummond Hill Cemetery.\(^{205}\)

**Jacob** (1849-1850)

Samuel (1852-1917) married Mary Jane Lampman, buried in Middlesex County.\(^{206}\)

Lydia Louisa (1863-1926) married James McKewn, buried in Fairview Cemetery.\(^{207}\)

Based on the Willick family website,\(^{208}\) Joseph came to Willoughby with his parents John (1777-1831) and Mary Ann (1777-1852) and brothers John (1811-1882) and Nicholas (1815-1894). The 1851 census shows that Joseph Willick owned 100 acres of land, but it appears that he never owned Concession 3 Lot 11 where the cemetery with his family is located. The eastern half (50 acres) of lot 11 was originally owned by his father, John, who died in 1831 and divided it between only two of his three sons, giving the northern half (25 acres) to his son John and the southern half (25 acres) to his son Nicholas in return for providing a home for their mother. The 1851 census shows Mary Ann living with her son Nicholas and his wife Esther. Nicholas sold his 25 acres to his brother John in 1838, and this land remains in John Jr.’s line, as he willed it to his son Peter in 1882, who in turn willed it to his son Louis in 1927. Even though the land was owned by his father and then brother, it appears that only Joseph’s line of the Willick family used the cemetery. There is no record of John Sr.’s place of burial in 1831, but according to family history, Mary Ann was one of the early burials in St. Joseph’s Cemetery in Snyder in 1851, and her son John and his wife were later buried there as well. Nicholas was buried in the Presbyterian Cemetery in Chippawa.

\(^{205}\) Gravestone found
\(^{206}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_233
\(^{207}\) Gravestone found
\(^{208}\) Willick and Willick (1979) Early history of the Willick Family in Canada

www.willickreunion.org/family-history
44. Weaver Cemetery

Concession 3 Lot 18 Willoughby Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 43 monuments for 69 people; in use 1873-2008.

The Weaver Family Cemetery was established in an existing cemetery of the German Evangelist Protestant United Church of Chippawa. Twelve monuments remain in the older church section that was in use from 1860 and 1938. While in use until 1938, only two burial occurred in the church area after 1900. The use of the church cemetery was in decline in the late 1800s and the first Weavers were buried on the site in 1873. The cemetery continues to be used by them as well as by Willicks and Wingers who married into the Weaver family. Weavers are not found in area cemeteries prior to their use of this cemetery. George and Catharine Weaver are listed in the 1851 Willoughby Census as being born in France, so it is possible that the first burial in 1873 was the first member of the family to die in the area.

The Weaver family and German Evangelist Protestants are enclosed in the same fenced area but are separated by an open grassy area with no monuments. Although

\[209\] 1851 Willoughby Census, Welland County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11757; Page: 23
it is unclear whether the Weavers were members of this particular parish, census records indicate they were members of Lutheran, Reformed, Evangelical, and Presbyterian Churches. A city of Niagara Falls sign erected on the site names the cemetery as the Weaver Family Cemetery and includes the history of both groups who used it and states that in 1993, the Weaver family petitioned to become owners of the cemetery.

George Weaver Sr. (1803-1888) and his wife Catherine (?) and their children

George Weaver (1828-1901) and his wife Caroline (1840-1919) and their children

  Mary E. Weaver Willick (1863-1918) and her husband Henry Willick (1863-1940) and their daughter Alma J. (1895-1923)
  Lydia Weaver (1867-1912) wife of Andrew Climenhage
  Matilda (1869-1873)
  George P. (1870-1873)
  Edward W. Weaver (1872-1938)
  Della J. Weaver (1876-1938)
  Louise C. Weaver (1878-1938)

Michael Weaver (1839-1920) and his first wife Louise Knoche Weaver (1852-1878)

and his second wife Susan (1857-1930) and their children:

  Ida Louisa Weaver (1879-1936) and her husband William Arthur Myer (1873-1927) and Mary Levesque Canham (1921-2000)
  Michael D. Weaver (1881-1952)
  Augusta E. (1883-1904)
  Carl H. Weaver (1885-1950)
  William N. Weaver (1893-1953) and his wife Mabel Ort (1896-1983) and their son Norman F. (1929-1932)
  Raymond A. (1889-1921)
  Alvin C. (1895-1945)
  Harvey W. Weaver (1900-1940)

Adam Weaver (1844-1919) and his wife Louise (1848-1927) and their son
Norman F. Weaver (1882-1923)

Also:

Augusta M. Weaver Adams (1926-2000) and her husband Carl Maxwell Adams (1918-2008) and their daughter Bonnie Lee Adams (1950-1952)

Harold Arnold Weaver (living) and his wife Sandra D. McMillan (1944-1999)

Several members of the Willick and Winger families are included as well:

James H. Hyland (1888-1930) and his wife Clara E. Willick (1890-1961)

Norman Roy Willick (1898-1967), Harry Edwin (1901-1989), and Carrie Edna (1901-1991)

George E. Willick (1891-1962) and his wife Anges Swinton (1896-1968) and their son James (1923-1945)

Kathleen Swinton Willick (1894-1956) wife of Lewis J. Willick

Vera L. Miller Willick (1895-1964) wife of Arthur L. Willick and their son

Albert Willick (1926-1942)

M. Isabel Willick (1920-1950) and Donna Marie (1948-1955) daughter of Ray and Audrey Willick

Elias Winger (1849-1932) and his wife Rosanna (1854-1931)

Aquila Winger (1875-1934)

George A. Winger (1881-1940)

Lily Winger (1889-1893)

James Winger (1890-1915)

Norman A. Winger (1899-1944)

Others include:
William Albert Dell (1890-1936)
Louise Kiemele (1880-1950)
Michael Miller (1869-1952) and his wife Catherine M. Kiemele (1872-1948)
Albert Michael Miller (1904-1957)
Wilfred Joseph Myer (1910-1949) and his brother Russell Michael (1918-1957)
Albert W. Ort (1905-1993) and his wife Dorothy M. (1904-1997)
Infant Pirson (1881-1881) son of E. and E.
Rialto (Roy) Williams (1891-1978) and his wife Georgianna (1899-1976) and their sons Thomas R. (1923-1944 killed in action) and Walter A. (1931-1934)
Family cemeteries of Caistor Township: 210  
45. Cosby Family Cemetery  
46. Eliot Cosby Cemetery  
47. Hallett Plot  
48. Lymburner Cemetery  
49. Dochstader Cemetery

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45. Cosby Family Cemetery

Concession 4 Lot 2 Caistor Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 6 stones commemorating 7 individuals between 1873 and 1896.

Two cemeteries exist for members of the Cosby family in Caistor township. The Cosby Cemetery was established by Robert James, the son of Elliot Cosby who also had a cemetery on his farm that was in use by the 1830s (discussed in the next entry).

Robert James (1834-1876) did not, however, use the cemetery established by his father. He and his brother Benjamin (1819-1887), a bachelor, instead created a cemetery on Lot 2 Concession 4. Also buried there are Robert's wife Melinda Jane (1837-1896), their children Benjamin Canby (1863-1873), Emma Jane (1866-1892) (wife of Thomas Roy, whose burial location is unknown), Robert A. (1874-75), and Minnie B. (1876-1876). The other children of Robert and Melinda survived to adulthood, were married.

Harmon H. (1860-1929) married Melissa Cooper and George H. (1861-1923) married Lucetta Swayze and both couples are buried in Bethel Cemetery in Gainsborough.

Sarah (1871-1942) married Franklin Wardell and Marilda Victoria (1873-1951) married Stephen Wardell, all of whom along with their children are buried in Merritt Settlement Burial ground in Grimsby.

This Cosby Cemetery is currently fenced within a worked field and while the monuments have fallen, they are in much better condition than those in the Eliot Cosby cemetery.
46. **Elliott Cosby Cemetery**

*Concession 3 Lot 3 Caistor Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; in use in the early 1800s for at least four individuals; monument fragments remain, one for 1855.*

This cemetery was not located during field work. Only fragments of headstones remain at the Elliott Cosby cemetery, one of which is for his daughter Nancy M. (?-1832). No death or burial records have been found for Elliot's wife Anna and the death record of Elliot does not list location of burial, but it is likely that they are interred here. There is a fragment of a headstone for a William Martindale (1853-55) who was the son of John and F(annie?); an *unknown individual* who died in 1853; and an *unknown individual* who died at the age of 3 years and 11 months. As the breakage pattern and inscription style indicate these are fragments from separate monuments, there are at least four people in the cemetery. These fragments have been collected and set on a concrete slab. This cemetery was not located during fieldwork.

47. **Hallet Plot**

*Concession 5 Lot 9 Caistor Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 1 stone for 2 people between 1850 and 1853.*

A single headstone remains for John C. (?-1850?) and Frederick (1848-1853) Hallet in a cluster of bushes in a worked farm field. The Hallet family is found in the 1851 Caistor census and includes John (b. 1804) and his wife Ann (b. 1827) and Frederick,
then 3. John and Anna are not found in subsequent census years, suggesting they moved or died prior to 1861. Their burial places are unknown.

48. **Lymburner Cemetery**

Concession 2 Lot 4 Caistor Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 51 monuments for 55 people; in use from 1832 to 1979.

The Lymburner Cemetery is located in a field, off of a private road on the bank of the Chippawa Creek. There is not a sign posted for the cemetery, but a large monument that is inscribed only with “Lymburner” is visible upon entering the cemetery. Also, a “Century Farm” sign is on the ground resting against a tree. Extensive repairs have been carried out on several monuments – most commonly bolting metal struts to broken slabs. The history of the Lymburner cemetery is closely tied to the Dochstader cemetery and the relationships between the two families. As seen in the image below, the two cemeteries are both located on bends of the Chippawa Creek very near to each other.

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211 1851 Caistor Census, Lincoln County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11736; Page: 27
The Lymburner family buried here are relatives of Matthew and Rachel, and it is the family of Matthew’s brother John who is buried in the Dochstader Cemetery. The only exceptions is the burial here of Jonathan (1799-1861), son of John, with his uncle Matthew’s family rather than with his parents and siblings at the Dochstader Cemetery. Membership in the Lymburner cemetery includes only four families, unlike the Dochstader Cemetery that includes many families as outlined below. The Fralick and Merrit families are related to the Lymburners through marriage, the Nevills are related by marriage to the Dochstaders, and the Killins appear to have been a neighbouring family.

Buried here are:

**Matthew Lymburner** (1765-1832) and his wife **Rachael** (1767-1849) and their five sons

*Jacob (1797-1874)* and his wife **Anna** (1802-1879) and their sons

**George** (1830-1893) and **Thomas** (1832-1864)

* Jacob’s monument is inscribed with “Jacob the first white boy born in these parts.”
Michael (1800-1862) and his wife Jemima Merrit (1805-1875) and their children:

Marilda (1832-1832)

Michael (1844-1893) and his wife Margaret Sammons (1847-1922) and their children

Howard (1872-1872)

Jessie Bell (1881-1881)

Hiram (1804-1845) and his wife Sarah C. Lounsbury (1811-1873) and their children:

Robert (1837-1917) and his wife Mary Victoria (1838-1883) and their children:

William (1865-1932) and Electa (1870-1945)

Azra (1844-1873)

Robert (1810-1868) and his wife Elizabeth Melick (1822-1874) and their children

Rachel Ann (1840-1884) and her husband James Henry Merritt (1829-1899)

Charlotte Caroline (1845-1895) wife of William Fralick

Walter (1848-1920) and his wife Elizabeth (1854-1897)

An infant (1853-1853)

and grandchildren by their son William and his wife Marilda, buried in Merrits United Church: an infant (1888-1888) and Ira (1897-1897)

also grandson by their son John and his wife Emma (buried in Merrit Church Wellandport): Merle A. Lymburner (1909-1979)
John (1817-1851) and his wife Mary Ann (1817-1856) who had remarried John Carter and her children with John (b. 1817)

- an infant (?)
- John Kirk (1842-1867)
- Hiram (1846-1888)
- Emma M. (1848-1871)

Also two children of unknown connections: Arthur Ray Lymburner (1904-1904) son of John and Jennie and James Michael Lymburner (?-1873) Son of Andrew and Sarah J.

The Killins family includes:

- Jane Killins (1789-1862) wife of Robert
- John Killins (1810-1877)
- George N. Killins (1823-1856)
- Sarah Killins (1825-1882) wife of Andrew Cosby
- Annie Killins (1841-1890)

Also several Killins children without their parents:

- Araminda A. (1853-1853) and Andrew C. (1871-1883) children of Sarch C. and Robert Killins
- Richard Elam (1881-1888) son of John M. and Martha Killins
- Emily Alberta (1883-1889) daughter of Michael H. and Florah A Killins

Members of the Nevills family includes:

- Abraham Nevills (1780-1858) and his wife Deborah (1786-1865) and their son
William Nevills (1813-1887) and his children

Wellington Nevills (1849-1922) and his wife Alice Asenith (1866-1900)

Emaline (1850-1879) second wife of Calvin Dochstader

49. Dochstader Cemetery

Concession 2 Lot 3 Caistor Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 83 stones for 97 people; in use 1830-1922.

The Dochstader Cemetery is located on a bend of the Chippawa Creek in very close proximity to the Lymburner Cemetery. There is much cross over between the use of these two cemeteries by the Lymburner and Dochstader families. The Dochstader Cemetery has a wider membership compared to the Lymburner Cemetery and includes several monuments for people who are the sole member of a family buried here. The Fulsom, Fralick, Merritt, and Miller families are related through marriage but similar connections were not found for others, suggesting they are neighbours. Many family members of those found here went on to use the Merritt Settlement Cemetery, also in Caistor.

Members of the Dochstader family buried here include:

Joseph Dochstader (1770-1842) and his wife Hannah (1779-1841)

George Dochstader (1802-1880)
Henry Dochstader (1812-1868) and his wife Margaret (1823-1899) and their son Thomas H. (1852-1869)

Margaret Dochstader (1841-1873) wife of Calvin (whose first wife is buried in the Lymburner Cemetery. His burial place is not known).

H. H. Dochstader (1844-1872)

Eunice C. Dochstader (1852-1858) daughter of Frederick and Hannah

Members of the Lymburner family buried here are the descendants of John and Elizabeth, John being the brother of Matthew, whose family is buried in the Lymburner Cemetery. John’s sister-in-law Catharine Bowlby (1776-1855) is also buried here.

John Lymburner Sr. (1769-1855) and his wife Elizabeth (1778-1844) and their two sons (a third son, Jonathan, is buried in the Lymburner Cemetery):

John Lymburner Jr. (1793-1866) and his wife Margaret (1800-1877) and their children

William Lymburner (1817-1880) and his first wife Mary (1819-1847) and his second wife Phebe Ann Lymburner (?-1884)

Henry Lymburner (1826-1830)

Margaret Lymburner (1834-1884)

Thomas E. (1841-1843)

Their grandchildren by their son Fralick and his wife Elizabeth: Melissa (1858-1858), an infant son (1859-1859) Marilda Lymburner (1870-1884)

Their grandchildren by their son George and his wife Margaret: Phebe E. (?) and Hugh Lymburner (1870-1870)

Their granddaughter by their son Ralph and his wife Isabella: Amelda (1862-1863)

Their grandchildren by their son Allen and his wife Mary H.: Maggie Lymburner (1864-1864) and Hillyard (1874-1874)
James Lymburner (1805-1868) and his wife Rebecca (1821-1899) and their son

Lafferty Lymburner (1842-1922) and his wife Mary (1846-1899)

Also:

Mary Lymburner (1838-1874)

Aaron Lymburner (1878-1879) son of ?

? Lymburner (?-1883) and his wife Amyrylla (?)

Others buried here are:

Rhoda T. Martindale (?) daughter of Thomas and Margaret

Joseph D. Merritt (1833-1847) son of David and Lany

L.? Merritt (1843-1843) daughter of ? and Eliza Merritt

David Merritt (1795-1875) and his first wife Elizabeth (1790-1831) his second wife Lanah (1797-1867)

Andrew Miller (1820-1852) and his son with M, Jason R. (1847-1848)

Henry Miller (1791-1862) and his wife Susanna (1797-1833) and his second wife Eunice (1785-1856)

Mary Burk (1832-1878) wife of James

Thomas Burk (1775-1831) and his wife Mary (1773-1847)

Catharine J. Chadbourne (1831-1870) wife of Samuel

Julie M. Chadbourne (1862-1873) and Anna M. (1869-1873) daughters of Josiah and Nancy – burial places unknown. Josiah’s family including Annie and Julia appears in the 1871 census but is not found in later census years in Ontario.\(^\text{212}\)

\(^{212}\) 1871 Caistor Census, Monck, Ontario; Roll: C-9918; Page: 7; Family No: 28.
Abigail Cooper (1825-1855) wife of Harrison (burial place unknown) and daughter of Joseph and Susannah Lyons

William T. Fralick (1822-1881) and his wife Jane (1813-1856)

Ida May Fralick (1891-1891) daughter of Walter (died 1928 buried Merrit’s Cemetery213) and Minnie

Jonathon Fulsom (?) and his wife Catharine (1783-1874)

John W. House (1843-1871)

Elmer Jones (1878-1884) son of H and C - unknown

Andrew Laidlaw (1826-1897) and his wife Margaret (1825-1895) and their daughter Margaret Jane (1867-1871)

Elma Jane Lounsbury (1870-1870) daughter of Albert and Mary – buried at Merritt Settlement burial ground

William H. Martindale (1857-1859) son of W. and Stella – burial places unknown

Amelia G. Martindale (1865-1866) daughter of William and Delilah – burial places unknown

John Martindale (1795-1866) and his wife Diana Harris (1797-1893)

James McCready (1805-1886) and his children with Jane: John (1849-1851), William (1850-1854), Robert (1852-1854), and Amy Jane (1853-1854)

Nellie G. Raymond (1874-1874) daughter of Sylvester and Mary Raymond

William Robinson (1804-1854) and his wife Elizabeth (1814-1856)

Mary Savage (1830-1849)

Elizabeth Sensabough (1803-1870)

Peter D. Servos (1828-1865), George W. Servos (1838-1875), Robert Servos (1803-1870) and an Infant son Servos (1872-1872) son of Franklin and Elenor C.

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213 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_361
Charles Sisler (1832-1892) and his wife Catherine (1835-1871) and their children Casper W. (1863-1864), John Hazen (1866-1866), an infant (1867-1867), and Milton F. (1871-1871)

Charles H. Sisler (1877-1881) and Albert C. (1879-1881), sons of Charles and Augusta Sisler

Sarah Depotty (1822-1850) wife of James (burial unknown) and their daughter Emily (1843-1853)

Peter Teeft (1795-1861) and his wife Mary Depotty (1803-1880) and their daughter Mariah Teeft Jennings (1836-1877) wife of John Jennings and granddaughter Marila (1860-1861)
Clinton Township, Lincoln County

Family cemeteries of Clinton Township:²¹⁴

50. **Abandoned Moote**  
Concession 8 Lot 7 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; unknown number of individuals and dates of use.

According to the OGS record, the location of this cemetery, marked by a tree in a ploughed field on the Hipple farm, was reported by a local resident who remembers a stone for an infant with the surname Moote. Nothing remains of this site.

51. **Bucknall Farm**  
Concession 5 Lot 3 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; 3 stones in 1964; at least 2 individuals and unknown dates of use (one burial in 1836).

In 1984, three stones were found on the Bucknall farm – one at the house, one at the barn, and one in an orchard. While not found during fieldwork, the 1984 record includes **Delby Bucknall (?) Anna Smith** (1800-1836) daughter of John and Elizabeth Ensley. No further records have been found regarding who is buried here.

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215 OGS (1984) *Bucknall Farm Cemetery*. Niagara Peninsula Branch #6025
52-55. Culp Families

There are records of four Culp cemeteries in Clinton Township for the families of Jacob Jr., John, Tilman, and Christopher. Each cemetery is discussed separately below, but a brief overview of the connections between these families is useful. An asterisk indicates the families with cemeteries discussed below.

Jacob Sr. (1729-1799) and Tilman* (1744-1824) were brothers from Pennsylvania who were part of a group of Mennonites who arrived in Clinton Township in 1786.216 Jacob Sr.’s children included John* (1766-1855) and Jacob Jr.* (1768-1832). No record remains of where Jacob Sr. was buried, likely in one of his sons’ cemeteries.

While Christopher Culp* arrived with Jacob and Tilman in 1786, his connection to the other Culps is unclear.

52. Christopher Culp Burial Ground

Concession 1-2 Lot 6 Clinton Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 headstones in 1980s; 4 known individuals; in use 1833-1878.

This cemetery was not located during fieldwork, but photographs of four remaining headstones from the 1970s are on file at the Mayholme Foundation in St. Catharines. They were for:

Christopher (1747-1833) and his wife Frances (1766-1853)

Jonas (1797-1845) and his wife Mary (1800-1878)

According to a family history, when Christopher petitioned for land in Clinton, he and his wife had nine children. In addition to Jonas and his wife, two daughters are buried in Halton township with their husbands, one son settled outside of London, one daughter is buried in Smithville with her husband, and burial places of the others are unclear.

216 Twenty p. 46
Photographs by Corlene Taylor, on file at the Mayholme Foundation, show the remaining headstones of the Christopher Culp Cemetery stacked under a tree circa 1970.

53. JACOB CULP JR. FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

Broken Front Lot 13 Clinton Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; no headstones remaining; at least 12 people buried here between 1832 and 1885.

Of the four Culp family cemeteries, the least is known about that of Jacob Jr. According to the OGS record,217 the cemetery was located on a creek running through the farm and likely included:

- **Jacob Culp Jr.** (1768-1832) and his wife **Mary** (1778-1875) and her parents
- **Jacob Culp** (1808-1851) and his wife **Sarah** (?-?)
- **Solomon Culp** (1805-1885) and his first wife **Mary** (1811-1844)
- **Mary Culp** (?-?) and her husband **Alfred Bottle Sr.** (?-?)
- **Captain Henry Lewis Lucas** (?-?) and his wife **Francis Lucas** (?-?)

54. JOHN CULP FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

Broken Front Lot 7 Clinton Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 12 headstones for 12 known individuals between 1825 and 1866.

This cemetery was not located during fieldwork, but photographs of four remaining headstones from the 1970s are on file at the Mayholme Foundation in St. Catharines. They include:

- **John Sr.** (1766-1855) and his first wife **Nancy** (1764-1833) and his second wife **Nancy** (?-?)

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John Jr. (1800-1865) and his wife Elizabeth (1803-1855) and their sons Timothy (1823-1825) and infant (1841-1841)

Elizabeth (1815-1866) wife of Cyrus (buried in Mount Osborne Cemetery with his second wife Christina\textsuperscript{218}) and their children Nancy (1837-1843), James (1842-1847), Amelda (1845-1851), Mary (1845-1847)

55. **Tilman Culp Family Burial Ground**

Broken Front Lot 10 Clinton Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 2 stones in 1977, none remaining; at least 9 individuals; in use until 1825-1911.

All that remains of this cemetery is a cleared grassy area with a roadside sign that reads: “Site of the United Empire Loyalist Cemetery originally known as Tilman Culp Family Burial Ground.”

In 1977 stones were found for:

- William Tufford (1829-1862)
- William Herrington (1777-1855)

Also thought to be buried here are Tilman (?-1824) and his wife (?-?) and their sons:

- Jacob Culp (1787-1863) and his wife Elizabeth Price (1790-1855)
- Joseph Culp (1781-1826) and his wife Elizabeth Tinlin (1802-1825)

And the wife of Tilman Jr., Catharine House (1820-1911)

A newspaper article written in 1977 documents the condition of the cemetery as having become quite run down by the mid-1900s.\textsuperscript{219} At some point prior to the

\textsuperscript{218} OGS (2011) *Mount Osborne Cemetery*. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3384, Niagara Peninsula Branch.

\textsuperscript{219} OGS (2011) *Mount Osborne Cemetery*. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3384, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
1970s, the remaining tombstones were removed in order for a new land owner to plant a peach orchard, and the location of the monuments remains unknown.

56. **Dean Cemetery**

*Concession 8 Lot 4 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use.*

Originally on 20 Mile Creek, no stones remain at this cemetery. It is possible monuments were buried under the pavement of a parking lot. This site is also remembered as a First Nations burial site but no record of this or the members of the Dean family who used it have been found.

57. **Dean Burying Grounds (Quarry Road Cemetery)**

*Concession 4 Lot 12 Clinton Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 13 monuments remain for 17 people; in use between 1853 and 1910.*

Most of the information about this cemetery comes from a newspaper article\(^{220}\) from 1949 that outlines the history of the Deans in Niagara, specifically those buried in the cemetery. Philip and Catharine Dean are thought to buried here with five sons and two daughters, although many of these monuments are no longer visible.

In 1949, the cemetery condition was noted as “in bad condition. Some of the stones are broken and out of position, the fence around the 50 foot square plot is in poor repair. Weeds and small trees are growing

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\(^{220}\) As quoted in OGS (1983) *Quarry Road (Dean Cemetery).* OGS Cemetery Transcript #3385, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
at random. The Dean burying ground is but another example of the neglect by the present generation of reminders and historical mementos of the past. There will come a time when the history of the district becomes important enough to some group to take action to restore these old cemeteries, but unless that day dawns soon, there will be too little left.”

No monuments exist for their daughter Catharine (1827-1910) and her husband Edwin Eddy (1833-1899) (both buried here) but five for their children are commemorated:

- Maria Emrett (1851-1868)
- Sarah Fyette (1852-1876)
- John E W (1859-1876)
- Hallie Jane (1864-1871)
- Agnes May (1871-1874)

Also:

- Charles Dean (1891-1891) son of Purves and Elizabeth Dean – burial places unknown
- Daniel Dean (1837-1873)

Also buried here:

- Elizabeth Devitt (1815-1853) wife of Joseph (possibly a daughter of Philip and Catharine?)

Children of John M. and Barbara Huff – burial places unknown

- Francis H Huff (1845-1845)
- Sarah M Huff (1855-1856)

Children of Aaron and Jane Culp – burial places unknown

- Irwin (1870-1875)
- Jessie (1875-1875)

Son of Joseph and Rosanna James – burial place unknown
James James (1880-1881)

58. ECKER PLOT

Concession 8 Lot 4 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones; unknown number of individuals and dates of use.

The OGS record for this site notes that it is the burial plot for Clarence Eker, but no additional information has been found relating to it or who was buried there. Clarence, also referred to as Philip in historical records, died prior to the 1851 census, where his wife Elizabeth (1822-?) is listed as a widow at the age of 30 along with her children Mary (1840-?), Levi (1842-1901), Nicolas (1843-1915), and John (1845-1923). While death records for the three sons have been located, only that of John lists a place of burial, in his case at Dawdy’s Cemetery. Elizabeth’s burial place is unknown and no further records have been found for Mary.

59. HENRY FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

Concession 4 Lot 6 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; thought to include 55 people, but only 7 grave markers for 8 people remain that date between 1792 and 1870 (the 1870 burial was later removed).

While this cemetery is thought to still exist, it was not found during field work. According to the OGS record, the Town of Lincoln has erected a sign and placed the remaining seven monuments in a cairn. The OGS transcription includes nine people thought to be buried here of the original 55.

Captain James Henry (1757-1827) and his wife Mary Catharine (1769-1843)

Their son Robert (1781-1792)

John Butler Henry (?-1838) and his first wife Ann (1785-1827)

Their daughter Catherine (1814-1815)

221 1851 census, Clinton, Lincoln County, Canada West (Ontario) Schedule A Roll C_11736 Page 25
222 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_303
John’s second wife Catharine (?-1857)

James R Henry (1795-1870) was originally buried here but was soon moved to the family plot at Mount Osborne Cemetery.

His daughter with his wife Mary (burial place unknown), Margaret (1827-1847)

60. House Family Cemetery

Concession 4 Lot 11 Clinton Township. Inactive unclassified cemetery type; unknown number of burials; 2 stones in 1984; at least six people thought to be buried here between 1823 and 1876.

This cemetery was not located during fieldwork. The condition listed in the OGS transcript is that “the area is now wooded, with most of the stones obliterated and on the ground” and only two stones were still standing. The transcription from this 1984 visit includes monuments for:

Harmon Fisher (?-1823) and his wife Mary (1774-1836)

A child ? Sue (?-?)

John Griff....

Byron (1848-1849) son of Frederick and Sarah House

George House (1778-1876)

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61. **Konkle Cemetery**

*Broken Front Lot 17-18 Clinton Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 stones for 4 individuals from 1813-1883.*

Four headstones remain at the Konkle Cemetery, now embedded in a concrete slab on a rise off the bank of a creek. Adam Kunkle received the land in 1802 and included his wish of being buried in his orchard on his farm in his will. No records have been found for the burial location of his wife, Mary Magdalena. Also buried here are his son Henry (1795-1883) and his wife Catharine (1794-1852), and his daughter in law Anne (1792-1860), wife of Adam Jr.

While Mount Osborne Cemetery was not formally surveyed as part of this research, a monument for Adam Jr. (1792-1888) was found that also includes the inscription for Adam Sr. It is not clear where Adam Jr. is buried as his death record does not state location of burial, but the notation is made, that when he died at the age of 96 in 1888, the registrar found him to be “a vary [sic] smart old man he was not sick over two hours. I have seen him drive a stallion not over a year ago.”

According to a 1982 newspaper article,\(^2\) other family members in addition to these four are believed to be buried at the cemetery. Descendants of Adam Konkle who remained in the township began efforts to restore the cemetery in the late 1960s, with the first plan to relocate the remaining headstones to Mt. Osborne Cemetery in Beams Ville, but instead the monuments were set in a slab of concrete at the edge of a field. It is not stated if it is known whether this is the original location of the cemetery.

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\(^2\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_51.

\(^2\)*“Town erects grave marker for Konkle family descendants”. Lincoln Post Express, Wednesday, September 8, 1982.
62. Miller Family Cemetery

Concession 8 Lot 4 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; thought to include 2 individuals buried prior to 1815.

Nothing remains of this cemetery, but according to the OGS record, Adam Miller and his daughter were reportedly buried on the property prior to 1815, which is the year the Miller family moved to Norfolk County. A descendant of the next owners of the farm indicated that a Native Canadian was also buried in the cemetery. It is not clear whether this branch of the Miller family is related to those who used family cemeteries in Crowland and Willoughby townships.

63. Tufford Cemetery

Broken Front Lot 11 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use.

According to the OGS record, the first owner of this land, Conrad Tufford, is supposedly buried on the edge of the creek running through the property. No visible indicators of the cemetery remain.

64. Abandoned

Concession 5 Lot 7 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use.

According to the OGS record, stones were removed from this cemetery in a grove of locust trees. It is not known who is buried here or when it was in use.

65. Abandoned

Concession 6 Lot 5 Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use.

According to the OGS record, evidence of a cemetery was found here, but nothing remains and no record is known of who is buried there.
66. **High Cemetery**

*Unknown location Clinton Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use.*

According to the OGS record, the existence and location of this cemetery is unclear but is remembered.
GAINSBOROUGH TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY

Family cemetery in Gainsborough Township:226 67. Lampman Plot

67. LAMPMAN PLOT

Concession 5 Lot 5 Gainsborough Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 1 stone visible; records of 2 people commemorated; in use 1849-1862.

The monument of Samuel P. Lampman (1797-1849) is standing in grove of lilacs and rose bushes in the centre of a worked field. The monument for his wife, Charity (1795-1862) was recorded by OGS volunteers in 1985 but is no longer visible. In recent years, a large granite boulder has been placed in front of the remaining gravestone with a small plaque with the names and dates of death of the husband and wife buried at the site.

According to the 1851 Gansborough Census\(^{227}\) Charity, who had been a widow for two years, was living with her son Abraham (1828-) and his wife Mary, and her other children Anna E (b. 1825), Absalom (1829-1907), Charity (b. 1830), Lydia C. (b. 1831) and Almina (b. 1835), as well as Eliza Griffin (b.1829) who was not a member of the family. Charity’s other son, Robert (1822-) and his family were living nearby. By 1861,\(^{228}\) Charity was living with Absalom (b.1829) and his family, while Abraham, who had been married, was living separately with his wife. Samuel was likely the grandson of Frederick and Catharine Lampman who are buried in Stamford

\(^{227}\) 1851; Census Place: Gainsborough, Lincoln County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11736; Page: 50

\(^{228}\) 1861; Census Place: Gainsborough, Lincoln County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C-1048-1049; Page 14
township. No death records for the sons of Charity and Samuel list their place of death.
GRANTHAM TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY
Family cemeteries of Grantham Township:

68. Haynes Family Burial Ground
69. Hodgkinson Family Burial Ground
70. Honsinger Burial Ground
71. Hostetter-Cook Burial Ground
72. May Family Burial Ground
73. McCombs Family Burial Ground
74. Servos Burial Plot
75. TenBroeck Family Burial Ground
76. Turney Family Burial Ground
77. Darby Cemetery

68. Haynes Family Burial Ground

Concession 7 Lot 21 Grantham Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 5 stones remain for 7 individuals; in use 1814-1861.

The Haynes Cemetery is currently located adjacent to the parking lot of a sports complex outside of St. Catharines. The five remaining monuments are for:

Adam Haynes Sr. (1747-1814) and his wife Elizabeth (1754-1837) and their sons:

Jacob Haynes (1777-1852)

John Haynes (1794-1856) and his wife Nancy (1804-1861)

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William Haynes (1812-1843)

Barnabas Haynes (1823-1826)

In 1948, these monuments were set in a large concrete slab and rededicated with a ceremony and a new monument that reads:


All of whom with other members of their family lied buried in this plot and in honour of all those pioneers whose courage and labour made this land into our pleasant heritage. Erected 1948 by the Executrix of Frederick Charles Haynes of the fourth generation to reside on and operate this farm which was granted to Adam Haynes, UEL in 1784 by King George III.”

Photograph from St. Catharines Standard (1949) showing the rededication ceremony.

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Both the 1948 monument and the ceremony celebrated Adam Haynes as a member of Butler’s Rangers, although later research found no record that Haynes served with Butler. A descendant notes that while Adam does not appear in any records as a Ranger, oral family history has always maintained he was.\textsuperscript{231} Loyalist identity was strong in the speech of Rev. Charles Dumas who led the ceremony and stated “the privations of those firm and brave pioneers have given us a wonderful country, that we should be loyal to the Empire, the King and our God.”\textsuperscript{232}

Throughout the early 2000s, the cemetery was in the news again as the city began plans for a sporting complex in the area immediately surrounding the cairn. By this time, the cemetery had been declared abandoned and as such, according to the Ontario Cemeteries Act, ownership transferred to the city. Descendants fighting the development were concerned with the city’s initial desire to move the cemetery, and later the commencement of construction without knowing the cemetery limits.\textsuperscript{233,234}

A newspaper article of 2000 notes that the Haines family were the first white settlers in the region and Peter, the son of Adam and Elizabeth was the first white child born in the area.\textsuperscript{235} It also states that Adam’s mother was a Mohawk of the Turtle Clan and he had ties to Adam Brant. Construction went ahead for the sporting complex and the fenced cemetery is now adjacent to a skateboard park.

The city of St. Catharines erected a heritage sign, but it has been damaged and most of the text is missing. It is unclear when the last burial in the cemetery occurred, but many members of the Haynes family are buried in Maple Lawn Cemetery in St. Catharines, including Frederick Charles Haynes (1876-1948) and his wife, Laura Nixon Haynes (1876-1971) who commissioned the cairn in 1948.

\textsuperscript{231} Cemetery Plot to Pioneers. \textit{St. Catharines Standard} November 22, 1985. Page 6
69. Hodgkinson Family Burial Ground

Concession 2 Lot 10 Grantham Township; Inactive unclassified family cemetery; 84 bodies removed in 1913 during canal construction; 7 monuments visible at that time dating between 1817 and 1863.

Originally located on farmland granted to William Hodgkinson of Butler’s Rangers, this family cemetery was relocated to a plot in Victoria Lawn Cemetery during canal construction in 1913. A total of 84 graves were located, and the remains of 73 people were reburied in a trench at the new cemetery where members of the family continued to be buried into the 20th century.

Seven gravestones that remained in 1913 were apparently buried in the trench as well. Thought to be the burial place of four generations of Hodgkinsons, the seven monuments were for:

William Hodgkinson (1751-1847) and his wife Mary (1765-1852)
Son (?) and daughter Eliza (1846-1850) of Robert and Christina Hodgkinson
Samuel Jones (1770-1854)
Mary Ann McMullin (1816-1817)
Eluid Nickerson (1779-1863)
Mary Margaret Nickerson (1765-1840)

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70. **Honsinger Burial Ground**

Concession 7 Lot 23 Grantham Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no headstones remain; unknown dates of use.

According to the OGS record, a few stones remained in the 1930s, but have since disappeared. It is possible that the family buried here are relations of John Honsinger who acquired the land in 1801 and died before 1837.\(^{237}\)

71. **Hostetter-Cook Burial Ground**

Broken Front Lot 13 Grantham Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; no monuments remain; record of 8 people buried here between 1813 and 1873.

No monuments remain at this burial ground. According to earlier transcription efforts complied in the OGS record,\(^{238}\) the following people are thought to be buried here:

- **Margaret** (1826-1851) wife of Angus Cooke Jr.
- **Herman Hostetter** (1763-1813) and his wife **Ann** (1757-1851)
- **Thomas Miller** (1839-1873) and his son **Johnny** (1870-1873)
- **Elizabeth ?** (?-1818)
- **Jacob Ball** (1816-1816)
- **? Clark** (?-1835)

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\(^{237}\) OGS 1983 *Honsinger Burial Ground*. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3287, Niagara Peninsula Branch.

72. **May Family Burial Ground**

*Concession 2 Lot 21 Grantham Township; Inactive single family cemetery; no headstones remain; 1 commemorative stone erected in 1890; thought to be at least 5 individuals buried between 1812 and 1834.*

The May Family Burial Ground is located in a clearing off of a residential road and is backed by a deep gulley. No original stones remain as they were damaged or removed after the land was sold in the early 1900s. As a result, the identity of those buried here are unknown, although those thought to be buried here are outlined in the OGS record.

A stone erected in 1890 by George May commemorates William May (1743-1827) and his son Peter (1765-1827). It also details the loss of May land in New York prior to the family’s emigration in 1783 and their subsequent Loyalist identity. This monument marks the first case of descendants re-commemorating their ancestors in the family cemetery. The date of the last burial in the cemetery is not known, but George May died in 1891, only one year after erecting the commemorative stone and is thought to be buried in Victoria Lawn Cemetery in St. Catharines. The monument is inscribed on three sides:

“Sacred to the memory of Peter son of William May born May 20 1765 near Albany, NY and as a UE Loyalist emigrated to Canada in 1783. Died June 7 1827.”

“In Memory of William May A Native of Germany. While living in the State of NY near Albany he joined Butlers Rangers, had his property confiscated, came to Canada as a UE Loyalist in 1783. Died April 1827 at an extreme old age.”

“Erected by George May 1890”

A sign currently stands at the entrance to the cemetery and was erected by the St. Catharines Heritage Committee and members of the May family. It provides the
history of the May family – their Palatine German origins, military involvement, details of the home they built, and the eventual damage to their cemetery. It also lists William May’s wife Magdalena (1739-1815), their son John May (1776-1812), and their grandson John Pawling May (?-1834) as being buried here. It also recounts issues the May family had with later land owners did not value the cemetery: “in 1903, a new owner … constructed a barn over part of the cemetery, removed some of the hedges and pulled down the tombstones. The May family initiated court proceedings in 1904-05. They were granted access rights to the cemetery, as well as compensation for damages.”

73. McCombs Family Burial Ground

Concession 9 Lot 15 Grantham Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; thought to be at least 5 people buried between 1856 and 1868.

The McCombs cemetery is currently surrounded by a residential neighbourhood in a fenced plot where no stones remain. In 2009 the City of St Catharines placed a historical sign on the site with the assistance of descendants. The sign highlights the history of the family of Timothy and his sons Samuel and John after moving to Grantham from Brockville in 1811. Based on a transcription from 1961 duplicated in the 1984 OGS record, eleven stones and fragments were found, including:

**Unknown name** (?-1856) wife of Timothy McCombs and daughter of John and Margaret Dodd (born England)

**Robert Parrey** (1811-1863) and his wife **Elizabeth Ann Parrey** (1804-1868) (born England). No census records were found for the Parreys or birth records for any children born in Grantham.

**John McCombs** (1792-1863) and his wife **Magdalena** (?)

John’s bother Samuel is buried near Dunnville in Haldimand County.

And footstones for:

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R. H. M
I. M. O. (thought to be Isabella)
J.(C. or G.)

74. Servos Burial Plot

Concession 1 Lot 9 Grantham Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 1 headstone for 1 individual in 1862.

The headstone for William Servos (1810-1862) is resting on a concrete slab and surrounded by a metal fence adjacent to the parking lot of an industrial park near Lake Ontario. A plaque fixed to the slab has a copy of the inscription and a sign attached to the fence recounts the history of William, his land, and burial. William is the nephew of Daniel Servos, who created the nearby Servos Family Cemetery. It appears William is the only person buried on this plot.

The sign includes: “William Secord Servos UE/1810-1862/of the Township of Grantham in the County of Lincoln Niagara/District, Province of Canada/Yeoman, Buried on his own land in 1862.” The sign recounts that William bought the parcel of land where he is buried in 1858 and left it in his will to his niece Mary Servos, daughter of his brother Robert F Servos.
75. **TenBroeck Family Burial Ground**

*Concession 3 Lot 22 Grantham Township; Inactive single family cemetery; no visible stones; record of 5 monuments for 5 individuals buried between 1804-1851.*

No stones remain on the site of this family cemetery on the bank of Twelve Mile Creek. A transcription from the 1960s recorded five monuments for four generations of the TenBroeck family: original settler Captain Peter TenBroeck, his son Jacob and daughter in law Priscilla, their daughter in law Nancy and her son Jacob.

**Captain Peter TenBroeck** who was granted Lots 21 and 22 of Concessions I and II in Grantham (800 acres) following the Revolutionary War. Also his son,

**Jacob** (1761-1830) and his wife **Priscilla** (1777-1849) lived outside Port Dalhousie and the family of their son John:

his wife **Nancy** (b. 1808-1846) and her son

**Jacob** (1832-1851)

76. **Turney Family Burial Ground**

*Concession 10 Lot 22 Grantham Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 6 monuments for 7 people between 1812-1880.*

The Turney Cemetery is located on the edge of a steep drop to the 12 Mile Creek on land that has been recently developed into residential housing. Used by members of the Boyd, Christie, and Turney families. A Christie married a Turney woman, but the connection to the Boyd family is unclear due to their early dates of death.
William Boyd (? -1837) and Jenny Boyd (? -1812) whose dates of death are too early for public records.

Alex R. Christie (1831-1880) and his first wife Clorinda Turney (1828-1856) and their son

Oscar (1856-1856)

And his second wife Jane (1826-1870)

John Turney (1809-1882)

77. Darby Cemetery

Lot 13 Concession 1 Grantham Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use and membership.

The only record of this cemetery is in the OGS transcript for the Hostetter-Cooke Burying Ground, also in Grantham township. A map included illustrates the distribution of lots 13 and 14, all belonging to members of the Darby family. On the tract of land owned by Joseph Edwin a burial plot is indicated on the map. No additional records for this cemetery have been located.

Grimsby Township, Lincoln County

No family cemeteries remain in Grimsby township.

LOUTH TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY
Family cemeteries of Louth Township.\textsuperscript{242}

78. Gregory Family Burial Ground
79. Nicholas Smith Family Burial Ground
80. Schram-Tinlin Burial Ground
81. Bebee Cemetery
82. Bradt Burial Ground
83. Collver Cemetery
84. Haynes Cemetery
85. Jones Cemetery
86. Price Family Burial Ground
87. Purdy Foster Cemetery

\textbf{78. GREGORY FAMILY BURIAL GROUND}

\textit{Lot 7 Concession 3 Louth Township. Inactive multiple family cemetery; 12 stones for 14 people; in use 1802-1851.}

This cemetery is located on the edge of a ravine on land still being used as a farm. The monuments have been collected and embedded in a concrete pad in a rectangular pattern.

Members of the Gregory and Foster families are buried here, including:

- **Barnabus Gregory** (1788-1851) and his wife **Clorinda (?)** whose monument is no longer on the site as it was “used as a disc weight.”\textsuperscript{243} Also their young children **Margaret** (1810-1814), and **Richard** (1826-1830). Also their grown daughter **Margaret** (1815-1835) wife of John Disher and their daughter **Margaret** (1834-1835)

- **Philip Gregory** (1782-1803) son of **Philip** (1741-1807) and **Margaret** (1759-1834)

- **Caroline** (1822-1827) and **James Gregory** (1824-1827) children of James Gregory


\textsuperscript{243} OGS (1997) \textit{Gregory Family Burial Ground. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3308, Niagara Peninsula Branch.}
James Gregory Sr. is found in the 1851 census\textsuperscript{244} with his wife Margaret Tinlin and their children:

- Emeline (b. 1822)
- Adeline (b. 1829)
- Morgan (b. 1830)
- Matilda (b. 1834)
- Norval (b. 1838) – died and buried in Brant County in 1925\textsuperscript{245}
- Ellen (b. 1841)
- Cecelia (b. 1845) – married Benjamin Scott in 1869.\textsuperscript{246}

Burial places unknown.

**William Foster** (1756-1849) and his wife **Hannah** (1764-1829) and their daughter **Jane** (1787-1802)

### 79. Nicholas Smith Family Burial Ground

*Concession 8 Lot 5 Louth Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 legible stones for 4 individuals between 1817 and 1864.*

This family cemetery is found on the grounds of the Henry of Pelham winery outside of St. Catherines. The monuments and several fragments of stone have been collected and placed under a small roof.

\textsuperscript{244} 1851 Louth Census, Lincoln County, Canada West (Ontario); Schedule: A; Roll: C_11736; Page: 71

\textsuperscript{245} Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_322

\textsuperscript{246} Archives of Ontario Marriage Record MS932_1
When the cemetery was recorded in 1982, the monuments and fragments were fallen in a field\(^\text{247}\).

A sign erected by the city of St. Catharines marks the site and provides historical information about the Smiths in Niagara. The land originally held by the Smiths was the site of a popular tavern, but the land later went outside the family, only to be repurchased by descendants to establish the present winery.

Monuments remain for:

- **Henry Smith** (?-1856 stone broken)
- **Catharine A Smith** (1820-1864)
- **Catharine Smith** (?-1817) wife of Nicholas Smith
- **James N Smith** (1792-1861)

**80. Schram-Tinlin Burial Ground**

*Broken Front Lot 7 Louth Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 13 monuments for 14 people; an additional 8 people recorded as being buried here; in use between 1834-1880.*

Located on the bank of a creek, members of the Schram, Tinlin, and several other local families are buried here. Records at St. John’s Anglican Church in Port Dalhousie note several burial ceremonies conducted by the Reverend, who referred

to the cemetery as “the Fifteen” likely a reference to the nearby creek. The cemetery was the site of a 2008 ceremony of heritage designation by the City of St. Catharines.248 A sign outlining the history of the cemetery and the military careers of several generations of the Schram family was erected. It includes the information that “some of those who were interred here were later moved to St. John’s Cemetery (Port Dalhousie) and the Methodist Burial Ground (Maple Lawn Cemetery).”

Included here are:

Frederick Schram (1743-1834) and his son:

Frederick Augustus Schram (1790-1872) and his wife Cornelia (1800-1880)

John Tinlin (1800-1870) and his wife Sarah Hainer (1801-1866)

Cornelius Crumb (1794-1860) and his wife Mary (1789-1875)

Hannah P. Dell (1822-1852) wife of Basnett Dell and daughter of James and Margaret Jackson

Hannah M. Ryckman (1849-1851)

John Patterson (1793-1850) and his wife Clorinda ? (?)

Several stones are too damaged to transcribe all details from:

Margaret (?) 1841-1850

Robert ? (1851-1852)

Richard J. Chisholm (?)

No stones have been found for those recorded as buried here in nearby church records:

Mrs. Schram (1810-1864)

Mrs. Caskey (1822-1872) and Chancey Caskey (1859-1867)

James Kelly (1823-1870)

John Overholt (1779-?) and his wife Sarah Hand (1787-1852)

? Runche (?-1874)

Sarah Smith (?-1874)

81. Bebee Cemetery

Concession 1 Lot 12 Louth Township; Inactive and unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use and membership.

According to the OGS transcript, this cemetery is thought to have been located on the shore of Lake Ontario for members of the Beebee and Campbell families. Nothing remains of the site.

82. Bradt Burial Ground

Concession 6 Lot 13 Louth Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; 2 stones for 2 people found in 1964 from 1812 and 1821.

There were originally 25-30 stones at this cemetery on the bank of the Sixteen Mile Creek that were lost in the 1950s when the ground was ploughed up. Monuments for Peter Bradt (1764-1821) and his son Aaron (1793-1812) were found lying haphazardly when the cemetery was visited in 1964 and recorded for the OGS.²⁴⁹ The cemetery was not visited during fieldwork due to lack of access to private property.

²⁴⁹ OGS (1964) Bradt Burial Ground. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3317, Niagara Peninsula Branch.
83. COLLVER CEMETERY

Concession 7 Lot 10 Louth Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 9 stones for 11 individuals between 1837 and 1863.

Nine monuments for 11 members of the Collver family are currently embedded in a concrete pad on the front lawn of a home. The land was originally granted to Ebenezer Collver (1756-1837) in 1796 and he is buried here, as is his wife, Pheobe (1775-1842). The remaining individuals are the grand children of Ebenezer and Pheobe, children of their son Augustus (1818-1904) Pergerine Maitland and his wife Mary (1820-1907): Jemima (1841-1841), William E. (1842-1843), Albert (1844-1845), Johnson P. (1846-1847), John M. (1850-1851), Julia A. (1851-1852), Herbert A. (1856-1863), Arthur W. (1859-1860), and Willis G. (1861-1862), who is listed as their 7th son.

No records have been found for other children of Ebenezer and Pheobe who may have lived in the Niagara region. Census records for Augustus and Mary indicate they moved with their daughter Mary Eliza (1849-1923) from Louth township to the city of St. Catharines by 1861, where they lived with Thomas Park and his family and Augustus worked as a butcher. The Colvers were living on their own by 1871 with their daughter Emma (1865-?). The death records of Augustus and Mary do not include their place of burial, but both note they were living on Academy St. in St. Catharines at the times of their deaths.

Absent from the 1871 census, Mary Eliza reappears with her parents in the 1891 and 1901 census records with the married name of Cook, but no husband is listed with her. After her parents’ deaths, Mary Eliza is recorded in the 1911 census with her

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250 Archives of Ontario 1861 Census St. Catharines, Lincoln, Canada West, Roll C-1049, Page 5.
251 Archives of Ontario 1871 Census St. Catharines, Lincoln, Ontario, Roll C-9922, Page 58, Family No. 201.
252 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_116
253 Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_131
sister Emma, a single teacher, living in St. Catharines. Mary Eliza is buried in St. Catharines but no record of death or burial has been found for Emma.

Interestingly, there are two monuments to Herbert. A. (1856-1863): one marble slab with a willow tree and the other what appears to be a small obelisk with a lamb. Other than these differences in style, the slab is inscribed with a four line epitaph and an age of death of 7 years 1 month and 25 days whereas the obelisk lacks an epitaph and is inscribed with an age of death of 7 years 1 month and 24 days.

84. **Haynes Cemetery**

*Broken Front Lot 8 Louth Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remaining; last burial in 1878.*

According to OGS record, last burial was in 1878. All remains later removed and reburied at Louth United Church once site became deteriorated and “the groundhogs began bringing up the skulls.”

85. **Jones Cemetery**

*Unknown location in Louth Township; Inactive and unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; unknown dates of use and membership.*

Thought to be located north of highway 8 west of 15 mile creek. Nothing remains of the monuments to any members of the Jones family. According to the OGS transcript, William Jones and his wife are thought to be buried here.

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254 Archives of Ontario 1911 Census, Lincoln Ontario, Page 9, Family No.88.
255 Archives of Ontario MS935_303
256 OGS (1964) *Haynes Cemetery. OGS Cemetery Transcript #6028, Niagara Peninsula Branch.*
86. **Price Family Burial Ground**

*Broken Front Lot 15 Louth Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remain; 1 stone for 2 people in 1964; in use 1812-1822.*

This cemetery is remembered to have been located close to the shore of Jordan Harbour. One stone was visible in 1964, but it is believed that the cemetery has completely eroded into Lake Ontario. All that is known about this cemetery comes from the OGS transcript that recorded the stone for Christian Price (1737-1812) of Butler’s Rangers and his wife Barbara (?-1822).

The identity of any others buried here is unknown, as is their relationship to the many Prices who are buried in the nearby Jordan Mennonite Cemetery.

87. **Purdy-Foster Cemetery**

*Concession 3 Lot 12 Louth Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 14 monuments for 14 people; in use 1830-1882.*

The Purdy-Foster Cemetery is located behind an active greenhouse on the edge of a ravine. Currently, the site consists of marble slabs embedded in a concrete pad in a grassed area. The Tuffords, Fosters and Purdys are connected through marriage:

**Margaret Dean** (1824-1856) wife of Andrew

**Caroline Tufford** (1845-1848)
Lorilla C. Tufford (1850-1863) daughter of Moses (1811-1850) and Anna Foster (1812-1882) (no stone but record of her death in 1882 at age 70)\(^{257}\)

William Purdy (1801-1882) and his first wife Elizabeth (1807-1830) and second wife Elsie (1813-1870)

William and Elsie are listed in the 1861 census\(^{258}\) with their children:

Cornelius Purdy (1836-1895\(^{259}\) buried in St. John’s Anglican Cemetery Louth\(^{260}\)) and his wife Julia

George (b. 1847 d. 1928 buried in Jordan.\(^{261}\) His death record lists his father’s birthplace as Vermont.) His wife was Eleanor (1849-1924), also buried in Jordan and who was the daughter of Moses Tufford and Ann Foster and sister of Lorilla.\(^{262}\)

James (b. 1848 d. 1932 buried in Oak Lawn Cemetery Jordan Station\(^{263}\))

Also Daniel (b. 1838), John (b. 1843), Charles (1858) – no further information

Alvah Foster (1797-1855) and his wife Elizabeth (1796-1871) and their children

Jane (1820-1834)

Hannah (1824-1851)

Thomas (1831-1847)

Mary (1841-1861)

Amanda Foster (1867-1868) daughter of Absalom and Elizabeth

\(^{257}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_31

\(^{258}\) 1861 Louth Census, Lincoln, Canada West; Roll: C-1048-1049; Page: 11.

\(^{259}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_75

\(^{260}\) OGS (nd). St. John’s Anglican Cemetery. OGS Cemetery Transcript #3315, Niagara Peninsula Branch.

\(^{261}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_361

\(^{262}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_314

\(^{263}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_444

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NIAGARA TOWNSHIP, LINCOLN COUNTY
Family cemeteries of Niagara Township:

88. Ball Family Burial Ground
89. Bellinger Family Burial Ground
90. Corus Family Burial Ground
91. Butler Family Burying Ground
92. Colonel J. Clement (I) Family Plot
93. Clement (II) Family
94. Chrysler Family Burial Plot
95. Field, Brown, Vrooman Burial Grounds
96. Hamilton Family Burial Ground
97. Servos Family – Palatine Hill Cemetery
98. Stevens Family Burial Ground

88. BALL FAMILY BURIAL GROUND

Military Reserve Plan M-11 Lot 53A Niagara Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no headstones remaining after cemetery moved; known use between 1810-1890 for 8 individuals.

Nothing remains of the original Ball Family Burial Ground. Carnochan (1912:7) includes it in her survey of Niagara cemeteries and her description suggests it was in fair condition when she visited. An OGS volunteer attempted to locate the cemetery in 1984 and found only fragments of stone. All that remained of the cemetery was relocated to St. Mark’s Anglican Church in Niagara-on-the-Lake during the construction of Eden Christian College some time prior to 1991.

Carnochan (1912:7) found several generations of Balls buried in the “Ball graveyard at Locust Grove,” and lists several of them, including:

Jacob Ball (1733-1810) and his wife Mary (1736-1814) and their three sons:

    Peter Ball and his wife Elizabeth Showers
    John Ball
    George Ball

Their other son, Jacob, is not buried here but at the Ten Mile Creek (Homer) Cemetery

Also buried here is John W Ball who was the last interment. (1813-1890).

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Carnochan lists one non-family member:

The daughter of a Major McKie.

All of these individuals are now commemorated at St. Mark’s Anglican Cemetery.

89. Bellinger Family Burial Ground

Lot 68, 69, or 70 Niagara Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remaining; record of 2 individuals; unknown dates of use.

Nothing remains of this family cemetery, and its exact location is unknown. Carnochan (1912:8-9), wrote of this cemetery:

“an almost forgotten family burying plot on the Cox farm, which, having passed through many hands in the century, we may readily understand why the stones are broken and almost illegible. This is in old times was the Bellinger farm, there have evidently been nearly a score of graves: rough stones still stand, and from the dry bed of the brook we gathered fragments which we pieced together with some degree of success.”

Inscriptions for Phillip Bellinger (1725-1799) and Nanna Pawling (1802-?) wife of G. A. Pawling were found in 1912.

90. Corus Family Burial Ground

Unknown location Niagara Township; Inactive unclassified cemetery type; no stones remaining; record of two individuals buried between 1835 and 1847.

This cemetery is thought to have been on the Corus farm, but its exact location is unknown. Carnochan (1912:105) recorded gravestones for Casper Corus (1739-1835) and William Casselman (1794-1847). No further information has been found for this site.
91. BUTLER FAMILY BURYING GROUND

Butler Road, Niagara Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 12 monuments for 17 people; in use between 1812 and 1854.

The Butler cemetery is located in a grassy lot secluded from surrounding houses by clusters of trees. The top of an underground vault is visible but the entrance has been covered. On a rise of land, original monuments have been collected and set flat in the ground. There are several heritage plaques and signs that present the biography of Colonel John Butler, leader of Butler's Rangers during the American Revolutionary War, and the military action on the Butler farm during the War of 1812. The burial place of Col. Butler has long been debated as some claim he was buried at St. Mark’s Anglican Church in Niagara-on-the-Lake. No monuments exist at either cemetery.

There is a long history of attempts for re-commemoration at this cemetery. Earlier efforts to commemorate Butler himself are documented by Knowles (1997:158-60):

“The Loyalist Association heeded [their president] Land’s advice [to establish a national day to recognize the graves of Loyalists] and became actively involved in efforts to erect a monument to Colonel John Butler and his Rangers at Niagara-on-the-Lake. The dilapidated state of the site known locally as Butler’s burying ground had long been a subject of concern. As early as 1890 local dissatisfaction with the site’s condition had prompted the Canadian Institute to attempt to exhume Colonel Butler's remains and relocate them at St. Mark’s churchyard. The project was halted when a relative objected that the vault assumed to be Butler’s resting place in fact belonged to the Claus family. It was
not simply the rundown condition of the cemetery that concerned the association. Butler’s Rangers were often portrayed in American historical writing as a band of rogues and vigilantes guilty of the most treacherous and cruel guerilla tactics. Members descended from Butler’s Rangers had a strong personal interest in changing the corps’s negative historical reputation."

Further attempts to erect a monument were complicated by legal questions over who owned the cemetery, the uncertainty over the location of Butler’s remains, and the lack of funds donated by the public or awarded by the government, who feared setting a precedent for other requests.

Following her visit, Carnochan (1912:2) noted that “the stones were found lying in all directions, broken by the fall of an immense tree which had been cut down, the vault fallen in an open to the inquisitive gamin, who has been known to carry off bones which should have been safe from such desecration.”

Not until 1967 did commemoration at the cemetery move forward, and even then it was not specific to Butler himself. Behind each original grave marker a replica granite monument has been erected. An additional monument states that the replicas were part of a 1967 Niagara Parks Commission project at the cemetery and that “corrected inscriptions are used” on the newer stones.

Known to be buried here are:

Sons of Colonel Butler:

**Thomas Butler** (?-1812) and his wife **Ann** (1762-1842) and their son

**Thomas Butler Jr.** (1779-1848) and his wife **Anna** (1775-1836)

**Johnson Butler** (?) and his wife (?)

**Mary Butler Stevenson** (1832-1854) wife of John Gustavus Stephenson and daughter of James and Jane Butler

And **Ralph Clench** (1762-1828)

**Samuel Cox** (1759-1822)

**Deborah Freel** (1746-1816) wife of John Freel
Butler Muirhead (1796-1824)

James Muirhead (1765-1834)

Charles Richardson (1808-1845)

and his first wife Eliza E Richardson (1808-1833) and their daughter

Eliza (1828-1828)

and second wife Maria Caroline (1808-1845) and his sister Jane M. Rist (1794-1831) wife of Robert Rist

92. COLONEL JOSEPH CLEMENT (I) FAMILY PLOT

Lot 88 Niagara Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 2 monuments for 2 individuals between 1867 and 1880.

The only monuments that remain of this cemetery are for Colonel Joseph Clement (1791-1867) and his second wife Ann (1800-1880). John is thought to be the son of James and Catharine Clement who are buried in the Clement cemetery (discussed below) with Joseph’s first wife.

93. CLEMENT (II) FAMILY

Lot 103 Niagara Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 2 monuments remain; at least 6 people buried here between 1813 and 1828.

This cemetery is found on the south side of the road close by to Four Mile Creek. Two headstones and several footstones remain, although several more were recorded by Carnochan (1912:105).

Buried here are:

James Clement (1764-1813) and his wife Catharine (1768-1813) who died
giving birth to their eleventh child.

Their daughter-in-law Sarah (1790-1824) who was the first wife of Joseph Clement, buried in the cemetery outlined above

Martha Pettitt (1769-1828), the wife of James’s brother John

Caroline Clement (1801-?)

Elizabeth Matilda Ball (1812-1823) daughter of Catharine Clement (possibly the daughter of James and Catharine) and Jacob Ball

94. Chrysler Family Burial Plot

Lot 85 Niagara Township; Inactive single family cemetery; 4 stones commemorating 4 people between 1793 and 1823.

This cemetery was not found during fieldwork. It was located in 1984 on the bank of Four Mile Creek and at that time four monuments were recorded:

Elizabeth Chrysler (1773-1812)

Ann Mary Chrysler (1728-1793)

Adam Chrysler (1732-1793)

John JF Chrysler (1806 or 1804 – 1823)

Due to the early dates of death, further information about this family is limited.

95. **FIELD, BROWN AND VROOMAN BURIAL GROUNDS**

*Lot 15 Niagara Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 37 monuments for 50 individuals in use between 1808 and 1942.*

This cemetery is found on a slope of land just west of the Niagara River. There is a small sign marking the cemetery as a burial site of United Empire Loyalists, although it does not name individuals. Buried here are:

**Gilbert Field** (1765-1815) and his wife **Elenor Mordan Field** (17??-1850) and their children

- **George Field** (1790-1853) and his sons
  - **George Field** (1827-1905) and his wife **Elizabeth M.** (1833-1894) and their children
    - **Catharine M.** (1859-1916)
    - **Ida Field Weir** (1861-1942) and her husband **William Weir** (1864-1936)
    - **Wm. Theodore Field** (1864-1934) and his wife **Mary** (1847-1900)
    - **Clayton M.** (?-192?)
  - **Daniel M. Field** (1832-1836)
  - **Ralph H. Field** (1837-1878)
Daniel Field (1796-1878)
Nathan Field (1803-1863)
Hiram Field (1811-1861)

William Field (1800-1863) possibly the son of Gilbert and Elenor
And children whose connection are unclear:
Herbert W. Field (1865-1869) son of J.P. and Euretta Field
Daniel A. Field (1862-1864) son of Murray and Nancy

The damaged or illegible inscriptions of many of the monuments for the Brown family make it difficult to establish connections between them:
John J. Brown (1796-1848)
Joseph Brown (1798-1853) and his wife Almira (1803-1870)
Joseph Brown (?)-1821) and his wife Rebecca Johnson (?)
Bertha Maria Brown (?)-1861) daughter of J & R Brown
Rebecca Brown (?)-1808) daughter of Joseph and Rebecca
Francis Brown (1833-1849)
Hannah Brown (1825-1852) daughter of Joseph and Minira wife of T. Hopkins MD
Corben Hopkins (?)

The Brown and Vrooman families are connected through the marriage of
Solomon S. Vrooman (1783-1874) and his wife Mary Brown (1790-1846) and their daughter
Catharine Vrooman Forsythe (1819-1850) wife of Gideon Forsythe

Also buried here are the children of Adam and Loretta Vrooman:

Tryphena Vrooman (1848-1849)

Albert Vrooman (1850-1854)

Eliza Goodson Vrooman (1816-1868) wife of Thomas Vrooman (burial place unknown) and their sons

Jas. (1843-1878)

Geo. W. (1854-1868)

Also an unknown Vrooman daughter (?-1808)

Members of other families include:

David Henry (?) son of W & M Henry

Susan Gab[riel?] (1817-1863)

Jane Matthews (1812-1866) wife of Wm. Matthews

Erretta L. Matthews (1850-1872) wife of Arthur Matthews

Mary D. Raney (1864-1865) daughter of T. & R. Raney

Thomas D. Raney (1867-1869) son of Thomas and Rebecca

Frances Scott (?) and his wife Mary (?)-184?) and their children James (184?-184?) and [?]ington (?)

One illegible marker – identity unknown

J.W. – illegible
96. Hamilton Family Burial Ground

Lot 138 Village of Queenston Niagara Township; Active multiple family cemetery; 44 monuments for 65 people; in use between 1796 and 1978.

The Hamilton Cemetery is located on the edge of a gully running down to the Niagara River. A stone fence surrounds the site that is covered with periwinkle within. Used by descendants of Robert Hamilton of Scotland, this cemetery is also noted for being the temporary burial place of Sir Isaac Brock and Colonel John MacDonald in 1840 during repairs to Brock's monument following an attack by a lone American. Both men were later reburied at the monument.

A sketched map of the cemetery indicates that there were originally British and First Nations soldiers buried in the northeast corner of the cemetery, but no indication of this remains today. According to recent monuments descendants from Toronto and St. Catharines continue to be buried here.

Members of the Hamilton family include:

Hon. Robert Hamilton (1750-1809)

and his first wife Catharine Robertson (1764-1796) and their son

Robert Hamilton (1787-1856) and his wife Mary Biggar (1796-1839) and their children

Robert (1808-1836)
Mary (1813-1871)
James (1817-1841)
unknown
Eliza (1824-1848)
Julia (1826-1916)
Thomas (1829-1887)

and his second wife Mary McLean (?) and their son

Alexander Hamilton (1794-1839) and his wife Hannah Owen Jarvis (1797-1888) and their children

Catherine M. Hamilton (1817-1870) and her husband Frederick B. Tench (1814-1850) and their son

F. Tench (1851-1937)
Hannah (1818-?)
Mary Jane (1826-1827)
Joseph A. (1830-1839)
Wm. Jarvis (1833-1865)
Emma H. (?)
Caroline E. Hamilton (1835-1900) wife of George and their daughters

Hannah Durand (1869-1870)
Tattie Durand (?-1939)
Mollie (?-1902)
Jessie (1873-1959)
Lila (1874-1959)
Caroline (?)

Herbert A. O. Hamilton (1839-1888) and his wife Kate McCallum (1852-1948) and their sons

Owen Alexander Hamilton (1879-1956)
Gerald Musgrave Hamilton (1888-1966)

Hannah Hamilton (1761-1845) wife of Wm. Jarvis

Eliza Hamilton (?)-1882) first wife of J. T. Townsend and their sons

Charles (1858-1922) and Samuel (1856-1940)
Ann Poulson (?-1926) second wife of J.T. Townsend and their son

Alan Jarvis Hamilton Townsend (1893-1916 buried in France)

Other members of the Hamilton family whose relationships are unclear:

Catherine Hamilton Duff (1876-1964) and her husband James Wainright (1870-1959) and his first wife Jessie Owen (1874-1919)

Helen Ross (1904-1971) wife of James Hamilton Wainwright

Phyllis E. Hamilton (1880-1937)

Naomi (?) daughter of Jno. and Frances Hamilton

Cyrus Hamilton (?)

Peter Hunter Hamilton (1856-1939) and his wife Almira H. Duff (1872-1962)

Walter Hamilton (1909-1978) and Agnes (?)

W. and Evelyn Hamilton

Possible relatives of Frederick B. Tench:

Capt. John Humphry Tench (?-1851) and his wife Maria (?) and Margaret Carruthers (?)

Mary Tench (-1924)

Others whose connections are unclear:

Alban W. L. Butler (1882-1949) and his wife Eloise (1883-1960) and their daughter Sylvia (1915-1980)

Thomas Dickson (1775-1825) and his wife Eliza (1774-1802) and their son

John (1800-1821) (possibly Eliza was born a Hamilton?)
Jessie A. Duff (?-1890)

Garnet McCandless (1923-1956)

Robert Mewburn (1847-1851) son of Thomas and Jane Mewburn

97. SERVOS FAMILY – PALATINE HILL CEMETERY

Lot #194 Niagara Township; Inactive multiple family cemetery; 19 monuments for 29 people buried between 1807 and 1930.

The Servos cemetery is located among orchards on an active farm. The remains of the family homestead and other buildings are nearby. The family farm became known as Palatine Hill through William Kirby, who married into the family, whose writing connected the history of the Niagara farm to the family’s origins in the Palatine region of Germany. Several generations of the Servos family are buried here, as well as members of the Hahn family who purchased the cemetery in the 1920s after it was no longer being used by the Servoses. The cemetery was consecrated in a ceremony in 1928

Carnochan (1912:6) noted that “several Indians here found sepulture.” While no such graves are marked, there are monuments for people outside of the Servos family, such as Fuller, Lowe, and Tannahil.

The cemetery is surrounded by a stone fence and has an iron arch and gated entrance. Reive (Robbins 1991b:50) noted that there were burials both within and outside the enclosure: “The sacred area is surrounded by fine old trees and within a
stone walled enclosure lie many generations of the Servos Family and their connections. Outside the wall many others are buried, their resting places are mostly marked with field stones – but some stones have inscriptions remaining.” No monuments were located outside of the wall during fieldwork. Several stones are embedded in the stone wall facing inwards and others, also inside, are leaning against the wall.

Buried here are descendants of Daniel Servos and his first and second wives:

**Daniel Servos** (1742-1807) his daughter with his first wife Catharine (burial place unknown)

**Magdalene Ann Servos** (1778-1854) and her husband **John Whitmore** (1769-1853) and their children:

- **Daniel S. Whitmore** (1806-1871) and his wife **Eliza Jane** (1818-1865)
- **Catharine** (1809-1825)
- **George J.** (1815-1825)
  
  Another daughter – Eliza (1817-1891) is buried at St. Mark’s Anglican Church with her husband William Kirby, but their son (grandson of Magdalene and John) is buried in the family cemetery:

- **William Whitmore Kirby** (1848-1849) son of William and Eliza

The second wife of Daniel Servos, **Elizabeth** Powell (1749-1821) and their children:

**Col. John D Servos** (1784-1847) and his wife **Elizabeth Ball** (1801-1862) and their children:

- **John Secord Servoss** [sic] (1824-1859)
- **Amelia Servos** (1829-1851) wife of James Servos
  
  and their **infant daughter** (1851-1851)

**Augusta Jane** (1835-1846)

Another daughter, Gertrude is not buried here, but her son with John Secord is:
Harold Wadell Secord (1859-1861) son of John C. and Gertrude

Also, Peter C. (1823-1887), the eldest son of John and Elizabeth is buried at St. Mark’s Anglican Church, but his wife, Mary Ball Servos (1827-1905) is, and she is the last member of the Servos family buried here.

Two other sons of John and Elizabeth are buried elsewhere: William B. (1820-1909) is buried at Christ Anglican Church with his wife Elizabeth and Daniel B. (1839-1899) is buried at St. Mark’s Anglican Church with his wife and children.

According to family history on file at the Mayholme foundation in St. Catharines, the second son of Daniel and Elizabeth, William (1787-1857) and his wife Gertrude Ball (1790-1875), were originally buried in the Servos Cemetery but were later removed and reburied at the Homer Anglican Cemetery.

Members of other families are buried here, including:

Elizabeth Johnson (1707-1811)

Elizabeth McNabb (1768-1812) and her son Lieut. Colin Alexander (1785-1820)

William Lowe (1782-1832) and his wife Margaret Ann (1782-1813) – erected by their son William Lowe. William Sr. was born in the Parish of Clogheen, Tipperary County, Ireland. The connection between the Lowe and Servos families is unknown.

Isaac Fuller (1773-1846) and John Tannahil (1800-1845) who are found listed as farm workers in the family business

Reive (Robbins 1991b:50) also notes a monument for Mary J. Rogers (1861-1862) daughter of James and Elizabeth Rogers (burial places unknown).

Also members of the Hahn family who used the cemetery in the 1920s and 1930s:

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Rosa Hahn (1842-1923)
Fanny Hahn (1871-1907)
Fritz Hahn (1872-1922)
Pauline Schloz Gaffner (1846-1930) Pauline died in Toronto and was an aunt of Fanny and Fritz.\(^{267}\)

The monument for Rosa, Fanny, and Fritz includes a line of German: “Die Liebe höret nimmer auf” – love never ends.

98. Stevens Family Burial Ground

Lot 108 Township of Niagara; Inactive and unclassified cemetery type; no stones remaining; unknown dates of use and membership.

Nothing remains of this cemetery, and according to the OGS record,\(^{268}\) family records indicate there were 35 plots one of whom was for Adam Stevens’s wife, Maria Chrysler of the nearby Chrysler family (with a family cemetery of their own). Carnochan (1920:106) reports that also buried here is George Caughill who was “killed at Lundy’s Lane. It is told that he was carried from the field by Barney Cain, who is buried at Virgil.”

\(^{267}\) Archives of Ontario Death Record MS935_405

\(^{268}\) OGS (1985) *Stevens Family Burial Ground*, OGS Cemetery Transcript #3359, Niagara Peninsula Branch.